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When young members of the LGBTQ group Soulforce visited Brigham Young University in April 2006 to promote respect for gay rights, student Matt Kulish led them on a walk from the Mormon Temple (rear) to campus.

New Tactics and Coalitions Take Aim at Planned Parenthood

By Adele M. Stan

For the leaders and workers of Planned Parenthood Federation of America, attacks from right-wing foes are nothing new. Almost from the moment that the U.S. Supreme Court legalized abortion in 1973, the federation and its clinics have been in the sights of right-wing activists, most horrifically in 1994 during the harrowing siege of a Brookline, Massachusetts, clinic when a gunman took the lives of two workers in the name of God.

Indeed major anti-abortion groups recently came together in a master coalition using old time pressure tactics aimed at stripping Planned Parenthood of its government funding (see box, pg.10).

But a new generation is using new media tactics to challenge Planned Parenthood, while paying lip service to

New Tactics and Coalitions continues on page 8

Younger Evangelicals

Where Will They Take the Christian Right?

By Pam Chamberlain*

Last October a chartered bus rolled deep through the South, its passenger's college-aged young people drawing inspiration from the Freedom Riders of the 1960s. The black vinyl advertising plastered on the side broadcast the riders' goals, "Equality Ride 2008: Faith in Action: Social Justice for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered People." The bus brought young LGBTQ activists and their allies face to face with students at 15 Christian colleges in an attempt to generate more acceptance of homosexuality at evangelical schools.

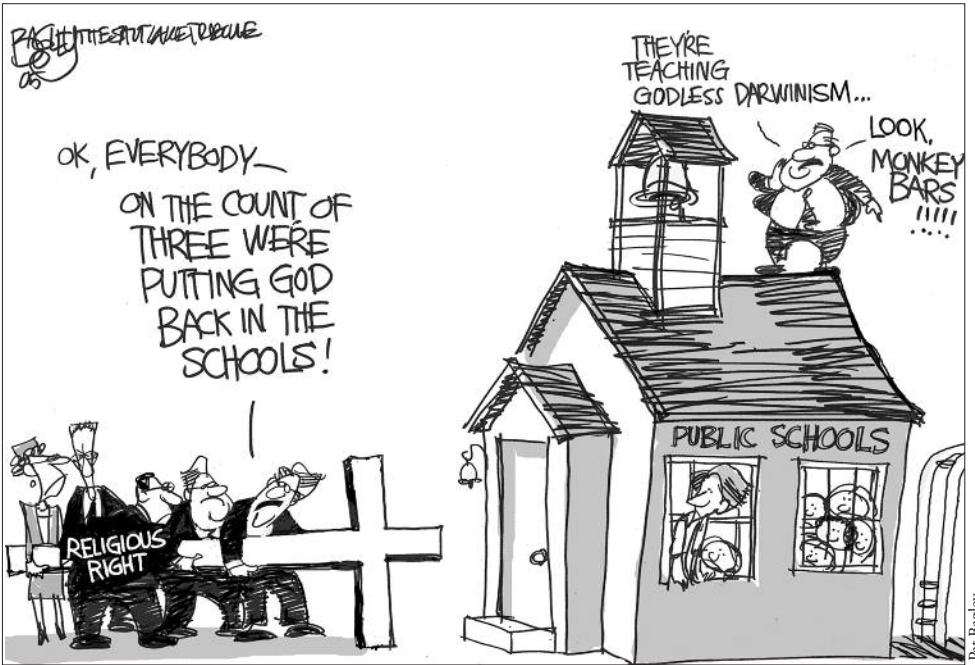
*The author thanks Nathaniel Rosenblum for research assistance with this article.

2008 was the third year of the Equality Ride, a project of Soulforce Q, the youth arm of Soulforce, an organization Mel White cofounded "to cut off homophobia at its source—religious bigotry." A former evangelical minister and speechwriter to Jerry Falwell (the founder of the Christian Right group Moral Majority), White was a closeted gay Christian who came out in 1993, left his evangelical ministry, and began work for the Metropolitan Community Church, an LGBTQ Christian community. He has made his life's work the reconciliation of evangelical Protestant Christianity and homosexuality. Soulforce recognized that encouraging young people

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You don't find publications like the *Public Eye* around much anymore. Our style evolved out of a moment of progressive ferment when we read avidly to understand the world in order to change it. The magazine was founded in the 1970s by the National Lawyers Guild to publish the latest news coming out about government repression of activists. Our mandate broadened when we moved to the then-new think tank Political Research Associates during the Reagan era. Thus our articles are a hybrid of journalism and more academic-styled research and we aspire to track and illuminate the role of the U.S. Right for activists no matter which issue they happen to be working on. We seek to defend and expand progressive achievements even as we seek to understand the sources of strength of the reaction.

It is arguable that the Reagan era finally ended with President Obama's inauguration. So is there still a role for *Public Eye* to play? Of course. When the Right is out of power, its activists use that time to strategize, regroup, and do movement building. So we need to pay attention. And as we saw during the Clinton years, when pushed from power, parts of the Right can get mean. We saw, and the *Public Eye* documented, the upsurge in militias, the expansion of the Christian Right and its attempt to paint a "family friendly" face, and even homegrown terrorism, from Oklahoma City to the parking lots of abortion providers.

It is an interesting time. As the articles in this issue reveal, the Christian Right is embracing new tactics (as in its attack on Planned Parenthood) but also is facing new cleavages (among the young evangelicals from whom they hope to nurture future leaders). The economic meltdown has not stopped conservative leaders' from peddling a bankrupt view of the market, but we need to know whether this tune still plays in Peoria. We've felt

Editorial continues on page 20

Winter issue: Apologies for the late arrival of the winter issue. Our mailhouse originally sent our freshly printed copies to another group's list, forcing our printer to hastily create a new batch for our own readers.

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ISSUE 63

Tying the Not

How the Right Succeeded in Passing Proposition 8

By Surina Khan

On June 26, 2008, 1,000 ministers, mostly from evangelical congregations, met by conference call to discuss tactics for passing Proposition 8, a ballot initiative to ban same sex marriage in California by amending the state constitution. The call was convened by Pastor Jim Garlow from the 2,500-member Skyline Church in San Diego County. The ministers on the call had a far reach: they lead congregations representing about one million people, and Garlow alone provides radio commentary to 629 stations each day.¹

The strategy session, which included input from lawyers and political consultants, was one of many efforts in a broad-based organizing campaign by the Christian Right to galvanize support for Proposition 8.

Proposition 8 passed in the November 2008 election by four points, with 52 percent of voters supporting it and 48 percent opposing it. The Right was successful in their multipronged approach to

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Calling voters for Proposition 8 "haters" does not advance the progressive agenda.

shrewd, media-savvy, well-funded and well-organized grassroots movement that understood California's complex geographic and political landscape. The Yes on 8 campaign effectively reached California's diverse racial and ethnic communities with materials translated into at least fourteen different languages including Spanish, Hmong, Vietnamese, Chinese, Filipino, Samoan, Punjabi, Farsi, Russian, and Polish.²

Garlow told the ministers on the conference call that on the weekend before the election, his goal was to fill Qualcomm Stadium in San Diego and other amphitheaters with people praying for a ban on gay marriage. To this end, they organized a 40-day fasting period leading up to election day, along with 100 days of prayer.

"We are working with all the churches who are willing to work with us," noted Frank Schubert, the campaign manager for Yes

on 8. "It's woven together to form what we hope will be the largest grass-roots campaign in California history."³

A Broad Network of Support

The weaving together of the campaign involved a broad network of support and funding that included prominent Chris-

oppose same sex marriage in a state that has national significance in the marriage equality movement. Simply put, they out organized the No on 8 Campaign.

An analysis of how the Right succeeded in their efforts reveals a campaign of misinformation and unlikely alliances that took years of planning, dating back to at least the mid-1990s. It also reveals a



tian Right organizations including Focus on the Family, Concerned Women for America, and the Family Research Council.

The campaign raised more than \$40 million from conservative supporters across the country. Much of the funding came from prominent donors like the Utah-based Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and the Roman Catholic conservative group, Knights of Columbus. Proposition 8 also received donations from Elsa Broekhuizen, the widow of Michigan-based Christian Right supporter Edgard Prince and the mother of Erik Prince, founder of the controversial private military firm, Blackwater.⁴

The initiative's third largest private donor was Howard F. Ahmanson Jr., reclusive heir to the Home Savings of America banking fortune and a trustee of the Ahmanson Foundation. Ahmanson donated \$900,000 to the passage of Proposition 8. In a 1985 interview with the *Orange County Register*, Ahmanson summarized his political agenda: "My goal is the total integration of biblical law into our lives."⁵

Ahmanson has been behind campaigns to teach "intelligent design" in public

school classrooms and to rollback affirmative action in California. He has been a supporter of anti-gay issues for many years. Ahmanson's most controversial philanthropy relates to his funding of the religious empire of Rousas John Rush-

The LGBTQ movement has focused on marriage equality as a stand-alone issue and with Proposition 8 missed the opportunity to organize.

doony, an evangelical theologian who advocated placing the United States under the control of a Christian theocracy which includes death by stoning for practicing homosexuals.⁶

Unlikely Alliances

The Yes on 8 campaign set out to change how the initiative process can further a conservative movement agenda. Campaign organizers built a well-funded operation that rivaled any major electoral campaign in its scope and complexity. They also built a powerful, religious coalition that centrally involved the Roman Catholic Church, Protestant evangelicals and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.⁷ In an internal memo dating back to 1997, the LDS proposed a coalition with the Catholic Church in order to stem what they saw as the rising tide of gay marriage in Hawaii and California. In the memo, a high-ranking Mormon leader discussed approaches for challenging gay marriage and noted that anti-gay marriage legislation would not be a successful pursuit.

The memo notes that a referendum, while expensive, would be the only route. It advocates for an alliance with the Catholic Church in order to launch a successful campaign against gay marriage. "The Church should be in a coalition and not out front by itself," the memo notes. "The public image of the Catholic Church is higher than our Church.... If we get into this, they are the ones with which to join."⁸

The memo notes that in order to win the battle against gay marriage, "there may have to be certain legal rights recognized for unmarried people such as hospital visitation so that opponents in the legislature come away with something."⁹ The Right was willing to concede some rights for gays in an effort to defeat same sex marriage.

The fact that the coalition to define marriage in California as the union between "one man and one woman" was anchored by a church whose founder claimed 33 wives did not seem to deter their ability to wage a successful campaign. Nor it seems did the fact that the coalition—which framed Prop 8 as a fight to protect California's children—was quietly knit together by the Catholic archbishop of San Francisco, who once excused the molestation of children at the hands of a pedophile priest as mere "horseplay."

