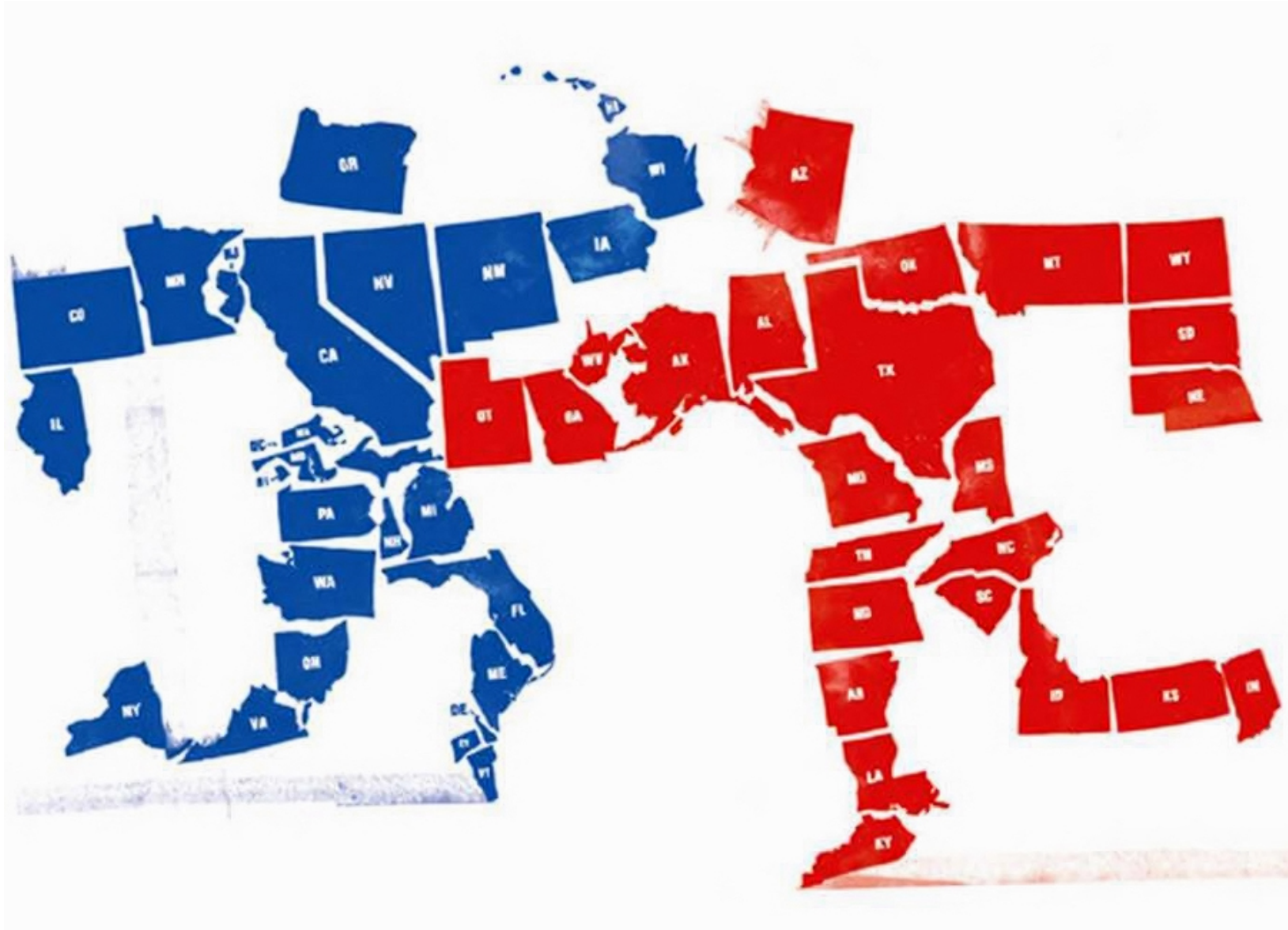
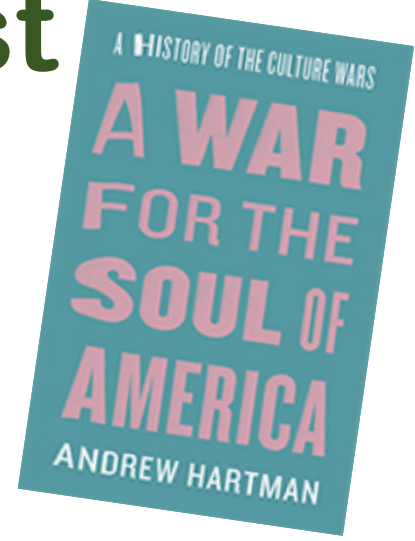


# Culture Wars in America



# Culture War Issues: Hartman's List

- Abortion
- Affirmative Action
- Art
- Censorship
- Evolution
- Family values
- Feminism
- Homosexuality
- Intelligence Testing
- Media
- Multiculturalism
- National History Standards
- Pornography
- School Prayer
- Sex Education
- The Western Cannon



# Big ??? Do We Continue to Follow the Moral and Social Standards of the 1950's?







# Challenges to Tradition



- Permissive Attitudes & Behaviors of the '60's
- Supreme Court Decisions
- Activists for Women's Rights
- Activists for Gay Rights







# Defense of Tradition

Patrick J. Buchanan, Republican National Convention, 1992

“My friends, this election is about much more than who gets what. It is about who we are. It is about what we believe. It is about what we stand for as Americans. There is a religious war going on in our country for the soul of America. It is a cultural war, as critical to the kind of nation we will one day be as was the Cold War itself.”

