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Abortion as the Driving Force Behind the
Christian Right

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DECLARATION:

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, based on the sources and literature listed in the appended bibliography. The thesis as submitted is 204,870 keystrokes long (including spaces), i.e. 97 manuscript pages.

Prague, May 17, 2010

Samantha Sue Pštross

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Abstract

The Christian Right emerged as an important social and political movement in the United States of America in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Since then conservative Christians have continued to be more politically active and in growing numbers align themselves with the Republican Party. This is a dramatic shift, as conservative Christians were purposefully not involved in politics prior to the 1970s. The objective of this thesis was to find the primary cause of the emergence of this conservative Christian movement. I argue that it was the legalization of abortion (which many conservative Christians viewed as the culmination of the sexual revolution) that motivated Christians to become politically active and form the Christian Right. I also found that the incorporation of pro-life rhetoric by the Republican Party in their national platform and Presidential campaigns was the decisive factor in swaying conservative Christians to the G.O.P and that the pro-life movement in the Christian Right continues to attract the most supporters and is the strongest and most active branch of the Christian Right today.

Keywords

Christian Right, Abortion, Pro-life, Roe v. Wade, Republican Party/G.O.P., Conservative Christians, Catholic, Evangelical Protestant, voting habits, presidential elections

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Introduction

Soon after the 2004 Presidential election, one would think that the Christian Right had taken over the political sphere as the media contended that the Christian Right had won George W. Bush his reelection. This claim was a result of several exit polls that asked voters, “Which one issue mattered most in your decision in deciding how you voted for President today?”¹ The number one answer across the board was “values” or “moral/ethical values” ranging from 22% - 35% of the population depending on the survey.² Thus, the media’s claim was not completely unfounded. Further research done by the Brookings Institute found that the majority of the population did indeed mean conservative values as espoused by the Christian Right and George W. Bush with the issues of abortion and gay marriage being at the top of the list.³ However, the media failed to highlight the fact that “values” was followed closely by “economy” (20%), “homeland security/terrorism” (19%) and “war in Iraq” (15%) – other popular exit poll answers.⁴

The term Christian Right in America is somewhat ambiguous; the media often depicts the Christian Right as being either vastly influential in political life or as being a tiny inconsequential faction of extremists.⁵ While the truth is somewhere in between, studies have shown that conservative Christians have indeed formed a voting block and have become much more politically active in the last 30 – 40 years.⁶ I define ‘conservative Christians’ as traditionalist Christians who attend church frequently and are more inclined to take the Bible literally. The Christian Right, as we will see, is made up of conservative Christians from various Christian denominations. Today, the Christian Right is well aligned with the Republican Party, so much so that the Democrats have been actively trying to reform their image to be less secular and more religious, so as to

¹ National Election Pool exit poll, 2004.

² *Los Angeles Times* exit poll, 2000 and 2004.

³ David E. Campbell *A Matter of Faith, Religion in the 2004 Presidential Election* (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007) 69.

⁴ Campbell 82 – 85. The percentages are from the National Election Pool data. (See Appendix #1 & 2 for full results).

⁵ Carin Larson and Clyde Wilcox *Onward Christian Soldiers?* (Westview Press, 2006) 4.

⁶ Jon A. Shields, Professor and Christian Right scholar, Personal interview, 16 Nov. 2009.

attract conservative Christians to their Party.⁷

This attempt was highly visible during the 2008 Presidential election in which both parties employed “evangelical outreach specialists” to try and sway the conservative Christian vote. The then Democratic candidate, Barack Obama, met with evangelical leaders in an attempt to get their endorsement. Additionally, his staff coordinated more than 200 town-hall meetings called, “American values forums” to try and persuade conservative Christians, especially those in the Christian Right, to change their normally Republican vote or as the *Economist* called it, “close the God gap”.⁸ Although, the Democratic Party largely failed to sway the conservative Christian voting block to vote for Barack Obama, their attempt to do so highlights the importance of the Christian Right in Presidential elections.⁹

Social scientists, journalists and pundits have been fascinated with the Christian Right since it first began to form in the late 1970s. Much of the literature on the Christian Right focuses on political beliefs, religious doctrine and social characteristics of the Christian Right as well as their influence on public policy.¹⁰ Some of this research is still inconclusive, such as the highly debated question of why conservative Christians vote for a particular candidate. This is greatly due to the fact that there are so many factors that influence a person’s vote. However, various studies have all confirmed that religious salience is a good predictor of which party a person will vote for, with those who attend church more often being more likely to vote for Republicans. In the same vein, those who attend church more often are also more likely to consider themselves to be a conservative.¹¹ I define a ‘conservative’ as a person who is reluctant towards change and holds to traditional values and attitudes.¹² There has also been a great deal of attention paid to the so-called “culture war” between traditionalists and modernists, as well as a number of works that focus on the activities and influence of the Christian Right at the

⁷ “Crises of Faith” *The Economist* 5 June 2008.

⁸ “The born-again block” *The Economist* 13 Sept. 2008.

⁹ See chapter 5 for further information about the Christian Right and the 2008 election

¹⁰ John C. Green et al. *The Christian Right In American Politics* (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2003) 1-2.

¹¹ Mark D. Brewer *Party Images in the American Electorate* (New York, N.Y.: Routledge, 2009) 64.

¹² A similar definition of ‘conservative’ can be found on *Merriam Webster Dictionary* 23 April 2010 <<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/conservative>>.

state and local level.¹³

Within this body of literature, there has not been a great deal of attention focused on the history of the secular political insurgence of the Christian Right. Many authors simply take it for granted that the Christian Right formed seemingly out of nowhere at the end of the 1970s. Most scholars attribute the formation solely to the G.O.P., the election of Ronald Reagan, the Equal Rights Amendment and/or the *Moral Majority*. For example, history Professor Allan J. Lichtman points to the *Moral Majority* in his comprehensive book, *White Protestant Nation: The Rise of the American Conservative Movement*, while political science and sociology Professor Ruth Murray Brown claims it was the anti-Equal Rights Amendment movement that formed the Christian Right in her book, *For a "Christian America": A History of the Religious Right*. Yet, there has been little academic research on this subject and no consensus on what caused the dramatic shift in conservative Christian political involvement. This paper focuses on that topic and asks, "What caused the Christian Right movement to form in the second-half of the 20th Century?" or in other words, "Why did conservative Christians change their centuries-long stance of political non-involvement at the end of the 20th Century?" Various scholars consider this shift to be a modern great awakening.¹⁴ So, what happened?

Through out my research I have found that although there are many factors that aided in the formation of the Christian Right, there is really only one issue that not only is common amongst all of the factors that led to the emergence of the Christian Right, but in and of itself caused conservative Christians to become politically active more so than any other issue; the legalization of abortion and the resulting pro-life movement. Thus, this paper also seeks to find out, "How did the issue of abortion lead to the formation of the Christian Right?"

¹³ John Michael McTague "Christian Right Strength in State Republican Parties: the Role of 'Religious Threat'" *Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association* (Hotel InterContinental, New Orleans, La, 3 Jan. 2007).

¹⁴ William Martin, *With God On Our Side* (New York: Broadway Books, 1996 & revised 2005) 8.

The Christian Right is a hot topic in America as it makes the headlines nearly every week in one form or another.¹⁵ Political analysts have been trying to figure out what gives the Christian Right so much power and why it is so difficult for political analysts to predict the influence of the Christian Right? I think it is very important to look at the Christian Right from a historical perspective in order to understand why the Christian Right formed in the first place. Shedding historical light on the Christian Right can help political analysts and Christian Right scholars understand the movement today. That is why I also ask in this paper, “What issue in the Christian Right gives it the most support?” After reviewing the history of the Christian Right and comparing the various issues it umbrellas, this paper points to the pro-life branch and argues that the abortion issue is the most important in the Christian Right.

Before I go further it is necessary to provide some background information and clarify various terms. The Christian Right movement in and of itself encompasses a number of conservative Christian movements such as the pro-life movement, pro-family movement and education reform. Together these various conservative Christian movements make up what is generally referred to as the Christian Right.

The Christian Right is best defined as, “a social movement that attempts to mobilize evangelical Protestants and other orthodox Christians into conservative political action.”¹⁶ Some Christians don’t like the term Christian Right because they feel it has negative connotations.¹⁷ Therefore, the Christian Right is sometimes referred to as the Pro-Family or Pro-Family Values movement.¹⁸ This can be confusing since “pro-family values” refers to a number of other movements within the Christian Right including pro-nuclear family structure, anti gay rights¹⁹ and even the pro-life movement. For all of these

¹⁵ In writing this paper I was surprised to read about the Christian Right almost every day in American newspapers. Articles ranging from the abortion debate to scandals within the Christian Right were written in national American secular newspapers quite frequently.

¹⁶ Larson & Wilcox 6.

¹⁷ The Christian Right is often viewed in a negative light as a result of a number of scandals involving various televangelists in the 1980s as well as the *Moral Majority*’s unpopularity, which will be discussed in Chapter 4. (Martin 276).

¹⁸ Larson & Wilcox 195.

¹⁹ I use the term ‘anti-gay rights’ for a number of reasons; 1) although often times this issue is referred to as anti-homosexual rights, it usually includes lesbian, bisexual, transgender and all other non-heterosexuals, therefore I use the broader meaning term of ‘gay’ rather than ‘homosexual’ and 2) There are a number of issues concerning gay rights that the Christian Right has fought such as gay marriage, whether or not gay

reasons I use the term Christian Right simply because it is the most convenient and well-known label for the Christian conservative religious movement and I do not intend to offend anyone with my use of it. Additionally, the term Christian Right has been used to describe other social movements in different periods of history and in other parts of the world. This thesis is about the Christian Right that began in the United States of America in the 1970s (also sometimes called the New Right) and continues to exist to this day.

This paper focuses primarily on the theologically orthodox and socially conservative Christians²⁰ who make up the Christian Right.²¹ Many of these Christians felt it necessary to remain separate from politics, so as not to compromise their values, for most of the 20th Century and come from evangelical²² and fundamentalist²³ churches. The majority of conservative Christians changed their stance on public involvement in the late 1970s and early 1980s and have become increasingly active in politics.²⁴ Evangelicals and fundamentalists from both Protestant and Catholic denominations make up the majority of the Christian Right. There are also mainline Protestants, Catholics and Mormons who are involved in the Christian Right.

Some Christian Right scholars focus solely on evangelical Protestants and do not consider Catholics to be part of the Christian Right. There are a variety of reasons for this, the most obvious being that it is easier to focus on a smaller group of people. Additionally, Catholics, as a voting group, are not fully aligned with the Republican Party and are considered to be an important swing group by political analysts.²⁵

people should be allowed to teach, etc. All of them have to do with rights and it would take too long to talk about every anti-gay rights case separately. So, for stylistic reasons I simply refer to all of them as 'anti-gay rights'.

²⁰ See Appendix for further data regarding the demography and general profile of Christians in America as well as members of the Christian Right.

²¹ Jon A. Shields, Professor and Christian Right scholar, Personal interview, 16 Nov. 2009.

²² Definition from Larson & Wilcox 193, "Term used to refer to a religious movement, to specific denominations, and to religious doctrine. Evangelicals believe in the importance of personal salvation through Jesus Christ, usually through a born-again experience, in the inerrancy of the Bible, and in the importance of spreading the gospel".

²³ Definition from Larson & Wilcox 193, "Term used to describe a religious movement, specific denominations and churches, and religious doctrine. Fundamentalists believe in the importance of remaining separate from the world, in the literal truth of the Bible, and in the importance of personal salvation".

²⁴ Jon A. Shields *The Democratic Virtues of the Christian Right* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009) 78.

²⁵ Chuck Todd and Sheldon Gawiser *How Barack Obama Won: A State-by-State Guide to the Historic 2008 Presidential Election* (New York: Random House, Inc., 2009) 34.

Still, I do not make this distinction for two main reasons: Firstly, evangelical Protestants are not the sole members of Christian Right organizations. The most eminent and long lasting Christian Right organizations consist of both Catholics and Protestants such as *Focus on the Family*, *Concerned Women for America* and the *Christian Coalition*. Furthermore, a comprehensive study done on the Christian Right in 2004 found that 21% of the most conservative members of the Christian Right are Catholic and that Catholics make up 11% of the Christian Right in general.²⁶ Secondly, some of the most prominent Christian Right leaders are Catholic such as Phyllis Schlafly, founder of *Eagle Forum* and the late Paul Weyrich, founder of the *Heritage Foundation*.²⁷ As we will see, part of the reason the Christian Right was ever formed was because conservative leaders were able to draw Catholics away from the Democratic Party and unite Catholics and Protestants in working together for similar values, namely the pro-life movement. Taking Catholics out of the Christian Right would therefore not make much analytical sense.

The following chart gives us an idea of the political leanings of Evangelicals, Protestants and Catholics:

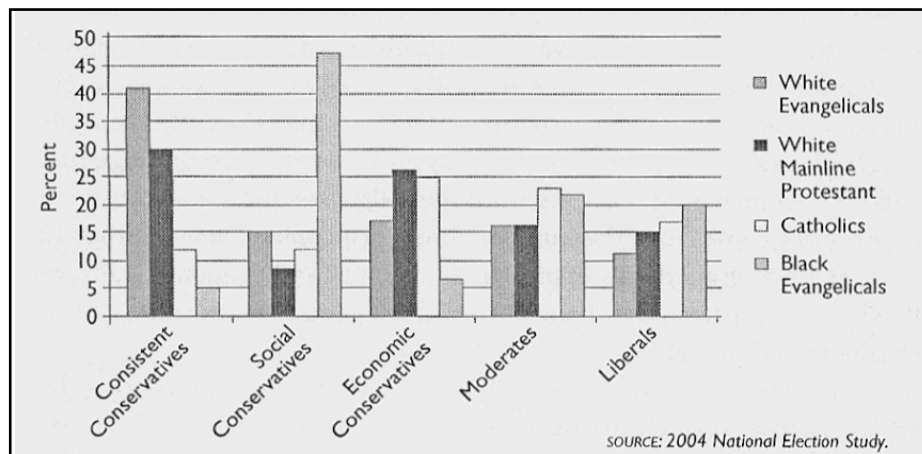


Figure 1: Issue Grouping Among Christian Right Constituency Groups²⁸

²⁶ John C. Green et al. *The Values Campaign?* (Washington D.C.: George Washington University Press, 2006) 29 (See Appendix for further data).

²⁷ James Risen and Judy L. Thomas *The Wrath of Angels: The American Abortion War* (New York, N.Y.: BasicBooks, 1998).

²⁸ Carin Larson & Clyde Wilcox *Onward Christian Soldiers?* (Westview Press, 2006) 66.

There are also important demographic differences within the Christian Right. According to Christian Right scholar, Clyde Wilcox:

*“Most analysts agree that the principal target audience of the Christian Right remains the white evangelical community. In addition, the contemporary Christian Right is targeting conservative Catholics, mainline Protestants, and African Americans.”*²⁹

Although, the majority of the Christian Right base are white, I do not make this distinction and include all races in the statistics I use unless otherwise specified.

When I refer to political activity, I mean any kind of deliberative political participation such as going out and voting, encouraging others to vote, working on campaigns, and marching in public protests. Today it is completely normal to see conservative Christians actively participating in the political arena, but it is important to remember what a monumental shift in political behavior this really is. The mobilization of conservative Christians simply to go out and vote is a relatively new phenomenon beginning in the late 1970s.³⁰

The media often focuses on the more extreme leaders in the Christian Right such as Pat Robertson whose inflammatory rhetoric is often offensive and hateful. For example, after the 2010 massive earthquake in Haiti that killed hundreds of thousands of people, Pat Robertson blamed the devastation on the Haitian people who he said were cursed for having made a deal with the devil.³¹ Similarly, Robertson blamed the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001 in America on, “the ACLU, abortionists, feminists and gays”.³² It is easy to assume that all members of the Christian Right adhere to this radical point of view, but throughout my research I have found that the majority of those in the

²⁹ Larson & Wilcox 52.

³⁰ Shields 2.

³¹ “Pat Robertson: Haiti ‘Cursed’ After ‘Pact to the Devil” *CBS News* 13 Jan. 2010, 15 March 2010 <http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-504083_162-12017-504083.html>.

³² “Pat on 9/11” *CBS News* 15 March 2010 <http://www.cbsnews.com/2300-100_162-101-4.html?tag=page>.

Christian Right are actually more moderate and consider Christian Right leaders who espouse offensive rhetoric such as the previous examples as extreme and try to distance themselves from it.

When thinking about the Christian Right I think it is important to try and understand the base of the movement and dispel any stereotypes one may have obtained. This is especially important since the media often covers that which is sensational, even if it is infrequent, over that which is common. One study found that since 1989 the more militant pro-life group *Operation Rescue* received more than twice the coverage of the much more peaceful *National Right to Life Committee* (which is the largest pro-life organization in America) and *Operation Rescue* accounted for two-thirds of articles about pro-life organizations in major newspapers even though it is one of the smaller pro-life organizations. Additionally, pregnancy centers which act as an alternative to abortion clinics and which now out-number abortion clinics with more than 2,300 centers nationwide are almost never covered in the media.³³ While there are definitely more extreme out-spoken members within the Christian Right, there are also those who are more moderate. Still, throughout this paper I include various quotes from famous Christian leaders to give the reader a wider context in which to understand the Christian Right.

Methodologically, I analyze various primary and secondary sources including an interview I conducted with Professor Jon Shields and an interview over email with Christian Right scholar Clyde Wilcox, who has contributed to a number of texts on the Christian Right such as *Onward Christian Soldiers?* and *The Christian Right in American Politics*. Other important works used in my paper include *White Protestant Nation: The Rise of the American Conservative Movement*, a comprehensive text that covers much of the history of the Christian Right in the 20th Century written by Allan J. Lichtman and *Abortion and American Politics* by Barbara Hinkson Craig and David M. O'Brien. I also use a number of statistical resources from American National Election Studies (ANES), National Exit Poll (NEP), the Guttmacher Institute and Gallup Poll, among others.

³³ Shields 62 - 63 and see Appendix #3 for chart.

In this paper, I will argue that the pro-life movement is the most important movement within the Christian Right. This movement ignited political activism in conservative Christians for the first time, helped form the Christian Right beginning in the 1970s and continues to be the cornerstone of the Christian Right today. While there are other factors that led to the creation of the Christian Right, the issue of abortion had the greatest influence. To prove this, I will begin by briefly reviewing conservative Christian activism (or rather the lack of political activism) in the 20th Century. The first tiny wave of conservative Christian political activism began in the early part of the 20th Century with the Scopes Trial and ended quickly. Then, until 1970, there was little to no Christian political activism partly because of their traditional belief in remaining separate from the secular world, but also due to the fact that America was seen as a Christian nation during the early cold war era and conservative Christians did not feel the need to be politically involved. We will see how conservative Christians turned out to vote at a much lower rate than other groups, did not constitute any kind of a voting block and were not aligned with any political party at this time.

Then I will show how conservative Christians began to consider political activism in response to the sexual revolution, which began in the 1960s. For many conservative Christians, this revolution culminated in the legalization of abortion in 1973. After *Roe v. Wade* proclaimed abortion in the first trimester legal through out the country, the Christian Right movement began to form. The Christian Right's anti-abortion stance reached a wide range of people uniting Christians of different denominations, including Catholics.³⁴

I will briefly review the history of abortion in America and the debate surrounding it, so that today's moral abortion debate will be put in context together with the movements that encompass it. From this point I will explain how the legalization of abortion and the pro-life movement became the foundation of the Christian Right movement. To do this I will first take a closer look at the pro-life movement in and of itself, from its inception to today. We will see that despite the problems that the anti-

³⁴ Risen & Thomas 6.

abortion movement has faced, it was an important ingredient in the political incarnation of the Christian Right. Then I will review the formation of the Christian Right by looking at the different aspects that led to its emergence such as the life and works of Francis Schaeffer, the anti-Equal Rights Amendment movement and the *Moral Majority* and show the role that the legalization of abortion played in these movements.

After that, I will examine how the Christian Right became aligned with the G.O.P. (Grand Old Party aka the Republican Party) and the pro-life movement became part of the Republican national platform. I will discuss the G.O.P. and how the Republican Party legitimized the Christian Right movement by making their values part of their party's platform and how the pro-life movement once again played a crucial role in this, with the abortion issue becoming a major issue in Presidential campaigns. Finally, I will assess other movements incorporated in the Christian Right and show how and why they do not provide the same foundation as the pro-life movement does. I will compare the other movements in the Christian Right to the pro-life movement to illustrate how important the pro-life movement continues to be in the Christian Right.

After reviewing the history of the Christian Right and the other factors that led to its emergence, as well as the other movements within the Christian Right, we will see why the issue of abortion led to the formation of the Christian Right and how abortion continues to be a prominent issue in the mobilization of conservative Christians who make up the Christian Right.

Chapter 1

Christian Non-Activism in the 20th Century

“Never be afraid to stand with the minority when the minority is right, for the minority which is right will one day be the majority.”

- William Jennings Bryan³⁵

To say that *Roe v. Wade* was the sole factor in the formation of the Christian Right would be an over-simplification. As is the case with most movements, knowing the historical context in which the movement takes place is essential in understanding the movement. While volumes could be written on the history of conservative Christianity in America and the general history of America, I will only briefly review the important cultural and historical events that took place in 20th Century America that directly impacted conservative Christians.

It is also important to discuss the Great Awakening and the Great Revival – two other historically important transformations experienced by American conservative Christians. Therefore, I will briefly review the Great Awakening and the Great Revival in order to demonstrate the religious tradition conservative Christianity has had and emphasize the importance of the Christian Right movement. Then I will outline conservative Christian political activeness in the 20th Century up until 1973. First, we will review the brief political awakening conservative Christians experienced around the beginning of the 20th Century and the consequences from it. Then I will sum up the culture in America around the mid-20th Century and show how conservative Christians were largely inactive politically. Finally, we will see how conservative Christians began to change their stance on political involvement and slowly mobilize into political action predominantly as a result of the legalization of abortion.

³⁵ “William Jennings Bryan Quotes” 24 Feb. 2010 <http://thinkexist.com/quotes/william_jennings_bryan/>.

1.1 The Great Awakenings

Despite a separation of church and state mandated specifically by the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution³⁶, Christianity has always been intertwined in the cultural and political fabric of the United States of America.³⁷ From the Puritans who staunchly believed that the only individuals fit to be part of civil or religious government were divinely ordained, to the first Great Awakening in the 1730s when John Edwards declared that too many people were ‘Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God’, conservative Christianity has had a long and influential history within America.³⁸ As mentioned in the introduction, some scholars see the emergence of the Christian Right movement as a third ‘Great Awakening’. The first two ‘Great Awakenings’, though each is distinct, saw a massive revival of fervent conservative Christianity within Protestant churches.

The first Great Awakening is described by scholars as, “great and general,” and took place primarily in New England and faded following the American Revolution.³⁹ The Second Great Awakening (a.k.a. The Great Revival) lasted some 50 years starting at the turn of the 19th Century. This Revival emphasized personal sanctification (a.k.a. perfectionism) or the, “individualistic concern for personal piety and its opposition to such vices as alcohol, gambling, fornication, profanity, and dishonesty”.⁴⁰ The Great Revival permeated Southern culture and also impacted the North. By the mid-19th Century, the Revival had reached its height. Soon split opinions over slavery, the Civil War and an influx of Jewish, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox Christian immigrants led to the end of the Second Great Awakening.

Both of the first two Great Awakenings occurred within churches and did not

³⁶ “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.” (“The Constitution of the United States,” Amendment 1).

³⁷ Dennis R. Hoover, Michael D. Martinez, Samuel H. Reimer and Kenneth D. Wald, “Evangelicalism Meets the Continental Divide: Moral and Economic Conservatism in the United States and Canada,” *Political Research Quarterly*. Vol. 55, No. 2, June 2002: 351 – 374.

³⁸ Martin 1-5.

³⁹ Martin 3.

⁴⁰ Martin 4.

penetrate much into secular politics. In many ways, these two revivals enforced the notion of separatism, which is the, “doctrinal belief of fundamentalists that Christians should remain apart from the world”.⁴¹ In order to deal with what more pious Christians saw as a corrupt world, they turned inward and worked on perfecting themselves and their churches and ignored public affairs. It really was not until the beginning of the 20th Century that conservative Christians, most prominently Christian fundamentalists, acted politically in an effort to maintain their traditional values that they felt were threatened.