But once the Mormons joined the effort, they quickly established themselves as “the foundation of the campaign.”¹⁰

Misinformation Campaign

The Yes on 8 coalition promoted a staggering misinformation campaign. Multiple advertisements told voters that without Proposition 8, their churches would be forced to perform same sex unions and be stripped of their tax-exempt status; that schools would teach children to practice homosexuality; and that even President (then candidate) Barack Obama had stated during his campaign that he did not favor gay marriage (although Obama did come out in opposition to Proposition 8). Obama’s statement against gay marriage was circulated in a flier by the Yes on 8 campaign, targeting African-American households. The campaign also used Obama’s voice in a statewide robo-call.¹¹ This kind of outreach and organizing in communities of color was particularly effective.

Perhaps understanding that public perception had shifted significantly in support of LGBTQ people and marriage equality since Proposition 22 in 2000 when 61 percent of voters voted to ban same sex marriage in California, the campaign did not put out a message of overt hate against lesbian and gay people. Instead their messaging centered on not taking away rights for gays and lesbians. “Gay couples in domestic partnerships have and will continue to have the same legal rights as married spouses. We’re not here to stop anyone from expressing their commitment or responsibility to another. We’re simply here to protect the definition of marriage to what the majority of California voters (and all of history) have decided it should be—a union between a man and a woman.”¹² This strategy allowed the Christian Right to attract a moderate base that may not have taken a hardline position against LGBTQ people, positioning themselves as being compassionate towards gays and lesbians while trying to hold onto the “sanctity of traditional marriage.”

The Campaign’s messaging centered on children and the harm that would come

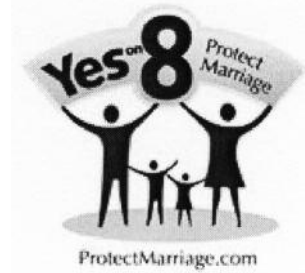
to them if same sex marriage passed. This framing was a compelling one for their base, especially when coupled with the message that no rights would be taken away from gays and lesbians if Proposition 8 passed. The campaign insisted on the falsehood that if Proposition 8 did not pass, children would be forced to learn about gay marriage in schools. “If the same sex marriage

For years, the California Christian Right apparatus, long hampered by nativism and racism, had been unable to make inroads into communities of color.

ruling is not overturned, teachers will be required to teach young children that there is no difference between gay marriage and traditional marriage.”¹³

One press release noted, “[San Francisco] Mayor Gavin Newsom made it perfectly clear for parents throughout the state that the target is not just marriage for gay activists, they have also set their sites [sic] on our schools.”¹⁴

Mainstream outlets like the *Los Angeles Times* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* countered these falsehoods as did the No on 8 Campaign, but with little impact. The misinformation messaging had taken root, in churches across the state, in rural, mostly White, communities and in many communities of color.



Road to Inequity

The Yes on 8 Campaign understood that to win in California required campaigning in both urban and rural areas of the state as well as doing outreach to youth. The campaign effectively used media technologies and far-reaching social networking sites including Facebook, MySpace, and Twitter. A Facebook group promoting Proposition 8 has more than 60,000 members.¹⁵ The Yes on 8 website made it simple for anyone to copy a sidebar or graphic to be displayed on websites and other locations. Unbeknownst to them, some gay bloggers were surprised and many appalled that their sites featured this sidebar.¹⁶

They also went to small towns and big cities across the state. In October, the campaign organized a bus tour that began in Sacramento and ended in San Diego. Rally stops during the tour included Chico, Oakland, Salinas, Fresno, Modesto, Bakersfield, Lancaster, Los Angeles, Montclair, Indio, El Centro, Camarillo and Fullerton.¹⁷ With the exception of Oakland and Los Angeles, a majority of voters in these regions supported the proposition.

Organizing in churches was a key strategy. The Yes on 8 Campaign gave very specific instructions to churches on how to organize their congregations to support the initiative.¹⁸

Throughout the summer, Yes on 8 had more than 100,000 volunteers knocking on doors in every zip code in the state which gave them an enormous grassroots advantage. Central to their base of support were Christian people who they were able to organize through churches. According to the Campaign, they visited 70 percent of all California households in person, and contacted another 15 percent by phone. If

these numbers are to be believed, the campaign's get-out-the-vote effort was equally impressive. The weekend before the vote, the Campaign's volunteers went door to door, speaking to supporters and directing them to the right precinct locations. On election day Yes on 8 had 100,000 people—five per precinct—checking voter rolls and contacting supporters who hadn't shown up to vote.¹⁹

Nearly every single television station in San Diego covered the end of the bus tour and along the way the Campaign was successful in generating media stories in television, radio, and newspapers. In addition to these stories, the Campaign had a well-developed strategy of buying media ads in a range of ethnic media outlets. Early on in their efforts, the Yes on 8 Campaign purchased ad space in Chinese, African-American, Spanish, and Korean media. In addition to purchasing these ethnic media advertisements, the Campaign held massive rallies for Christians in communities of color.²⁰

Yes on 8 placed advertisements on Latino television and radio statewide with prominent Latino spokespeople and religious leaders voicing support for the proposition. In the African American community, the Campaign was successful in building alliances with pastors who used their sermons to galvanize their congregations to support the Proposition. The Asian community also was well-represented with advertisements in Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean, and South Asian media markets.²¹

For years, the California Christian Right apparatus, long hampered by nativism and racism, had been unable to make inroads into communities of color—a demographic necessity in a state that is more than 50 percent people of color and growing. With Proposition 8, they finally took hold in building a base of support in commu-

nities of color. This base as well as the organizing they did in rural, mostly White communities will be important for the Christian Right as the move forward to advance a broader agenda.

The Christian Right in California made a strategic shift in sharpening its “family values” focus on sexuality and marriage. This shift is likely to be effective for the long term political objectives of the Right which include an assault on the legal protections against discrimination for LGBTQ people. The coalition of “family values” organizations have used an anti-LGBTQ message

The Right's success with the passage of Proposition 8 should be a call to the LGBTQ movement to build alliances across issues and constituencies.

to organize and mobilize conservative constituents, recruit followers, and raise money. The broader agenda that the Christian Right will continue to pursue will promote Christian nationalism, an ideology that seeks to use laws and regulations to promote fundamentalist Christian values on the nation. This is an agenda that seeks to eliminate the constitutional wall separating church and state in pursuit of an anti-democratic and authoritarian agenda.

With Proposition 8, the Christian Right was successful in furthering a divisive political agenda that offers fundamentalist Christian dogma and heterosexuality as the only acceptable norms.

The Yes on 8 campaign was able to draw upon the complex movement of infrastructure organizations that make up the

Right, including publishing houses, legal organizations, think tanks, mass-based organizations, and funding organizations that helped provide the resources needed for the movement to advance their agenda and secure a base of support in California.

Lessons to Learn

The Christian Right in California and elsewhere is seeking to enshrine discrimination through constitutional amendments. Like California, the Right was successful in passing a constitutional amendment in Florida that eliminated marriage for same sex couples. And in Arkansas the Right was successful in its campaign to take away the right of same sex couples and most straight unmarried couples to adopt children or be foster parents. And yet, it's important to recognize that the Christian Right's opposition to same sex marriage is only one part of a broader pro (heterosexual) marriage, “family values” agenda that includes abstinence-only sex education, stringent divorce laws, coercive marriage promotion policies directed toward women on welfare, and attacks on reproductive freedom.²²

The LGBTQ and progressive movement's response must remain focused on the leadership of the right-wing movement which has successfully organized in diverse communities and built broad-based alliances. Demonizing the followers and accusing them of voting for hate will not advance a progressive agenda.

The LGBTQ movement has focused on marriage equality as a stand-alone issue and with Proposition 8 missed the opportunity to organize, particularly in communities of color and build a broad coalition that addresses the range of issues affecting families, including economic security, immigration status, incarceration, and health benefits for non-married family members.²³

The Right's success with Proposition 8 leaves marriage equality efforts with much to learn and hope for. The youth vote is one reason to be hopeful. Sixty-one percent of voters younger than 30 opposed Proposition 8, while 61 percent of those older than

RIGHT WEB

Visit Right Web for profiles of the individuals and organizations promoting a militarist U.S. foreign policy, especially in the Middle East.

<http://rightweb.irc-online.org>

65 supported it. Generational shifts are likely to benefit LGBTQ efforts. For future efforts, LGBTQ advocates and organizers will have to undo the false assumption that most people of color voted for Proposition 8, particularly when many youth of color did not.²⁴ While it's true that the Right was successful in organizing in communities of color, it is not accurate to say that people of color are the reason that Proposition 8 passed. Blaming communities of color, as some segments of the LGBTQ movement have done, will not move us where we need to go.

Our current legal and economic structures favor straight married couples over other kinds of families. Meanwhile, a 30-year political assault on the social safety net has left households with more burdens and constraints and fewer resources. There is, however, potential to create new structures that make it easier for all kinds of families to provide one another with adequate material support. A progressive response can find ways to recognize and accommodate all family structures with our public policies in order to build more stable families and communities. A continuing effort to diversify and democratize partnership and household recognition may have more staying power and poten-

tial for success in the longer term.

The Right's success with the passage of Proposition 8 should be a call to the LGBTQ movement to build alliances across issues and constituencies. The efforts towards same sex marriage should be part of a larger effort to strengthen the stability and security of diverse households and families. ■

This article was posted on our website in December 2008.

End Notes

¹ Jessica Garrison, "Pastor Rallies Clergy Against Gay Marriage," *Los Angeles Times*, June 26 2008. <http://www.nomcalifornia.org/site/c/hjSJaMQLuElb.4293527/>

² Campaign materials were translated into the following language according to the Yes on 8 campaign website, www.protectmarriage.com: Armenian, Cambodian, Chinese, Hmong, Korean, Portuguese, Russian, Filipino, Vietnamese, Polish, Samoan, Punjabi, Farsi, and Pashto. The No on 8 Campaign website listed materials in 4 languages: Spanish, Korean, Chinese, Vietnamese. Last viewed on 11/30/08.

³ www.protectmarriage.com

⁴ Max Blumenthal, "The Man Behind Proposition 8," *The Daily Beast*, <http://www.thedailybeast.com/blogs-and-stories/2008-11-03/the-man-behind-proposition-8/?sem=1>

⁵ Blumenthal.

⁶ Blumenthal. See also, Michael J. McVicar, "The Libertarian Theocrats: The Long, Strange History of R.J. Rushdoony and Christian Reconstructionism." *The Public Eye*, Fall 2007, Vol. 22, No. 3. <http://www.publiceye.org/magazine/v22n3/libertarian.html>.

⁷ Tim Dickinson, "Same-Sex Setback: Don't blame Mormons or black voters - the California activists who tried to stop Prop 8 ran a lousy campaign," *Rolling Stone*, December 11, 2008. http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/24603325/samesex_setback/3

⁸ Hekebolos, "Prop 8: DEVASTATING internal memo from the LDS Church," *The Daily Kos*, November 3, 2008. <http://www.dailykos.com/story/2008/11/3/15369/3779/711651188>

⁹ "Prop 8: DEVASTATING internal memo from the LDS Church."

