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Is the Right "Right" About God? An Examination of the Theology of the Religious Right in Modern Day Politics

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GEORGE FOX UNIVERSITY

IS THE RIGHT "RIGHT" ABOUT GOD?

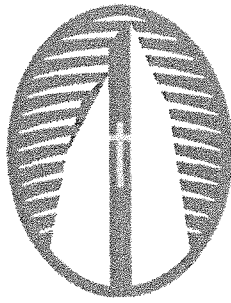
An Examination of the Theology of the Religious Right in Modern Day Politics.

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We, the undersigned, certify that we have read this thesis and approve it as adequate in
scope and quality for the degree of Master of Arts in Theological Studies.

Carole D. Spencer

(Carole D. Spencer)

[Signature]

(Mark Hall)

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To Charlie,
For reminding me of my way

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the Evangelical critique of the Religious Right for veracity, and the position of the Right is then tested for theological soundness. The Evangelical Left is represented by Sojourners Magazine and associates due to its long-lasting position as one of (if not the) main liberal Christian organizations during the two decades reviewed here. The Christian Coalition was chosen to represent the Religious Right during the 1990's as that was its time of great visibility and influence. The Family Research Council stands for the Right in this decade due to its current prominence.

The Theological assessment is based upon the motivating Christian principle of love, as evidenced by Matthew 25:34-46, and Paul's exhortations for upright behavior in Christian leaders, as seen in Titus 1:5-9 and 2:7-8. Not only must Christians behave well according to the standards set by society, but they must also behave in such a way that is distinctively Christian. The defining question of this study is, "Can one tell, through their actions and words, that these two Religious Right groups are Christian?"

INTRODUCTION

“Is the Right ‘Right’ About God?” is, admittedly, a title spun from Jim Wallis’ book, *God’s Politics: How the Right Gets it Wrong and the Left Doesn’t Get It*. However, unlike Wallis, my intent is not to criticize American political parties. In fact, I will not be looking at political parties at all, instead focusing on their apparent religious counterparts, known colloquially as the Religious Right and the Evangelical Left. While not always established with the intent to oppose each other,¹ oftentimes the Right and the Left do exactly that. This is not surprising to anyone familiar with present-day politics, though it should seem strange that two sets of Christian groups, holding the same fundamental beliefs and proclaiming the same political goals, are so at odds. It is this divergence that motivates my study. It would take much too long to do a complete assessment of both sides. Instead, I will look only at the Evangelical Left’s major critiques of the Religious Right, and attempt to determine whether those critiques are well founded. Since it is the Right that is under fire, it is only their side that I will analyze for theological soundness.

I must be upfront about the one major deficiency in this study (of which I am aware.) I do not address the concern that the Religious Right is a “two-topic” machine, the two being abortion and homosexuality. It will require much more time and effort to do justice to this topic than can be afforded in this short study. As such, I will simply leave it unaddressed for the time being, and hope to return to it another day.

¹ There are a few organizations on the Left that were founded with the express purpose of giving American Christians an option to the Religious Right, such as the Christian Alliance for Progress. However their policies and theology will not be examined within this study due to time and space limitations.

To bring the focus back to the study at hand: each chapter addressing an accusation begins with an explanation of one of the Left's specific critiques, followed by an "in their own words," section where the beliefs and positions of the Right as they themselves see it is summarized. These first two sections will rely almost exclusively on primary sources to avoid any potential misrepresentations of ideas. This includes books, speeches, magazine and newspaper articles written by primary personalities from each party, as well as blogs and newsletters available through the organizations' own websites. The final section, the analysis, is of my own creation. It is here that I will explain whether or not I found the critique to be accurate: is the Right doing (or not doing) what the Left charges? For this section I depend heavily on objective data, such as U.S. Census Bureau statistics, and reports from the Center for Disease Control.

The next step is more subjective: is the Right's position (regardless of the Left's critique) theologically sound? Can they be identified as Christians through both their speech and actions? Complicating this assessment is the fact that the majority of the issues political groups face today are not addressed in the Bible. It is unsatisfactory to fall back on the general principles of love and ethics as plumb-lines since they are not "uniquely Christian."² Scripture must be exegeted in order to find applicable principles that, when followed, frame up a course of action that is distinctly Christian.

² Millard J. Erickson, "Principles, Permanence, and Future Divine Judgment: A Case Study in Theological Method," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 28, no. 3 (September 1985): 318, <http://0-search.atlaonline.com.catalog.georgefox.edu/pls/eli/ashow?aid=ATLA0000961714> (accessed 9 November 2007).

Matthew 25:34-46³ has been called a “classic text” that provides a “summary of the gospel.”⁴ This passage outlines the ethic of discipleship, a burden of service taken on in emulation of Jesus’ own mission.⁵ This service is completed with integrity, courage, and humility,⁶ because, as Christians, we see Jesus’ presence within the “least of these.”⁷

³ Matt. 25:34 Then the king will say to those at his right hand, ‘Come, you that are blessed by my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world; 35 for I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you welcomed me, 36 I was naked and you gave me clothing, I was sick and you took care of me, I was in prison and you visited me.’ 37 Then the righteous will answer him, ‘Lord, when was it that we saw you hungry and gave you food, or thirsty and gave you something to drink? 38 And when was it that we saw you a stranger and welcomed you, or naked and gave you clothing? 39 And when was it that we saw you sick or in prison and visited you?’ 40 And the king will answer them, ‘Truly I tell you, just as you did it to one of the least of these who are members of my family, you did it to me.’ 41 Then he will say to those at his left hand, ‘You that are accursed, depart from me into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels; 42 for I was hungry and you gave me no food, I was thirsty and you gave me nothing to drink, 43 I was a stranger and you did not welcome me, naked and you did not give me clothing, sick and in prison and you did not visit me.’ 44 Then they also will answer, ‘Lord, when was it that we saw you hungry or thirsty or a stranger or naked or sick or in prison, and did not take care of you?’ 45 Then he will answer them, ‘Truly I tell you, just as you did not do it to one of the least of these, you did not do it to me.’ 46 And these will go away into eternal punishment, but the righteous into eternal life.”

⁴ John R. Donahue, S.J., “The ‘Parable’ of the Sheep and the Goats: A Challenge to Christian Ethics,” *Theological Studies* 47, no. 1 (1986): 3, <http://0-search.atlaonline.com.catalog.georgefox.edu/pls/eli/pshow?lcookie=3493139&pid> [accessed 9 November 2007].

⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁶ Emmanuel M. Jacob, “Discipleship and Mission: a Perspective on the Gospel of Matthew,” *International Review of Mission* 91, no. 360 (January 2002), <http://0-search.atlaonline.com.catalog.georgefox.edu/pls/eli/ashow?aid=ATLA0001397273> (accessed 9 November 2007).

⁷ Dan O. Via, “Ethical Responsibility and Human Wholeness in Matthew 25:31-46,” *The Harvard Theological Review* 80, no.1 (January 1987): 93, <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0017->

While specific actions are described here, this passage is primarily meant to address the Christian motivation for right action: a love of Christ which is, indeed, distinctly Christian.

While it is not always possible to accurately judge another person's motivation, it is possible to see how one's motivation manifests itself in speech and action, creating a general characteristic profile against which one can be measured. Titus 1:5-9⁸ and 2:7-8⁹ does just that, describing the necessary characteristics and actions of Christian leaders. (The topic of leadership being relevant to this discussion because of the station of influence held by the Religious Right.)

Paul is adamant that leaders should hold a high level of credibility and respectability by maintaining societal norms. Because this is such a generality and because times and expectations change, Paul demands that Christians' actions be a "clear expression of the will of God,"¹⁰ demonstrating integrity and seriousness, purity of

8160%2819701%2980%3A1%3C79%3AERAHWI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-6 (accessed 9 November 2007).

⁸Titus 1:5-9: I left you behind in Crete for this reason, so that you should put in order what remained to be done, and should appoint elders in every town, as I directed you: 6 someone who is blameless, married only once, whose children are believers, not accused of debauchery and not rebellious. 7 For a bishop, as God's steward, must be blameless; he must not be arrogant or quick-tempered or addicted to wine or violent or greedy for gain; 8 but he must be hospitable, a lover of goodness, prudent, upright, devout, and self-controlled. 9 He must have a firm grasp of the word that is trustworthy in accordance with the teaching, so that he may be able both to preach with sound doctrine and to refute those who contradict it.

⁹ Titus 2:7-8: Show yourself in all respects a model of good works, and in your teaching show integrity, gravity, 8 and sound speech that cannot be censured; then any opponent will be put to shame, having nothing evil to say of us.

motive, and that all they say – both in public and in private – be above reproach.¹¹ It is also necessary that a Christian leader not be overbearing (self-interested), violent (“ready to assail one’s opponent”), and not use his or her office for profit or to pursue dishonest gain.¹²

Both texts demand interaction with the established social structure of the day, but one that is formed and directed by distinctly Christian principles. This will be the basis of my theological analysis: does the Religious Right, as a body of Christian leaders in American politics, act in a noticeably Christian way as defined by Matthew 25:34-46 and Titus 1:5-9, 2:7?

I have not seen a similar study in all of my research thus far. There have been many books and articles that are extremely critical of the Religious Right and its rise to power (Rob Boston’s *Close Encounters With the Religious Right* and *The Most Dangerous Man in America?*, Chris Hedges’ *American Fascists: the Christian Right and the War on America*, Frederick Clarkson’s *Eternal Hostility: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy*.) There have also been a number of books that look at the responsibilities of Christians living and working in the political world. A few of the

¹⁰ Philip H. Towner, “Instructions for Godly Living.” In *1-2 Timothy & Titus*, vol. 14 of *The IVP New Testament Commentary Series*, (Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 1994), <http://www.biblegateway.com/resources/commentaries/?action=getCommentaryText&cid=11&source=1&seq=i.63.2.1> (accessed 23 October 2007).

¹¹ Frank E. Gaebelien, ed., “Titus,” *Ephesians-Philemon*, vol. 11 of *The Expositor’s Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), 437.

¹² *Ibid.*, 431.

books I found most useful were ones that gave an overview of the Religious Right, examined how they came to power, and what they could do differently to successfully return or continue on to political prominence. One of these was Nina Easton's *Gang of Five: Leaders at the Center of the Conservative Crusade*. Here she uses as the basis of her study five major religious conservative leaders, William Kristol, Grover Norquist, Clint Bolick, David McIntosh, and Ralph Reed. Another one is Clyde Wilcox's *Onward Christian Soldiers? The Religious Right in America*. He examines the charge that the Religious Right is a threat to American liberty by attempting to impose their narrow ideologies on a pluralistic society. Wilcox finds that the Religious Right of the 1990s was actually the fourth wave of Religious Conservatism in the twentieth century, and that it represents only one of many groups participating in a contemporary cultural debate. While the Right is not representative of all Christians, or even all white evangelicals, its social platforms do appeal to a huge segment of the population, which could become very powerful if effectively mobilized. Michael Cromartie edited a series of essays on the religious conservative movement of the 1990s in *Disciples and Democracy: Religious Conservatives and the Future of American Politics*. Several journalists, religious activists and scholars write and respond to another's position, creating the sort of dialogue normally only experienced through attendance at panel discussions or conferences.

I have found all of these books to be extremely interesting and helpful in their own right. However, I have found that the investigations are fairly divided into secular and political or religious and theological. I have yet to see a combined political – theological analysis. There is always a clear delineation between the two methodologies

rather than a synthesis leading to a comprehensive evaluation of the Religious Right as a simultaneously religious and political organization.

It is this synthesis that I hope to achieve with this study. Instead of focusing solely on the political veracity of their statements, the soundness of their legislation, or their use of scripture, I will examine them all. As Christians, we should give God both the first say (His words being our motivation for action) and the last (allowing His principles to judge that action.) It is my desire to do just that with this study. As such, even though I will be examining critically the actions of the Religious Right, along with the outcomes of their legislative positioning, their adherence to Christian morality will be given the bottom line. Here, the means (how they maneuver themselves through the political climate) is worth more than their end (their pro-family policy goals.)

Please note that any references to the Left or the Right refer only to the specific organizations I have chosen as representative of their respective movements as a whole, unless otherwise specified within the text.

CHAPTER ONE

the players

Both the Religious Right and the Evangelical Left are represented by a number of different organizations of varying size and influence. It would be impossible to sum up all of these beliefs in such a way that would do justice to each individual group's position. As such, I have instead chosen specific organizations to represent each side as a whole. Each was chosen because they are commonly known in American society for their political involvement. At some point in recent history they have exerted significant influence on the political process and their beliefs can be characterized as mainstream within their respective religious-political classification.

THE "EVANGELICAL LEFT": SOJOURNERS/CALL TO RENEWAL

Sojourners/Call to Renewal is a socially and politically active Christian organization whose goal is to draw attention and organize people towards biblically motivated political involvement in justice issues.¹³ There are a number of other organizations proclaiming the same type of call, such as Christian Alliance for Progress, the Center for Progressive Christianity, and Evangelicals for Social Action. However Sojourners/Call to Renewal is the most recognizable and influential of the group. Sojourners' members and associates are prolific in their outreach, controlling a multitude of communication mediums. While Sojourners is not an organization with "membership"

¹³ Sojourners, "About Us"; available from http://www.sojo.net/index.cfm?action=about_us.display; Internet; accessed 24 May 2007.

in the traditional sense, all workers, writers, and their “external” associates present a surprisingly cohesive stance on politically relevant issues of social justice.

Sojourners was founded as a household community by a group of young, socially conscious Evangelicals in 1971, in Southern Columbia Heights, Illinois. These students gathered to discuss the relation between their faith and political issues, in particular the Vietnam War. They began publishing a magazine called “The Post-American” as a way to gauge if other Christians held similar beliefs on the subject of social justice. In 1975, the group relocated to Washington, D.C. and officially changed the name of their magazine (and simultaneously named themselves) to Sojourners.¹⁴ The communal living situations, characteristic of their household philosophy, now only exists for Sojourners interns; however, all involved with the organization acknowledge how their communal history formed a foundation of caring for those within one’s own household, neighborhoods, and work environments.¹⁵

In addition to their magazine, Sojourners also focuses on producing informational resource publications, teaching, preaching, and organizing year-long volunteer opportunities in ministry and service. The intent of these volunteer positions is less about encouraging people to give of their time, which would make it an issue of charity, than it is about getting volunteers to think in terms of justice.

Their understanding of Biblical justice continues to be their overarching topical focus. Used as their benchmark is the “Bible full of holes.” While in his first year of

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Jackie Spycher of Sojourners, interview by author, Washington, D.C., 28 June 2007.

seminary at Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Jim Wallis and his fellow classmates found every reference to the poor in the Bible, and then proceeded to cut each one of them out. What remained was a shell of a book that barely held itself together, quite literally a “Bible full of holes.”¹⁶ Wallis repeatedly refers to this experience and writes, “Because the Scriptures spend so much time on the poor, we will too. This is the most important ‘political’ issue in the Bible, and it must be ours as well.”¹⁷

One of its main strategies is to join with other religious and secular organizations, as well as national advocacy groups in order to knowledgeably address and bring attention to a wide array of social justice issues. An example of this type of unification is Call to Renewal. It was founded in 1995 as an exercise in ecumenism, joining a large network of churches, para-churches, and non-profits with the goal of ending domestic poverty.¹⁸ Because of their similarity in vision and goals as well as each organization’s increasing size, Sojourners and Call to Renewal officially joined together in July of 2006. Jim Wallis, being the founder and executive director of both organizations, has continued in his leadership position after the merger.¹⁹

Wallis is also the editor-in-chief of *Sojourners* Magazine. He is a prolific writer, having authored numerous books, and his articles regularly appear not only in *Sojourners*

¹⁶ Jim Wallis, *God’s Politics: Why the Right Gets it Wrong and the Left Doesn’t Get it* (HarperSanFrancisco: New York, 2005), 214.

¹⁷ Ibid., xxiii.

¹⁸ Jackie Spycher of Sojourners, interview by author, Washington, D.C., 28 June 2007.

¹⁹ Call To Renewal, available from <http://www.calltorenewal.com/>; Internet; accessed 20 April 2007.

Magazine, but also the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Time* and *Boston Globe*. Wallis speaks at over 200 engagements per year, in addition to teaching at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government.²⁰

Sojourners, as stated above, does not have an official membership roster, per se, but its magazine does have a circulation of more than 250,000 (both print and digital via the Sojourners website). In 2006 it had an operating budget of more than 4.5 million dollars.²¹

THE "RELIGIOUS RIGHT": CHRISTIAN COALITION

Through most of the 1990's, the Christian Coalition was recognized as "the largest, best mobilized, and most powerful Religious Right organization in the country and . . . one of the most powerful groups in the nation"²² and its name is still readily identifiable with the "Religious Right." Because times of influence are what most affect people's impressions and opinions about an organization and its beliefs, I will focus the majority of my attention on statements made and actions taken during that time. Though still in existence today, the Christian Coalition is nowhere near as dominant nor influential as it was in the past.

²⁰ Sojourners, "About Us"; available from http://www.sojo.net/index.cfm?action=about_us.display_staff&staff=wallis; Internet; accessed 24 May 2007.

²¹ Sojourners/Call to Renewal, "Sojourners Annual Report 2006," available from http://www.sojo.net/about_us/2006_Annual_Report.pdf; Internet; accessed 20 September 2007.

²² Jim Wallis, *Who Speaks for God? An Alternative to the Religious Right – a New Politics of Compassion, Community and Civility* (New York: Delacorte, 1996), xiii.

