

## **A study of religious organizations' involvement in American politics**

A case study of conservative, religious organizations' presented involvement in politics, and the motivation prompting this involvement, as presented in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008, through the electronic media and the organizations' own statements about their involvement.

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**Foreword:**

This master's thesis aims to study the relationship between conservative, religious organizations and their involvement in American politics in the United States of America. Specifically how these organizations presented their involvement in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008 through the electronic media, and what motivation and mobilization strategies this presentation indicates. This thesis in administration and organization theory was written in relation with the Department of Administration and Organization Theory at the University of Bergen. I would like to thank Professor Thorvald Gran and Associate Professor Thor Øivind Jensen for their support, invaluable advice and feedback throughout the master's thesis process. I would also like to thank my fellow students from the research group Politics, Governance & Innovation at the Department of Administration and Organization Theory for their essential feedback and advice. I would also like to thank Jenny Tyree, John Focus and Glenn T. Stanton from Focus on the Family who allowed me to interview them for this thesis. Finally, I would like to thank my family, friends and my husband Bjarte for their patience and immense support while I worked on this thesis.

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## **1.0 Introduction**

### 1.1 Focus and Background

This thesis will focus on the involvement of conservative, right-wing, religious organizations in American politics; specifically their involvement in the Proposition 8 vote in California in 2008, as it was presented by these organizations through the electronic media. Proposition 8 was a ballot proposal that aimed to add a new section to California's state constitution. It proposed that *"Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California"* (California Courts, 2009). This spurred on a campaign war that engaged people from all over the United States, not only California. There were two active blocs involved in Proposition 8, those who supported Proposition 8 and those who opposed it, I will refer to the conservative, religious organizations involved in the 'Yes to Proposition 8' campaign as the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations. I wish to look at how the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations presented their involvement to further understand their motivation for supporting Proposition 8 and the mobilization strategies they wielded in order to ensure passage of the ballot proposal. I will attempt to study their involvement in Proposition 8 by analyzing articles released by the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations, looking specifically at what arguments and rhetoric these organizations chose to use in their political mobilization efforts in an attempt to grasp their stated motivation. I will also carry out an in-depth case study of one organization, interviewing them in order to discover and understand their stated motivation for their involvement and mobilization strategy in Proposition 8. The reason for this approach is that while I can only speculate on the religious organizations' motivation for their involvement in Proposition 8; an interview will give me a stated motivation, which comes directly from the source. I believe that these two approaches juxtaposed each other will give an interesting view and perspective of the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations' involvement in Proposition 8.

Proposition 8 seemed to address a value and culture issue that the entire American populace felt strongly about, and the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations were propelled into action by a belief of *"as goes California, so goes the Nation"* (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 19). Not only did this single issue mobilize a vast majority beyond California's borders, it also brought in enormous amounts of monetary support *"far exceeding the amount ever spent on any state ballot measure campaign"* (The UCSF Student Newspaper, 2009). The Los Angeles Times reported that those opposed to Proposition 8 raised US\$ 44,103,525 and those who favored Proposition 8 raised US\$ 38,766,260 (LA Times, 2009). Clearly this is a law proposal that engaged much of the American populace,

making it a compelling case to study and to try to understand. In a country with a population of 308,745,538, the fact that an issue is so salient that it captures the attention and efforts of such a huge part of the populace is quite astounding and intriguing (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). I have chosen to study this political nonpareil, due to the fact that Proposition 8 engaged so many people in the United States and created a political conflict ripe with religious and cultural preferences.

I hope to study the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations’ involvement, their political mobilization efforts and their motivation for this involvement, as they present it in the electronic media. My hypothesis is that the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations became involved in this case because they believed that only through passage of the bill would one preserve freedom and essential values in the USA. This thought stems from an idea that the United States was founded on Christian values which have formed the United State’s cultural preferences, and that the erosion of these ideals and values will ultimately lead to moral and political decline of the United States, a prospect which many find horrifying. My findings will show whether or not this hypothesis is sound.

American politics is an extensive field, and I will not attempt to explain all aspects of religion in American politics. But I am interested in looking at how the conservative, religious, right-wing organizations have involved themselves in American politics, and how this has affected American politics. Yet as a master's thesis has a limited scope-capacity, I have chosen to primarily focus on the religious, conservative organizations’ stated involvement and political mobilization efforts surrounding the Proposition 8 vote in California, specifically how they themselves present their actions, and which arguments they chose to wield to justify their involvement and mobilize others to join their action. I hope to explore these aspects using cultural politics theory, identity theory, and rhetorical theory.

Religious and political culture and identity are pivotal due to the immense mobilization power these can wield. Culture and religion in many ways socializes people within the society they are situated, and through that influences and forms their identities and values. Identification in turn, indicates what social group or organization individuals feel obligated or loyal to; and therefore identity in a sense steers people’s involvement in politics, especially in America where the political issues are so polarized and personal. Finally, values are crucial in that they are personal and important to people and thus incredibly effective as a means to mobilize people. I will not study the effect of these mobilization efforts, rather how the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations attempt to mobilize the voters. I will look at the cultural preferences and argumentation these organizations present or use in their attempts to

politically mobilize the voters. I hope this will give insight into why the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations were motivated to get involved in passing the bill, and how they choose to present this in the electronic media.

In the aftermath of George W. Bush’s victory in the 2000 Presidential election, there has been a growing focus of the impact of religion on politics in the United States, and thus the interest among scholars to study the role and involvement of religion in American politics has grown, and I contend that my study of the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations’ actions in the Proposition 8 vote is relevant to the field. There have been a number of books and surveys addressing the role of religion, religious values and religious identity in U.S. politics, and I wish to present some of them here to show the growing interest in the field. These studies have varied in focus, but they seem to derive from an interest in understanding why and how religion has impacted politicians, voters, elections and the political system; specifically how the conservative, religious, right-wing organizations have grown to impact American politics. The relationship between religion and politics in the United States seems to interest people with different backgrounds: students of political science, sociology and other fields, as well as politicians and journalist. I hope that my study will be an interesting contribution to the field. Here are some studies done in the field.

One study, “American Piety in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: New Insight to the Depth and Complexity of Religion in the US”, was carried out by the Baylor Institute for Studies of Religion in September of 2005. This study was based on ‘The Baylor Religion Survey’ carried out by the Gallup Organization. It surveyed the American people’s religious affiliations and beliefs, looking in depth at people’s identification and values linked to religion. The survey asked, among other things, what denomination people identified with or were associated with; and their views on certain issues, such as abortion and the war on Iraq (Association of Religion Data Archives, 2005).

Another book written on the topic of religion and politics is *The Diminishing Divide, Religion’s Changing Role in American Politics*, written by Andrew Kohut, John C. Green, Scott Keeter and Robert C. Toth. They explore the ‘diminishing divide’ between church and state, extensively leaning on survey data from the Pew Research Center and National Election Studies. The book states how pivotal religion has become in American politics:

*“Although public acceptance of religion’s role in the political process has increased since the 1960s, the issue of how much political power certain religious groups enjoy continues to provoke concern [...] the role of religion in politics today is more direct [...] Now, parishioners’ shared beliefs and values are seemingly marshaled directly into political action by clergy, active laity, and*

*specialized political groups, from the Christian Coalition to The Interfaith Alliance: religion thus plays a crucial role in shaping today's political landscape. It is a growing force in the way Americans think about candidates and issues, as well as in politics itself"* (Kohut, Green, Keeter, Toth, 2000: 4,6).

This study is vital because it describes the view of religion and politics from the American context and culture, showing how these elements are interconnected and dependent on each other. This might indicate that religious organizations have become more powerful and thus have become more involved in politics.

Frank Lambert carried out a third study, *Religion in American Politics, A Short History*, where Lambert looks at the rise of the Religious Right (referring to conservative, Christian, Right-wing organizations) in America. He specifically looks at the Moral Majority and their impact on people's values and political actions and the Religious Right's growing mobilization efforts. He explores the divide between the right-wing and the left-wing,

*"While divisions within American religious life have a long history, a new chasm opened in the second half of the twentieth century. Theological and ethnic differences receded in importance while a gap between liberals and conservatives surfaces that exposed distinctions in basic values"* (Lambert, 2008: 192).

This is interesting as it explains the growth of Christian, conservative organizations in the right-wing of American politics, and how they have gained a foothold in the American society.

These studies on religion and politics in America are only three of many studies in the field. Therefore I contend that my study is relevant, as it may contribute to a field that engages and interests many different people, but also because America is a powerful actor in our international world and it is important to understand the dynamics and inner workings of American politics, in this case: the role of religious organizations in American politics.

I chose Proposition 8 specifically as a case because it is one of the most publicized cases concerning religion's role in politics in America. It is the most extensive ballot measure campaign in California's history; *"Approximately \$80 million was poured into both campaigns, far exceeding the amount ever spent on any state ballot measure campaign"* (The UCSF Student Newspaper, 2009). Another reason I chose this case, was that it involved and engaged people from all over America, not only the Californian voters. *"The stakes of the ballot drive to forbid same-sex marriage reach far beyond California's geographic and political borders in what has emerged as another chapter in America's culture wars"* (The Guardian, 2009). Thus it is an interesting case that might give an indication of religion's potential political involvement and mobilization efforts in America as a whole, not only in California.



**2.0 Research Question:**

How did the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations present their involvement in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008 through the electronic media, what motivation and mobilization strategies does this presentation indicate?

*A case study of conservative, right-wing, religious organizations’ presented involvement in politics, and the motivation prompting this involvement, as presented in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008, through the electronic media and the organizations’ own statements about their involvement.*

### **3.0 Theory and Key Definitions:**

#### 3.1 Definitions

In order to fully be able to research this field, there has to be a clear understanding of the definitions of key phrases. Thus I will attempt to define these three key phrases: 'political mobilization', 'culture' and 'identity'.

##### 3.1.1 Political mobilization:

Birgitta Nedelmann defines political mobilization as *"the actors' attempt to influence the existing distribution of power"* (European Sociological Review, 1987). Mobilization in itself refers to three processes: interest formation, community building and employment of means of actions (European Sociological Review, 1987). There are also different types of mobilization, both vertical and horizontal. These differ in that the vertical mobilization are mobilizations that either evolve over time (historical mobilization), grow from a populist movement (grassroots mobilization) or spur from the ideal-democratic model of mobilization; while horizontal mobilization is the possibility of internal processes of mobilization occurring between individual actors and parties (European Sociological Review, 1987). Thus political mobilization in many ways is actively using one's influence to gain more power for one's interests. If the 'No to Proposition 8' organizations refer to cultural preferences and identities to set an issue of interest on its agenda, and are able to build support for this issue by recruiting people who identify with their beliefs, values or culture and are willing to act politically to front this interest, then they are politically mobilizing these people for their own interests.

Identity is key and vital for political mobilization efforts, because if people identify with ones organization or cause, they are more likely to be mobilized and willing to become personally involved, although this is not always the case. Wald and Calhoun-Brown look at this aspect of political mobilization:

*"At the national level, political parties have attempted to politicize and take partisan advantage of cultural and religious tensions produced by issues such as homosexuality. Homosexuality is easy to politicize because it is highly salient, requires little additional information, taps into deeply held values, and, as a result, mobilizes preexisting social groups"* (Wald, Calhoun-Brown, 2007: 341).

This quote shows how group identity to an issue, like homosexuality, creates a highly salient cultural or personal preference that might make it easier to persuade people to get involved in a case.

##### 3.1.2 Identity:

In order for political mobilization to occur, people must identify with a state or organization's agenda, values, identity and actions, or identify for a cause or against a perceived threat. Thus for the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations to be able to politically mobilize the American

populace or Californian voters, they must persuade them to identify enough with their beliefs, values, or cause, to actively support Proposition 8. Alternatively they must persuade the voters to perceive the altering of cultural preferences they identify with as a threat, in this context that the altering of the institution of marriage is sufficiently negative to warrant action. Thus I contend that identity or identification with a cause or against a perceived threat is a key force and tool in political mobilization. The mobilization efforts would be redundant if it did not persuade the populace to identify with the cause or against the conflicting cause. Thus I believe the identity is a given, in every effective mobilization effort, as people must to some extent feel that the case somehow affects them or their preferred values in society.

Wald and Calhoun-Brown describe their view of the role of identity:

*“People who identify with different social groups often have different, deeply held perspectives not only on how they should live but also on the scope of the political community and its purposes. They have a sense of legitimate moral order, and they expect other citizens and the government to further that design. They often dislike and distrust groups with rival perspectives and they even feel that some groups have no right to participate in democratic politics, much less to have their rival’s perspective become binding on society.”* (Wald, Calhoun-Brown, 2007: 315).

Thus identity might create an ideal for individuals and groups of how the world should function both socially and politically, and thus it might propel people to get involved and act in accordance to their identification.

Manuel Castells’ views of identification with fundamentalism (conservative groups who believe that only their views are fundamental and true) are the following:

*“fundamentalism, in my own understanding, as the construction of collective identity under the identification of individual behavior and society’s institutions to the norms derived from God’s law, interpreted by a definite authority that intermediates between God and humanity”* (Castells, 2004:13). I will not focus here on whether the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations consists of fundamentalist organizations, however I am interested in seeing if they present certain elements of the Proposition 8 case as fundamental truths. If they are able to strategically use people identification with religious or conservative values, then they might be able to mobilize voters by juxtaposing this identification with a stated fundamental truth. This would create a dissonance scenario where should a voter reject that fundamental ‘truth’, he or she also to some extent would be perceived as rejecting religious or conservative values.

Identity is always dependent on context; therefore it is important to acknowledge the impact of the American Culture on the conservative, religious, right-wing organizations.

*“American Christian fundamentalism is deeply marked by the characteristics of American culture, by its familistic individualism, by its pragmatism, and by the personalized relationship to God, and to God’s design, as a methodology for solving personal problems in an increasingly unpredictable and uncontrollable life. As if the fundamental prayer were to receive from God’s mercy the restoration for the lost American Way of Life in exchange for the sinner’s commitment to repentance and Christian testimony”* (Castells, 2004:29).

In relation to Proposition 8, I hypothesize that people's identification with the American culture and the conservative, religious culture; coupled with their identification with their religious, social group to which they belong; helped the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations’ mobilization efforts. I contend that they probably are more easily mobilized due to these identities, as they ensure that the voters already feel strongly towards these salient issues.

### 3.1.3 Culture:

Yet to understand the impact of the American culture on the American identity enabling political mobilization, one must understand what culture is. Culture in many ways defines how people and objects are to interact in a society, Geertz argues that *«Culture is best seen not as a complex of concrete behavior patterns-customs, usages, traditions, habit clusters-but as a set of control mechanisms-plans, recipes, rules, instructions-for the governing of behavior»* (Leege, Wald, Krueger and Mueller, 2002:40). Thus culture defines society and its rules, and altercations to this 'natural order' may cause conflict either because people feel threatened by the new change, or because the traditional way of conducting life is perceived as the 'right' way. Culture therefore *« performs three functions: (1) it offers identity, (2) it prescribes norms for behavior, and (3) it maintains boundaries for relationships [...] culture specifies the proper way for each to behave [...] and draw boundaries that isolate unacceptable people, ideas or actions»* (Leege et al., 2002: 40, 45). Thus culture defines every social group by prescribing the correct behavior for individuals within the group, the value of groups around the particular social group and the group’s status in the surrounding world.

Thus, culture has a very strong presence in people’s lives and in society. As one is born or immersed into them, they create strong cultural preferences within social groups that individuals consciously or unconsciously carry with them. I would like to see if culture is in any way apparent in the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations’ presentation of their involvement in Proposition 8 and in their attempts to mobilize voters.

#### **4.0 Theory:**

In the book, *The Politics of Cultural Differences, Social Change and Voter Mobilization Strategies in the Post-New Deal Period*, the authors explore the theory of cultural politics' role in mobilizing voters (Leege et al., 2002). They claim that «*voters were most easily mobilized when they believed an issue touched upon basic cultural preferences [...] There are, in other words, multiple sources of cultural norms and values, and the differences among them provide fertile opportunity for political mobilization*» (Leege et al., 2002:17, 26).

I will use Cultural Politics Theory to study the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations involvement in the Proposition 8 vote in California in 2008 as they themselves present it in the electronic media. As culture creates social and cultural preferences, I contend that one will see the use of argumentation relating to cultural preferences in the conservative, religious organizations involvement in Proposition 8.

I will also look at identity theory and rhetorical theory to further study this case, as I believe that in order to understand the motivation behind the political mobilization effort in Proposition 8; one must look at the style of augmentation used in the political mobilization efforts which indicate what cultural ground and identity the organizations view and wish to present Proposition 8 from. This will in extension show how they attempt to strategically use this latent cultural identity among the populace to mount an effective campaign opposed to same-sex marriage. Thus I choose to look closer at these theories in an attempt to understand and describe the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations' presented involvement in Proposition 8.

#### **4.1 Cultural Politics Theory: Conflicts and Cultural Politics:**

Leege et al. define cultural conflicts as the following «*simply arguments (and associated behavior) about how we should live*» (Leege et al., 2002:26). In other words, culture defines society's views on how life and society should function as a whole or in specific social groups. In extension «*political conflicts warrant the label for culture conflicts when they involve disagreements about what the society should or does prescribe as the appropriate way of life*» (Leege et al., 2002:26). Therefore issues of cultural politics involve «*any political controversy that turns on conflicts about social values, norms, and symbolic community boundaries*» (Leege et al., 2002:27). In other words, the conflict the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations have with same-sex marriage is a cultural political conflict, because it is a political controversy concerning social values, norms and symbolic community boundaries. It follows then that this will effectively re-define marriage, and this present a conflict because any redefinition of 'marriage' threatens their preexisting social values, norms and culture.

Leege et al. point out how one only needs to be socialized in one culture, to find cultural political arguments compelling and legitimate, and thus cultural politics are immensely effective in political mobilization efforts. «*Cultural politics is less a set of issues than a style of argumentation that invokes fundamental social values and emphasizes group differences*» (Leege et al., 2002: 27-28). This can often be seen when politicians or organization use an 'us' versus 'them' approach to conflicts, to emphasize the fundamental differences between the two different blocs, but also the difference between what is right and wrong. As Leege et al. underline, «*cultural conflicts sometimes get cast in such a manner that they are nonbargainable. Such conflicts tax the limits of democratic discourse*» (Leege et al., 2002: 29), thus limiting debate on the conflict in question and heightening the conflict between the disagreeing parties. To further study this I will use rhetorical theory to try to see what words and argumentation the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations use in the Proposition 8 case, I hope this will show if culture and identity are wielded as the backdrop for their arguments aiming to enable voter mobilization.

As culture effectively offers an identity, norms for behavior and boundaries for relationships in people's lives, it is often very personal and important to people that this culture continues to dominate life. Any alteration to this status quo may be seen as a threat or as morally wrong. Leege et al. links this to religious societies:

*«Short of forming hermetically sealed societies and avoiding contact with the larger culture [...] it is no longer possible for traditionalists to avoid contact with social practices and norms that directly counter to their own cultural preferences. While they may minimize the challenge by various means, such as creating 'parallel culture' institutions like Christian broadcasting and Christian rock, the intrusiveness of modernizing institutions leaves them no place to hide. The open challenges to traditional values and widespread perception of the disintegration of the social order may have provided the necessary conditions that encouraged political counter mobilizations»* (Leege et al., 2002:36).

Thus it is plausible that the social groups that hold conservative, religious values and cultures will have a shared identity and view of how things ought to be. In light of this theory, it does not seem so surprising that the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations involved themselves in a battle against homosexuality, when this is seen as morally wrong and threatening to America's moral fiber. What I hope to find is how they strategically mobilize people and their motivation behind this, and hope the Cultural Politics Theory will shed some light on these aspects of their presented involvement in the Proposition 8 case.

#### 4.1.1 Context: American Religious Culture:

However, cultural politics is only understood within the context it is situated, thus to understand religion's role in American politics one must understand the American context and

culture. Specifically American culture, as it is perceived, within the conservative, religious population. Leege et al. point out that there are different 'cultures' in the different conflicting camps, and that both sides most likely deem their culture most legitimate and rational.

*Kristen Luker (1984) marvels that what separates each group is a different culture. The prochoice activists subordinate their religious views to norms of equalitarianism, individuals, and utilitarianism. The antiabortion activists, however, center their worldview on God, the afterlife, the sacredness of life even in its earliest manifestation, and the national order of the family. Neither side shows ability to comprehend the other's values or lifestyles» (Leege et al., 2002:43).*

This shows how the difference in culture in the two blocs, might make it difficult for them to understand each other and come to a compromise.

This coupled with the growth in 'liberals' has caused a fear within the right-wing religious groups that their society and way of life is under attack. To understand if and how the conservative, religious organizations might feel threatened about these changes in America's social norms and culture, one must look at the general understanding of religion's role in American society, specifically the founding of America as a nation under God (Leege et al., 2002). If one perceives the United States as a nation founded on Christian principals, then the redefinition of marriage in America would be catastrophic, as it alters the country's founding, cultural values. Some seem to believe that this erosion of cultural values will have severe consequences. Wald and Calhoun-Brown note that some religious figures seem to mean that "*embracing homosexuality violates America's covenant with God*" (Wald, Calhoun-Brown, 2007:330). An example of this is Reverend Jerry Falwell's comments on who to blame for the 9/11 attacks:

*"I really believe that the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and the lesbians who are actively trying to make that an alternative lifestyle, the ACLU, People For the American Way, all of them who have tried to secularize America. I point the finger in their face and say 'you helped this happen'" (CNN, 2011).*

#### 4.1.2 Context: religions role in society:

Another aspect to study is religion's inherent role in society as a whole, and the unity it creates within a society. Religion can be used as a legitimizing factor in politics and culture. Social and religious groups are unified by common beliefs and identity, and their actions are given a weight and legitimacy that may give them the motivation and conviction to act politically to enhance their culture, values and identity. *«People become something more than ordinary mortals when they share a sacred community. People become empowered; they develop the capacity to act in concert. Religions specify what actions to take, and religious beliefs create the obligation to act» (Leege et al., 2002: 42).* In other words, belonging to a religion creates a

community based experience, which justifies social hierarchy or differences between people, a force that strongly influences the definition of what is right and wrong.

#### 4.1.3 Culture: group socialization and identification:

Leege et al. explains the significance of this group socialization and identification:

*«Through social identification with a group, we become aware of who we are and who we are not, of how we ought to behave and what we ought not do. We build personal identity from social identity, rather than vice versa. Becoming part of a collective permits social comparison as a way of nurturing self-esteem or of contributing to a sense of unjust deprivation, both of which are important political mechanisms» (Leege et al., 2002:51-52).*

Social identity thus gives people a blueprint or system for how they should act and how society should be, and this makes it easy to react against 'different' groups or 'wrong' elements threatening to change or harm the existing order. Making it an effective tool to use in political mobilization, as one only has to call upon the existing feelings or identity connected to the social group or organization one is already part of. Thus this underlines again how prevalent identity is in any mobilization effort, as it is the key to involving and persuading people to invest in a cause, in the case: Proposition 8.

#### 4.2 Rhetorical Theory:

Yet how does one measure the role of cultural politics and identity underlying the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations' presented involvement in the Proposition 8 case? I propose that one way to do this is by using rhetorical theory to find out what argumentation and words the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations used to argue for Proposition 8, as they are found in electronic data. It will be interesting to see if their use of rhetoric shows how they chose to strategically present their involvement in Proposition 8 and their reasons for this involvement, as well as how they seem to attempt to mobilize voters to get involved in Proposition 8.

Rhetoric has been defined differently throughout history, Aristotle simply defined rhetoric as "*persuasion*", Isocrates defined rhetoric as "*the craftsman of persuasion*", Quintilian defined rhetoric as "*the science of speaking well [...] a view of rhetoric as a power, act or science that identifies right doing with right speaking*" (Burke, 1962:574-575). St.