¹⁰ Dickinson. http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/24603325/samesex_setback/3

¹¹ Richard Kim, "Marital Discord: Why Prop 8 Won," *The Nation*, <http://www.thenation.com/doc/2008/11/24/kim>. See also, http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/24603325/samesex_setback/3

¹² Jeff Flint, "Newsom Decries Our Ad as Absurd," *Yes on 8*, September 30, 2008. <http://www.protectmarriage.com/blog/tag/medial>. See also Frequently Asked Questions, www.ProtectMarriage.com last viewed on 12/5/08.

¹³ Flint.

¹⁴ <http://www.protectmarriage.com/blog/tag/medial>, last viewed on 11/30/08

¹⁵ <http://www.new.facebook.com/group.php?gid=8468062397>, last viewed on 11/30/08

¹⁶ Pretty On the Outside Blog, "Martinique, Prop 8, my Nephew, and an unwanted phone call." October 30,

2008, <http://prettyontheoutside.typepad.com/gilmore/2008/10/martinique-prop.html#more>.

¹⁷ Yes on 8 press release, <http://www.protectmarriage.com/blog/2008/10/yes-on-8-statewide-media-bus-tour-proves-to-be-a-success/>, last viewed on 11/30/08.

¹⁸ Instructions included: Purchase enough plain white envelopes to distribute to your congregation. Download the contribution form located under Resources for Churches, on the Resources page of www.protectmarriage.com. Make enough copies of the contribution form to distribute to your congregation. Pass out envelopes and contribution forms to your congregation. Each individual donation should be put into a separate white envelope by the donor. Donations of \$24 or under do not require the donor to complete the contribution form. Donations of \$25 or over DO require the contribution form to be completed. The completed form should be put into the envelope along with the donation. We can accept cash (\$99 or under only), checks or credit card contributions. Checks should be made payable to ProtectMarriage.com - Yes on 8. Collect all envelopes from donors, put them in a larger mailing envelope, put your church name and return address on the mailing envelopes and send it via regular US mail.

¹⁹ Dickinson. http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/24603325/samesex_setback/3

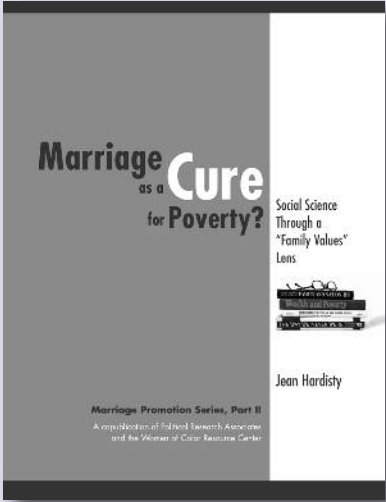
²⁰ Kim, <http://www.thenation.com/doc/2008/11/24/kim>

²¹ <http://www.protectmarriage.com/blog/tag/medial>, last viewed on 11/30/08

²² Jean Hardisty, *Pushed to the Alter: The Right Wing Roots of Marriage Promotion* (Somerville, MA: Political Research Associates, 2008). See also, www.beyondmarriage.org.

²³ Nancy Polikoff, *Beyond (Straight and Gay Marriage): Valuing All Families Under the Law*, Beacon Press, 2008.

²⁴ Patrick J. Egan and Kenneth Sherrill, "Proposition 8: What Happened and Where Do We Go From Here?" National Gay & Lesbian Task Force, January 2009. See also, John Diaz, "The Ugly Backlash Over Proposition 8," *SF Gate*, November 23, 2008. <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2008/11/23/INOQ147155.DTL>.



Marriage as a Cure for Poverty?
Social Science Through a "Family Values" Lens
Jean Hardisty
Marriage Promotion Series, Part II
A contribution of Political Research Associates and the Women of Color Resource Center

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NEW TACTICS AND COALITIONS *cont'd from page 1*

progressive values, saying the reproductive services organization violates norms of racial justice and fails to protect minors from sexual predators. At the pivot point where the Right's wedge-driving themes converge sits a 20-year-old college student who has found stardom on YouTube.

Lila Rose, who leads the sting group, Live Action, is winning fame by going to abortion clinics, armed with a hidden camera, posing as a young teenager. In a clinic in Los Angeles and at two others in Indiana, Rose and a colleague recorded clinic personnel who appear to advise Rose to either alter her own (fictional) age or not to mention the age of the fictional older man who supposedly impregnated her. This would allow the clinic personnel to avoid reporting the case to child protective services.

Rose's sting at an Indianapolis clinic she visited in June resulted in Planned Parenthood dismissing a clinic counselor named Janet after Live Action released the video in December. Janet had assured the girlish-voiced Rose that she didn't care how old Rose's boyfriend was after Rose said that she didn't want to get him in trouble.¹ As the Associated Press reported, "Indiana law requires anyone learning of sexual acts between an adult and a child under 14 to report them to police or child welfare authorities."

A video released by LiveAction in October shows a staff member at a Bloomington Planned Parenthood clinic telling Rose, posing as a 13-year-old impregnated by a 31-year-old, how to avoid parental notification laws by traveling to an out-of-state clinic.

A separate gambit plays on Planned Parenthood founder Margaret Sanger's sorry relationship with eugenics in the

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past century; anti-abortion activists such as Alveda King, niece of the late Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., charge that Planned Parenthood embodies a eugenicist and racist goal targeting Black people for genocide. In 2006, Rose deployed an actor to call Planned Parenthood clinics posing as a racist donor offering to fund abortions sought by African-American women.² Live Action secretly recorded the phone calls, then incorporated them into videos posted on YouTube. (YouTube removed several of

A new generation is using new media tactics along with lip service to progressive values in challenging Planned Parenthood.

those videos for "inappropriate content," presumably to avoid any legal issues arising from the manner in which the material was obtained.)

While Rose is quick to note in public remarks that none of the affiliates contacted by Live Action "on that first day of calling" turned down the money, she cited only two instances in her speech last year to a right-wing gathering in Washington, D.C., where the caller made clear his racist motivation—that his earmarked donation was designed to help reduce the number of "Black kids" on "the streets."³ She did not say how many affiliates were contacted "on that first day," or the total number ultimately called. And she referred not to an actor making the calls, but an activist.

Ken Blackwell, Ohio's former secretary of state and an African-American, was then running for governor. He called for a congressional investigation into the result of a call made to a Planned Parenthood

office in Columbus, in which a receptionist replied "Okay," when the caller said there were "definitely way too many Black people in Ohio."⁴ After losing the gubernatorial race to Democrat Ted Strickland, Blackwell joined the Family Research Council staff. At press time, with the backing of the right-wing umbrella group the Center for National Policy, he was vying for the chairmanship of the Republican National Committee.

At September's Values Voter Summit, an annual religious Right gathering convened by the FRC Action arm of the Family Research Council, Lila Rose appeared as an emerging star. Introduced to the audience as "a young Sarah Palin," Rose touched on the Right's anti-Planned Parenthood themes, both new and old, favorably quoting the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the socialist organizer Saul Alinsky (whose socialist methods Palin accused Barack Obama of appropriating) along the way. The speech was tightly crafted, and Rose's performance evoked the stilted timing and preciousness of a child actor.

She said she received an e-mail from Mary-Jane Wagle, president and CEO of Planned Parenthood of Los Angeles, threatening legal action against Rose's group if the undercover footage of her sting at the L.A. clinic was not removed. Rose said, "I remember sitting wide-eyed at my computer, startled by the realization that Planned Parenthood, the billion-dollar corporation and number-one leader of abortions in America, was afraid." She paused apparently expecting a response, and when no applause came, she let out a girlish laugh, as if amazed at her own power in the face of the mighty giant. On cue, the crowd roared its approval. According to Rose, the Alliance Defense Fund represented her and the L.A. Planned Parenthood ultimately did not file a lawsuit against her or Live Action.

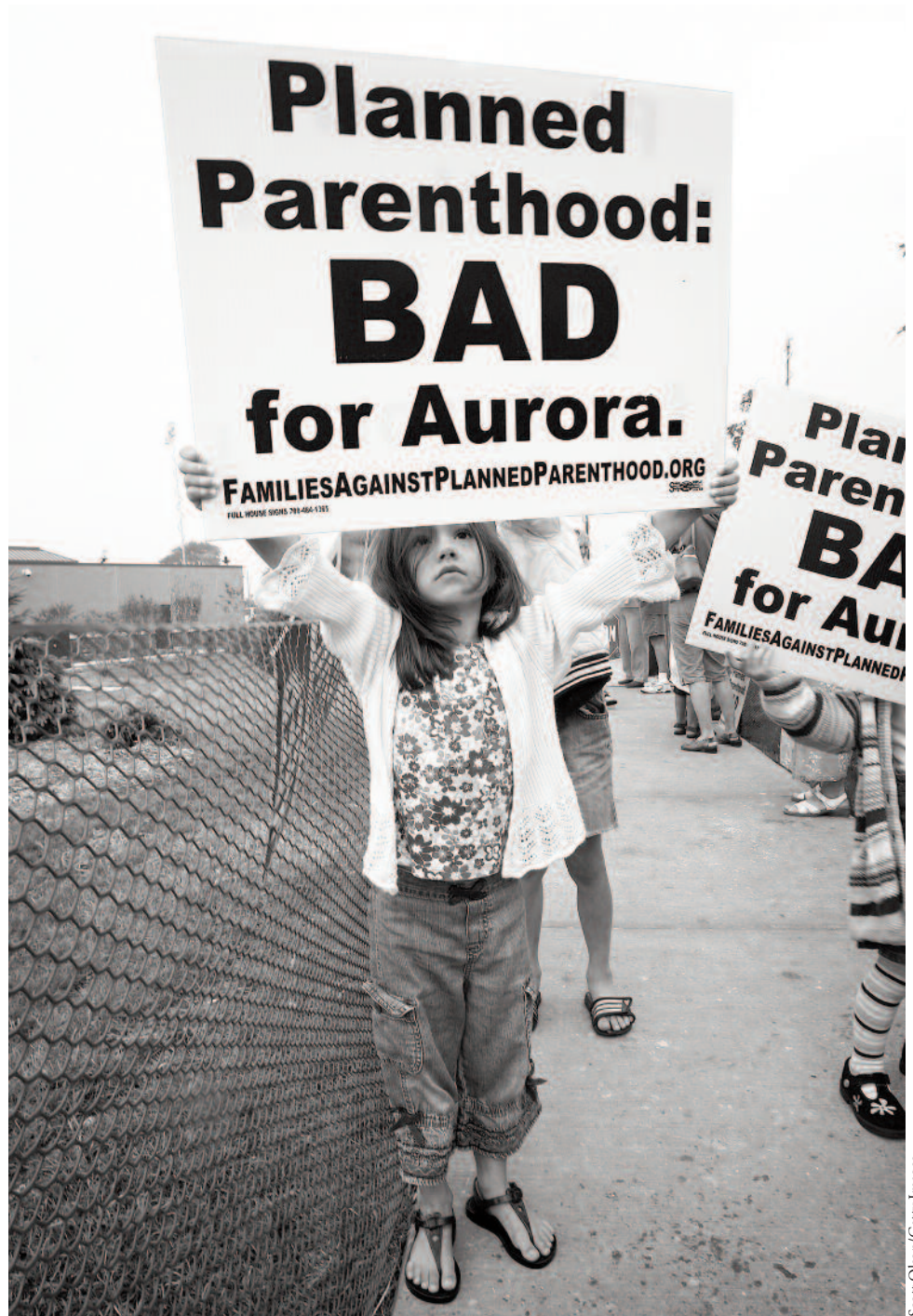
Think of an anti-choice activist, and the image that comes to mind is likely one of an aggressive, older White person waiting outside an abortion clinic to buttonhole a client for "sidewalk counseling" to convince her that she's about to commit murder if

she has an abortion. Perhaps you recall the tactics of anti-choice groups in years past, when activists recorded the license plate numbers of cars entering clinic lots, sometimes posting those numbers publicly, or Operation Rescue enthusiasts carrying giant signs graphically depicting bloody fetuses.