1.2 The Old Christian Right

At the beginning of the 20th century, Protestants began to split in opinion within their denominations between modernists and fundamentalists. The modernists embraced modern science such as Darwin’s theory of evolution, while the fundamentalists turned to the “fundamentals” of Christianity, believing that the Bible was written word for word and was literally true. Fundamentalists began to feel that their fundamental values were being threatened in the early 20th Century for a number of reasons. This fear began during World War I in which fundamentalists believed that modernism had turned Germany into a godless nation. This, combined with the Red Scare, made fundamentalists worry that modernism would corrupt America as well. To stop this they decided to become politically active and concentrated on two political issues: the prohibition of alcohol and the teaching of evolution.⁴²

The fundamentalist movement spread through different Christian denominations, creating various religious political organizations that fought to make illegal the manufacturing and selling of alcohol and to keep the teaching of evolution out of public schools. Fundamentalists first claimed victory in 1920 with successfully implementing Prohibition. Their second triumph, making illegal the teaching of evolution in public schools through the Scopes Trial, ironically brought about the end of this first wave of conservative Christian political activeness.

The infamous Scopes Trial (1925), in which a teacher, John Scopes, was tried for teaching evolution in his class, was highly publicized and characterized

⁴¹ Larson & Wilcox 195.

⁴² Martin 13.

fundamentalists as small-minded zealots. Although the fundamentalists won the trial, they lost the public debate. John Scopes was only fined \$100 and did not have to do any jail time. Additionally, William Jennings Bryant, a Christian fundamentalist, former Secretary of State, three-time democratic presidential candidate and prosecutor in the Scopes Trial, died in his sleep a few days after the trial.⁴³ Bryant had been one of the most notable leaders of the fundamentalist cause. His death, coupled with the immense ridicule Christian fundamentalists received as a result of the trial, reminded conservative Christians why they traditionally did not get involved in politics in the first place.⁴⁴

Moreover, Prohibition, which had greatly divided Protestants and Catholics (Catholics being staunchly against Prohibition) was eventually revoked and in less than five years after the Scopes Trial, through a series of less popular trials, nearly every state made it legal to teach evolution in school.⁴⁵ Thus, Christian fundamentalists lost their two main battles in the long run. Therefore, conservative Christians who had become active in the fundamentalist movement gave up on politics and went back to their private lives, separating themselves from the ‘sinful world’ once again.⁴⁶

1.3 “Christian America” 1920s – 1970s

Still, the repercussions of these events were not all lost; the idea of conservative Christians entering the public sphere had become a brief reality and thus a real possibility, something it had not been before. Additionally, in response to the Scopes trial numerous Bible colleges⁴⁷ were built and organizations that brought together Christians of various denominations were formed: such as the *American Council of Christian Churches* (ACCC). These schools and organizations became important social networking devices and opened the door for Christians of different denominations to communicate more easily. Although, there was still a great divide between Catholics and Protestants, they were more open to mutual dialog. Additionally, Christian fundamentalist leaders

⁴³ Martin 15.

⁴⁴ Allan J. Lichtman *White Protestant Nation: The Rise of the American Conservative Movement* (Atlantic Monthly Press, 2008) 10.

⁴⁵ Lichtman 15.

⁴⁶ Larson & Wilcox 29 – 38.

⁴⁷ A Bible College is a college that focuses on Christian education and prepares students for jobs generally within the church such as minister.

began seizing opportunities to get their message out through publications and the new medium, radio. One in ten of just over 600 radio stations were owned and operated by a church or other religious organization by 1925.⁴⁸ In essence, they took their fight out of the public square and into conservative Christian homes by beginning to build a conservative Christian culture that continues to this day.

Over the next few decades, conservative Christian political activity was miniscule. The McCarthy movement spearheaded various conservative Christian anti-communist organizations, but not much attention was paid to them within the conservative Christian community. After all, the entire nation seemed to cloak itself in Christianity, so as to differentiate America from communist countries, namely the Soviet Union. For example, “In God We Trust” was added to American currency and the words “under God” were included in the Pledge of Allegiance in 1954.⁴⁹ Thus, conservative Christians and fundamentalists did not need to be very politically active, because they did not feel the need to be. It was not so much that they agreed with the government at that time, but that they did not feel that their rights were at risk of infringement, so they were content with being politically inactive and concentrated on life within their own conservative Christian communities.

This continued until in 1964, when the presidential campaign to elect Barry Goldwater, a conservative senator from Arizona, spurred a small number of conservative Christians to be politically active in campaigning for Goldwater. However, they fell back into obscurity when Goldwater lost by a landslide.⁵⁰ It is important to note here that conservative Christians did not identify themselves with a specific political party at this time. Goldwater was one of the first modern Presidential candidates to try and gather support from conservative Christians and move them to vote. Because he eventually failed to do so, many saw the mobilization of conservative Christians as pointless. Although, it is interesting to note that Goldwater’s campaign did succeed in giving actor Ronald Reagan notoriety as a political activist for the first time, which opened the door

⁴⁸ Martin 18.

⁴⁹ Lichtman 193.

⁵⁰ Larson & Wilcox 39.

for Reagan’s campaign in 1966 for Governor of California.⁵¹ Later, Reagan would follow in Barry Goldwater’s footsteps in an attempt to engage conservative Christians in his own campaign for the Presidency of the United States, but to a much more successful degree, as we will see. Still, after Goldwater’s defeat the mobilization of conservative Christians was viewed as hopeless.

1.4 Conservative Christian Political Activity and the Sexual Revolution

Compared to other citizens, conservative Christians, specifically evangelicals, turned out to vote at much lower rates throughout the 20th Century. It is difficult to know the exact statistics because there is no hard data on evangelical voting behavior prior to 1960. ANES data, however, does show that from 1960 – 1972 the turnout gap between non-evangelicals and white evangelicals stayed at about a 14% difference and reached 19% in 1972.⁵² In other words, evangelicals turned out to vote at a much lesser degree than non-evangelicals. During this time Republicans were not clearly identified as ‘conservative’ by conservative evangelicals as we can see in the table below:

	<i>Conservative evangelicals</i>	<i>Liberal evangelicals</i>	<i>Non-evangelicals</i>	<i>African Americans</i>
Turnout	59	68	78	65
Influence others to vote	23	34	34	31
Follow public affairs	65	78	76	64
Identify Reps. as conservative	47	64	67	79
Important party differences	45	47	50	74
Split ticket	44	31	29	14

Figure 2: Participation in the 1972 Election⁵³

Around this time (late 1960s early 1970s) the charismatic movement picked up momentum and affected both Protestants and Catholics. The term “charismatic” refers to

⁵¹ Bart Barnes, “Barry Goldwater, GOP Hero, Dies” in *the Washington Post* 30 May 1998, 5 Jan. 2010 <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/daily/may98/goldwater30.htm>>.

⁵² Shields 118.

⁵³ Shields 119.

the religious doctrine of spiritual gifts received from God and the Holy Spirit including speaking in tongues, faith healing and being slain in the spirit, found in the book of Acts in the Bible.⁵⁴ Later, leaders in the Christian Right found a great deal of their supporters within the broad charismatic movement. It is also important because this movement helped to bridge Protestants and Catholics. For example, charismatic businessmen's groups were formed across denominational lines in many communities.⁵⁵

The second half of the 20th century in America was largely defined by civil unrest. Public protest became almost commonplace beginning with the Civil Rights movement in 1955 and the feminist movement beginning in the 1960s. In 1964 *Time* magazine's cover story proclaimed that America was becoming a, "sex-affirming culture" and that the country was, "undergoing a revolution of mores and erosion of morals".⁵⁶ *Public Health Reports* found that 39% of women who turned 15 years old between 1964 and 1973 had premarital sex by the time they were 18 years old, a 13% increase from the previous decade.⁵⁷

Within conservative Christian communities, these changes were viewed as the unraveling of America, especially the sexual revolution. Throughout the 1950s and 60s, a number of restrictions were lifted by the Supreme Court against books, movies and other materials that had been previously viewed as too obscene for the public. In 1960 the first female oral contraceptive (a.k.a. "The Pill") was approved by the Food and Drug Administration allowing people greater sexual freedom without having to worry about unwanted pregnancy. During this time attitudes towards sex and sexual behavior were changing and becoming more liberal. Conservative Christians greatly feared this change and saw it as an "abomination of God".⁵⁸ They worried that increased sexual openness and lack of restrictions would destroy the church and society as a whole. Furthermore, the *National Education Association* and the *American Medical Association* began publicly

⁵⁴ The charismatic movement is very similar to the Pentecostal movement that began at the end of the 19th Century. The main difference between the charismatic and Pentecostal movement is that the Pentecostals started their own churches while the charismatic movement occurred within already established churches. (Larson & Wilcox 191).

⁵⁵ Larson & Wilcox 31.

⁵⁶ "The Second Sexual Revolution" *Time*, 24 Jan. 1964: 54.

⁵⁷ Lawrence B. Finer, "Trends in Premarital Sex in the United States, 1954 – 2003" *Public Health Reports* 122, January – February 2007: 76.

⁵⁸ Martin 101.

endorsing the idea of sex education in public schools – a contested issue within the Christian Right, which will be discussed later.

As we will see in the following chapter, for conservative Christians the sexual revolution culminated in the legalization of abortion. Christians who had been content with staying out of politics began to worry that their traditional values, such as waiting until marriage to have sex and the nuclear family structure were being corrupted. Ironically, their very reasoning for staying out of politics – to focus on preserving their spiritual values - they began to perceive as having the opposite affect during the 1960s.⁵⁹

Summary of Chapter 1

At the beginning of the 20th Century, conservative Christians believed strongly in separating themselves from public politics to the degree in which many would not even vote. As Darwinism became popular, Christian fundamentalists entered the public sphere and fought to keep the teaching of evolution out of public schools. Their failed attempt to do so drove conservative Christians back to their own private sphere. Conservative Christians instead focused on their own communities by building Bible colleges and publishing their own newspapers and books as well as radio programs. In this way, conservative Christians began to network between denominations. Later in the 1960s, the charismatic movement gave conservative Christians of different denominations a new reason to form common groups and organizations.

Finally, the civil unrest in the 1950s and 60s, especially the sexual revolution, began to worry conservative Christians. It started to become apparent that their isolationism from the public was, in fact, infringing their traditional values. As we will see in the following chapters, the legalization of abortion acted as a wake up call for conservative Christians to become more politically active. However, the Supreme Court ruling in and of itself was not enough to mobilize Christians. In the next chapter we will look briefly at the history of abortion in America to understand the ramifications *Roe v. Wade* had on the culture at that time. From there we will see how this Supreme Court eventually led to the formation of the Christian Right.

⁵⁹ Shields 116.

Chapter 2

The Abortion Issue

“Comfort and prosperity have never enriched the world as much as adversity has.”

- Billy Graham, famous evangelist⁶⁰

When abortion became legal it shocked the nation and in many ways began a wide sweeping debate on the morality of abortion and on the question of when does life begin, which continues today. In order to fully understand how the abortion issue gave rise to the Christian Right and how it gave the Christian Right a firm foundation, it is necessary to discuss briefly the history of abortion in America and demonstrate how it moved Christians to become politically active.

2.1 Pre-Roe v Wade: The Legality of Abortion in America

Until the early 19th Century, America followed the law inherited from England, which allowed a woman to get an abortion any time before quickening (the first fetal movement), which usually occurs around the 4th or 5th month (and even after quickening abortion was rarely punished). This was only legal under common law courts in England after the Reformation and was forbidden and harshly punished under Catholic ecclesiastical courts and within the Catholic Church.⁶¹ The American Catholic Church, however, paid little attention to the issue of abortion during the 19th Century. American Catholic leaders focused their attention on the education and maturation of their own community that was made up of mainly poor Irish immigrants in a country dominated by Anglo-Protestant elites.⁶² Catholics did not begin to actively protest both legal and illegal abortions to any great extent until the 20th Century.⁶³

Still, during the 19th century states began to enact laws restricting abortion, though most were not very harsh. The need to restrict it resulted mainly from women who had complications sometimes resulting in death due to poorly conducted abortions, often

⁶⁰ Billy Graham 12 March 2010 <http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/b/billy_graham_2.html>.

⁶¹ James C. Mohr *Abortion in America* (Oxford University Press, 1978) 4.

⁶² Risen & Thomas 7.

⁶³ Risen & Thomas 50.

performed by poor women on themselves.⁶⁴ The first law was established by the state of Connecticut in 1821, which forbid the use of poison to terminate a pregnancy after quickening. By the mid- 19th century more public attention was paid to abortion mainly because there had been a number of trials concerning women who had died as a result of an abortion. In these cases the doctor who had performed the abortion was put on trial and was usually acquitted since it was legal to have an abortion before quickening and it was difficult for doctors to know for sure whether or not quickening had occurred.

In 1847 the *American Medical Association* (AMA) was formed and quickly began campaigning to restrict abortion. The AMA was against abortions for economic reasons; physicians were competing for clients with midwives and poorly trained healers (who ‘healed women from blockage of their menstruation’). So, the AMA highlighted abuses and dangers incurred by women who did not seek abortions from trained medical professionals. Additionally, legislators became alarmed by the declining birth rates of White Protestants and soaring birth rates of poor Catholic immigrants. In 1873 Congress passed the Comstock Act, which made it a federal offense to sell or give away any article or medicine that would prevent conception or cause an abortion. With the AMA lobbying for strict abortion laws, each state maintained conservative abortion laws. By 1910 all but one state allowed abortion only if the woman’s life was at risk.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the decision to perform an abortion was left entirely up to the physician.⁶⁶

2.2 The Fight for Abortion Reform: The Beginning of the Pro-Choice Movement

During the first wave of abortion laws in the 19th and early 20th Century, the question of when life begins was never asked or played any significant part in the abortion issue. Instead, physician’s legal rights and economic concerns such as the diversity in population growth between the wealthy and the poor were at the forefront of the abortion debate. This continued until the 1950s and 1960s when women’s rights

⁶⁴ Women often took large doses of herbal remedies, such as snakeroot or juniper, to induce an abortion. If taken in too high of a dose, women became ill and sometimes died. (N.E.H. Hull and Peter Charles Hoffer *Roe v. Wade: The Abortion Rights Controversy in American History* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2001) 14.

⁶⁵ Barbara Hinkson Craig & David M. O’Brien *Abortion and American Politics* (Chatham House Publishers, Inc. 1993) 9.

⁶⁶ Craig & O’Brien 40.

became the most critical question in the abortion debate, brought about by the feminist movement. Additionally, the massive baby boom was of concern and people were not sure if the birth rate would subside again. The most popular organization that campaigned for the legalization of birth control and putting the abortion debate in terms of women's rights was *Planned Parenthood*.⁶⁷

Originally, *Planned Parenthood* fought primarily to overturn the Comstock Act and make contraceptives legal and available. The baby boom of the 1950s gave *Planned Parenthood* a great deal of momentum and in 1955 the group began to discuss abortion reform. At this time abortion laws were widely ignored and many women were getting illegal abortions. However, these illegal abortions were often unsafe and arguably resulted in a major public health hazard. Alfred Kinsey, a controversial sex researcher, estimated that anywhere between two hundred thousand and 1.2 million illegal abortions were performed each year in America. The *American Law Institute* (ALI), a professional group that works on updating America's legal codes, began to create model legislation on the issue of abortion that would help to preserve the health of a woman seeking an abortion.⁶⁸

In 1962, one woman's experience caught public attention and began to put the issue of abortion in terms of morality and women's rights nationally. Sherri Chesson Finkbine, who was pregnant with her fifth child, was experiencing chest pains and began taking tranquilizers containing thalidomide her husband had brought home from England the year before. After having taken thirty or forty of the tranquilizers, Finkbine read an article that stated that the pills she had been taking caused severe deformity in babies if taken by pregnant women. Studies in England, Canada, Germany, and Australia showed that most of the deformed "thalidomide" babies did not even survive for more than a few months. Finkbine's doctor confirmed this and offered to perform an abortion.⁶⁹

Finkbine agreed to the abortion. Horrified by what had happened to her and worried that other women might have the same experience, she called the publisher of the

⁶⁷ In 1921, Margaret Sanger, a pioneer for birth control reform, but not an advocate for abortion reform, launched the American Birth Control League, which later merged with the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau to form the Birth Control Federation of America in 1939, which was later renamed the Planned Parenthood Federation of America aka Planned Parenthood.

⁶⁸ Risen & Thomas 6.

⁶⁹ Craig & O'Brien 41.

Arizona Republic and told them her story to warn others about thalidomide. The next day the front-page article told Finkbine's story. At that time Arizona's law stated that abortion was legal only to save the life of the pregnant woman, but in extreme cases the law was ignored. Immediately after Finkbine's story was printed, her doctor called and cancelled the promised abortion in fear of being prosecuted.⁷⁰ Finkbine and her husband decided to request a court order to allow the abortion, but within days of their request an Arizona Supreme Court judge dismissed the case, saying that the child being likely deformed was not grounds enough to allow an abortion.

By this time the Finkbine case had gained national notoriety. Their family began to receive thousands of cards and letters, sometimes threatening Finkbine's life. Finkbine had been the star of a local nursery school television show in Phoenix called the *Romper Room*, but was fired after her story got out. According to Finkbine, "I was told by the vice president of the NBC affiliate that I was now unfit to handle children."⁷¹

Still wanting an abortion, the Finkbine's ended up traveling to Sweden where she was eventually able to get the abortion. The doctor who performed the abortion said that the 13-week old fetus was so badly deformed it never would have survived. A month after the Finkbine's returned to America, "a Gallup poll found that 50% of those surveyed believed that Finkbine had done the right thing, compared with 32% who said it was wrong". At this time Catholics came out firmly opposed to abortion in all cases, but evangelicals remained quiet on the issue. The Finkbine case did, however, help rile up support for the pro-choice side of abortion. Additionally, similar cases were popularized, especially between 1964-1966, in which a rubella epidemic caused a number of babies to be born with severe birth defects. These incidents started a national discussion on the issue of abortion and put it in terms of women's rights.⁷²

As a result of this discussion, over the next decade states began to reform their abortion laws. The fight to liberalize abortion laws was defined in terms of protecting women and was incorporated in the women's liberation movement focusing on sexual freedom and reproductive rights. The *National Organization for Women* (NOW)

⁷⁰ Hull & Hoffer 100.

⁷¹ Risen & Thomas 13-14.

⁷² Ziad W. Munson *The Making of Pro-life Activists: How Social Movement Mobilization Works* (University of Chicago Press: 15 Feb. 2009) 82.

alongside the already existing *Planned Parenthood* and the *National Association for Repeal of Abortion Laws* (NARAL) were formed in 1969. Additionally, the members of the *American Medical Association* changed their stance and in the 1960s voted overwhelmingly to campaign for liberalized abortion laws.⁷³

In 1970 Hawaii, followed by New York, Alaska and Washington passed laws that virtually repealed abortion restrictions. These states became magnets for women seeking abortions, as most other states retained their strict abortion laws.⁷⁴

2.3 Anti-Abortion Reform: The Beginning of the Pro-Life Movement

At first, opposition to liberalizing abortion laws was weak and scattered. Up until the *Roe v. Wade* case, Catholics led virtually all opposition to abortion. In fact, many Protestants came out in favor of abortion originally, siding with women's rights groups and working to promote the health and safety of women seeking abortions.⁷⁵ Catholics, on the other hand, began to talk about the "right-to-life". The *National Conference of Catholic Bishops* (NCCB), which is the official leadership body of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, organized Catholic anti-abortion groups in each state where abortion laws were being liberalized. These groups later became the basis for the *National Right to Life Committee*.⁷⁶ At the beginning of the anti-abortion movement, these activists consisted of mainly Catholic doctors and housewives.⁷⁷

Although the opposition was relatively weak, it was able to prevent abortion reform in Arizona, Michigan, Minnesota, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania. Priests began to speak out against abortion more frequently. In 1968 the Vatican reissued its opposition to abortion through an encyclical letter, *Humanae Vitae*, from Pope Paul VI, which had been originally set by Pope Pius IX in 1869, prohibiting abortion in all cases.

⁷³ The AMA reversed its stance on legalized abortion largely as a result of the societal changes that had taken place since the 19th Century. Doctors no longer had the same problems they had faced more than a hundred years earlier. (Craig & O'Brien 74 & 223).

⁷⁴ Risen & Thomas 15.

⁷⁵ Risen & Thomas 20 and Many Protestants were originally in favor of legalized abortion partly as a knee-jerk reaction to Catholics being for it as we will see in chapter 4, but also because they wanted to help women and prevent them from suffering from illegal abortions.

⁷⁶ Risen & Thomas 15.

⁷⁷ Hull & Hoffer 192.

Furthermore, it restricted Catholics from using artificial birth control as well.⁷⁸

In 1967, Eunice Shriver, sister of the late President John F. Kennedy, organized a major conference focusing on abortion in Washington. Shriver was in deep opposition to abortion. She was Catholic and an advocate for mentally handicapped people.⁷⁹ She worried that the campaign to liberalize abortion laws was threatening to the mentally retarded. Shriver hoped that this conference would bring together a vast opposition to liberalizing abortion laws. The three-day conference assembled many important professionals whose expertise ranged from public policy to theology. This conference was one of the first in which both sides were represented and the morality of abortion was soberly debated. Later, Herbert Richardson, co-chairman of the Harvard Divinity School said of the conference that, “there was an unspoken consensus between the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish theologians who attended the conference that the fetus had a certain dignity and should be accorded basic human rights”.⁸⁰ As we will see when discussing the Christian Right and the GOP, neither Democrats nor Republicans had any formal stance on the issue of abortion at this time.

2.4 Roe v. Wade

The voice of the abortion reform movement was strong with the support of women’s rights advocacy groups, much stronger than the opposition at the time. In Texas, a young lawyer who had had an illegal abortion herself decided to study the laws on abortion and ethics. She asked an older friend in 1970, who was a much more experienced lawyer, if she would be interested in forming a lawsuit in order to reform the abortion law in Texas. Her friend agreed and the two women, Sarah Weddington and

⁷⁸ “*We are obliged once more to declare that the direct interruption of the generative process already begun and, above all, all direct abortion, even for therapeutic reasons, are to be absolutely excluded as lawful means of regulating the number of children. Equally to be condemned, as the magisterium of the Church has affirmed on many occasions, is direct sterilization, whether of the man or of the woman, whether permanent or temporary. Similarly excluded is any action which either before, at the moment of, or after sexual intercourse, is specifically intended to prevent procreation—whether as an end or as a means.*” (II. Doctrinal Principals, 14. Unlawful Birth Control Methods *Humanae Vitae* 1968: 14 - 16, 26 Sept. 2009 <http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_25071968_humanae-vitae_en.html>).

⁷⁹ “Eunice Kennedy Shriver Dies at Age 88” *National Public Radio* 11 Feb. 2009 <<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=111765640>>.

⁸⁰ Risen & Thomas 18.

Linda Coffee began to look for a plaintiff in their planned lawsuit. Soon they found Norma McCorvey (a.k.a. *Roe*), a pregnant Texas woman who wanted an abortion. Their lawsuit, *Roe v. Wade*, went all the way to the Supreme Court and became one of America's most controversial judicial decisions.⁸¹

On January 22, 1973 the Supreme Court cited the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, making it legal for a woman to have an abortion for whatever reason, leaving the decision up to the woman until the fetus could survive on its own outside of the womb, which they defined as the 13th week of pregnancy.⁸² Everyone, including the lawyers fighting for *Roe*, was surprised by how liberal and far reaching the Supreme Court's decision was.⁸³ They had cleared away nearly all hindrances to the legality of abortion, leaving the decision of whether or not to have an abortion up to the individual woman to decide on any basis she desires up until the second trimester, and then it is up to each state.

Supreme Court Justice Lewis Powell who ruled on the case later said, "The concept of liberty was the underlying principle of the abortion case".⁸⁴ There were only two dissenting opinions made by Byron White and William Rehnquist, who both felt the decision, should be left up entirely to the states.⁸⁵ The defendants had argued that the fetus was a person and deserved the same rights that are awarded to all people in the United States of America, while the prosecution focused on women's rights. The opinion of the Court, written by Justice Blackmun, discussed the argument of when life begins in its decision:

"... throughout the 19th Century prevailing legal abortion practices were far freer than they are today, persuades us that the word "person," as used in the Fourteenth Amendment, does not include the unborn... We need not resolve the difficult question of when life begins. When those trained in the respective disciplines of medicine, philosophy and theology are unable to arrive at any

⁸¹ Craig & O'Brien 8 – 20.