Augustine described rhetoric as an 'inducement to action' and found that man is persuaded if:

*"he likes what you promise, fears what you say is imminent, hates what you censure, embraces what you commend, regrets whatever you built up as regrettable, rejoices at what you say is cause for rejoicing, sympathizes with those whose wretchedness your words bring before his very eyes, shuns those whom you admonish him to shun...and in whatever other ways your high eloquence can affect the minds of your hearers, bringing them not merely to know what should be done, but to do what they know should be done"* (Augustine in Burke, 1962:574).

In other words, rhetoric is when one person, organization or government wields their words and argumentation in a certain way that persuade other people, organizations or



governments to believe or act on one's claims. As persuasion involves a choice to believe or act, rhetoric is only truly persuasive if people are free. *“Only insofar as men are potentially free, must the spellbinder seek to persuade them. Insofar as they must do something, rhetoric is unnecessary,”* (Burke, 1962:574). If action is limited among those who are recipients of rhetoric, rhetoric might be used to attempt to shape and affect a person's attitude. This assumption gave way to an important distinction in the function of rhetoric described by Cicero and Augustine: *“movere”* (move) and *“flectere”* (bend) (Burke, 1962:573), this distinction being the difference between act and attitude. Therefore one might assume that should the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations fail to persuade people to involve themselves in the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ campaign, they might affect their attitude towards Proposition 8, causing them to support the campaign by approving it.

What I hope to discover in this case is what arguments, phrases and words the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations used in their campaign, unearthing the rhetoric used and discovering how these might strategically use identity, values or cultural preferences to persuade people to support Proposition 8 and describe their motivation for this action. I contend that to be able to persuade and mobilize people (attitude and action); one must persuade that person, organization or group to identify with your cause or against a common threat or strategically wield an existing identity within the population. *“You persuade a man only insofar as you can talk his language by speech, gesture, tonality, order, image, attitude, idea, identifying your ways with his. Persuasion by flattery is but a special case of persuasion in general”* (Burke, 1962: 579).

Aristotle talked of 'commonplaces' or 'topics' that might today be translated to 'values' or 'attitudes', commonplace values that an orator should display in order to persuade a person or group, in essence: *“a character needed to earn the audience's good will”* (Burke, 1962: 580). In order to persuade the audience to adopt and accept certain values and viewpoints, Aristotle claims that the orator must link some of the orator's own values and viewpoints to the audience's values and viewpoints.

*“Aristotle reviews the purposes, acts, things, conditions, state of mind, personal characteristics, and the like, which people consider promising or formidable, good or evil, useful or dangerous, admirable or loathsome, and so on. All these opinions or assumptions [...] 'attitudes' or 'values' are catalogued as available means of persuasion,”* (Burke, 1962:580).

Aristotle called this reasoning based on values, attitudes and opinion: 'enthymemes', but in modern rhetorical terms it is closer to 'syllogism'<sup>1</sup>.

Thus one might expect the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations to emphasize and use certain phrases or values that point to values and attitudes that are vital to the American people or conservative individuals in order to gain their goodwill to persuade them to adopt their attitudes and values. A few examples of rhetorical argumentation are: "*if war did it, repair it by peace*", "*you wanted it then, you should want it now*" and "*Who controls Berlin, controls Germany; who controls Germany controls Europe; who controls Europe controls the world*" (Burke, 1962:581-582). What I will attempt to find in this study is if similar phrases and rhetorical tactics were used by the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations to promote Proposition 8 and explain their involvement.

### 4.3 Identity Theory:

#### 4.3.1 Identity formation:

Castells defines identity as "*people's source of meaning and experience*" (Castells, 2004:6). He claims that identity is a stronger source of meaning than 'roles' and should not be confused with roles (such as 'smoker' or 'mother', which are defined by norms), because identity is "*a process of self-construction and individuation*" (Castells, 2004:7). In short, identity constructs meaning and meaning is often a main motivator to individual and collective action. Castells defines meaning as "*the symbolic identification by a social actor of the purpose of her/his action*" (Castells, 2004:7).

In order to use identity as a tool to enable political mobilization of the American populace, the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations would have to strategically take advantage of an existing collective identity advocating conservative, right-wing, religious values; prompting people to joined to fight for collective causes or against perceived threats. Alternatively they could add to or create a collective identity through their rhetoric and actions. Strategically one can do this by emphasizing causes or threats that play on people identities, or by emphasizing the preexisting identity. Both approaches effectively strengthen or reform that identity, or in a sense rebuilds or repackages it.

Castells lays out three forms and origins of identity building, which I will describe briefly here. First, he introduces the concept of 'Legitimizing identity', which is an identity introduced to society by dominant institutions within the society "*to extend and rationalize*

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<sup>1</sup> "*a deductive scheme of a formal argument consisting of a major and a minor premise and a conclusion (as in 'every virtue is laudable; kindness is a virtue; therefore kindness is laudable')*" (Merriam Webster Online Dictionary, 2010).

*their domination vis à vis social actors*” (Castells, 2004: 8). This is typical of nation-state, where the government as a dominant institution creates a national identity as a nation, where the social actors within the state are seen as citizen of that nation; in order to create an acceptance and legitimacy for the government’s dominance over the people of that state. The second form of identity building is ‘Resistance identity’, actors who are in a devalued or stigmatized position in society produce this identity as a reaction to the dominance of the majority in that society. *“It constructs forms of collective resistance against otherwise unbearable oppression, usually on the basis of identities that were, apparently, clearly defined by history, geography, or biology, making it easier to essentialize the boundaries of resistance”* (Castells, 2004: 9). A typical example here is the homosexual movement or religious movements, where groups that feel stigmatized or unfairly treated by the majority in society resist the majority and create a new identity. In effect: *“the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded”* (Castells, 2004: 9). The third and final form of identity building set forth by Castells is ‘Project identity’, this is where social actors *“build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by doing so; seek the transformation of overall social structure”* (Castells, 2004: 8). The typical case here is the feminist movement, where women aim to create new identities for themselves that inherently gives them new roles and a new meaning within society. These three forms of identity-building are mainly collective identity building forms, and the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations’ identity building would by definition fall into category two: resistance identity, as would the homosexual movement (Castells, 2004).

#### 4.3.2 Fundamental and religious identity

Simpson describes fundamentalism as the belief of the inerrancy of the bible, the born-again experience, expectation of Christ’s return and endorsement of Christian doctrine such as the virgin birth and the trinity (Castells, 2004). In general, the word is often used to describe conservative, religious groups who believe that only their views are fundamental and true. As mentioned earlier, I will not argue whether or not the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations are fundamentalist organizations, but I believe that it is important to note whether the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations present any ‘fundamental truths’ in their attempt to mobilize voters. One might especially argue that the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations’ view of marriage as a union between a man and women is presented as a fundamental truth, a non-negotiable fact. I wish to look closer at fundamentalist and religious identities, as these both are key definitions in understanding the conservative, religious movement. Seeing as no identity can be studied out of its context, I will here focus on American, Christian, religious and fundamental identification. I would like to emphasize that the use of fundamentalism

here is in the tradition sense: a group that emphasizes the literal interpretations of the Bible, not the contemporary perception of the word that often juxtaposes it with fanaticism.

In reference to context, it is vital to point out that the United States has a religious history; therefore it is natural that religion should play a pivotal role in both its society and its politics. It is however also prudent to point out that the United States is a country in which the 'Founding Fathers' found it necessary to 'separate church and state' (in effect separating religion and politics). The first amendment to the U.S. Constitution states "*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances*" (U.S Archives, 2011). Yet it is also worth noting that the US coins are marked with '*In God We Trust*' (The New York Times, 2002) and that the 'The Pledge of Allegiance' said by millions of American school children everyday contains the phrase "*one nation under God*" (Cornell University Law School, 2011). Yet both these phrases were added during the "*height of anti-Communist fervor; [...] to distinguish us from the godless Soviets*" (The New York Times, 2002). So it is clear that religion has a defining role in American political culture, and that it has been used as a political tool before to create an identity or political view.

Castells looks at certain traits that characterize American, conservative, religious organizations; these are among other things: being born-again (a term used to describe a personal meeting with God which results in a conversion to Christianity), a focus on the patriarchal family and religious community, and finally a fear of corruption and the outside world (Castells, 2004). Castells claims that two key elements of the conservative, fundamental identity are: the anchoring of society in the patriarchal family, and the fear of the corruption of the world. Stemming from this view, there is one, pivotal perceivable threats to their existence or identity that touches upon the Proposition 8 case: the crisis of the patriarchal family. Patriarchalism is "*characterized by the institutionally enforced authority of males over females and their children in the family unit. For this authority to be exercised, patriarchalism must permeate the entire organization of society, from production and consumption to politics, law and culture*" (Castells, 2004: 192-193). Castells claims that homosexuality is a major threat to the patriarchal family as "*patriarchalism requires compulsory heterosexuality*" to uphold the male dominance in society (Castells, 2004: 261). Castells explains the crisis of the patriarchal family,

*"the American patriarchal family is indeed in crisis, according to all indicators of divorce, separation, violence in the family, children born out of wedlock, delayed*

*marriages, shrinking motherhood, single lifestyles, gay and lesbian couples, and the widespread rejection of patriarchal authority” (Castells, 2004: 29).*

In short, the homosexual liberation movement so fundamentally challenges the conservative, Christian, family values.

The Bible presents a different view on the ‘patriarchal family’, *“For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united to his wife, and the two will become one flesh.”*<sup>32</sup>*This is a profound mystery—but I am talking about Christ and the church.*<sup>33</sup>*However, each one of you also must love his wife as he loves himself, and the wife must respect her husband”* (New International Version, The Student Bible: Ephesians 5:31-33), this presents an alternative understand to Castells’ thought of the patriarchal family. Whereas Castells sees heterosexual marriage and the patriarchal family as an area for males to dominant society, the bible presents it as a partnership where the two become one. A complementary relationship is presented, one where the husband is charged with the task of loving his wife, and the wife in return is charged to respect her husband, and in that process become one entity. If this is what the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations perceive as the truth, then they are fighting for an important institution in the society, rather than fighting to uphold male dominance in society. Both of which are plausible explanations for their involvement in politics.

Thus it is not surprising that the conservative, Christian groups feel threatened by the thought of homosexual marriage and this might explain why they reacted and were susceptible to being mobilized by the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations in the Proposition 8 case.

### **5.0 Method:**

A methodological strategy is vital in researching in order to attain legitimacy and reliability in the research process, especially in concern to data collection and analysis. As mentioned above, I intend to use a case study approach to study how the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations presented their involvement in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008 through the electronic media, and what motivation and mobilization strategies this presentation indicates.

In my analysis, I will approach each main group involved in the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ campaign as a separate entity as I wish to see the actions, argumentation and language each group uses individually and as a whole. I will look at both the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations and the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations actions, argumentation and language in an attempt to understand what characteristics are specific of the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ camp. I contend that I will not be able to see what jargon and argumentation is unique of the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations without setting it juxtaposed other organizations involved in the same case, therefore I will analyze both blocs. I will do this by looking at statements released by the different organizations, specifically by processing the texts through the WordSmith Tools program. Here I will find which words are used most frequently in the documents, by processing them through the WordList function in the WordSmith Tools program. I will remove those words that do not refer to the meaning of the text, such as pronouns, conjunctions and prepositions. The remaining words will be presented in a graph in order to best show the numeric frequency at which they occur, unless they exceed 100 words after I have removed pronouns, conjunctions and prepositions. I have chosen to limit the graphs to 100 words due to the limited size of this thesis. Then I will input the most frequent words into the Concord function in the WordSmith Tools which shows what context those words are used in the documents. I hope to see what words the organizations use and how they use them through this, to further understand how the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations present their involvement in the Proposition 8 case and what motivation and strategy this might indicate.

I will also use the Concord and WordList function to see how often and in what context certain pre-chosen keywords are used in all the documents, in order to see if there is some overlapping there. Here I will also look at both blocs involved in Proposition 8 in order to see the difference in their approach to the Proposition 8 case. I have chosen these words by trying to see what key words might be relevant in light of my research question and the data. I chose key words by looking at the general themes or categories connected to the Proposition 8

case: Marriage, Christianity, the Legal system, American cultural values and Homosexuality. This will show what area or category of the Proposition 8 case these organizations focus most on. For example a stronger emphasis on marriage and heterosexuality pertains to the category ‘Marriage’; while a focus on rights and a legal petition pertains to the ‘Legal system’ category. Here I will address my choice of method in my thesis, specifically looking at the case study strategy, data selection, qualitative document analysis, quantitative document analysis, interview, and focus group method.

### 5.1 Case Study:

A case study is according to Colorado State University:

*“Refers to the collection and presentation of detailed information about a particular participant or small group, frequently including the accounts of subjects themselves. A form of qualitative descriptive research, the case study looks intensely at an individual or small participant pool, drawing conclusions only about that participant or group and only in that specific context. Researchers do not focus on the discovery of a universal, generalizable truth, nor do they typically look for cause-effect relationships; instead, emphasis is placed on exploration and description”* (Colorado State University, 2009).

Case studies can have different goals, some try to achieve a holistic understanding of the cases involved in the study, other cases aim to develop phrases, hypothesis or theories, and yet other case studies try to build a basis for generalizing their findings (Grønmo, 2004). Cases can vary in the search for understanding, between being a descriptive case study or an investigative case (Andersen, 1997).

I intend to use the case study method to see how the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations present their involvement in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008 through the electronic media and what motivation and mobilization strategies this presentation indicates. In order to look at their presented involvement and their motivation and mobilizations strategies behind this, I will analyze at the words and argumentation used by the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations in their efforts during the Proposition 8 campaign, through rhetorical theory, to see if these allude to a motivation, identification or cultural argumentation for their involvement. I will study how ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations portray their own involvement and their reason and perceived motivation for this. I will highlight my findings by putting them juxtaposed analysis of the ‘No the Proposition 8’ organization’s argumentation found in the electronic media, in order to show how their style of argumentation and rhetoric differ. My hope is that by setting these two camps rhetoric side by side, it might shed light on the different approaches by the two camps, and in extension how their political mobilization efforts were carried out differently.

In order to do this, I will use the WordSmith Tools program to analyze the various documents released by the two camps in the campaigns, as mentioned above. This program will extract and present the frequency of word-usage in the statements, and also show what context these are used in. I hope this analyzing strategy will show how the two camps formulate themselves, how they perceive and present their involvement and how they attempt to mobilize others to join their cause.

I will also have an in-depth case study approach to one particular organization: Focus on the Family. Here I will carry out an interview to discover how they were involved in the Proposition 8 case, how they personally perceived their involvement and their reasons for this involvement.

### 5.2 Data selection:

It is crucial to pick relevant data, so to attain legitimate and reliable information. Data collection is a process in which one chooses data that reflects on and helps explain the research question one is studying. It might be tempting to choose data that supports one's hypothesis or theory; therefore it is crucial to choose reliable and valid data. Reliable data refers to the quality of the data and the dependability of the data. It is important to ascertain that the data has been collected correctly (Grønmo, 2004). Validity refers to the relevance of the data used in relation to the research question studied. One must be very aware of what data is relevant to the study, and strategically choose this type of data (Grønmo, 2004). I will aim to only choose data from reliable sources, and specifically data which are relevant in studying for my master's thesis.

As mentioned before, I intend to use the electronic media and their coverage of the Proposition 8 vote in my analysis of how the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations present their involvement in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008, and what motivation and mobilization strategies this presentation indicates. I have chosen to use articles released by the organizations themselves concerning their involvement in the Proposition 8 case. As I wish to study how the organizations' argumentation, usage of words; and look at how they present their own involvement in the Proposition 8 case. I contend it is necessary to look at the organizations' own words describing their involvement and reasoning behind it. I am aware that this creates room for the organizations to present their involvement according to how they wish others to perceive their involvement. However, this is also interesting and valid, as it shows how the organizations wish to be perceived and how they rationalize their involvement outwardly. I have chosen documents I deem relevant and valid, have chosen between two to



three statements released by each organizations within the two blocs involved in the Proposition 8 case, as they are presented in the electronic media. This limited number is due to the scope of this paper. These vary between being press releases, blog entries and articles. I hope this will be representative of the organizations' view of their involvement in Proposition 8, yet as there is human judgment involved in the selection of the articles, there is always a possibility of under representation or unconscious bias. However, I will aim to avoid this.

The organizations I have chosen are primarily those that were prominently involved in the 'Yes to Proposition 8' campaign. My intention is to look at all the big organizations that were involved and originally submitted the ballot proposal to the Californian Supreme Court, and I hope I have not overlooked any organization that should have been included in this study. The 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations I have chosen to look at are: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), The Catholic Church, The Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America and The Eastern Orthodox Church. I have chosen to omit the Protestant organizations involved as these were mainly individual churches and not a unified church organization. I chose this due to the fact that I felt it would be biased to choose one or two protestant churches, whose views might differ greatly from other Protestant churches. I will however also analyze an in-depth interview the Christian organization: Focus on the Family, who were involved in the Proposition 8 case. I also will analyze the 'No to Proposition 8' organizations' statements in order to see if the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations formulate and involve themselves in a particular way. Therefore I have chosen two prominent organizations that were against Proposition 8, and analyzed their released documents. These organizations are: The American Civil Liberties Union and National Center for Lesbian Rights.

Yet, as in all studies, there is a risk of using biased data; the use of both the 'Yes to Proposition 8' and the 'No the Proposition 8' organizations' electronic media data gives room for error in the reliability of the data. Thus one cannot research this study without being aware of the possible error within the data used and in extension the results of the study may not be entirely accurate. As all sources are colored by their authors and their conscious or unconscious intentions with creating or documenting these sources, it is always crucial to critically assess the data and data sources by looking at its relevance, authenticity, degree of truth, and availability of the data to the general populace (Grønmo, 2004).

### 5.3 Qualitative document analysis:

In looking at the electronic media data of the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations, I will use qualitative document analysis to analyze and extract the data. In qualitative document analysis

one systematically goes through a text and extracts relevant information from the text. The researcher must complete this, which can result in neglect or exclusion of certain texts or data due to the researcher's lack of evaluation or understanding of the relevance of the data (Grønmo, 2004). Therefore it is important to define what the focus of the study will be, and what themes or events in the texts one wishes to highlight or extract. A challenge in document analysis is finding and gaining access to texts, as documents might not be open to the public. Another challenge is evaluating the reliability of the texts, as they may have been written with a specific intention, agenda, or point of view (Grønmo, 2004).

Thus in researching for my master's thesis, I will analyze the electronic media documents from the 'Yes on Proposition 8' campaign and the 'No to Proposition 8' campaign. Through analyzing the organizations involved in the campaigns released documents and statements on their involvement in Proposition 8, I hope to extract reliable and valid data. I will focus on data concerning the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations' actions and stated arguments for this involvement, as this might shed light on their motivation, to fully study my research question. I will also look at electronic media documents released by two 'No to Proposition 8' organizations involved in Proposition 8 mentioned earlier in order to shed light on the different rhetoric and argumentation used by the two camps; in order to better understand the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations' strategic mobilization efforts.

Yet, I must also be aware of how my bias and perspective on the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations and their political mobilization efforts may affect my research and evaluations of the data. Therefore I must be critical to my perspective on both blocs involved in the Proposition 8 vote; and other researchers' views and perspectives that may influence their or my writing, documents, choices and data. Yet I also have to be critical of both blocs' organizations' bias and perspective on their mobilization efforts, actions, and motivation for these actions; and the perspective of those who identify with them. I need to have a clear research question, relevant and valid data and sound correlation between the two.

#### 5.4 Quantitative document analysis:

I will use a quantitative document analysis strategy in order to analyze the frequency of words being used in the given texts. A quantitative document analysis is when one systematically goes through a document or text, where one extracts the document's content based on a categorical coding-system (Grønmo, 2004). The important factors in quantitative document analysis is to determine what is important in the text in relation to the field being studied, the next step then is to design a coding-system where one can categorically distribute or input the data extracted from the document.

As mentioned above, I will look at what words and argumentation the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ and ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations used in their campaign and mobilization efforts in the Proposition 8 case. I will use a program called WordSmith Tools which extracts and lists the frequency of words being used in any given text submitted to the program. I will use this program to get an overview of what words and phrases both blocs involved in the Proposition 8 case use in their mobilization efforts, specifically the frequency and context of their word-usage. Then I will use rhetorical theory to analyze and evaluate the data gained from the WordSmith Tools program. I have chosen the WordSmith Tools program because it produces solid quantitative data. I contend that this is a vital tool in avoiding bias, as it presents a clearer and more factual picture of the word usage of the organizations than might be attained should one only look at the usage of words one expects to find. Thus I have used the WordSmith Tools program to find the frequent usage of words and the context of this usage, in order to get a holistic view of the word usage, free from preconceived assumptions of word usage and focus areas. This approach has been immensely helpful, to present a factual picture of how the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations present their involvement in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008 through the electronic media.

In analyzing the organizations involved in Proposition 8 through looking at their released documents in the WordSmith Tools program, I have chosen to use two main strategies. Firstly I will look at the frequency of word-usage of all the words in the released documents, and look at these in context. These will be presented in diagrams. However I have chosen to weed away proposition, conjunctions and relative pronouns, in order to only present relevant words into the analysis. I have also decided to limit the number of words in the graph to 100 (after have removed relative pronouns, conjunctions and proposition) due to the limited size of this master’s thesis. All the graphs will be presented in Appendix 1 of this thesis, and partial graphs will be presented in the thesis as this will give a clearer view of the most frequently used words. This is partially due to the issue of limited space in the thesis, and partially in order to weed away data that does not add to the study of word usage. Words used one time for example, do not indicate word usage trends, and thus will not be presented in the graphs in the thesis, only in Appendix 1.

I will also look at pre-chosen key words in all the statements. This is to see if there is any overlapping of certain words in the articles. As mentioned before, I have chosen these words by trying to see what key words might be relevant to the general themes connected to my research question and data. These are: Marriage, Christianity, Legal system, American cultural values and Homosexuality, as these are the main areas touched by the Proposition 8

case (religious organizations' view of marriage legally challenged by homosexual organizations' view of marriage in the context of American and its cultural backdrop). This in a sense delegates the key words into categories or into a coding-system. I chose the key words that seemed directly related to these categories. Key words relating to marriage are: Marriage, Institution, Man, Woman, Heterosexual. Key words relating to Christianity are: God, Church, Family, Identity, Moral and Values. Key words relating to the legal system: Law, Proposition, Court, Petition, Voters and Ballot. The key words connected to American cultural values are: Freedom, Future, America, Culture, Education, Speech, Religion, Rights and Children. Finally the key words relating to homosexuality are: Homosexual, Same-sex, Gay and Lesbian. Thus the pre-chosen key words are: Marriage, Institution, Man, Woman, Heterosexual, God, Church, Family, Identity, Moral, Values, Law, Proposition, Court, Petition, Voters, Ballot, Freedom, Future, America, Culture, Education, Speech, Religion, Rights, Children, Homosexual, Gay, Lesbian, Same and Sex (Same-Sex does not yield a search response, therefore I must search both words separately). I hope the pre-chosen key words will indicate how the two blocs differ in what area of the Proposition 8 case they focus on, to be more precise: where their emphasis in the case lies.

These two strategies will hopefully result in data that can give an indication of how these organizations formulate and view themselves and present their involvement in Proposition 8. I have tried to be careful in choosing the data material and have attempted to create a code-system that does not give a biased data selection and study results (Grønmo, 2004). This is very important because well-rounded coding-systems and carefully selected documents that are valid and relevant to the studies are crucial as they give the study legitimacy. I have tried to do this to the best of my abilities, and hope I have not compromised any aspect of my study.