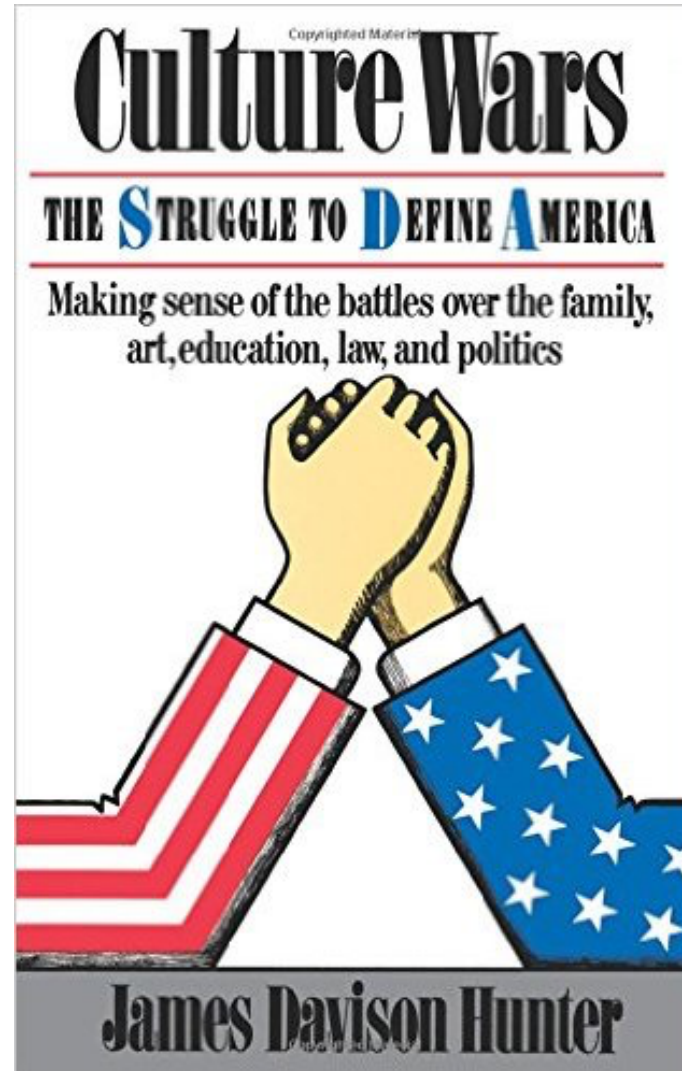
# Orthodox

**Moral Values and Social Institutions are permanent.**

vs.

# Progressives

**Moral Values and Social Institutions are subject to modification to meet the needs of individuals and societies.**



# Orthodoxy

James Davison Hunter

“Orthodoxy ...is the commitment on the part of adherents to an external, definable and transcendent authority (which) defines a consistent unchangeable measure of value, purpose, goodness and identity, both personal and collective. It tells us what is good, what is true, how we should live and who we are. **It is an authority that is good for all time.**”





# Progressivism



“Within cultural progressivism, moral authority tends to be defined by the spirit of the modern age, a spirit of rationalism and subjectivism...truth tends to be viewed as a process, as a reality that is ever unfolding.

“Traditional sources of moral authority, whether scripture, papal pronouncements or Jewish law no longer have an exclusive or even a predominant binding power. **Rather the binding moral authority tends to reside in personal experience or scientific rationality, or either of these in conversation with particular religious or cultural traditions.**”

*James Davison Hunter*

# Basic Values

## Orthodox

- Human life begins at conception
- Males and females play different roles
- Nuclear family is the natural form of family structure. Parents have an inviolable right to raise children in their own religious and moral tradition

## Progressives

- Personhood begins at or close to moment of birth
- Male and female differences only physical, and other perceived differences are human constructions created by culture and institutions Human sexuality is based on biological need, and homosexuality is legitimate in the context of a loving and caring relationship
- Marriage and family structures vary over time to meet needs and historical circumstances

# Evangelicals

As summarized in the PBS documentary History of the Religious Right

## Evangelicals

- have experienced a direct and personal experience of salvation (Born Again)
- believe that the Bible is the inspired and infallible word of God
- believe that their mission is to convert others to their faith



# Early Separation of Religion & Politics

Jerry Falwell in PBS documentary “With God on Our Side” explained that



when he was in college, he was told that religion and politics don't mix. If religion met spiritual needs, politics would take care of itself.

(As we know, he later changed his mind.)

# Scopes Trial - 1925

## (Scopes Monkey Trial)

Humiliation suffered by Fundamentalists in the Scope's Trial had them step back from political engagement.