⁸² Hull & Hoffer 180.

⁸³ Hull & Hoffer 182.

⁸⁴ Hull & Hoffer 171.

⁸⁵ Craig & O'Brien 31 – 32.

*consensus, the judiciary at this point in man's knowledge, is not in the position to speculate as to the answer...*⁸⁶

The Court had just ruled a year earlier to uphold the abortion law in the District of Columbia in *United States v. Viutch*, which prohibited abortions unless, “necessary for the preservation of the mother’s life or health”. However, the question of whether women have a constitutional right to obtain abortions was not asked until *Roe v. Wade*.⁸⁷

Hospitals started getting calls from women looking to have an abortion within hours of *Roe v. Wade*. One abortion clinic in Detroit that had been shut down opened immediately and performed 20 abortions by the next day.⁸⁸ Still, the availability of abortions was scarce. Even four years after the decision had been made, *Planned Parenthood* reported that 80% of public hospitals and 70% of private hospitals did not provide abortions.⁸⁹ After all, the Supreme Court decision only made it legal for a woman to obtain an abortion, but it did not force hospitals and clinics to perform abortions. Thus, availability of abortions remained a problem and funding for abortion quickly became another political debate.

Summary of Chapter 2

As we have seen, in the U.S. before *Roe v. Wade*, the abortion issue was primarily defined by physicians and by fears of medical malpractice, but over time it evolved into a moral and ethical issue. As the women’s rights movement gained momentum in the 1960s and 1970s and countless women suffered from illegal abortions, the issue of abortion was seen in a new light. *Planned Parenthood* was at the forefront of what we call today the pro-choice movement, working to liberalize abortion laws. At the same time, the rights of the unborn child came into question as the Catholic Church spearheaded the pro-life movement. Then, after carefully contemplating *Roe v. Wade*, the Supreme Court made abortion in the first trimester legal nationally in one of the most landmark decisions in U.S. history. As we will see in the next chapter, it really was not

⁸⁶ Craig & O’Brien 28.

⁸⁷ Craig & O’Brien 15.

⁸⁸ Risen & Thomas 37.

⁸⁹ Hull & Hoffer 189.

until after the Supreme Court made its decision that the debate on abortion really became a front and center issue, with both sides continuing to gain support over the years since 1973.

Chapter 3

The Abortion Issue Today and the Pro-Life Movement

“In the face of erroneous interpretations of freedom, [Pope John Paul II] emphasized in an unequivocal way the inviolability of the human being, the inviolability of human life from its conception until natural death. The freedom to kill is not true freedom, but a tyranny that reduces the human being to slavery.”

- Pope Benedict XVI, homily (May 7, 2005)⁹⁰

Since 1973, abortion has become a major issue in the United States. In order to understand the significance of this issue and the pro-life movement in the Christian Right, it is necessary to now review the abortion debate from the time of *Roe v. Wade*, especially on the anti-abortion side. Additionally, it is important to know the facts and figures related to abortion in America since it became legal, so as to more fully comprehend how this issue affects Americans. Therefore, in this chapter, I will first provide data regarding abortion. Then I will focus on the pro-life movement from its early beginnings to the success the movement has had in framing the abortion debate. By the end of the chapter the importance of the pro-life movement will be clear.

3.1 Abortion Statistics in America

The rate of legal abortions in America reached its height in 1990 with approximately 1.6 million performed and has been declining since, with the last comprehensive survey showing that an estimated 1.2 million were performed in 2005.

⁹⁰ Pope Benedict XVI 4 Jan. 2010 <<http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Abortion>>.

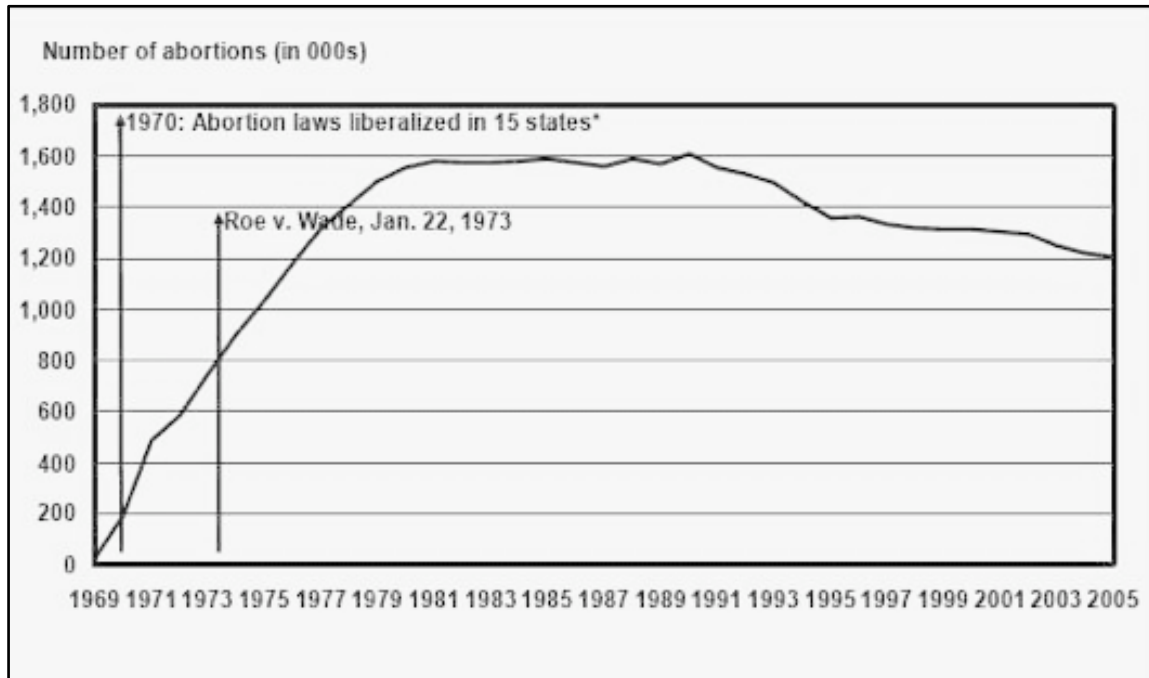


Figure 3: Number of Legal Abortions Performed From 1969 – 2005⁹¹

There is no consensus as to why the abortion rate has been declining; spokespeople from *Planned Parenthood* point to better contraceptive use⁹² and possibly the increasing lack of abortion providers, while members of the *National Right to Life Committee* say it is because society is changing, “More and more people are starting to reconsider their positions“ Randall K. O’Bannon, Director of Education and Research for the *NRLC* stated.⁹³ Both sides of the abortion debate are pleased with this decrease, but pro-life activists say it is not enough.

⁹¹ “Trends in Abortion in the United States, 1973 – 2005” *Guttmacher Institute* January 2008, 26 April 2010 <<http://www.guttmacher.org/presentations/trends.pdf>>.

⁹² Plan B (a.k.a. the morning after pill) became available in the U.S. in 1999 and will be discussed at further length in Chapter 6.

⁹³ Rob Stein “Abortions Hit Lowest Number Since 1976“ *Washington Post* 17 Jan. 2008, 26 April 2010 <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/01/16/AR2008011603624.html>>.

The Guttmacher Institute has compiled further data on abortion in America⁹⁴ in 2008:

- Nearly half of all pregnancies among American women are unintended, and four in 10 of these are terminated by abortion.
- 22% of all pregnancies end in abortion (excluding miscarriages).
- An estimated 1 out of every 3 women will have at least one abortion by the time they are 45 years old.
- Black women are more than three times as likely as white women to have an abortion, and Hispanic women are two-and-a-half times as likely.
- 43% of women obtaining abortions identify themselves as Protestant, and 27% identify themselves as Catholic.
- 87% of all U.S. counties lacked an abortion provider in 2005
- 32 states currently enforce parental consent or notification laws for minors seeking an abortion: Ala., Ark., Del., Ga., Iowa, Idaho, Ind., Kan., Ky., La., Mass., Md., Mich., Minn., Mo., Miss., N.C., N.D., Neb., Ohio, Okla., Pa., R.I., S.C., S.D., Tenn., Texas, Utah, Va., Wis., W.Va., and Wyo. The Supreme Court ruled that minors must have the alternative of seeking a court order authorizing the procedure.
- 45% of minors who have abortions tell their parents, and 61% undergo the procedure with at least one parent's knowledge. The great majority of parents support their daughter's decision.
- About 14% of all abortions in the United States are paid for with public funds, virtually all of which are state funds. The following 17 states provide some sort of financial help for low-income women seeking abortions: Ala., Ariz., Calif., Conn., Hawaii, Ill., Mass., Md., Minn., Mont., N.J., N.M., N.Y., Ore., Vt., Wash., W.Va.
- Without publicly funded family planning services, an estimated 1.3 million additional unplanned pregnancies would occur annually; about 632,300 would end in abortion.

⁹⁴ I use data from the Guttmacher Institute because it is the most comprehensive and because prominent organizations from both the pro-life and pro-choice movement also utilize this same research and find it credible. The Guttmacher Institute is a non-profit organization that seeks to advance, “sexual and reproductive health through an interrelated program of social science research, policy analysis and public education designed to generate new ideas, encourage enlightened public debate, promote sound policy and program development and, ultimately, inform individual decision making.” (*Guttmacher Institute* 23 June 2005, 26 April 2010 <<http://www.guttmacher.org/about/mission.html>>).

- Eighty-nine percent of abortions occur in the first 12 weeks of pregnancy⁹⁵

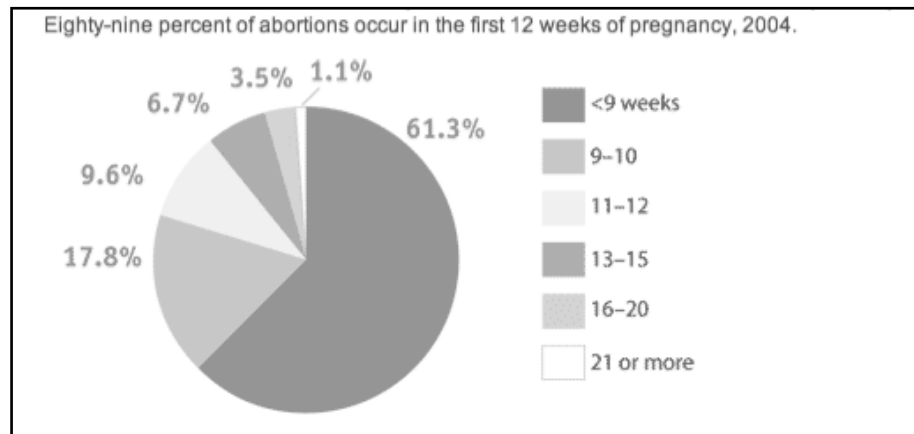


Figure 4: When Women Have Abortions (in weeks from last menstruation)⁹⁶

The above statistics give a broader view of the issue of abortion today. With 22% of pregnancies ending in abortion and more than 33% of women having an abortion in their lifetime, it is clear that abortion is an issue that personally affects a large number of Americans. Both the pro-life and pro-choice movement uses these statistics to make arguments for their respective sides. For example, as we will see, the pro-life movement often compares abortion in America to genocide and frame the number of abortions performed in negative ways like saying, “Nearly 50 million unborn babies have been slaughtered since 1973 in the ongoing American holocaust against the unborn.”⁹⁷ Pro-choice groups, on the other hand, fight to make abortions more easily available, citing the fact that 87% of counties don’t provide abortions. They also argue that women would continue to get abortions even if it was illegal, putting their own lives at risk.⁹⁸

3.2 The Early Pro-Life Movement

The first pro-life organization was the *National Right to Life Committee* formed

⁹⁵ “Facts on Induced Abortion in the United States” *Guttmacher Institute* July 2008 26 April 2010 <http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/fb_induced_abortion.html>.

⁹⁶ “Facts on Induced Abortion in the United States” *Guttmacher Institute* July 2008.

⁹⁷ “Abortion: Nearly 50 Million Unborn Babies Slaughtered Since 1973 in the Ongoing American Holocaust Against the Unborn” *Voice of Deseret* 24 Oct. 2007, 24 Nov. 2009 <<http://voice-of-deseret.blogspot.com/2007/10/abortion-nearly-50-million-unborn.html>>.

⁹⁸ Linda Lowen “Ten Arguments For Abortion and Against Abortion” *Women’s Issues* 10 Sept. 2009 <<http://womensissues.about.com/od/reproductiverights/a/AbortionArgumen.htm>>.

officially in 1973.⁹⁹ This organization has expanded tremendously with numerous state and local level organizations continuing to work to limit abortions.¹⁰⁰ There have been numerous other pro-life organizations such as the *National Youth Pro-Life Coalition*, *PEACE*, *Friends for Life*, *Pro-Life Action League*, *Pro-Life Action Network (PLAN)*, *Operation Rescue*, among others as well as countless state level and local level organizations such as *Missouri Citizens for Life*.¹⁰¹

At first female homemakers were the main recruits to the pro-life movement. A study of California abortion activists found that nearly all of the women involved in the anti-abortion movement had no previous experience in political activities. Furthermore, the majority of female pro-life activists were not employed, so they were able to picket abortion clinics daily whereas 94% of female pro-choice sympathizers were employed and did not have as much free time.¹⁰²

In the 1970s the pro-life movement worked on different levels. A number of Catholic lawyers joined and began working on overturning the Supreme Court's decision. *The National Right to Life Committee*, inspired by the civil rights movement, started having sit-ins, in which they would sit in front of clinics and peacefully urge women against having an abortion. They worked diligently in the states that they were already established in to limit the availability of abortions and to raise awareness about the issue.

In 1980, the pro-life movement grew by leaps and bounds. In the next few chapters we will see that this was due to conservative Protestants becoming involved and because of Ronald Reagan using strong pro-life rhetoric in his campaign for President. During the 1980s, the abortion debate was framed largely in pro-life terms. The *National Right to Life Committee* made it a priority to gain publicity and change public opinion through forming the abortion debate in terms of life. In 1984 the *NRLC* created a department of media within their organization to do just this. Immediately, the media department began a pro-life campaign using a variety of media outlets, for example they placed a full-page color ad in *Time* magazine, in order to sway public opinion. They also

⁹⁹ "Mission Statement" *National Right to Life Committee* 22 April 2010
<<http://www.nrlc.org/Missionstatement.htm>>.

¹⁰⁰ Shields 50.

¹⁰¹ Risen & Thomas 78, 110, 113, 118, 133 & 141.

¹⁰² Craig and O'Brien 46.

began using medical professionals to represent and speak on behalf of the *NRLC* in order to help the pro-life cause appear more legitimate and less religiously fanatical.¹⁰³ These actions helped the pro-life movement gain support and *NRLC* was named in *Fortune* magazine as one of the most influential public policy organizations for the first time, an honor they continue to receive almost every year.^{104 105}

3.3 Tactics Used by the Pro-Life Movement

Pro-life organizations used a wide range of tactics, such as: protesting through sit-ins, picketing, writing letters to politicians, raising public awareness and turning women away from abortion centers. As mentioned in the introduction, there are now more pregnancy crisis centers (around 4,000) than abortion clinics (less than 2,000). A pregnancy crisis center often appears to be an abortion clinic, so as to appeal to women seeking an abortion. These centers present alternatives to abortion to pregnant women in an effort to reduce the number of abortions and prevent women from receiving one. Pro-choice groups argue that these clinics fool pregnant women and infringe on their right to an abortion, while pro-life groups argue that pregnancy crisis centers are a positive alternative to abortion clinics and that they are helping women.¹⁰⁶

In the late 1970s and 1980s the pro-life movement gained a reputation for being radical and extreme members of the movement began using terrorist-like tactics to further the movement's agenda; such as bombing abortion clinics and murdering doctors who performed abortions. Furthermore, pro-life protestors became more militant in their sit-ins and would regularly block abortion clinics, often in an aggressive fashion such as screaming and throwing eggs at women going into abortion clinics. Many of these acts were inspired by a famous book within pro-life circles called, "Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion" published in 1985, written by Joseph Scheidler, a devote Catholic and member

¹⁰³ Deana A. Rohlinger "Friends and Foes: Media, Politics, and Tactics in the Abortion War" *Social Problems* Vol. 53, No. 4 (University of California Press, Nov. 2006) 549-550.

¹⁰⁴ Jeffrey H. Birnbaum "Washington's Power 25 Pressure Groups are Best at Manipulating the Laws We Live By?" *Fortune* 8 Dec. 1997, 8 March 2010
<http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune_archive/1997/12/08/234927/index.htm>.

¹⁰⁵ After a great deal of searching, I was unable to find reliable statistics on the growth and development of the pro-life movement and its organizations over time.

¹⁰⁶ After much research, I was unable to find any accurate statistics on the number of women who are deterred from having an abortion by these clinics.

of the *Pro-Life Action League*. The underlying point of Scheidler's book was that one should be outrageous and memorable in order to get people, namely the media, to pay attention. Scheidler himself was often in the media due to his radical behavior and rhetoric. For example, one time Scheidler was leading a demonstration in front of a clinic in Chicago. When he saw that the TV stations were leaving almost as quickly as they had arrived due to rain and low-turn out, Scheidler ran over to an empty playground, started pushing the swings and yelling things like, "children who will not be born!"¹⁰⁷

Over time and through new legislation¹⁰⁸ that banned people from blocking abortion clinics, the pro-life movement seems to have become less militant. Until last year, there had not been any murders of abortion workers for nearly a decade. However, on May 31, 2009, a suspect associated with the pro-life movement murdered Dr. George Tiller, who was famous in pro-life circles for performing third-trimester abortions.¹⁰⁹

The main focus of the pro-life movement is to overturn *Roe v. Wade* and since the pro-life movement has failed to overturn *Roe v. Wade* through other Supreme Court cases, the emphasis is now on the Supreme Court Justices themselves and their stance on the issue of abortion. Therefore, the pro-life movement campaigns heavily for conservative pro-life candidates running for President of the United States of America, since it is the job of the President to appoint Justices to the Supreme Court.

While raising public awareness with the aim to sway public opinion in favor of the pro-life movement is one of the highest goals of the pro-life movement, it is also very political in other ways. Many pro-life organizations rate politicians on their pro-life record and encourage or discourage people to vote for them based on these ratings.¹¹⁰ Additionally, they provide information on pro-life related legislation to members of their organizations prompting them to be politically active through different means, such as calling their legislators. In the chart below, we can see that the *National Right to Life* sends more mail than any other organization other than *Republican National Committee*:

¹⁰⁷ Risen & Thomas 104.

¹⁰⁸ The Federal Access to Clinic Entrances Act (a.k.a. F.A.C.E) signed into law in 1994, prevents people from blocking abortion clinics. 22 April 2010 <<http://usgovinfo.about.com/library/bills/blface.htm>>.

¹⁰⁹ Robin Abcarian and Michael Haederle "Late-term abortion doctors fill in for Tiller" 16 March 2010 <<http://articles.latimes.com/2010/mar/16/nation/la-na-abortion-doctor16-2010mar16>>.

¹¹⁰ An example of these ratings can be found on the webpage of the *National Right to Life Political Action Committee* 26 April 2010 <http://www.nrlpac.org/senate_states.htm>.

<i>Organization</i>	<i>Total pieces of mail^a</i>	<i>Number of unique mailers^b</i>	<i>Number of issues addressed^c</i>
<i>Conservative organizations</i>			
Republican National Committee	664	10	8
National Right to Life	121	7	2
Republican Jewish Coalition	46	2	1
Focus on the Family	17	5	3
Bush-Cheney '04	15	7	4
Christian Coalition	8	3	7
Susan B. Anthony List	8	3	2
Life Issues Institute	3	2	1
Traditional Values Coalition	3	2	8
Citizen Leader Coalition	2	2	6
Total	887	43	4.2 ^d
<i>Liberal organizations</i>			
America Coming Together	49	4	3
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)	25	2	2
National Association of Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (NARAL) Pro-Choice America	20	4	2
Planned Parenthood	20	12	4
Democratic National Committee	19	3	2
Human Rights Campaign	14	3	2
National Organization of Women	5	4	2
People for the American Way (PFAW)	5	1	8
Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee	4	1	1
Equality Florida Action Network	2	2	2
Total	163	36	2.8 ^d

Figure 5: Organizations Sending Mail about Religious or Social Issues, 2004¹¹¹

The most popular topic addressed in the mail of conservative organizations surrounding the 2004 Presidential election is abortion:

<i>Issue</i>	<i>Total mail pieces^a</i>		<i>Unique mailers^b</i>		<i>Number of organizations sending mailers that mention the issue</i>
	<i>Number^c</i>	<i>Percent of total (899)</i>	<i>Number^c</i>	<i>Percent of total (66)</i>	
Abortion	673	75	52	79	15
Same-sex marriage	533	59	27	41	8
Nomination of judges	458	51	14	21	5
Family values	397	44	8	12	3
Boy Scouts	167	19	3	5	2
Faith	125	14	11	17	9
Faith-based initiatives	21	2	5	8	3
Gay rights	12	1	4	6	1
Separation of church and state	8	1	5	8	4
Gay adoption	7	1	2	3	2
Ten Commandments	6	1	3	5	2
Public decency	5	1	2	3	2
Prayer	3	0	3	5	2
GOTV	2	0	1	2	1
Traditional morality	1	0	1	2	1
Liberal religious values	1	0	1	2	1

Figure 6: Distribution of Issues in the Mail of Conservative Organizations¹¹²

¹¹¹ Campbell 107.

We can see that nearly 80% of all conservative mailers mentioned abortion, while only 41% mentioned same-sex marriage¹¹³. These flyers can be very persuasive and often contain pictures of aborted fetuses and call pro-choice members and sometimes specifically pro-choice candidates, murderers. This is done in an effort to mobilize citizens to vote for pro-life presidential candidates.

As we will see in the next chapter, today pro-life organizations encourage members to be peaceful and to use non-religious language when talking about abortion and trying to turn others against it. While the pro-life activists view their activities as nonviolent, the pro-choice movement often views the same actions as violent. For example, it is common for pro-life organizations to display pictures of aborted fetuses on college campuses and other locations in order to raise discussions about the morality of abortion. While pro-life members claim that no overtly violent acts are committed and that they use the pictures to start peaceful discussions with people, others, especially pro-choice activists, view the pictures themselves as being overly aggressive.¹¹⁴

3.4 Why Does Abortion Matter to People?

The issue of abortion has become a very emotional topic on both sides of the debate. We can see examples of this through some of the illustrations mentioned previously. As we have seen, pro-life activists call abortion murder and sometimes compare it to the Holocaust. They have found provocative ways to bring attention to the abortion issue from their perspective, such as through short films. One of the most popular pro-life films called the, *Silent Scream*, made in 1985 is 28 minutes long and shows an abortion using an ultrasound or as the narrator describes it, “from the vantage point of the victim”. The President at that time, Ronald Reagan, commented on the film stating, “It's been said that if every member of Congress could see that film, they would move quickly to end the tragedy of abortion”.¹¹⁵ The film was indeed sent to every

¹¹² Campbell 109.

¹¹³ See Chapter 6 for further discussion on the issue of same-sex marriage.

¹¹⁴ Shields 72.