### 5.5 Interview:

In order to really grasp how the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations view themselves, Proposition 8 and their involvement in Proposition 8, I contend it is important with an expert interview. As there is a limit scope in writing a master's thesis, I will only focus on one organization in the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations in my interview process: Focus on the Family. Focus on the Family is a conservative, Christian, non-profit organization situated in Colorado Springs, USA. Focus on the Family describe their mission and focus on their website:

*“Since Focus on the Family's primary reason for existence is to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ through a practical outreach to homes, we have firm beliefs about*

*both the Christian faith and the importance of the family. This ministry is therefore based upon six guiding philosophies that are apparent at every level throughout the organization. These "pillars" are drawn from the wisdom of the Bible and the Judeo-Christian ethic, rather than from the humanistic notions of today's theorists. In short, Focus on the Family is a reflection of what we believe to be the recommendations of the Creator Himself, who ordained the family and gave it His blessing"* (Focus on the Family, 2010).

These six pillars are 'The Preeminence of Evangelism', 'The Permanence of Marriage', 'The Value of Children', 'The Sanctity of Human Life', 'The Importance of Social Responsibility' and 'The Value of Male and Female' (Focus on the Family, 2010). It is easy to understand why the Proposition 8 case was a case that Focus on the Family was actively involved in as it touches upon several of their six pillars.

I chose to carry out an informal interview with a group of members from Focus on the Family, specifically representatives of Focus on the Family and CitizenLink. CitizenLink is an affiliate family advocacy organization of Focus on the Family, and it was formerly known as Focus on the Family Action, but underwent a name and logo change in 2010 (Focus on the Family, 2010). The persons interviewed were: Glenn T. Stanton, director of Global Family Foundations Studies [Focus on the Family]; Jenny Tyree, Analyst for marriage, Public Policy Department [CitizenLink]; and John Focus<sup>2</sup>, Research analyst [CitizenLink]. My initial contact person at Focus on the Family was Glenn T. Stanton, and he set up an interview with himself, Jenny Tyree and John Focus which took place on June 10<sup>th</sup>, 2010 in Colorado Springs, Colorado. My aim with this interview was to learn how the members of a 'Yes to Proposition 8' organization present their involvement in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008, and what they believe to be the core motivations for their political involvement. The interview in its entirety can be found in Appendix II.

An informal interview is an interview where the researcher has to create an interview-guide, which defines what specific themes and subjects one has decided to ask questions on (Grønmo, 2004). This interview-guide is followed in order to steer the conversation in a relevant direction in order to be beneficial for the study being done. The researcher must determine how open he or she wishes to be with the respondent, as to his or her own aims and thoughts on the field being studied. The researcher must also ask the respondent for permission to interview them and use the data gathered from the interview in their study. Some respondents will wish to remain anonymous, while others will not. One must take into account that if a respondent wishes to remain anonymous, he or she might approach the

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<sup>2</sup> Name changed due to interviewee's wish to remain anonymous.

interview differently, than if he or she knew that they would not be anonymous and personally responsible for their statements. This is an issue an interviewer must take into account.

The interviews will also be colored by how the interviewer asks the questions and follows the interview-guide, therefore it is vital that all the interviews are carried out by the same researcher (Grønmo, 2004). An informal interview is a flexible strategy that gives much room for conversations between the researcher and the respondent. Therefore it is crucial to create an interview-guide that steers the interview in a relevant direction.

The researcher must be careful with not influencing the respondents' answers by using leading questions, even though one must remember that merely by being there a researcher can influence a respondent's answers. Therefore it is important with clear and precise communication between the researcher and the respondent. In preparing for this interview, I aimed to try to set an interview-guide that encompassed all the necessary aspects of a well-balanced interview, free from bias and leading questions. As I knew I would be interviewing a group, I also aimed to use the focus group method as well as the informal interview method. I personally felt the interview went very well, and that I was able to contain the discussion and dialogue within the relevant field of my study, but also that I was able to let the three Focus on the Family representatives discuss Proposition 8 freely without unnecessary interruptions from me. I contend and hope that this prevented me from steering the conversation in the interview in a biased direction by using leading questions.

#### 5.6 Focus Group Method:

The Focus Group Method is an interviewing procedure for groups developed by Robert Merton, which would *"help researchers to describe the subjective reactions of the group members to the programmes they heard"* (Bloor, Frankland, Thomas, Robson, 2001:2). Focus groups can yield data concerning the uncertainties, group processes, group meaning, motivation or normative understanding that the group's collective judgment or actions are grounded upon, in a clearer way than individual interviews can.

*"The situation of the focus group, in principle and with a fair wind, can provide the occasion and the stimulus for collectivity members to articulate those normally unarticulated normative assumptions. The group is a socially legitimated occasion for participants to engage in 'retrospective introspection', to attempt collectively to tease out previously taken for granted assumptions"* (Bloor et al. 2001: 5-6).

I hope that the use of the focus group method in my interview with Focus on the Family will enable me to see the group norms legitimizing or assessing the involvement of the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations in the Proposition 8 vote in 2008. The group interview function best when the researcher merely facilitates and steers the discussion, while the group

participants discuss and address each other. Thus the focus group might give the researcher invaluable insight to an in-group conversation containing everyday language and jargons, also known as 'indigenous' terms. *"Focus groups are simultaneously the best method for accessing group norms and also the best method for demonstrating that the group norms thus elicited cannot be unproblematically applied in organizational decision-making or public policy"* (Bloor et al., 2001: 6). Yet focus groups should not replace individual interviews, as intra-group variations tend to be underreported in a group discussion or interview. Therefore it is important in the analysis of the data extracted from a focus group interview to factor in the possibility of error due to underreporting of individual differences within the group.

The composition of these groups is also vital. If it is a pre-existing group, not formed by the researcher, the group may be composed in order to present a certain understanding to the researcher. While if the researcher is allowed to compose the group, he or she might compose a group in order to enable a biased find, or it might produce a group that yields a more accurate presentation of the group, one not designed by an organization or public entity in order to give a certain presentation to the researcher. In my case, my contact at Focus on the Family had already preselected a group for me. I assume that these individuals were selected, because they are knowledgeable on the organization's involvement in the Proposition 8 vote in 2008; yet I have to be aware that they also might have been selected in order to present a certain image to me as the researcher; therefore there might be a margin of error in the data I obtain from the focus group interview.

Traditionally groups of strangers have been preferred in focus group method interviews, as

*"it is felt that where participants know each other they may be less likely to express taken for granted opinions, views and experiences than a group of strangers [...] However others have increasingly recognized the advantages of discussions involving pre-existing social groups both on practical and epistemological levels"* (Bloor et al., 2001: 22).

Size-wise, there is a general consensus that a focus group functions best when there are around 6-8 participants, as this number easier allows a flowing discussion, where all the individuals can be involved; yet groups vary in sizes from 3 to 14 (Bloor et al., 2001). It is also beneficial to have several groups, in order to compare and contrast the findings in the different groups, and also to reconvene groups to see if there is an alteration in their group meanings and norms (Bloor et al., 2001). Yet in my case, I was only able to interview the focus group once, and I have to factor in the possibility of error in the data procured due to the fact that one group's views may only represent one point of view within the organization. In

this thesis, however, this possibility of error is somewhat countered by the fact that I will undertake a qualitative and quantitative document analysis of other organizations involved in the Proposition 8 case. These juxtaposed each other will give a more balanced picture of how the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations present their involvement in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008 through the electronic media and what motivation and mobilization strategies this presentation indicates.

Once the group interviews are conducted, there are four possible way of analyzing the data procured: transcript-based analysis, tape-based analysis, note-based analysis and memory-based analysis (Bloor et al., 2001). These strategies vary due to the researcher’s preference, but also due to the willingness of the individuals in the focus groups to be on record (taped) and quoted. Some, as mentioned earlier in this paper, may wish to be anonymous, or are intimidated by being taped, as they may not trust the researcher to not misinterpret their statements or quote them. I will be using the transcript-based analysis method, as I have been given permission by the focus group in Focus on the Family to record and quote them. Jenny Tyree & Glenn T. Stanton have given me permission to quote them directly, while the third interviewee wished to remain anonymous. I will refer to the anonymous interviewee as John Focus in this thesis, and in the interview transcript found in Appendix II.



## 6.0 Context

### 6.1 Proposition 8 and the organizations involved in promoting and opposing this case:

#### 6.1.1 Proposition 8:

Proposition 8 was a state ballot initiative that arose in California in 2008. A ballot initiative is when a petition is signed by a certain minimum number of registered voters, forcing a public vote on the proposed statute, ordinance, and constitutional or charter amendment; a form of direct democracy. The petition to initiative Proposition 8 was submitted to the Californian Secretary of State on April 24<sup>th</sup>, 2008, and officially qualified June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2008 (Institute of Governmental Studies U.C. Berkeley, 2008). It was signed by 1.1 million registered voters, though only 694,000 signatures were needed to qualify for a state ballot (Institute of Governmental Studies U.C. Berkeley, 2008). Proposition 8 proposed to add a new section to California's state constitution, stating that "*Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California*" (California Courts, 2009).

This was not the first law proposal regarding marriage: 61.35% of Californians voted in favor of Proposition 22 on March 7<sup>th</sup>, 2000 (Los Angeles Times, 2010), a ballot proposal stating that marriage was defined as "*between a man and a woman*" (Associated Content, 2010). Some claim that Proposition 8 was initiated as a reaction to the state overturning Proposition 22 in the "*In Re Marriage Cases*" May 15<sup>th</sup>, 2008, enabling same-sex marriages (Institute of Governmental Studies U.C. Berkeley, 2008). However the ballot initiative was submitted to the state a month before the courts overturned Proposition 22. Marriage analyst, Jenny Tyree, who works in the organization Focus on the Family stated these reasons for submitted the ballot initiative before Proposition 22 was overturned. She claimed that this was a preemptive ballot proposal, as it was clear to the organization that the courts were already in a process of overturning Proposition 22 (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: p. 17). Tyree also clarified the important distinction between Proposition 22 and Proposition 8: Proposition 22 was merely a legal statute that added to the existing Family Code of the California legal system, and therefore not as adamant as Proposition 8 which aimed to change the Constitution of California.

*"A constitutional marriage amendment is the only thing that has protected marriage... [Proposition 22] was a defensive marriage act. Which was just a legal statute that said: 'this is the definition of marriage'. The judges have overturned those left and right, Iowa, California...um, Vermont...so, only marriage amendments have actually withstood"* (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 17).

Whichever reason people believed to be true at the time, concerning why Proposition 8 was introduced, it is clear that many Californians felt their democratic rights were waived

when the courts overturned Proposition 22. This may be a contribution factor to why many Californians involved themselves in the Proposition 8 vote.

*“In a landmark ruling, the California Supreme Court today decided to overturn a ruling banning gay marriage in the state. Proposition 22 was passed by CA voters and defined marriage “between a man and a woman”. The court ruled 4-3 that domestic partnerships aren't a sufficient substitute for marriage”* (Associated Content, 2010).

Proposition 8 immediately met resistances, and a petition was submitted to the Californian Supreme Court to remove it from the ballot. However, this petition (“Bennet v. Bowen”) was denied on July 16<sup>th</sup>, 2008 (National Center for Lesbian Rights, 2009). During the time leading up to the Proposition 8 vote, two fronts developed, one for and one against the change to the state constitution. The British newspaper, The Guardian, described the emerging polarization on the issue:

*“The stakes of the ballot drive to forbid same-sex marriage reach far beyond California's geographic and political borders in what has emerged as another chapter in America's culture wars. Christian groups, wealthy benefactors and self-styled pro-family groups from all over the US are watching closely - and weighing in with money. Gay-rights groups and wealthy individuals are countering with their own cash from across the country”* (The Guardian, 2009).

The Proposition 8 vote quickly turned into a battleground between the conservative, religious, right-wing community, and the homosexual, left-wing community. Both campaigns raised enormous amounts of money, funding the campaigns and mobilization efforts. According to the Los Angeles Times, those opposed to Proposition 8 raised US\$ 44,103,525 and those who favored Proposition 8 raised US\$ 38,766,260 (Los Angeles Times, 2009). The University of California, San Francisco student newspaper viewed the situation as such:

*“Christian right conservative groups submitted Proposition 8 to the November ballot that would ‘eliminate the right of same sex couples to marry’ by altering the constitution to define marriage as ‘between one man and one woman.’ Two campaigns then formed, the ‘Yes on 8’ and the ‘No on 8’ campaigns. Approximately \$80 million was poured into both campaigns, far exceeding the amount ever spent on any state ballot measure campaign. Ads spewing lies and others attempting to refute them broadcast all over the state”* (The UCSF Student Newspaper, 2009).

On November 5<sup>th</sup>, 2008 Proposition 8 was upheld by a 52.46% of the votes (47.5% against) (Los Angeles Times, 2010). *“California voters approved Proposition 8, a state ballot initiative, at the November 4, 2008, statewide election. Proposition 8 added a new section to the state Constitution which provides that ‘Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California’”* (California Courts, 2009).

6.1.2 The conservative, religious, right-wing organizations involved in mobilizing in favor of Proposition 8:

In this thesis, I will mainly focus on the conservative, religious, right-wing groups that were actively involved and politically mobilized in favor of Proposition 8. Therefore I will go through these groups in detail. Yet, I will also mention what groups opposed Proposition 8 and their statements on the matter, specifically those statements relating to the pro-Proposition 8 bloc. [Protectmarriage.com](http://Protectmarriage.com), the coalition that originally submitted the ballot initiative to the Californian Secretary of State (SF Gate, 2011) states these reasons for Proposition 8:

*“CALIFORNIANS HAVE NEVER VOTED FOR SAME-SEX MARRIAGE. If gay activists want to legalize gay marriage, they should put it on the ballot. Instead, they have gone behind the backs of voters and convinced four activist judges in San Francisco to redefine marriage for the rest of society. That is the wrong approach. Proposition 8 RESTORED the definition of marriage that was approved by over 61% of voters, overturning the decision of four activist judges. Voting YES protected our children”* (Protect Marriage, 2010).

This coalition included many different religious groups, in particular conservative Catholics, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (also known as Mormons), conservative Protestants and Evangelicals a (S.F. Gate, 2009). On August 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008 a statement of support for Proposition 8 came from the Catholic Bishops of California. It concludes with these closing statements, encouraging Catholic voters to take action:

*“On the November general election ballot, there will be Proposition 8 which reads: 'Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California.' That language simply affirms the historic, logical and reasonable definition of marriage—and does not remove any benefits from other contractual arrangements. And finally, we strongly encourage Catholics to provide both the financial support and the volunteer efforts needed for the passage of Proposition 8. And—please exercise your citizenship and vote in November”* (California Catholic Conference, 2009).

The majority of Jewish groups were against Proposition 8 being passed, but the Official Orthodox Union issued a statement saying: *“While Judaism also teaches respect for others and condemns discrimination of any kind, we as Orthodox Jewish rabbis and leaders, resolutely oppose any efforts to change the definition of marriage to include same sex unions* (WhatisProp8, 2009).

Conservative Protestants and evangelicals were also adamant and vocal in the support of Proposition 8. Among the many contributors was the organization Focus on the Family (Focus Action, 2010). In a newsletter to their readers, founder Dr. Dobson wrote in October, 2008:

*“The definition of marriage is on the ballot in Arizona (Proposition 102), California (Proposition 8) and Florida (Amendment 2) [...] exercise your responsibility before God to vote on or before Nov 4. Please, let your voices be heard. For more information, visit Focus on the Family Action's Web site at [focusaction.org](http://focusaction.org). [...] This election is about the future of the nation, but it will also*

*go a long way toward determining the culture your children and grandchildren will come to know” (CitizenLink, 2011).*

The Alliance Defense Fund, a collection of conservative lawyers, also played a key role in helping to pass Proposition 8 (The American Prospect, 2010). Many prominent pastors also put their support behind Proposition 8; one such is the acclaimed pastor Rick Warren, founder and senior pastor of Saddleback Church, who announced his support for Proposition 8 on October 24th, 2008 (Protect Marriage, 2010).

The First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints wrote a letter to church leaders of California on June 29th, 2008 conveying his viewpoint of California and proposition 8.

*“A broad-based coalition of churches and other organizations placed the proposed amendment on the ballot. The Church will participate with this coalition in seeking its passage. Local Church leaders will provide information about how you may become involved in this important cause. We ask that you do all you can to support the proposed constitutional amendment by donating of your means and time to assure that marriage in California is legally defined as being between a man and a woman. Our best efforts are required to preserve the sacred institution of marriage” (Newsroom, 2010).*

This was followed by a statement in August of 2008, called the ‘The Divine Institution of Marriage’, an article intended to explain the church's reasons for defending marriage between a man and a women. This article concludes with the importance of marriage:

*“Strong, stable families, headed by a father and mother, are the anchor of civilized society. When marriage is undermined by gender confusion and by distortions of its God-given meaning, the rising generation of children and youth will find it increasingly difficult to develop their natural identity as a man or a woman. Some will find it more difficult to engage in wholesome courtships, form stable marriages, and raise yet another generation imbued with moral strength and purpose. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has chosen to become involved, along with many other churches, organizations, and individuals, in defending the sanctity of marriage between a man and a woman because it is a compelling moral issue of profound importance to our religion and to the future of our society” (Newsroom, 2010).*

The ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations campaigned actively, recruited volunteers both from within the state of California and the whole country, raised funds to politically campaign and mobilize. The ‘No to Proposition 8’ bloc did the same, and a large scale political and moral battle grew to engage and interest America and California.

#### 6.1.3 The gay advocacy groups and organizations involved in mobilizing against Proposition 8:

There were several organizations and individuals that contributed and formed the ‘No to Proposition 8’ bloc and campaign. Among the most prominent organizations involved were The American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU], Equality California [EQCA], Lambda Legal

and the National Center for Lesbian Rights [NCLR] (NCLR, 2009). These organizations spearheaded a good deal of the campaign against the passing of Proposition 8, specifically through the courts and by informing and recruiting their base in order to get them involved in volunteering or giving contributions to further their case (NCLR, 2009).

A lot of the funding came from prominent companies and individuals, although a good deal of small donations also came from private individuals (LA Times, 2010: Who gave). EQCA stated they gave “over \$14 million for the campaign against Prop. 8-\$11 million more than any other organization” (EQCA, 2010: Prop 8 on Trial). Other companies and organizations that support the ‘No to Proposition 8’ campaign with funds were: Google with \$140,000; Apple Inc. with \$100,000 (SF Gate, 2010: Tech Chronicles); PG&E with \$250,000 (NCLR, 2010); California Teachers Association with \$250,000 and California State Council of Service Employees with \$250,000 (The Guardian, 2009). Other individuals who gave to the cause were Kathy Levinson<sup>3</sup> with \$100,000, Robert Wilson<sup>4</sup> with \$1,2 million, Bruce Bastian<sup>5</sup> with \$1 million (The Guardian, 2009), Brad Pitt<sup>6</sup> with \$100,000 (LA Times, 2010:Brad Pitt), and many more. Their goals for the campaign were articulately summed up by Senior Strategist Steve Smith from the ‘No on 8’ campaign:

*“It’s clear the Proposition 8 is wrong for California. We are happy [...] business leaders are joining the millions of Californians who recognize that our constitution guarantees the same freedoms and rights to everyone. Regardless of how anyone feels about marriage for same-gender couples, it’s wrong to deny a person’s fundamental rights and freedoms”* (EQCA, 2010: 2008 Press Release).

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<sup>3</sup> Silicon Valley philanthropist & gay-rights activist (The Guardian, 2009)

<sup>4</sup> New York philanthropist (The Guardian, 2009)

<sup>5</sup> Computer programmer, businessman, philanthropist and social activist. He co-founded the WordPerfect Software Company (The Huffington Post, 2011)

<sup>6</sup> Renown actor (LA Times, 2010:Brad Pitt)

## **7.0 Analysis: quantitative analysis**

As mentioned before, I will approach each main group involved in the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ campaign as a separate entity as I wish to see the actions, argumentation and language each group uses individually and as a whole. I will also look at two major ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations to see if there is a difference in the two blocs’ argumentation style and involvement. I hope this will indicate whether or not the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations approach is unique. I will carry out this study by looking at statements released by the different organizations and processing them through the WordSmith Tools program. Here I will find which words are most frequently used and in what context these are used. As mentioned before, I will remove those words that do not refer to the meaning of the text, such as pronouns, conjunctions and prepositions. The remaining words will be presented in a graph in order to best show the numeric frequency at which they occur. I have chosen to limit the graphs to 100 words due to the limited size of this paper. All the data may be found in Appendix 1 to this thesis, I will however attempt to only present the relevant data in this thesis to better show the most frequently used words. As mentioned earlier, this choice is due to the space limitations of this thesis, and to weed out words that do not add to the study of word usage.

I will also analyze the texts to find if the two blocs use the pre-chosen key words, to further discover what areas of the Proposition 8 case these two blocs place their emphasis on in their argumentation. This is in order to see how they wish to present themselves and their involvement, but also to further understand their underlying motivation and intentions with this involvement.

I will also look specifically at Focus on the Family and carry out an in-depth interview with a focus group there. I hope this will give a clearer view of a ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organization’s own view of how they were involved, how they attempted to mobilize voters and what motivated this involvement.

### 7.1 The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons):

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints were very involved in the Proposition 8 vote in 2008, and were able to effectively mobilize volunteers, voters and funds. The LA Times described their initial involvement:

*"Its involvement in the California same-sex marriage debate this year began with a letter from church President Thomas S. Monson asking California Mormons to give their time and money to pass Proposition 8. Monson's letter has been read repeatedly in Mormon churches, and opponents of the forthcoming initiative have credited LDS members with giving the Yes on 8 camp an edge in donations and volunteers"; "Along with recruiting Mormons to work in California, church*

*members from outside the state have been asked to call friends and family at home in California to encourage support for the measure" (LA Times, 2010: Mormon Church).*

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints groups from all over the country contributed:

*"It's a defining issue for this state and the country," said Brian Brown, executive director for the National Organisation for Marriage, a New Jersey-based Mormon group with a branch in California, which has contributed nearly \$1m to the Yes on 8 campaign. The outcome of the battle, he said, "will affect what our children will be taught about marriage, and it will affect our religious liberties" (Guardian, 2010).*

The American Civil Liberties Union [ACLU] pointed to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as key fundraiser to the 'Yes to Proposition 8' campaign issued the following statement on their website: *"the stuff is pouring in, mostly in \$ 1,000, \$2,500 and \$5,000 chunks, mostly driven by the Mormon Church. The kinds of gifts the Mormons are bringing in are just not coming on our side" (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Worried About Marriage).*

The Church's position on same-sex marriage was the following: *"In October 2004, the First Presidency's office issued a statement saying the church 'favors measures that define marriage as the union of a man and a woman and that do not confer legal status on any other sexual relationship'", and this understanding of marriage is what they fought for in the Proposition 8 case (Deseret News, 2010).*

As mentioned above, Proposition 8 officially qualified for the ballot on June 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2008 (Institute of Governmental Studies U.C. Berkeley, 2008). In response, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints sent out a letter from the 1<sup>st</sup> Presidency<sup>7</sup> to the church leaders and congregations in California: "California and Same-sex Marriage" (Deseret News, 2010). The letter stated the following:

*"In March 2000 California voters overwhelmingly approved a state law providing that 'Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California.' The California Supreme Court recently reversed this vote of the people. On November 4, 2008, Californians will vote on a proposed amendment to the California state constitution that will now restore the March 2000 definition of marriage approved by the voters. The Church's teachings and position on this moral issue are unequivocal. Marriage between a man and a woman is ordained of God, and the formation of families is central to the Creator's plan for His children. Children are entitled to be born within this bond of marriage. A broad-based coalition of churches and other organizations placed the proposed amendment on the ballot. The Church will participate with this coalition in seeking its passage. Local Church leaders will provide information about how you may become involved in this important cause. We ask that you do all you can to support the proposed constitutional amendment by donating of your means and*

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<sup>7</sup> «The highest governing body of the Church. It is composed of the President of the Church, who is always the most senior living Apostle, and his counselors» (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, 2010).