Studying the Christian Coalition gives the necessary historical perspective for a study such as this, since widespread cultural impressions are not developed overnight, and once developed, people are generally slow to let go of them. As a result we find individuals and organizations responding to comments and movements more than ten years old (take, for instance, Barak Obama's recent critique of the Religious Right's position against welfare, citing the Coalition's 1995 Contract With the American Family's Ten Point plan as his proof.²³) Having some historical distance also allows time for a great deal of research and assessment to develop, providing a large amount of material for study.

My second reason for choosing the Coalition is a subjective one: its views were more reasonable or "mainstream" than some of their counterpart organizations. My goal is to be as objective as possible when looking at what religious-political charges are lodged against the generic "Religious Right." It would not be fair to judge the accuracy of these allegations using the positions of the more extremist organizations as a measuring stick, just as all Christians would not wish to be judged by Fundamentalists, nor Muslims by Fanatical Jihadists.

The Christian Coalition was founded in 1989 by Pat Robertson as a grassroots organization, meant to fill what Robertson perceived as a void in the representation of Christians in American politics. The Coalition focused on both national and local level politics, encouraging individual involvement as much as it worked to lobby Congress and

²³ Barack Obama, "Call to Renewal Keynote Address," (speech given at Call to Renewal's Building a Covenant for a New America Conference in Washington D.C. on 28 June 2006), available from <http://www.obama.senate.gov>; Internet; accessed 18 June 2007.

the White House. The protection of “family values” has been the Coalition’s focus since the beginning, stating that its desire is to “guarantee that government acts in ways that strengthen, rather than threaten, families.”²⁴

Though he has founded a number of various organizations (including the American Center for Law and Justice and Regent University in Virginia Beach, VA) Pat Robertson is most-well known for founding the Christian Broadcasting Network and as host of its flagship program, The 700 Club. Robertson stepped onto the “big” scene in 1987 when he launched a bid for the Republican nomination for the 1988 presidential election. That being unsuccessful, his next big move was hiring Ralph Reed to help found the Christian Coalition in 1989.

In 1989, Reed was still completing his PhD in American History at Emory University. Reed had an active political history, including his work on the re-election campaign for Senator Jesse Helms and as a leader of the National College Republicans. Reed is well-known for both his youthful appearance and his keen but aggressive political tactics.

Reed’s vision for the Coalition aimed for a membership of three million people nationwide based out of chapters in at least 350 of the 435 congressional districts within three years of the group’s founding, along with a \$10 million budget.²⁵ Within one year,

²⁴ Christian Coalition of America; available from <http://www.cc.org>; Internet; accessed 27 April 2007.

²⁵ Ruth Murray Brown, *For a “Christian America”* (Amherst: Prometheus, 2002), 186.

the Coalition achieved a membership of 57,000 in 125 local chapters with an operating budget of \$2.8 million.²⁶

By 1996, both Reed and Robertson were widely touting claims that the Coalition had upwards of 1.7 million members and supporters,²⁷ though one has to question that statement. A review of the postal statement for October 1, 1994-October 1, 1995, showed that the Coalition's magazine, *Christian American* only went out to 418,428 addresses.²⁸ This magazine is sent to all members (as defined by whomever pays the \$15 annual membership fee.)²⁹ One author states that the figure estimating 2 million refers not to actual members, but instead to the number of people who had any contact with the group, including signing petitions or calling the group's 800 number. "Reliable insiders put the true membership of the Coalition – at its peak in 1996 – at just shy of 600,000."³⁰

Though they experienced a certain amount of backlash congruent with their growing power, they remained very politically influential through the 1990s, until Ralph Reed withdrew as director in 1997. One author links the Coalition's decline directly with Reed's departure, calling it a "swift and steady decline," noting that within two years the

²⁶ Ralph Reed, *Politically Incorrect* (Dallas: Word, 1994), 197.

²⁷ Ralph Reed, *Active Faith: How Christians are Changing the Soul of American Politics* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 3.; Pat Robertson, fundraising letter to Christian Coalition members, 2 January, 1996.

²⁸ Rob Boston, *The Most Dangerous Man in America?* (Amherst: Prometheus, 1996), 87; Nina J. Easton, *Gang of Five: Leaders at the Center of the Conservative Crusade* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 343.

²⁹ Nina J. Easton, *Gang of Five: Leaders at the Center of the Conservative Crusade* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 343.

³⁰ Ibid.

organization suffered from inconsistent leadership, massive layoffs and financial debt.³¹ As a result, the organization simply did not have the man-power to be as influential as it once was. It seems that the Coalition has never recovered.

Today, though still present in Washington D.C., the Coalition seems to be barely functioning in comparison to what it once was. Though the website still boasts a membership of two million, given the above information that is highly unlikely. News articles throughout the late 90s reported on the closing of several major Coalition chapters, and the national organization's operating budget last year was down to a mere \$1.2 million. Its last Road to Victory annual conference was held in 2004, and its charter magazine, the *Christian American*, is no longer in circulation. Their online newsletter, "Washington Weekly Review" has been posted only once every 2-4 weeks since 2006, with no posting since May 25, 2007. However the Coalition website does provide up-to-date commentaries on the current legislative agenda, and per the site's "Press Room" page, the Coalition's comments continue to be noted by the press in general.

Repeated attempts to contact the Coalition by both email and phone were not responded to. Emails were returned due to a filled in-box, and multiple attempts to join the Coalition's email listserve simply failed. It is impossible to determine if there is an error in the listserv function, or if over the past year the Coalition simply has not sent out any newsletters, action reports or notifications via email.

³¹ Ibid, 389.

THE “RELIGIOUS RIGHT”: FAMILY RESEARCH COUNCIL

Though by no means the newest or most recently created, Family Research Council (FRC) is perhaps one of the most currently well-recognized politically active, conservative religious organizations. This organization’s political prominence coincided with the departure of Ralph Reed from the Christian Coalition, and the Coalition’s subsequent diminished influence. The FRC is a research and education-focused organization which is legally prohibited from endorsing political viewpoints. It has a legislative arm in FRC Action. The goal of both entities is to “preserve and advance the interests of family, faith, and freedom in the political arena.”³²

As with the Coalition, I will focus on the FRC’s time of greatest influence to date, the last decade, from approximately 1999-2007. As such, I will ascertain the applicability of the Left’s critiques against the FRC in the present time, and not ten years in the past.

The Family Research Council was established in 1983 by Dr. James Dobson (founder of Focus on the Family, a non-profit family service organization.) FRC was created to draw national attention to family issues, as well as lobby for policies that protect human life, the institution of marriage, and the family. The FRC reasons that the family is the foundation of society, and so must be protected in order to ensure everyone’s wellbeing. As a Christian organization, it endorses a Judeo-Christian worldview which it contends includes the sacredness of human life, governmental obligation to protect the family and the institution of marriage, belief in a Christian basis

³² Family Research Council, “Policy Areas: F.A.Q.” available from <http://www.frc.org/get.cfm?i=FQ04H40>; Internet; accessed 15 September 2007.

for American government, and a democratic success based on an interwoven network of “families, churches, schools, and voluntary associations.”³³

As mentioned above, Dr. James Dobson is also the founder of Focus on the Family (FOTF), a hugely prolific organization that syndicates his radio program of the same name. Dobson is a licensed psychologist and licensed marriage, family and child counselor. He has written 36 books so far, the most well-known of them being *Dare to Discipline*, a book on parenting.³⁴ Though Dobson is not directly involved in the daily operations of the FRC, the FRC and the FOTF are still closely affiliated through Dobson, and hold similar, if not identical, pro-family policy positions.

2003 estimates put the FRC’s membership at approximately 455,000, and its operating budget at \$10 million (the same amount it reached in the mid-90’s).³⁵ The FRC has numerous publications and circulations to which anyone can subscribe, including a daily email that informs readers about current policy issues; a weekly prayer request notification; policy lecture invitations informing readers of FRC events; Fact Papers, providing at-a-glance information on current events and issues; and Legislation Alerts to notify readers when action must take place in order to usher in or stop family-impacting legislation.

³³ Family Research Council, “About FRC”; available from <http://www.frc.org/get.cfm?i=PG03F05&v=PRINT>; Internet; accessed 8 June 2007.

³⁴ Focus on the Family, “Press Room: Press Biographies: Dr. James Dobson,” available from <http://www.focusonthefam.ily.com/press/focusvoices/A000000025.cfm>; Internet; accessed 23 October 2007.

³⁵ Family Research Council, “About FRC”; available from www.frc.org/get.cfm?i=PG03F05&v=PRINT; Internet; accessed 8 June 2007.

CHAPTER TWO

does “right” always equal “republican”?

This discussion of partisanship is perhaps the cause of the biggest divide between the Right and Left. Note that for the past ten or fifteen years the two sides have not been commonly known as “liberal evangelicals” and “conservative Christians,” but the Evangelical Left (implying Democratic affiliation) and the Religious Right (referring to the Republican side.)³⁶ While the Left/Right designations are no longer used exclusively, the newer “Liberal” and “Conservative” titles have yet to fully take hold. The issue with this is that both sides should be, first and foremost, Christian, not beholden to any party lest they risk compromising their values. Again, due to time constraints, I will limit the topic solely to the position of the Right and ask, does “Right” equal “Republican”?

ACCUSATION

The accusation of the Left is two-fold: the first is that the Right claims to be the primary voice of Christians within the political arena.³⁷ If someone, as a Christian, did not agree with the platform or statements of the Right, then the only voice they would be

³⁶ The Coalition and Family Research Council interchangeably use the words, “religious right,” “Christians,” “Evangelicals,” “pro-family voters,” and “religious conservatives.” As such, I will follow suit, alleviating as well the necessity for correcting or clarifying direct quotes from these organizations employing this variety of terminology.

³⁷ Harvey Cox, “With Malice Toward None: Mixing Religion With Politics is Nothing New,” *Sojourners* 25, no. 5 (September-October 1996): 25; “The Religious Right has claimed an exclusive right to define evangelical faith by its own political agenda.” Jim Wallis, *Who Speaks for God?* (New York: Delacorte, 1996), 26.

left with would be their own.³⁸ The second is that this voice exclusively lends itself to Republican candidates, even at the expense of the family values platform the Right so vociferously advocates. “Their ‘Christian Coalition’ tries to dictate who the ‘real’ Christian candidates are; funny thing is, they’re almost all right-wing Republicans.”³⁹

Jim Wallis cites an informal study he conducted over the course of a year as an example of the first phenomenon. At his myriad of speaking engagements and book signings, he asked all he encountered what they thought of upon hearing the words “Evangelical Christian” or “Christian.” The almost unanimous response was someone associated with the Religious Right, most often the Christian Coalition, Pat Robertson, and Jerry Falwell.⁴⁰

The irony Wallis finds with this is that he believes “they [the Right] don’t talk much about Jesus at all . . . nor do they discuss the kind of spiritual values that might bring us together, or heal the nation’s wounds, or uplift the poor, as you might expect from a group that proclaims itself the voice of religion in politics.”⁴¹ More recently he put

³⁸ “But for too long, the so-called Religious Right has dominated that discussion in the mainstream media. The result is that many people who have religious and spiritual concerns, but don’t feel represented by groups like the Christian Coalition, feel left out of the conversation.” Ibid., xi.

³⁹ Ibid., 4.

⁴⁰ Jim Wallis, “The Minister as a Prophet for Social Justice” (speech given at a Conference sponsored by *Christian Ethics Today*, “The Minister and Politics: How to be Political Without Being Partisan in Washington D.C. on 27 June 2007), author in attendance.

⁴¹ Jim Wallis, *Who Speaks for God?* (New York: Delacorte, 1996), 4.

it a different way, saying that religious political organizations must be the moral compass, making politicians “move to us, not us move to them and their agenda.”⁴²

The Left’s charge of the Right is more complicated than simply stating that Right Wing Christians move to the Republican agenda. Rather the accusation follows that the primary goal of the Right is power and influence⁴³ and that they are willing to use questionable tactics in order to attain them. A major part of this strategy is electing as many Republicans as possible via selective voter registration and reminders, biased voter guides, and monetary support of Republican campaigns.⁴⁴

In regards to voter registration efforts, the charge is fairly simple: the Right identifies those voters most likely to vote pro-family and pro-Republican. Then it is only those voters who receive reminder calls on Election Day, and in some areas the Coalition offers rides to ensure those voters make it to the voting stations. If a voter is identified as a democrat or as someone who would vote contrary to the positions of the Right, their names are not recorded, and they are not offered registration assistance, nor reminded to vote on Election Day.⁴⁵

⁴² Jim Wallis, "The Minister as a Prophet for Social Justice" (speech given at a Conference sponsored by *Christian Ethics Today*, "The Minister and Politics: How to be Political Without Being Partisan in Washington D.C. on 27 June 2007), author in attendance.

⁴³ “The Religious Right . . . went for political power right away. . . . In fact, their hope was to take over the Republican Party . . . and then implement their legislative agenda.” Jim Wallis, *God’s Politics: Why the Right Gets it Wrong and the Left Doesn’t Get it*. (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2005), 64.

⁴⁴ see appendix for examples of the Christian Coalition’s voter identification script, voter guide, and congressional scorecard, along with the FRC’s vote scorecard.

The topic of voter guides is much more complicated. It is here that the difference between the voter guides and vote scorecards must be explained. The Coalition voter guides are intended to give quick reference information about where politicians stand on various issues in general (e.g. “federal registration of firearms and licensing of gun owners,” and “public funding of abortions”) but do not reference specific bills or voting records. This is of logical necessity since the guides provide information on all candidates, some of whom may not have held office before and so do not have a voting record to reference.

Candidates are asked to complete a simple survey to ascertain where they stand on a few of the most pertinent political issues. However, if a candidate does not receive or respond to this survey, the Coalition lists what it believes to be an accurate presentation of the candidate’s views, given his or her voting records and public statements. In all other cases, “No Response” is listed.

In contrast, Vote Scorecards are reports of how elected officials have voted on specific bills and amendments in the previous year. These cards give a brief explanation of each action, along with the Coalition’s or the FRC’s position. Officials are scored by how often their votes agree with the organization’s positions.

For the sake of simplicity through this section (and because rarely does the Left make a distinction between the two in its critique), I will use the term “guides” to refer synonymously to both the guides and the scorecards.

⁴⁵ Rob Boston, *The Most Dangerous Man in America?* (Amherst: Prometheus, 1996), 105.

The first critique is one of scope, which falls in line with the belief that the Right is a limited-issue party (as discussed in the introduction.) The Left claims certain issues are always included on these guides (e.g. abortion) while others such as health care and military spending are rarely present, if at all. Anthony Campolo states that a truly Christian and impartial guide would address *all* of the issues that concern Christians (including poverty and war), not just those of a particular party or political group.⁴⁶

Another problem arises when a guide lists positions for an unresponsive candidate (whether it be positive or negative) on a few of the issues, but “No Response” on others. The resulting impression is that this candidate has something to hide. That it is primarily democrats who have ‘No Response’ listed is another signal to the left of the partisanship and prejudice of the guides.⁴⁷ The guides never distinguish between those candidates who have responded and those who have not, so that the accuracy of the positions is uncertain. There is no data on how many candidates actually return the surveys to the Coalition.

Worse than attempting to surmise a candidate’s standpoint, the Left charges that the voter guides have blatantly misrepresented the voting records and positions of democratic candidates that were well established. The timing of the guides leaves all involved little to no opportunity for recourse, since through the 1990’s they were distributed on the Sunday before Election Day,

⁴⁶ Anthony Campolo, *Following Jesus Without Embarrassing God* (Dallas: Word, 1997), 161.

⁴⁷ Rob Boston, *The Most Dangerous Man in America?* (Amherst: Prometheus, 1996), 103.

The Left alleges that it would be most often only Democrats who object to their representation in the guides, since the Right exclusively supports any Republican candidate regardless of their stance on pro-family issues. As an example, the Left cites the Coalition's 1994 support of senatorial candidates Kay Bailey Hutchison from Texas and Paul Coverdell of Georgia, both of whom are considered to be liberal and pro-choice.⁴⁸

The motivating factor for such actions does not lie with the advancement of pro-family issues, but with the desire for power both in and over the Republican Party. According to Anthony Campolo, Pat Robertson "made it abundantly clear that evangelical Christianity was going to be a decisive presence within the Republican Party for years to come."⁴⁹

The Left sees this position as indicative of a larger problem. Politics is about power, whereas "being Christian is about love. In trying to use power to create the values of the kingdom of God within the present social order, the danger is that we will set aside love."⁵⁰ Put another way, the Left believes that the Right is in danger of defeating the very values it claims to promote in its political pursuit to protect them.

⁴⁸ Frederick Clarkson, *Eternal Hostility: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy* (Monroe: Common Courage, 1997), 32-33.

⁴⁹ Anthony Campolo, *Is Jesus a Republican or a Democrat?* (Dallas: Word, 1995), 139.

⁵⁰ Anthony Campolo, *Following Jesus Without Embarrassing God* (Dallas: Word, 1997), 167.