But decades of harassing or demonizing the women who seek reproductive health care at women's health clinics have done little to move public opinion. In 1983, the year Catholics United for Life began sidewalk counseling at a Planned Parenthood clinic in Walnut Creek, California,⁵ respondents to a national Gallup poll found only 16 percent wanted abortion outlawed in all circumstances.⁶ Not long after Lila Rose posted her first video sting shot at the Los Angeles Planned Parenthood facility, a 2008 Gallup poll found those numbers virtually unchanged, with only 15 percent wanting to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion.⁷

These days, right-wing strategists rely on new storylines for opposing abortion—narratives with victimization themes that tap into the success of liberals' two largest movements for social change: the African-American civil rights movement, and the women's movement. Both movements won great gains for their constituents by demonstrating in the court of public opinion the violence, degradation, and unfairness suffered by the people whose cause they advocated. Feminism expanded once very limited notions of rape to include rape by acquaintances and spouses.

So the Right has recast teenage girls and women who have abortions as victims of a greedy and faceless corporation (Planned Parenthood), or tools of a racist movement whose purpose is ethnic and racial cleansing. A corollary theme portrays Planned Parenthood, the faceless corporation (it's actually a non-profit federation), as an incorrigible breaker of laws, accountable to no one—corporate accountability being another cause embraced most often by liberals and progressives. This is not to say old arguments aren't still in play. The new



A four-year-old holds a sign at a 2007 protest against a new Planned Parenthood in Aurora, Illinois.

Scott Olson/Getty Images

National Coalition to Defeat Planned Parenthood picks up on longstanding right-wing arguments in painting the non-profit as being a corrupt beneficiary of big government (see box, pg. 10).

With the prodding of their new coalition and tactics, the Religious Right loses no opportunity to target Planned

Parenthood. The American Family Association features on its Web site an online petition that answers the question, "Should President Barack Obama keep his promise to Planned Parenthood and strike down nearly every pro-life law in America?"⁸ (During the presidential campaign, Obama promised to sign the Freedom of Choice

Act, which would open up certain state-level restrictions on abortion to court challenges.) Tony Perkins, president of the Family Research Council, used his eulogy for Paul Weyrich, a founding father of the Christian Right who died in December 2008, to rail against Planned Parenthood: “Wherever a Planned Parenthood worker is breaking parents’ hearts by leading their

children into sin, we have a grievance against our government,” Perkins wrote in an e-mail to supporters, “Paul Weyrich was the first to show us how we could effectively petition our government for redress of our grievances.”⁹

When it wanted to go after the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice’s 12th Annual National Black Religious Summit

on Sexuality, the Institute for Religion and Democracy, best known for fomenting strife over gay issues in mainline Protestant denominations, picked on RCRC for showcasing a staffer from Planned Parenthood Federation of America.¹⁰

Out on the fringe, Rod Parsley, one of the right-wing pastors whose endorsement presidential candidate John McCain eventually disavowed, compared Planned Parenthood to Nazis in an edition of his television show that featured Rev. Johnny Hunter, president of the Life Education And Resource Network, Inc.(LEARN).¹¹ LEARN is an organization whose main mission appears to be the advancement of the notion of Planned Parenthood as a racist organization.

The Right’s new storylines seem designed to trip up liberals, to use their compassion against them, to depict them as frauds. These are narratives as rhetorical traps set by a handful of religious-right actors, seemingly in coordination so closely do they play their parts.

Alveda King capitalizes on her last name and illustrious uncle to promote the notion of abortion as a “black genocide.” “I have a dream; it’s in my DNA” she said at an anti-abortion protest staged outside the NAACP’s national convention in Cincinnati last September (posted on Live Action’s home page).¹² Lila Rose, with her adolescent affect, represents the underage girl whom the Right says Planned Parenthood exploits after she has been used by an adult man.

Phill Kline, the former attorney general of Kansas, fronts the notion of Planned Parenthood as a scofflaw. Kline made big news when, as Kansas attorney general, he subpoenaed the medical records of hundreds of Kansas women who obtained medical services in a Planned Parenthood clinic, as well as a private clinic directed by Dr. George Tiller, where Kline asserted that illegal late-term abortions were being performed. Kline’s case against Tiller was dismissed in 2006, a month after voters turned Kline out of office.¹³ He went on to become the district attorney of Johnson County, Kansas, where he pursued an

COALITION TO CUT GOVERNMENT FUNDING OF PLANNED PARENTHOOD LAUNCHED

Last summer, more than 50 leaders from anti-abortion organizations banded together to form the National Coalition to Defeat Planned Parenthood. The coalition, spearheaded by Chicago-based Pro-Life Action League, met for the first time in September and quickly issued its plan to cripple Planned Parenthood Federation of America, a major provider of reproductive health services for poor and uninsured women, by ending any federal, state, or local government funding to the group.¹⁶ Among those in attendance were David Bereit of 40 Days for Life, Jim Sedlak of STOPP Planned Parenthood, Janet Morana of Priests for Life, Ray Ruddy of Gerald Health Foundation and Kristan Hawkins of Students for Life of America.¹⁷

The coalition has pledged to “mobilize pro-life supporters wherever a new Planned Parenthood attempts to open its doors,” modeling its tactics on Pro-Life Action League’s efforts to oppose the opening of a Planned Parenthood abortion facility in Aurora, Illinois dubbed “ground zero” by both prolife and prochoice supporters.

“We’re excited to work together and learn from each other’s strategies that have been effective in the battle to save the lives of unborn babies,” said Joe Scheidler, founder of the Pro-Life Action League and author of *99 Ways to Stop Abortion*.¹⁸

The coalition will most likely implement strategies devised by member organization STOPP Planned Parenthood, which has a 31-step plan to defeat government funding of Planned Parenthood. STOPP instructs community members to determine whether their local government is contributing to Planned Parenthood and, if so, how much. With those facts in hand, STOPP advises prayer and community engagement to eliminate funding.¹⁹ But members of the coalition are also charging that Planned Parenthood “may have fraudulently charged the federal government millions of dollars” because it does not bill for “cost,” and they claim a government investigation is needed.²⁰

STOPP, as well as the National Coalition to Defeat Planned Parenthood, is faith-based. In the coalition’s joint-resolution it calls upon, “people of faith and conscience to unite in prayer for an end to Planned Parenthood.” STOPP cites the passage, “If the man does not get up and give it to him for friendship’s sake, persistence will make him get up and give his friend all he wants” (Luke 11:8).²¹ The coalition, too, reminds us that the prolife movement isn’t disappearing any time soon. Its influence is already seen in the growing public denunciations of Planned Parenthood by such major Christian Right groups as Family Research Council.

— Maria Planansky

All sources accessed on January 15, 2009.

investigation of the local Planned Parenthood clinic, but was turned out of that office in an August 2008 primary challenge. Copies of the medical records of the women and the girls who had abortions there, however, remain in the hands of his successor.

At the Values Voter Summit, Kline was featured with King on what was billed as a “civil rights panel”; there he picked up Rose’s theme of the under-age girl exploited not once, but twice — by an older man and then by the abortion clinic to which he brings her. In Kline’s opening anecdote, the girl in question was the daughter of the man who impregnated her, a story designed to cast an abortion clinic as an accessory to incestuous rape. Mocking the language of “choice” used by reproductive-rights groups, Kline said, “The choice was always his; he chose her again and again.”

“To this day, Planned Parenthood has never been convicted of a crime,” Rose told an audience at the same conference. “They and their abortion mills continue to mock the very regulations that the pro-life community has strived to enact for over a dozen years. We need district attorneys and attorney generals (sic) to take the lead and prosecute. Planned Parenthood will provide the crimes; we must provide the convictions.” The regulations she speaks of include parental notification laws that some reproductive justice advocates argue can put girls at risk who seek abortions.

Rose also explained the Right’s anti-Planned Parenthood strategy to her listeners. “In the controversial activist handbook, *Rules for Radicals*, Saul Alinsky does give some good advice,” Rose said. “He writes, ‘Men don’t like to step abruptly out of the security of familiar experience. They need a bridge to cross from their experience to a new way.’ Let’s take this advice to heart. We can take positions that we all agree on — rape and racism are both fundamentally evil — and use them as bridges to inspire respect for human life. We need to broaden the context for people’s understanding of the abortion industry and culture.”

A similar strategy worked to great effect



in the 1980s, when right-wing players seized upon the issue of pornography to divide the feminist movement. In 1984, then-Attorney General Edwin Meese con-

Anti-abortion groups recently came together in a master coalition aimed at stripping Planned Parenthood of its government funding.

vened a special commission to “study” America’s pornography problem, just as heated debates took place within feminist circles on how best to address the issue. Some sought protective or remedial measures for women who suffered harms related to pornography; others feared the impact

such measures might have on free speech. Meese astutely featured Andrea Dworkin, the feminist anti-pornography crusader, on a panel with anti-feminist right-wing activists, placing them in league together. The impact was devastating; not until the Senate confirmation hearings for Clarence Thomas’ Supreme Court nomination in 1991 did the women’s movement effectively regroup.

Today, right-wing leaders seek to pit members of the progressive coalition — such as those concerned about rape and exploitation of underage girls or those concerned about racism — against Planned Parenthood in an effort to deprive it of the government funding it receives for providing general health services and sex education — programs unrelated to abortion. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, one third of Planned Parenthood’s budget — some \$335 million per year — comes in the form of government contracts for the provision of non-abortion health care services to low-income women and teenagers.¹⁴ General gynecological health care, disease screening and contraception (not including abortion) accounts for 86 percent of its

entire budget (including government and non-government funding), according to Planned Parenthood, with many of those services provided to women of color. Indeed, of its total budget for services, only 3 percent goes to abortion services—and none of that funding comes from the government.

Access to contraception is known to be an important factor in the economic prospects of a woman; indeed, the most significant social effect of the invention of the Pill, argues British academic Angela Phillips, was not the sexual revolution, but the relative improvement in the economic status of women where the Pill and other reliable birth control methods are available. Before contraception was widely available to women, she writes, “[p]regnancy meant the end of economic independence. A pregnant woman became immediately dependent on the man who had impregnated her. If he refused to take on this responsibility she had to resort to dangerous backstreet abortion, or have her baby adopted. If he married her she was literally enslaved: totally dependent on his earnings to keep her and her child.”¹⁵ Planned Parenthood clinics make that birth control available to women with little means. For many low-income women, the health services they receive at Planned Parenthood are the only professional health care they enjoy.