*time to assure that marriage in California is legally defined as being between a man and a woman”* (Newsroom, 2010: California and Same-sex Marriage).

Here one sees the Church refer back to Proposition 22 and subtly hints to that the California Supreme Court has overstepped the will of the people. Although avoiding the catch-phrase: 'you voted yes in 2000, vote yes now!' the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints clearly intends to remind people of a similar vote that was passed in California in an attempt to persuade people to vote 'yes' again. The Church also underlines that this is a moral issue that is 'unequivocal', a 'sacred institution', a bond between a man and women 'ordained' by God. These concrete words, remind readers of what the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints stands for in a way that leaves little room for contemplation, change or discussion. If marriage is a sacred institution, ordained by God; rejection of this might for many stand juxtaposed to rejection of God or the church. Thus they present a fundamental truth to their members, which is non-negotiable. Not only does the church state what they believe, but they also find it important enough to act in order to prevent a defeat of Proposition 8. They tell readers of a coalition of many congregations joining together to stop this, and ask their members to donate their available means and time to 'preserve the sacred institution marriage'. It connotes a battle call; urging people to 'conscript' in order to preserve religious freedom and way of life.

Following this letter on June 30<sup>th</sup>, the Church released a document titled “Divine Institution of Marriage” on August 13<sup>th</sup>, 2008.

*“The Church has a single, undeviating standard of sexual morality: intimate relations are proper only between a husband and a wife united in the bonds of matrimony. The Church’s opposition to same-sex marriage neither constitutes nor condones any kind of hostility towards homosexual men and women. Protecting marriage between a man and a woman does not affect Church members’ Christian obligations of love, kindness and humanity toward all people [...] Marriage is sacred, ordained of God from before the foundation of the world [...] Marriage between a man and a woman is central to the plan of salvation. The sacred nature of marriage is closely linked to the power of procreation. Misuse of this power undermines the institution of the family and thereby weakens the social fabric [...] In November 2008, California voters will decide whether to amend their state constitution to define marriage as only between a man and a woman. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has joined in a broad coalition of other denominations, organizations, and individuals to encourage voter approval of this amendment [...] if same-sex marriage becomes a recognized civil right, there will be substantial conflicts with religious freedom [...] throughout history the family has served as an essential bulwark of individual liberty [...] This is the course charted by Church leaders, and it is the only course of safety for the Church and for the nation»* (Newsroom, 2010: The Divine Institution of Marriage).

Here it is clear that the Church find protecting marriage as a pivotal moral battle in our modern society. Their argumentation builds on the understanding of marriage as 'between a man and women', marriage as something 'sacred' and 'ordained' by God, marriage as the



means of procreating children and as a main building block of a stable society. The document goes out to detail the legal and social implications and threats that would follow a rejection of Proposition 8, especially the threats to individual and religious freedom. And thus asks their members to continue in their support of the Proposition 8 vote.

In an interview on same-sex attraction, Elder Oaks of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints underlines one of the dangers of a society that is tolerant of homosexuality:

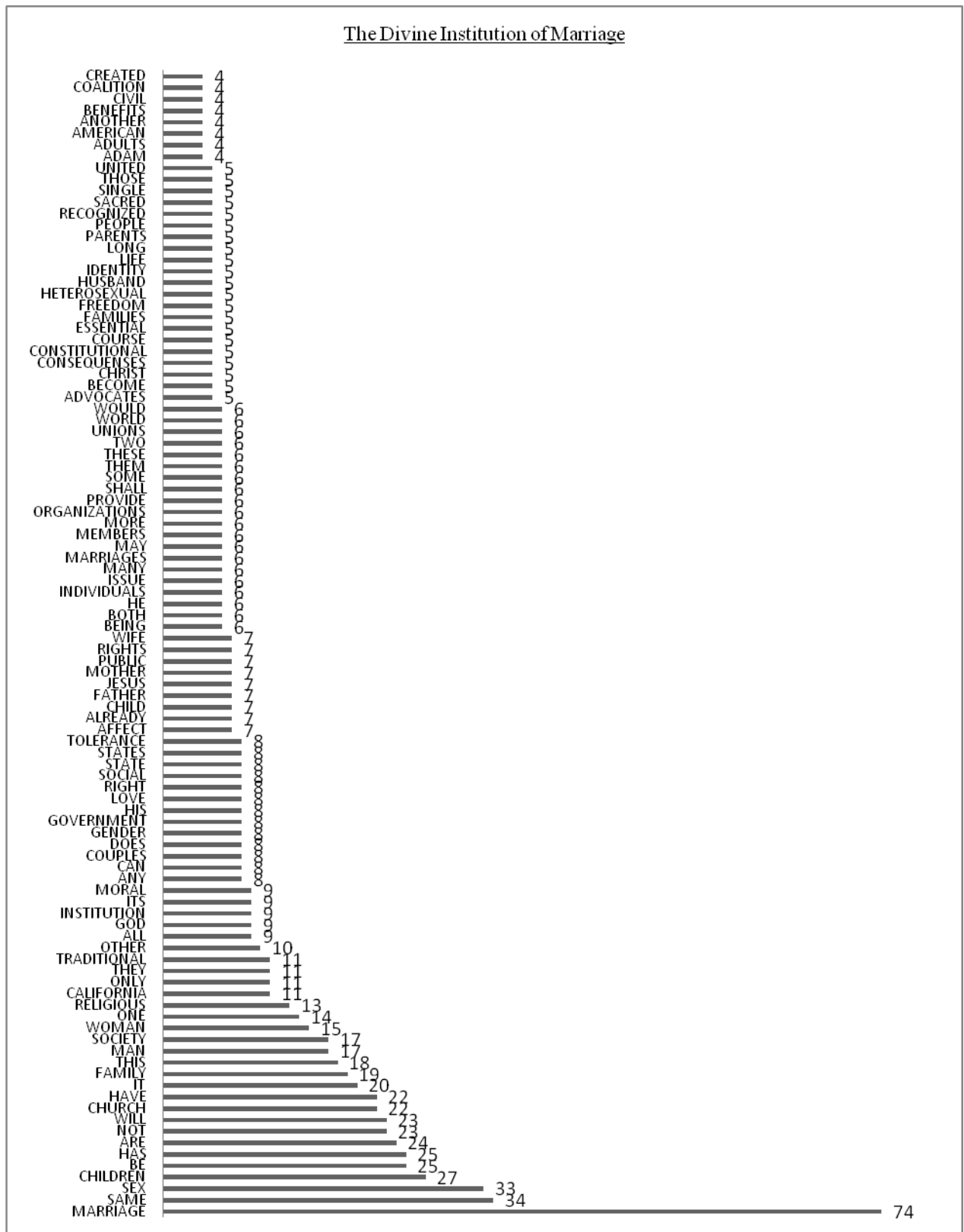
*“This is much bigger than just a question of whether or not society should be more tolerant of the homosexual lifestyle. Over past years we have seen unrelenting pressure from advocates of that lifestyle to accept as normal what is not normal, and to characterize those who disagree as narrow-minded, bigoted and unreasonable. [...] The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints must take a stand on doctrine and principle. This is more than a social issue — ultimately it may be a test of our most basic religious freedoms to teach what we know our Father in Heaven wants us to teach”* (Newsroom, 2010: Same-Gender Attraction).

In my study of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, I will use the WordSmith Tools program to look at the three articles main releases by the Church: “The Divine Institution of Marriage”, “California and Same-sex Marriage” and “Same-Gender Attraction”. Through this I hope to gain an idea of what rhetoric they use, in order to see what argumentation and motivation lie behind their mobilization efforts and involvement in Proposition 8. As the “Same-Gender Attraction” article in an interview portraying the church’s view of marriage and homosexuality, I will approach this article differently to ensure a more accurate analysis. I will thus only analyze the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints’ response, the questions submitted to Elders in the Church will be omitted to present a more accurate account of the Church’s argumentation and culture.

#### 7.1.1 Analysis of “The Divine Institution of Marriage”

Using the ‘Word List’ function of WordSmith Tools to look at the article: “The Divine Institution of Marriage”, I was able to view a list of words arranged according to the frequency of word-usage. Setting aside prepositions, conjunctions and relative pronouns, I found that the words used most often were: ‘Marriage’, with the grand total of 74 times; ‘Same’ was mentioned 34 times; ‘Sex’ 33 times; ‘Children’ 27 times; ‘Be’ and ‘Has’ 25 times; ‘Are’ 24 times; ‘Not’ and ‘Will’ 23 times; ‘Church’ and ‘Have’ 22 times; ‘It’ 20 times; ‘Family’ 19 times; ‘This’ 18 times; ‘Man’ and ‘Society’ 17 times; ‘Woman’ 15 times; ‘One’ 14 times; ‘Religious’ 13 times; ‘California’, ‘Only’, ‘They’ and ‘Traditional’ 11 times; and ‘Other’ 10 times. The list continues, but here I wish to focus on the frequency and context in which these words are used. The ‘Concord’ function in WordSmith Tools allows one to search for specific words, therefore I searched for the most frequent words as shown in the ‘Word List’

(Marriage-Other), and also added 'Same-sex' to the search, as the word 'Same' appeared 34 times and the word 'Sex' appeared 33 times in the 'World List'. Here is the entire diagram with the 100 most frequently used words.



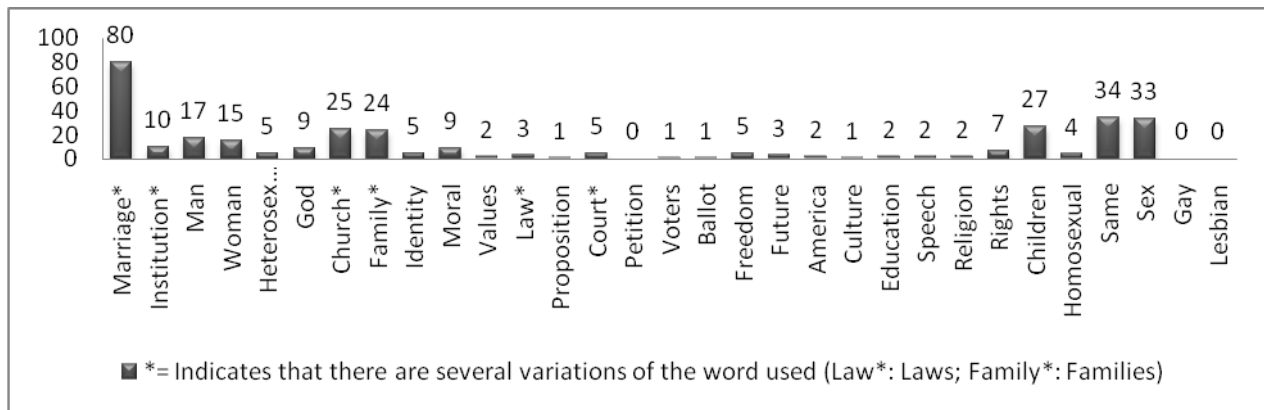
Concord shows the frequency of all the words one manually searches for, as well as the context in which it is used. The most frequent words mentioned above were plotted into the Concord function of the WordSmith Tools program, these following contexts appeared.

*“The California Supreme Court recently ruled that same-sex marriage was legal in California. Recognizing the importance of marriage to society, the Church accepted an invitation to participate in ProtectMarriage, a coalition of churches, organizations, and individuals sponsoring a November ballot measure, Proposition 8, that would amend the California state constitution to ensure that only a marriage between a man and a woman would be legally recognized”*; *“Members of the Church in Arizona and Florida will also be voting on constitutional amendments regarding marriage in their states, where coalitions similar to California’s are now being formed”*; *“The focus of the Church’s involvement is specifically same-sex marriage and its consequences”*; *“The Church does not object to rights (already established in California) regarding hospitalization and medical care, fair housing and employment rights, or probate rights, so long as these do not infringe on the integrity of the family or the constitutional rights of churches and their adherents to administer and practice their religion free from government interference”*; *“As Church members decide their own appropriate level of involvement in protecting marriage between a man and a woman, they should approach this issue with respect for others, understanding, honesty, and civility”* (Newsroom, 2010: The Divine Institution of Marriage).

The article seems to imply that the protection of marriage is of the utmost importance, and reminds its readers that this battle is being fought in several states: California, Arizona and Florida. It also presents the members with what the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has decided to do with regards to Proposition 8, and urges them to also get involved and defend marriage. Same-sex marriage is presented as something other than marriage. This presents readers with a definition of marriage that is non-negotiable, this is underlined in the presentation of marriage in the article “The Divine Institution of Marriage”,

*“Strong, stable families, headed by a father and mother, are the anchor of civilized society. When marriage is undermined by gender confusion and by distortions of its God-given meaning, the rising generation of children and youth will find it increasingly difficult to develop their natural identity as a man or a woman. Some will find it more difficult to engage in wholesome courtships, form stable marriages, and raise yet another generation imbued with moral strength and purpose”* (Newsroom, 2010: The Divine Institution of Marriage).

Given this presentation of marriage, one might assume that those immersed in the culture of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints will accept this view of marriage without difficulty and be persuaded to become involved in ‘defending the sanctity of marriage’, while those not familiar with this view and culture, will not be so easily persuaded by this article. If one goes on to look at the pre-chosen key words, using the WordList function of WordSmith Tools, the following result appears.



Marriage, Same, Sex, Children, Church and Family are the dominant words. But this does not indicate anything unless one sees what context these words are used. Therefore I will input these keywords into the Concord function of the WordSmith Tools program to see the usage of these words in context. Some of the contexts these words have been used in are:

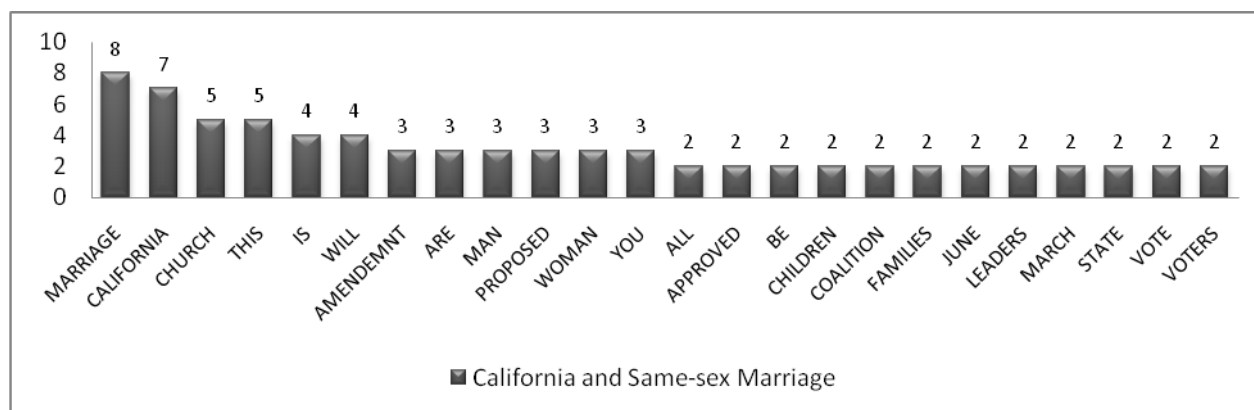
*“same-sex marriage and its consequences”; “protecting marriage between a man and a woman”; “Marriage is sacred, ordained of God from before the foundation of the world”; “Marriage between a man and a woman is central to the plan of salvation”; “Children are entitled to birth within the bonds of matrimony, and to be reared by a father and a mother”; “Strong families serve as the fundamental institution for transmitting to future generations the moral strengths, traditions, and values that sustain civilization”; “Traditional marriage provides a solid and well-established social identity to children”; “married couples in almost every culture have been granted special benefits aimed primarily at sustaining their relationship and promoting the environment in which children are reared”; “The Church’s opposition to same-sex marriage neither constitutes nor condones any kind of hostility towards homosexual men and women” (Newsroom, 2010: The Divine Institution of Marriage).*

These show a understanding of marriage solely between a man and a woman, as an institution ordain by God, essential to America’s future and to civilization. It shows a belief that a change to the institution of marriage, will result in a wide spectrum of governmental and policy changes, as well as severe weakening of the passing down of ‘moral strength, traditions, and values that sustain civilization’ to the future generations (Newsroom, 2010: The Divine Institution of Marriage).

#### 7.1.2 “California and Same-sex Marriage” articles

I used the same approach to study the article: “California and Same-sex Marriage” published by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day. Again setting aside prepositions, conjunctions and relative pronouns, I found that these words were most frequently used: ‘Marriage’, used 8 times; ‘California’ 7 times; ‘Church’ and ‘This’ 5 times; ‘Is’ and ‘Will’ 4 times; ‘Amendment’, ‘Are’, ‘Man’, ‘Proposed’, ‘Woman’ and ‘You’ used 3 times; ‘All’, ‘Approved’, ‘Be’, ‘Children’, ‘Coalition’, ‘Families’, ‘June’, ‘Leaders’, ‘March’, ‘State’, ‘Vote’ and ‘Voters’ used 2 times; the rest of the words in the article are only used one time. Here I will

only present words used more than 1 times, as words used only 1 time do not indicate a trend in word usage.

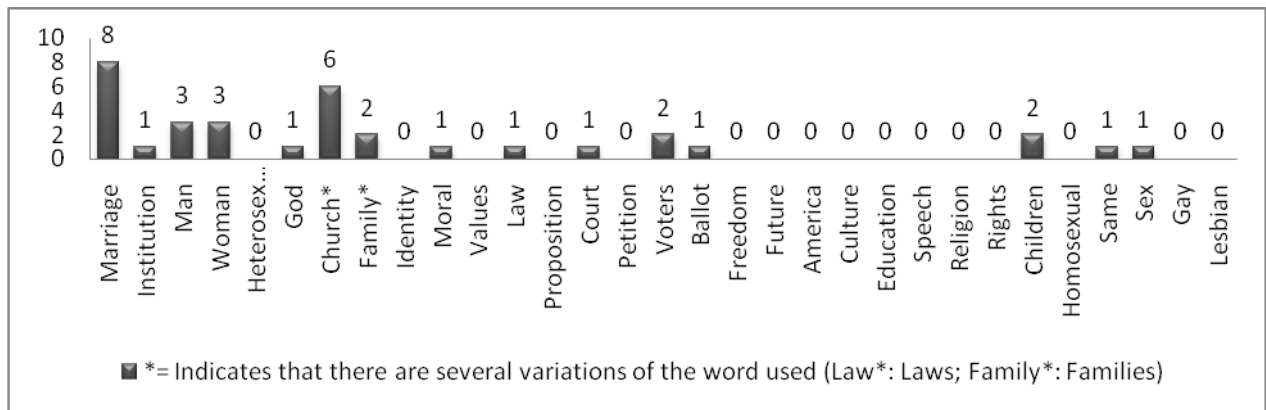


As mentioned before, I wish to focus on the frequency and context in which these words are used. The ‘Concord’ function in WordSmith Tools allows one to search for specific words; therefore I searched for the most frequent words as shown in the ‘Word List’ (Marriage-Voters). Concord shows the context in which words are used, I will list some of the contexts in which these words were used.

*“The California Supreme Court recently reversed this vote of the people. On November 4, 2 008, Californians will vote on a proposed amendment to the California state constitution that will now restore the March 2000 definition of marriage approved by the voters”; “The Church’s teachings and position on this moral issue are unequivocal”; “Children are entitled to be born within this bond of marriage”; “A broad-based coalition of churches and other organizations placed the proposed amendment on the ballot. The Church will participate with this coalition in seeking its passage”; “Local Church leaders will provide information about how you may become involved in this important cause”; and, “In March 2000 California voters overwhelmingly approved a state law providing that “Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California” (Newsroom, 2010: California and Same-sex Marriage).*

It seems that the key purpose of this text is to remind their readers that marriage is between a man and a woman. That this is an important issue and that voters have supported and upheld this belief before in 2000 (Proposition 22). They underline that the California Supreme Court overruled the will of the people and that it is important now that people get involved to reclaim their overruled democratic right to chose, and to defend marriage as it is a sacred institution ordained by God. Given this presentation of marriage, one might assume that those who already support marriage as a union only between a man and a woman would be encouraged and motivated to get involved.

If one goes on to look at the pre-chosen key words, using the WordList function of WordSmith Tools, the following result appears.



Marriage, Church, Man, Woman, Children, Family and Voters are the dominant words. But this does not indicate anything unless one sees what context these words are used. Therefore I will input these keywords<sup>8</sup> into the Concord function of the WordSmith Tools program to see the usage of these words in context. Here are some of the contexts the words occur in:

*“formation of families is central to the Creator’s plan for His children”;*  
*“Preserving Traditional Marriage and Strengthening Families”;* *“The Church will participate with this coalition in seeking its passage”;* *“Marriage between a man and a woman is ordained of God”* and *“We ask that you do all you can to support the proposed constitutional amendment by donating of your means and time to assure that marriage in California is legally defined as being between a man and a woman. Our best efforts are required to preserve the sacred institution of marriage”* (Newsroom, 2010: California and Same-sex Marriage).

One sees a clear linkage here between Marriage, God and the Church. Marriage as an institution ordained by God given to the Church to protect, preserve and enjoy. Faced with this presentation of Proposition 8, one might assume the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints might feel compelled to involve themselves in the fight to ‘preserve the sacred institution of marriage’ (Newsroom, 2010: California and Same-Sex Marriage).

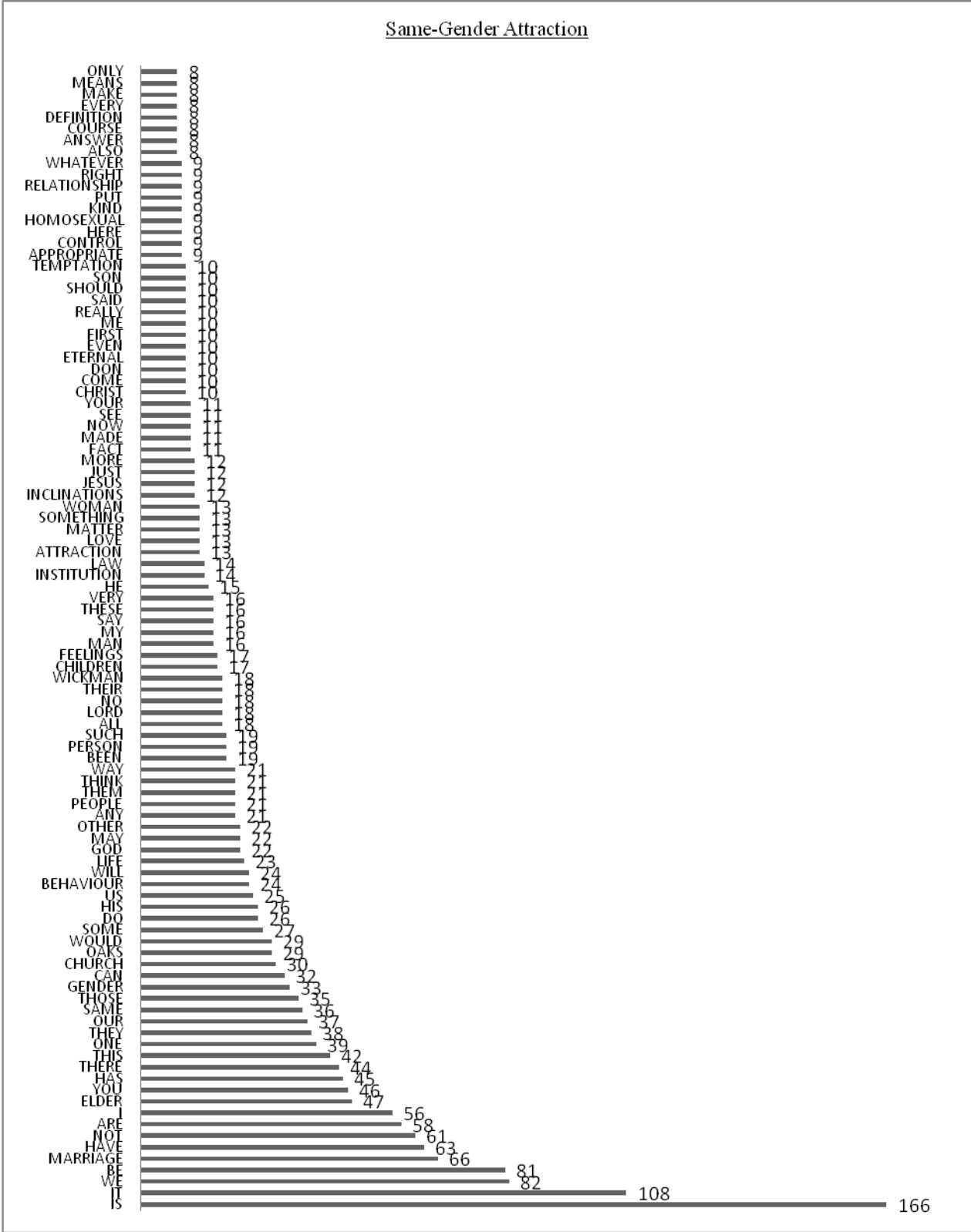
### 7.1.3 Analysis of “Same-Gender Attraction” article

As mentioned earlier, I have extracted the questions submitted to the Elders of the Church, as these will only distort the word-frequency counts, as it would include statements on the subject made by the interviewer who is not a representative of the Church.