IN THEIR OWN WORDS: CHRISTIAN COALITION

If Ralph Reed, or anyone in the Coalition were to respond directly to the accusation from the Left that the Right is the main voice of Christians in politics, their response quite possibly might have been, “you’re right,” at least through the 1990s. Reed had repeatedly made the point that before the creation of the Coalition, there was a “tremendous vacuum” in politics where the voice of Evangelical Christians should have been. He claimed Christians had the largest “explosive potential as a political force,” but that they were “pitifully unorganized and uneducated.”⁵¹ The Coalition worked to change that, and by the mid 1990’s Robertson and Reed commonly made comments expressing their centrality as a religious representative within the political discussion.⁵²

Representation was not the Coalition’s only goal, but mobilization as well. The Coalition acknowledged wanting to identify and activate this massive group of Christians in order to be able to effect pro-family policy change,⁵³ though it denied having a script for screening due to the variance of pro-family voters’ concerns across the nation.⁵⁴

The Coalition was very upfront about the centrality of the voter guides to their politics, calling them its “hallmark work.” The guides were meant to be non-partisan,

⁵¹ Ralph Reed, *Politically Incorrect* (Dallas: Word, 1994), 2.

⁵² “The Christian Coalition has become the leading force in America fighting for your values and beliefs.” Pat Robertson, Fundraising letter to Christian Coalition members, 2 January 1996.

⁵³ Pat Robertson, *The New World Order*. (Dallas: Word, 1991), 261.

⁵⁴ People & Events, “Christian Coalition Hopes to Mobilize ‘Huge Christian Vote’ For 1992 Elections,” *Church & State* (1991), 15.

giving voters straightforward information on how the candidates stood on vital issues.⁵⁵

A large amount of publicity precedes the distribution of these guides as the Coalition worked to raise money to offset their cost, and also to alert as many people as possible to anticipate their arrival, encouraging their usage.

Surveys were sent to all of the candidates, giving them the opportunity to express their positions on the family-values issues chosen by the Coalition. The letter accompanying the survey explained that if a response was not received before the specified deadline the Coalition would do its best to characterize the views of the candidates “based on [their] public statements and/or voting record.”⁵⁶

The guides, as much as its voter registration efforts, were intended to increase the number of Christians voting for pro-family legislation. “Our goal here is not to take over either political party. Our goal is to see Christians exercising their rights and getting involved and make a difference.”⁵⁷ Reed cited the 1994 election as an example of just that, saying the Republican landslide in Congress was “in part made possible by dramatically increased turnout among religious conservative voters.”⁵⁸ That increased turnout equaled approximately one-third of the entire electorate, or “a staggering nine

⁵⁵ Christian Coalition, “About Us,” available from <http://www.cc.org>; Internet; accessed 27 April 2007.

⁵⁶ See appendix. Guy Rudgers, National Field Director, Christian Coalition, to the candidates, 30 June 1992, print.

⁵⁷ Ralph Reed, “The Religious Right and the Struggle for the Soul of the Republican Party,” interview by Tim Russert, *Meet the Press*, 29 November 1992.

⁵⁸ Ralph Reed, *Active Faith* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 70.

million vote increase in Republican turnout over 1990.”⁵⁹ Another proof of its effectiveness, cited by the Coalition was the fact that 44 of 73 freshman Republican Representatives “had close ties to the pro-family movement.”⁶⁰

However, Reed was careful to repeat the point that the Coalition was decidedly non-partisan, citing the fact that the Coalition declined to endorse any of the candidates for the Republican National Committee leadership elections,⁶¹ as well as the Republican presidential nomination for the 1992 election.⁶²

The Coalition also responded to accusations that it was not Christian enough. Reed cited two Bible verses (1 Cor 9:19-22⁶³ and Acts 21:40⁶⁴) in response, saying, “the pro-family movement should not compromise its cherished beliefs or retreat from its

⁵⁹ Ibid., 154.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., 160.

⁶² Ibid., 4-5.

⁶³ 1Cor. 9:19 For though I am free with respect to all, I have made myself a slave to all, so that I might win more of them. 20 To the Jews I became as a Jew, in order to win Jews. To those under the law I became as one under the law (though I myself am not under the law) so that I might win those under the law. 21 To those outside the law I became as one outside the law (though I am not free from God’s law but am under Christ’s law) so that I might win those outside the law. 22 To the weak I became weak, so that I might win the weak. I have become all things to all people, that I might by all means save some.

⁶⁴ Acts 21:40 When he had given him permission, Paul stood on the steps and motioned to the people for silence; and when there was a great hush, he addressed them in the Hebrew language, saying:

principled positions. But in order to receive a fair hearing, it should speak in the dialect of its listeners, using language suited to a largely secular audience.”⁶⁵

IN THEIR OWN WORDS: FAMILY RESEARCH COUNCIL

The FRC clearly states the policy positions on which it is unwilling to compromise: “Constitutional and legal protections for life in all stages from conception to natural death; preference in public policies for heterosexual marriage and the traditional family; a strong national defense and foreign policy rooted in national interests and ideals” are a few of the ones listed repeatedly on its website.

The FRC is also anxious to activate the Christian vote, as evidenced by its wide variety of email newsletters and action notifications they provide through their website. Another service available is one-click voter registration. Anyone who is not yet registered can do so on the FRC website whether they are a FRC member or not. Once in the registration site, there are links to current political issues for the voter’s regions. Simple information is provided, along with links to candidate’s individual sites, including how to volunteer for each of their campaigns.

The FRC does not publish general-topic voter guides, but does produce Congressional Scorecards in which the bills and actions are described, while pointing out the FRC’s position. All officials are scored according to the percentage of time their votes corresponded with the FRC position. The introduction to the simple, yet lengthy document, is careful to point out that this scorecard is not comprehensive since it only focuses on issues central to the health of the family. “It is important to remember,

⁶⁵ Ralph Reed, *Politically Incorrect* (Dallas: Word, 1994), 221-2.

however, that the votes you see here are only a few of the hundreds of votes cast by Members of Congress in 2006. We have singled out for inclusion the most clear-cut, pro-family votes that came before Congress.”⁶⁶

As for the charge that the Religious Right panders for power within the Republican party, one would be very hard-pressed to make this case against the Family Research Council. In light of the approaching 2008 presidential elections, James Dobson and Tony Perkins were part of an evangelical leaders summit in which the group decided to support a third party candidate if pro-choice Rudy Giuliani were chosen as the Republican candidate. Dobson made the point that winning, even a presidential election, is not worth it if the price is sacrificing ones values.⁶⁷ Tony Perkins, following the same thought process, told other evangelical leaders that it would be necessary to act now to stop the success of Giuliani if that is indeed what they want their plan to be.⁶⁸

ANALYSIS

To start off, is the Left’s critique that the Right claims to be the religious voice in American politics accurate? The Coalition clearly felt that there was no active, viable, political voice for Christians at its inception in 1989, though Reed and Robertson must

⁶⁶ Family Research Council and Focus on the Family, “Vote Scorecard: 109th Congress, Second Session, U.S. House of Representatives and U.S. Senate.” (Washington D.C.: FRC Action), 2006, 1.

⁶⁷ James Dobson, “Op-Ed Contributor: the Values Test,” *New York Times* available from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C06E0DA1731F937A35753C1A9619C8B63>; Internet; accessed 19 October 2007.

⁶⁸ David D. Kirkpatrick, “Giuliani Inspires Threat of a Third-Party Run,” *New York Times*, available from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9B03E1D81F39F932A35753C1A9619C8B63&sec=&spon=&pagewanted=all>; Internet; accessed 19 October 2007.

have been aware of other religious organizations in existence at that time. As the Coalition grew in size and prominence, it progressed in its aim to mobilize the Christian (also referenced as pro-family, evangelical, and religious conservative) vote, and then began to take credit for its power.⁶⁹ In fundraising and mobilization letters, the Coalition consistently defined its position as spokesperson for both Christians and Christian values.⁷⁰ In its legislative and electoral work, collaborations with other organizations were not noted. In fact, instead of collaborating with the US Conference of Catholic Bishops the Coalition created its own sub-group called the Catholic Alliance. So while the Coalition never directly says it is the “only” Christian voice, it is understandable why that would be one’s impression of the group according to its self-presentation and actions.

The Family Research Council has not been shown to claim sole credit for the pro-family movement, nor to deny the place of other religious organizations in the political discussion and Christian representation.

Wallis’s next accusation was very specific: that the Right doesn’t “talk much about Jesus at all.”⁷¹ I did not find this to be true for either organization. A look at press

⁶⁹ “In 1992 the CC focused its attention on turning out the largest number of pro-family voters in history during the upcoming presidential election. . . . The coalition distributed 40 million nonpartisan voter guides in 60,000 evangelical and Roman Catholic churches. We conducted nonpartisan voter registration drives in thousands of churches. [The result was] the largest turnout of conservative churchgoing voters in history. A total of 24 million self-identified, born-again evangelicals cast ballots in 1992, representing 1 out of every 4 ballots cast (compared to 18% in 1988).” Ralph Reed, *Politically Incorrect*. (Dallas: Word, 1994), 199.

⁷⁰ To “represent the Christian point of view before local councils, state legislatures and Congress.” Pat Robertson, *Fundraising Flier*, 1990.

⁷¹ Jim Wallis, *Who Speaks for God?* (New York: Delacorte, 1996), 4.

releases and speeches shows the Right's heavy reliance on scripture as a means of supporting their positions. If it is not always present in policy announcements, Reed gave an excellent reason why: know one's audience. When speaking to a secular, non-Christian audience, they are not likely to hear or understand the speaker who continuously quotes scripture. One must speak using terms they are going to understand if any headway is to be made, and Reed gave scriptural support for this approach.

As for the FRC and FRC action groups, their guideline seems less to be "know one's audience" than "know one's topic." As such, commentaries on morally significant issues (such as homosexuality) are much more likely to contain scripture reference, whereas judicial nominations generally will not. The Left does not say it expects the Right to talk about God at all times, just when relevant. I would say that the FRC is faithful to that standard.

Regarding voter registration and mobilization, it makes sense for a political organization to target sympathetic voters. The crux of the matter is this: the Coalition denies identifying and focusing their mobilization efforts on pro-family voters. Yet almost every statement regarding their efforts references the Coalition's effort to bring out "Christian" voters. Also significant are comments Reed made to the Montana Coalition chapter in 1992. "[T]hat's why the voter identification strategy is so important, because you're identifying your people and getting them to the polls, but the other side never knows what you're doing." He quotes scripture for support, "What the Lord did

was first the principle of secrecy and deception. They sent spies into Jericho, didn't they."⁷²

This sheds a new light on Robertson's description of the Coalition's massive database ready to be "mobilized in support of vital issues."⁷³ Even without Reed's comment, it would be illogical to believe Robertson was intending to mobilize non-pro-family voters, because that would be self-defeating. Then there is the matter of the voter identification script previously mentioned (see appendix for the complete script), though I recognize that some may wish to debate its authenticity. Regardless, looking at everything together, it is impossible to say that the Coalition targets pro-family voters for registration drives and mobilization to the exclusion of those holding opposite beliefs. It is also impossible to say that they do not. Remembering that the Coalition is indeed a political organization, it is left to the individual to decide whether such partiality (if that is what has occurred) is a transgression or not.

Not having seen record of any FRC sponsored voter-identification drives, one is left only with its website against which to decide the issue. The fact that anyone can register through their website is evidence of non-partisanship, aside from the fact that it is generally only their supporters who will be perusing their website. This cannot be helped nor judged negatively upon.

The voter guides (not congressional scorecards) of the Coalition present an interesting topic for debate. To summarize the charges against them, the Left claims they

⁷² Ralph Reed, "God's Building an Army" (speech given at Christian Coalition Conference in Helena, Montana on 25 January 1992), transcript.

⁷³ Pat Robertson, *The New World Order* (Dallas: Word, 1991), 261.

are biased, unclear, and inaccurate. Many Democrats blamed their loss in the 1994 congressional races on these guides, claiming their records were distorted.⁷⁴

One example of this charge is Tony Hall, democrat from Ohio, who was listed as “anti-family” by the Coalition, even though he was an active pro-life supporter and had received a 100% rating from the Family Research Council. The Coalition’s reasoning was that he voted in favor of humanitarian funding to third world countries, which essentially took money away from American families, thereby making him “anti-family.”⁷⁵

Another is Virginia’s Democratic Senator Chuck Robb, who was listed as having voted to fund obscene art (i.e. voted to fund the NEA). In actuality, he had voted to cut its funding, and also voted specifically to restrict funding for offensive art. This guide also said he was against voluntary school prayer even though he had gone on record in its favor.⁷⁶

There are two ways one could look at this. Firstly, that yes, the guides were horribly distorted, causing a falsely negative impression of the Democratic candidates, turning off voters and causing them to lose both the House and Senate. The second option is that the guides were not distorted at all, but did exactly what they were intended to do:

⁷⁴ Nina J. Easton, *Gang of Five* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 287.

⁷⁵ Anthony Campolo, *Following Jesus Without Embarrassing God* (Dallas: Word, 1997), 160.

⁷⁶ Endnote #15. Clyde Wilcox, *Onward Christian Soldiers?* (Boulder, Westview, 2000), 170.

help pro-family voters elect pro-family candidates, a category that democrats generally do not fall into.

It is understandable why some also see as suspicious the frequency of a “No Response” position on democratic profiles in comparison with those of republicans. Whether this is because the majority of democrats did not return the Coalition survey, whereas the majority of republicans did is impossible to say, as the Coalition does not provide this information.

The purpose of this discussion is to determine whether the voter guides are guilty of partisanship, as the Left has charged. Key to this discussion is the lawsuit filed against the Coalition by the Federal Election Committee in 1996. The FEC charged that the guides unlawfully supported Republican candidates. The presiding judge, Joyce Hens Green found that though a Republican bias was apparent, the Coalition never explicitly advocated for individual candidates. She did find that the Coalition behaved improperly in helping Newt Gingrich and Oliver L. North in their respective elections in 1994. She also made clear that the only reason the Coalition was not found guilty of “impermissible coordination” with George Bush’s 1992 campaign was that the campaign refused Coalition overtures to do so.⁷⁷

As for the errors in voting records, it is quite possible that those were simple errors unintentionally made by the Coalition. The issue, then is that there was no room for correction when such errors were made due to the fact that the guides were released

⁷⁷ Richard L. Berke, “Ruling Bolsters Christian Group,” *New York Times*, 3 August 1999; available from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9F07E0DB1E31F930A3575BC0A96F958260&n=Top/Reference/Times%20Topics/Subjects/S/Suits%20and%20Litigation>; Internet; accessed 23 October 2007.

two days before the election. If the goal of the Coalition was truly to elect as many pro-family candidates as possible, then it should want to provide the most accurate information possible, allowing themselves an avenue of correction for when mistakes were made.

Take for instance the case of Tony Hall, the Democratic Congressman who received a 100 percent rating from the Family Research Council. His voting for Third World Humanitarian Aid is a weak “anti-family” argument by any standard, especially since he voted in line on domestic issues.⁷⁸ There was no good to be had for a pro-family organization by keeping him out of office, unless that organization was truly guilty of wanting only Republican candidates to win. Assuming that was not the case and that mistakes can happen, it makes more sense to allow time for corrections and rebuttals.

The scorecards of the 21st century, put out by both the Coalition and the FRC are much more straightforward and less inclined to bias (except for the favoring of family issues, but that is explained upfront and to be expected from family-oriented organizations). They show the votes recorded from the previous Congressional session, information that is easy for anyone to verify if they doubted the cards’ veracity. While one can order scorecards for distribution, thanks to the internet the cards are widely available to everyone, not just those attending service on the Sunday before an election.

The last charge to be addressed is one of power-mongering. Is the goal of the Coalition to pass pro-family legislation, or to takeover the Republican Party? The charge

⁷⁸ Topic wise, the guides of the FRC and the Coalition are remarkably similar (see appendix.) It would be safe to assume that a 100% rating from one organization would translate to a similar score with the other.

that it supports any Republican regardless of their beliefs is not well substantiated. Both Hutchison and Coverdell voted almost one hundred percent in-line with the Religious Right on the topic of abortion, calling into question the Left's assertion that they were both pro-choice.

However, there is no doubt that the Right widely supports Republican candidates, so the issue becomes one of partisanship. The Coalition's own literature and speeches by key figures demonstrates the extent of its involvement with the Republican Party. Reed pointed out that the Coalition failed to comment on the Republican National Convention leadership race, and failed to endorse a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. That Reed volunteered these positions is indicative of the Coalition's involvement with the Republican Party, else his comments would have been centered on both sides, "The Coalition endorsed neither the Democratic nor the Republican candidate in the presidential elections, and did not participate in either party's candidate nomination process." Furthering this point is an April 3, 1992 letter on Coalition letterhead that Reed sent to Charlie Black (former spokesman of the Republican National Committee) along with a list of fifty three Republicans "whom Pat Robertson would like to be seriously considered as delegates from California to the Republican National Convention." Reed wrote that "including these people in the process will be vital to getting our supporters strongly behind the President in the fall." This letter substantiates the Coalition's involvement in the Republican Party, and hints at the extent of the its own perceived ability to affect voting behavior.

At the 1995 Road to Victory Conference, all but one of the major Republican presidential candidates came to speak. Reed was said to have taken this as a sign that he

had “at last, arrived” in the political world, saying, “I used to be in awe of these guys . . . Now I got [sic] them eating out of my hand.”⁷⁹ Robertson spoke more directly to the issue of his power and influence at the 1997 Road to Victory Conference:

Look, we put you [the Republicans] in power in 1994, and we want you to deliver. We’re tired of temporizing. Don’t give us all this stuff about you’ve got a different agenda. This is what we’re going to do this year. And we’re going to hold your feet to the fire while you do it.