With federal and state government budgets strapped for funds as the economy takes its toll, the Right sees an opportunity to remove a significant player in the advancement of women—especially women of color—toward equality. Turning her remarks directly to Planned Parenthood, Lila Rose, at the Values Voter Summit, threatened, “You will be brought to justice and, Planned Parenthood, you will be defunded.” In her December 2008 *Wall Street Journal* article, journalist Stephanie Simon described the Right’s campaign to deprive Planned Parenthood of government funding. “[T]he new lobbying effort, backed by conservative Christian groups such as the Family Research Council, focuses more on economic than

moral concerns,” Simon reported. “The campaign paints Planned Parenthood as a wealthy organization that doesn’t need taxpayer help. Planned Parenthood reported record revenue and a \$115 million budget surplus last year...” This year, however, more women than ever are expected to seek their health care through Planned Parenthood, as lost jobs mean lead more to live without health insurance.

A separate gambit plays on Planned Parenthood founder Margaret Sanger’s sorry relationship with eugenics in the past century.

After she had cited Alinsky’s writings and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.’s “Letter From a Birmingham Jail,” Lila Rose closed her remarks to the Values Voter Summit with this quote from Mother Theresa: “The so-called right to an abortion has pitted mothers against their children and women against men.” In truth, the Christian Right’s war on Planned Parenthood seeks to pit members of the progressive coalition against each other, leaving countless low-income women to frantically tread water in a sinking economy. ■

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YOUNGER EVANGELICALS *continued from page 1*

to engage in conversation with their peers who hold conservative views about homosexuality could be transformative for both sides. Since 2006, the riders have visited 50 Christian schools, welcomed by some and arrested for trespassing by others.

The Equality Riders hoped to meet people where they are and engage students in honest discussion—and, if that avenue is thwarted, protest the school's anti-gay policies with direct action in the tradition of Gandhi and the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. As an added objective, they sought sympathetic media attention. The Ride won good notice in the gay press and stories in the local media in targeted college towns.

Capturing Evangelical College Students Views

Are the Equality Riders on to something more than a press opportunity? Where *are* evangelical Protestant students these days? While often characterized as homogeneously conservative, they are more diverse in their religious and political views than one might think. Evangelical college students are an interesting research niche. Despite the wealth of recent polling data about young evangelicals, accurate conclusions are hard to come by. Because current methodologies rely on land phone lines and internet questionnaires, students polled are overwhelmingly White, and what little we know about young evangelicals of color, the fastest growing group, is that they may have differing opinions from their White counterparts. This has been a problem for pollsters and their audience alike, and we will have to wait for research refinements. For the figures quoted here, then, we should assume they reflect younger White evangelicals.

Recently polled younger evangelicals seem more conservative in their theological positions than those polled in the 1980s.¹ At the same time they are more inclined than their parents to support

social justice efforts such as environmental stewardship, anti-poverty programs, or HIV/AIDS treatment. While they mostly believe that homosexuality is a sin, at least some of them support employment and housing rights for LGBTQ people.

Younger evangelicals are emphatic about being “prolife,” with a 2008 poll showing two thirds believing abortion should be illegal in all, or most, circumstances. This is about the same percentage as their older counterparts.² To place this in context, a majority of Americans have supported the legality of abortion since *Roe v. Wade*.³

Are younger evangelicals a kind of collective bellwether, presaging developments within the Christian Right?

Same sex marriage remains a controversial topic in the country at large with the majority of Americans opposed to allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally and a slight majority favoring civil unions.⁴ Evangelicals in general oppose same sex marriage at predictably higher rates than the broader population, with only 10 percent in favor. They see same sex marriage as a profound threat to the traditional family and a useful rallying point. However, young evangelicals are more than twice as likely (24 percent to 10 percent) as their elders to support gay couples being allowed to marry, and another 32 percent supports only civil unions.⁵ So a majority of young evangelicals support some legal recognition of gay partnerships.

Marriage and women's roles are symbolic issues for evangelicals of all ages who continue to struggle for indicators of social stability against evolving social mores. They worry about the growing acceptance of con-

traception, abortion, and changing family structures. The evangelical tradition in general perceives these trends as indicative of the destructive forces of modernity, such as increased tolerance of divorce and sex before marriage. For their leaders, these trends must be resisted rather than accommodated, and this tradition is nurtured at Christian colleges.

Of the over 4000 colleges and universities in the United States, perhaps 400 are Christian colleges that identify as evangelical Protestant schools. Students attending these colleges enter environments where conservative Christian values are celebrated, and often codified. Most of these schools explicitly prohibit drinking, smoking, sexual activity, and homosexuality, and some require students and staff to sign faith statements. Yet there is more diversity among these colleges than their stereotype might suggest. As Alan Wolfe, religion professor at Boston College notes:

Conservative Protestant colleges and universities have become too varied and interesting to pigeonhole into the categories of America's culture war. They can no longer be caricatured as simpleminded defenders of the old-time religion and hostile to reason, any more than secular colleges can be characterized as globally hostile to religion and traditional moral values.⁶

Evangelical students' views reflect this diversity. They seem to be able to hold both conservative and liberal views simultaneously. According to Alyssa Bryant, an academic who works with the well-respected Higher Education Research Institute at UCLA:

Revealing their conservative side, evangelical students are predominantly in favor of the pro-life agenda, whereas their liberal inclinations emphasize the importance of providing for the welfare of economically disadvantaged people, protecting the environment, implementing gun control, and abolishing the death penalty.⁷

Pam Chamberlain is senior researcher of Political Research Associates and a member of the Public Eye editorial board.

John Skees, an evangelical student at Southern Methodist University in Dallas reflects a common belief among his peers in an op-ed published in his student paper:

For evangelicals, especially those who know at least one gay person, this issue [a constitutional amendment banning same sex marriage] became greatly troubling. The vast majority of conservative Christians strongly believe that marriage should be restricted to between a man and a woman, but they also value human rights and don't think that the government should treat anyone unfairly.⁸

It is safe to say that young evangelicals would be able to explain their positions by asserting that their faith justifies such dissonant views.

Over the three years of the ride, Equality Riders have met their share of hostile receptions, but media attention may have influenced a shift in administrative responses. In 2006, administrators at Liberty University, the Lynchburg, Virginia school founded by Jerry Falwell, arrested 20 riders for trespassing; in 2008 riders delivered books to the library and engaged in dialogue on campus with students. The Equality Ride visited Columbia International University, a Bible college in Columbia, South Carolina in 2008, after receiving letters from closeted gay students there who were scared to speak openly. Students who spoke to reporters responded in cordial yet firm ways, consistent with the school's policies. "We don't believe in what these people stand for, but we do love them... as people," said 19-year-old Israel Markle, reflecting a common catchphrase of modern Christianity, which advises that Christians hate the sin but love the sinner.



Pat Bagley/politicalcartoons.com

This is an idea that the Christian Right (which includes many evangelicals) promoted politically for at least the past ten years, but often in an abrasive and judgmental way that many younger evangelicals find offensive.⁹ At another stop, a Mississippi College student joined the Soulforce vigil on her campus:

It is out of my compassion for people—and the moral obligation that I, as a Christian, felt—that I got involved with their visit to campus....I am a Christian and a straight ally and I am not afraid to love with reckless abandon.¹⁰

Her student paper at the Southern Baptist school reported that:

Some students thought Soulforce was making a conscious effort to stir up anti-gay sentiment and cause general unrest. One student asking to remain anonymous said, "I really don't care if they walk all over campus, but it's all a show. If they weren't here we wouldn't even be talking

about gay bashing, we'd just get on with our lives."¹¹

Yet it was a student at Palm Beach Atlantic University in Florida who managed to articulate the contradictions evangelical students experience around homosexuality. Kelly Ribiero found herself challenged and inspired by the Soulforce riders.

As much as I know that homosexuality is sinful and wrong, my mind keeps wandering back to the many times Jesus met with prostitutes and thieves. Even though this was looked down on in His time, He still treated them with love and respect. We need to do the same for people of different beliefs today.... Soulforce's visit did nothing to change my views on homosexuality....[But] how amazing it must be to believe in something so much you are willing to go through anything for it....Soulforce, thank you for coming to my school and challenging me in my Christian walk.¹²

It could well be that the current crop of younger evangelicals are influenced significantly by their peers as well as by their parents or their professors, which happens in many youth subcultures.¹³ For instance, 37 percent of young evangelicals report a close friend or a relative who is gay, about the same percentage of all young adults, according to Public Religion Research, compared to 16 percent of people over 35.¹⁴ And knowing someone who is gay is closely linked to greater acceptance of same sex marriage.¹⁵ If this kind of peer influence continues, the trend of coming out as gay at younger ages may be a tipping point for young evangelicals' views on homosexuality.

Who Speaks for Evangelicals?

Although often described in general terms, evangelicals across generations are not unanimous on social issues, even on abortion and same sex marriage. They hold a range of political views, some of which can be associated with age or religious practice. The tradition of evangelicalism has been a strong one in the United States, with especially rapid growth in the past 25 years among nondenominational church communities. The most commonly held religious beliefs are: a personal, redemptive relationship with Jesus through a “born again” experience, the inerrancy of the Bible, and the responsibility to share their faith with others. The Pew Forum on Religion and American Life estimates that about 26 percent of Americans identify as evangelical Protestants.¹⁶

But not all evangelicals hold the same conservative political views. Forty-one percent of all evangelicals, counting both people of color and Whites, voted for Barack Obama in 2008. Nor are they all motivated to join a conservative political movement. When conservative Christians do become active politically, and also become involved with one or more of the many Christian social movement organizations such as the Family Research Council, Concerned Women for America, or Focus on the Family, they are generally referred to as the Christian Right. This is

a politically mobilized conservative movement of Protestants and Roman Catholics who often place cultural issues like abortion and same sex marriage as top priorities in voting choices.

Two important things to remember are that not all evangelical Protestants are motivated to act out their theological beliefs in the voting booth and that being an evangelical—even a conservative evangelical—is not equivalent to being a member of the Christian Right. John Green, at the Bliss Institute of Applied Politics, estimates the size of the U.S. Christian Right is about 15 percent of the electorate.¹⁷ Moderate evangelicals, who are also polit-

One study seemed to suggest that evangelical students returned to more conservative religious views, in line with their parents.

ically motivated but place more emphasis on social issues like poverty and the environment, constitute another 10 percent of the electorate, according to Green. This latter group may have members who vote with the Christian Right in certain circumstances, but who are not as consistently conservative. Many evangelicals, even those with conservative views, do not vote regularly, just like the rest of the population. The millions of evangelicals who create this complex set of voting patterns are represented in Washington by the National Association of Evangelicals.