Using the ‘Word List’ function here, and setting aside preposition, conjunctions and relative pronouns, one finds that ‘Is’ is used 166 times; ‘It’ 108 times; ‘We’ 82 times; ‘Be’ 81 times; ‘Marriage’ 66 times; ‘Have’ 63 times; ‘Not’ 61 times; ‘Are’ 58 times; ‘I’ 56 times; ‘Elder’ 47 times; ‘You’ 46 times; ‘Has’ 45 times; ‘There’ 44 times; ‘This’ 42 times; ‘One’ 39 times; ‘They’ 38 times; ‘Our’ 37 times; ‘Same’ 36 times; ‘Those’ 35 times; ‘Gender’ 33 times; ‘Can’ 32 times; ‘Church’ 30 times; ‘Oaks’ and ‘Would’ 29 times; ‘Some’ 27 times, ‘Do’ and

<sup>8</sup> I will input only the words which are used in the documents, i.e. not future, value, identity, culture & education.

'His' 26 times; 'Us' 25 times, 'Behavior' and 'Will' 24 times; 'Life' 23 times; 'God, 'May' and 'Other' 22 times and 'Any', 'People', 'Them', 'Think' and 'Way' 21 times. The list continues to list all the words used in the interview, and their frequency. Here is the entire diagram with the 100 most frequently used words.

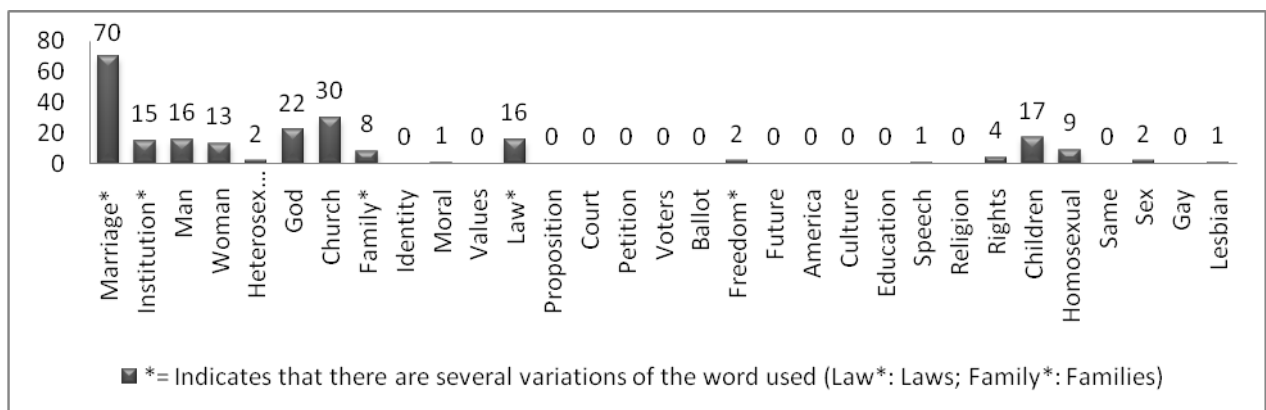


Plotting the most frequent words: ‘Is’ through ‘Way’; into the ‘Concord’ function, I get an overview of the context in which these are used, and here I have looked at the phrases they have used in the interview to understand their rhetorical approach. I’ve chosen to omit ‘Elder’, ‘Oaks’ and ‘Wickman’ as these merely indicate who is speaking. This interview focuses more on behavior than the two previous articles. The context in which ‘behavior’ is used in these article are among the following:

*“give up your sinful behavior”, “engaged in sinful behavior”, “control how we behave”, “homosexual and lesbian behavior is sinful”, “he wants his behavior legitimized”, “we do not legalize behavior for those reasons”, “the limits of acceptable behavior”, “living in some illegal behavior” and “feelings can be controlled and behavior can be controlled”* (Newsroom, 2010: Same-Gender Attractions).

These phrases should not be taken out of context. The interviewer is asking the Elders how they would respond if they had a son who came and told them that he was homosexual, therefore these references to ‘controlling feelings and behavior’ and ‘engaging in sinful behavior’ are related to this hypothetical son’s homosexuality. However the article does make it clear that homosexual behavior is not something the Church condones. As these seem to be persons of authority in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, I would assume that their opinions and words are quite influential among the Church’s members. Therefore I can see how this article helped some members decide if same-sex marriage was wrong or right, and if they should involve themselves in the Proposition 8 vote. At the very least, this interview along with the two other articles published by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints clearly legitimizes and explains why the Church was involved in the Proposition 8 vote in California in 2008 to its members.

If we look at the pre-chosen key words in this article, and process them through WordList and Concord, one gets this result:



Here the pre-chosen keywords clearly show some overlapping to the previous two statements released by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The three most frequent words



here are Marriage, Church and God, followed by Children and Man. Both the previous statements of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints included the most frequent words: Marriage, Children and Church; in addition to Family, Man, Woman and Voters in the “California and Same-sex Marriage” article; and Same, Sex and Family in “The Divine Institution of Marriage” article. One can see that the general theme is the similar, which is not surprising as all three articles address the issue of same-sex marriage in America, and are released by the same Church.

The contexts in which these words are used as shown in the Concord function of WordSmith Tools are the following:

*“we have even seen a church pastor threatened with prison for preaching from the pulpit that homosexual behavior is sinful”; “God has given us commandments”; “refrain from behavior that would cause you to have to repent or to have your Church membership called into question”; “Marriage should not be viewed as a therapeutic step to solve problems such as homosexual inclinations or practices”; “The Lord’s law of moral conduct is abstinence outside of lawful marriage and fidelity within marriage. Sexual relations are proper only between husband and wife, appropriately expressed within the bonds of marriage. Any other sexual conduct, including fornication, adultery, and homosexual and lesbian behavior is sinful”; “We encourage Church leaders and members to reach out with love and understanding to those struggling with these issues”; “marriage is neither a matter of politics, nor is it a matter of social policy. Marriage is defined by the Lord Himself”; “It is not an institution to be tampered with by mankind”; “Marriage of a man and a woman is clear in Biblical teaching in the Old Testament as well as in the New [Testament] teaching”; “marriage is — between a man and a woman”; “so-called same gender marriage. It also ignores the definition that the Lord Himself has given” and “Let’s not forget that for thousands of years the institution of marriage has been between a man and a woman. Until quite recently, in a limited number of countries” (Newsroom, 2010: Same-Gender Attractions).*

Again marriage is underlined as God’s institution and that the only ‘proper’ sexual relations are between husbands and wives. Marriage is seen as God’s commandment, and any amendment to this institution is seen as wrong, as it is a “*not an institution to be tampered with by mankind*” (Newsroom, 2010: Same-Gender Attractions).

### 7.2 The Catholic Church:

The Catholic Church quickly became involved in the Proposition 8 case in 2008. LA Weekly comments on the Catholics Church’s involvement:

*“While Mormons have been getting the headlines, the Roman Catholic Church has quietly been a major force in the ‘Yes on 8’ campaign to ban same sex marriage in California. Whether or not Proposition 8 is defeated, it seems inevitable that church officials will face some kind of blow back from gay and lesbian Catholics come November 5, if they haven’t already. From bishops releasing an official position paper in support of the ballot measure to printing pro-Prop. 8 literature and distributing it at parishes to offering local priests legal support so they can comfortably talk about banning same sex marriage with*

*parishioners, Catholic officials have been working hard for Proposition 8's passage. This is particularly true in Los Angeles” (LAWeekly, 2010).*

Prominent groups within the Catholic Church that were involved were, among others: the Knights of Columbus, the Catholics Bishops of California, the California Catholic Conference, the Catholics for the Common Good and Catholics for ProtectMarriage.com. These organizations donated money and time to promoting Proposition 8, in an effort to protecting traditional marriage. Large sums were donated across state-borders, showing the commitment of non-Californian citizens to prevent same-sex marriages. Connecticut-based Knight of Columbus, a Catholics men’s organization, donated US\$ 1.3 million to the cause (Guardian, 2010). Furthermore, if one searches in the donation database in the LA Times, it shows among others these contributions from Catholic organization: Catholics for the Common Good- \$485.84; Roman Catholics Bishop of Sacramento - \$6,000; St. Kieran Catholic Church- \$500; St. Stephens Catholic Church-\$1,000 and the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops - \$200,000 (LA Times, 2010: Who gave).

Like the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, many organizations within the Catholic Church also joined the ProtectMarriage.com coalition, a coalition which initially introduced the ballot proposal.

*“The Yes on Proposition 8, ProtectMarriage.com campaign – also known as the California Marriage Protection Act – announced today that Catholics for ProtectMarriage.com, led by the Knights of Columbus, California Catholic Conference and Catholics for the Common Good, has been established as the official Catholic grassroots effort dedicated to passing Proposition 8. All lay Catholic organizations and individuals are invited to join. Catholics for ProtectMarriage.com is inspiring Catholics across the state to stand up for restoring marriage in California. ‘Our strong Catholic faith teaches us the importance of treating all of God’s children with love and respect, it also teaches us that marriage between a man and a woman is the foundation of the family – the first school of love, peace and justice,’ said Bill May, chairman of Catholics for ProtectMarriage.com. ‘The ruling by the California Supreme Court nullifying the definition of marriage in state law was a shock to Catholics and other citizens who are concerned about how this will affect their own children’s understanding of marriage for their future’” (Catholics Online, 2010).*

Here I will look at statements given by the Catholics for the Common Good, the Catholic Bishops of California and California Catholic Conference voicing their thoughts, opinions and aims with the Proposition 8 vote. I will analyze their statements in an attempt to understand their involvement and mobilization efforts in the Proposition 8 vote in 2008.

#### 7.2.1 Analysis of the statement by the Catholics Bishops of California and California Catholic Conference in support of Proposition 8:

The Catholic Bishops of California issued a statement in support of Proposition 8; this statement begins with quoting Pope Benedict XVI: "*Only the rock of complete and*

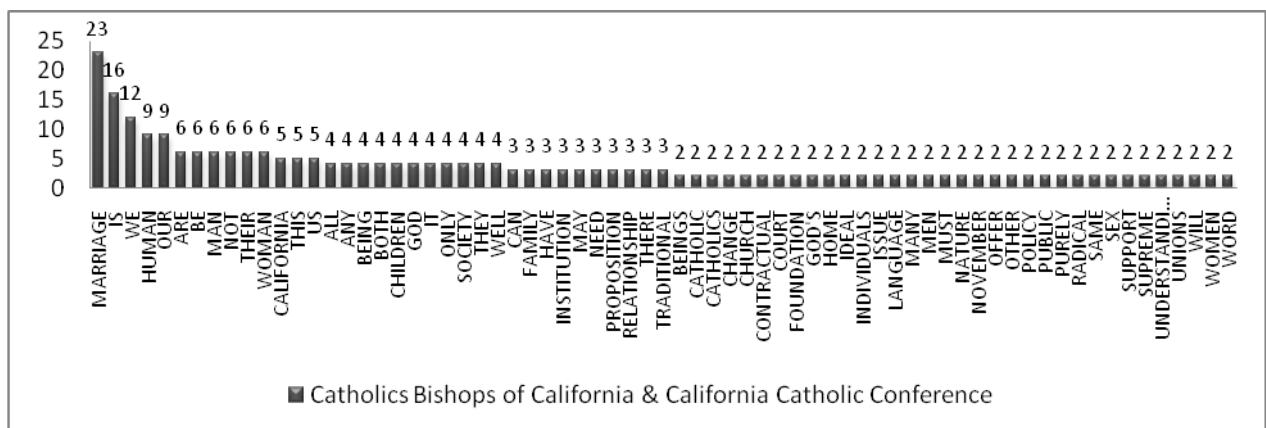
*irrevocable love between man and woman is capable of acting as a foundation for a society that can be home to all human beings*” (California Catholic Conference, 2008). As the Pope is the most authorities figure in the Catholic Church structure, I contend that this reference attempts to legitimize the Catholic Church’s support of Proposition 8, as questioning them in extension might means questioning the Pope. Here is a section of the Catholic Bishops of California’s statement in support of Proposition 8. I will not edit this section in order to prevent a biased data; I will here attempt to analyze this section in order to understand their view of their involvement and mobilization in this case. I will enter the entire text into the WordSmith Tools program.

*“As teachers of the faith, we invite our faithful Catholics to carefully form their consciences. We do that by drawing on the revelation of Scripture, the wisdom of Tradition, the experience and insights of holy men and women as well as on what can be known by reason alone. Crystallizing the teaching on marriage, the Catechism of the Catholic Church (1603, 1604) proclaims: ‘God himself is the author of marriage. The vocation to marriage is written in the very nature of man and woman as they came from the hand of the Creator. Marriage is not a purely human institution despite the many variations it may have undergone through the centuries in different cultures, social structures, and spiritual attitudes. The well-being of the individual person and of both human and Christian society is closely bound up with the healthy state of conjugal and family life.’ With all this in mind, we, as bishops, offer counsel to our Catholic people in California in their response to this radical change in California’s public policy regarding marriage. First, same-sex unions are not the same as opposite-sex unions. The marriage of a man and a woman embraces not only their sexual complementarity as designed by nature but includes their ability to procreate. The ideal for the well being of children is to be born into a traditional marriage and to be raised by both a mother and a father. We recognize that there are parents who are single and we laud them for the great sacrifices they make in raising their children. Second, we need to recall that marriage mirrors God’s relationship with us—and that marriage completes, enriches and perpetuates humanity. When men and women consummate their marriage they offer themselves to God as co-creators of a new human being. Any other pairing—while possibly offering security and companionship to the individuals involved—is not marriage. We must support traditional marriage as the source of our civilization, the foundation for a society that can be home to all human beings, and the reflection of our relationship with God. Third, we need to remember that we are all children of God possessed of human dignity and that each of us is created in God’s image. Protecting the traditional understanding of marriage should not in any way disparage our brothers and sisters—even if they disagree with us. Fourth, we must pray and work for a just resolution of this issue which is so important to the well being of the human family. Fifth, as citizens of California, we need to avail ourselves of the opportunity to overturn this ruling by the California Supreme Court. On the November general election ballot, there will be Proposition 8 which reads: “Only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California.” That language simply affirms the historic, logical and reasonable definition of marriage—and does not remove any benefits from other contractual*

*arrangements. And finally, we strongly encourage Catholics to provide both the financial support and the volunteer efforts needed for the passage of Proposition 8. And—please exercise your citizenship and vote in November”* (California Catholic Conference, 2008).

Firstly they invite their ‘faithful Catholics’, effectively excluding all Catholic believers that disagree with their supporting Proposition 8 as unfaithful Catholics. This mirrors the strategic rhetorical use of ‘us versus them’ argumentation, language that creates a cleavage or wedge between the different groups in a society or even within the same religious groups. The statement speaks of how the Catechism of the Catholic Church ‘crystallized’ the teaching of marriage, a word that connotes a permanent, fixed, fundamental truth. This reference to Catechism goes on to underline that *“God himself is that author of marriage”* (California Catholic Conference, 2008), thus should one disagree with Proposition 8 one automatically also disagree with not only the Pope, but also God. Both of which I would imagine are quite persuasive elements to a devout Catholic, who believes in God and has great faith in the importance and authority of the Pope. The statement shows the importance of marriage in relation to procreation, it’s importance of mirroring the relationship between God and man, and finally *“traditional marriage as the source of our civilization, the foundation for a society that can be home to all human beings”* (California Catholic Conference, 2008). This language is fairly non-negotiable to the readers, as marriage is deftly and irrevocably linked to God, a stable society, the source of civilization and the foundation for procreation. It summarizes with an appeal to action, asking the readers to join the cause, and volunteer time and money to pass Proposition 8.

Here I wish to present the words used more than 1 time, as words only used one time is not indicative of a word usage trend. The full data can be found in Appendix 1 of this thesis.



Setting aside prepositions, conjunctions and relative pronouns, I found that the word used most often was ‘Marriage’ used 23 times. Further on ‘Is’ is used 16 times; ‘We’ 12 times;

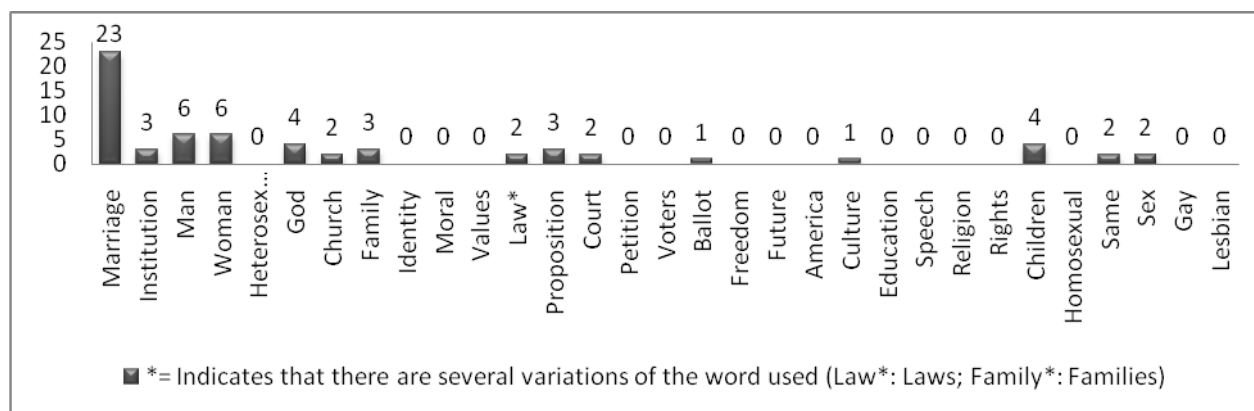
‘Human’ and ‘Our’ 9 times; ‘Are’, ‘Be’, ‘Man’, ‘Not’, ‘Their’ and ‘Woman’ 6 times; ‘California’, ‘This’ and ‘Us’ used 5 times; ‘All’, ‘Any’, ‘Being’, ‘Both’, ‘Children’, ‘God’, ‘It’, ‘Only’, ‘Society’, ‘They’ and ‘Well’ used 4 times; and the list goes on.

In looking at the context of these words, through using the Concord program, the following phrases and arguments came up:

*“Only the rock of complete and irrevocable love between man and woman is capable of acting as a foundation for a society that can be home to all human beings”; ”marriage’—an ancient, yet modern, human institution which pre-exists both Church and government”; “Marriage, history shows us, is intrinsic to stable, flourishing and hospitable societies”; ” what has never changed is that marriage is the ideal relationship between a man and a woman for the purpose of procreation and the continuation of the human race”; “This radical change in public policy will have many profound effects on our society”; “the biological and organic reality of marriage”; “The vocation to marriage is written in the very nature of man and woman as they came from the hand of the Creator”; “The marriage of a man and a woman embraces not only their sexual complementarity as designed by nature but includes their ability to procreate”; “We must support traditional marriage as the source of our civilization”; and “we need to recall that marriage mirrors God’s relationship with us—and that marriage completes, enriches and perpetuates humanity” (California Catholic Conference, 2008).*

All these arguments show a strong belief that marriage is an institution instigated by God, the natural foundation for society, which is set in place to procure stability and biological procreation.

If we further analyze this article by looking if the pre-chosen key words appear in this statement from the Catholic Church, and if so, in what context they are used.



Here the most frequent key-words used are: Marriage, Man, Woman, God and Children, indicating a link between Marriage and Men and Women; a link between Marriage and God; and finally a link between Marriage and Children. Looking into the usage of these words in context the following arguments effectively summarized the use of these words in this article:

*“On May 15, 2008, the California Supreme Court ruled that the current law defining marriage as between a man and a woman is unconstitutional. This radical change in public policy will have many profound effects on our society,*

*because it \*Discounts the biological and organic reality of marriage—and how deeply embedded it is in our culture, our language and our laws and ignores the common understanding of the word marriage; and because it \* Diminishes the word "marriage" to mean only a "partnership"-a purely adult contractual arrangement for individuals over the age of 18. Children—if there are any—are no longer a primary societal rationale for the institution” [...]“God himself is the author of marriage. The vocation to marriage is written in the very nature of man and woman as they came from the hand of the Creator. Marriage is not a purely human institution despite the many variations it may have undergone through the centuries in different cultures, social structures, and spiritual attitudes. The well-being of the individual person and of both human and Christian society is closely bound up with the healthy state of conjugal and family life” (California Catholic Conference, 2008).*

These arguments show that the Catholics Bishops of California believe that God is the ‘author of marriage’, and that therefore any alteration to this institution is unhealthy for society and for families. Marriage they argue, is ‘written in the very nature of man and woman’, and this is a gift from God created to safeguard children, society and the family (California Catholic Conference, 2008). Presented with the arguments from prominent authority figures within the Catholic Church, I would imagine members of the Catholic Church would find these arguments persuasive or at the very least challenging.