Clarence Darrow defending Scopes



Legendary defense lawyer Clarence Darrow faces off against William Jennings Bryan in the Dayton, Tennessee trial of schoolteacher John Scopes. Bryan died in Dayton five days after the trial ended.

# Re-engagement of Evangelicals: Worry about a Catholic President



President Kennedy  
with Jean Kennedy Smith  
and Archbishop of Boston  
Richard Cardinal Cushing



# JFK's 1960 speech to Houston Association of Protestant Ministers



For contrary to common newspaper usage, I am not the Catholic candidate for president. I am the Democratic Party's candidate for president, who happens also to be a Catholic. I do not speak for my church on public matters, and the church does not speak for me.

Whatever issue may come before me as president — on birth control, divorce, censorship, gambling or any other subject — I will make my decision in accordance with these views, in accordance with what my conscience tells me to be the national interest, and without regard to outside religious pressures or dictates. And no power or threat of punishment could cause me to decide otherwise.

# 1970's: **Religious Right Gets Active**

Evangelical Billy Graham gave support to Richard Nixon by letting Nixon appear at his revival meetings



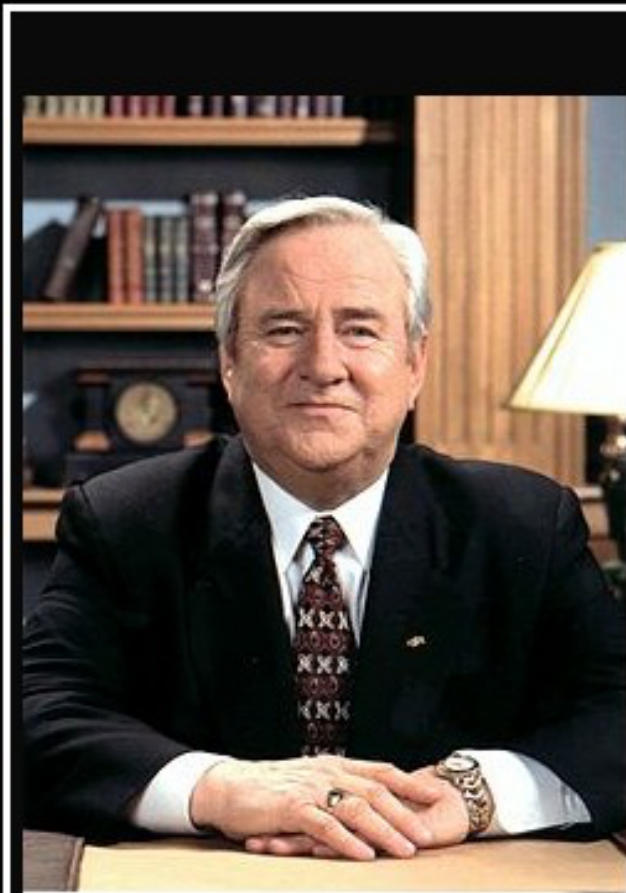
# 1979: Jerry Falwell Founds the Moral Majority





# 1980: Falwell no longer avoids mixing Religion & Politics

Mobilizing hundreds of thousands of voters it helped elect Ronald Reagan



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

(Jerry Falwell)

[izquotes.com](http://izquotes.com)

# Strong Uptick of Religious Political Activism

- Moral Issues: abortion and school prayer
- Threats to tax exempt status of schools and universities run by religious organizations
- Recruitment by secular political strategists of the Republican Party

# Francis Schaeffer & C. Everett Koop Urge Involvement on Moral Issues



**Francis Schaeffer, Evangelical Christian Theologian**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U2P34hMzFdo>



**C. Everett Koop, Pediatric Surgeon**

# Need for Political Activism



- “Sixty years ago could we have imagined that unborn children would be killed by the millions here in our own country? Or that we would have no freedom of speech when it comes to speaking of God and biblical truth in our public schools? Or that every form of sexual perversion would be promoted by the entertainment media? Or that marriage, raising children and family life would be objects of attack? Sadly we must say that very few Christians have understood the battle that we are in. Very few have taken a strong and courageous stand against the world spirit of this age as it destroys our culture and the Christian ethos that once shaped our country.”

*Francis Schaeffer*

# IRS Goes After Bob Jones University



1976





# Importance of IRS Issue

“What galvanized the Christian community was not abortion, school prayer or the ERA...I am living witness to that because I was trying to get those people interested in those issues and I utterly failed. What changed their mind was Jimmy Carter’s intervention against the Christian schools, trying to deny them tax exempt status on the basis of so-called de facto segregation.”

*Paul Weyrich*

# A Critical Meeting: 1979

## Paul Weyrich & Jerry Falwell

As described by William Martin, Weyrich began by saying;

“Out there is what one might call a **moral majority**—people who would agree on principles based on the Decalogue (the Ten Commandments) for example—but they have been separated by geographical and denominational differences and that has caused them to vote differently. The key to any kind of political impact is to get these people united in some way so they can see they are battling the same thing and need to be unified.”