The National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) is the public face of American evangelicalism. Based in Washington, D.C., NAE has coordinated over one hundred denominations, ministries, and academic institutions since its founding in

1942. Richard Cizik, Vice President for Governmental Affairs at NAE for 28 years, stirred controversy in early December 2008 by publicly siding with more open-minded evangelicals on a nationally broadcast NPR radio talk show. Referring to young evangelicals' potential influence, he predicted, “[T]hey will determine the future of this huge movement that, well, by some surveys' estimates, if you include children and the rest, a hundred million people, one-third of all Americans.” In fact, according to Cizik:

[T]hese younger evangelicals, they disagree quite strongly with their elders on [same sex marriage].... The influence of their generational peers is clear. Four in ten young evangelicals say they have a close friend or family member who is gay or lesbian. And so, much different than their elders, younger evangelicals they, well, 52 percent favor either same sex marriage or civil unions.¹⁸

Cizik aligned himself with younger evangelicals on same sex marriage, a “hot button” social issue for the Right, and went on to suggest that evangelicals need to clean their own house when it comes to heterosexual marriage before they continue to judge same sex marriage. “I am shifting, I would have to admit. In other words, I would willingly say I believe in civil unions. I don't officially support redefining marriage from its traditional definition, I don't think.”

In the interview with NPR's Terry Gross, Cizik attempted to shift the focus away from the divisive issue of same sex marriage and instead look other aspects of marriage among evangelicals. Divorce and unwanted pregnancies are nearly as prevalent among evangelicals as in the population at large.¹⁹ “We have become so absorbed in the question of gay rights and the rest that we fail to understand the challenges and threats to marriage itself, heterosexual marriage. Maybe we need to reevaluate this and look at it a little differently.”

For his attempts to position some evan-

gical attitudes as more open-minded than generally thought, Cizik came under fire from member organizations of his employer, the NAE. Its president Leith Anderson announced, "He cannot continue as a spokesperson for NAE, and the implication of that is that he resign." Nine days after his interview, Cizik did just that.²⁰ Although it's unclear what Cizik's goals were in bucking the evangelical leadership, it's perhaps more clear that his opinions, also held by many moderates, including those in a younger cohort, are threatening to the politicized conservative evangelical establishment.

That establishment is aging. Jerry Falwell, D. James Kennedy, and Paul Weyrich, all founding fathers of the Christian Right, died within the past year and a half. While megachurch pastors, political movement spokespeople, and others are jockeying for media attention, evangelical Christian college graduates will be a major source of future leadership. They will be expected to maintain evangelical traditions and step up to direct evangelical social and political movements as well. A 1982 study of nine evangelical colleges by James Hunter uncovered students increasingly moving away from traditional conservative evangelical religious beliefs, an effect of growing secularization, even at these enclaves of evangelical thought. The update of the study, published in 2002, by James Penning and Corwin Smidt, revealed some interesting changes among students at the identical set of schools polled by Hunter.

The more recent study seemed to suggest that evangelical students had returned to more conservative religious views, in line with their parents. While students continue to believe that a personal faith in Jesus was the only hope for heaven and that the devil actually exists, a higher percentage of the more recent cohort of students believed that the Bible is to be taken literally.²¹ In fact Penning and Smidt suggest that by 1996, at least, younger and older evangelicals'



Shane Claiborne's "Simple Way" is inspiring some younger evangelicals.

views had converged on most issues except homosexuality.²² In recent years, however, younger evangelicals appear to be once again shifting their attitudes regarding religion and politics in ways that currently are difficult to explain.

Since the mid-1990s the acceptability of homosexuality in the culture at large has shifted as well. What once was a debate over LGBTQ people's civil rights in housing, employment, and health care has focused to a pinpoint on same sex marriage (thanks largely to opposition campaigns by the Right and a mainstream LGBTQ movement that frames gay marriage as a priority issue). As Richard Cizik said, young evangelicals appear to distinguish between their concern about same sex marriage within the church, which only a minority supports, and their more common support for civil unions as a civil right under the law.

But more importantly perhaps, younger evangelicals place less emphasis on issues like abortion and same sex marriage.

Rather, according to David P. Gushee, professor of Christian ethics at Mercer University, they are attracted to "a broader agenda," that includes the environment, poverty, and human rights, the very issues Cizik championed. Signs indicate some are moving into more moderate positions, or perhaps it shows that there are more moderates being mobilized to vote.

Who Speaks Most Effectively to Evangelical Youth?

Young evangelical voters are being organized both through top-down and bottom-up strategies. At one extreme is an organizing strategy embodied by theocrat Lou Engle, a seventh-generation Pentecostal minister featured in the documentary *Jesus Camp* who, balding and father of seven, is definitely not one of the young people he seeks to mobilize. Founder of The Call, a series of mass youth rallies billed as spiritual events warning about the end times, he deliberately mobilizes young people politically by encouraging opposition to

abortion and same sex marriage, two powerful examples of evil in his mind. Engle joined forces with Proposition 8 supporters in California to bring his theocratic message of spiritual warfare to young evangelicals. Highlighted in this magazine's last issue, Engle's efforts indicate the importance of the youth vote to Christian Right leaders.²³ Organizers of events like the November 1, 2008 rally in Qualcomm stadium in San Diego where Engle spoke in favor of Proposition 8 hoped to attract tens of thousands of attendees. The stadium was nowhere near full, but the fact that the rally took place at all signals the desire of major conservative funders who backed the event to attempt to reach religious youth.²⁴ Robust attendance estimates at other Call rallies indicate that at least some young evangelicals are attracted to more demanding and judgmental voices.

By contrast, Shane Claiborne's "A Simple Way" is an example of the kind of grassroots Christian organization that has

resonated with some younger evangelicals. He arguably has done more to bring dialog about gay issues to young evangelicals than the Equality Riders. Claiborne, a 1997 Christian college graduate and self-described “radical Christian social activist,” has authored several books and cofounded an intentional religious community in inner-city Philadelphia. Attracting large crowds at any speaking engagement, he toured the country in a vegetable oil-run school bus during the 2008 presidential year with a campaign called “Jesus for President.” He visited campuses, primarily evangelical schools, asking students to choose to support a candidate based on their own Christian values. Further he asked the candidates themselves to endorse Jesus, whom Claiborne calls America’s Commander-in-Chief.

Claiborne’s hip appearance, from his dreadlocks to his hemp hoodie, is part of a package that has attracted many young evangelicals who seek more active congruity between what they believe and how they behave. “The most important camps for young evangelicals are not ‘Left’ and ‘Right,’” Claiborne told me. “They are ‘nice’ and ‘mean.’” He has attracted many who would call themselves “political misfits,” and he preaches the inclusion of all marginalized peoples. “Young evangelicals have done something really dangerous. We picked up our Bibles and we read them. It put us at odds with the evangelical establishment... When we looked at the Moral Majority [and other groups], we saw the inconsistency of the church.”

Claiborne identifies this movement as part of a “post-Religious Right America.” In a debate about the future of the church and politics at the 2008 National Pastors Conference, Claiborne distinguished himself from Chuck Colson, the born-again Watergate felon and prison reformer, about how to respond to the divisive conversations about homosexuality in evangelical churches. Colson’s traditional response was, “There is a natural moral order corresponding to the natural physical order. Something which is so plain on its face is not normative.” Adding that the church

should not judge homosexuals but love them, Colson explained that, “We have to recognize that it is not the way men and women are made.” On the other hand, Claiborne told a story about a young gay man he once met. “He felt that God had made a mistake when he made him. He got that message from the church, from society. He wanted to kill himself. That breaks my heart. If that kid can’t find a home in the church, then who have we become?”²⁵

Rather than organize through large pressure groups, Claiborne calls for individuals to create intentional religious com-

Young evangelicals appear to distinguish between their concern about same sex marriage within the church, which only a minority supports, and their more common support for civil unions.

munities. His speeches can be found on YouTube with hundreds of comments.²⁶ His image is not always so attractive to the older Christians responsible for evangelical college students’ education. His politics aren’t always attractive to them either; while anti-abortion, he is anti-war, pro-gay, and pro-immigrant, and brings attention to economic inequality and environmental degradation (although not necessarily to governmental solutions), presenting all these issues together in a “support for life” theology similar to Roman Catholic “Seamless Garment” theology. He warns, “I don’t really fit into the old liberal-conservative boxes... My activist friends call me con-

servative and my religious friends call me liberal.”²⁷

Although often welcomed by Christian college administrators, Claiborne’s 2008 appearance at Cedarville University in Ohio (also a site for the 2007 Equality Ride) was canceled because of his unorthodox theological and political views. A spokesperson for the conservative Baptist college explained, “There can’t be any confusion about our commitment to God’s Word and our historically conservative doctrinal position.”²⁸

Is this clash, thoroughly discussed on evangelical blogs, emblematic of a generation gap as some would like to believe? Are younger evangelicals a kind of collective bellwether, presaging developments within the Christian Right and among conservative Christian voters? More likely we are witnessing a representation of the diversity of political and theological ideas across generations that constitute current evangelical Christianity. The Claiborne/Cedarville controversy is a sort of Jim Wallis vs. Mike Huckabee confrontation: any disagreements about politics remain under the umbrella of American evangelicalism. Indeed, *Sojourner* magazine editor Jim Wallis wrote the forward to Claiborne’s 2006 book *The Irresistible Revolution: Living as an Ordinary Radical*. Wallis is a centrist who opposes abortion and gay marriage, yet shares positions with political progressives on issues such as peace, social justice, and poverty. On the other hand, Claiborne pushes the sectarian envelope by praising the Roman Catholic anarchist Dorothy Day as an inspiration, and those raised in the Catholic Church are members of Simple Way communities.²⁹

We are at a moment when the broader public is just learning to distinguish among different sectors of Christianity and among different evangelical voices, including outright progressive ones from the African American community and the global South. Within the United States there are signs that a Christian Left is percolating and seeking alliances with spiritual and non-spiritual progressive activists.³⁰

Without more reliable information

about younger White evangelicals, it may be too tempting for liberals to categorize this group as across the board more liberal-leaning, if we use the litmus test of gay marriage as a core tenet of modern political liberalism and progressive thought. Leaping ahead of the incomplete research would be a mistake.

The Equality Ride targeted students whose identities as Christian are central to their lives. Such students' choice of attending a Christian school probably helps them resist some of the social pressures of modern life. A loving confrontation by fellow young people with contrasting views on homosexuality was designed to challenge orthodoxy and certainty. It's unclear what direct, long-term effects the Equality Riders will have on the evangelical students they met, but it will be important to pay attention to the political paths young evangelicals take. Those pathways will be influenced by who can afford to provide the asphalt. As long as spokespeople like Engle retain their funding, their visibility will upstage most modest efforts by the Shane Claibornes.

We do know that evangelical students will increasingly be taking stands on the social issues of the day and, as far as LGBTQ rights are concerned, they have moved past their elders into more tolerant territory. Ironically, it has not been the efforts of the evangelical leadership that has influenced their youth the most; it has been other young people. This shift in attitudes largely has happened because of the efforts of the LGBTQ youth movement.