His forty-minute speech was tape recorded and released to the media. Arne Owens, the Coalition spokesman did not deny the authenticity of the tape, but said that Robertson was speaking as an individual, and the “we” he referenced was not the Coalition but the pro-family movement in general.⁸⁰

Reed expressed a similar sentiment in his book, *Active Faith*. Due to the attribution to the Coalition of the 1994 Republican Congressional take-over, during the 1996 Presidential campaigns Reed advised the Republican Party that “in politics, as in romance . . . you dance with the one who brung you;” ergo: the Party owed their majority to the Christian vote and as such needed to continue to cater to them and their pro-family platform if they wished to continue to be in power.⁸¹ Reed was even more blatant when interviewed in 1995 by Katie Couric, stating his belief that without the religious

⁷⁹ Nina J. Easton, *Gang of Five* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 342.

⁸⁰ Richard L. Berke, “A Tape Reveals Pat Robertson, the Politician,” *New York Times*, 18 September 1997. Available from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C03E1DF1038F93BA2575AC0A961958260>; Internet; accessed 23 October 2007.

⁸¹ Ralph Reed, *Active Faith* (New York: Free Press, 1996), 3.

conservative vote, the Republican Party would lose elections and “return to the minority status it languished in for most of the post-World War II period.”⁸²

It is possible that the above quotes witness Reed and the Coalition simply practicing good politics: trying to elect as many Republicans as possible as a fail-safe to push through more pro-family legislation since oftentimes Congressional votes continue to fall along party lines. It is also possible that Reed and Robertson were doing nothing more than vocalizing their desire for Republicans to follow through on promises to do just that. If this were an analysis of the maneuvering of a purely political organization and if the above two explanations were true, then there would be no further need for study.

However, the fact of the matter is that the Christian Coalition is, first and foremost, a Christian organization. Reed himself acknowledged what distinction this makes, “The hierarchy of loyalties is uncompromisingly simple: they [Christians in politics] are a people of faith first, Americans second, and Republicans or Democrats third.”⁸³ Christian values must take primacy even over political efficacy. I re-quote Anthony Campolo on the issue:

The biggest problem Christians face in their involvement with politics is that politics is about power, while being Christian is about love. In trying to use power to create the values of the Kingdom of God within the present social order, the danger is that we will set aside love.⁸⁴

⁸² Ibid., 206.

⁸³ Ibid., 8.

⁸⁴ Anthony Campolo, *Following Jesus Without Embarrassing God* (Dallas: Word, 1997), 167.

It is precisely this love that sets Christians apart from all the rest, and it should be unwavering and indisputable. The issue, then, is not whether the Coalition was acting as a political group, but if they were acting as a *Christian* political group. Matthew 25:34-46 says this means that love of Christ must be its motivation, and that this must be clear. Paul wrote in Titus that Christian leaders must be blameless, show integrity, and their speech be above reproach. This clarity is completely lacking in the record of the Coalition. Too many of its actions can be interpreted adversely, too many of their speeches are lacking the Christian perspective of love.

Paul also wrote that leaders must not be over-bearing or use their office for profit or dishonest gain. One has to question how well the Coalition upholds these directives in their maneuvers for political influence.

So then what of the Family Research Council? There was no evidence of power plays along the lines of the Coalition; quite the opposite is seen, in fact, with its threat to endorse a third party candidate in the presidential elections. Their positions are always clear: they are pro-family and pro-life, and all of their legislative activities fall in line with that. One could doubt the motivation of the FRC, could say they are more concerned with bravado than with truly advancing the pro-family agenda. Yet this would be pure speculation since no evidence has been presented that would support that hypothesis. Instead of bravado, I see a staunch refusal to compromise their moral positioning, which is the essence of integrity.

CHAPTER THREE

what about poverty?

Republican or democrat, conservative or liberal: party politics and power plays certainly make for interesting discussions, which in and of itself is a great luxury. One must have the time to learn the ins and outs of the law, who is influencing who and why, and what are the results (or consequences) of deal making. It is all very academic. However, when looking at the debate surrounding poverty, we must be reminded and humbled by the fact that with each decision made, there are real consequences. There is more at stake than a group's tax exempt status, or how many congressmen want its help to win the next election. Here failure means families without homes, a child without lunch at school, or a pregnant mother without access to healthcare.

It is refreshing, then, that after spending so much time discussing the partisanship of religious organizations, we can turn to one of the most unifying topics for Christian organizations: poverty. Jackie Spycher of Sojourners describes it as the one issue garnering the most ecumenical support because all participants can check their disagreements at the door in order to unify on this common cause.⁸⁵ Poverty affects everyone, regardless of party affiliation, religious denomination, age, race, or education level. It is also a problem so large that it requires as many people and organizations as possible work together to find a viable solution.

⁸⁵ Jackie Spycher of Sojourners, interview by author, Washington, D.C., 28 June 2007.

ACCUSATION

The main charge of the Left is that the Religious Right ignores the plight of the poor in favor of focusing on sexual and cultural issues. The attention the Right does pay to the topic has been negative, centered more on eliminating social supports than working for the cause of social justice.⁸⁶ In the 1990s this was evidenced by their work to “slash and burn” the federal welfare system without first securing something better in its place.⁸⁷ Single mothers and children would be the ones to suffer the most, said Wallis, the modern day equivalents of the widows and poor described time and again in the Bible.⁸⁸

A large part of this debate centers on the 1996 Welfare Reform Bill enacted by President Bill Clinton, a direct result of the Republican’s Contract With America that was fully supported by the Christian Coalition. The Evangelical Left was highly critical of the Welfare Reform Bill even though it agreed with the Right that welfare tended to do more harm than good, encouraging people to become dependent upon it instead of working as a stepping stone to independence and fiscal security.⁸⁹ What the Left did not like about this bill was that the majority of the system was placed into the hands of the states, which were given less money and no minimum obligations of service. Welfare recipients had to

⁸⁶ “The Christian Coalition has been among the loudest voices *in favor* of cutting funds for poor women and children and, in fact, for the elimination of all public support for those in need.” Jim Wallis, *Who Speaks for God?* (New York: Delacorte, 1996), 55; The Christian Coalition “seemed to pass over the concerns of the poor,” Anthony Campolo, *Speaking My Mind* (Nashville: W. Publishing Group, 2004), 126.

⁸⁷ Jim Wallis, *Who Speaks for God?* (New York: Delacorte, 1996), 47.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁸⁹ Jim Wallis, “Hearts and Minds: A Great National Sin,” *Sojourners*. 25, no. 5 (1996), 7-9. Available from <http://www.sojo.net/index.cfm?action=magazine.article&issue=soj9609&article=960951>; Internet; accessed 9/20/07.

meet job requirements after two years and were given a lifetime benefit cap of five years.⁹⁰ Three top administrative officials⁹¹ resigned as a direct result of the passage of this bill, citing the arbitrariness of the time limits and the lack of funding for job training as signs not only of the inadequacy of the bill, but also of its gross negligence. They believed that the children of welfare recipients would suffer the most because their parents would find themselves suddenly without aid, without food assistance, without child care, and then the children themselves – because their parents had received assistance – would not be able to receive welfare benefits because of the lifetime limit of five years.⁹²

2001 brought about a unity of opinion with both sides supporting Executive Order 13198, which created the Centers for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. Jim Wallis backed this measure because he believes that grass-root organizations are able to come up with more effective solutions to the problems of their own communities.⁹³ That being

⁹⁰ Jim Wallis, “Hearts and Minds: A Great National Sin,” *Sojourner* 25, no. 5 (1996), 7-9. Available from <http://www.sojo.net/index.cfm?action=magazine.article&issue=soj9609&article=960951>; Internet; accessed 9/20/07.

⁹¹ Mary Jo Bane resigned as Assistant Secretary at the Department of Health and Human Services for Families and Children; Peter Edelman, resigned as Assistant Secretary at the Department of Health and Human Services; Wendell Primus resigned as Deputy Assistant Secretary at the Department of Health and Human Services.

⁹² Jim Wallis, “The Issue is Poverty: A Conversation on Welfare Reform, (report on the 12/19/1996 discussion on welfare in Washington D.C.)” *Sojourners* 26, no. 2 (1997), 18-22. Available from <http://www.sojo.net/index.cfm?action=magazine.article&issue=soj9703&article=970312>; Internet; accessed 9/20/07.

⁹³ Jim Wallis, “Will Aid Make Churches Docile?” *New York Times*, 3 February 2001.

said the Left does have one major concern: that religious organizations not compromise their beliefs and/or morals in order to continue receiving federal funding. Wallis asks, “how can religious groups safeguard their prophetic voice as they partner with government?”⁹⁴

IN THEIR OWN WORDS: CHRISTIAN COALITION

The Coalition’s official stance was that yes, the poor needed help, but that welfare was not the way to provide it. They said welfare was not only ineffective, but also detrimental to the struggle to overcome poverty because it was easier for people to remain on the welfare rolls than to take themselves off. One study showed that 60% of women who received welfare for one year continued to receive it the next year; after two consecutive years, 70% continued on; after four years 80%. Reed called welfare “nothing less than a sentence to perpetual poverty.”⁹⁵ Reed proclaimed a three-fold solution: 1) graduate high school; 2) get married; 3) maintain a job. He came to this conclusion after seeing the statistic that 50% of single teen parents found themselves on welfare within one year, and single parents who had not finished high school had a poverty rate of 79%. These numbers lie in stark contrast with the 8% poverty rate for married high school graduates who waited until after the age of 25 to have children.⁹⁶

This data led Reed to the conclusion that government based programs were completely ineffective at resolving poverty. He noted that the poverty rate had actually increased by .4% since 1966, when the government began to dedicate billions of dollars

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ralph Reed, *Politically Incorrect* (Dallas: Word, 1994), 83.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

annually to the cause.⁹⁷ The Coalition's Contract With the American Family (a ten-point legislative plan mirroring the Republican party's Contract With America from the previous year) was in part a response to this. It called for the involvement of private charities in place of welfare, a proposal found in the 1995 Welfare Reform Act mentioned above.⁹⁸

Reed saw the private sector as the positive alternative. He believed that the majority of people were capable of successfully managing their lives over all, but occasionally had times when they legitimately needed emergency relief. It was precisely for these situations that private organizations have proven to be most effective. Reed added that the best private workers identified which other services their clients were eligible to receive (both public and private) and then helped them to apply.⁹⁹

Another of the Coalitions' poverty-targeting methods was the Samaritan Project, created in 1997 to take "aim at the social ills plaguing the nation's poor: crime, drugs, failing schools, out-of-wedlock births, broken homes, and the cycle of welfare dependency."¹⁰⁰ Its director, Rev. Earl Jackson said about the Samaritan Project, "We

⁹⁷ "Federal, state, and local governments spend about \$350 billion per year on seventy-nine means-tested programs aimed at assisting the poor; this is about 20 percent more than we spend on national defense. Yet today's poverty rate of 15.1 percent higher than the 14.7 percent rate in 1966 when the War on Poverty began." Christian Coalition, *Contract With the American Family* (Nashville: Moorings, 1995), 85-6.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 85.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 95.

¹⁰⁰ "Christian Coalition Announces New Leadership Team," 1997 Road to Victory Program. Sept. 12-13, 1997, Atlanta. (no page numbers).

need to replace the welfare state with a culture of caring.”¹⁰¹ This minority-focused program (its main intended recipients were African-Americans) was cut by the end of the year due to Coalition budget cuts.¹⁰²

IN THEIR OWN WORDS: FAMILY RESEARCH COUNCIL

The Family Research Council also believes welfare needs to be reformed, but envisions a different definition of reformation success. The FRC takes the position that certain institutionalized expectations and “family values” actually work to deteriorate, rather than strengthen the family.

The first to be challenged is the idea that putting single mothers to work is the answer to ending their poverty.¹⁰³ This would require they spend more time outside the home and that they place their children in day care, two factors that could hardly help an already fragile family.¹⁰⁴

Secondly, the FRC challenges the supposition of many conservatives that a return to the “traditional” family is the answer to the current moral and economic crisis. The

¹⁰¹ “Christian Coalition Announces New Leadership Team,” 1997 Road to Victory Program. Sept. 12-13, 1997, Atlanta. (no page numbers).

¹⁰² Leon Howell, “Ups and Downs of the Religious Right,” *Christian Century* 117 no.13 (2000): 463. *ATLA Religion Database with ATLASerials*, EBSCOhost (accessed 15 May 2007).

¹⁰³ “Single parents must participate for at least 20 hours per week the first year, increasing to at least 30 hours per week by FY 2000. Two-parent families must work 35 hours per week by July 1, 1997,” Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

¹⁰⁴ Dr. Allan C. Carlson, Ph. D. “Love is Not Enough: Toward the Recovery of a Family Economics”; available from <http://www..frc.org/get.cfm?i=WT02J1&v=PRINT>; Internet; accessed 15 September 2007.

one-income family was a “one-generation wonder” based on a falsified system of job segregation along gender lines that was and continues to put the family at risk. This is the very system that led to unequal pay for women, and, they claim, that decreased the net take-home wage of men as well. When looked at in this manner, it is a falsehood to claim that the majority of Americans want to return to this “family wage” system because they do not.¹⁰⁵ “We need to do better.”¹⁰⁶

Nor is the answer, however, to push for “full, government-enforced gender equality in jobs, promotions, and contracts,” because, they claim, this action “discourage[s] marriage and reward[s] divorce.”¹⁰⁷ [2000 Republican Party platform] The FRC claims that the increase in women’s formal education combined with the illegalization of workplace gender discrimination (via the 1964 Civil Rights Act) encouraged women to postpone marriage and decrease the number of children they bore.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ There is “no popular consensus today in favor of a ‘family wage’ regime resting on job segregation.” Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ 1955 “Conference on the Effective Use of Womanpower” which called for an increase in the formal education of women, especially in scientific and technical arenas in order to encourage the postponement of marriage, along with the addition of the word, ‘sex’ to title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act by 1976¹⁰⁸ resulted in a negative birth rate (15% below growth level), increased out-of-wedlock births, a decrease in marriages, and a 150% divorce rate. Ibid.

The FRC focuses its recommendations on making marriage and family economically viable via a child tax credit of \$2500 per child under the age of 18; \$2500 preschool credit, and a return to income splitting for married couples.¹⁰⁹

The FRC also approves of the government supporting faith-based organizations as a means for increasing access to needed services. As proof of this they cite one 1998-1999 study showing eighty-four new contracts between the government and Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) totaling \$7,518,667.¹¹⁰ Another indication was that private organizations were able to expand the services offered from simple commodities (food and clothing) to intensive training, counseling, and mentoring because of increased funding.¹¹¹

ANALYSIS

The Left has charged that the Right advocated an arbitrary and callous dismantling of the nation's social support network, potentially leaving "the least of these" without adequate access to necessary aid or services. The plumb line for this accusation is the 1995 Welfare Reform Act, yet after its passage, one did not find a sudden glut of single mothers and their children suddenly lacking jobs, housing, or food. Poverty rates

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Dr. Amy Sherman, "The Bush Faith-Based Initiative: Compassionate Conservatism in Action"; available from <http://www.frc.org/get.cfm?i=WT01KI&v=PRINT>; Internet accessed 9/20/07.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

dropped in this time, from 20.8% in 1995 to 19.9% in 1997. The number of workers below the poverty level also declined.¹¹²

To be fair, one must also examine poverty levels five years later, due to the Reform's lifetime limit on benefits. In 2001 poverty had fallen further to 16.3%, though it increased steadily to 17.6% in 2003. 2001 is also when President George W. Bush signed Executive Order 13198, creating the Centers for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives. Both sides enthusiastically supported this initiative as a great means to serve the poor. However, poverty rates increased until reaching a high of 17.8% in 2004, then proceeded to drop a modest .2% per year for the next two years.¹¹³

While it is not possible to say that the Reform was responsible for either the rise or drop in poverty levels, it is safe to say that the Reform did *not* result in the dire situation predicted by the Left. Even with the 2002 increase, poverty levels were still lower than they were in the 1990s. One could speculate on what actually caused the rise and fall in poverty rates, or what the rates would be if the law had not been enacted, but that is beyond the scope and intent of this study.

More important than the effect of the Act is the intent behind it. Did the Right support a bill that clearly put welfare recipients in imminent danger of debilitating poverty? A closer examination of the Personal Responsibility Act reveals interesting datum. Yes, there was a five-year maximum limit, but there was also an allowance for

¹¹² U.S. Census Bureau, "Poverty: Historical Poverty Tables"; available from http://pubdb3.census.gov/macro/032006/pov/new01_100_01.htm; Internet; accessed 29 August 2007.

¹¹³ Ibid.

20% of each state's rolls to be exempt from this. The Act increased by almost \$4 billion the amount of money allotted for childcare assistance, guaranteed health care for a number of disadvantaged groups, including children and welfare recipients, and it also cracked down on child support payment enforcement.

While it is possible to debate the details (whether 20% is enough of an allowance, are there any provisions for a fluctuating economy, etc.) again, that is for another time and place. It is clear to see that the Right did intend to ensure that government continue to provide some sort of safety net for those receiving welfare. This combined with an increase in services from the private sector can hardly be classified as cruel negligence, and one cannot fault the Right for hoping these modifications would indeed positively change the welfare state.

In many regards, the charge against the Right is itself theological, making the transition to theological assessment an easy one. Has the Religious Right acted in a distinctly Christian manner when it comes to the poor, meaning they act out of love with integrity, respectability, and soundness of speech? It has already been established that both the Coalition and the Family Research Council have a history of advocating for a new approach, since the old system of welfare and social safety-nets were not working effectively. Given the wide array of services maintained in the 1995 Reform Act, there is no evidence that the Coalition wished for anything other than to help people out of poverty.¹¹⁴ If the method they advanced was truly effective is irrelevant to this discussion.