¹¹⁵ Claudia Wallis and Kenneth W. Banta “Medicine: Silent Scream” *Time* 25 Mar. 1985, 11 Feb. 2010 <<http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,964142-1,00.html>>.

member of Congress and every Supreme Court Justice as well. While President Reagan was wrong and Congress did not stop abortion, the *Silent Scream* brought a lot of publicity and recruits to the pro-life movement.¹¹⁶

Over the last ten years, the majority of Americans have shifted their opinion on abortion. Last year for the first time more Americans considered themselves to be pro-life (51%) and not pro-choice (42%).¹¹⁷

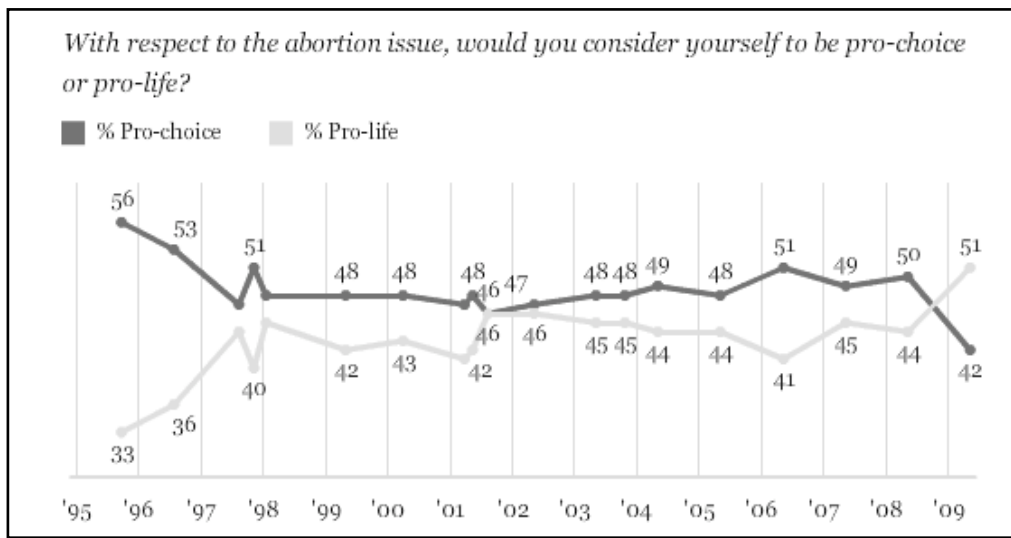


Figure 7: Percentage of Americans Who Consider Themselves Pro-Choice or Pro-Life, 1995 – 2009¹¹⁸

A similar poll found that 37% of Americans think that abortion should be legal only in a few circumstances (such as if the woman’s life is in danger or in cases of rape) and 23% felt it should be illegal in all circumstances. On the flip side, 22% felt it should be legal in all circumstances while only 17% thought it should be legal under most circumstances (for example, up until the third-trimester of pregnancy).¹¹⁹ From this data it is clear that the majority opinion on abortion falls somewhere in the middle, wanting

¹¹⁶ Dawn McCaffrey and Jennifer Keys “Competitive Framing Processes in the Abortion Debate: Polarization-Vilification, Frame Saving, and Frame Debunking” *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Blackwell Publishing, Winter 2000) 48.

¹¹⁷ Lydia Saad “More Americans “Pro-Life” Than “Pro-Choice” for First Time” *Gallup* 15 May 2009, 14 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/118399/More-Americans-Pro-Life-Than-Pro-Choice-First-Time.aspx>>.

¹¹⁸ Lydia Saad “More Americans “Pro-Life” Than “Pro-Choice” for First Time” *Gallup* 15 May 2009.

¹¹⁹ “Abortion” *Gallup* Fall 2009, 14 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/search/default.aspx?q=pro-life&s=&p=1&b=SEARCH>>.

abortions to be legal in certain circumstances.

It is unclear as to why exactly public opinion has changed. The pro-life movement has definitely had some positive effect on persuading public opinion to their side, much of which may be a result of the movement becoming more organized and better at training its members. Still, other factors could also have influenced this shift like advanced ultra-sound equipment, such as 4D ultrasounds, in which a person can see a very life-like three-dimensional image of the fetus, possibly making it more difficult to choose to abort it. In the 1970s, many people thought that a fetus was just a bunch of cells that did not form into the shape of a person until the end of the pregnancy. Ultrasounds, which became widely used in the mid-to-late 1980s, show that a fetus does in fact look like a baby within the first trimester, although it is only 1-2 inches long. Pro-life activists use this technology to try and deter women from having abortions. For example, *Focus on the Family* started what they call, “Operation Ultrasound” (OUP) in 2004 with the goal of equipping 650 crisis pregnancy centers with ultrasounds. By 2006 they had already placed 270 in crisis pregnancy centers and claimed to have saved 6,300 lives in the last two years through ultrasound technology.¹²⁰

Another example can be seen in the aftermath of a commercial from General Electric a few years ago in which they showed a woman and a man looking longingly at the image of the woman’s fetus through a 4D ultrasound with the song, “The First Time I Ever Saw Your Face” playing in the background. The commercial aired in the middle of one of the most anticipated episodes of *Friends*. Pro-choice activists were livid. They retaliated by making their own commercial in which they called the 4D equipment “propaganda” and a “milieu of clever illusion that blurs the distinction between a fetus and a newborn infant”. Although, they never explained how the ultrasound fools people.¹²¹

Nevertheless, this does not explain why so many people consider themselves to be pro-life, especially since being pro-choice does not necessarily mean you think life starts at birth. Personally, I think that ultrasound equipment probably has influenced a

¹²⁰ Shana Schutte “Focus Celebrates Option Ultrasound Success” *Heartlink* 20 Jan. 2010
<<http://www.heartlink.org/OUP/A000000422.cfm>>.

¹²¹ Anne Hendershott *The Politics of Abortion* (New York: Encounter Books, 2006) 121 – 123.

number of people to become pro-life, but it has also made the abortion debate more emotional on both sides. After all, one does not have to be pregnant to witness a fetus with advanced technology. In America, it is not uncommon to see pictures and videos from a friend or family member's ultrasound. This, in and of itself, is probably not powerful enough to encourage someone to become pro-life and/or go out and vote for a pro-life candidate. At the end of the day, I think that the pro-life movement simply has done a better job at framing the abortion debate. We can see this most obviously in the title of the movement itself, "pro-life". Obviously the opposite of pro-life should be pro-death. Of course, pro-choice groups are not pro-death. However, they have a more difficult time shedding this idea and putting the abortion debate in terms of women's rights instead of terms of life and death. After all, it is difficult to argue with a picture of an aborted fetus.

On the other hand, it is important to remember that despite this recent shift in public opinion, the majority of Americans voted for Barack Obama for President in 2008, a Democrat who has a 100% pro-choice record according to *Planned Parenthood*.¹²² Clearly, abortion is a highly debated issue and although the number of abortions per year has declined and a slim majority of Americans claim to be pro-life, the debate over abortion is far from over. In Chapter 5 we will see how this issue affects a person's vote for President and in the next chapter how it factored into the formation of the Christian Right.

Summary of Chapter 3

From the data on abortion in America, you should now have a more clear idea of what the issue in and of itself entails – who gets abortions, how frequent they are and how difficult it is to obtain one. Both the pro-life movement and the pro-choice movement use these statistics to persuade people to join their cause. The pro-life movement was small at first, but has gained momentum over time. The pro-life movement acts on many levels and gives members opportunities to be active ranging

¹²² "Planned Parenthood Action Fund 2008 Endorsements" *Planned Parenthood* 20 April 2010 <<http://www.plannedparenthoodaction.org/campaigns/barack-obama-endorsement-111.htm>>.

from voting for a pro-life candidate to marching in protest of abortion. The abortion issue itself ignited political activism in many who had never been active before and has continued to do so. The issue also became so fundamental that it helped to bridge the deep divide between Catholics and Protestants, as we will see. The pro-life movement has grown over time and although it has problems with radical members, in general the movement arguably strives to be peaceful.

The pro-life movement uses a variety of tactics to raise public awareness on abortion and persuade people to join their cause or, at the very least, their opinion. As we have seen, the pro-life movement has been successful in this and for the first time since *Roe v. Wade* a slim majority of Americans are pro-life. This is most likely due to the fact that the pro-life movement has become better organized over time and has found persuasive methods to convince the general public to become pro-life members, especially in the way they have framed the issue. Other tactics include using pictures of aborted fetuses and utilizing advanced ultrasound technology. They also work to stop women from having abortions in a number of ways, such as giving free ultrasounds at crisis pregnancy centers.

It is evident that the pro-life movement is powerful and has been growing. As we will see in the next chapter, the pro-life movement led directly to the formation of the Christian Right movement.

Chapter 4

The Christian Right Movement

“The framers of our Constitution meant we were to have freedom of religion, not freedom from religion.”

- Billy Graham¹²³

As we have seen in Chapter 1, in the 20th Century, the long held view that politics would corrupt one’s soul was under scrutiny. In light of the sexual revolution, many Christians started to feel that if they did not get involved in politics then their inactivity would eventually lead to the corruption of their souls as a result of modern society’s lack of values. As we will see now, conservative Christians began to think that it was their duty to fight against secularism in order to uphold their own traditions that they worried were being infringed upon, as well as to help maintain America as a moral Christian nation.

After *Roe v. Wade* made abortion legal, Catholics started the pro-life movement. A few Protestants joined initially, but the majority either ignored the movement or sided with women’s rights groups, partly in an effort to differentiate themselves from Catholics, a point which will be expanded upon later.¹²⁴ Protestants did not become associated with the pro-life movement until the 1980s, leading many to believe that the Christian Right movement, which also took off in the 1980s, was initially unrelated to the pro-life movement. As we will see in the following chapter, however, without the pro-life movement, the Christian Right would never have gotten off the ground. The fact that the Christian Right did not really formalize until nearly a decade after abortion became legal does not disqualify it from being the most important factor in the foundation of the Christian Right. In the following chapter, I will review the other factors that led to the formation of the Christian Right, many of which are falsely identified by members of the Christian Right as well as various scholars, as mentioned in the introduction, as being the sole factors that led to the Christian Right, and show how the pro-life movement is an

¹²³ Billy Graham *Brainy Quote* 10 Jan. 2010
<http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/authors/b/billy_graham_2.html>.

¹²⁴ Lichtman 416.

important component of all of them.

4.1 The Influence of Francis Schaeffer

Before the Supreme Court's ruling on *Roe v. Wade*, a majority of Baptists voted to support a women's right to an abortion at the Southern Baptist Convention in 1971.¹²⁵ "If the Catholics are for it, we should be against it" said Harold O.J. Brown, an evangelical theologian and anti-abortion activist stated on why Protestants were not immediately active against the legalization of abortion.¹²⁶ His view was common amongst Protestants; after all, there were deep divisions between Catholics and Protestants, many of which continue today. During the 1970s, the idea of having Protestants and Catholics work together for a common cause was unfathomable.¹²⁷

However, in 1979 Francis Schaeffer, a "Reformed Presbyterian" evangelical minister began a campaign to end Christian dispensationalism and force conservative Christians to become politically active in order to save American culture from secular humanism, which he believed was epitomized by legalized abortion.¹²⁸

Dispensationalism, in short, is the belief that at the millennium (year 2000 AD), God would usher in a thousand-year period of perfect peace. Thus, many Christians who believed in dispensationalism were waiting for this time and focusing only on perfecting themselves, ignoring everything that was happening in the secular world.¹²⁹

Schaeffer was deeply disturbed by the legalization of abortion and the general conditions in America by the end of the 1970s. He had spent much of the 1950s, 60s and 70s isolated in the Swiss Alps where he studied and prayed. He wrote a widely influential book about secular humanism called *How Should We Then Live?* (1976), that depicted the decline of Western culture originating with Thomas Aquinas and lasting until today. Schaeffer wrote that this was a conflict between the secular Renaissance (which was the beginning of "evil" secular humanism) and the Protestant Reformation (encompassed by good Christian values such as purity, which were demonized by secularism). Although

¹²⁵ Martin 156.

¹²⁶ Martin 193.

¹²⁷ Lichtman 303.

¹²⁸ Risen & Thomas 121.

¹²⁹ Larson & Wilcox 193.

his book was a bit fuzzy on the facts and oversimplified Western intellectual history, it became widely popular amongst Christian fundamentalists.¹³⁰

However, it was his next book that focused solely on abortion that acted as possibly the greatest wake up call to conservative Christians and helped mobilize the Christian Right: *Whatever Happened to the Human Race* (1979) was about the evils of abortion and appealed to fundamentalists and more moderate Christians alike. The book was co-authored by C. Everett Koop, a Christian and prominent pediatric surgeon who later became the U.S. Surgeon General under President Reagan. In the book, Schaeffer reiterated that Christians must become politically active because abortion was literally the murder of human life. He claimed that Christians, conservative and liberal alike, must start taking responsibility for what was happening in their society. An example of this call can be seen in the following passage from *Whatever Happened to the Human Race*:

*“The fate of the unborn is a question of the fate of the human race. We are one human family. If the rights of one part of that family are denied, it is of concern to each of us. What is at stake is no less than the essence of what freedom and rights are all about.”*¹³¹

He goes on to refute arguments made by the pro-choice side by giving examples of handicapped people who live normal lives and who probably would have been aborted if they had been born after 1973. He clearly defines abortion as the murder of unborn children and uses it as an illustration for how society has become so immoral that people do not even respect human life anymore. He also argues that the issue is so important that all Christians must fight to stop it:

“... abortion is not a “Roman Catholic issue.” This must be emphasized. Those who favor abortion often try to minimize the arguments of those who oppose it by conveying the idea that only the Roman Catholic Church is against abortion. We must indeed be glad for the Roman Catholics who have spoken out, but we must not allow the position to be minimized as though it is a “religious” issue. It is not

¹³⁰ Risen & Thomas 123.

¹³¹ Francis Schaeffer *Whatever Happened to the Human Race?* (Crossway Books, 1979) 28.

a religious issue.”¹³²

Schaeffer told conservative Christians that they needed to fight using the same tools that liberals had used: through the judiciary and legislative system. He encouraged Christians to put conservative Christians in office through campaigning for and by voting for conservative pro-life candidates. Never before had any Christian writer and speaker encouraged conservative Christians so persuasively to get involved in politics as Francis Schaeffer did.

Inspired by his father, Frankie Schaeffer, Francis Schaeffer’s son, made a five-segment documentary based on the book *Whatever Happened to the Human Race?* The Schaeffer’s and Koop took the film on tour in order to awaken conservative Christians to become politically active against abortion, as we can see in the following quote from the film:

*“We implore those of you who are Christians to exert all your influence to fight against the increasing loss of humanness- through legislation, social action and other means at your disposal, both privately and publicly and collectively, in all areas of your lives.”*¹³³

Their tour was hugely successful; they regularly packed auditoriums with 2,500- 3,000 people at a time. They visited 20 big cities over a four-month period and inspired thousands of Christians to join the pro-life movement, including Randall Terry, who would later start the organization *Operation Rescue* and Jerry Falwell, leader of the *Moral Majority*. “I wouldn’t say it’s the only thing that influenced the ‘pro-life’ movement, but nothing has had an impact across the board that compares to the Schaeffer-Koop series. Today, you won’t find many who call themselves evangelicals who don’t hold a very strong ‘pro-life’ position.”¹³⁴

After their tour, the film and book continued to make the rounds in Christian circles. Schaeffer formed the *Christian Action Council*, with the help of C. Everett Koop and Harold O.J. Brown, which lobbied Congress solely on limiting and banning abortions

¹³² Schaeffer 27.

¹³³ Risen & Thomas 124.

¹³⁴ Harold O.J. Brown in Martin 194.

and continues to do so today, as well as assisted in the creation of crisis pregnancy centers.¹³⁵

Schaeffer continued his crusade in his next book, which was a kind of Christian response to *Communist Party Manifesto* and *Humanist Manifesto* in which he continued to lay out the evils of secularism, abortion and the urgent call for Christian political action in *A Christian Manifesto* (1981). He used the issue of abortion as an example throughout his book of how corrupt society had become and how Christians must react through civil disobedience and reclaim America as a Christian nation. His call was so impassioned that some blamed this book for radical pro-life violence.¹³⁶

Francis Schaeffer's influence on the formation of the Christian Right was monumental. Through his writings, preaching and films, he urgently called on all Christians to become politically active. As we have seen, Schaeffer used the abortion issue to stir Christians into action. Furthermore, this issue in and of itself is largely responsible for inspiring Francis Schaeffer to become politically active.

4.2 Anti-Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)

In 1972, a year before *Roe v. Wade*, Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment, which would amend the U.S. Constitution to include the following section: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."¹³⁷ In order for the amendment to be made, each state had to ratify it, needing three fourths or 38 states to approve it by 1979 for it to pass. Initially the amendment was widely supported with 22 states ratifying it the first year.¹³⁸ However, after abortion became legal, this momentous pace halted to a crawl with the emergence of Anti-ERA groups led primarily by conservative Christian women,

¹³⁵ Martin 238.

¹³⁶ Frank Schaeffer "The Evangelical 'Mainstream' Insanity Behind the Michigan 'End Times' Militia" *The Huffington Post* 1 April 2010, 26 April 2010 <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/frank-schaeffer/the-evangelical-mainstrea_b_520990.html>.

¹³⁷ Section 1 of the proposed Equal Rights Amendment, "Constitutional Amendments Not Ratified" *U.S. House of Representatives* 3 Oct. 2009 <<http://www.house.gov/house/Amendnotrat.shtml>>.

¹³⁸ Roberta W. Francis *The History Behind the Equal Rights Amendment* 20 April 2010 <<http://www.equalrightsamendment.org/era.htm>>.

fundamentalists and Southerners.¹³⁹

Conservative Christians saw the ERA as a feminist project. Christian Right scholar, Ruth Murray Brown, conducted a number of interviews over the last few decades with women who were part of the anti-ERA movement. She describes why the majority of them were against the ERA:

“The anti-ERA women had watched in horror as they had seen antiwar activists, student protesters, civil rights marchers, and “uppity” women rebelling against the norms of personal behavior... They were especially disturbed by the loose sexual norms and acceptance of drugs that seemed to go along with it. They told me that they feared passage of the ERA would only accelerate these other symptoms of moral decline. On a very personal level, they feared that entrenching feminist values in the Constitution would mean the end of their Bible-based way of life.”¹⁴⁰

Many women viewed the ERA as the government interfering in their private families. They believed that women would have to be drafted into war among other things if the ERA was ratified.¹⁴¹ Additionally, many conservative Christians think that wives should submit to their husband’s authority, which is a husband’s right that they believe is ordained by God through scripture. Women in the anti-ERA movement believed that if women were deemed equal to men constitutionally that somehow their own family lives would lose balance. Anti-ERA activists simply did not believe or want women to be equal with men.¹⁴²

The most visible person against the ERA was Phyllis Schlafly – a Catholic, and a well known anti-feminist activist who wrote a monthly newsletter called *The Phyllis Schlafly Report* and who created the *Eagle Forum*, a conservative political interest group founded in part to stop the ERA, both of which continue today. Numerous Christian women were terrified of what would happen if the ERA passed because they were afraid

¹³⁹ Ruth Murray Brown *For a “Christian America”: A History of the Religious Right* (Prometheus Books, 2002) 271.

¹⁴⁰ Brown 15.

¹⁴¹ Brown 20.

¹⁴² Brown 35.

of losing their traditional roles as women if the constitution declared men and women equal through the ERA:

“I have a good feeling about being a woman. There are some things that I do better. We are different. Women have so many responsibilities in church anyway that men won’t take, why should women take on these others? When the women take hold, the men drop out [leave church and their families], and I don’t like to see that happen.” (Ann Patterson, founder of the first anti-ERA campaign, November 18, 1978)¹⁴³

Resistance to the ERA came largely as a reaction to feminist groups such as *National Organization for Women (N.O.W.)*. The feminist movement, which had been taking place in the U.S. since the 1960s, disgusted many conservative Christian women, like Ann Patterson, and these women were eager to fight back and show that there was an alternative to feminism. The anti-ERA campaign gave them just the opportunity that they were looking for.

When abortion became legal, the anti-ERA campaign gained a great deal of support. People worried that now if the ERA passed women would be able to get abortion on demand, something they greatly feared. This rhetoric, though false, was widely used within the anti-ERA movement to encourage people to join. Many conservative Christians felt that if abortion was legal and the ERA passed then all hell would break loose in society and Christian morals would cease to exist:

*“Because abortion law repeal embodied the autonomy and independence of the new woman, it had become the centerpiece of the women’s rights movement. In the reverse mirror image, because abortion law repeal seemed to assault traditional values of family and religion, it politicized the religious right.”*¹⁴⁴

Men were also active in fighting the ERA, but they were not nearly as numerous as women. Furthermore, the anti-ERA campaign was geared predominantly towards

¹⁴³ Brown 33.

¹⁴⁴ N. E. H. Hull & Peter Charles Hoffer *Roe v. Wade” The Abortion Rights Controversy in American History* (University Press of Kansas 2001) 187.

Christian women with primary organizations within the campaign being called *Women for Responsible Legislation* which later turned into *Women Who Want To Be Women* and *Concerned Women for America*, a group that has become one of the cornerstone organizations within the Christian Right today.

In truth, I think that the main reason women joined the anti-ERA movement was because they wanted to do something to fight against what they viewed as the moral decline of society. Conservative Christians were tired of watching society change and become more liberal, especially after abortion became legal. They wanted to do something to stop it. For conservative women, the anti-ERA movement gave them just the opportunity they wanted to become politically active and fight to preserve their traditions.

The anti-ERA movement used direct mail as its primary campaigning tool, but also used television and radio to get their message across and recruit others to join. One of the most influential tools in recruitment was a pamphlet sent to millions of women nicknamed “The Pink Sheet” because of its color. It was titled: “Ladies Have You Heard?” and it asked women, “Are you sure you want to be ‘Liberated’?” and “Do you want to lose your right not to work?” The pamphlet suggested that the ERA would ruin Christian families and would corrupt a woman’s place at home and in her family such as being able to stay home with their children instead of having to go to work. It compared the ERA to Castro’s “liberation” of Cuba¹⁴⁵. Christians across America became terrified that the ERA would tear their families apart and would corrupt their family values by making men and women equal and thus forcing women to take on masculine roles such as mentioned before.¹⁴⁶ Even though none of this was in the actual amendment, many conservatives were convinced that these things would result from it.

Pro-life groups began teaming up with anti-ERA groups. Additionally, many of the women belonged to both groups. A number of rallies and conferences were held starting in 1977 that included both groups and called themselves the “Pro-family Coalition”. They united to fight against the, “ERA, Abortion, Federally-controlled Early

¹⁴⁵ Brown 40.

¹⁴⁶ Matthew C. Moen, *The Transformation of the Christian Right* (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1992).

Child Development Programs, and the Teaching or Glorification of Homosexuality, Lesbianism, or Prostitution”¹⁴⁷ Out of this coalition came the pro-family movement which continues to work towards similar goals to this day.

In order to pass the ERA, 38 states needed to ratify it, but by the 1979 deadline only 35 had. The anti-ERA movement was successful in not only convincing enough legislators to vote against the ERA, but also persuaded 5 states to rescind their original ratification of the amendment. The Equal Rights Amendment was not considered to be either a Democrat or Republican issue when it was first voted on in Congress in 1972, as it was widely supported by both parties. However, by 1980 the Democratic Party had become the pro-ERA party while the Republican Party became anti-ERA. This change was a direct result of the grassroots anti-ERA organizations of what was soon to be called the Christian Right movement. In the following chapter we will see why the Republican Party became affiliated with conservative Christians and took their side on issues such as the ERA.

In the end it was ironic; conservative Christian women became politically active, taking on a public role for the first time to fight against being considered equal with men. They did this so as to defend their traditional roles, such as staying home with their children.¹⁴⁸ They formed organizations and social networks that eventually succeeded in defeating the ERA. While the Equal Rights Amendment did not deal directly with the abortion issue, it played an important part in firing up opposition to it. Conservative Christians felt that if something unthinkable like abortion could be made legal then there was no limit to what the government might enforce or allow. They feared that they would be forced to go to work and possibly even war. If *Roe v. Wade* had never occurred, support against the ERA may not have been drummed up and the ERA may have easily passed due to the fact that there was little opposition to it when Congress initially passed it in 1972.¹⁴⁹ Still, by 1977, as it became clear that the Equal Rights Amendment would fail, the anti-ERA campaign turned into the pro-family movement. The women who learned how to be politically active in fighting the ERA were ready to continue their fight

¹⁴⁷ Brown 111.

¹⁴⁸ Hull & Hoffer 210.

¹⁴⁹ A number of labor unions opposed the ERA in the 1960s, but were not as actively opposed to the ERA in the early 1970s.

to uphold and maintain their conservative Christian values. Their pro-family movement, created in part by the pro-life movement, became the foundation of the Christian Right.

4.3 The Role of the Moral Majority

It is no surprise that many scholars attribute the resurgence of the Christian Right to the organization called the *Moral Majority*. After all, it was this organization that first brought a great deal of media attention to the Christian Right. Publicity, it seems, is the primary contribution the *Moral Majority* ever made in the Christian Right movement. Additionally, this visibility was generally negative as the *Moral Majority* presented conservative Christians as being overly zealous due mainly to the fact that Jerry Falwell appeared to be so. Furthermore, the *Moral Majority* often fabricated their numbers and influence.