In organizing itself, young members of this progressive arm of the LGBTQ community have succeeded in altering public opinion about their own issues—safe schools, being out, family acceptance, equal rights. Where students run gay/straight alliances (GSAs) in schools, for example, there is less physical violence against LGBTQ students. Where students know peers who are gay, they are more open to LGBTQ rights. Despite Christian colleges' desire to protect their students from succumbing to undesirable aspects of modern life, young evangelicals at these schools

are talking freely about issues that their predecessors could barely articulate.

It is hopeful news that a progressive political movement has influenced younger evangelicals' views. It's also enlightening to see that this influence does not necessarily take place through the most direct channels. It's been twenty years since the first gay-straight alliances appeared in schools, and attitudinal change has come slowly. That's why it will be so interesting to observe the direction young evangelicals take, not just with LGBTQ issues but in other arenas as well. ■

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Book Review

The Rise of Biblical Womanhood

Quiverfull: Inside the Christian Patriarch Movement

by Kathryn Joyce

Boston: Beacon Press, 2009, 315 pp., \$25.95, hardcover

Reviewed by Gillian Kane

Last October the cable network TLC began airing a new reality series, “17 Kids and Counting.” The show chronicles the domestic life of Bob and Michelle Duggar of Tontitown, Arkansas, and their ten boys and eight girls, whose names all begin with the letter J. The Duggars were famous even before the premiere of their series; their ever-growing family has been featured on the Today Show, the Early Show, CNN, and *People* magazine. Should there be a second season of the TLC series the name will have to change: the Duggars recently welcomed their 18th child, Jordyn-Grace Makiya. Bob Duggar told reporters, “We would both love to have more.”

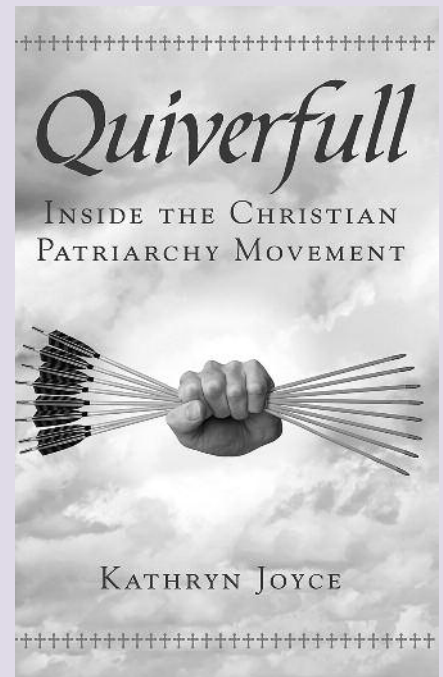
What the warm and fuzzy human interest stories about the Duggars’ very large family have failed to note is the broader political and social context in which it plays out. The Duggars—Jinger, Josiah, Jedidiah and the rest—are the most visible faces of the “Quiverfull” phenomenon, a largely neo-Calvinist subgroup of evangelical Protestantism that rejects all forms of contraception, even non-barrier methods like natural family planning. The driving philosophy behind Quiverfull’s procreative mission is women’s self-abnegation: women must submit to the “headship” of their husbands, who are the corporal representation of God. Submission to God and husband entails bearing as many children as possible and conceding any and all decision making rights to her spouse.

There has been little study of this tiny but growing pronatalist movement, but with Kathryn Joyce’s *Quiverfull: Inside the Christian Patriarch Movement*, we now have an excellent resource. Joyce tracks Quiverfull’s genesis and doctrinal roots to untangle the various strands of this complex patriarchal movement and explain why, in the 21st century, a group that eschews modernity and individualism is gaining ground and adherents.

Gillian Kane is a senior policy advisor at Ipas, an international organization that works around the world to increase women’s ability to exercise their sexual and reproductive rights, and is a member of the Public Eye editorial board.

Much has already been written about patriarchal movements, from the Promise Keepers to Jon Krakauer’s best-selling nonfictional account of polygamist fundamentalist Mormons. What is overlooked is the question of what motivates women to willingly participate in movements that require their total submission to men and accompanying loss of autonomy.

Joyce has done some hard reporting to answer these questions: embedding herself within several Quiverfull factions, attending their conferences, and in some cases befriending these women. One such woman even named her sixth child after Joyce.



Submission to God and husband entails bearing as many children as possible and conceding any and all decision making rights to her spouse.

The result is more a work of anthropology than political tract. Joyce is a reporter; she rarely casts judgment on her subjects, even when encountering women like Debi Pearl, cofounder with her husband Michael of the No Greater Joy ministry in Pleasantville, Tennessee, who believes that “God grants the marriage partner full access to his spouse’s body for sexual gratifications,” because sex is “a selfless act of benevolence... She [the wife] need only seek to fulfill her husband’s needs.” (p. 79)

So what drives women to join the Quiverfull movement? Joyce suggests that the Quiverfull lifestyle offers an antidote to feminism, which conservative Christians blame for the decline of morality, family, and the role of women within marriage. Joyce cites many sources, across several denominations, to support this thesis, and singles out the mentoring ministry, “Titus 2,” as forming much of the basis of Quiverfull’s theology. Titus 2, named after Paul the Apostle’s teachings to his disciple Titus, Joyce writes, “is dedicated to rediscovering the lost

arts not just of motherhood but of cleaning, cooking, homeschooling, and particularly, submitting in wifedom.” (p. 45)

But Quiverfull, as Joyce goes on to explain, isn't simply about reclaiming housekeeping and mothering skills, forgotten once feminists dropped their kids off at daycare and marched on to work; it's about women as the keystone to the family and ultimately to salvation. Joyce's main point is that what makes Quiverfull attractive is that women gain a sense of control through their submission.

It's twisted logic, really. Wives must follow the dictates of "Biblical motherhood," which relegates them to a secondary role in their marriage, yet they are ultimately responsible for the failures or successes of their husband and their partnership. For example, if a man cheats on his wife it's not actually his fault but rather his wife's for not being sexually available. Or if a wife nags too much and demands too much of her husband forcing him to leave, well, that's her fault too.

In order to rein in a woman's natural "impulses" (i.e. gossiping, nagging, getting angry, and complaining about your husband) some Titus 2 ministries instruct women to limit their

talking and to stay away from socializing with other women or even with women's church groups. This is classic cult isolation tactics but Joyce is too respectful to name it as such. Ironically, it's the trust that Joyce builds with her subjects that gives her entrée into the movement. With this nuanced view comes the understanding that Quiverfull women are hardly Stepford Wives. Traci Knoppe, a Quiverfull disciple and developer of a Titus 2 ministry says, "We're equally intelligent and capable of doing the things that men do, but that doesn't mean we have to or that we should."

Quiverfull takes its name from Psalm 127:3-5 of the Old Testament which promotes the teachings be fruitful and multiply. And aptly enough, it only refers to the glory of men.

Lo, children are an heritage of the LORD;
and the fruit of the womb is his reward.

As arrows are in the hand of a mighty man;
so are children of the youth.

Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them.

Dispatches from the Religious Left



edited by
**Frederick
Clarkson**

*"Finally, the
Religious Left
has found its voice."*

—JOAN BROWN CAMPBELL

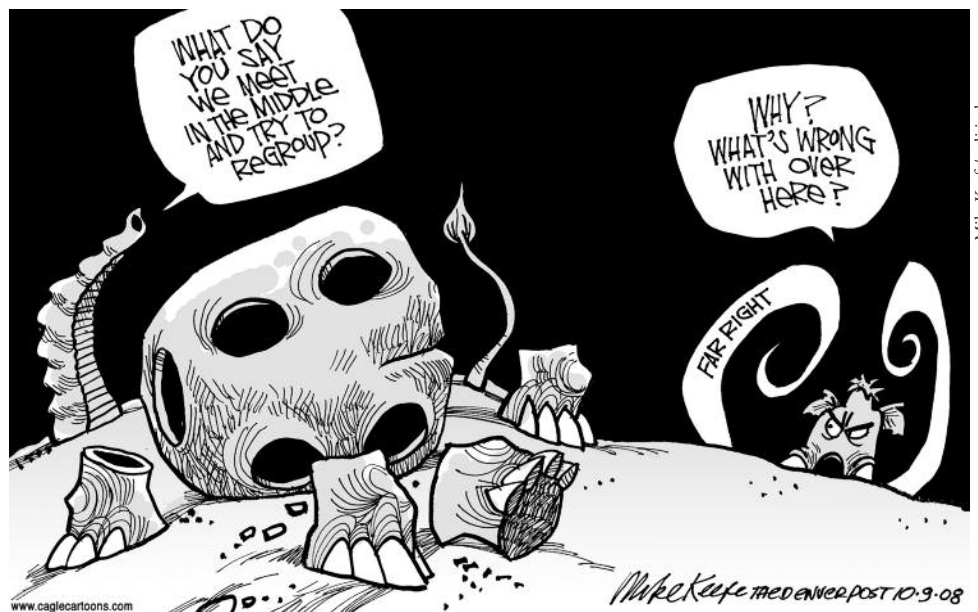
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EDITORIAL *continued from page 2*

tectonic shifts in discussions of race with the election of Obama, but does that mean the Right and the GOP's reliance on racism in their rise to power is no longer tenable? The government's capacity for repression grew exponentially during the Bush years

but will the new administration dismantle these tools? We will continue to ask interesting questions that we hope help our readers be clear-eyed about the real political challenges we must face to organize a more just world.

—Abby Scher, editor



.....Reports in Review.....

REPORT OF THE MONTH

The Economic Road Ahead

Without Adequate Public Spending, A Catastrophic Recession for Some

By Lawrence Mishel and Heidi Shierholz with Tobin Marcus,
Economic Policy Institute, January 13, 2009.
<http://www.epi.org/publications/entry/ib248>

“Unless action is taken (and fast), unemployment and underemployment will plague 35 percent of the labor force over the course of 2010, as people move in and out of a shrinking pool of jobs,” write these longtime trackers of the economy. It remains to be seen whether the bill ultimately approved by Congress will do the job, but without massive governmental action the forecast looked dire. When other sources of economic growth falter, government spending spurs demand for goods and services. This demand in turn creates more production and employment.

Even with this action, the current recession “will be the longest and deepest since the Great Depression of the 1930s.” Without it, progressive economists predicted 17.9 percent of the workforce would be un- or underemployed. For women, that figure would be 18.8 percent; for Blacks, it would be 18.2 percent.

The recession began in December 2007 with a quick 2.3 percent jump in unemployment in its first year. The jump in those underemployed was also large, from 8.7 percent of the workforce in December 2007 to 13.5 percent in December 2008. And the unemployment rate only measures those jobless in a single month. “This fails to capture the total share of workers who will be jobless at some point during the year, which is generally twice as large.” Thus this commonly used statistic understates the pain of a recession. In 2007 alone, some 15 million people were unemployed at some point, although only an average of 7.4 million showed up jobless in a single month.