¹¹⁴ I believe it important to note that there were some significant differences

The same applies to the discussion of the Faith Based Centers for Faith-Based and Community Initiatives of 2001: what was the FRC's motivation for supporting it? All of the dialogue shows a universal belief that private organizations are very effective at helping those in need – more so than government in many cases. Supporting the Faith Based Initiative, then, was a direct reflection of this belief and hope to aid people in need. Both organizations were also consistent in their backing of federally funding private charities to the benefit of all involved: those in need, the government, and private and religious organizations. I can see how, in their eyes, this was a winning situation for all involved, where no one benefits from the sacrifice of another.

I believe both organizations meet Paul's criteria for blamelessness and integrity, and find no cause for the charges against them as described herein.

between the Personal Responsibility Act that was initially put forth by the Republican Party and vigorously supported by the Coalition, and the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 that was passed. The original bill was vetoed by President Clinton because he believed it lacked too much by way of welfare-to-work assistance, as well as needed social supports, including health and child care. There is no way of accurately determining the Coalition's standpoint was regarding these policy details. If it were, it would be possible to either auger or defeat my present assumptions that the Coalition was theologically correct in lobbying for this particular welfare reform. Department of Health and Human Services, "HHS Factsheet: The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1997," <http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/cse/new/prwora.htm.webarchive>; Internet; accessed 20 October 2007.

CHAPTER FOUR

the abortion issue

Part-in-parcel of the discussion of single-mothers and women on welfare is abortion. The connection between poverty and abortion rates makes for an interesting discussion. Many question if poor women are forced into having abortions because of the lack of social supports, or if they should have abortions to a) alleviate stress on an already over-taxed welfare system and b) discourage people from having more children in order to earn more monetary benefits from the government.

As with poverty, the position of both the Right and the Left on abortion is remarkably similar: both believe it is morally wrong, and actively seek the answer to effectively reduce (and one day eliminate) its practice. Where the two sides diverge is in their identification of the causes of abortion usage, and, as a result, their proposed solutions.

ACCUSATION

Once a problem is identified, the most logical course of action is to explore all possible responses in order to find the best solution. The Left charges that the Right disallows this frank discussion by maintaining an all-or-nothing position which, in the end, prevents the discovery of real solutions for lowering the abortion rate. “It is this inability even to talk about abortion without enduring condemnations and put-downs that adds to all the hurt and confusion that abounds in our midst.”¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Anthony Campolo, *Is Jesus a Republican or a Democrat?* (Dallas: Word, 1995), 99.

The Left contends that focusing the debate on simply outlawing abortions is a waste of time.¹¹⁶ A more effective method would be to focus on finding and encouraging abortion alternatives while working with the public on their beliefs in order to actually decrease the rate. People will continue to have abortions until they are convinced the act itself is wrong.¹¹⁷ Moreover, outlawing abortions would not be a pro-life accomplishment “if it pushes too many women into the back alleys again.”¹¹⁸

To this end, the Left contends that one of the best ways to lower the rate of abortions is to lower the rate of unwanted pregnancies.¹¹⁹ Tony Campolo cites a study by the Guttmacher Institute¹²⁰ that estimated a 200,000 per year drop in abortions if Medicaid would cover contraception for low-income women. He personally believes that such support, in combination with a number of other measures such as sex education (including use of contraceptives), guaranteed maternity leave and an increase in the number of adoptive parents, would lessen the number of abortions by at least half. He notes that the candidates routinely supported by the Religious Right because of their anti-

¹¹⁶ Jim Wallis, *Who Speaks for God?* (New York: Delacorte, 1996), 185.

¹¹⁷ Anthony Campolo, *Is Jesus a Republican or a Democrat?* (Dallas: Word, 1995), 99.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 185.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ “The Guttmacher Institute advances 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, “About the Guttmacher Institute”; available from <http://www.guttmacher.org/about/index.html>; Internet; accessed 25 October 2007.

abortion stance are often the same ones who vote against such proposals that could reduce the rate of unplanned pregnancy in the lower classes.¹²¹

The Left also charges that by supporting legislation that decreases social support to single and/or low-income mothers, the Right is, in effect, encouraging those women to abort. Take for example the Personal Responsibility Act supported by the Right that specifically excluded assistance for children born to underage (younger than eighteen years) mothers, mothers already receiving welfare, mothers who have previously received welfare for two years, and for those children without legally identified fathers.¹²² While the Left disagrees that many women bear children in order to receive monetary support from the government, they contend that many will choose to not bring a child to term if such support and assistance is not available.¹²³

IN THEIR OWN WORDS: CHRISTIAN COALITION

The Coalition is opposed to the legalization of abortion accorded by *Roe v. Wade*. Reed called the decision a federal imposition of two liberal states' abortion law on the rest of the country, causing as much civil discord as the *Dred Scott* decision.¹²⁴ Robertson

¹²¹ Tony Campolo, *Letters to a Young Evangelical* (New York: Basic Books, 2006), 151.

¹²² Julie Polter, "Women and Children First," *Sojourners* 24, no. 2 (1995), 20.

¹²³ "While cash benefits and other government support aren't the key reasons why poor women get pregnant (despite what some politicians say), they can be key factors in allowing her to choose to continue her pregnancy, keep her child, and find a way out of poverty." *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ "Roe v. Wade was a disastrous decision that imposed the liberal abortion laws of two states, New York and Colorado, upon the rest of the nation. It was one of the most

claimed the decision was unconstitutional and diminished the value of human life as revealed through scripture and nature.

This is precisely why the Coalition lobbied against Title X of the *Public Health Service Act*. Title X is a federal grant program that gives money to community-based clinics for the sole purpose of “family planning and related preventive health services,” as well as information dissemination. Approximately five million men and women received services from Title X clinics in fiscal year 2006.¹²⁵

The Coalition objected to the fact that some Title X clinics performed abortions, and that the clinics were required to inform all pregnant women about abortion options when they are inquired after, which they say promoted abortion as a form of birth control.¹²⁶ The Coalition believed that these actions, combined with current abortion law taught Americans that “unborn human beings [were] disposable,” allowing for women to accept abortion as a means of birth control. In support of this, one study that found an increase in the rate of repeat abortion seekers (women who have had prior abortions) along with

ill-conceived acts of judicial fiat since the *Dred Scott* decision, and it has created no less civil discord.” Ralph Reed, “What Do Religious Conservatives Really Want?” in Michael Cromartie, ed., *Disciples and Democracy: Religious Conservatives and the Future of American Politics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 11.

¹²⁵ Office of Population Affairs, “The Title X Family Planning Program,” DHHS: Office of Public Health and Science: Office of Family Planning; available from <http://opa.osophs.dhhs.gov/titlex/ofp.html>; Internet; accessed 29 August 2007.

¹²⁶ Christian Coalition, *Contract With the American Family* (Nashville: Moorings, 1995), 69.

the number of women who acknowledged using no form of alternate birth control during the month prior to conception.¹²⁷

Robertson and Reed focused much of their anti-abortion vernacular on its funding, repeating the claim that “the majority of the American people” were against using tax money to pay for or promote abortions on demand.¹²⁸ It was this support that led the Coalition to warn the Republican Party to not have a pro-choice candidate on their 1996 presidential ticket because pro-lifers would not vote for them.¹²⁹

In order to make progress towards their admittedly unlikely goal of outlawing all abortions,¹³⁰ the Coalition was reluctantly supportive of bills enacting lesser restrictions on the practice of abortion. However, after experiencing a backlash from the pro-life community for this support, the Coalition worked to emphasize the political necessity of their actions in conjunction with the certainty of their anti-abortion stance.¹³¹ They refocused their efforts on a Constitutional amendment “to enshrine protection for unborn

¹²⁷ Ibid, 65.

¹²⁸ Pat Robertson, Fundraising Letter to Coalition Members, 12 April 1996; Ralph Reed, *Politically Incorrect* (Dallas: Word, 1994), 11.

¹²⁹ TIME, “GOP Contenders Reject Abortion Litmus Test,” available from <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,3057,00.html>; Internet; accessed 25 June 2007.

¹³⁰ In April of 2007, Roberta Combs praised a Supreme Court decision to uphold the ban on partial-birth abortion as the first step towards the reversal of *Roe v. Wade*. Roberta Combs, “Christian Coalition of America Says ‘Roe v. Wade’ Endangered with Today’s Supreme Court Victory Upholding Partial Birth Abortion Ban”; available from <http://www.cc.org/content.cfm?id=382>; Internet; accessed 23 May 2007.

¹³¹ William Martin, *With God on Our Side: the Rise of the Religious Right in America* (New York: Broadway, 1996), 358.

children and as a bulwark against other assaults on the right to life.¹³² This included allowing abortions only when the life of the mother was in danger, denying the use of abortion as birth control, and disallowing the use of public monies to fund abortions, including “tax subsidies to organizations that perform abortions.”¹³³

Another aspect of abortions that the Coalition brought to light was its safety. Robertson claimed that pro-choice advocates gloss over or deny the myriad of potential side effects and complications associated with abortion, making it appear to be a completely safe procedure. Robertson contended that it was not, writing that “many women suffer serious complications” from the procedure. He wrote an article describing the complicated deaths of two otherwise healthy women as a direct result of their having had abortions. Thus, to Robertson, women’s own health and safety is simply one more reason why he wanted to see an end to the practice of abortion. “It is clear that women seeking abortion are taking terrible risks with their own lives, but we must not forget the other lives at stake,”¹³⁴

IN THEIR OWN WORDS: FAMILY RESEARCH COUNCIL

One of the main goals of the Family Research Council is to seek “Constitutional and legal protections for life in all stages from conception to natural death.”¹³⁵ The FRC

¹³² Christian Coalition, *Contract With the American Family* (Nashville: Moorings, 1995), 67-8.

¹³³ Ralph Reed, “The Religious Right and the Struggle for the Soul of the Republican Party,” interview by Tim Russert, *Meet the Press*, 29 November 1992, 9.

¹³⁴ Pat Robertson, “Pat’s View,” *Christian American*, (1997), 10.

¹³⁵ Family Research Council, “About Us”; available from <http://www.frc.org>; Internet; accessed 15 September 2007.

publicly applauded the upholding of the partial-birth abortion ban, stating that such a move brings American “abortion policy one step closer to the views of the American people,” the majority of which, per the FRC, is fully against unrestricted abortions.¹³⁶ The FRC also applauded Bush’s 2007 vow to veto any legislation threatening to weaken the current federal position on abortions.¹³⁷ To be clear, the FRC is also opposed specifically to federal monies being used to fund abortions.¹³⁸

FRC discussion of abortion does not end with the act of abortion itself. They also recognize the importance of social support in encouraging women to carry their babies to term. They lambasted the Democrats’ refusal to pass an amendment regarding the State Children’s Health Insurance Plan (S-CHIP) saying that the “liberals deliberately ignored the plight of these women who want to bring a child to a healthy full term birth.”¹³⁹

The FRC also agrees with the need to decrease the rate of unwanted pregnancies as a method of abortion prevention. However, it disagrees that focusing on sex education and contraceptive distribution is the best way to accomplish this. Abstinence-only education is their preferred method, claiming it provides adolescents with better

¹³⁶ Family Research Council, “FRC Praises Supreme Court ruling Upholding Partial-Birth Abortion Ban”; available from <http://www.frc.org/get.cfm?i=PR07D09&v=PRINT>; Internet; accessed 15 September 2007.

¹³⁷ Family Research Council, “FRC Praises President Bush for ‘Standing for Life’”; available from <http://www.frc.org/get.cfm?i=PR07E04&v=PRINT>; Internet; accessed 15 September 2007.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Family Research Council, “FRC Action: Liberals Show Their True Priorities”; available from <http://www.frcaction.org/get.cfm?i=PR07H02>; Internet; accessed 15 September 2007.

information over all so that they are better prepared to make informed decisions regarding their sexual activity. Some topics covered are “self-esteem building, self-control, decision making, goal setting, character education and communication skills.”¹⁴⁰ They cite as proof of this method’s effectiveness a number of studies showing that participants are “more likely to delay sex, to view abstinence more positively, and to have an increased knowledge of the negative consequences of premarital sexual activity.”¹⁴¹

The FRC advocates giving pregnant women who are not certain about their pregnancy as much information as possible about the various services available to them should they choose to carry the child to term. The FRC holds up Minnesota’s 2003 “Woman’s Right to Know Act” as a national model for abortion rate reduction. This bill requires doctors to give all women seeking an abortion information regarding “the medical risks of the procedure, the probably gestational age of the unborn child, potential fetal pain during the abortion, subsidized health coverage for childbirth and prenatal and infant care, and child support laws.”¹⁴² One year after its enactment, Minnesota reported its lowest abortion rate since 1974.

¹⁴⁰ Family Research Council, “Legislation: Chapter: “Abstinence Education””; available from <http://www.frc.org/get.cfm?i=CH05H13&f=BL05H01>; Internet; accessed 20 October 2007.

¹⁴¹ Family Research Council, “Policy Areas: In Focus: “Talking Points on Abstinence until Marriage Education””; available from <http://www.frc.org/get.cfm?i=IF06B01>; Internet; accessed 20 October 2007.

¹⁴² Family Research Council, “Legislation: Chapter: “Woman’s Right to Know Act””; available from <http://www.frc.org/get.cfm?i=CH05H12&f=BL05H01>; Internet; accessed 20 October 2007.

ANALYSIS

The charge at hand is not about whether the Religious Right is pro- or anti-abortion, but rather if they are able to work towards an effective strategy to decrease the rate of abortion without negatively affecting other portions of the population. The Left accuses the Right of holding an uncompromising position and of using absolutist rhetoric which cuts off discussion.

In regards to holding an “all or nothing” position, it must simply be said that, while the Coalition and FRC may be reluctantly supportive of lesser bills restricting abortions, this history proves false the first accusation.

That being said, the Coalition also has a history of opposing public service programs that do not work towards its goal of abortion elimination in a manner acceptable to them. As such, the Coalition opposed funding clinics that gave out abortion information in spite of the fact that this dissemination could contribute to a reduction in abortion rates. This educational approach is exactly what the FRC advocated for, and lobbied to make its practice mandatory.

When lobbying politicians and the public, the Coalition is careful to be technically correct in its language citing majority support for its limited positions, but in such a way as to create the illusion that the majority of voters are in line with their more general and absolute anti-abortion position. As such, the Coalition threatens “pro-choice” congressmen with losing the Christian vote, but they do not threaten “those congressmen who grant money to health clinics that provide information about abortions.” This hair-splitting and over-dependence on technicalities indeed precludes a productive discussion with people of differing viewpoints. It would be much fairer – and easier – to begin the

discussion with an acknowledgment that while the majority of Americans are opposed to using tax money for abortions,¹⁴³ they are also in favor of keeping the practice legal regardless of their own personal view on the matter.¹⁴⁴

I also found the Coalition's vernacular to be based more on fear than information (Robertson's discussion of abortion-related deaths, to be discussed below, and Reed's comparison of Roe to Dred Scott), which is also unhelpful.

As for potential solutions, the Left holds the position that it would be more effective to prevent unwanted pregnancies in the first place, and to that end advocates sexual education. The Family Research Council countered that abstinence based education is actually more effective and morally in line with Christian doctrine. Additionally, abstinence based education addresses a number of other socially relevant issues for adolescents (such as self esteem) creating a greater net advantage.

I would agree that advocating for abstinence-only education is a fantastic way to cut down the teen pregnancy and abortion rate, but it is important to recognize that not all abstinence-only programs are effective. Advocates for Youth conducted a study on the short- and long-term impact Title V abstinence-only education had on youth in ten states (the only ones for which they could gather information.) They found there to be "few

¹⁴³ "According to a recent Gallup poll, 72% of the American people oppose taxpayer subsidies for elective abortions." Ralph Reed, "What Do Religious Conservatives Really Want?" in Michael Cromartie, ed., *Disciples and Democracy: Religious Conservatives and the Future of American Politics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 12.

¹⁴⁴ TIME, "GOP Contenders Reject Abortion Litmus Test," available from <http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,3057,00.html>; Internet; accessed 25 June 2007.

short-term benefits and no lasting, positive impact. A few programs showed mild success at improving attitudes and intentions to abstain. No program was able to demonstrate a positive impact on sexual behavior over time.”¹⁴⁵

Another study found that eleven of the thirteen most commonly used abstinence-only curricula “contain[ed] unproved claims, subjective conclusions or outright falsehoods regarding reproductive health, gender traits, and when life begins.”¹⁴⁶ However these findings do not underscore the benefits of teaching abstinence to children.

The Center for Disease Control and Prevention found that combining curriculum on abstinence and proper birth control usage positively influences adolescent sexual behavior. The CDC did not find that sexual education and the distribution of birth control increases adolescent sexual activity, as charged by the Right, but does increase responsible behavior among those youths already having sex.¹⁴⁷ As such, it seems that the same principal holds with sexual activity as with abortions: the more information the better. What remains to be addressed is how also to lower the unwanted-pregnancy rate

¹⁴⁵ Advocates for Youth, “Five Years of Abstinence-Only-Until-Marriage Education: Assessing the Impact”; available from <http://www.advocatesforyouth.org/publications/stateevaluations/index.htm>; Internet; accessed 25 October 2007.

¹⁴⁶ Ceci Connolly, “Some Abstinence Programs Mislead Teens, Report Says,” *Washington Post*, 2 December 2004.