#### 7.2.2 Analysis on statements on CatholicsforProtectMarriage.com

When ones enters the CatholicsforProtectMarriage.com site, one notices that although it has not been maintained since the Supreme Court upheld Proposition 8, certain quotes still remain on the site to inform passer-bys of the importance of Proposition 8 and traditional marriage. Here are some of the quotes listed on the webpage:

*“[W]e are saying a strong "no" to the California courts and to many who support the court's wrong-headed decision. This "no" is not rooted in bigotry or bias. It is firmly rooted in a greater "yes" to a truer, more authentic appreciation of love's calling and love's design for the human heart”- Bishop Jaime Soto (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010).*

*"This conviction about marriage, while confirmed by faith, can be known from reason. Therefore, our efforts to enshrine this wisdom about marriage in the laws of our community are not an imposition of an ideology but a service of truth which we make for the common good. This wisdom about the nature of marriage is not a form of discrimination, but undergirds our freedom to live according to God's plan for us" -Reverend Allen H. Vigneron (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010).*

*“The campaign continues to promote the integrity and centrality of marriage for children and society. Same-sex "marriage" is just a symptom of a more serious problem that is affecting children in every family -- the redefinition of marriage, the family, and human sexuality. Join the Stand with Children campaign and become part of an army to restore a culture that supports and promotes traditional marriage [...] Never have the stakes been higher for the nation than*

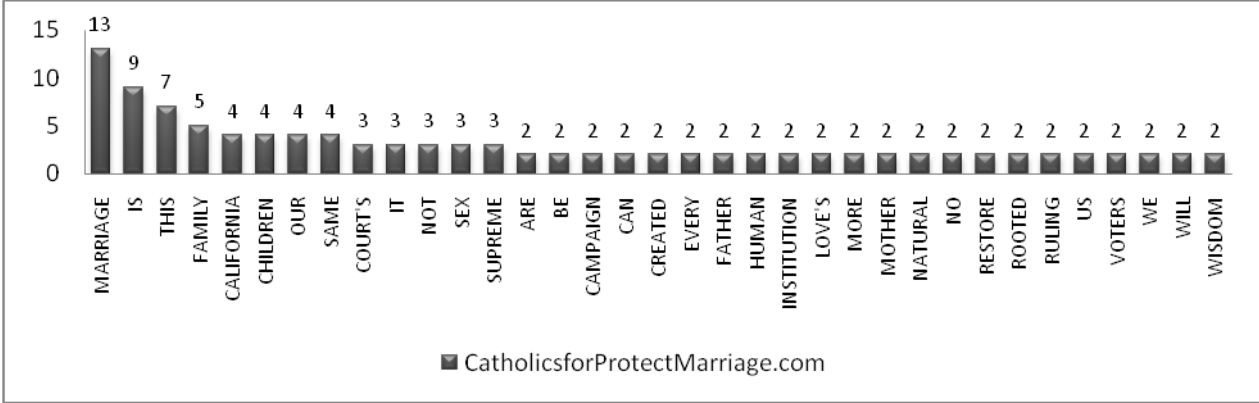
*this November, when California voters go to the polls to restore the definition of marriage. This is the last opportunity to put it in the State Constitution out of reach of activist judges [...] Prop 8 restores the same words that were adopted by 61% of the voters in 2000 and were nullified by the California Supreme Court. The California Supreme Court's ruling that created same-sex "marriage" is a threat to every family. It redefines the world's most child-friendly institution. If the Supreme Court's ruling stands, children will be taught that same-sex "marriage" is equivalent to marriage, the foundation of the family with a mother and father. This will confuse them about marriage, family and their own future. Marriage is a natural institution created for us by God. We can verify that by our natural desire for a married mother and father"* (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010).

Catholics for the Common Good here emphasize the importance of marriage for children, calling on Catholics to protect their children from same-sex marriage. *"This is affecting children in every family—the redefinition of marriage, the family, and human sexuality"* (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010). They state that same-sex marriage is a *"threat to every family"* which redefines the *"world's most child-friendly institution"* (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010). They remind Catholic voters of the high stakes for America, as a redefinition of marriage is a *"wrong-headed direction"* (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010). They underline that this understanding of marriage and their willingness to fight for this understanding, is not rooted in bias or narrow-mindedness. Rather this understanding and conviction is rooted in reason and wisdom, which can be confirmed by faith, that traditional marriage is true and *"God's plan for us"* (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010). It is *"a natural institution created for us by God. We can verify that by our natural desire for a married mother and father"* (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010).

Thus should a reader be opposed to tradition marriage, he or she might feel that in supporting same-sex marriage, they would be seen as going against God's will and plan, against nature, actively threatening children and their future, and supporting a change with disastrous consequences for the nation. On the other hand, should one already be in support of Proposition 8, one might assume that reading these comments on the CatholicsforProtectMarriage.com website, might strengthen ones conviction that involving oneself in the campaign is the only right things to do, as the thought of Proposition 8 being rejected is construed as threatening to the nation, one's children and in direct opposition to God's will for one's life. Therefore I contend that these statements might mobilize readers and set a wedge between those opposed to Proposition 8 and those in favor of the ballot proposal.

When inputting the quotes from the CatholicsforProtectMarriage.com into the WordList function of the WordSmith Tools program, the following list of most frequent words

appears. Here I will only present the words used more than one time in the article, the full data may be found in Appendix 1.



The most frequent words are: ‘Marriage’, used 13 times; ‘Is’ used 9 times; ‘This’ used 7 times; ‘Family’ used 5 times; ‘California’, ‘Children’, ‘Our’ and ‘Same’ used 4 times; ‘Court’s’, ‘It’, ‘Not’ ‘Sex’ and ‘Supreme’ 3 times; and ‘Are’, ‘Be’, ‘Campaign’, ‘Can’, ‘Created’, ‘Every’, ‘Father’, ‘Human’, ‘Institution’, ‘Love’s’, ‘More’, ‘Mother’, ‘Natural’, ‘No’, ‘Restore’, ‘Rooted’, ‘Ruling’, ‘Us’, ‘Voters’, ‘We’, ‘Will’ and ‘Wisdom’ used 2 times.

To find the context in which the words are used, the most frequent words are inputted into the Concord function of the WordSmith Tools program (‘Marriage’ through ‘Wisdom’). I also added the word ‘Same-sex’ into the Concord function, as the word ‘Same’ appears 4 times and ‘Sex’ appears 3 times and there is a likelihood that these appear as Same-Sex in the text. Here are some of the following arguments and phrases in which these words appeared in the text:

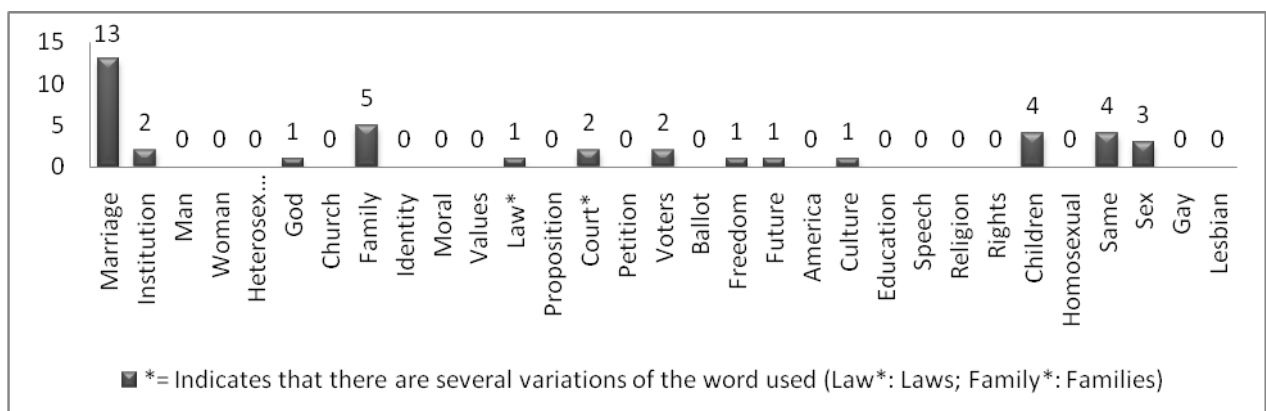
*“[W]e are saying a strong ‘no’ to the California courts and to many who support the court’s wrong-headed decision”; “our efforts to enshrine this wisdom about marriage in the laws of our community are not an imposition of an ideology but a service of truth which we make for the common good”; “This wisdom about the nature of marriage is not a form of discrimination, but undergirds our freedom to live according to God’s plan for us”; “The campaign continues to promote the integrity and centrality of marriage for children and society”; “Same-sex “marriage” is just a symptom of a more serious problem that is affecting children in every family -- the redefinition of marriage, the family, and human sexuality”; “become part of an army to restore a culture that supports and promotes traditional marriage”; “Never have the stakes been higher for the nation than this November, when California voters go to the polls to restore the definition of marriage”; “The California Supreme Court’s ruling that created same-sex ‘marriage’ is a threat to every family”; “children will be taught that same-sex ‘marriage’ is equivalent to marriage”; “Marriage is a natural institution created for us by God”; “It redefines the world’s most child-friendly institution”; “This ‘no’ is not rooted in bigotry or bias. It is firmly rooted in a greater ‘yes’ to a truer, more authentic appreciation of love’s calling and love’s design for the human*



*heart*”; and *“The campaign continues to promote the integrity and centrality of marriage for children and society”* (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010).

The usage of these words in these contexts paints an interesting picture of the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ campaign, and also shows what arguments have been used in order to mobilize people to join the cause. They explain that they are standing against a ‘wrong-headed decision’, in order to ‘enshrine’ the truth about marriage in the laws of their country...this as a *“service of truth which we make for the common good”* (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010). All these statements indicate an understanding that they own the truth and have an obligation to act in order to preserve this truth for their country and society. They underline the threat to children should not this truth be upheld, and inform their readers that their campaign will uphold the ‘centrality of marriage’ for the country, and specifically for the children. They call for their readers to join the cause and become part of the ‘army’ that will restore this truth of marriage to society. They remind them that it is important for their followers to join the army as the stakes have never been higher: *“same-sex ‘marriage’ is a threat to every family”*, it will redefine *“the world’s most child-friendly institution”* (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010). All these arguments create a rather bleak image for those who share these values and understand of marriage, should they chose not to involve themselves in the Proposition 8 case. Therefore it is understandable that these quotes might have added to people willingness to become involved, as they have underlined how precarious the situation might be should people not chose to join the ‘army’ to uphold the institution of marriage.

Now I will look at the pre-chosen key words using the WordList function, in order to see if the key words relating to my hypothesis appear in these quotes.



Here one sees that the three most frequently used pro-chosen key words are: Marriage used 13 times; Family, used 5 times; Children and Same, used 4 times; and Sex used 3 times. A similar result to the key-word frequency in the Catholics Bishops of California and California Catholic Conference text-analysis, where the most frequent key words were: Marriage, Man, Woman, God and Children.

Inputting the pre-chosen key words that appeared to be used in the article into the Concord function, one get a similar list of context as in the analysis of the most frequent words, but I believe the following quote sums up the Catholic coalition's views on Proposition 8:

*“The campaign continues to promote the integrity and centrality of marriage for children and society. Same-sex ‘marriage’ is just a symptom of a more serious problem that is affecting children in every family -- the redefinition of marriage, the family, and human sexuality. Join the Stand with Children campaign and become part of an army to restore a culture that supports and promotes traditional marriage [...] Never have the stakes been higher for the nation than this November, when California voters go to the polls to restore the definition of marriage”* (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010)

### 7.3 The Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America

As mentioned earlier, the majority of Jewish groups were opposed to Proposition 8, yet the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America supported the ballot proposal (The Jewish Daily Forward, 2010).

*“The O.U., a New York-based group that represents some 1,000 Orthodox synagogues across the country, and other supporters of Proposition 8 [...] contend that the rulings in favor of same-sex marriage pose a growing threat to their religious liberties. ‘We know the threat to people of faith and houses of worship is real and under way,’ the O.U. said in a public statement. ‘Religious institutions and people face charges of bigotry and could be denied government funding and more if same-sex marriage becomes the law of the land’ [...] Beigelman pointed to a Massachusetts case wherein Catholic Charities, which operated a thriving adoption agency, chose to “get out of the adoption business,” he said, rather than be forced by law to allow gay couples to adopt. Beigelman expressed concern that in California, under the new gay marriage law, churches and synagogues could be sued if, for example, they refused to rent out their space for a gay couple’s wedding reception”* (The Jewish Daily Forward, 2010).

First I will analyze the statements released by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations in America relating to Proposition 8, and then I will analyze the frequency of words used and the contexts and clusters of these words using the WordSmith Tools program.

#### 7.3.1 Analysis of the statement issued by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations in America

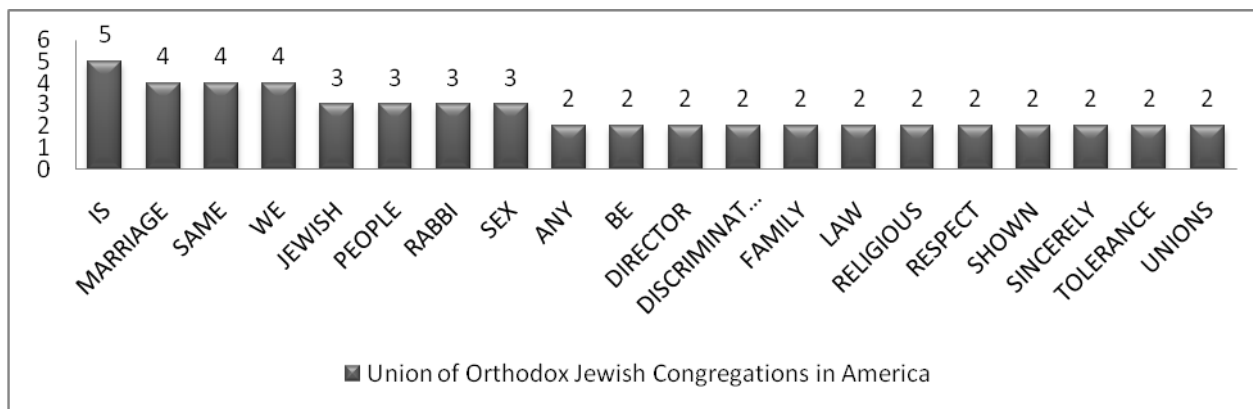
The official statement released by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations in America regarding the Proposition 8 vote in California, was published on the [whatisprop8.com](http://whatisprop8.com) website, which is a coalition website dedicated to supporting Proposition 8. The official statement was signed by Rabbi Rabbi Tzvi Hersh Weinreb [National Executive VP], Rabbi Alan Kalinsky [Director, OU West Coast] and Rabbi Daniel Korobkin [Director, Synagogue Services]

*“Jewish law is unequivocal in opposing same sex unions. Moreover, marriage and family has long been a prime value for the Jewish people. One of G-d's first acts is*

*to join Adam and Eve in marriage and to command them to build a family. While Judaism also teaches respect for others and condemns discrimination of any kind, we as Orthodox Jewish rabbis and leaders, resolutely oppose any efforts to change the definition of marriage to include same sex unions. We know the threat to people of faith and houses of worship is real and is already underway. Religious institutions and people face charges of bigotry and could be denied government funding and more if same sex marriage becomes the law of the land. Just as we condemn discrimination against the gay community, we ask that the same tolerance be shown towards those with sincerely held religious beliefs. Passage of Proposition 8 as an amendment to the state constitution would ensure that this respect and tolerance is demanded and shown towards all” (What is Prop 8, 2008).*

This statement’s emphasis is two-fold, first it looks at how marriage is designed by God for a man and a woman, and secondly, it looks at the threat a change to the definition of marriage poses to religious freedom in America. They resolutely “*oppose any efforts to change the definition of marriage*”, and “*know the threat to people of faith and houses of worship is real and is already underway*” (What is Prop 8, 2008). Both these arguments are devoid of discussion, and are simply stated as facts. They legitimize this standpoint, by referring to marriage and family as being the “*prime value for the Jewish people*”, and as one of God’s first acts in creating the world (What is Prop 8, 2008). In other words, if an orthodox Jew is not in agreement with this view, then he or she has misunderstood the prime value of being a Jew; misunderstood God’s will and are adding to the threat to religious freedom that is already underway in America. I contend that this statement from people of authority within the Jewish Orthodox Congregation might make it hard for members of the Orthodox Church to oppose Proposition 8.

Using the WordList function in the WordSmith Tools program, these following words were used the most in the statement released by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations in America: ‘Is’ is used 5 times; ‘Marriage’, ‘Same’ and ‘We’ 4 times; ‘Jewish’, ‘People’, ‘Rabbi’ and ‘Sex’ 3 times; ‘Any’, ‘Be’, ‘Director’, ‘Discrimination’, ‘Family’, ‘Law’, ‘Religious’, ‘Respect’, ‘Shown’, ‘Sincerely’, ‘Tolerance’ and ‘Unions’ 2 times; and the rest of the words are only used one time; as shown in the diagram below. As the rest of the words are only used one time, I contend that these will not indicate a trend in usage of these words. Therefore I will only present words used more than one time in the graph below, for the full data see Appendix 1.



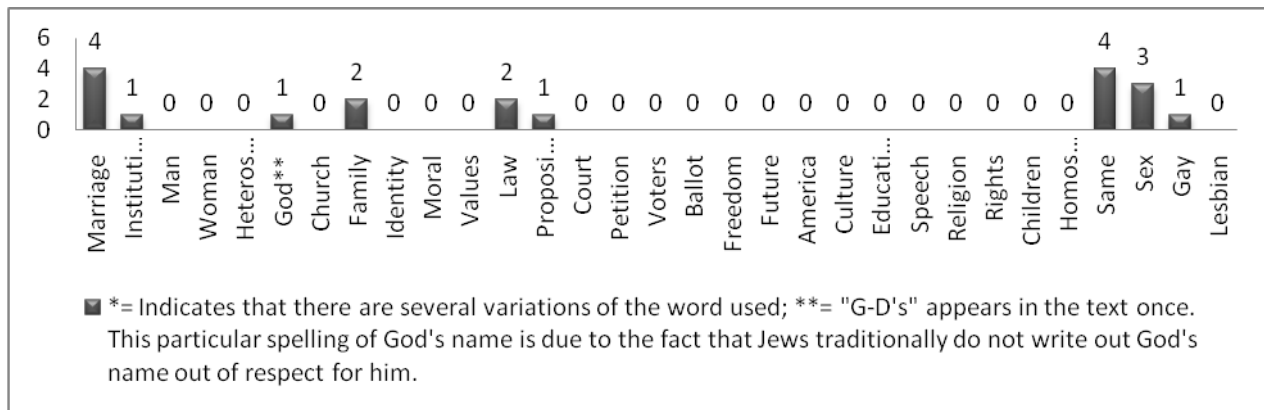
To fully understand the usage of these words, one must see them in the context in which they were used. Therefore I inputted these most frequent words (‘Is’ through ‘Unions’) into the Concord function of the WordSmith Tools program to see the contexts of the word usage. I’ve chosen here to not input the following words: ‘Rabbi’, ‘Director’ and ‘Sincerely’, as these only allude to who wrote and signed off on the statement. In addition I will add ‘Same-sex’ as the usage of ‘same’ and ‘sex’ often are in the word ‘same-sex’.

Here are some of the phrases and arguments in which the frequent words were used:

*“Jewish law is unequivocal in opposing same sex unions”; “we as Orthodox Jewish rabbis and leaders, resolutely oppose any efforts to change the definition of marriage to include same sex unions”; “Religious institutions and people face charges of bigotry and could be denied government funding and more if same sex marriage becomes the law of the land”; “Just as we condemn discrimination against the gay community, we ask that the same tolerance be shown towards those with sincerely held religious beliefs”; “Moreover, marriage and family has long been a prime value for the Jewish people” and “We know the threat to people of faith and houses of worship is real and is already underway” (What is Prop 8, 2008).*

The usage of the words shown in these contexts, seem to show a ‘unequivocal’ belief in that marriage between a man and a women is a fundamental Jewish value, and that an altercation to these value constitute a danger towards religious freedom and Jewish families. Both of which I would imagine are compelling arguments for Orthodox Jews reading this statement from prominent Rabbis in their church.

In order to see if there is any correlation between the different groups involved in the Proposition 8 vote and my hypothesis, I have pre-chosen some key words which all the texts are tested with. Therefore I will use the WordList program to see if these pre-chosen keywords appear in this text.



The most frequent pre-chosen keywords are here: ‘Marriage’ and ‘Same’ used 4 times; ‘Sex’ used 3 times; ‘Family’ and ‘Law’ used 2 times; and ‘G-d’s’, ‘Proposition’, ‘Gay’ and ‘Institution’, used 1 times. Also Jewish congregations worship at a Synagogue, not a Church. This explains why the word ‘Church’ does not appear in the search; it may be prudent to note that the word ‘Synagogue’ appears once in the text. In general, the keyword search does not seem to be as fruitful in relation to this statement, as it has been in the analysis of other texts, statements and articles.

#### 7.4 The Eastern Orthodox Church:

Likewise, the Eastern Orthodox Church released a statement in support of Proposition 8 (Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, 2009). Here I will analyze their statement relating to Proposition 8, and then I will analyze the frequency of words used and the contexts and clusters of these words using the WordSmith Tools program.

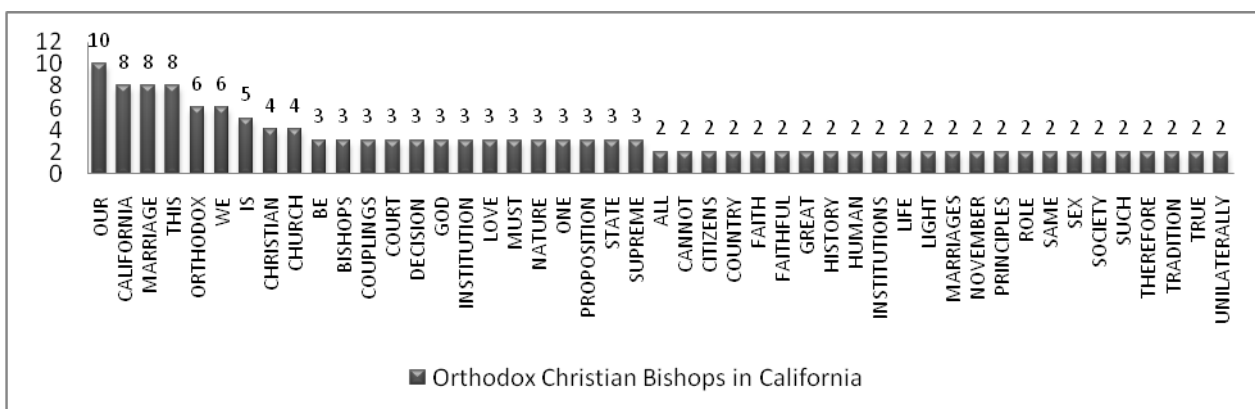
##### 7.4.1 Analysis of the statement released by the Eastern Orthodox Church

The official statement of the Orthodox Christian Bishops in California in support of Proposition 8 was published on Antiochian.org, the Self-Ruled Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America's website. The following statement was submitted there by the Californian Orthodox Bishops: Metropolitan Gerasimos [Greek Orthodox Metropolis of San Francisco], Bishop Joseph [Diocese of Los Angeles and the West Antiochian Archdiocese of North America], Bishop Maxim [Serbian Orthodox Diocese of Western America] and Bishop Benjamin [Orthodox Church in America, Diocese of the West] (Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, 2009).

*“The decision of the California Supreme Court on May 15, 2008, unilaterally redefines the sacred institution of marriage in a manner unprecedented in human history — and alien to our Christian tradition. We, the Orthodox Christian bishops of California, were saddened by this decision which constitutes a direct attack upon the longstanding role and freedom of religion in American life [...] Orthodox Christianity holds in high regard the God-ordained institution of marriage and the family. The Orthodox Church must and shall remain true to its faith and tradition, and affirm that marriage is the union of one man and one*

woman, given by God to one another for mutual support, encouragement, love and the ability to bear children. As members of the Church and as citizens of this great land, we cannot withdraw from the society in which we live [...]. The Orthodox Church in the United States thrives and grows, in many respects, because of the enduring principles upon which this great country was founded. Our definitions of basic institutions such as marriage, shaped by the unfathomable forces of love and nature coupled with the experience of all recorded human history, rightly derive from what the Founders of our country knew as the ‘natural law’ of ‘nature and nature’s God’. It is in this light that the Orthodox Christian bishops of California reject the decision of the California Supreme Court in *In re Marriage Cases*. The institution of marriage emanates from something transcending our passing political institutions, and cannot be unilaterally altered in this way. We therefore must act when that promulgation directly contradicts our faith — and threatens the very foundation of Orthodoxy’s flourishing in America. Therefore, we, the Orthodox bishops of California, call upon the faithful, as responsible and concerned citizens of California, to overturn this ruling by the California Supreme Court by voting in favor of Proposition 8 this coming November. This proposition is a regrettably necessary measure to restore the true definition of marriage in the eyes of our state. A state that believes same-sex couplings constitute ‘marriage’ implicitly — and sooner or later, explicitly — denies the role of the Church and all faiths that adhere to traditional values in public life. Please exercise your citizenship and vote in November. The passage of Proposition 8 is an imperative” (Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, 2009).