Recessions also cut many workers’ hours, and their incomes are further reduced as high unemployment cuts into wage gains, hurting the poorest workers the most. The report quotes Sharon Parrott’s recent study for the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities showing that an unemployment rate of just 9 percent would increase the number of poor Americans by 7.5 million to 10.3 million. The number of poor children would rise by 2.6 million to 3.3 million. Unfortunately even massive government action may not forestall those figures.

—Abby Scher

Other Reports in Review

Turning the Page on Criminal Justice

Smart on Crime: Recommendations for the Next Administration and Congress

The 2009 Criminal Justice Transition Coalition (The Sentencing Project plus 20 groups),
November 2008.
<http://www.sentencingproject.org/PublicationDetails.aspx?PublicationID=629>

Skyrocketing prison budgets combined with spending constraints should create interest in criminal justice reforms that save money, emphasize treatment, reduce racial disparities, and protect the innocent. So argues this report, devised as a guide for the Obama administration. It cites a 2006 Zogby poll that found “by an 8 to 1 margin the U.S. voting public is in favor of rehabilitative services for prisoners as opposed to a punishment-only system.” With numbers like this, the next challenge lies in convincing members of Congress to implement common sense legislation.

Toward that end, the Transition Coalition offers a detailed roadmap in a wide array of areas, including grand jury abuse, mandatory minimums, prison reform, and prisoner re-entry. It emphasizes steps that can realistically be accomplished in the early stage of the new administration by detailing the status of pending bills, existing and potential allies and opponents, and polling results. Where legislation is not pending, the report proposes amendments, plus action by the executive branch where it has jurisdiction.

A top priority is crack cocaine sentencing reform, an issue that has been “seeded, vetted, and is ripe for congressional consideration.” In what has come to be known as the 100:1 quantity ratio, it takes 100 times more powder cocaine than crack cocaine to trigger harsh five and ten-year mandatory minimum sentences. For twenty years, this ratio has punished low-level crack cocaine offenders far more severely than their wholesale suppliers with an enormous racially discriminatory impact. The

report compares three bills in the Senate and notes that former Senator Joseph Biden’s Drug Sentencing Reform and Cocaine Kingpin Trafficking Act of 2007 (S.1711) comes closest to rational reform by eliminating the mandatory minimum penalty for simple possession of crack cocaine to bring it in line with simple possession of any other drug.

The coalition also identifies Right-Left coalitions. For example, the Heritage Foundation opposes Democratic Senator Dianne Feinstein of California’s Gang Prevention and Effective Deterrence Act (S.456), which passed the Senate by unanimous consent in 2007. The bill defined “gang crimes” so broadly that it would drastically increase the number of youth who are swept into the juvenile justice system. The report notes that the Heritage Foundation was instrumental in reducing Republican support for the bill in the House, and supports a John Conyers-backed alternative.

—Thom Cincotta

New Day for Human Rights?

Human Rights at Home: A Domestic Policy Blueprint for the New Administration

by Catherine Powell, *American Constitution Society for Law and Policy*, October 29, 2008.
<http://www.acslaw.org/node/7549>

“When the United States fails to practice at home what it preaches to others, it loses credibility and undermines its ability to play an effective leadership role,” writes Fordham Law professor Catherine Powell in this report for a liberal legal organization.

This blueprint makes concise proposals for how the new administration can narrow the gap between the human rights ideals it professes, and its actual domestic practice.

Reconstitution of the Interagency Working Group on Human Rights is a realistic and necessary first step. Executive Order 13107, issued by Bill Clinton, established the Interagency Working Group in 1998 coordinated by the National Security Council, an important move that gave the group the authority and weight of the White House. Under Bush, this interagency coordination fell into disuse. The Group’s revised mandate should be to mainstream human rights into the government infrastructure through education, training, policy reviews, and coordination of treaty compliance reports. Its early agenda should include a thorough review of the human rights treaties that require ratification or implementing legislation, as well as previous reservations and understandings that should be withdrawn. If you want something done right, do it yourself. To this end, the authors have included a draft revised E.O. 13107 that is ready for the President’s signature.

The authors also recommend an independent agency to monitor the domestic situation in the form of a U.S. Commission on Civil and Human Rights.

—Thom Cincotta

Redeeming Homeland Security

Immigration Policy: Transition Blueprint

American Immigration Lawyers Association (plus others), January 13, 2009.
<http://www.aila.org/content/default.aspx?docid=27611>

The breadth of this transition document demonstrates that we can create a more humane immigration system without debating “who should stay and who should go.”

With the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in 2003, the implementation of immigration policy was transformed into a “singularly focused, blunt, antiterrorism enforcement tool.” This report identifies administrative reforms that can reverse the most repressive features of that transformation.

For example, the United States has increasingly focused on detaining as many migrants as possible, regardless of their health, age, family situation, or of the merits of their claims for asylum or lawful status. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) holds 32,000 immigrants in detention on a daily basis, representing more than a three-fold increase in beds since 1996. Conditions of detention are very often substandard. More than 80 immigrants have died in ICE custody since ICE was established in 2002.

But ICE already has discretionary authority to release noncitizens from detention. It rarely takes advantage of cost-effective community-based programs that connect individuals with legal assistance and help improve court appearance rates. Even when immigrants win hearings, ICE calls for automatic stays that prevent release (Obama can direct ICE to repeal 8 C.F.R. § 1003.19(i)(2), authorizing such stays).

The authors recommend that DHS use detention only when absolutely necessary. The use of family detention should be ended. Asylum seekers should be given custody hearings rather than detention by default as “arriving aliens.” ICE should be directed to create a nationwide community-based alternatives program and establish protocols to maximize release on personal recognizance. Executive action is recommended to adopt least restrictive means of ensuring compliance with immigration courts and promulgate standards for detention.

Unfortunately, this blueprint is a “to do” list for well-intentioned officials to follow, but it does not serve as a citizen action guide if those policymakers lack the authors’ commitment to human rights.

—Thom Cincotta

One Man: Three Anti-Immigrant Groups

The Nativist Lobby: Three Faces of Intolerance

By Heidi Beirich, *Southern Poverty Law Center*, February 2009.

http://www.splc.org/pdf/static/splc_nativist_lobby_022009.pdf

Much of recent nativist organizing has focused on the scapegoating of immigrants. This collection of four articles, republished by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) from its magazine *Intelligence Report*, indisputably links three major anti-immigrant organizations to a single source: John Tanton, a 75-year-old Michigan-based White supremacist with many racist connections and a well-developed ability to fundraise.

Tanton founded FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, in 1979, and he is still on its board of directors. FAIR, a beltway lobby organization that played a key role in the derailing of the 2007 immigration reform bill, has its roots in racist and White supremacist thinking and organizing. Its leadership often testifies before Congress and FAIR misrepresents itself as a mainline immigration reform organization.

Tanton created CIS, the Center for Immigration Studies as a spin-off of FAIR. CIS churns out studies that “expose” the negative aspects of immigration, claiming, for instance, fraud in marriages between holders of green cards and American citizens, the success of decreasing undocumented workers by the threat of increased Immigrations and Customs Enforcement (ICE) raids, or evidence that less educated immigrant workers took less educated natives’ jobs. Despite the fact that all these claims have been refuted by reputable investigators, CIS enjoys extensive visibility through mainstream media outlets.

A third organization, the grassroots organizing group NumbersUSA, argues that the population of the United States must be reduced by severely limiting immigration in order to avoid the wholesale destruction of the country due to overpopulation.

In an act that may be the result of an impulse based on hubris, Tanton donated his letters to a library at the University of Michigan, where SPLC researcher Heidi Beirich uncovered much of the evidence linking the man to the groups. The fact that these letters document the nativist lobby’s awareness of Tanton’s racist beliefs and its unwillingness to repudiate him is for the author an indictment of their bigotry.

—Pam Chamberlain

Eyes RIGHT

GOP FINDS UNITY IN OBSTRUCTIONISM

Republicans are doing what Republicans should—at least according to Michael Goldfarb, in his *Weekly Standard* blog post. The Republicans' unanimous vote against Barack Obama's stimulus package in Congress does little to block the Democrats, so long as they can hold their coalition together, he admits. "The Left can complain about Republican obstruction until they're blue in the face, but they don't need Republican support to enact their agenda of social justice and government handouts," writes Goldfarb, "and they shouldn't expect it." Goldfarb applauds the Republicans and the fact that they have "finally unified by being in opposition."

Source: "Opposition Rules," *Weekly Standard The Blog*, January 28, 2009. http://www.weeklystandard.com/weblogs/TWSEFP/2009/01/opposition_rules.asp

CAMPUS ACTION

The Human Life Alliance (HLA) and Students for Life of America (SFLA) are jointly sponsoring the first "Campus Impact Award," an effort which offers a total of \$1,000 in prize money for students to promote pro-life activism during the spring 2009 semester.

Students are allowed to employ HLA materials to promote the following: the humanity of the pre-born child, abstinence education, and end-of-life issues—all intended to assist fellow students to embrace a pro-life philosophy. The students are also encouraged to document their work in videos for YouTube. "This is just what new clubs need to get off the ground, a boost in funding," says SFLA director Kristan Hawkins.

Source: "Human Life Alliance and Students for Life of America Team Up for Campus Activism Award," *Christian Newswire*, January 28, 2009. <http://www.christiannewswire.com/news/992809301.html>

WATCH FOR MIRACLES

"Susan Zahn, an expert in faith-based media, notes that there is an ever-increasing demand for all types of family-friendly and inspirational television," writes WDC Media News, quoting its own PR staff person. She is talking about the new "ultimate reality television series" launched in 2009 by Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN), which says it is the world's largest religious network offering 24 hours of commercial-free inspirational programming. The show, *Miracles Around Us*, will consist of thirteen one-hour episodes, each retelling "actual stories and documented cases" where the lives of ordinary people have been altered forever in extraordinary ways through miracles. The shows recreate "moments in the lives of otherwise unremarkable fathers, mothers, children, grandparents, and even family pets" when "the

predictable, scientifically plausible operation of the world was overruled, suspended, or otherwise altered dramatically." "Regardless of whether the audience's faith belief system recognizes divine intervention in the form of miracles, viewers will be fascinated."

Sources: "Three New Programs Promise to Pack a Punch with TBN Viewers," WDC Media News, January 27, 2009. <http://www.wdcmedia.com/news/Article.php?ID=3969>; Trinity Broadcasting Network, <http://www.tbn.org/index.php/2/4/p/1193.html>

Eye LASHES

"On Nov. 4, 2008, America lost the war on terror. President Barack Obama's feckless, pathetically apologetic perspective on foreign policy spells the end of the quest for liberty in the Middle East. It spells the end of America's moral leadership in the global war for freedom. And it spells the end of a hard-fought campaign to protect America. Our enemies must be happily celebrating their great good fortune in America's election of this platitudinous, morally relativistic, Jimmy Carter carbon copy in the midst of battle."

—Ben Shapiro, "The Day America Lost the War On Terror," Human Events, January 28, 2009. <http://www.humanevents.com/article.php?id=30452>

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