¹⁴⁷ “Youth who participated in programs that provided information about abstinence, condoms, and/or contraception; who were engaged in one-on-one discussions about their own behavior; who were given clear messages about sex and condom or contraceptive use; and who were provided condoms or contraceptives have been found to increase consistent condom and contraception use without increasing sexual activity.” Jonathan D. Klein, MD, MPH, “Adolescent Pregnancy: Current Trends and Issues,” *Pediatrics* 116, no.1 (2005), 281-286. Available from <http://pediatrics.aappublications.org/cgi/content/full/116/1/281?submit.y=7&submit.x=30&submit=sendit&gca=116%2F1%2F281&#R1>; Internet; accessed 25 October 2007.

of adults, who are well beyond the scope and influence of either sexual or abstinence education.

In this regard, I disagree with the Coalition's refusal to support Title X funding of health clinics that provide requested information about abortions. I fully understand and cannot fault their desire to withhold funding from those clinics that perform abortions. However, it is faulty logic to believe that not giving out information to women who request it will reduce the abortion rate. Simply eliminating a woman's access to information will not prevent her from having an abortion. It will, however, facilitate the possibility of her making an uninformed decision. The Minnesota Right to Know Act, as put forth by the FRC, operates under this paradigm and is proof its positive results.

Another detail to consider is that these clinics provide a myriad of other services, from family planning to cancer screening, HIV prevention education and counseling, that have nothing to do with abortion referral.¹⁴⁸ To cut their funding means to limit other women's access to these vital health services.

What cannot be denied is the Right's correct conclusion that too many women use abortion as a form of birth control. The CDC reports that their 2000-2001 study showed only 54% of women used a form of contraceptive during the month in which they were impregnated. In 1995 (the latest year for which this data is available) almost one third of women having an abortion missed taking their oral contraceptive more than once in the past three months, and another third reported being inconsistent with their coitus-dependent form of control, even though it was their only pregnancy prevention

¹⁴⁸ Office of Population Affairs, "Office of Family Planning: Title X"; available from <http://opa.osophs.dhhs.gov/titlex/ofp.html>; Internet; accessed 20 October 2007.

method.¹⁴⁹ Stephen Levitt, economist, found that post *Roe v. Wade* “conceptions rose by nearly 30 percent, but births actually *fell* by 6 percent, indicating that many women were using abortion as a method of birth control, a crude and drastic sort of insurance policy.”¹⁵⁰ This is a problem that must be addressed by all involved, regardless of their position on the legality of abortion.

Another matter that must be considered so long as abortions remain legal is the risk factor associated with having an abortion. As Robertson explained, there are a number of complications that can result from an abortion, even death. What he failed to mention is that the number of women who experience serious complications is actually quite small, and the numbers continue to drop as the time of legalized abortion grows.¹⁵¹

However, if women who are determined to have an abortion have nowhere to go and nowhere from which to get credible information about the procedure, they will likely be pushed underground, where their chances of injury and death are significantly higher. This is not to say I advocate making abortions easily available to prevent this from

¹⁴⁹ The Center for Disease Control, “Abortion Surveillance, United States 2000,” available from <http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/ss5212a1.htm>; Internet; accessed 29 August 2007.

¹⁵⁰ Steven D. Levitt and Stephen J. Dubner, *Freakonomics: a Rogue Economist Explores the Hidden Side of Everything*. (New York: William Morrow, 2005), 139.

¹⁵¹ “Complications from having a first-trimester aspiration abortion are considerably less frequent and less serious than those associated with giving birth.” Ninety-seven percent of abortions performed at less than thirteen weeks of gestation have no complications; 2.5 percent have minor complications that can be addressed at the facility, and only half of one percent have more serious complications requiring a surgical procedure or hospitalization. First-trimester medical abortions constitute eighty-eight percent of all legal abortions. National Abortion Federation, “Abortion Facts,” available from http://www.prochoice.org/about_abortion/facts/safety_of_abortion.html; Internet; accessed 13 October 2007.

happening. I simply wish to highlight Robertson's argument that the mother's life is as valuable as that of the fetus, a fact with which Christians must be concerned.

Mentioned above was the Left's concern with the Personal Responsibility Act, a policy piece to which the Christian Coalition was intimately linked. A revised version was passed in 1996 (see chapter 3) which included provisions to facilitate the adoption process (one abortion reduction method advocated by the Left), bolster enforcement of child support payment, and increase funding for abstinence based education. Thus far, it seems that the Left's accusation against this Act are clearly unfounded, as it includes many provisions that the Left itself advocated as a means of reducing abortions.

That being said, the provision in the Act allowing states to deny cash benefits to welfare recipients who become pregnant is troublesome. It is this provision to which the Left referred in its critique. In 1998, Rutgers University released a study on the birthrate in New Jersey, the first state to implement a family cap-child exclusion. It found that there was a "significant increase in contraceptive use and a small increase in abortions."¹⁵² Citing an estimated 240 additional abortions per year in his state, Representative Christopher Smith introduced a bill to Congress overturning the family cap.¹⁵³ In spite of this, it is not possible to determine an "absolute causal relationship between the family cap and the birth and abortion rates."¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Jennifer Preston, "Births Fall and Abortions Rise Under New Jersey Family Cap," *New York Times*, 3 November 1998; available from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=940CE2D6103FF930A35752C1A96E958260>; Internet; accessed 13 November 2007.

Here it must be noted that abortions nationwide had actually been on a steady decline since 1990, when they reached an all-time high of almost 1.5 million. The number jumped slightly (by approximately 15,000) between 1995 and 1996 to 1,225,937, but then the rate continued on with its decline through till 2001 (the latest year for which the CDC provides information.)¹⁵⁵ As with the welfare discussion, it is not possible to surmise the cause of the drop in the number of abortions, but it is possible to say that the fears of the Left in regards to the Personal Responsibility Act were not confirmed.

Whether via Constitutional amendment, abstinence education, or welfare reform, it is clear that the one, clear, consistent goal for both the Coalition and Family Research Council is the end of abortions. This is driven by their belief in the sanctity of all life, which deserves and demands protecting. As stated before, there is no questioning their motivation, but the integrity of their execution.

First to look at the Christian Coalition: it makes sense for a political organization to spin the results of studies in order to bolster its opinion in the eyes of the public and of

¹⁵³ Hon. Christopher Smith, Congressional address, Washington D.C. 16 June 1998; available from <http://www.euthanasia.com/cap.html>; Internet; accessed 13 November 2007.

¹⁵⁴ Jennifer Preston, "Births Fall and Abortions Rise Under New Jersey Family Cap," *New York Times*, 3 November 1998; available from <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=940CE2D6103FF930A35752C1A96E958260>; Internet; accessed 13 November 2007.

¹⁵⁵ The Center for Disease Control, "Abortion Surveillance, United States 2000," available from <http://www.cdc.gov/mmwr/preview/mmwrhtml/ss5212a1.htm>; Internet; accessed 29 August 2007.

its political opponents. Some may argue this is necessary, even. However, being Christian means being held accountable to a higher standard.

Intentionally promoting a misperception (that the “majority” of Americans are against abortion) is not honest, it is manipulative, even if motivated by a higher cause. Citing half truths (exaggerating the risk of abortion) and utilizing potentially incendiary comparisons to make a point (Dred Scott) are not the signs of integrity, nor of the “speech without reproach” described by Paul. The same critique can be applied to the abstinence-only curricula that is advocated by the Family Research Council. If that is going to be their primary tool for working against a culture accepting to abortions, they need to be extremely diligent in making sure it is a good one. The curricula must meet the same standards as the group presenting it in order for it to be respected, as well as to facilitate trust and a willingness to try it out.

Because the Personal Responsibility Act was already touched on in the previous chapter, instead I will look at the Coalition’s push to cut Title X funding. As I stated before, I completely understand why they believe that clinics that perform abortions should not be allowed to receive this funding and I will not argue their point. Fewer abortion facilities make for fewer abortions. Yet I repeat, those clinics that give out information and referrals when requested (and do not perform abortions themselves) are in a position to be of great service to pregnant women. As such their work should be encouraged, not limited. In addition to providing essential health care, these clinics could utilize the opportunity to honestly educate women about the consequences and alternatives to abortion. (see Minnesota’s Right to Know Act as advocated by the FRC above.)

One could argue that the Coalition was simply being consistent in its anti-abortion stance, which could be seen as their acting with integrity. Yet Christian integrity means to assiduously abide by a set of moral standards motivated by a love of Christ that can be applied in every situation. Because Christians are to love everyone equally as they love Christ, no one's life or needs are allowed a higher value or primacy of place. Christianity insists upon an uncompromising advocacy of everyone's life, regardless of their needs, wants, or social position. This means that the life of an unborn fetus is just as valuable as the life of a poor woman who cannot afford health insurance and relies on a Title X clinic for her care. It is not the place of a Christian to place this woman's needs at odds with those of a fetus. It is the place of the Christian to say, "We must find a way to do both." That is the step above the rest; that is acting with integrity, and demonstrating a love that is unique in this world, because it encompasses everyone.

CONCLUSION

is the “right” right about god?

Is the Right right about God? As stated in my introduction, I only examined a few areas where the Evangelical Left has specifically critiqued them. Next, I judged if the actions and vernacular of the Religious Right, as represented by the Christian Coalition and Family Research Council, could they be described as distinctly Christian. I used the descriptions for Christian leadership offered in Matthew 25:34-46 and Titus 1:5-9 and 2:7-8 as the foundation of my analysis. Other organizations and situations, as well as character and faith judgments in general, lie outside the very narrow scope of this investigation.

To begin, I examined the three major critiques against the Right. The first was one of representation: the Left charged that the Right portrayed itself as the main political representative of Christian America, and that this rendering consistently led them to the Republican Party. The accusation continued that the Right not only supported Republican candidates with exclusivity, but that they also sought power for themselves within and over the Republican Party.

I found that while some of the Coalition’s actions were suspect, in the end it was the speeches and letters of the Coalition leadership that fully substantiated this charge. The Family Research Council, on the other hand, appears to have done no such thing. They were willing to sacrifice a Republican winning the White House rather than compromise on their pro-life, anti-abortion position.

The second charge had to do with poverty, that the Right paid scant attention to the issue in favor of cultural topics, such as gay marriage and abortion. Any attention

given centered on cutting benefits and ineffective social programs without first erecting suitable replacements. It was believed this action endangered the well-being of America's poor by leaving them without a safety net.

Poverty statistics provided by the U.S. Census Bureau do not support this claim. While it is not possible to determine the exact reason for the decreasing poverty rate through the 1990's, it is fair to say that the reform programs advocated by the Right did not result in the desolation predicted by the Left. It can be posited, however, that the Coalition's explicit lobbying for the passage of the Republican Party's Contract With America, and subsequent publication of its own policy vision, the Contract With the American Family, further supports the charge that it was a partisan organization. There was no basis for any such charge against the Family Research Council. Instead of spending its energy finding ways to tweak the widely-acknowledged-as-ineffective welfare system, the FRC instead began to examine what types of cultural presuppositions exist in this society that might contribute to the problem of poverty. This unique viewpoint was the basis for the FRC's constructive suggestions on how to begin to address the problem of poverty.

The last charge concerned abortion. The Right was accused of creating a hostile environment that precluded the discussion necessary for finding a way to reduce (or even end) the common practice of abortion. While I found no credible evidence of the Coalition attacking its opponents, I did find their comments to be at times incendiary and often misleading. Their opposition to the funding of Title X clinics risked compromising the ability of many (especially those of an economically lower class) to receive necessary health care in exchange for the unqualified possibility of lowering the abortion rate. This

very situation fits into the above accusation that the Right is not sufficiently sympathetic or aware of the difficulties affecting poor people.

The Family Research Council again took a different track than the Coalition. Instead of focusing its attention on programs already widely in place, the FRC advocated for widespread, comprehensive abstinence-only education. This curriculum would address a wide variety of issues that affect youths' physical and emotional health, which in turn impacts their decision to engage in or abstain from sexual behavior. However, focusing on this education alone is idealistic, given the multitude of errors in the curricula currently available, and that the CDC found that a combination of abstinence and traditional sexual education (vs. abstinence-only education) is most effective.

Overall, I found that the Evangelical Left did have cause to criticize the Christian Coalition for partisanship, power-seeking, and creating a hostile environment in regards to abortion. I did not find, however, that the Coalition's support of the 1995 Welfare Reform Act was the result of their indifference to the problems of the poor, or that they intended to leave welfare recipients without any form of social support. I found the Left to have little basis for their accusations against the Family Research Council.

These assessments address the secular, political nature of the charges. What is left is the theological evaluation described in the introduction. Matthew 25:34-46 outlines the guiding principal of Christians: treat everyone with the love we would show Christ Himself. Titus 1:5-9 and 2:7-8 give Christian leaders specific instructions on how to do this. They are to be blameless, devout, not arrogant, violent or greedy. They must always demonstrate integrity and dignity through in both speech and because they are society's models of Christianity.

So then, did the Christian Coalition and the Family Research Council, while participating as Christian leaders in the American political sphere, comport themselves as Christians? Before I answer this question, I want to make it clear that I am not judging the overall morality of any group or individual, and nor am I questioning their faith or beliefs as Christians. I am simply looking to see if their public actions and speech illustrate their Christian faith, using Paul's instructions as my guide.

In the end, I found that the Christian Coalition did not act in a distinctly Christian manner. While it may be said that they were only playing the game of politics (and some might say they played it well), I must say that politics is not the point; being living examples of the love and compassion that was witnessed to us in Christ is. Paul, in writing to Titus, gave Christian leaders very specific instructions on how to be that example, instructions that the Coalition, for the most part, failed to follow.

Firstly, in claiming to give voice to the otherwise silenced Christian vote in America, the Coalition placed itself above other organizations that were attempting to do exactly the same thing. Instead of acknowledging them and attempting to build a true Coalition that could represent Christian Americans, the Coalition sought political influence on its own and for itself. Multiple quotes by Reed and Robertson evidence this concern with their growing importance to the Republican Party, even while repeatedly asserting that the Coalition was a non-partisan organization. Each of these behaviors violates Paul's warning against being over bearing, greedy, and arrogant. That the Coalition's vernacular is not supported by their own actions compromises their integrity, and signals that their speech is not "above reproach," as Paul insists. Another marker of this shortcoming is found in the Coalition's evasion of forth-right discussion on the

abortion issue. At this point the specific critiques of the Left are almost irrelevant since, with its own words and actions, the Coalition has demonstrated its inability to adhere to the high standards of Christian leadership.

On the other hand, I found that the Family Research Council did indeed conduct itself in a distinctly Christian manner according to Titus' guidelines. They state that their focus is advancing pro-family legislation without any partisan affiliations. Their refusal to support a pro-choice Republican presidential candidate supports that. Regarding poverty: they published an article stating that one of the first steps to helping families overcome poverty is changing America's widely-accepted vision of the "ideal" family, thus risking their reputation and influence among pro-family conservatives in order to advance the possibility of improving the situation of this country's poor families. As for abortion, they advocated for the addition of educational programs in order to discourage its practice. While found to be idealistic and not necessarily effective, this pro-active and positive approach did not threaten to inconvenience or harm any other party in its application, which keeps the FRC "blameless" according to Paul's standards.

In the end, it must be acknowledged that the standards set up by Matthew and Paul are exceedingly high: treat other people as if they were Jesus, because they are; act with integrity, speak truthfully, do not be arrogant or self-serving. Neither of them allow for exceptions or failings, but insist upon a consistent adherence to excellent Christian behavior. Though the Coalition failed to meet this difficult criterion, the Family Research Council did not. I found that the Family Research Council was indeed "right" about God.

APPENDIX

- I. Christian Coalition Voter Identification Script
- II. Christian Coalition 1992 Presidential Voter Guide
- III. Christian Coalition 1992 Congressional Voter Guide
- V. Christian Coalition 1992 Congressional Scorecard
- VI. Family Research Council 2006 Letter of Introduction to, and Congressional Scorecard

Christian Coalition Voter Identification Script
(Christian Coalition Citizen Action Seminar Manual)

“Hello, may I please speak with (name of voter).

Hello, I am your neighbor, _____, and I am taking a brief voter survey to get a better idea of the issues of concern to our community. Would you mind answering a few brief questions? Great – thank you.

1. What do you consider to be the most important issue facing the citizens here in (name of city)?
2. Would you support a tax increase if all the money went to education programs?
3. At what grade level should school be responsible for teaching sex education?
4. When do you think abortion should be legal?
 - a.) First trimester;
 - b.) In cases of rape, incest or when the life of the mother is endangered;
 - c.) when the life of the mother is endangered.
5. Question of local interest. (Must be pre-approved by Christian Coalition state or national office.)
6. Would you like for me to send you some information on how to register to vote? [Do not ask this question if you are contacting a list of registered voters, and only if the person has given a pro-family response.]

This concludes our survey. Thank you for your participation.

✓ CC
VA

Christian Coalition Voter Guide '92

★★★★★★★★
**PRESIDENTIAL
ELECTION 1992**
★★★★★★★★



**GEORGE
BUSH**
Republican

**BILL
CLINTON**
Democrat

**ROSS
PEROT**
Independent

Balanced Budget Amendment	SUPPORTS	OPPOSES	OPPOSES
Abortion on Demand	OPPOSES	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS
Parental Choice in Education (Vouchers)	SUPPORTS	OPPOSES	SUPPORTS
Voluntary School Prayer Amendment	SUPPORTS	OPPOSES	OPPOSES
Homosexual Rights	OPPOSES	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS
Raising Income Taxes	OPPOSES	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS
Term Limits	SUPPORTS	OPPOSES	OPPOSES
Death Penalty	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS
Increased Funding for SDI	SUPPORTS	OPPOSES	NO RESPONSE
Line-Item Veto	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS
Tax-Funded Abortion	OPPOSES	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS
Condom Distribution in Schools	OPPOSES	SUPPORTS	SUPPORTS

Paid for and authorized by Christian Coalition, P.O. Box 1990, Chesapeake, VA 23327

Questions:

- 1. Prohibit Abortion:** Prohibiting abortion except in cases of rape, incest or when the life of the mother is endangered.
- 2. Homosexual Rights:** Giving sexual preference protected minority status under existing civil rights laws.
- 3. Taxes:** Cutting spending rather than raising taxes to balance the budget.
- 4. Condoms:** Allowing school-based clinics to dispense birth control devices without parental consent.
- 5. Vouchers:** Education vouchers that allow parents to choose public or private schools.