# Ronald Reagan: A Disappointment to The Religious Right



# Reverend Pat Robertson

## Candidate for President, 1988



# Evangelicals in 2016 Election

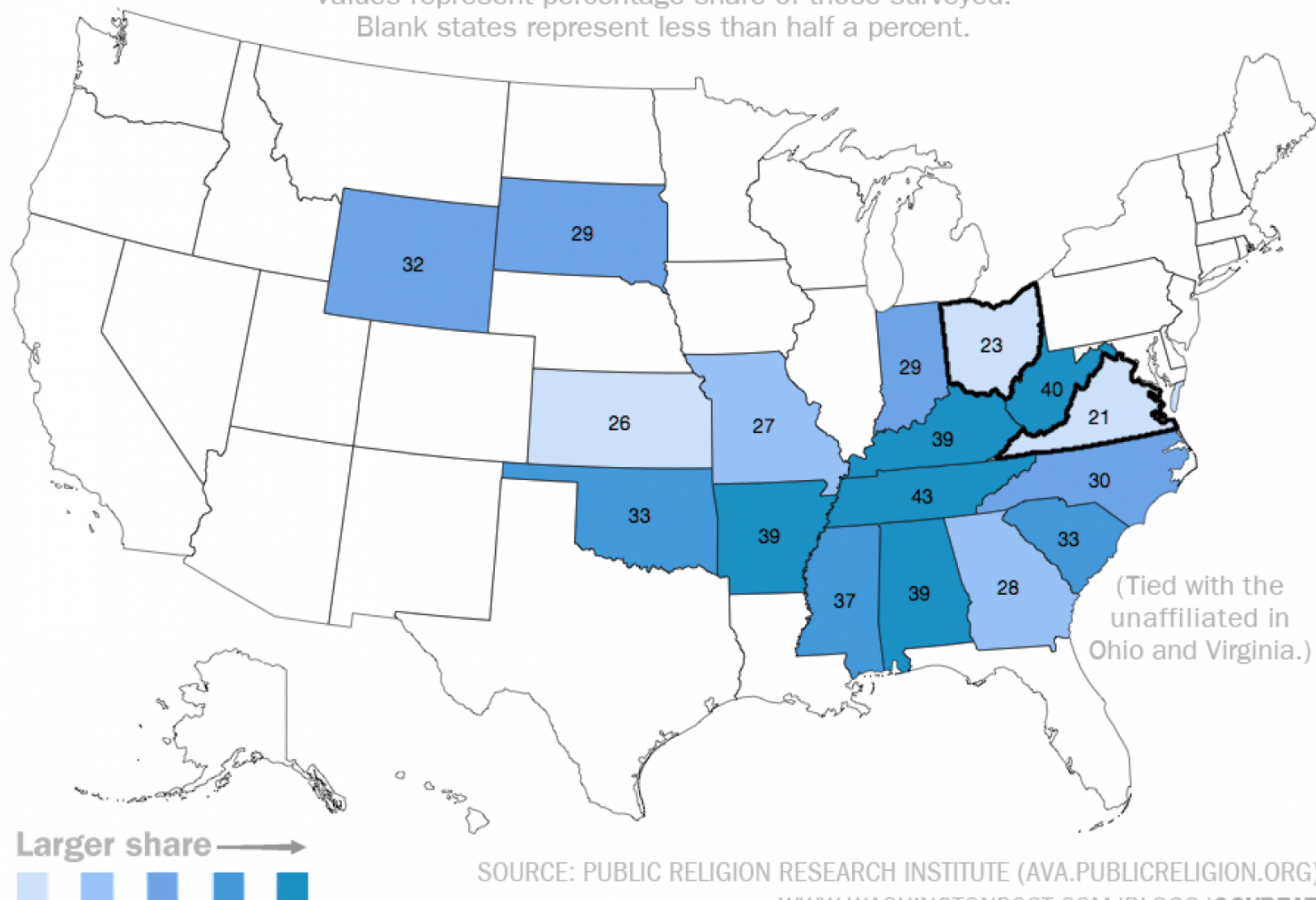


- In the 2016 Presidential election 26% of those who voted self identified as white, born again evangelicals.
- 81% voted for Trump, somewhat higher than the 74-78% who voted for Bush, McCain and Romney.



# White evangelical Protestants (17 states)

Values represent percentage share of those surveyed.  
Blank states represent less than half a percent.