Jerry Falwell, a famous televangelist and leader of the *Moral Majority*, claimed that *Roe v. Wade* had “awakened him from his slumbers”. It made him realize that preaching against abortion was not enough and that Christians were going to have to come together and become political.¹⁵⁰ This, Falwell claims, is what led him to form the *Moral Majority* in 1979. As mentioned before, Jerry Falwell was greatly influenced by Francis Schaeffer and his books. Thus, the *Moral Majority*’s primary goal was to fight secular humanism, as defined by Schaeffer, by electing conservative Christians who would defend conservative Christian values and by trying to convince other Americans to join their cause.

The *Moral Majority* claimed to be “pro-life, pro-family, pro-moral, and pro-American”. The group focused on registering, informing and mobilizing Christians to vote for leaders and issues in line with conservative Christian beliefs, such as defending the nuclear family structure.¹⁵¹ At the same time the organization was not affiliated with any one denomination and worked to include numerous Catholics and Protestants as well as Jews.¹⁵² While denominational differences may seem small to a non-Christian, they are often critical in the Christian world. Jerry Falwell, the leader of the *Moral Majority*, tried

¹⁵⁰ Lichtman 139.

¹⁵¹ Jerry Falwell, *Listen America!* (New York: Doubleday-Galilee, 1980) 257 – 263.

¹⁵² Dinesh D’Souza, *Falwell, Before the Millennium* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1984) 109 – 112.

hard to overcome denominational differences and get conservative Christians to band together for a common cause, telling Christians “it is not a violation of your convictions, nor does it displease the Lord, for you to work with people who don’t agree with you theologically, if in so doing you improve your country, improve your society, help families, and accomplish things collectively that you could not have accomplished apart from each other.”¹⁵³

However, Falwell failed to bring conservative Christians together the way he wanted to. Surveys found that around 90% of people in the *Moral Majority* were Baptists, mainly because the organization was maintained through the Baptist community. Additionally, there were very few Catholics, Jews or other Protestants in the organization.¹⁵⁴ Many Christians viewed the *Moral Majority* as being too Baptist and too zealous for their liking. After all, Falwell was closely associated with Baptists. He was a Baptist Bible Fellowship pastor who had expanded his 35-member church in Virginia to more than 15,000 in the 1970s. He personally knew many Baptists and managed the majority of his social networking through his Baptist ties. Nevertheless, a great deal of non-Baptists heard his message on the *Old Time Gospel Hour* that was broadcasted on more than 300 television and radio stations. Falwell claimed to have an audience ranging between six and thirty million, but Nielsen ratings showed that in reality his regular audience was about 1.4 million.¹⁵⁵

The most important issue for the *Majority*, adhering to Schaeffer’s call, was abortion. This issue was crucial because they viewed abortion as being a kind of genocide against unborn children. Conservative Christians believed that they must work to save and defend the “human lives” of babies who were being murdered at an unimaginable rate (The *Moral Majority* and other pro-life organizations often publish the number of abortions that occur each year as the number of lives lost. For example, as we saw in the last chapter, they often claim that more than a million unborn children are murdered every year, citing the fact that more than a million abortions occur each year).¹⁵⁶ They

¹⁵³ Martin 204.

¹⁵⁴ Lichtman 343.

¹⁵⁵ Martin 213.

¹⁵⁶ Deana A. Rohlinger “Friends and Foes: Media, Politics, and Tactics in the Abortion War” *Social Problems*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (University of California Press, Nov. 2006) 554.

often asked questions in pamphlets and newsletters they distributed in churches like “Are you in favor of your tax dollars being used to support abortion on demand?”¹⁵⁷ They also campaigned against homosexual rights such as allowing homosexuals to teach, banning sexually explicit material such as pornography, keeping prayer in schools and lowering taxes.¹⁵⁸

The G.O.P. took notice of the *Moral Majority* and tried to mobilize conservative Christian voters through the organization (which will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter). Jerry Falwell became friends with Ronald Reagan and campaigned heavily for him through the *Moral Majority* in 1980. After the election, Falwell went on many talk shows claiming that Reagan’s victory margin was mainly due to conservative Christians. Suddenly, the Christian Right found itself in the limelight with the *Moral Majority* at the forefront because of the election. To this day journalists, various Christian Right scholars and even leaders in the Christian Right believe that the election of Ronald Reagan acted as the catalyst in forming the Christian Right and aligning it with the G.O.P. Data, however, makes it clear that this is simply not true. In truth, Ronald Reagan won by such a large majority due to a number of other factors, such as Jimmy Carter’s low approval ratings.¹⁵⁹

In fact, voter turnout amongst conservative Christians, especially conservative evangelicals remained stable and did not increase from the 1976 election of Jimmy Carter to the 1980 election of Ronald Reagan and declined slightly in the 1984 Presidential election in which Reagan was reelected:

	1972	1976	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	Change
Conservative evangelicals	59	67	67	66	61	70	80	74	77	+18
Liberal evangelicals	68	71	72	69	64	80	75	67	78	+10
Non-evangelicals	78	76	76	79	76	81	81	82	80	+2
African Americans	65	66	67	66	60	68	68	75	74	+9
All Americans	73	73	71	74	70	75	77	76	79	+6

Figure 8: Various Groups, Voter Turnout for Presidential Elections, 1972 – 2004¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Martin 206.

¹⁵⁸ Martin 205.

¹⁵⁹ See Chapter 5.

¹⁶⁰ Shields 120.

Furthermore, evangelicals were still seen as an under mobilized group of voters that had the potential to become a voting block and both Democrats and Republicans were working to align evangelicals specifically to their respective parties.¹⁶¹

At first the *Moral Majority* appeared to be the center of the Christian Right because it seemed to be a huge well-run, well-funded and greatly successful organization, but by the end of the 1980s they were broke and in decline. The *Moral Majority* was unable to secure a stable base due to a number of factors: First, they relied predominantly on funds raised through direct mail, of which declined sharply in the 1980s.¹⁶² Secondly, the *Moral Majority* failed to build a grassroots organization and functioned primarily out of Baptist churches and the *Baptist Bible Fellowship*¹⁶³. This caused two major problems, 1) Baptist Pastors were focused on building their own church and did not make supporting the *Moral Majority* a priority, 2) As mentioned before, the majority of members in the *Majority* were Baptists, which turned off Christians of other denominations.¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, surveys have found that most people, including conservative Christians, viewed the *Moral Majority* unfavorably mentioning that the members of the *Moral Majority* were too fanatical and throughout the 1980s, Jerry Falwell was often considered to be one of the most unpopular men in America in a number of surveys.¹⁶⁵

It is clear that while the *Moral Majority* was not the sole factor that mobilized the Christian Right, it did put it in the national spotlight for the first time, giving recognition to this conservative Christian movement. It also opened people up to the idea of having conservative Christians of all denominations unite for a common cause and become politically active. And finally, the *Moral Majority* began to affiliate conservative

¹⁶¹ Shields 120.

¹⁶² In 1984 the *Moral Majority* raised \$11.1 million through direct mail, but only \$3 million in 1988. This occurred for three main reasons; 1) Conservatives did not feel the need to contribute since they believed Reagan would be reelected without any major threat, 2) conservative mail was increasing from different organizations creating competition for funds, and 3) televangelist scandals were hurting contributions. (Clyde Wilcox "Premillennialists at the Millennium: Some Reflections on the Christian Right" *Sociology of Religion*, Vol. 55, No. 3(Oxford University Press, Autumn 1994) 249).

¹⁶³ Larson & Wilcox 27.

¹⁶⁴ Shields 51.

¹⁶⁵ Wilcox "Premillennialists at the Millennium" 244-245.

Christians with the Republican Party.¹⁶⁶ When the *Moral Majority* collapsed at the end of the decade, the media pronounced the Christian Right dead, but as we will see in the following chapters, it was only just beginning.

4.4 Other Christian Right Organizations and Christian Right Activists

In the 1990s, as other Christian Right organizations began to flourish and conservative Christians continued to vote more numerous for the Republican Party, as we will see in the next chapter, it became clear that it was not the issues that the *Majority* promoted that conservatives did not support (such as family values and anti-abortion), but the *Moral Majority* itself. Other organizations within the Christian Right learned from the mistakes of the *Moral Majority* and were much more successful as a result of this.

The *Christian Coalition* is a grassroots organization that formed in 1989. Unlike the *Moral Majority*, the *Christian Coalition* formed numerous local and state chapters through various Christian denominations and not just one.¹⁶⁷ In 2003 they had over 1,500 chapters and just over one million members. The *National Right to Life Committee*, likewise, has 3,000 local chapters and 50 state affiliates and more than 7 million members.¹⁶⁸ Both of these organizations have members from different Christian denominations and work in support of the Republican Party. They both incorporate the pro-life movement and fight for anti-abortion legislation, such as to end late-term abortions (a.k.a. partial birth abortions). I include these two organizations here because they are highly associated with the Christian Right and they both have lasted to the present day. Additionally, it is important to make it clear that the *Moral Majority* failed for reasons other than the issues it promoted.¹⁶⁹

In his book, *The Democratic Virtues of the Christian Right*, in which Professor Jon Shields argues that the Christian Right has improved participatory democracy in

¹⁶⁶ Ted G. Jelen and Clyde Wilcox, "Causes and Consequences of Public Attitudes Toward Abortion: A Review and Research Agenda" *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 56, No. 4 (Dec. 2003) 489 – 500.

¹⁶⁷ "Christian Coalition" *West's Encyclopedia of American Law* 22 April, 2010
<<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3437700832.html>>.

¹⁶⁸ "National Right to Life Committee" *West's Encyclopedia of American Law* 22 April, 2010
<<http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G2-3437703048.html>>.

¹⁶⁹ See appendix for an idea of support other Christian Right organizations had in the 1994 congressional elections.

America, Shields describes how the Christian Right is actually very professional in its political activity. He notes that this is a result from the lessons conservative Christians learned from the weaknesses of the *Moral Majority*. He followed various pro-life activists and was surprised by how well trained and organized they were. He found that pro-life activists were taught deliberative norms including, “1) The practice of civility and respect; 2) the cultivation of real dialogue by listening and asking questions; 3) the rejection of appeals to theology; [and] 4) the practice of careful moral reasoning”.¹⁷⁰ (In my interview with Jon Shields he explained that he followed the pro-life movement because it is by far the most active in the Christian Right and thus the easiest to follow).

At first, Christian Right activists, especially those in the *Moral Majority* often used theological arguments to fight for their causes in government. As we can see in the above example, they have learned better ways to further their agenda. Christian Right activists and organizations have developed over time and have become better organized. All of this evidence points to the notion that the Christian Right was not built primarily through organizations, but as a result of social conservative issues. In other words, this conservative social movement was not invented by the *Moral Majority* or the *National Right to Life Committee*, but grew only in part through organizations that acted as vehicles in aiding conservative Christians to become politically active. In the next few chapters, I will continue to present more evidence of this argument.

Summary of Chapter 4

In this Chapter we have seen how Protestants were encouraged to join the pro-life movement and how the issue of abortion inspired the Christian Right movement. Francis Schaeffer wrote influential books and inspired numerous conservative Christians to become politically active using the issue of abortion as the prime example of the degradation of society. Schaeffer emphasized that conservative Christians had a moral obligation to fight for the lives of unborn children through political activity. He urged conservative Christians to put aside their differences and join Catholics in stopping abortion.

¹⁷⁰ Shields 19.

Conservative Christian women were also greatly influenced by the legalization of abortion in that it pushed them to become politically active in opposing the Equal Rights Amendment, which they viewed as part of the feminist agenda. The anti-ERA members were horrified by the sexual revolution and believed that if something unfathomable like the legalization abortion could happen, then it was essential for them to work politically to fight for their conservative morals. They did this through the anti-ERA movement, as well as the pro-life movement, both of which evolved into the pro-family movement and the Christian Right.

The *Moral Majority*, on the other hand, did not create the Christian Right movement, as many falsely believe, but instead brought public attention to the burgeoning conservative Christian movement in the 1980s. Although the *Moral Majority* campaigned for Ronald Reagan, it was not primarily this organizations association with the Republican Party that formed the conservative Christian voting block, as we will see in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

Continued Mobilization: A Conservative Christian Voting Block

“The idea that religion and politics don’t mix was invented by the Devil to keep Christians from running their own country”

- Jerry Falwell

One of the most monumental factors in the formation of the Christian Right was the G.O.P. (Grand Old Party a.k.a. the Republican Party) and its inclusion of the movement. The G.O.P. helped to legitimize the Christian Right and made their movement more mainstream by including rhetoric used in the pro-life movement. In this way the G.O.P. has tried to become the pro-family and pro-values party since 1980. In this chapter we will see how by politicizing the abortion issue, the G.O.P. has been able to secure the conservative Christian vote starting in the 1980s, with a significant increase in the 1990s.

5.1 Christian Right or Left? Mobilizing Christians to Vote

Publicly calling on evangelicals to leave their historical distrust of politics behind, Jimmy Carter’s campaign was able to mobilize white evangelical Christians to vote for the first time. Jimmy Carter was the first born-again evangelical President whose deep Christian faith was very apparent. Evangelical Christians noticeably turned out to vote less often than other citizens for much of the 20th Century as discussed in the first Chapter. Carter’s ability to court evangelicals primarily through his use of Christian rhetoric and by targeting conservative churches on the campaign trail, evangelicals turned out to vote in record numbers in 1976. This shift was so monumental it caused George W. Gallup, founder of the *Gallup Poll*, to declare 1976 the “year of the evangelical”.¹⁷¹ Additionally, Christian fundamentalists¹⁷² also turned out to vote in greater numbers than ever before.¹⁷³ When conservative political leaders such as Richard Viguerie, founder and publisher of *Conservative Digest*, saw that evangelical Christians could in fact be

¹⁷¹ Shields 119-120.

¹⁷² See Introduction for definition.

¹⁷³ Shields 120.

mobilized to vote they provided funds to start Republican leaning religious organizations, the most famous being the *Moral Majority*.¹⁷⁴

At this time the differences between the G.O.P. and the Democratic Party were primarily economic and neither party dealt with divisive social issues unless they were related directly to fiscal matters such as welfare. When *Roe v. Wade* occurred, neither party had a firm stance on the issue. In fact, one study found that, “self-identified Democrats were actually slightly but significantly more pro-life than Republicans in both 1972 and 1976”.¹⁷⁵

In 1984, however, each party took a distinctive side on the issue, with the Republican’s party platform stating, “the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed” and the Democratic platform declaring that reproductive freedom was a “fundamental human right”.¹⁷⁶ Since then rhetoric surrounding the abortion issue has consistently been included in each party’s platform and the issue has become crucial in elections, especially in Presidential elections, as we will see in this chapter.¹⁷⁷ Because the right to have an abortion became a constitutional right through the Supreme Court, many see the most viable way to change the decision (or to maintain it) is by changing the Justices on the Supreme Court. Because the President nominates the Justices, the President’s position on abortion has become a crucial issue for pro-life voters, as discussed previously.

5.2 Paul Weyrich and His Role in Aligning Conservative Christians with the GOP

One of the key actors in aligning conservative Christians with the G.O.P. was Paul Weyrich. Paul Weyrich was a Catholic who went against the majority of the people in his faith in the 1960s and 1970s by believing that Catholics and Protestants should be fiscally and socially conservative. Catholics had a history of being fiscally liberal and were highly associated with the New Deal. Protestants, on the other hand, tended to be

¹⁷⁴ Larson & Wilcox 41.

¹⁷⁵ Edward G. Carmines and James Woods “The Role of Party Activists in the Evolution of the Abortion Issue” *Political Behavior*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Springer, Dec. 2002) 365 (See Appendix for Chart).

¹⁷⁶ Carmines & Woods 373.

¹⁷⁷ Craig & O’Brien 166.

more conservative economically.¹⁷⁸ In 1973 Weyrich moved to Washington D.C. and started the *Heritage Foundation* in order to “provide some intellectual underpinnings for some members of Congress who wanted to articulate a different approach from the Nixon administration.” Paul Weyrich was trying to give the Republican Party a new more morally conservative face, so as to attract more voters.¹⁷⁹

Additionally, he tried to convince pastors and priests to become more involved in the political world and to inspire their congregations to do the same through various organizations such as the *National Christian Action Coalition*.¹⁸⁰ Weyrich believed that Catholic voters who normally voted for Democrats could be swayed to the Republican Party if it had a strong anti-abortion plank in its platform. Weyrich was also the brains behind the *Moral Majority* in that it was his idea to start the organization and have Jerry Falwell be its leader. Weyrich tried to expand the *Majority*'s members to more non-Baptists, but as we have seen, he eventually failed to do so.

5.3 Ronald Reagan and the Formation of the Right

As mentioned previously Jimmy Carter was the first openly evangelical born-again President who often spoke with religious innuendos. However, he was liberal on social policies such as abortion. Carter later wrote:

“I am convinced that every abortion is an unplanned tragedy, brought about by a combination of human errors, and this has been one of the most difficult political and moral issues I’ve had to face. As President, I accepted my obligation to enforce the Roe v. Wade Supreme Court ruling, and at the same time attempted in every way possible to minimize the number of abortions.”¹⁸¹

During his time as President, Carter never really took a firm stance on abortion. He voted for the Hyde Amendment¹⁸² and was in favor of restricting abortions even though he

¹⁷⁸ Brewer 61.

¹⁷⁹ Lichtman 346 – 347.

¹⁸⁰ Martin 171-172.

¹⁸¹ Jimmy Carter *Our Endangered Values* (Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2005) 72.

¹⁸² The Hyde Amendment was created in 1976 to restrict government funding for abortion. (Craig & O’Brien 111).

supported *Roe v. Wade*. Instead, Carter focused on preventing unwanted pregnancies. Nevertheless, his moderate stance on abortion was unfavorable, both to pro-life and pro-choice members.¹⁸³

Political actors such as Paul Weyrich saw the 1980 election as an open door to sway conservative leaning Christians to the right. Although Ronald Reagan was not the ideal poster child for the Christian Right (having had been divorced and not an avid Church-goer), he was an excellent orator and most importantly, a social conservative. As mentioned previously, because Jerry Falwell took credit for it, many contributed Reagan's 1980 win with the Christians Right and conversely Reagan's campaign with the formation of the Christian Right. Later research has found that this is not entirely accurate. A comprehensive survey in 1983 found that a full party realignment of conservative Christians to the right had not taken place. In fact, the majority of evangelicals claimed that if they voted, they usually voted for the Democrats and self-identified fundamentalists were only 3 percent more likely to vote for Republicans in 1980.¹⁸⁴

Still, numerous organizations formed around the time of Reagan's campaign and were directly involved in it: *The Christian Voice* formed in 1978 and established a political action committee that gave members of Congress a "Moral Report Card". Similarly in 1979 *The National Christian Action Coalition* also formed a political action committee that printed a "Family Issues Voting Index" for Congress. Other Christian groups formed and already established groups began focusing on politics for the first time, such as the *Campus Crusade for Christ*, the *National Association of Evangelicals* and *Focus on the Family* (which was established in 1977, but did not become political until 1980).¹⁸⁵

In 1979, modeled after the *Business Roundtable*, the *Religious Roundtable* was formed and hosted its first "National Affairs Briefing" in August 1980, featuring presidential candidate Ronald Reagan as its keynote speaker. Reagan told the crowd,

¹⁸³ Perry Bacon Jr. "Post Politics Hour" *Washington Post* 8 March 2010
<<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/discussion/2010/03/05/DI2010030502817.html>>.

¹⁸⁴ Shields 120.

¹⁸⁵ Lichtman 344 – 345.

“Religious America is awakening, perhaps just in time for our country’s sake”.¹⁸⁶ In many ways Reagan was right, “religious America” was waking up, but Christian conservatism was still a relatively new idea to the G.O.P. It wasn’t until the 1988 Presidential election that conservative Christians became politically active in campaigning and registering other conservative Christians to vote. Pastor Pat Robertson ran for the Republican nomination for President. Although he lost badly (finishing second to Bob Dole in the Iowa caucuses, but behind both George H.W. Bush and Bob Dole in the rest of the primaries) his campaign succeeded in teaching many conservative Christians to be politically active.¹⁸⁷ One 1988 survey found that Robertson’s supporters were interested in the Republican Party primarily because of their stance on social issues, with abortion being the number one issue.¹⁸⁸ From the remains of Robertson’s campaign and the *Moral Majority*, Robertson formed the *Christian Coalition*, which still exists today and works on national, state and local levels to register and train conservative Christians in how to support the G.O.P.

5.4 The G.O.P. Constituency

As we can see, the Republican Party’s incorporation of traditional Christian values in the 1980s has encouraged conservative leaning Christians to align themselves with this socially conservative party. Although the G.O.P had tried in previous decades to create a conservative Christian voting block in their favor, as was mentioned in chapter 1, it was not until after *Roe v. Wade* that they were able to succeed.

Still, since abortion became a political issue, each party’s constituency has changed, although it has taken time to do so. Since the 1992 Presidential election in which abortion was one of the most highlighted issues, especially on the Democratic side with pro-choice groups campaigning for the democratic candidate, Bill Clinton, religious salience or intensity (the frequency in which one attends church) has been a predicting factor in how a person will vote. The more likely one goes to church, the more likely one

¹⁸⁶ Howell Raines, “Reagan Backs Evangelicals in Their Political Action” *New York Times* 23 Aug. 1980, 27.

¹⁸⁷ Wilcox 96 and Lichtman 392.

¹⁸⁸ John C. Green and James L. Guth “The Christian Right in the Republican Party: The Case of Pat Robertson’s Supporters” *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 50 No. 1(Cambridge University Press) Feb., 1988: 157.

is to vote Republican for President and vice versa.¹⁸⁹

Consistent with this finding, a 2007 Gallup poll found that Republicans are markedly more likely than Democrats and independents to report that religion is very important in their lives (66% of Republicans). Additionally, the poll found that 6 in 10 Americans say that “religion is very important in their own lives” and it is “fairly” important to an additional 25% of Americans. Only 10% of Republicans, 17% of Democrats and 22% of independents say that religion is “not very important in their lives”, making up 17% of the total population.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, 78% of those who are highly religious believe that abortion should be illegal in all cases or in most cases and 71% of those who rarely attend church believe abortion should be illegal in all or most cases.¹⁹¹

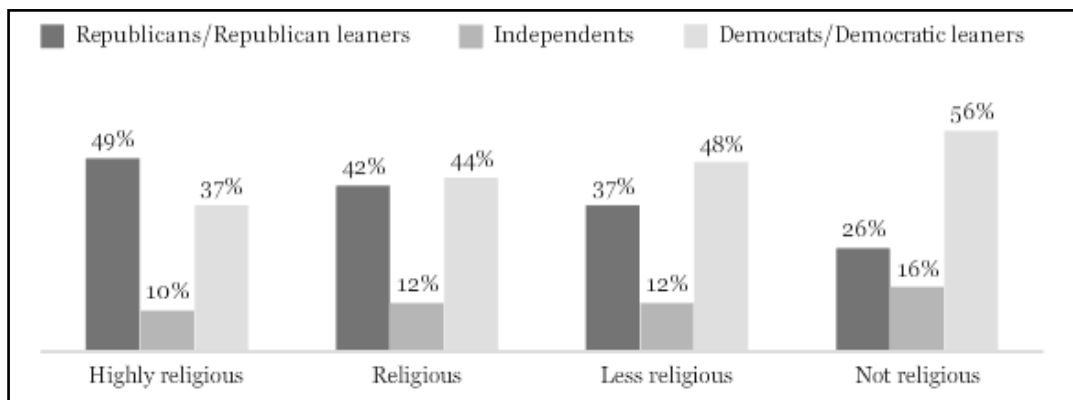


Figure 9: Party Identification by Religiosity, Nov. 2009¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Brewer 64.

¹⁹⁰ Frank Newport “An Abiding Relationship: Republicans and Religion” in Gallup News Service June 14, 2007.

¹⁹¹ Lydia Saad “Public Opinion About Abortion – An In-Depth Review” *Gallup* 22 Jan. 2002, 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/9904/Public-Opinion-About-Abortion-InDepth-Review.aspx#8>>.

¹⁹² Frank Newport, “Religious Intensity Remains Powerful Predictor of Politics” *Gallup* 11 Dec. 2009, 26 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/124649/Religious-Intensity-Remains-Powerful-Predictor-Politics.aspx>>.