Notes:

S: Supports
O: Oppose
U: Undecided
NR: No Response

Each candidate was sent an issues survey by FAX or certified mail. Candidate receipt of the survey was verified by telephone call, postal receipt or FAX receipt.

*Positions of candidates were verified or determined using voter's records, public statements, endorsements, and other documentation if no response was received.

Please help us financially and further our efforts in the production and distribution of these voters guides which are authorized and paid for by the Christian Coalition of King County, P.O. Box 3397, Kent, Washington, 98032, (206) 389-6410.

For a complimentary copy of the Christian American, call 1-800-325-4746.

Governor's Race

	Prohibit Abortion	Homosexual Rights	Cut Spending	Condoms	Vouchers
K. Eikenberry	O*	NR	S*	NR	NR
M. Lowry	O*	NR	O*	NR	NR

Secretary of State

J. Dixon	S	O	S	O	U
R. Munro	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR

Attorney General

N. Maleng	O*	S*	NR	NR	NR
C. Gregoire	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR

Insurance Commissioner

D. Senn	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR
D. Marquardt	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR

Superintendent of Public Instruction

J. Billings	O	NR	NR	NR	NR
T. Bergeson	O	NR	NR	NR	NR

Commissioner of Lands

A. Anderson	S	O	S	O	S
J. Belcher	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR

State Treasurer

C. Oliver	S	O	S	O	S
D. Grim	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR

11th Legislative District/SEN

M. Schillinger	S	O	S	O	S
M. Prentice	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR

11th Legislative District/HP2

G. Moseley	S	O	S	O	S
V. Veloria	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR

3rd, 6th & 7th Congressional Dist.

18th Legislative District/SEN

I. Grohs	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR
L. Smith	S	O	S	O	S

18th Legislative District/HP1

B. Morris	O	O	S	O	O
D. Lynch	S	O	S	O	U

18th Legislative District/HP2

J. Springer	S	O	S	O	S
T. Young	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR

20th Legislative District/SEN

T. Nagler	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
N. Amondson	S	O	S	O	S

20th Legislative District/HP1

D. Chappell	S	O	S	O	O
R. Bowman	S	O	S	O	S

20th Legislative District/HP2

C. Hansen	S	O	S	O	S
B. Brumsickle	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR

23rd Legislative District/SEN

E. Craswell	S	O	S	O	S
B. Sheldon	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR

23rd Legislative District/HP1

M. Jones	S	O	S	O	S
P. Zellinsky	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR

24th Legislative District/SEN

J. Hargrove	S	O	S	O	S
J. Fairchild	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR

24th Legislative District/HP1

E. Jones	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR
E. Pickell	S	O	S	O	S

24th Legislative District/HP2

J. Buck	S	O	S	O	S
L. Kessler	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR

26th Legislative District/HP1

R. Meyers	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR
T. Schneider	S	O	S	O	S

28th Legislative District/HP1

J. Hill-Brooks	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
G. Talcott	O	O	S	O	S

28th Legislative District/HP2

S. Flemming	S	U	S	U	O
A. Broback	S	O	S	O	S

29th Legislative District/HP1

R. Franklin	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
D. Church	S	O	S	O	S

29th Legislative District/HP2

B. Ebersole	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
A. Pearn	S	O	S	O	S

35th Legislative District/HP1

B. Holm	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR
P. Johnson	S	O	S	O	S

37th Legislative District/HP2

J. Alonzo	S	O	S	O	S
G. Locke	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR

43rd Legislative District/HP1

M. Meenan	S	O	S	O	S
C. Anderson	O	S	O	S	U

49th Legislative District/SEN

A. Bauer	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR
M. Ferris	S	O	S	O	S

49th Legislative District/HP1

J. McDonald	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR
D. Carlson	S	O	S	O	S

49th Legislative District/HP2

V. Ogden	O*	NR	NR	NR	NR
R. Bush	S	O	S	O	S

* Anderson will introduce a civil rights legislation



Christian Coalition

June 30, 1992

Enclosed please find a copy of the Christian Coalition 1992 candidate survey. This survey is being mailed to every candidate for federal office in the United States. Responses to this survey will be utilized in production of our non-partisan national tabloid voter guide, which will include every federal race in all fifty states.

As you can see, this survey covers a wide range of issues that are deemed to be of interest to voters.

Please take a few minutes to fill out the survey and return it to our office in the envelope provided. To enable us to collect the information with ample time for analysis and production I must ask that you return the survey no later than July 21.

Our goal is to present the views of candidates as accurately as possible, which means allowing candidates the opportunity to express their views directly on this survey. Should I not hear from you by the aforementioned deadline, we will do our best to characterize your views based on your public statements and/or record. Where this is not possible we will simply be unable to include your positions in our voter education materials.

Christian Coalition is a nationwide, non-partisan grass roots organization with over 500 local chapters.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to take a few minutes out of your busy schedule to fill out this survey and return it to me. Thank you in advance for your participation.

Should you have any questions please feel free to call. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Guy Rodgers
National Field Director

1801-L Sara Drive, Chesapeake, Virginia 23320 804-424-2630 FAX: 804-424-9068

About Christian Coalition

Christian Coalition was formed in 1989 to make government more responsive to the concerns of Evangelical Christians and pro-family Catholics. Christian Coalition seeks to reverse the moral decay that threatens our nation by training Christians for effective political action and getting more Christians involved in the political process. Christian Coalition is distributing millions of these Congressional Scorecards so that Evangelical Christians and pro-family Catholics will know where their elected representatives stand on issues of crucial importance to our families and our nation.

This Scorecard includes votes on such bedrock family issues as abortion, school prayer, pornography and education. Our Scorecard also includes votes on key economic issues such as taxes, spending, and the Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution. Christian Coalition monitors these economic issues because a growing and prosperous America is also vital to the well-being of families. In addition, we have included votes on limiting congressional terms. We support limits on congressional terms because Congress has clearly shown power corrupts, and because America needs to return to the idea of the "citizens legislature" as originally intended by America's founding fathers.

How To Use This Scorecard

Read the vote descriptions. Then turn to the voting index. The voting index lists how every U.S. Senator and Congressman voted on issues identified by Christian Coalition as having an important impact on our families and on our nation. The index also includes a total score for each member of Congress. A score of 100% means the Congressman supported Christian Coalition's position on every vote. A score of 0% means the Congressman never supported a Christian Coalition position.

You will also notice a section on the positions of newly elected members of the House and Senate. Since these new members of Congress have not yet compiled a significant voting record on Capitol Hill, we collected our information for this section by asking them to fill out a Christian Coalition questionnaire. Many cooperated with us and completed the questionnaire; some did not.

The information in this Scorecard is provided as a tool to help you more effectively lobby your elected representatives on issues before the 103rd Congress.

In the fall of 1992, Christian Coalition . . .

- ✓ Distributed 40 million non-partisan "Voter Guides" to inform citizens where the candidates stood on key issues.
- ✓ Made 350,000 non-partisan telephone calls to encourage Christians to vote.

Encouraging news from the 1992 elections

Though many Christian and pro-family Americans are disappointed in the results of the presidential election, there is encouraging news to report.

- 75 new pro-family candidates were elected to Congress.
- Thousands of pro-family candidates won races at the state and local level.
- Pro-family forces gained a majority in the Illinois Senate.
- In Pennsylvania, pro-family forces held on to majorities in both the state House and Senate.
- Measures on the ballot in 14 states to limit terms on Congress all won by landslide margins.
- In California, 8 of 13 key state assembly races were won by pro-family candidates.
- In Iowa, voters rejected the feminist-backed Equal Rights Amendment.



Christian Coalition

*Giving Christians a voice in
government again*

P.O. Box 1990 • Chesapeake, VA 23327

**NEW
1993 Edition**



Christian Coalition CONGRESSIONAL SCORECARD



**Where Do *Your*
Congressman and Senators
Stand on Issues
Critical to the Family?**

*Includes the positions of newly
elected members of the 103rd Congress*

New Members of the House and the Senate

The positions of new members of the House and Senate were compiled from public statements, voting records and Christian Coalition questionnaires sent to every candidate during the 1992 election. This is the best information available until new members cast votes in Congress. As these members compile a voting record, we will assign a percentage score to rate their voting performance from Christian Coalition's perspective, just as we now do with veteran members of Congress.

Description of Issues

If a new member of the House or Senate took the following positions in our questionnaire, he or she is in agreement with Christian Coalition:

1. Opposes Raising Income Taxes
2. Opposes Abortion on Demand
3. Favors Parental Choice in Education (Vouchers)
4. Opposes Special Rights for Homosexuals
5. Opposes Tax-Funded Obscene Art
6. Favors the Balanced Budget Amendment

UNITED STATES SENATE - NEW MEMBERS

	1	2	3	4	5	6
CALIFORNIA						
Ferdinand	D	—	—	—	D	D
Boxer	—	—	—	—	—	—
COLORADO						
Campbell	D	—	D	D	—	++
GEORGIA						
COVERDELL	++	++	++	++	++	++
IDAHO						
KEMPTHORNE	++	++	++	++	++	++
ILLINOIS						
Braun	—	—	—	D	D	D
NEW HAMPSHIRE						
REGG	D	D	D	D	D	D
NORTH CAROLINA						
WALCOTT	++	++	++	++	++	++
NORTH DAKOTA						
Donnan	—	—	—	D	—	++
UTAH						
BENNETT	++	++	++	U	++	++
WASHINGTON						
Murray	D	D	D	—	D	D
WISCONSIN						
Feingold	—	—	D	—	D	—

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES - NEW MEMBERS

	1	2	3	4	5	6
ALABAMA						
2 EVRETT	++	++	U	++	++	++
6 BACHUS	++	++	++	++	++	++
7 Hilliard	D	D	D	D	D	D
ARIZONA						
1 Copps-Smith	D	—	D	D	D	D
6 English	—	—	D	D	D	D
ARKANSAS						
1 Lammert	D	D	D	D	D	D
3 HUTCHINSON	++	++	++	++	++	++
4 DICKEY	++	++	++	++	++	++
CALIFORNIA						
1 Hamburg	D	D	D	D	D	D
6 Woolsey	D	D	D	D	D	D
10 BAKER	++	++	++	++	++	++
11 POMBO	++	++	++	++	++	++
14 Eshoo	D	D	D	D	D	D
22 HUTTINGTON	++	—	D	D	D	D
25 MCKEON	++	++	++	++	++	++
30 Becerra	D	D	D	D	D	D
33 Roybal-Allard	D	D	D	D	D	D
36 Hamman	D	D	D	D	D	D
37 Tuckee	D	D	D	D	D	D
38 HORN	D	D	D	D	D	D
39 ROYCE	++	++	++	++	++	++
41 KIM	D	D	D	D	D	D
43 CALVERT	++	++	++	++	++	++
49 Schenk	D	D	D	D	D	D
50 Filner	D	D	D	—	D	D
COLORADO						
3 MCINNIS	D	D	D	D	D	D
DELAWARE						
CASTLE	D	D	D	D	D	D
FLORIDA						
3 Brown	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 FOWLER	D	D	D	D	D	D
5 Thurman	—	—	—	—	—	—
7 AMCA	++	++	++	++	++	++
12 CANADY	++	++	++	++	++	++
13 MILLER	D	D	D	D	D	D
17 Meek	D	D	D	D	D	D
20 Deutsch	D	D	D	D	D	D
21 DIAZ-BALART	++	++	++	++	++	++
23 Hastings	D	D	D	D	D	D

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES - NEW MEMBERS

	1	2	3	4	5	6
GEORGIA						
1 KINGSTON	++	++	++	++	++	++
2 Bishop	D	D	D	D	D	D
3 COLLINS	++	++	++	++	++	++
4 LINDER	++	++	++	++	++	++
9 Deal	D	D	D	D	D	D
10 Johnson	D	D	D	D	D	D
11 McKinney	D	D	D	D	D	D
IDAHO						
2 CRAPO	++	++	++	++	++	++
ILLINOIS						
1 Rush	D	D	D	D	D	D
2 Reynolds	D	D	D	D	D	D
4 Gutierrez	D	D	D	D	D	D
16 MANZULLO	++	++	++	++	++	++
INDIANA						
5 BUYER	++	++	++	++	++	++
KENTUCKY						
1 Barlow	D	D	D	D	D	D
6 Baesler	D	D	D	D	D	D
LOUISIANA						
4 Fields	N	N	N	N	N	N
MARYLAND						
4 Wynn	D	D	D	D	D	D
6 BARTLETT	++	++	++	++	++	++
MASSACHUSETTS						
3 BLUTE	++	++	U	++	++	++
5 Medhan	D	D	D	D	D	D
6 TORRILLOSEN	D	D	D	D	D	D
MICHIGAN						
1 Stupak	++	++	U	U	U	++
2 HOEKSTRA	++	++	++	++	++	++
5 Barcia	++	++	++	++	++	++
7 SMITH	D	D	D	D	D	D
11 KNOLLBERG	D	D	D	D	D	D
MINNESOTA						
2 Minge	D	D	D	D	D	D
6 GRAVIS	++	++	++	++	++	++
MISSOURI						
2 TALENT	++	++	++	++	++	++
6 Danner	D	D	D	D	D	D
NEW JERSEY						
7 FRANKS	N	N	N	N	N	N
8 Klein	D	D	D	D	D	D
13 Menendez	D	D	D	D	D	D
NEW YORK						
2 LAZIO	D	D	D	D	D	D
3 KING	D	D	D	D	D	D
4 LEVY	D	D	D	D	D	D
8 Nadler	D	D	D	D	D	D
12 Velazquez	D	D	D	D	D	D
14 Maloney	D	D	D	D	D	D
24 McHugh	D	D	D	D	D	D
26 Hinchey	D	D	D	D	D	D
30 QUINN	D	D	D	D	D	D
NORTH CAROLINA						
1 Clayton	D	D	D	D	D	D
12 Watt	D	D	D	D	D	D
NORTH DAKOTA						
Pomeroy	D	D	D	D	D	D
OHIO						
1 Mann	D	D	D	D	D	D
6 Strickland	D	D	D	D	D	D
10 HOKE	++	++	++	++	++	++
13 Brown	D	D	D	D	D	D
15 PRYCE	++	—	++	U	U	++
19 Fingerhut	D	D	D	D	D	D
OKLAHOMA						
5 ISTOOK	++	++	++	++	++	++
OREGON						
1 Furse	D	—	D	D	D	D
PENNSYLVANIA						
4 Klink	++	++	—	U	++	—
6 Holden	U	++	—	++	++	—
8 GREENWOOD	D	D	D	D	D	D
13 Mezinovsky	D	D	D	D	D	D
15 McKeale	D	D	D	D	D	D
SOUTH CAROLINA						
4 INGLIS	++	++	++	++	++	++
6 Clyburn	D	—	—	D	D	D
TEXAS						
23 BONILLA	D	D	D	D	D	D
28 Tejeda	D	D	D	D	D	D
29 Green	D	D	D	D	D	D
30 Johnson	D	D	D	D	D	D
UTAH						
2 Shepherd	D	D	U	D	D	D
VIRGINIA						
3 Scott	D	D	D	D	D	D
6 GOODLATTE	++	++	++	++	++	++
11 Byrne	D	D	D	D	D	D
WASHINGTON						
1 Cantwell	D	D	D	D	D	D
4 Inlee	D	D	D	D	D	D
8 DUNN	D	D	D	D	D	D
9 Kneidel	D	D	D	D	D	D
WISCONSIN						
5 Barrett	D	D	D	D	D	D

* The number to the left of the Representative's name denotes the district he or she now represents.