SOURCE: PUBLIC RELIGION RESEARCH INSTITUTE (AVA.PUBLICRELIGION.ORG)  
WWW.WASHINGTONPOST.COM/BLOGS/GOVBEAT

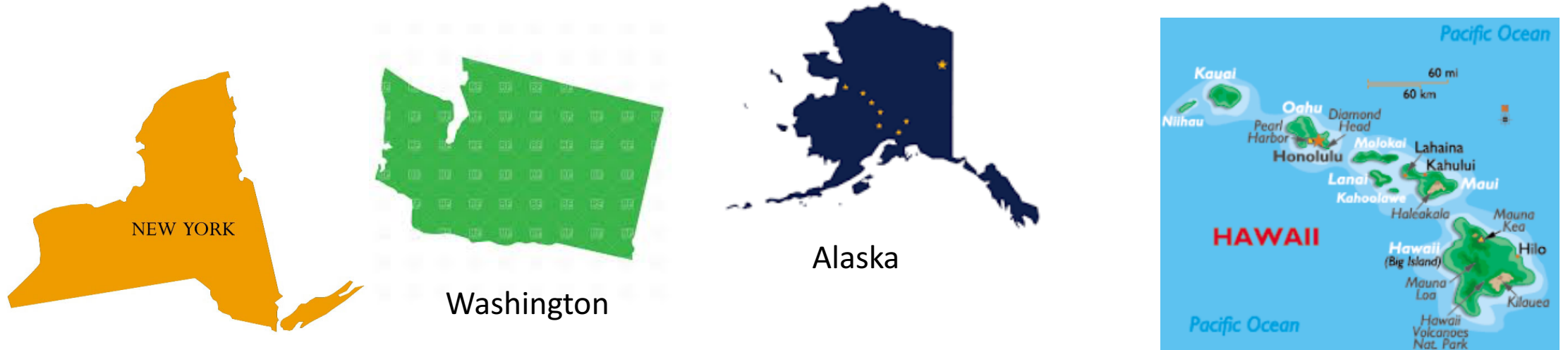
# Culture Wars: Abortion



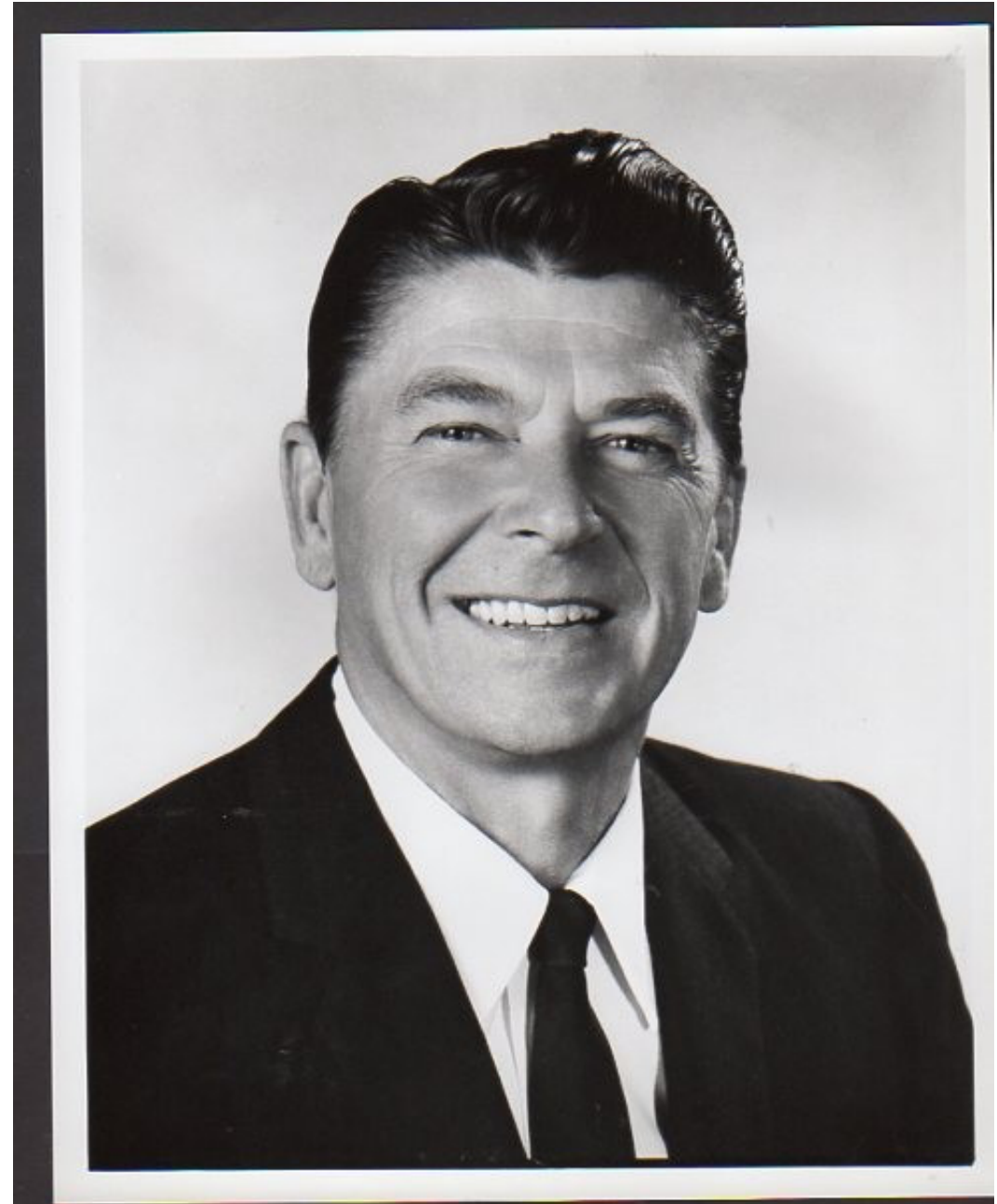
# Before Roe

- **1960** – All states banned abortion except to save mother's life
- **1973** – Fourteen states – liberalization of law

Four of the states allowed abortion without restriction in early stages



# Reagan's Big Regret



# Roe v. Wade 1973



The Supreme Court establishes a constitutionally protected zone of privacy for individual decisions on reproduction.