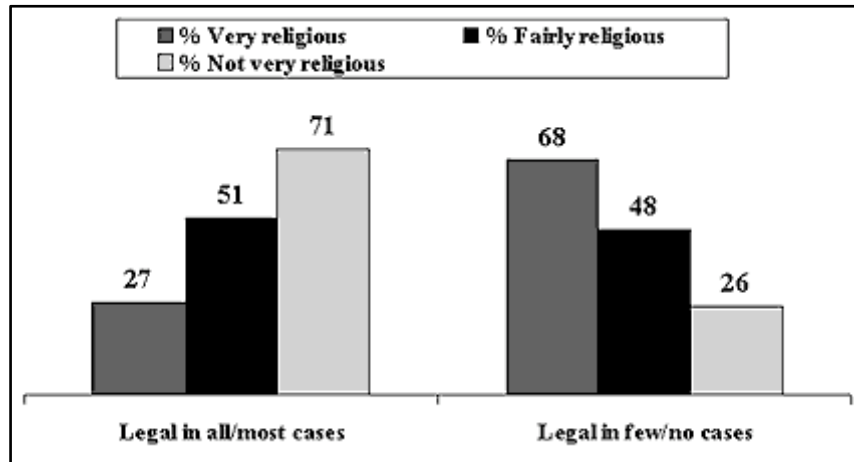


Figure 10: Views on Abortion by Religiosity, 2001¹⁹³

The correlation between the frequency in which one goes to church and the likelihood one will vote Republican is a relatively new phenomenon. In fact in the 1960s the opposite was true, especially for Evangelical Protestants, as we can see:

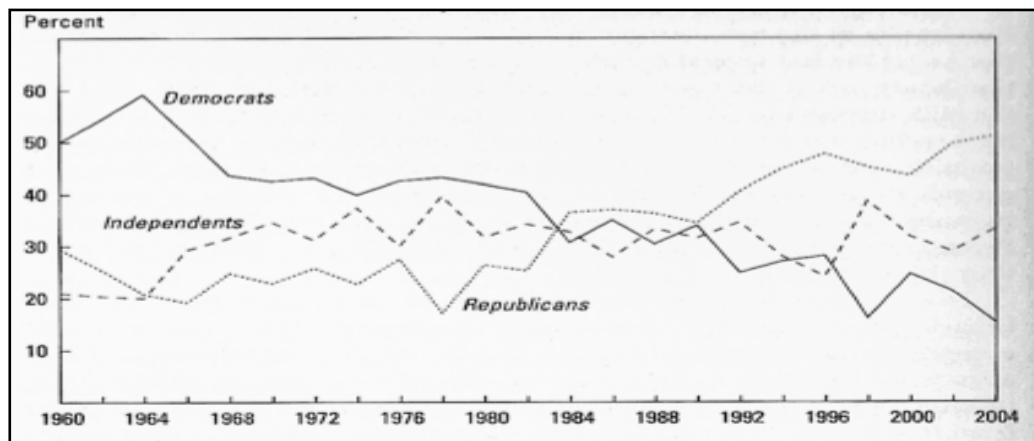


Figure 11: Party Identification of Evangelical Protestants by Church Attendance, 1960 - 2004¹⁹⁴

Clearly a shift took place in the 1980s around the same time conservative Christians became mobilized to vote for the Republican Party. The abortion issue was at

¹⁹³ Lydia Saad “Public Opinion About Abortion – An In-Depth Review” *Gallup* 22 Jan. 2002, 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/9904/Public-Opinion-About-Abortion-InDepth-Review.aspx#8>>.

¹⁹⁴ Campbell 186.

the forefront of the Christian Right’s agenda as well as a major issue in the Republican platform, as we have seen. So, how many people vote primarily because of this issue? As we can see in the following chart an average of 20% of pro-life voters will only vote for candidates who share their views on abortion compared to about 11% of pro-choice voters over the last few elections:

	Jul 1996	Mar 2000	May 2004	Oct 2004	May 2008
"PRO-CHOICE"					
Must share views	12	13	11	10	11
One of many important issues	52	50	45	49	49
Not a major issue	34	36	43	41	39
"PRO-LIFE"					
Must share views	22	18	17	28	15
One of many important issues	53	54	47	45	53
Not a major issue	21	26	35	25	31

Figure 12: Abortion as Voting Issue Based on Abortion Position, 1996 - 2008¹⁹⁵

The above data shows that the issue of abortion is more important for people who consider themselves pro-life when it comes to voting for politicians. The following chart shows how it has affected voters in Presidential elections:

	Voters naming abortion as top voting issue	Voted for the Republican	Voted for the Democrat	Net voters for the Republican
	%	%	%	pct. pts.
2000	14	58	41	+2.4
1996	9	60	34	+2.3
1992	12	55	36	+2.3
1988	7	65	33	+2.2
1984	8	71	28	+3.4

Figure 13: Presidential Vote Choice Among Those Citing Abortion as One of the Most Important Issues to Their Vote, 1984 - 2000¹⁹⁶

This data shows us that the issue of abortion has become more important since the 1980s with a slight drop in the 1996 election. In 2004, 17% of voters said abortion

¹⁹⁵ Lydia Saad “Abortion Issue Laying Low in 2008 Campaign” *Gallup* 22 May, 2008 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/107458/Abortion-Issue-Laying-Low-2008-Campaign.aspx>>.

¹⁹⁶ Lydia Saad “Abortion Issue Laying Low in 2008 Campaign” *Gallup* 22 May, 2008 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/107458/Abortion-Issue-Laying-Low-2008-Campaign.aspx>>.

was the most important issue in deciding their vote. This number fell to 13% in the 2008 election.¹⁹⁷

Additionally, each party's views on abortion have been growing more polarized over time, especially on the Republican side. In 1992, 13% of Republicans felt abortion should be illegal in all circumstances. By 2009 this number had increased steadily to 33%. In 2009 a total of 87% of Republicans believed that abortion should be illegal in all or most circumstances, up from 68% in 1992.¹⁹⁸ This data shows us that the Republican Party has increasingly become the pro-life party. If conservative Christians continue to mobilize as a voting block and abortion remains an important issue, especially for pro-life voters, the Republican Party will be more apt for success in the future. A point I will expand upon in the next section of this chapter.

As the country appears to be more inclined toward the pro-life side of the abortion debate, the Democratic Party has been trying to change its image so as to appeal to conservative Christians. For example, the 2008 Democratic National Convention focused less on a woman's right to choose and more on the need to prevent abortions through better sex education and access to birth control. Sex education, however, is also a contested issue in the Christian Right, but it is not as divisive as the issue of abortion, as we will see in the following chapter. Still, I think that if the Democratic Party continues along this line they may be able to sway some from the Christian Right to vote for them in the future, especially since the majority of voters, although they consider themselves pro-life, fall somewhere in the middle of the pro-life pro-choice spectrum, as discussed previously. The fact that many in the G.O.P. were turned off by Sarah Palin, who believes abortion should be illegal in all cases, the Democrats may have a chance to pick up some more moderate Christian voters in the future.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ Lydia Saad "Abortion Issue Laying Low in 2008 Campaign" *Gallup* 22 May, 2008 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/107458/Abortion-Issue-Laying-Low-2008-Campaign.aspx>>.

¹⁹⁸ Lydia Saad "Republicans', Dems' Abortion Views Grow More Polarized" *Gallup* 8 March 2008, 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/126374/Republicans-Dems-Abortion-Views-Grow-Polarized.aspx#1>>.

¹⁹⁹ Rich Lowry "The Right Needs to Get Centered" *The Washington Post* 9 Nov. 2008.

5.5 Values Voters

Both Catholics and Protestants have become more inclined to vote Republican since 1980. Although Catholics have not been fully aligned with the Republican Party due to difference of opinions on other issues such as welfare, they are now considered to be a swing-voting group, which is a big change from the 1960s when Catholics were almost entirely affiliated with the Democratic Party. In the below chart we can see how Catholics have become less inclined to vote Democrat and be a member of the Democratic Party from the 1950s – 1990s:

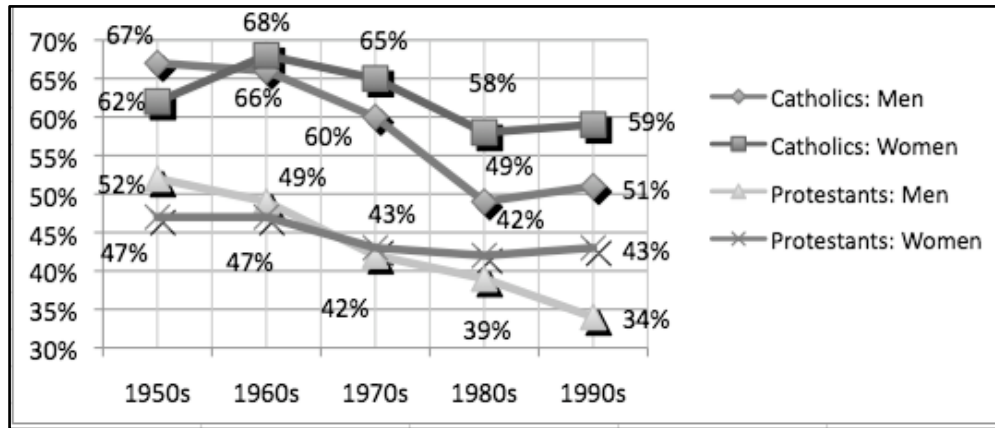


Figure 14: Democratic Party ID, Catholics and Protestants by Gender, Whites Only, by Decade, 1950s – 1990s²⁰⁰

In the 2008 election Catholics made up 26% of the electorate and Protestants 54%. The Democratic candidate, Barack Obama, won the Catholic vote by a slim margin of 54:45, but lost the Protestant vote 45:54. Interestingly, in both 2004 and 2008 the majority of minority Christians (Blacks and Hispanics) voted overwhelmingly for the Democratic candidate while the majority of white Christians voted for the Republican candidate. This is because the Democratic Party has been more successful in getting support from minority groups in the last decade, something both parties have been striving for.²⁰¹

²⁰⁰ American National Election Studies, cumulative data from 1950 – 1990.

²⁰¹ Todd 48.

	2008			2004		
	TOTAL	OBAMA	McCAIN	TOTAL	KERRY	BUSH
IDEOLOGY						
LIBERAL	22	89	10	21	85	13
MODERATE	44	60	39	45	54	45
CONSERVATIVE	34	20	78	34	15	84
RELIGION						
PROTESTANT	54	45	54	54	40	59
WHITE PROTESTANT	42	34	65	41	32	67
WHITE EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT	23	26	73	21	20	79
WHITE PROTESTANT, NOT EVANGELICAL	19	44	55	20	44	55
BLACK PROTESTANT	9	94	4	8	86	13
BLACK EVANGELICAL PROTESTANT	2	95	3	5	81	18
BLACK PROTESTANT, NOT EVANGELICAL	7	95	5	3	92	8
HISPANIC						
PROTESTANT	2	67	32	3	40	58
CATHOLIC	27	54	45	27	47	52
WHITE CATHOLIC	19	47	52	20	43	56
HISPANIC CATHOLIC	6	72	26	5	58	39
JEWISH	2	78	21	3	74	25
OTHER	6	73	22	7	74	23
NONE	12	75	23	10	67	31

Figure 15: Presidential Vote By Religion, 2004 & 2008²⁰²

As we have seen, the 2004 Presidential election highlighted the importance of the “values voters” who voted for President based on their values. In 2008, however, the Christian voting block was not as influential as it was in 2004 due to two major factors. First of all, the economy was much worse in 2008 than it was four years earlier and “Values” didn’t even make the ‘top 5 list’ of most important issues in voting for President.²⁰³ Secondly, John McCain was unable to distance himself from George W. Bush whose approval ratings were extremely low at the end of his time in office. McCain lost in every state where George W. Bush’s approval rating was 35% or lower, with the

²⁰² Todd 34 – 35.

²⁰³ Todd 44 “Economy was the most important issue with 63% followed by Iraq with 10% of respondents”.

exception of Missouri.²⁰⁴

Additionally, John McCain had trouble initially getting the full support of the Christian Right, largely due to his stance on abortion. Although he claimed to be pro-life, he had made statements to CNN and the San Francisco Chronicle in 1999 that he would not overturn *Roe v. Wade* if he had the power to do so: "But certainly in the short term, or even the long term, I would not support repeal of *Roe v. Wade*, which would then force X number of women in America to [undergo] illegal and dangerous operations."²⁰⁵

It was most likely for this reason that John McCain chose Sarah Palin, a conservative Christian with a strong pro-life stance to be his running mate. In this way, McCain was actually successful and received almost as many votes as George W. Bush from conservative Christians.²⁰⁶ Unfortunately for McCain, as stated previously, other factors caused him to lose the election such as an influx of new voters and ethnic minorities who voted overwhelmingly for the Democratic candidate.²⁰⁷

There has been an influx of conservative Christian voters since the 1988 election and it has continued to grow, especially amongst evangelicals and fundamentalists, and the majority vote for Republican candidates. In 1980 just 30% of evangelicals identified themselves as Republicans, in 1984 this number nearly doubled to 50% and has continued to grow in the 1990s and 2000s. Turnout amongst evangelicals alone grew from 61% in 1988 to 70% in 1992. Additionally, indicators show that not only are evangelicals turning out in growing numbers, but they are also more engaged than other groups in politics that they once lagged behind, such as in encouraging someone else to vote. For example, in 1972 only 23% of evangelicals encouraged another citizen to vote. By 2004 this percentage more than doubled with 49% trying to influence others.²⁰⁸

As we can see from all of this data, the Republican Party has successfully mobilized conservative Christian voters to vote and even campaign for their Party. This is largely due to the fact that the G.O.P. has become the pro-life party and used this issue to

²⁰⁴ Todd 39.

²⁰⁵ Terry M. Neal "McCain Softens Abortion Stand" *Washington Post* 24 Aug. 1999, 22 April 2010 <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/campaigns/wh2000/stories/mccain082499.htm>>.

²⁰⁶ Todd 35.

²⁰⁷ Todd 24 – 28.

²⁰⁸ Shields 126 (See Appendix for chart).

gain support amongst conservative Christians.²⁰⁹ Although, “values” were not as important in the last election as they have been previously, it does not mean that they are no longer important. As I mentioned previously, the economy took center stage in the 2008 election as Americans found themselves in a recession. Once the economy recovers, assuming it does, “values” and specifically the issue of abortion, will come to the forefront as an important voting issue again.

Questions that this paper raises include why conservative Christians did not become aligned with the Democratic Party, which is associated with fighting for social justice? And why did social conservative values become defined by anti-abortion and not, for example, anti-death penalty (an issue in which the Democratic Party is “pro-life”)? I did not find any clear-cut answers to these questions in my research and since these questions are not directly related to my thesis I did not inquire further. Still, my best educated guess based upon the research I have done would be that because these issues are viewed as Catholic issues by Protestants, just like anti-abortion was in the 1970s, Protestants took the opposite stance, so as to differentiate themselves from Catholics. However, because anti-abortion became such an important issue, as we have seen, conservative Protestants were able to overcome their differences with Catholics on this issue. The information I’ve presented points to the notion that had the Democratic Party taken the pro-life side of the debate, the Christian Right would probably be associated with Democrats and not Republicans. Of course, this is hypothetical and further research should be done in this realm.

5.6 The Tea Party Movement

In 2009 the Tea Party movement began drawing in people from the Christian Right and the G.O.P. This movement is still in its formative stages and does not seem to have a clear goal. They are primarily a fiscally conservative group who embrace libertarianism. Their message is anti-government and they are angry over the federal bailouts and do not want higher taxes. Tea Party activists look up to leaders such as Sarah Palin, but remain independent from both the Christian Right and the G.O.P. It will be

²⁰⁹ Shields 127.

interesting to see what happens with this movement and if it will separate the Christian Right from the G.O.P. or vice versa, since that majority of Tea Party Supporters (49%) are Republicans.²¹⁰

A year after it's formation, a Gallup poll found that 28% of Americans support the Tea Party Movement. Below we can see that the majority of Tea Party members are either Republican or Independent and make more than \$50,000 a year:

	Tea Party supporters	All U.S. adults
	%	%
Republican	49	28
Independent	43	40
Democrat	8	32
Conservative	70	40
Moderate	22	38
Liberal	7	21
Men	55	49
Women	45	51
Less than \$30,000 annual income	19	25
\$30,000 to 49,999	26	25
\$50,000 and above	55	50

Figure 16: Profile of Tea Party Supporters²¹¹

The movement does attract pro-life and other Christian Right activists, even though its goals are primarily fiscal. This is because, as we have seen, many in the Christian Right are opposed to the government interfering in their affairs such as home schooling. They also do not want tax dollars to be spent on abortions, which the Hyde Amendment²¹², a pro-life victory in 1976, largely prohibits.

Summary of Chapter 5

For most of the 20th Century it would have been difficult to imagine that someday conservative Christians who traditionally shunned politics would be driving

²¹⁰ Lydia Saad “Tea Partiers Are Fairly Mainstream in Their Demographics” *Gallup* 5 April 2010, 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/127181/Tea-Partiers-Fairly-Mainstream-Demographics.aspx#1>>.

²¹¹ Lydia Saad “Tea Partiers Are Fairly Mainstream in Their Demographics” *Gallup* 5 April 2010, 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/127181/Tea-Partiers-Fairly-Mainstream-Demographics.aspx#1>>.

²¹² See page 69 for a definition of the Hyde Amendment.

around with political stickers on their cars or campaign buttons on their shirts. Republican leaders and politically active Christian conservatives and their organizations successfully rallied devote Christians to the right of the political spectrum. Yet, none of them would have been able to do so effectively if it were not for the issue of abortion and the pro-life movement. This moral issue affects people, especially conservative Christians, in a very deep and personal way. As we have seen, they view abortion as the murder of an unborn child. This conviction leads nearly a quarter of pro-life voters to be single-issue voters. It also causes conservative Christians to campaign for and support the Republican Party.

The data we have seen in this chapter shows us that the alignment of conservative Christians within the Republican Party is highly correlated with the influence of the abortion issue on a person's vote for President. Clearly, we can see that by incorporating the pro-life movement into their party platform, the G.O.P. has been able to form a conservative Christian voting block that turns out to vote for them. It is also evident that the issue of abortion more so than "family values" drives a person to vote for Republican candidates. Although it was Democrat Jimmy Carter who first persuaded evangelicals to vote for him through his overtly Christian rhetoric, it was Republican Ronald Reagan who swayed the tide towards the G.O.P. and is remembered as the first Christian Right President by members of the Christian Right. However, conservative Christians did not become a major part of the G.O.P. until the end of the 1980s when religious intensity became highly correlated with which party a person would vote for.

In the 1990s each party took a definitive and highly public stance on abortion. The Democratic Party took up the rights of a woman, while the Republican Party chose the rights of the unborn child. In the last election, however, the Democratic Party focused more on preventing abortions in addition to the rights of a woman. It will be interesting to see if the Democrats will be able to sway more moderate Christians and/or if the Tea Party movement will divide the G.O.P. since the majority of its supporters are Republicans or if the G.O.P. will successfully be able to incorporate the Tea Party

movement into their own party.²¹³

Finally, we have seen in the last few Presidential elections that a conservative Christian voting block, created largely by the influence of the pro-life movement, has voted consistently and overwhelmingly for the G.O.P. Although the Republican candidate did not win the last election, it was not because he did not have the support of the Christian Right, but because of other outside factors such as the poor state of the economy that was associated with the incumbent Republican President. Thus, the Republican Party will have a good chance at winning the next Presidential election if the Christian Right continues to grow and support the G.O.P. and the economy improves making it less of an important issue for voters.

²¹³ In writing this paper, the Tea Party movement made headlines almost daily, making it difficult to incorporate this movement into my paper since the dynamics of the party keep changing. While in the final draft of this paper the Tea Party movement had not become an official political party, I think that there is a possibility that it will by the summer of 2010 preceding the fall congressional elections. However, this is obviously not expanded upon in my paper, because it is history in the making and not directly related to my subject, although it may be in the future.

Chapter 6

The Relevance of Other Issues within the Christian Right Movement

I've discussed the pro-life movement at length and also to a much lesser extent the anti-Equal Rights Amendment movement, two cornerstones of the Christian Right. Of course, there are other issues the Christian Right has fought for or against since it was first formed.²¹⁴ In this chapter I will review these movements and show why they are not as influential as the pro-life movement primarily in the formation of the Christian Right, but also within the Christian Right today.

As I stated in the introduction, the Christian Right is often referred to as the Pro-Family Values movement, which is confusing since there are a number of other movements within the Christian Right that are also referred to as 'pro-family'. Therefore, in this chapter I breakdown the different movements that are sometimes defined as 'pro-family' and title the movements by the main issue they address, such as the anti-gay rights movement and the anti-pornography movement, since they are separate movements and attract different supporters, but are both often referred to as pro-family movements.

6.1 Anti-Gay Rights Movement

"We need an emotionally charged issue to stir up people and get them mad enough to get them up from watching TV and do something. I believe that the homosexual issue is the issue we should use."

- Robert Billings, "religious coordinator" for Ronald Reagan's 1980 campaign²¹⁵

Gay rights and the very idea of non-heterosexuality stir up almost as much emotion and controversy within the Christian Right as abortion does. This is largely due to the fact that the issue of gay rights does not have the wide-sweeping base that abortion has. In other words, there is greater disparity of opinions with regards to gay rights among conservative Christians. As we will see, this issue seems to plant more seeds of discord amongst conservative Christians than it does to unite them. Additionally, the anti-

²¹⁴ See Appendix for data from 2004 regarding the opinions of Christian Right members on various issues.

²¹⁵ Lichtman 321.

gay rights movement has failed to achieve the high number of supporters that the pro-life movement has. This is largely due to the fact that there is a major generational gap in views on non-heterosexuality and the majority of conservative Christians do not feel as strongly about this issue as they do about abortion. In fact, the percentage of people who think homosexuality is not wrong at all has doubled between 1977 – 2004 from 15% to 30%.²¹⁶ This is largely due to the level of immorality these two issues have for conservative Christians. While abortion is seen as a kind of genocide in which conservative Christians must defend the lives of unborn children, homosexuality, while it is viewed as sinful, is not a matter of life or death like abortion is.

Additionally, it is also important to note the difference in historical development between the abortion issue and gay rights issue(s); non-heterosexuals have never been given rights nationally in the way that women obtained the legal right to get an abortion through the Supreme Court. Thus, anti-gay rights groups started as a response to the gay rights movement and are fighting in many ways to maintain the status quo. Additionally, the anti-gay rights campaign first became an issue included with a myriad of other issues in anti-ERA groups and not independently.²¹⁷

One of the first anti-gay rights groups called *Save Our Children* formed in 1977 in opposition to an ordinance in Dade County Florida that banned employment and housing discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The group was formed by a famous Christian singer, Anita Bryant, and gained much of its support from Baptists, much like the *Moral Majority*. *Save Our Children* was successful in repealing the ordinance and like the pro-life movement and election of Jimmy Carter, gave politicians hope that Christians could be successfully mobilized to vote.²¹⁸

Throughout the 1980s other local groups similar to *Save Our Children* formed to oppose gay rights groups and prevent certain gay rights. For example, in California conservative Christians formed the *Traditional Values Coalition* to create and fight for Proposition 6, a measure that would allow schools to fire homosexuals and prohibit them from hiring gays or lesbians. However, the proposition failed by a large margin, with 58

²¹⁶ Wilcox 178.

²¹⁷ Brown 212.

²¹⁸ Green et. al. 85.

percent opposing and 32 percent in favor of the Proposition.²¹⁹

A number of polls have found that attitudes about gays and gay rights have changed fairly dramatically in the last 30 – 40 years. In the late 1970s – 1980s only 56% of Americans thought homosexuals should have equal rights in terms of job opportunities, by 2008 that number had grown to 89%.²²⁰ In every study that I have found, tolerance for gay people and gay rights has grown steadily in the last decades. There is also now a clear correlation between one's age and one's tolerance of gay people and gay rights. Today, young people are overwhelmingly more in favor of gay rights than adults and senior citizens.²²¹ Therefore, assuming people will not change their views on gay rights, as they get older, then as generations shift gay rights will continue to gain support. In similar studies, attitudes on abortion are not correlated to age like attitudes on gay rights are, so we cannot make this same assumption about abortion.²²²

Feelings towards gay rights have fairly clear differences within different Christian denominations, with Evangelical Protestants and the Church of Latter Day Saints (a.k.a. the Mormon church) having the greatest number of supporters against gay rights and Catholics having the least.²²³ The Mormon Church, although it is relatively small (making up only 1.7% of the U.S. population), it is able to rally up the vast majority of its members to vote.²²⁴ The church is immensely socially conservative and has voted as a block consistently since the 1970s for Republican candidates.²²⁵ Similar to their views on the Catholic Church, many Protestant denominations do not have a very positive view of the Mormon Church due to their religious differences. However, many denominations have been willing to overlook these differences when it comes to fighting for anti-gay rights.