Guide to Scorecard Symbols for New Members of Congress

- ++ = Favors Christian Coalition's position
- = Opposes Christian Coalition's position
- D = Declined to answer
- U = Undecided
- N = No information available
- ALL CAPS = Republicans

DESCRIPTION OF HOUSE VOTES

1. **Bounced Checks.** This column lists the number of bad checks each Congressman wrote through the House Bank in the 39-month period from July 1, 1988 through October 7, 1991.
2. **Taxes.** May 9, 1991. Gradison (R-OH) motion to end debate on his motion to require that increases in entitlement programs be funded by spending cuts rather than tax increases. Motion rejected 132-284. Christian Coalition supported anti-tax motion.
3. **Abortions in Military Hospitals.** May 22, 1991. AuCoin (D-OR) amendment to enable military personnel stationed overseas and their dependents to obtain abortions at military hospitals. Amendment adopted 220-208. Christian Coalition opposed having military hospitals perform abortions.
4. **Hiring Quotas.** June 4, 1991. Michel (R-IL) proposal to apply existing civil rights laws to Congress and to oppose mandating racial quotas on businesses. Proposal rejected 162-266. Christian Coalition supported Michel proposal.
5. **Congressional Perks.** June 5, 1991. Penny (D-MN) amendment to cut \$21 million from Congress's "free" mailing budget. Amendment rejected 198-227. Christian Coalition supported slashing budgets for tax-funded congressional mail.
6. **Tax-Funded Sex Surveys.** July 25, 1991. Waxman (D-CA) amendment to permit the use of tax dollars for surveys on sexual behavior. Amendment adopted 281-137. Christian Coalition opposed Waxman amendment.
7. **Tax-funded Abortion.** August 1, 1991. Adoption of the conference report on the District of Columbia appropriations bill to allow the D.C. government to use tax money to fund abortions. Report adopted 239-180. Christian Coalition opposed pro-abortion measure.
8. **Abstinence-Based Sex Education.** September 24, 1991. Pursell (R-MD) motion to block Danneweyer (R-CA) motion to fund abstinence-based adolescent sex education programs. Pursell motion passed 262-154. Christian Coalition opposed Pursell motion.
9. **Tax Funding of Pornography.** October 24, 1991. Lowery (R-CA) motion to accept the Senate amendment prohibiting the National Endowment for the Arts from funding pornographic "art." Motion rejected 205-214. Christian Coalition supported Lowery motion.
10. **Term Limits.** November 6, 1991. Gephardt (D-MO) motion to table resolution preventing Congress from using tax dollars and government lawyers to fight congressional term limit measures in the states. Motion adopted 265-160. Christian Coalition opposed Gephardt's anti-term limit motion.
11. **Taxes To Promote Abortion.** November 19, 1991. Attempt to override President Bush's veto of measure that would allow taxpayer-funded family planning clinics to promote abortion. Presidential veto sustained. Christian Coalition opposed Congress's attempt to override Bush's veto.
12. **No New Taxes.** 1992 Vote 28, Feb. 27, 1992. Archer (R-TX) bill to block another tax increase. Bill rejected 165-264. Christian Coalition supported anti-tax bill.
13. **Balanced Budget Amendment.** June 6, 1992. Balanced Budget Amendment to the Constitution introduced by Charles Stenholm (D-TX) fell nine votes short of the two-thirds "super majority" required for passage. The final vote was 280 in favor of passage, 153 against. Christian Coalition supported the Balanced Budget Amendment.
14. **Fetal Tissue Research.** May 28, 1992. Adoption of conference report permitting fetal tissue from abortions to be used in medical research. Report adopted 260-148. Christian Coalition opposed adoption of report.

[illegible]

		U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES														
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	%
CALIFORNIA (cont.)																
32 Dixon	0															0
33 Roybal-Allard		Refer to new member section														
34 Torres	0															0
35 Waters	5															0
36 Harman		Refer to new member section														
37 Tucker		Refer to new member section														
38 HORN		Refer to new member section														
39 HOYLE		Refer to new member section														
40 LEWIS	0	++	++													62
41 KIM		Refer to new member section														
42 Brown	26								?							
43 CALVERT		Refer to new member section														
44 McCANDLESS	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
45 KIRKABACHAR	8	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	92
46 DORNAN	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
47 COX	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
48 PACKARD	4	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	85
49 Schenk		Refer to new member section														
50 Fisher		Refer to new member section														
51 CUNNINGHAM	1	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
52 HUNTER	399	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
COLORADO																
1 Schroeder	0															0
2 Shaggs	57															0
3 McINNIS		Refer to new member section														
4 ALLARD	0	++	++		++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	92
5 REILEY	3	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
6 SCHAEFER	6	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
CONNECTICUT																
1 Kennedy	60															0
2 Gajdenson	51															0
3 DeLauro	0															0
4 SHAYS	18	++	++		++			++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	46
5 BRAUN	7	++	++		++			++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	69
6 JOHNSON	2	++	++					++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	54
DELAWARE																
CASTLE																
FLORIDA																
1 Hutto	1	---	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	77
2 Peterson	0															15
3 Browne		Refer to new member section														
4 FOWLER		Refer to new member section														
5 Thurman		Refer to new member section														
6 STEARNS	9	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
7 MICA		Refer to new member section														
8 McCOLLUM	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
9 BURGESS	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	85
10 YOUNG	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	23
11 Gibbons	0	---	++													83
12 CANADY		Refer to new member section														
13 MILLER		Refer to new member section														
14 COSS	3	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
15 BROWN	3	?	---													8
16 LEWIS	8	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	92
17 Meek		Refer to new member section														
18 ROS-LEHTINEN	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
19 Johnston	1		++										++	++	++	15
20 Deutsch		Refer to new member section														
21 DIAZ-BALART		Refer to new member section														
22 SHAW	0	---	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	85
23 Hastings		Refer to new member section														
GEORGIA																
1 KINGSTON		Refer to new member section														
2 Bishop		Refer to new member section														
3 COLLINS		Refer to new member section														
4 LINDER		Refer to new member section														
5 Lewis	125															100
6 GINGRICH	22	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
7 Darden	35													++	++	15
8 Ward	8															23
9 Deal		Refer to new member section														
10 Johnson		Refer to new member section														
11 McKinney		Refer to new member section														
HAWAII																
1 Abernombie	0															0
2 Mink	0															0
IDAHO																
1 LaRocco	0													++	++	8
CRAPO																
		Refer to new member section														
ILLINOIS																
1 Rush		Refer to new member section														
2 Ruykowski		Refer to new member section														
3 Guterres	2	++	++									++	---	++	---	38
4 Gubernex		Refer to new member section														
5 Roscoe	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	15
6 Hyde	2	++	++	++	++	++	++	?	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	85
7 Collins	18	---	++		?											100
8 CANE	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
9 Yates	4	---														0
10 PORTER	1	++	---	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	69
11 Sangmeister	0	---	++	---	---	---	++	++	?	---	++	++	++	++	++	38
12 Coselli	1	---	---					++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	46
13 FAWELL	0	++	---	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	69
14 HART	44	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
15 EWING	0	---	---			++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	100
16 MANZULLO		Refer to new member section														
17 Evans	9	---	---													0
18 MICHEL	0	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	?	92
19 Oshard	0	---	++	---	++	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	54
20 Durbin	12	---	---													0
INDIANA																
1 Visclosky	0	---	---													0
2 Sharp	120	---	---		++	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	++	15
3 Roemer	0	---	++	---	---	---	++	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	++	23
4 Long	21	---	---		++	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	23
5 BLUYER		Refer to new member section														
6 BURTON		Refer to new member section														

		U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES														%
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
PENNSYLVANIA (cont.)																
12 Martha	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
13 Mazumsky	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
14 Colne	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
15 McHale	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
16 WALKER	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
17 EPKAS	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	69
18 SANTORUM	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
19 GOODLING	430	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	69
20 Murphy	46	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	46
21 RICE	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54
RHODE ISLAND																
1 MACHTLEY	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	38
2 Keot	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
SOUTH CAROLINA																
1 RAVENEL	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	77
2 SPENCE	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
3 DAVIS	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
4 INGLIS	46	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
5 Spratt	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
6 Clyburn	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
SOUTH DAKOTA																
1 Johnson	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	31
TENNESSEE																
1 QUILLIN	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	92
2 CLINGMAN	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
3 Lind	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	54
4 Cooper	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
5 Clement	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	31
6 Condit	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
7 SUNDBLUST	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	92
8 Tanner	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	31
9 Ford	388	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
TEXAS																
1 Chapman	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
2 Wilson	85	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
3 JOHNSON	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
4 Hall	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	62
5 Bryant	55	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
6 BARTON	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
7 ARCHER	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
8 FIELDS	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100
9 Brooks	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0
10 Pickens	0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8
11 Edwards	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
12 Carver	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	23
13 Santorum	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	62
14 Loughlin	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	46
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Dear Voter and Friend of the Family:

FRC Action and Focus on the Family Action present our Vote Scorecard for the Second Session of the 109th Congress. This Scorecard contains a compilation of significant votes representing a cross section of issues affecting the family. These recorded votes occurred in the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives in 2006.

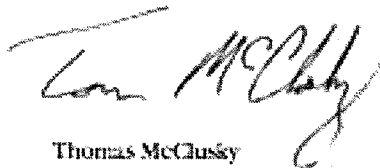
This scorecard shows how your elected officials voted on some of the critical issues involving the family. It is important to remember, however, that the votes you see here are only a few of the hundreds of votes cast by Members of Congress in 2006. We have singled out for inclusion the most clear-cut, pro-family votes that came before Congress.

With the 2006 mid-term elections fast approaching, Congress renewed its efforts in protecting the family by promising action on a list of Values Votes. The House acted on legislation that included protecting parental involvement for minors receiving interstate abortions, enhancing the enforcement of laws prohibiting Internet gambling, rejection of funding for unethical embryonic stem cell research, a rejection of human fetus farming, and a renewed effort to preserve traditional marriage by amending the U.S. Constitution. Unfortunately, the House did not act on two promised items on the Values agenda: a bill to inform women of fetal pain and a ban on human cloning.

With the exception of confirming to the Supreme Court Chief Justice John Roberts, last year we were unable to report on activity by the Senate due to a lack of substantial pro-family votes. However, this year the Senate acted on a number of important items including confirming Justice Sam Alito to the Supreme Court, an attempt to preserve traditional marriage, a ban on fetus farming, and votes to defend a parent's rights when someone transports a child across state lines to receive an abortion.

The votes recorded here are only part of our effort to protect the family. Only through your help as informed and active constituents, working with us in contacting your Members of Congress on pro-family issues, can we truly make headway with the increased pro-family majority in Washington. There is no greater asset in the battle to preserve the American family than an involved citizenry. Thank you for joining us in our defense of the family. We can not do it without you.

Please contact the Government Affairs office of FRC Action for questions about the Scorecard.



Thomas McClusky
Vice President, Government Affairs
FRC Action



Tom Minnery
Sr. Vice President, Government and Public Policy
Focus on the Family Action

HOUSE PRO-FAMILY ISSUES

1. Repeal of Abortion Restriction on Military Facilities

Offered by Rep. Robert Andrews (D-NJ), this amendment (H.A.MUT. 805) to the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2007 (H.R. 3122) sought to lift the current ban on privately funded abortions at U.S. military facilities overseas.

(Failed 05/30/2006, 191 yeas to 237 nays, Roll Call No. 136)
FRC Action and Focus Action Opposed this Amendment.

2. Marriage Protection Amendment

Sponsored by Rep. Marilyn Musgrave (R-CO), the Marriage Protection Amendment (H.J.Res. 88) would have amended the United States Constitution and defined marriage as between one man and one woman. The House failed to agree to the Amendment, which required a 2/3 vote.

(Failed 07/18/2006, 236 yeas to 187 nays, Roll Call No. 378)
FRC Action and Focus Action Supported this Amendment.

3. Pledge Protection Act

Sponsored by Rep. Todd Akin (R-MO), the Pledge Protection Act (H.R. 2689) uses congressional authority under Article III, Section 2 of the Constitution to remove the jurisdiction of federal courts over cases involving the Pledge of Allegiance.

(Passed 07/19/2006, 260 yeas to 167 nays, Roll Call No. 385)
FRC Action and Focus Action Supported this Bill.

4. Embryonic Stem Cell Research Act

Sponsored by Rep. Michael Castle (R-DE), H.R. 810 sought to overturn President Bush's policy on funding human embryonic stem cell research by authorizing the National Institutes of Health to fund stem cell research that requires the destruction of human embryo. President Bush vetoed H.R. 810 after it passed the House and the Senate. Then the House voted to sustain the President's veto.

(Failed 7/19/2006, 235 yeas to 193 nays, Roll Call No. 388)
FRC Action and Focus Action Opposed Overturning the Veto.

5. Child Interstate Abortion Notification Act

Sponsored by Senator John Ensign (R-NV), this bill (S. 405) prohibits transporting minors across state lines in circumvention of state laws that require parental notification before minors obtain an abortion, except for abortions necessary to save the life of the minor. The House inserted a provision to require abortion providers to notify parents of out-of-state minors before performing an abortion.

(Passed 9/26/2006, 264 yeas to 153 nays, Roll Call No. 479)
FRC Action and Focus Action Supported this Bill.

6. Public Expression of Religion Act

Sponsored by Rep. John Hostettler (R-IND), the Public Expression of Religion Act (H.R. 2679) would prevent the use of legal fees to threaten local, state and federal governments over establishment of religion cases, including Veteran memorials and the display of the Ten Commandments. Current law allows private entities who win establishment of religion cases to also receive taxpayer funded attorney fees, which have been used to threaten officials' public expression of religion. H.R. 2679 would allow establishment of religion lawsuits to proceed but would remove legal fee awards for such cases.

(Passed 9/26/2006, 244 yeas to 173 nays, Roll Call No. 480)
FRC Action and Focus Action Supported this Bill.

7. Sponsorship of Marriage Protection Amendment

Representatives who endorsed the Marriage Protection Amendment by co-sponsoring the legislation (H.J.Res. 88). The Marriage Protection Amendment would amend the United States Constitution and define marriage as being between one man and one woman.

HOUSE VOTES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Score
■ Alabama								
1 Jo Bonner (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	85%
2 Terry Everett (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
3 Michael Rogers (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
4 Robert Aderholt (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
5 Robert Cramer (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	57%
6 Spencer Bachus (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
7 Artur Davis (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	28%
■ Alaska								
Don Young (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	71%
■ Arizona								
1 Rick Renzi (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
2 Trent Franks (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
3 John Shadegg (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
4 Ed Pastor (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
5 J.D. Hayworth (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
6 Jeff Flake (R)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	85%
7 Raul Grijalva (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
8 Jim Kolbe (R)	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	28%

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Score
■ Arkansas								
1 Marion Berry (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	71%
2 Vic Snyder (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14%
3 John Boozman (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
4 Mike Ross (D)	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	71%
■ California								
1 Mike Thompson (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
2 Wally Henger (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
3 Dan Lungren (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
4 John Doanville (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
5 Doris Matsui (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
6 Lynn Woolsey (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
7 George Miller (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
8 Nancy Pelosi (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
9 Barbara Lee (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
10 Ellen Tauscher (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
11 Richard Pombo (R)	-	+	+	+	no	no	-	37%
12 Tom Lantos (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
13 Fortney Stark (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%

HOUSE VOTES

14	Ron Paul (R)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
15	Ruben Himpfusa (D)	-	+	-	-	+	+	67%
16	Silvestre Reyes (D)	-	-	-	-	+	-	14%
17	Chet Edwards (D)	-	+	+	+	+	+	83%
18	Sheila Jackson Lee (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
19	Randy Neugebauer (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
20	Charles Gonzalez (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
21	Lamar Smith (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
22	Tom DeLay (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
23	Denny Bonilla (R)	-	-	-	-	+	+	83%
24	Kenny Marchant (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
25	Lloyd Doggett (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
26	Michael Burgess (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
27	Solomon Ortiz (D)	-	-	-	-	+	+	50%
28	Henry Cuellar (D)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
29	Gene Green (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
30	Eddie Bernice Johnson (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
31	John Carter (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
32	Pete Sessions (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
##	Utah	1	2	3	4	5	6	Score
1	Rob Bishop (R)	-	-	-	+	+	+	83%
2	Jim Matheson (D)	-	+	+	+	+	+	50%
3	Chris Cannon (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
##	Vermont	1	2	3	4	5	6	Score
	Bernard Sanders (I)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
##	Virginia	1	2	3	4	5	6	Score
1	Jo Ann Davis (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
2	Theunis Drake (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
3	Bobby Scott (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
4	Randy Forbes (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
5	Viggo Goode (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%
6	Bob Goodlatte (R)	+	+	+	+	+	+	100%

7	Eric Cantor (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	100%
8	James Moran (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
9	Rick Boucher (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	28%
10	Frank Wolf (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	100%
11	Thomas Davis (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	71%
■	Washington	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 Score
1	Jay Inslee (D)	-	-	nv	-	-	-	0%
2	Rick Larsen (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
3	Brian Baird (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
4	Dan Hastings (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	85%
5	Cathy McMorris (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	100%
6	Norm Dicks (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
7	Jim McDermott (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
8	Dave Reichert (R)	-	*	*	*	*	*	71%
9	Adam Smith (D)	nv	-	-	-	-	-	0%
■	West Virginia	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 Score
1	Alan Mollohan (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	57%
2	Shelley Moore Capito (R)	-	*	*	*	*	*	57%
3	Nick Rahall (D)	*	*	*	*	*	*	85%
■	Wisconsin	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 Score
1	Paul Ryan (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	85%
2	Tammy Baldwin (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
3	Ron Kind (D)	-	-	nv	-	-	-	0%
4	Gwen Moore (D)	-	-	-	-	-	-	0%
5	K. James Sensenbrenner (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	85%
6	Thomas Petri (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	85%
7	David Obey (D)	-	-	-	-	*	*	34%
8	Mark Green (R)	*	*	*	-	nv	nv	57%
■	Wyoming	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 Score
1	Barbara Cubin (R)	*	*	*	*	*	*	100%

SCORECARD LEGEND

- + Voted With FRC Action and Focus Action Position
 - Voted Against FRC Action and Focus Action Position
 - + Voted With FRC Action and Focus Action Position on All Votes
- NY** Did Not Vote
- P** Voted Present
- I** Not in Office
- S** Speaker Did Not Vote
- *** Absent for Family Emergency

HOUSE MEMBERSHIP CHANGES DURING THIS SESSION

- Brian Bilbray (R-CA)
 - Elected June 6, 2006
- Mark Foley (R-FL)
 - Resigned September 29, 2006
- Randy Cunningham (R-CA)
 - Resigned November 28, 2005
- Tom DeLay (R-TX)
 - Resigned June 9, 2006

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