# Griswold v. Connecticut 1965



Ban on birth control violates married couple's right to privacy.

Estelle Griswold standing outside the Planned Parenthood clinic in April 1963, which was closed pending a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court regarding a Connecticut state law forbidding the sale or use of Contraceptives.



# Justice William O. Douglas

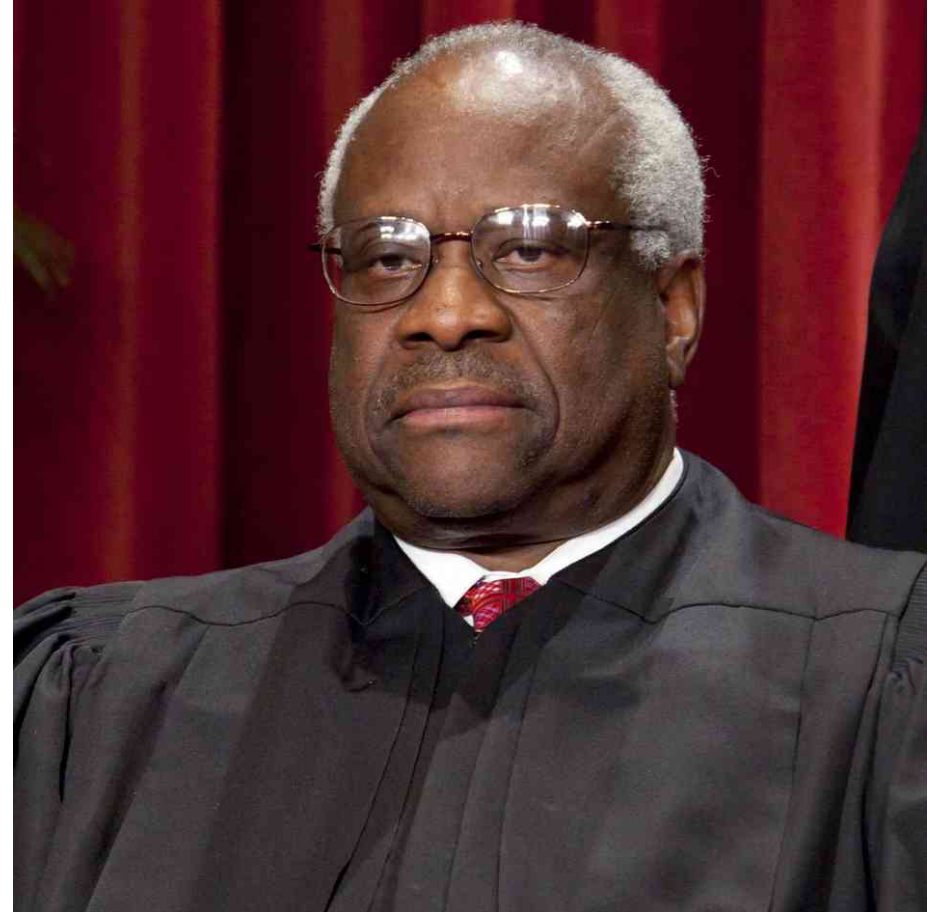
“The foregoing cases suggest that specific guarantees in the Bill of Rights have penumbras, formed by emanations from those guarantees that help give them life and substance. Various guarantees create zones of privacy.”

*Decision: Griswold v. Connecticut*



# Justice Clarence Thomas

**“Please do not emanate into the penumbra.”**



# Right of Privacy for Marital Activities

- We deal with a right of privacy older than the Bill of Rights -- older than our political parties, older than our school system. Marriage is a coming together for better or for worse, hopefully enduring, and intimate to the degree of being sacred. It is an association that promotes a way of life, not causes; a harmony in living, not political faiths; a bilateral loyalty, not commercial or social projects. Yet it is an association for as noble a purpose as any involved in our prior decisions.”

*Justice William O. Douglas*

# Justice Douglas Did Enjoy Marriage

Justice Douglas' fourth marriage  
at age 67 to 23-year-old Cathleen Heffernan





# Zone of Privacy Extended to Unmarried Couples

“If, under *Griswold*, the distribution of contraceptives to married persons cannot be prohibited, a ban on distribution to unmarried persons would be equally impermissible.... If the right of privacy means anything, it is the right of the individual, married or single, to be free from unwarranted governmental intrusion into matters so fundamentally affecting a person as the decision whether to bear or beget a child.”