²¹⁹ Green et. al. 222-223 and Frank Newport “Mormons Most Conservative Major Religious Group in U.S. *Gallup* 11 Jan. 2010, 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/125021/Mormons-Conservative-Major-Religious-Group.aspx>>.

²²⁰ “Gay and Lesbian Rights“ *Gallup* 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/1651/Gay-Lesbian-Rights.aspx>>.

²²¹ Lydia Saad “Tolerance for Gay Rights at High-Water Mark *Gallup* 29 May 2007 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/27694/Tolerance-Gay-Rights-HighWater-Mark.aspx>>.

²²² Lydia Saad “Generational Differences on Abortion Narrow *Gallup* 12 March 2010, 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/126581/Generational-Differences-Abortion-Narrow.aspx>>.

²²³ Wilcox 56.

²²⁴ Frank Newport “Mormons Most Conservative Major Religious Group in U.S. *Gallup* 11 Jan. 2010, 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/125021/Mormons-Conservative-Major-Religious-Group.aspx>>.

²²⁵ Lichtman 403.

In contrast, the Catholic Church is much more liberal when it comes to gay rights. The National Conference of Catholic Bishops in America, for example, called for, “acceptance, love and pastoral care of homosexuals” and reiterated that Catholics should not discriminate in anyway and should respect, “the inherent dignity of every person”.²²⁶ While the Catholic Church views homosexual acts as sinful, they do not view a person who is a homosexual, but does not partake in homosexual activity, as sinful.^{227 228} Therefore, anti-gay rights is not an important issue for most Catholics and only 17% of Catholics said there should not be any gay antidiscrimination laws.²²⁹

As I mentioned in the Introduction, the anti-gay rights movement isn't really known as the ‘anti-gay rights movement’ because the fights against gay rights are usually more specific. In the late 1970s and early 1980s a number of groups worked to keep gays from teaching in the public school system, especially in elementary schools. More recently there have been many initiatives against allowing gay people to legally marry. This movement against gay marriage is very popular within the Christian Right:

*“Yet even in 2006, at the height of the movement for gay marriage, political scientists Dana Patton and Sara Zeigler found that abortion politics dominated the agendas of state legislatures compared to gay rights. According to their study, some 295-abortion bills were introduced in 2006 compared to 83 gay-related bills. Abortion politics is clearly the most visible and dominant type of Christian Right activism.”*²³⁰

The pro-life movement attracts more people than any other movement, including the anti-gay rights movement, within the Christian Right.²³¹ Still, the issue of gay rights has helped to mobilize conservative Christian voters and aided in the formation of the

²²⁶ Mary Bendyna et. al. “Catholics and the Christian Right: A View from Four States” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Blackwell Publishing, Sep 2000) 322 – 323.

²²⁷ Christina Twing, Catholic Theologian, Personal Interview 3 Nov. 2009.

²²⁸ “Official Catholic Doctrine” *Vatican* 4 Nov. 2005, 22 April 2010
<http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccatheduc/documents/rc_con_ccatheduc_doc_20051104_istruzione_en.html>.

²²⁹ Wilcox 56.

²³⁰ Shields 101 – 102.

²³¹ Clyde Wilcox, Christian Right Scholar and Professor at Georgetown University, Personal interview over email, January 2010.

Christian Right in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Anti-gay rights groups have formed across the nation to fight various legislation in order to preserve the “traditional Christian family structure”. However, unlike the pro-life movement this issue is not agreed on throughout the different Christian denominations and thus does not have as broad base.

While the anti-gay rights movement is important to the Christian Right, it is not as influential within it as the pro-life movement is. As we have seen, the anti-gay rights movement did not aid in the formation of the Christian Right to the extent that the pro-life movement did. As an issue in Presidential elections, it is not as important as abortion is. With an aging base that is not as broad as the pro-life movement has, I don’t think that the anti-gay rights movement will be as relevant in the future as it is now. The political implications of this, especially for the Republican Party, are that they cannot count on anti-gay rights issues to influence conservative Christians to vote for them. Furthermore, the Christian Right likewise cannot rely on the anti-gay rights movement to sustain their overall conservative social movement.

6.2 Pro-Nuclear Family Movement

“My observation is that women are merely waiting for their husbands to assume leadership.”

- James Dobson, founder of *Focus on the Family*

The traditional family movement is obviously very similar and in the same camp as the anti-gay rights movement. However, I feel it is necessary to distinguish it, because there are polls that have shown that many Americans are concerned with “family values” in which they mean the family structure, but do not include sexual orientation in this meaning (i.e. gay marriage). Additionally, the pro-family values movement is so multi-faceted it requires a bit more of a distinction.

Many organizations and preachers focus on building strong families, which usually means the traditional roles of man as breadwinner and woman as mother and homemaker within the family. Conservative Christians are strongly against any kind of government intervention within families. This issue was critical in the 1970s during the anti-ERA campaign, as I have already discussed. Recently, this became a political issue

again as many local governments and states have begun giving ‘abuse’ more concise definitions in which to aid in enforcing the law against both spousal and child abuse.²³² Many conservative Christians see these laws as an excuse for the government to intervene into private family matters. Additionally, many conservative Christians believe that physical punishment, as a form of discipline, is good and necessary because it is prescribed in the Bible and they do not want the government prohibiting them from using physical violence in their families, such as spanking their children.²³³

James Dobson wrote a very influential book called, “Dare to Discipline” (1977) which encourages parents to use physical punishment on their children to ensure that they become moral adults. He argues that the reason why the 1960s and 1970s were so immoral (mainly referring to the sexual revolution) was because people did not spank their children.²³⁴ This book gave Dobson notoriety among Christian circles and helped him form *Focus on the Family* in 1977 with a radio program about family values from a rented office with a part-time secretary.²³⁵ Since then, it has expanded exponentially and today *Focus on the Family* has over 1,300 employees, takes in more than one hundred million dollars a year and occupies such a large complex in Colorado Springs that it has its own zip code.²³⁶ As its name implies, *Focus on the Family* focuses on pro-family issues. Unlike the pro-life movement, the pro-family values movement is not as obviously political and is primarily focused on individual families (apart from the anti-gay rights movement, of course). This organization provides Christian resources ranging from books to podcasts²³⁷ with topics that relate to families, such as “How to Strengthen Your Marriage”. According to *Focus on the Family* they are in the business of, “helping families thrive”²³⁸.

‘Family values’ have become important in political campaigns and the pro-family values movement lobbies the government on various issues such as anti-abortion

²³² Wilcox 151.

²³³ Wilcox 152.

²³⁴ James Dobson *Dare to Discipline* (Bantam Doubleday Dell: 1970) 11.

²³⁵ Martin 341.

²³⁶ Lichtman 402.

²³⁷ A ‘podcast’ is, “a pre-recorded audio program that’s posted to a website and is made available for download so people can listen to them on personal computers or mobile devices.” 22 April 2010 <<http://www.entrepreneur.com/encyclopedia/term/159122.html>>.

²³⁸ *Focus on the Family* 22 April, 2010 <<http://www.focusonthefamily.com/>>.

legislation and recently, health care reform, in which Christian Right organizations were against because they believed the reform would provide government funding for abortion.²³⁹ The most prominent pro-family values organization is the *Family Research Council* (FRC), created in 1983 by James Dobson as a political offshoot of *Focus on the Family*. The FRC “Defends faith, family and freedom” politically, much like the *Christian Coalition*.²⁴⁰

The FRC created the *Family Research Council Action* (FRCA) in 1992 to deal specifically with legislative matters. The FRCA sponsors the Value Voters Summit each year, which is becoming an important campaign stop for Republican Presidential hopefuls.²⁴¹ The summit is a large event in which the conservative Christian fundamentals are discussed. This year breakout sessions (workshops) had titles such as “Obamacare: Rationing Your Life Away” and “Defunding Planned Parenthood”.²⁴² The Summit is sponsored by a number of organizations all associated with the G.O.P. such as the *Heritage Foundation* and *American Values*²⁴³ and costs between \$50 - \$79 to attend.²⁴⁴

6.3 Anti-Pornography Movement

Conservative Christians have fought the use of sexually explicit material for a long time claiming it corrupts society.²⁴⁵ Today there are organizations within the Christian Right that specifically target television shows and corporations that they feel lead to moral decline through their usage and promotion of what they feel infringes family values. For example, the *American Family Association* (AFA), a popular Christian

²³⁹ Jeanne Monahan “The Obama Administration and Abortion: Defining What ‘Is’ Is” *Family Research Council* 14 April 2010 <<http://www.frc.org/op-eds/the-obama-administration-and-abortion-defining-what-is-is>>.

²⁴⁰ Lichtman 387.

²⁴¹ All of the main contenders for the 2008 Republican nomination for President including Rudy Giuliani and John McCain, gave speeches at the summit in 2007. (Michelle Vu “Presidential Hopefuls Highlight ‘Values’ to Christian Conservatives” *Christian Post* 20 Oct. 2007, 22 April 2010 <<http://www.christianpost.com/article/20071020/presidential-hopefuls-highlight-values-to-christian-conservatives/page2.html>>.

²⁴² *Values Voters Summit* 1 Oct. 2009 <<http://www.valuesvotersummit.org/>>.

²⁴³ *American Values* is a non-profit organization that lobbies for conservative social issues. (*American Values* 22 April 2010 <<http://www.ouramericanvalues.org/about.php>>).

²⁴⁴ *Values Voters Summit* 22 April 2010 <<http://www.valuesvotersummit.org/sponsors>>.

²⁴⁵ Lichtman 11.

Right organization, has successfully convinced a number of businesses to remove advertisements that do not meet up the AFA pro-family standards and/or will be on television shows that the AFA feels are corrupted. For example, Kellogg's, Mary Kay, Safeway, Liberty Mutual, Leapfrog, Kohl's, Tyson Foods and Lowe's have all removed and/or vowed never to advertise on the TV series *Desperate Housewives* because according to the AFA it is a "trashy TV program" that is sexually explicit.²⁴⁶ They lobby by alerting their members to write letters, call, boycott and picket businesses. The AFA also sponsors the "How to Take Back America Conference" which this year included appearances by Phyllis Schlafly and Republican Presidential hopeful and former Arkansas Governor, Mike Huckabee, among others²⁴⁷.

Historically speaking, the anti-Pornography movement has definitely helped to unite conservative Christians into the Christian Right, but it has not spurred a great deal of political activity. Again, I think it is because this issue is rather broad and there is a great difference in opinion of what is morally unacceptable. For example, the Christian Right has long fought pornography and wants to ban it entirely. However, Christians disagree on what qualifies as pornography. Some think anything with nakedness in it, including works of art, counts as pornography while others have a much more liberal view and feel that magazines and still pictures are not pornography, only videos are unacceptable.²⁴⁸ Additionally, the proportion of Americans who think pornography should be legal for adults has grown over the last few decades from 56% in 1977 to 61% in 2004.²⁴⁹

In comparison with the pro-life movement, the anti-pornography movement is not as emotional charged and does not ignite as much passion. For many conservative Christians, it is enough to simply surround themselves with conservative Christian media, such as Christian television shows and movies to avoid what they perceive as pornography and/or 'anti-Christian values' in the media. It is not necessary to become

²⁴⁶ "Successful Campaigns" *One Million Moms* 22 2 Oct. 2009
<<http://www.onemillionmoms.com/victories.asp>>.

²⁴⁷ "How to Take Back America 2009" *American Family Association* 2 Oct. 2009
<<http://action.afa.net/Webcast/WebcastPlayer.aspx?id=2147486924>>.

²⁴⁸ Larson & Wilcox 152-153.

²⁴⁹ Larson & Wilcox 178.

politically active and it does not affect a conservative Christian's vote for President like abortion does.

6.4 Anti-Secular Education Movement

“Almost half of Americans believe that human beings did not evolve, but were created by God in their present form within the last 10,000 years”

- Frank Newport, Editor in Chief of the Gallup Poll²⁵⁰

As we have seen, education has been one of the cornerstone issues for conservative Christians since the beginning of the 20th Century. It is also one of the few issues that Protestants and Catholics agree on. For more than a century Christians have taken issue with a number of different matters within the public education system ranging from the teachings of evolution and sex education to allowing prayer in school. Although the Scopes trial occurred nearly 100 years ago, whether or not evolution should be taught in schools is still a major issue for the Christian Right. There have been a number of court cases in which the legality of teaching creationism and/or evolution has been questioned. In 1987, for example, the Supreme Court repealed a Louisiana law that required that creationism be taught alongside evolutionism. The Supreme Court decided that teaching creationism was unconstitutional because it forced a certain religion in the public domain and thus violated the Establishment Clause in the First Amendment. Since then conservative Christians have been trying to promote the teaching of “intelligent design” which is, “the belief that the earth was created by an intelligent being, not necessarily the God spoken of in Genesis”.²⁵¹ In this way they are trying to separate Christianity from the theory of creationism by not specifying who the intelligent being that created Earth was, so that it may be taught in public schools.

In the 1980s the Christian Right intensified its crusade on public curriculum by making lists of books that should be banned such as *Catcher in the Rye* for its “use of vulgar language” and what should be included or excluded in textbooks such as taking

²⁵⁰ Frank Newport “Almost Half of Americans Believe Humans Did Not Evolve” *Gallup* 5 June 2006, 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/23200/Almost-Half-Americans-Believe-Humans-Did-Evolve.aspx>>.

²⁵¹ Larson & Wilcox 194.

out quotes by Thomas Jefferson that encourage the separation of church and state.²⁵² In 1985, *USA Today* reported that there had been censorship efforts in forty-six states and had increased by 37% in one year.²⁵³ Although the Christian Right sometimes won these battles, parents became embittered toward the public school system and often took their children out of it and put them in private schools or home-schooled them.²⁵⁴

The Christian Right has also long fought public schools on what should be taught in sex education classes, pushing for abstinence only education (which teaches students to abstain from sexual intercourse, but does not teach students about birth control methods). In 2001, George W. Bush increased federal funding to a program that sponsors schools that teaches abstinence-only education from \$20 million to \$113 million per year.²⁵⁵ This action only seemed to stir the debate more as opponents to abstinence-only sex education became infuriated. Today there are countless studies and articles that claim that either abstinence-only education works the best or does not work at all.

While various organizations such as *Parents Opposed to Sex Education* (POSE) and *Sanity on Sex* (SOS) have formed in response to concerns about public education in America, the number one solution taken by conservative Christians has been to take their children out of the public school system completely and either put them in private Christian schools or home-school them.²⁵⁶

However, it is important to note that many conservative Christians are incandescent about the fact that they have to pay taxes for public schools that they do not agree with and often do not use, which leads many to vote for Republican candidates who generally favor “smaller government”.²⁵⁷ Additionally, many conservative Christians fight against regulations of private schools and home schools. These battles, however, are fought mainly on the state level and face different challenges as each state has different laws regarding home schooling and private schools.

Although, the pro-life movement is similar to the issue of public education in

²⁵² Melanie Smollin “Texas Board of Education Ready to Rewrite U.S. History” *Take Part* 14 April 2010 <<http://www.takepart.com/news/2010/04/14/texas-board-of-education-prepares-to-rewrite-us-history0>>.

²⁵³ Martin 139.

²⁵⁴ Martin 332.

²⁵⁵ Kate Barret “Is Sex Ed Working” *ABC News* 24 March 2008, 22 April 2010 <<http://abcnews.go.com/Health/story?id=4514004&page=1>>.

²⁵⁶ Lichtman 426.

²⁵⁷ Larson & Wilcox 45.

that Christians across denominational lines feel strongly about it, it is different in that people in the pro-life movement are not content with simply not having abortions, they also want to stop others from having abortions and change the law to restrict abortions. Those opposed to various issues within public education for the most part are not as active as those in the pro-life movement. While there are parts of the Christian Right movement that lobby the government to change aspects of public education and/or laws regarding education, the majority who feel passionate about this subject are content with simply separating themselves from it and teaching their children what they feel is necessary either through home-schooling or by sending their children to private Christian schools. Because the issue of abortion is regarded as a kind of holocaust, conservative Christians are not satisfied by merely separating themselves from society and not having abortions themselves.

6.5 Other Pro-Life Movements:

Anti-Euthanasia, Anti-Stem Cell Research and Anti-Contraceptives²⁵⁸

Abortion is not the only pro-life issue within the Christian Right. Euthanasia became a major issue within the Christian Right in 2005 when a long legal battle mainly over the removal of a feeding tube and guardianship of a paralyzed woman named Terri Schiavo between her husband and parents went all the way to the Supreme Court and was even made an issue by the then President George W. Bush.²⁵⁹ The G.O.P. and Christian Right fought against the removal of Terri Schiavo's feeding tube and called it euthanasia.²⁶⁰ However, this issue has never been widely popular within the Christian Right and 61% of Protestants and 71% of Catholics support a doctor's right to "end a patient's life painlessly".²⁶¹ Despite public opinion being in favor of euthanasia, it has become legal in just three states (Washington, Oregon and Montana) through ballot

²⁵⁸ I am including the Plan B in the term 'anti-contraceptives' although it can arguably be included in 'abortion' since, as I write in this section, many pro-life activists believe that Plan B is a form of abortion.

²⁵⁹ "15 Years in the Terri Schiavo Case" *The Los Angeles Times* 1 April 2005, 22 April, 2010 <<http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/wire/bal-te.schiavotimeline01apr01,0,228071.story?page=1>>.

²⁶⁰ Adam Nagourney "G.O.P. Right is Splintered on Schiavo Intervention" *The New York Times* 23 March 2005, 22 April 2010 <http://www.theocracywatch.org/terri_conservatives_times_mar23_05.htm>.

²⁶¹ Joseph Carroll "Public Continues to Support Right-to-Die for Terminally Ill Patients" *Gallup* 19 June 2006, 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/23356/Public-Continues-Support-RighttoDie-Terminally-Ill-Patients.aspx>>.

initiatives.²⁶²

Other pro-life issues include stem-cell research and genetic modification. These issues, however, have not gained a lot of support or attention due to the fact that for the last eight years under the Bush administration, government funding for stem cell research was illegal. Only recently, President Obama changed this position.²⁶³ It will be interesting to see how embryonic research will evolve as a political issue over the next few years. Already, the pro-life movement has stated that research on human embryos is equivalent to abortion as it is the “destruction of human life”.²⁶⁴ A Gallup poll found last year that 52% of Americans are in favor of little to no restrictions on stem-cell research. Furthermore, for the last few years since Gallup began polling on public opinion concerning stem-cell research, the majority of respondents have been in favor of it.²⁶⁵

It is important to mention contraceptives in this section. For the most part, the Christian Right is not against the use of contraceptives, but there are groups that are against giving contraceptives to minors. Some conservative Christians worry that this will encourage people to have sex before marriage. As stated previously, many conservative Christians believe strongly in abstinence until marriage. The Catholic Church, however, is officially against the use of contraceptives stating that, “any action which, either in anticipation of the conjugal act [sexual intercourse], or in its accomplishment, or in the development of its natural consequences, proposes, whether as an end or as a means to render procreation impossible”.²⁶⁶ This includes all forms of artificial birth control.²⁶⁷ Despite the church’s official stance on contraceptives, American Catholics are not very active in banning contraceptives and according to an extensive study done by the Guttmacher Institute, 98% of American women who have ever had sexual intercourse

²⁶² “Montana Third State to Legalize Assisted Suicide” *MSNBC* 5 Dec. 2008, 22 April 2010
<<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/28085809/>>.

²⁶³ On March 9, 2009 President Obama issued an Executive Order that reversed the Bush Administration’s policy on Stem Cell Research which can be found here: 22 April 2010
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Removing-Barriers-to-Responsible-Scientific-Research-Involving-Human-Stem-cells/>.

²⁶⁴ Lichtman 446.

²⁶⁵ Lymari Morales “Majority of Americans Likely Support Stem Cell Decision” *Gallup* 9 March 2009
<<http://www.gallup.com/poll/116485/Majority-Americans-Likely-Support-Stem-Cell-Decision.aspx>>.

²⁶⁶ *Humanae Vitae* 14.

²⁶⁷ ‘Artificial birth control’ includes condoms, pills and all other artificial means of preventing pregnancy
Catholic Answers 22 April 2010 <http://www.catholic.com/library/Birth_Control.asp>.

have used at least one method of contraception before. Additionally, only 5.6% of these women use non-artificial²⁶⁸ birth control.²⁶⁹ This data suggests that the majority of American Catholics, who make up roughly 20% of the American population, ignore the Church's official stance on contraceptives.

However, because the church does have this policy and since conservative Protestants worry that promoting contraceptive use will encourage pre-marital sex, the pro-life movement generally does not endorse using birth control to avoid unwanted pregnancy. The pro-choice movement, on the other hand, does do this in their campaign to reduce abortions, as discussed previously. In fact, a number of pro-choice activists declared that the abortion debate was over when Plan B²⁷⁰ (a.k.a. the morning after pill) became available in 1999. In truth, the introduction of this 'solution' only infuriated the pro-life movement who view this pill as abortion. This is because the Plan B, which can be taken up to 72 hours after intercourse, "aborts the fertilized egg before it can attach to a woman's uterine wall".²⁷¹ At least this is the argument made by pro-life activists, while pro-choice members claim that Plan B is just a higher dosage of the hormone found in regular birth control pills and prevents the egg from ever being fertilized.²⁷²

Summary of Chapter 6

As we have seen, the Christian Right movement encompasses a number of issues. The pro-family movement is one of the largest movements within the Christian Right. Although it includes the pro-life movement, it embodies a number of other issues of which are not as powerful as the pro-life movement. Part of the pro-family movement

²⁶⁸ 'Non-artificial birth control' includes with-drawl, periodic abstinence and the natural family planning method, in which women try and determine based on their menstrual cycle when they can get pregnant and avoid having intercourse during these times.

²⁶⁹ "Facts on Contraceptive Use" *Guttmacher Institute* January 2008, 22 April 2010
<http://www.guttmacher.org/pubs/fb_contr_use.html>.

²⁷⁰ Plan B should not be confused with RU486 (brand name Mifeprex a.k.a. the abortion pill), which can be taken up to 7 weeks after conception to abort the fetus without surgery. (Tracee Cornforth, "RU 486 The Abortion Pill Approved" *Women's Health* 30 March 2010
<<http://womenshealth.about.com/cs/abortion/a/ru486pillapprov.htm>>).

²⁷¹ Celeste McGovern "'Morning-After' Pills Cause Early Abortions" *Pro-Life* 6 Dec. 1999, 22 April 2010
<<http://www.prolife.com/MorningAfterPill.html>>.

²⁷² William Saletan "Where the Rubber Meets the Roe" *Slate Magazine* 30 Sept. 2006, 22 April 2010
<<http://www.slate.com/id/2150557/>>.

is the anti-gay rights movement. While this branch of the Christian Right is often in the media and has been around almost as long as the pro-life movement, it does not have as much support as the pro-life movement, both in numbers and in funding. This issue does not enjoy wide popularity amongst different Christian denominations like the pro-life movement does. Additionally, attitudes toward gay rights are becoming increasingly tolerant while attitudes surrounding the abortion issue are becoming increasingly more pro-life.

In a similar vein, the pro-family movement works to promote a nuclear family structure. Again, there is a lack of support, especially in the political arena for this issue. For nearly a century, conservative Christians have fought in favor of moral values in terms of media integrity, such as the fight to ban pornography. While this issue has a lot of support, it fails to unite opinion on the definition and solutions to uphold Christian morals in the media.