Inputting the statement from the Orthodox Christian Bishops in California in support of Proposition 8 into the WordList function of the WordSmith Tools program, I found the most frequent words used in the statement; depicted in the table below. Again I will only present the words used more than 1 time, the full data may be found in Appendix 1.



Setting aside preposition, conjunctions and relative pronouns, one finds these words are used most often in the text: ‘Our’ used 10 times; ‘California’, ‘Marriage’ and ‘This’ 8 times; ‘Orthodox’ and ‘We’ 6 times; ‘Is’ 5 times; ‘Christian’ and ‘Church’ [4 times]; ‘Be’, ‘Bishops’, ‘Couplings’, ‘Court’, ‘Decision’, ‘God’, ‘Institution’, ‘Love’, ‘Must’, ‘Nature’, ‘One’, ‘Proposition’, ‘State’ and ‘Supreme’ 3 times; ‘All’, ‘Cannot’, ‘Citizens’, ‘Country’, ‘Faith’, ‘Faithful’, ‘Great’, ‘History’, ‘Human’, ‘Institutions’, ‘Life’, ‘Light’, ‘Marriages’,

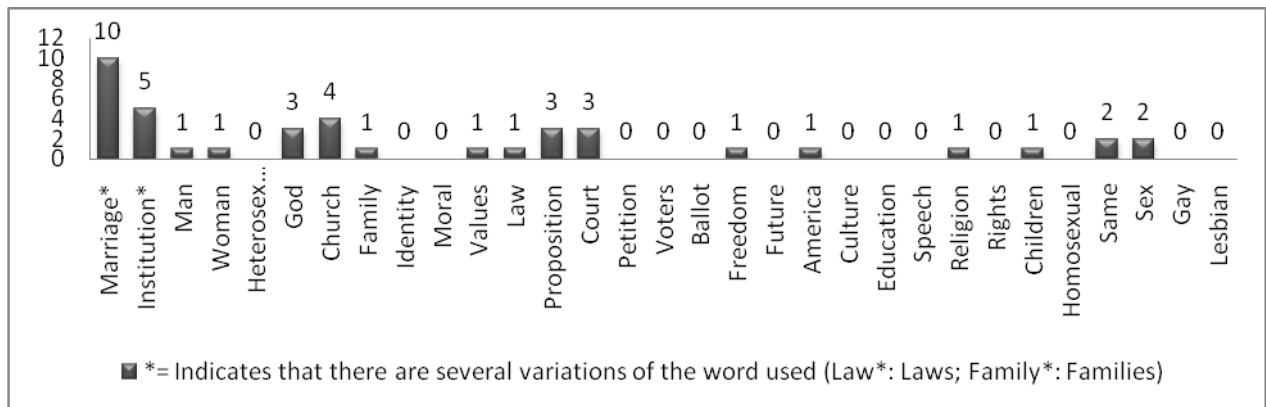
‘November’, ‘Principles’, ‘Role’, ‘Same’, ‘Sex’, ‘Society’, ‘Such’, ‘Therefore’, ‘Tradition’, ‘True’ and ‘Unilaterally’ 2 times; the remaining words occur one time in the text.

To fully understand the usage of these words and the mobilization potential they might have, one must study how they are used: in what context and in what phrases. To discover this I input these frequent words in addition to the word ‘same-sex’ (as ‘same’ and ‘sex’ might be connected in the text) into the Concord function of the WordSmith Tools program. These phrases and arguments appeared:

*“The decision of the California Supreme Court on May 15, 2008, unilaterally redefines the sacred institution of marriage”; “A majority of the justices declared not only that same-sex couplings must be allowed to exist at those couples’ discretion as ‘marriages,’ but that the state of California is forbidden to refer to these couplings as anything but ‘marriages’”; “Orthodox Christianity holds in high regard the God-ordained institution of marriage and the family”; “The Orthodox Church must and shall remain true to its faith and tradition, and affirm that marriage is the union of one man and one woman, given by God to one another for mutual support, encouragement, love and the ability to bear children”; “As members of the Church and as citizens of this great land, we cannot withdraw from the society in which we live”; “faithfully teach the truth about Christian principles of living”; “Therefore, we, the Orthodox bishops of California, call upon the faithful, as responsible and concerned citizens of California, to overturn this ruling by the California Supreme Court by voting in favor of Proposition 8 this coming November”, “A state that believes same-sex couplings constitute “marriage” implicitly — and sooner or later, explicitly — denies the role of the Church and all faiths that adhere to traditional values in public life”, and “Our definitions of basic institutions such as marriage, shaped by the unfathomable forces of love and nature coupled with the experience of all recorded human history, rightly derive from what the Founders of our country knew as the ‘natural law’ of ‘nature and nature’s God’” (Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, 2009).*

These phrases suggest that marriage is a ‘sacred’ institution, a divinely ordained fixture of society. They seem to imply that a removal of this perpetual institution that they believe follows the laws of God and nature would cause an erosion of religious freedom and adherence to traditional values in public and private life in the United States. In other words, they allude to a belief that redefining marriage to include same-same marriage will permanently alter California and rest of the country in a negative way. They also explicitly encourage their members to vote for Proposition 8, seemingly this statement’s aim was to clarify the church’s position on Proposition 8 and mobilize voters for this cause. Thus is it natural to assume that these arguments and phrases are constructed to present their support of Proposition 8 and marshal their members to support this with them.

In line with the analysis of the other groups involved in the Proposition 8 case, I will also look at the pre-chosen key words here. This, as previously stated, is to see if there is any correlation among the texts and groups, relating to my hypothesis.



The top three most frequent pro-chosen key words in this text are: ‘Marriage’, used 10 times; ‘Institution’, used 5 times; and ‘Church’, used 4 times. These might indicate a greater belief in the church’s role in guarding the institution of marriage, compared to some of the previously analyzed organizations, where the immediate key-word search showed a focus on children, family and God. Yet, the usage of key words can only be truly analyzed in context. As I already have extensively shown the use of these words in the context of this text, I will rather point to a quote in the text that seems to summarize the Orthodox bishops of California’s views on the subject.

*“The institution of marriage emanates from something transcending our passing political institutions, and cannot be unilaterally altered in this way. We therefore must act when that promulgation directly contradicts our faith — and threatens the very foundation of Orthodoxy’s flourishing in America. Therefore, we, the Orthodox bishops of California, call upon the faithful, as responsible and concerned citizens of California, to overturn this ruling by the California Supreme Court by voting in favor of Proposition 8 this coming November”* (Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, 2009).

#### 7.5 Analysis of the ‘No to Proposition 8’ blocs documents and word-usage

Juxtaposed the analysis of the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ campaign, I will briefly look at and analyze the ‘No to Proposition 8’ bloc’s statements and media releases. I hope this short analysis will show whether the ‘No to Proposition 8’ camp uses a different jargon and language than their opponents, and if yes, then it can be argued that they have a different approach to their argumentation and political mobilization strategies. This in turn might shed light on if and how the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ groups intentionally and strategically chose to use certain phrases and arguments, which differ from their opponents, in order to mobilize voters. In order to keep this section as small as possible I will only look at two organizations: The American Civil Liberties Union and the National Center for Lesbian Rights.



### 7.5.1 The American Civil Liberties Union

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) posted several blogs on their official blog site, 'Blog of Rights', conveying their view on Proposition 8. I contend that looking at these blog entries, will give insight into how the ACLU viewed Proposition 8, and also what phrases and argumentation they used in defining Proposition 8. This might show what their motivations for being involved were, and how they attempted to mobilize voters to join their cause. On November 26th, 2008 the ACLU posted a blog called "Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8", here they unlined the importance of family and urged their followers to talk to others about gay marriage over the Thanksgiving holiday. This is a blog entry that clearly encourages people to become mobilized and raise the issue of same-sex marriage among their fellow citizens:

*“This Thanksgiving we are reflecting on what family means to us. For those of us at the ACLU and many people across the country, that will bring to mind what happened to families in California as a result of Prop 8. So — in what is becoming an ACLU tradition — I’m writing to share some pointers for talking turkey this Thanksgiving about issues that really matter. Here’s my biggest piece of advice for when Prop 8 and gay marriage come up over the Thanksgiving dinner table: Don’t shy away from the conversation. Do what I’m hoping thousands of ACLU supporters will do over the holidays. **Talk to someone you’ve never talked to about same sex marriage and explain that it’s just not right to deny someone their freedom because of who they are or who they love.** And you can tell them something else: Tell them the fight to stop Prop 8 from disrupting people’s lives and denying gay couples the full measure of their freedom is far from over. Tell them your ACLU has gone to court to stop Prop 8”* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8).

Another blog entry from October 29th, 2008 published a letter from ACLU's executive director Anthony D. Romero urging members to fight Proposition 8, and also telling Romero's personal life story of how he experienced being openly homosexual. This entry was a personal appeal to readers of the blog to act and get involved in stopping Proposition 8.

*“I’m angry and heartsick about what may happen in California on November 4th. In the most personal way possible, I’m asking you for a favor: help us ensure that gay couples all across California keep their fundamental right to marriage — the basic right to be treated just like anybody else. I hope you will forgive the indulgence when I speak from the heart and tell you my personal story [...] Even before I came out to them, I struggled to accept myself as a gay man. I didn’t want to lose the love of my family, and I wanted a family of my own — however I defined it. I ultimately chose to find my own way in life as a gay man. [...] The right to be equal citizens and to marry whomever we wish — unimaginable to me when I first came out — is now ours to lose in California unless we stand up for what’s right. All of us must fight against what’s wrong. In my 43 short years of life, I have seen gay and lesbian people go from pariahs and objects of legally-sanctioned discrimination to being on the cusp of full equality. [...] If you have friends and family in California, please contact them right now, and ask them to*

*vote NO on Proposition 8” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Please Fight Proposition 8’s Assault on Same-Sex Marriage).*

In September of 2008, the ACLU published a blog entry where Matt Coles, director of ACLU Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender and AIDS Project, talked about how worried he is about Proposition 8 in California, specifically focusing on the statistics showing how much support the ‘No to Proposition 8’ and the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ blocs had.

*“Frankly, I’m worried about Proposition 8 on the November California ballot. That’s the initiative that would end marriage for same-sex couples. There are reasons to feel good. The latest California Field Poll shows us ahead by a very respectable 55 percent to their 38 percent. But when you look beneath the surface, the situation is a little more complex. All of the in depth research appears to show: 1) we have a solid 40 to 42 percent; 2) they have a solid 38 to 40 percent; 3) we’re both chasing the remaining 16 to 20 percent. That remaining 16 to 20 percent is made up of voters who are deeply conflicted; they don’t like marriage for same-sex couples, but they also don’t like the idea of voting to take someone’s rights away” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Worried About Marriage in California).*

Coles looks at the percentage of voters both blocs have and concludes that in order for Proposition 8 to be won, this requires more economic support to fight the well funded ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ bloc. He urges readers of the blog to contribute to this cause, even supplying them with a link with which they can donate funds immediately, warning readers that the side with most economic support will dominate in the media and win undecided there.

*“If they keep outdoing us on money, they’ll get up on television first, they will saturate, and they may well redefine the issue for those conflicted voters. If they do, our lead will evaporate. And our chances of winning will become remote. We can still win this, but our community has got to start supporting the effort in a big way now, or we are done for. Please, give as generously as you can. Here’s a link where you can do so” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Worried About Marriage in California).*

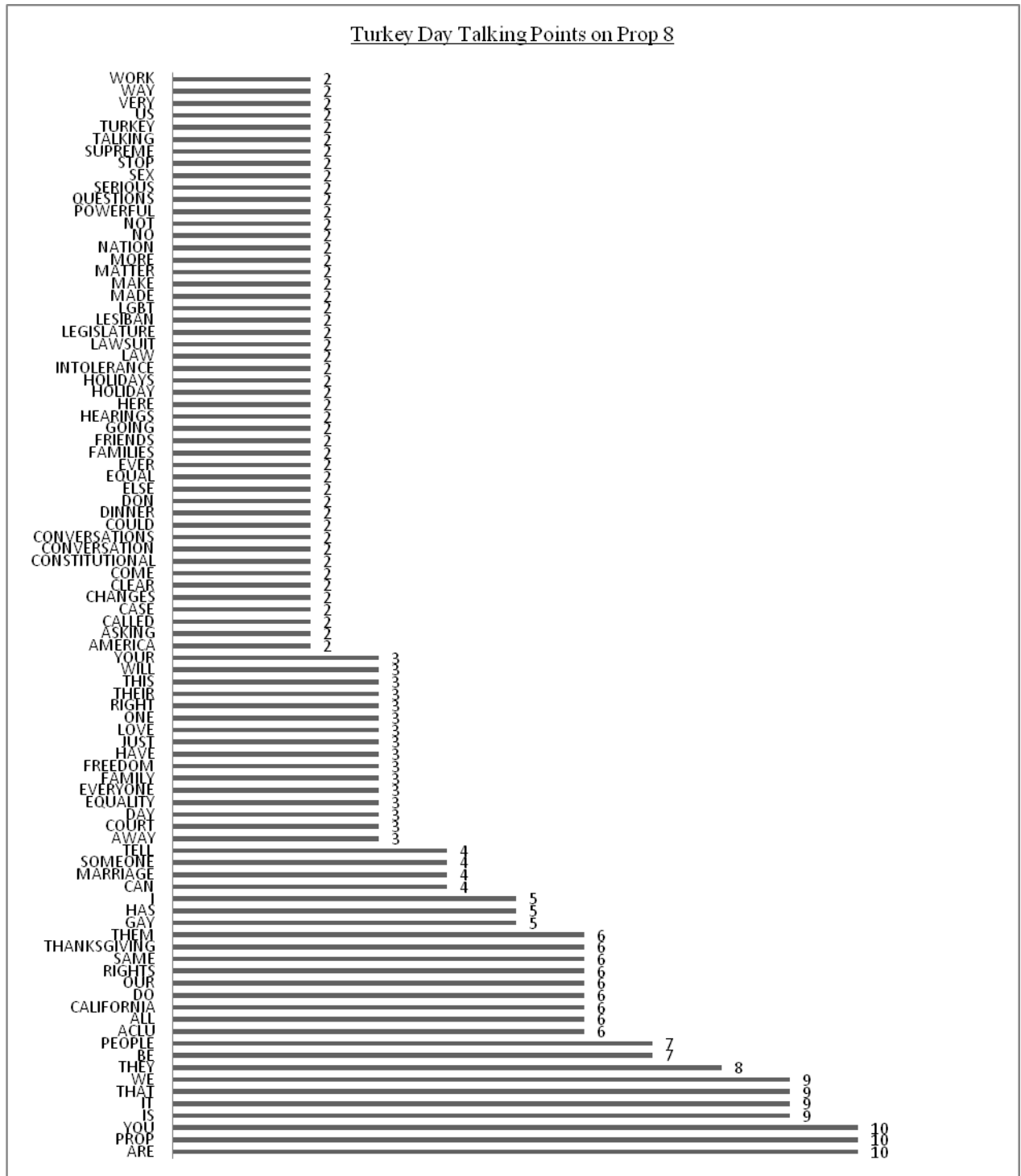
All three blog entries read differently and have different approaches, one addresses the issue of funding and economic advantages; another addresses the issue of family and the right to have a family; and finally one addresses the courage to stand up and tell people about same-sex marriage, spreading awareness on the issue to people around oneself. All these three aspects of mobilization: funding; recognizes the issue at stake: family; and actively spreading awareness of this issue, is key. One can easily see how these blog entries might persuade readers to get involved in Proposition 8, as it is made clear that their contribution is vital, both in terms of monetary contributions, and active involvement: talking to people and fighting legally for ones rights.

I will input each of these blog entries into the WordList and Concord function of the WordSmith Tools program, in order to see if the word usage and context in which these occur are similar to those of the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ bloc. This is to see if the mobilization

argumentation used by the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ bloc is unique for them, as this might indicate a strategic approach to their mobilization efforts online.

7.5.1.1 Frequent word usage and context of blog entry: 'Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8'

Here I will only show the words used more than 1 time, as words only used 1 time do not indicate a trend in word usage.



Setting aside prepositions, conjunctions and relative pronouns, the most frequent words used in this blog entry are: ‘Are’, ‘Prop’ and ‘You’ used 10 times; ‘Is’, ‘It’, ‘That’ and ‘We’ used 9

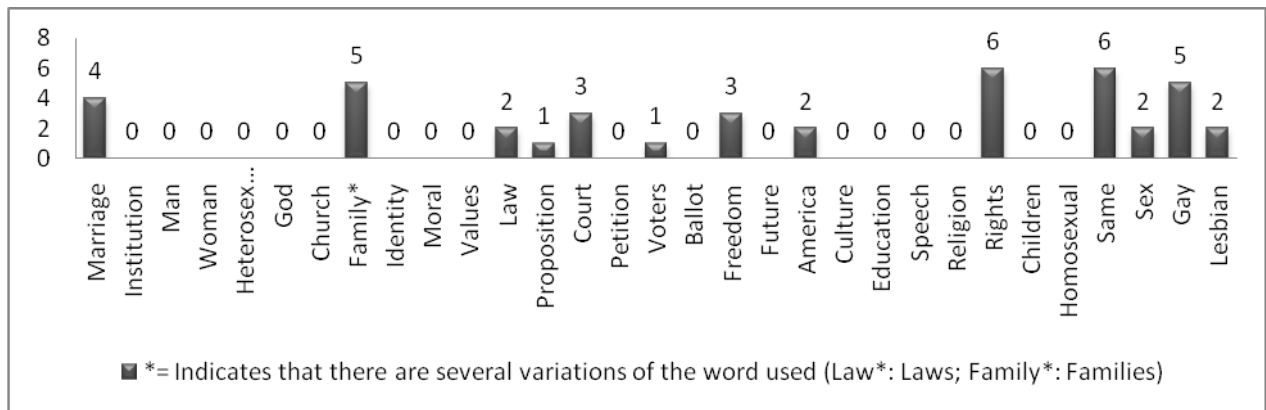
times; ‘They’ 8 times; ‘Be’ and ‘People’ 7 times; ‘ACLU’, ‘All’, ‘California’, ‘Do’, ‘Our’, ‘Rights’, ‘Same’, ‘Thanksgiving’ and ‘Them’ 6 times; ‘Gay’, ‘Has’ and ‘I’ 5 times; ‘Can’, ‘Marriage’, ‘Someone’ and ‘Tell’ 4 times; ‘Court’, ‘Day’, ‘Equality’, ‘Everyone’, ‘Family’, ‘Freedom’, ‘Have’, ‘Just’, ‘Love’, ‘One’, ‘Right’, ‘Their’, ‘This’, ‘Will’ and ‘Your’ 3 times; the remaining words were used between one to two times as shown in the graph. To understand the usage of these words, one must look at the context. I will also input the phrases ‘Prop 8’ and ‘Same Sex’ into the Concord function when looking for context of word usage, as the words ‘Prop’ and ‘Same’ might be used that way in the text.

Phrases and argumentations that were used were:

*“This Thanksgiving we are reflecting on what family means to us”; “what I’m hoping thousands of ACLU supporters will do over the holidays. Talk to someone you’ve never talked to about same sex marriage and explain that it’s just not right to deny someone their freedom because of who they are or who they love”; “Tell them the fight to stop Prop 8 from disrupting people’s lives and denying gay couples the full measure of their freedom is far from over. Tell them your ACLU has gone to court to stop Prop 8”; “On the day after the election, the ACLU and our partners, the National Center for Lesbian Rights, Lambda Legal and Equality California filed suit asking the California Supreme Court to strike Proposition 8 down. The case we are making is a powerful one — and I want you to know its details — because if we are going to secure equal rights for everyone in our great nation”; and “Make it clear that, no matter how someone feels about same-sex marriage, gay people are a part of our community entitled to the same rights, the same dignity, as everyone else” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8).*

This language is focused on the courts’ role in protecting rights for homosexuals, and therefore urges people to talk about the issue of same-sex marriage in order to raise awareness and involvement against Prop. 8. The ACLU reminds its readers of the lawsuit already filed by the ACLU, NCLR, Lambda Legal and EQCA against Prop 8, and tells them to join the fight *“to stop Prop 8 from disrupting people’s lives and denying gay couples the full measure of their freedom”* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8). Very persuasive language, yet more focused on the legal aspects than their ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ counterparts.

To further see if there is any difference in the use of language between the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ and the ‘No to Proposition 8’ camps, I will also look at the pre-chosen key word usage here.

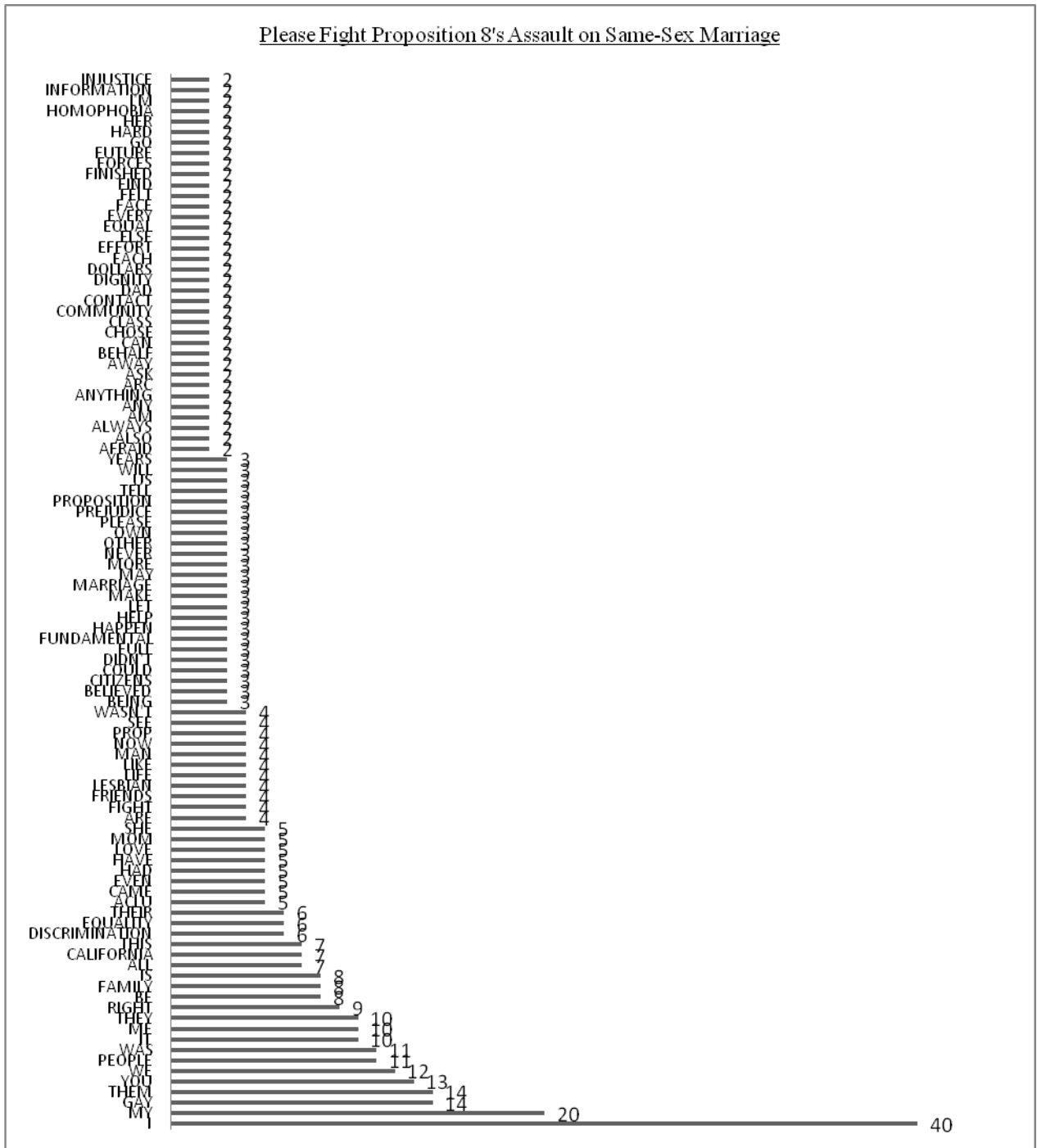


Here one sees that very few of the pre-chosen key words are used in this article. This is an interesting point, which might indicate that the two camps use completely different ways to express themselves and get across their message. The most frequently used key words used in this blog entry are: Right, Same, Gay, Family, Marriage, Court and Freedom. This might indicate an added focus on the linkage between marriage, the courts and freedom of rights, something that has not been heavily represented in the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ word-usage.