*Justice William Brennan*

Eisenstadt v. Baird, 1972



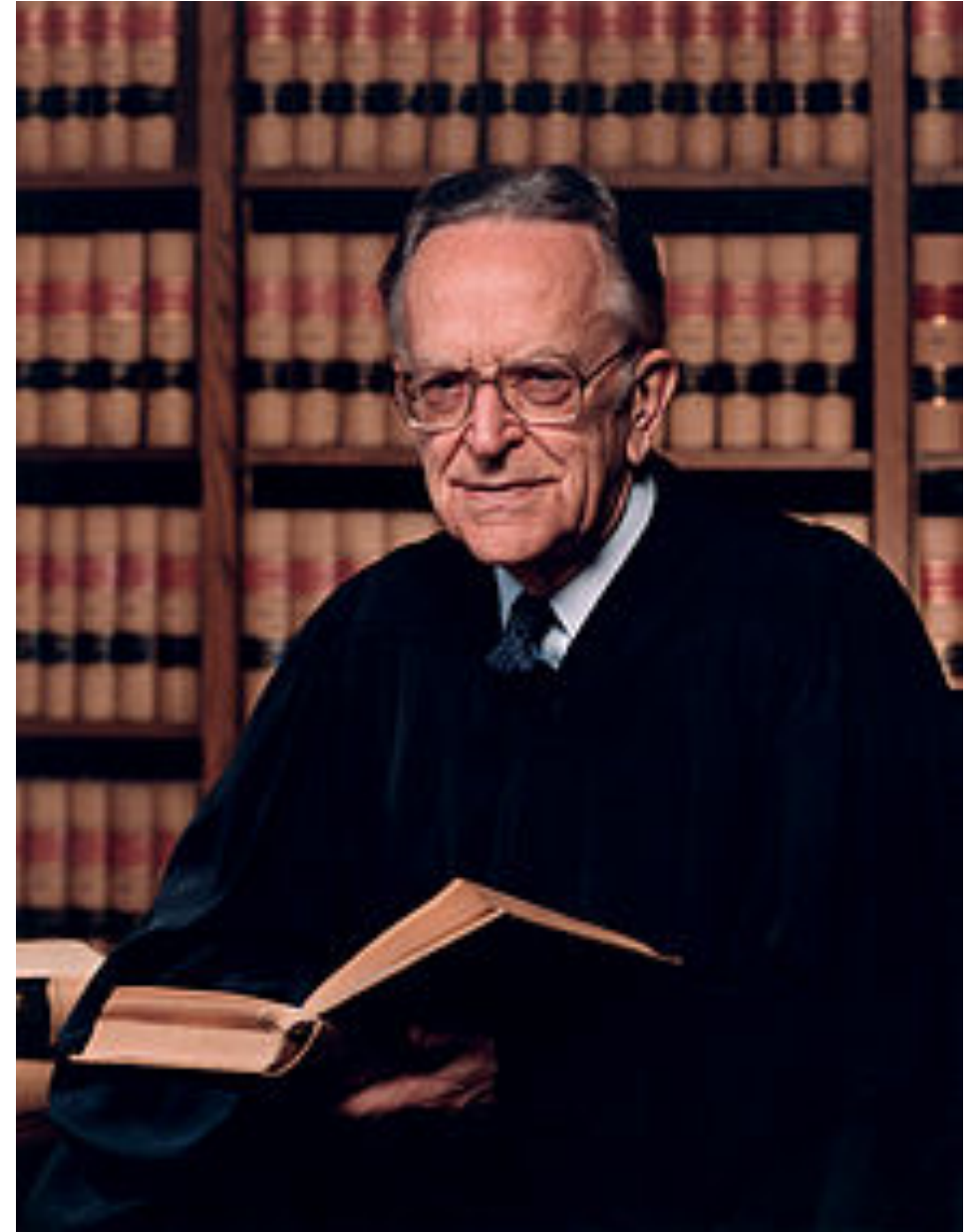
# Norma McCorvey (Jane Roe)



“I’m Norma McCorvey, the former Jane Roe of the Roe vs. Wade decision that brought ‘legal’ child killing to America. I was persuaded by feminist attorneys to lie; to say that I was raped, and needed an abortion. It was all a lie. Since then, over 50 million babies have been murdered. I will take this burden to my grave.”

# Justice Harry Blackmun

“The right of privacy (established in Griswold and Eisenstadt)... founded in the Fourteenth Amendment's concept of personal liberty and restrictions upon state action..., is broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy. The detriment that the State would impose upon the pregnant woman by denying this choice altogether is apparent. “



# Right of States to Regulate Abortions Under Roe

- **First Trimester** – No regulations



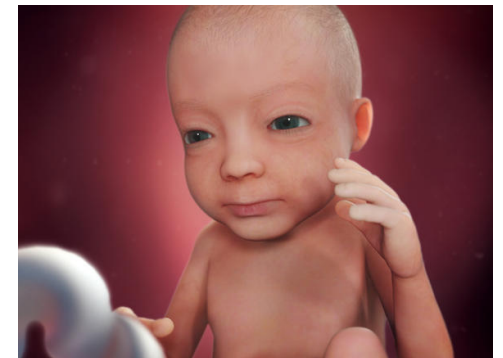
6 weeks

- **Second Trimester** – Regulations to protect health of mother



12 weeks

- **Third Trimester** -- State may ban abortions except when needed to preserve life or health of the mother



28 weeks



# Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg

Justice Ginsburg thinks that the decision in Roe was damaging to the cause of abortion rights, which she supports.