The only other issue to have nearly as much support as the pro-life movement is found in the issue of education. As we have seen, conservative Christians have been fighting to include their Christian values within the public education system since the turn of the 20th Century. The fight to teach Creationism or Intelligent Design is still in full swing and new battles have entered the political arena including what to include and exclude in textbooks, whether or not to allow prayer in school and how much regulation private schools and home schools must adhere to. Additionally, many conservative Christians are concerned about sex education classes and work politically to maintain abstinence-only education in public schools. Yet, as popular as these battles are, the solution for most Christians is to separate themselves from public education by putting their children in private schools or home school them. Therefore, they are not as politically active over education as over abortion.

Finally, there are other pro-life issues within the Christian Right such as euthanasia and stem cell research. Euthanasia is not nearly as popular as the abortion issue and stopping stem cell research doesn't have very much support. However, stem cell research is still a relatively new issue and many pro-life activists compare it to abortion. It will be interesting to see if this issue will gain more support as the anti-abortion movement has in the past. If the Christian Right is able to frame anti-stem cell

research as successfully as they have anti-abortion, then there is a good chance it will. However, this may prove to be difficult since stem cell research is very different from aborting a pregnancy and is less tangible for people to relate to and even understand. On the other hand, this could work to their advantage. It is difficult to know.

In the end, the pro-life movement is the most prominent issue in the Christian Right for a number of reasons; 1) It passionately engages average citizens to become political more so than any other issue due to its deep moral ethos. 2) It unites Protestants and Catholics giving it a large number of supporters and funding. 3) The pro-life movement is easy to become politically active in by simply voting for pro-life candidates. 4) The issue itself is easy to understand. Additionally, the pro-life movement has over time become well organized and can easily engage citizens in protests, sit-ins and marches.

Conclusion

“The Christian Right has been adaptable and innovative. It will do well in the twenty-first century precisely because it will discover ways to balance its increasing political moderation with its fixed religious principles.”

- Matthew Moen, “The Christian Right in the Twenty-First Century”²⁷³

This paper sought to find out what caused conservative Christians to become politically active in the second half of the 20th century, as well as what issue is the most important in the Christian Right. In order to answer these questions, I reviewed the history of the Christian Right, as well as the history of the political debate on the issue of abortion in America and the pro-life movement. This information showed how conservative Christians changed their traditional stance of political non-involvement in the late 1970s - 1980s. It also portrayed the importance of the Supreme Court’s ruling in *Roe v. Wade* and how it polarized conservative Christians from liberal Christians.

The pro-life movement grew out of Catholic opposition to the legalization of abortion and framed the abortion debate in terms of morality. On the other side of the debate, the pro-choice movement used ideas of liberty and justice in arguing that women should have the freedom to choose whether or not they should get an abortion. This controversial debate is ongoing and, as data in this paper demonstrate, it is of central importance to the majority of conservative Christians.

Protestants were reluctant to become politically active and join the pro-life movement at first, but Francis Schaeffer was able to convince conservative Christians that they must become involved in politics. He cited the issue of abortion, which he claimed was inhumane and a sign of the dire state the American nation was in. Francis Schaeffer publicized the idea to Protestants for the first time that abortion is the murder of innocent unborn babies. He convinced conservative Christians that it was sinful to sit back and do nothing while this Holocaust was taking place and urged them to reclaim America as a Christian nation by becoming politically active. As we have seen, Schaeffer’s influence was far reaching and influenced numerous conservative Protestants

²⁷³ Larson & Wilcox 163.

to become politically active.

Around the same time of Francis Schaeffer's work, the anti-Equal Rights Amendment movement, made up of primarily conservative Christians women motivated by their opposition to the feminist movement, formed to stop the Equal Rights Amendment from being implemented in the constitution. Conservative Christians were worried that if this amendment passed then women would be able to get abortion on demand. They also worried that their traditional roles, such as having women stay home and be homemakers, would cease to exist and women would be eligible for the draft, as mentioned previously. Before 1973, the ERA had virtually no opposition to it and many believed that it would pass. However, after *Roe v. Wade*, the anti-ERA movement gained a great deal of support and eventually succeeded in preventing the Equal Rights Amendment from passing. The anti-ERA movement turned into the pro-family values movement, which included the pro-life movement and eventually became the Christian Right.

However, the anti-ERA movement was not as quintessential in forming the Christian Right as the pro-life movement and the issue of abortion was. As we have seen, one of the main reasons the anti-ERA movement ever formed was because of *Roe v. Wade*. Additionally, the G.O.P. has been able to sway conservative Christians to their party through incorporation of pro-life rhetoric in both the Party's platform and the usage of it in campaigns. We saw through surveys and exit-poll data that the issue of abortion influences a person's vote for President more than any other social issue, including 'family values'. Without becoming associated as the pro-life political party, the G.O.P. almost certainly would not have been able to convince the majority of conservative Christians to vote Republican. Furthermore, analysis of other issues within the Christian Right have shown that no other issue receives as much wide reaching support and encourages conservative Christians to be politically active as the abortion issue.

The *Moral Majority* attempted to use the issue of abortion, among other issues, to form a conservative Christian voting block. However, because this organization was so closely associated with the Baptist community and was viewed negatively as described in this paper, it was unable to do so. Although some Christian Right scholars claim that the *Moral Majority* formed the Christian Right, we have seen that this claim is false. While

the *Moral Majority* collapsed at the end of the 1980s, the Christian Right continued to grow, largely through pro-life organizations.

In the end it is clear that the legalization of abortion acted as a wake up call for many conservative Christians and reversed their rudimentary stance that being involved in politics would corrupt their souls. Moreover, the majority of them believe that the opposite is now true. By putting the abortion debate in the terms of the right to life with the opposite side spearheaded by the liberal feminist movement, many Christians felt provoked to become politically active in order to preserve their traditional Christian values. Additionally, Conservative Christians feel they must stop women from having abortions because they view the more than one million abortions performed each year as an inhumane genocide.

While a number of factors led to the formation of the Christian Right, as we have seen in this paper, the issue of abortion along with the pro-life movement played the biggest role in convincing conservative Christians to become politically active. After comparing the different movements the Christian Right encompasses, it is evident that the pro-life movement is the strongest branch of the Christian Right. This movement frames the abortion debate in such an emotionally powerful way that Christians of different denominations have been able to overcome their differences to join forces in working to limit the number of abortions, sway public opinion and potentially even to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. These results imply that if *Roe v. Wade* was ever overturned, the G.O.P. could lose a great deal of support from the Christian Right. We can also infer that as long as *Roe v. Wade* stands, the Christian Right will remain a viable voting block and conservative Christians will continue to be politically active.

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Appendix

1. Presidential Vote by Issue of Most Significance, 2004
2. Voting Behavior by Two Issues of Most Importance, 2000 & 2004
3. Coverage of Pro-Life Organizations in Popular Newspapers, 1989 – 2006
4. Social Characteristics of White Religious Groups
5. Christian Right Activists in 2004: Organizational Favorability and Membership
6. Opinions of Christian Right Activists in 2004
7. Religious Characteristics of Christian Right Activists in 2004
8. General Population Opinion on Legality of Abortion in 2008 & 2009
9. Abortion Attitudes of Democrats and Republicans from 1972 – 2000
10. Forms of Political Participation, 1972 – 2004

1. Presidential Vote by Issue of Most Significance, 2004:

<i>Issue</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Bush</i>	<i>Kerry</i>
Moral values	22	35	8
Economy, jobs	20	7	33
Terrorism	19	32	6
Iraq	15	8	22
Health care	8	4	13
Taxes	5	6	5
Education	4	2	7
Don't know	7	7	7

(National Election Pool exit poll, 2004
in David E. Campbell *A Matter of Faith, Religion in the 2004 Presidential Election*
(Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007) 82

2. Voting Behavior by Two Issues of Most Importance, 2000 & 2004:

<i>Issue</i>	<i>2000</i>		
	<i>All</i>	<i>Bush</i>	<i>Gore</i>
Moral, ethical values	35	55	17
Education	25	20	31
Social Security	21	16	25
Taxes	17	25	9
Abortion	14	17	12
The environment	9	2	14
Health care	8	5	11
Medicare, prescription drugs	8	6	10
Budget surplus	6	6	6
Foreign affairs	5	5	5
None of the above	4	4	3
	<i>2004</i>		
	<i>All</i>	<i>Bush</i>	<i>Kerry</i>
Moral, ethical values	40	54	24
Jobs, economy	33	18	48
Terrorism, homeland security	29	45	13
Situation in Iraq	16	11	21
Education	15	12	18
Social issues such as abortion and gay marriage	15	14	15
Taxes	9	11	7
Health care	9	5	14
Foreign affairs	5	3	8
Social Security	5	3	7
Medicare, prescription drugs	3	2	4
None of the above	2	2	3

(Los Angeles Times exit poll, 2000 and 2004
in David E. Campbell *A Matter of Faith, Religion in the 2004 Presidential Election*
(Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2007) 84

3. Coverage of Pro-Life Organizations in Popular Newspapers, 1989 – 2006:

	<i>Operation Rescue</i>	<i>NRLC</i>	<i>Crisis pregnancy center</i>	<i>Campus group</i>
<i>New York Times</i>	155	103	6	1
<i>Washington Post</i>	60	28	2	0
<i>Los Angeles Times</i>	95	15	0	0
Total	310	146	8	1
Percent	67	31	2	0

	<i>Operation Rescue</i>	<i>NRLC</i>	<i>Crisis pregnancy center</i>	<i>Campus group</i>
<i>Time</i>	37	32	3	0
<i>Newsweek</i>	10	16	3	0
<i>U.S. News & World Report</i>	21	26	1	0
Total	68	74	7	0
Percent	46	50	4	0

Jon A. Shields *The Democratic Virtues of the Christian Right*
(Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009) 63

4. Social Characteristics of White Religious Groups:

	Mainline Protestants	Evangelical Protestants	Catholics	No Affiliation
Education				
Less than high school	3%	10%	8%	9%
High school	29%	34%	32%	28%
Some college	33%	36%	24%	28%
College degree	19%	14%	23%	20%
Post-graduate	16%	6%	13%	15%
Family income				
Less than \$24,999	16%	30%	19%	26%
\$25,000–\$39,999	16%	15%	12%	22%
\$40,000–\$59,999	20%	19%	17%	21%
\$60,000 and up	47%	36%	52%	32%
Region				
Northeast	8%	6%	35%	29%
Midwest	40%	30%	37%	20%
South	35%	45%	13%	23%
West	17%	20%	16%	28%
Sex				
Female	59%	59%	56%	45%
Age				
18–30	9%	18%	15%	36%
31–45	22%	25%	26%	19%
46–60	31%	30%	29%	29%
61 and up	38%	28%	30%	16%
Religion				
Religion provides a good deal of guidance in life	30%	49%	32%	10%
Prays several times a day	25%	43%	25%	7%
Attends church more than weekly	10%	17%	8%	0%

2004 National Election Study
in Carin Larson & Clyde Wilcox *Onward Christian Soldiers?* (Westview Press, 2006) 54

5. Christian Right Activists in 2004: Organizational Favorability and Membership:

<i>% Very Favorable</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Core</i>	<i>Hard Right</i>	<i>Pan-Evangelical</i>	<i>Pro-Family</i>	<i>Peripheral</i>
Percentage of Sample	100.0	31.3	10.8	12.7	14.7	30.5
Focus on the Family	70.7	99.0	35.4	79.5	97.8	32.5
<i>% Focus Member</i>	21.2	35.9	13.6	20.5	35.6	2.1
Family Research Council	69.8	98.4	30.5	82.9	96.6	25.2
<i>% FRC Member</i>	19.3	32.8	9.1	11.5	35.6	4.8
American Center for Law and Justice	61.8	79.5	55.4	70.0	66.3	36.0
<i>% ACLJ Member</i>	17.3	24.6	22.7	21.8	18.0	5.9
National Right to Life	59.0	80.4	78.5	69.6	31.2	32.7
<i>% NRLife Members</i>	14.0	23.7	20.3	12.8	6.7	5.9
Concerned Women for America	58.1	80.9	72.7	62.0	50.0	26.3
<i>% CWA member</i>	15.2	19.9	30.3	15.4	15.6	4.8
Christian Coalition	53.7	73.8	70.3	70.8	21.6	28.9
<i>% CC Member</i>	15.4	22.5	22.7	14.1	8.9	9.1
American Family Association	51.0	73.2	46.0	72.5	53.2	10.5
<i>% AFA Member</i>	15.7	23.0	19.7	15.4	19.1	5.4
Alliance Defense Fund	48.2	65.7	20.4	50.0	76.7	17.0
<i>% ADF Member</i>	14.1	21.6	6.1	14.3	23.3	4.8
Traditional Values Coalition	34.9	56.9	40.3	55.1	4.3	7.6
<i>% TVC Member</i>	7.8	13.6	15.2	9.0	1.1	2.1
Operation Rescue	26.9	32.9	48.4	47.5	1.4	13.4
<i>% OR Member</i>	3.6	4.3	7.6	5.2	1.1	2.1
National Association of Evangelicals	17.1	20.5	5.4	47.5	13.0	5.5
<i>% NAE Member</i>	1.3	1.6	0.0	1.3	3.3	0.5
Catholic Alliance	10.2	11.6	5.6	24.1	2.9	8.1
<i>% CA Member</i>	1.0	0.5	1.5	1.3	0.0	1.6
Evangelicals for Social Action	8.1	0.0	0.0	54.3	0.0	0.0
<i>% ESA Member</i>	1.0	1.6	0.0	3.9	0.0	0.0
Bread for the World	8.0	0.0	0.0	51.4	0.0	0.0
<i>% BFW Member</i>	1.3	0.0	0.0	10.4	0.0	0.0

John C. Green et al. *The Values Campaign?: The Christian Right and the 2004 Election* (Washington D.C.: George Washington University Press, 2006) 26

6. Opinions of Christian Right Activists in 2004:

<i>Political Style</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Core</i>	<i>Hard Right</i>	<i>Pan- Evangelical</i>	<i>Pro- Family</i>	<i>Peripheral</i>
	%					
Religious people in politics						
Very divisive	10.5	10.2	9.4	15.3	5.8	11.6
Somewhat divisive	14.6	14.0	18.8	13.9	10.5	16.2
Not divisive	74.9	75.8	71.9	70.8	83.7	72.3
Others get along with religious people?						
Very difficult	20.5	16.0	19.0	25.0	27.9	20.2
Some difficulty	27.3	30.5	25.4	27.8	32.6	21.4
With ease	52.3	53.5	55.6	47.2	39.5	58.3
Religious people in politics						
Very pragmatic	17.0	17.3	15.9	20.0	11.9	18.3
Very purist	27.4	27.2	33.3	14.7	26.2	31.4
Some of both	55.6	55.5	50.8	65.3	61.9	50.3
I support my party's nominee						
Under all circumstances	29.1	26.6	28.3	38.9	14.5	35.2
Only when I believe in the candidate	54.9	52.7	66.7	47.2	67.5	50.0
Only when holds right issue positions	16.0	20.6	5.0	13.9	18.1	14.9
Religious people should						
Stay focused on politics	82.6	87.0	75.4	85.7	78.9	80.9
Withdraw for nonpolitical activities	2.0	2.1	3.1	1.3	1.1	2.2
Some of both	15.4	10.9	21.5	13.0	20.0	16.9
Best way to solve social problems						
Religion should be engaged in politics	60.2	68.6	64.1	59.7	56.2	52.0
Religion should help nonmembers	26.2	22.2	21.9	23.6	30.3	31.0
Religion should help members	13.4	8.6	14.1	16.7	13.5	17.0
Main goal of religious politics						
Transform society overall	44.2	49.7	39.7	35.5	45.8	43.0

(continued)

<i>Political Style</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Core</i>	<i>Hard Right</i>	<i>Pan- Evangelical</i>	<i>Pro- Family</i>	<i>Peripheral</i>
	%					
Correct specific problems	33.5	29.6	38.1	38.2	36.1	32.6
Proclaim distinctive values	22.3	20.7	22.2	26.3	18.1	24.4
Politics and traditional morality						
Politics can help restore morality	76.5	82.8	81.5	85.7	60.7	71.6
Politics unlikely to restore morality	22.0	16.7	15.4	11.7	37.1	27.3
Politics can't restore traditional morality	1.5	0.5	3.1	2.6	2.2	1.1

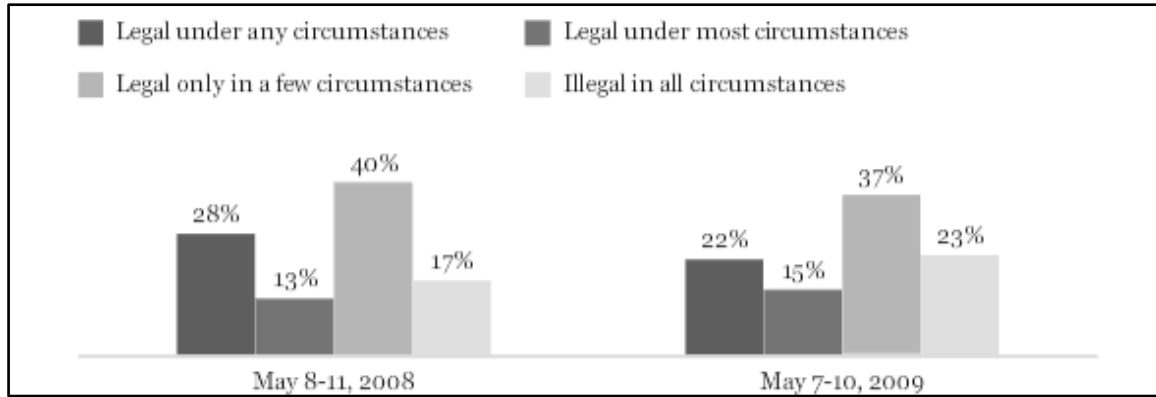
John C. Green et al. *The Values Campaign?: The Christian Right and the 2004 Election* (Washington D.C.: George Washington University Press, 2006) 41-42

7. Religious Characteristics of Christian Right Activists in 2004:

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>All</i>	<i>Core</i>	<i>Hard Right</i>	<i>Pan- Evangelical</i>	<i>Pro- Family</i>	<i>Peripheral</i>
	%					
Evangelical Protestant	68.6	78.0	69.7	69.2	74.4	55.2
<i>Nondenominational</i>	35.9	37.7	36.4	32.1	43.3	31.7
<i>Baptist</i>	19.8	24.6	25.8	17.9	15.6	15.3
<i>Pentecostal, Holiness</i>	5.3	7.3	3.0	14.1	0.0	2.7
<i>Other evangelicals</i>	7.6	8.4	4.5	6.4	15.6	5.5
Mainline Protestant	19.4	16.8	9.1	21.8	21.1	24.0
Roman Catholic	11.0	5.2	21.2	7.7	3.3	18.6
Other traditions	1.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.1	21.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Movement						
Evangelical only	27.1	35.4	13.6	28.2	37.8	17.6
Evangelical and Fundamentalist	15.0	15.1	12.1	20.5	17.8	12.3
Spirit filled	11.3	14.6	18.2	10.3	8.9	7.0
Fundamentalist only	6.9	7.8	12.1	3.8	1.1	8.0
Mainline sectarians	11.6	11.5	4.5	12.8	17.8	10.7
Bible literal word of God	70.8	78.4	73.8	74.7	77.0	56.8
Greater than weekly worship	45.8	53.7	43.9	55.8	43.3	34.8
Gifts of the spirit	20.1	22.4	23.1	30.6	18.8	12.9

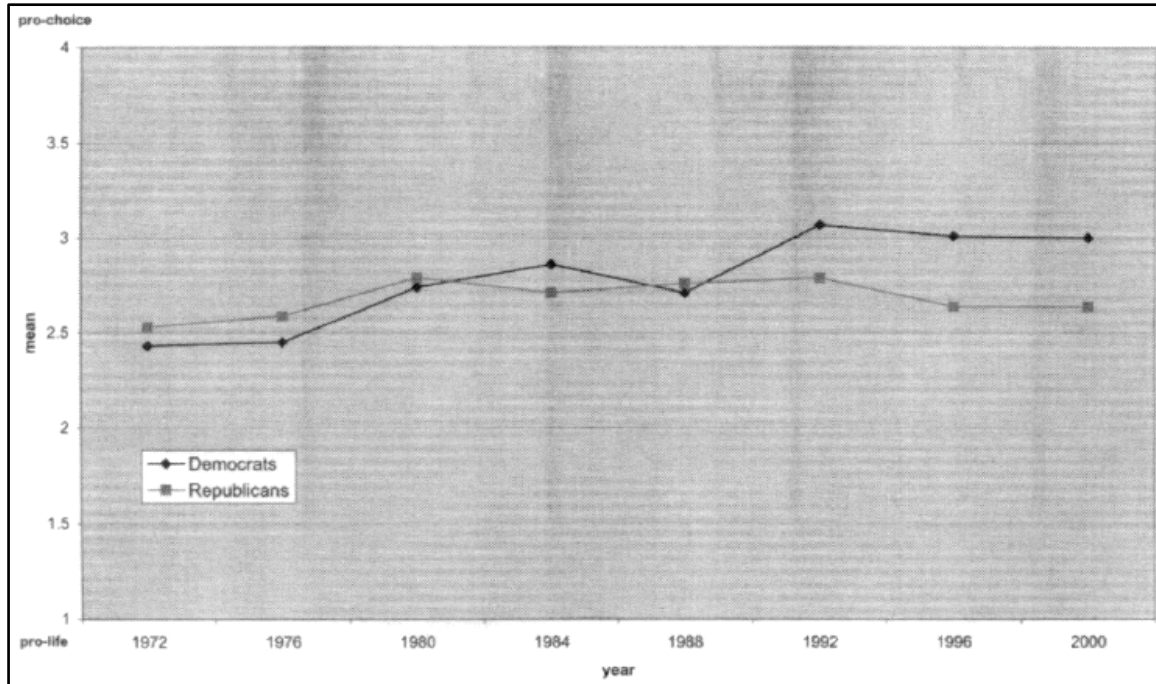
John C. Green et al. *The Values Campaign?: The Christian Right and the 2004 Election* (Washington D.C.: George Washington University Press, 2006) 29

8. General Population Opinion on Legality of Abortion in 2008 & 2009:



Gallup 22 April 2010 <<http://www.gallup.com/poll/118399/More-Americans-Pro-Life-Than-Pro-Choice-First-Time.aspx>>

9. Abortion Attitudes of Democrats and Republicans from 1972 – 2000:



Edward G. Carmines and James Woods “The Role of Party Activists in the Evolution of the Abortion Issue” *Political Behavior*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Springer, Dec. 2002) 365

10. Forms of Political Participation, 1972 – 2004:

	1972	1976	1980	1984	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	Change
<i>Influence others to vote</i>										
Cons. evangelicals	23	29	34	35	32	47	36	37	49	+26
Lib. evangelicals	34	38	42	32	23	42	29	36	54	+20
Non-evangelicals	34	39	38	35	29	38	30	37	51	+17
African Americans	31	32	29	26	26	27	23	28	36	+5
All Americans	32	37	36	32	29	38	29	35	49	+17
<i>Display button, sign, or sticker</i>										
Cons. evangelicals	6	5	6	5	10	11	9	13	20	+14
Lib. evangelicals	12	9	10	8	3	12	14	11	17	+5
Non-evangelicals	16	9	7	10	9	12	11	10	21	+5
African Americans	16	8	5	12	11	11	10	12	22	+6
All Americans	14	8	7	9	9	11	10	10	21	+7
<i>Follows public affairs</i>										
Cons. evangelicals	65	67	56	62	57	67	68	63	64	-1
Lib. evangelicals	78	73	61	62	52	71	59	52	57	-21
Non-evangelicals	76	72	64	67	64	70	65	64	72	-4
African Americans	64	65	55	52	53	66	65	47	68	+4
All Americans	73	70	61	63	59	68	63	59	68	-5
<i>Attend meeting for a candidate</i>										
Cons. evangelicals	3.0	3.2	4.1	3.3	3.0	5.5	5.6	3.3	5.4	+2.4
Lib. evangelicals	1.4	5.7	5.9	2.7	2.3	10.5	6.2	3.3	3.6	+2.2
Non-evangelicals	11.3	7.5	8.6	8.9	7.4	8.8	7.3	6.4	9.6	-1.7
African Americans	7.4	4.1	6.6	9.6	10.1	8.3	6.3	8.6	5.1	-2.3
All Americans	10.4	6.4	7.5	7.8	7.2	8.1	5.9	5.5	7.6	-2.8

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 (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009) 126