By issuing a broad, nationwide decision, they provided a great target around which conservatives could mobilize.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts\\_law/the-forgotten-history-of-justice-ginsburgs-criticism-of-roe-v-wade/2016/03/01/9ba0ea2e-dfe8-11e5-9c36-e1902f6b6571\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.aa3682f1dbbe](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/the-forgotten-history-of-justice-ginsburgs-criticism-of-roe-v-wade/2016/03/01/9ba0ea2e-dfe8-11e5-9c36-e1902f6b6571_story.html?utm_term=.aa3682f1dbbe)





# Examples of State Restriction on Abortion

- 37 states require some degree of parental consent for minors
- 17 states require counseling before an abortion, including discussion of the purported link between abortion and breast cancer (5 states), the ability of a fetus to feel pain (12 states) and the long term mental health consequences for the woman (9states)
- 27 states require a waiting period, usually 24 hours between counseling and the procedure
- 12 states require that ultrasound pictures be shown to a woman seeking an abortion

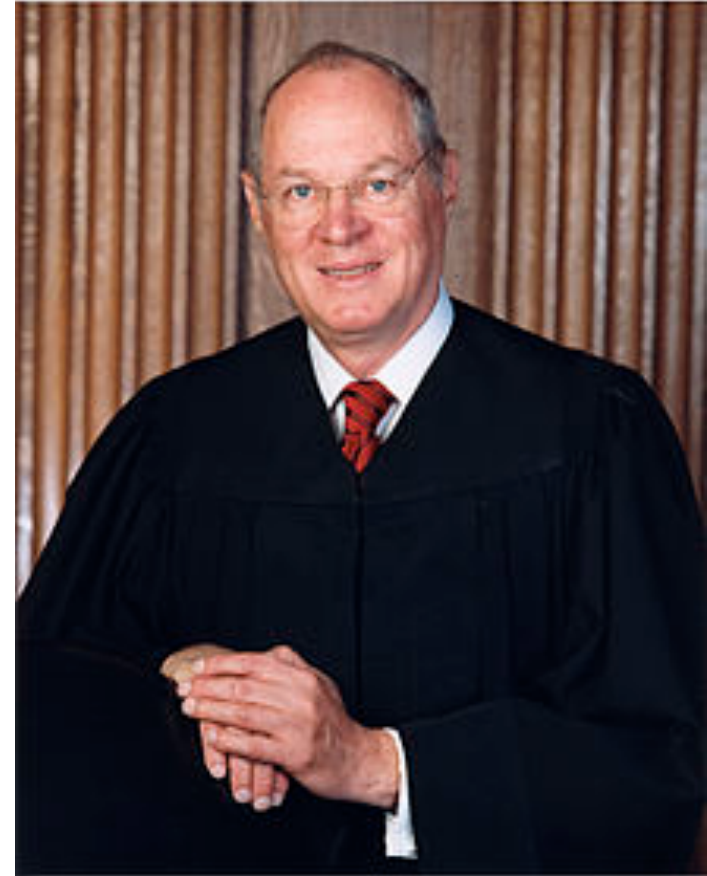
# Casey Decision Restricts Roe 1992



**Sandra Day O'Connor**



**David Souter**



**Anthony Kennedy**

# New Standards Developed in Casey

## Roe

**1st Trimester:** No restrictions

**2nd Trimester:** Only restrictions needed to protect maternal health

## Casey

**1st & 2nd Trimesters (Pre-viability):**

Restrictions to protect maternal health and potential human life of fetus.

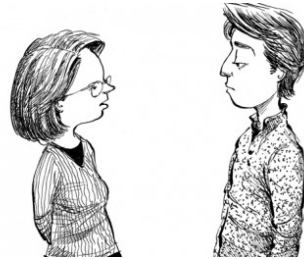
Restrictions may not place a “substantial obstacle” in the path of a woman seeking an abortion.

# Restrictions Considered in Casey

- Mandatory counseling of woman seeking abortion



- Spouse required to be notified of possible abortion



- Parental consent required for minors seeking abortion



# Whole Woman's Health v. Hellerstein, 2016

The Supreme Court overturned a Texas law which

- Required abortion clinics to meet standards for ambulatory surgical centers
- Required doctors performing abortions to have admitting privileges at a nearby hospital



# Justice Stephen Breyer



“We conclude that neither of these provisions offers medical benefits sufficient to justify the burdens upon access that each imposes. Each places a substantial obstacle in the path of women seeking a pre-viability abortion, each constitutes an undue burden on abortion access, and each violates the federal Constitution.”

*Breyer, Hellerstein Opinion*

# Hyde Amendment 1976



SEC. 1. None of the funds appropriated in this Act, shall be expended for any abortion.

SEC. 2. The limitations established in the preceding section shall not apply to an abortion— (1) if the pregnancy is the result of an act of rape or incest; or (2) in the case where a woman suffers from a physical disorder, physical injury, or physical illness... that would, as certified by a physician, place the woman in danger of death unless an abortion is performed.

# Limits of Obama-Care Insurance



- States are free to prohibit Obama-Care Insurance from covering abortions.
- If states do allow abortion coverage beyond Hyde limits the coverage must be in a separate policy which will not be supported by Federal funding.