#### 7.5.1.2 Frequent word usage and context of blog entry: ‘Please Fight Proposition 8's Assault on Same-Sex Marriage’

When I input the ‘Please Fight Proposition 8's Assault on Same-Sex Marriage’ article into the WordSmith Tools program, I gain an overview over the most frequent words used in the article, and the context in which they are used.

Here the most frequent words used, again setting prepositions, conjunctions and relative pronouns, are: ‘I’ used 40 times; ‘My’ 20 times; ‘Gay’ and ‘Them’ 14 times; ‘You’ 13 times; ‘We’ 12 times; ‘People’ and ‘Was’ 11 times; ‘It’, ‘Me’ and ‘They’ 10 times; ‘Right’ 9 times; ‘Be’, ‘Family’ and ‘Is’ 8 times; ‘All’, ‘California’ and ‘This’ 7 times; ‘Discrimination’, ‘Equality’ and ‘Their’ 6 times; ‘ACLU’, ‘Came’, ‘Even’, ‘Had’, ‘Have’, ‘Love’, ‘Mom’ and ‘She’ 5 times; ‘Are’, ‘Fight’, ‘Friends’, ‘Lesbian’, ‘Life’, ‘Like’, ‘Man’, ‘Now’, ‘Prop’, ‘See’, and ‘Wasn’t’ 4 times; the remaining words occur between 1-3 times as seen in the graph below. One sees some overlapping of word usage between this blog entry, and the ‘Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8’ entry. Here is the entire diagram with the 100 most frequently used words



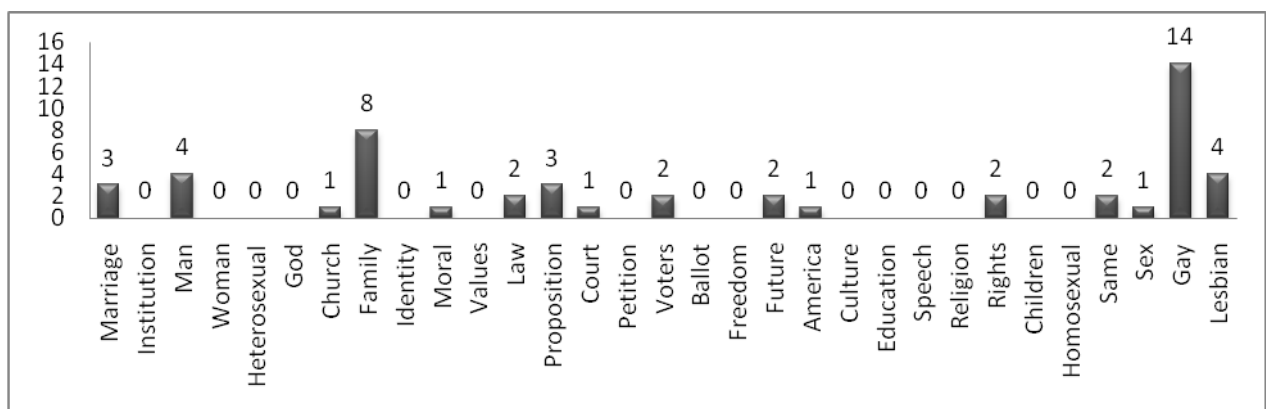
To fully understand if these is a distinctive word usage and argumentation used by the ACLU; one must look at the context in which the words are used. Therefore I will input these words, in addition to ‘Prop 8’, into the Concord function of the WordSmith Tools program to see these contexts. Here are some of the phrases used in the blog entry, some of which are from the personal story of Romero:

*“I’m asking you for a favor: help us ensure that gay couples all across California keep their fundamental right to marriage — the basic right to be treated just like anybody else”; “I grew up in a loving and supportive household, where my family believed I could be anything I chose — anything except being an openly gay*

*man*”; “*gay and lesbian people didn't only suffer discrimination from working-class, Puerto Rican Catholics, but from the broader society. She felt that I had escaped the public housing projects in the Bronx, only to suffer another prejudice — one that might be harder to beat — as the law wasn't on my side*”; “*She knew that treating gay and lesbian people like second class citizens — people who may be worthy of ‘tolerance, ‘ as some assert, but not of equality — was and still is the last socially-acceptable prejudice*”; “*they came to love and respect me for who I am. They even came to defend my right to live with equality and dignity — often fighting against the homophobia they heard among their family and friends and in church*; and “*Unfortunately, due to a vicious, deceitful \$30 million advertising blitz, the supporters of Prop 8 may be within days of taking that fundamental right away. To stop the forces of discrimination from succeeding, we have to win over conflicted voters who aren't sure they're ready for gay marriage but who are also uncomfortable going into a voting booth and stripping away people's rights. With the ACLU contributing time, energy and millions of dollars to the effort, we're working hard to reach those key voters before next Tuesday*” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Please Fight Proposition 8's Assault on Same-Sex Marriage).

These phrases and arguments point to the perceived hardships of being homosexual in America, which Romero juxtaposes to being ‘second class citizens’. He tells his personal story, emphasizing these hardships, and the legal barriers for homosexual rights and freedoms. The arguments conclude with importance of winning the conflicted voters over to their side and understanding of Prop 8, in order to ensure legal rights for homosexuals.

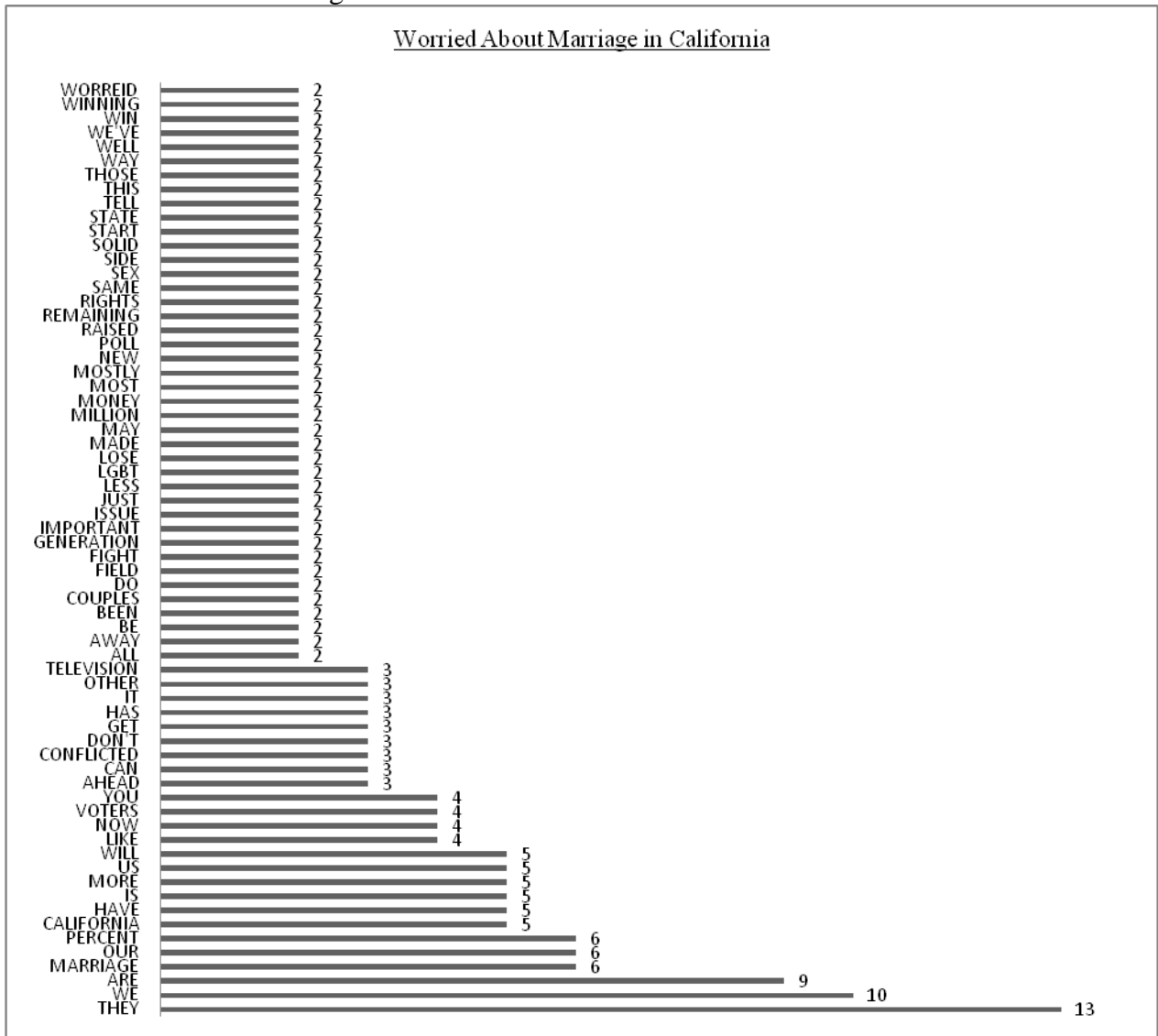
To further analyze the word-usage in this blog entry, I will look at the pre-chosen key words.



Again one sees that very few pre-chosen key words appear in this blog entry, and the result is quite similar to the previous ACLU blog, Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8. The most frequently used words here are: Gay, Family, Man, Marriage, Proposition, Voters, Rights, Same, Law and Future; while in the previous ACLU blog the most frequent words were: Right, Same, Gay, Family, Marriage, Court and Freedom. Clearly there is a similarity in the word choice and usage in the two ACLU blogs. A similarity that is not present in the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations’ articles.

7.5.1.3 Frequent word usage and context of blog entry: ‘Worried About Marriage in California’

Here I wish to present the words used more than 1 times, the full data can be found in Appendix 1. Again, this choice is due to the fact that words used less than 1 time do not indicate a trend in word usage.



The most frequent words here, again setting aside prepositions, conjunctions and relative pronouns, are: ‘They’ used 13 times; ‘We’ 10 times; ‘Are’, ‘Marriage’, ‘Our’ and ‘Percent’ 6 times; ‘California’, ‘Have’, ‘Is’, ‘More’, ‘Us’ and ‘Will’ 5 times; ‘Like’, ‘Now’, ‘Voters’ and ‘You’ 4 times; ‘Ahead’, ‘Can’ ‘Conflicted’, ‘Don’t’, ‘Get’, ‘Has’, ‘It’, ‘Other’ and ‘Television’ 3 times; and the remaining words are used between 1 to 2 times in the blog entry.

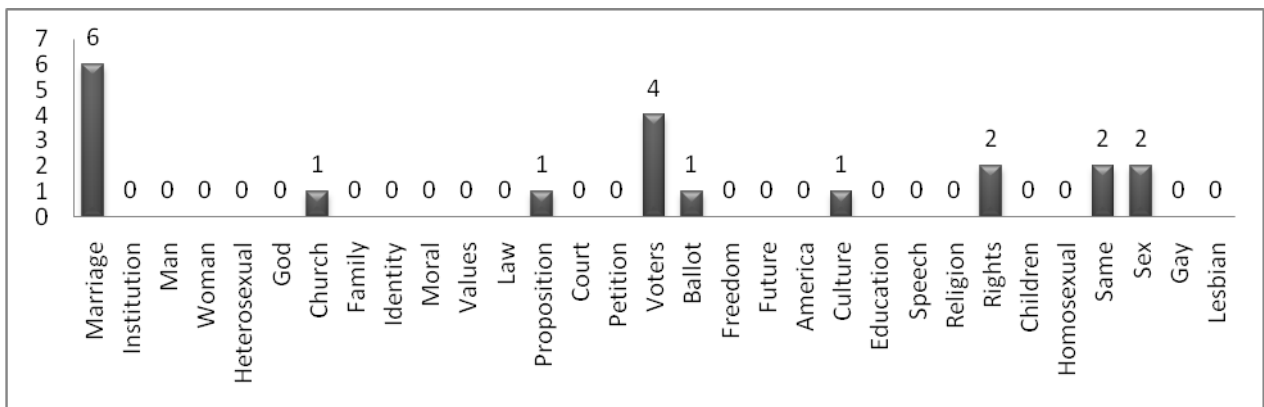
To understand the usage of these words, one must look at the context. I will also input the most frequent words (‘They’ through ‘Television’), also adding the phrase ‘Same Sex’ into the Concord function when looking for context of word usage, as the words ‘Sex’ and ‘Same’ might be originally linked that way in the text. Phrases and argumentations that were used were:



*“We could have the fight for equality more or less finished in less than a generation. But if we lose the largest and most economically important state in the nation, and if we lose because the voters reject marriage, winning will be at least an additional generation away”; “If they keep outdoing us on money, they’ll get up on television first, they will saturate, and they may well redefine the issue for those conflicted voters. If they do, our lead will evaporate. And our chances of winning will become remote. We can still win this, but our community has got to start supporting the effort in a big way now, or we are done for”; “Want to learn more about how to fight for relationship recognition and other LGBT rights in your hometown, county, or state?”; “The latest California Field Poll shows us ahead by a very respectable 55 percent to their 38 percent. But when you look beneath the surface, the situation is a little more complex”; “That remaining 16 to 20 percent is made up of voters who are deeply conflicted; they don’t like marriage for same-sex couples, but they also don’t like the idea of voting to take someone’s rights away”; and “They’ve taken in over \$16 million compared to our \$11 million” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Worried About Marriage in California).*

The language here points to the importance of getting involved, as the polls indicate that this will be a tight race and the ‘No to Proposition 8’ side feels a need for more financial aid in order to campaign and win over the undecided votes. Coles gives specific poll-data and financial information showing that their side is lagging behind the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ campaign and bloc. They encourage voters to get involved so that they might win this ‘fight for equality’.

To further see if there is any word-usage linkage between this blog entry and the other two ACLU blog entries, as well as to see how the ACLU’s rhetoric might differ from other organizations’ rhetoric, I will also look for the pre-chosen key words in the blog entry.



Again the usage of the pre-chosen key words is quite different from the word usage ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations. Here the most frequent key words used are: Marriage, Voters, Rights, Same and Sex. Once again one sees a focus among the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations on rights, same-sex marriage and the legal approach to achieving this.

### 7.5.2 National Center for Lesbian Rights

The National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR) released three press statements on the Press Center section of their official website in 2008 referring to their involvement in Proposition 8. Their first press statement was released on February 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008. This press statement warned its readers of a signature campaign that threatened to place a 'discriminatory marriage measure on California's November 2008 ballot', in other words: Proposition 8. These efforts are describes as the following:

*“conservative organizations are now utilizing paid signature gatherers in another attempt to put this discriminatory constitutional amendment on the November 2008 ballot according to Equality for All, the statewide campaign to defeat such measures. In 2006, California became the first state where an effort to qualify such a discriminatory amendment failed. Equality for All has confirmed that an out-of-state organization is backing this effort to permanently deny loving and committed California couples the right to marry. Nationformarriage.org and Protectmarriage.com are financially supporting this effort”* (NCLR Press Center, 2010: Signature Gathering).

The statement goes on to quote leaders of the homosexual community's reactions to this news. Here are some of these quotes:

*“These out-of-state extremists continue to expend time and resources to write discrimination into our California Constitution, in spite of the fact that Californians are tired of these costly and divisive campaigns,” said Lorri L. Jean, chief executive officer of the L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center”; “We are committed to a vigorous opposition campaign,” said Geoff Kors, executive director of Equality California”; and “It is imperative that fair-minded Californians reject these efforts, by refusing to sign the petitions and talking with their friends and family members about why marriage discrimination is wrong,” said Dr. Delores A. Jacobs, chief executive officer of The San Diego LGBT Community Center”* (NCLR Press Center, 2010: Signature Gathering).

Their second press statement released on July 29th, 2008 regards their creating a Political Action Committee (PAC) to defeat Proposition 8.

*“The National Center for Lesbian Rights (NCLR) today announced the launch of a new political action committee (PAC) to defeat Proposition 8, the marriage ban appearing on California’s November ballot. Through the No on 8 / NCLR Social Justice Fund, NCLR pledges to contribute significant dollars to the campaign to defeat Proposition 8”* (NCLR Press Center, 2010: National Center for Lesbian Rights).

The NCLR state their reasons for getting involved in the Proposition 8 case clearly: to defend their rights.

*“Proposition 8 seeks to deny LGBT couples the right to marry, but the stakes go far beyond that critical issue. If the initiative passes, it could be devastating—for every issue affecting the lives of LGBT people in California and the rest of the nation,” said NCLR Executive Director Kate Kendell. “If our opposition succeeds in their efforts, they will not stop there. As they have done before, they will be back again and again, chipping away at the basic protections for LGBT people in*

*this country that we have fought long and hard to win. With a win they will be revitalized and emboldened. That is why we are doing absolutely everything we can to defeat this initiative” (NCLR Press Center, 2010: National Center for Lesbian Rights).*

The third press statement released by the NCLR on their website was posted in November of 2008. This press statement looks at what actions the NCLR will pursue should Proposition 8 pass: legal actions to invalidate Proposition 8.

*“The American Civil Liberties Union, Lambda Legal and the National Center for Lesbian Rights filed a writ petition before the California Supreme Court today urging the court to invalidate Proposition 8 if it passes. The petition charges that Proposition 8 is invalid because the initiative process was improperly used in an attempt to undo the constitution’s core commitment to equality for everyone by eliminating a fundamental right from just one group—lesbian and gay Californians. Proposition 8 also improperly attempts to prevent the courts from exercising their essential constitutional role of protecting the equal protection rights of minorities” (NCLR Press Center, 2010: Legal Groups File Lawsuit).*

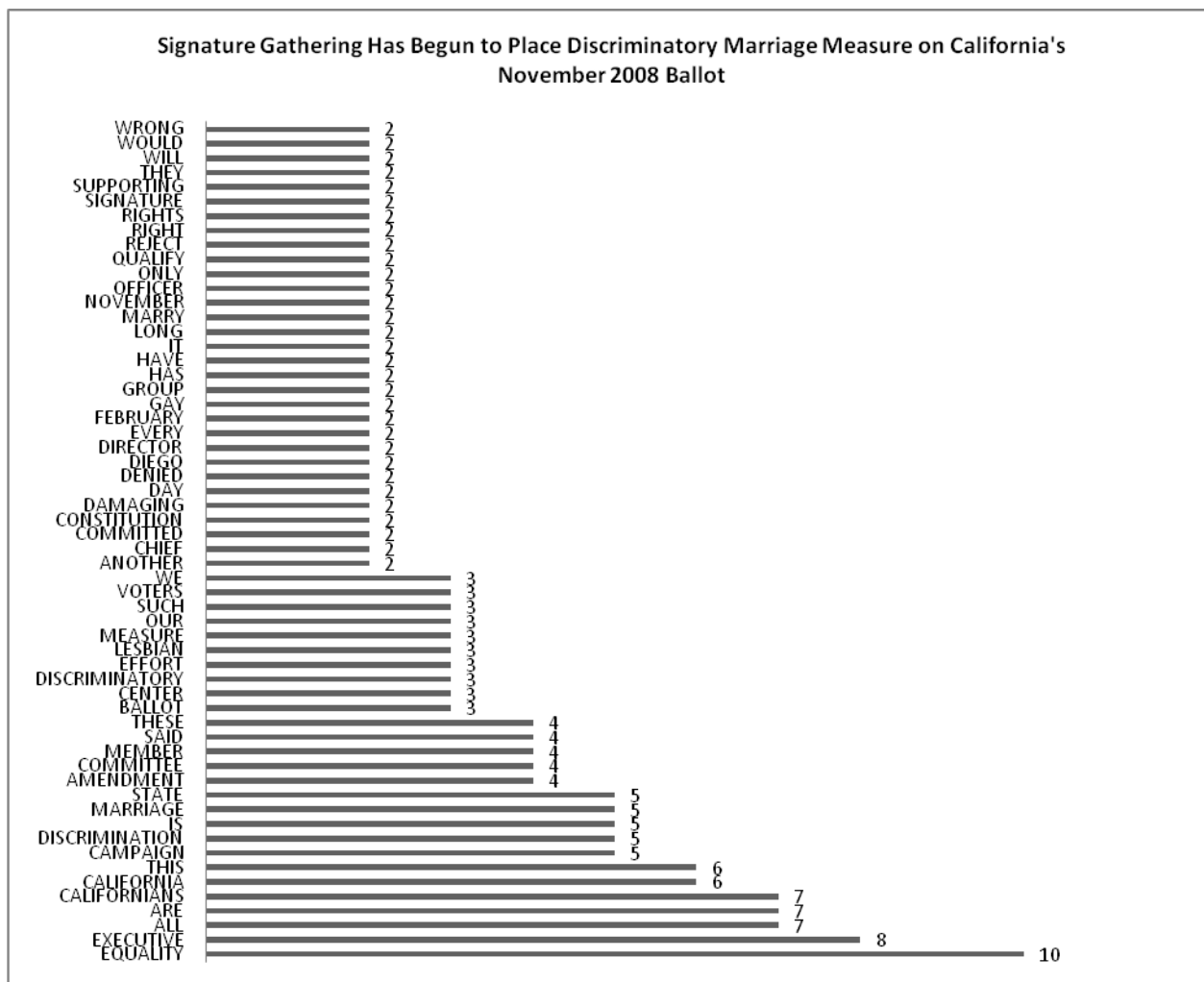
The NCLR argue that Proposition 8 is invalid at it is constitutionally unsound and contradictory, as well as discriminatory against minorities and destructive to equal rights, all which the California Constitution in theory should protect.

*“The California Constitution itself sets out two ways to alter the document that sets the most basic rules about how state government works. Prop 8 passed through the initiative process. However, any measure that would change the underlying principles of the constitution must first be approved by the legislature before being submitted to the voters. That didn’t happen with Proposition 8, and that’s why it’s invalid. ‘If the voters approved an initiative that took the right to free speech away from women, but not from men, everyone would agree that such a measure conflicts with the basic ideals of equality enshrined in our constitution. Proposition 8 suffers from the same flaw it removes a protected constitutional right here, the right to marry not from all Californians, but just from one group of us,’ said Jenny Pizer, a staff attorney with Lambda Legal. ‘That’s too big a change in the principles of our constitution to be made just by a bare majority of voters.’ ‘A major purpose of the constitution is to protect minorities from majorities. Because changing that principle is a fundamental change to the organizing principles of the constitution itself, only the legislature can initiate such revisions to the constitution,’ added Elizabeth Gill, a staff attorney with the ACLU of Northern California” (NCLR Press Center, 2010: Legal Groups File Lawsuit).*

I will input each of these press releases into the WordList and Concord function of the WordSmith Tools program, in order to see if the word usage and context in which these occur are similar to those of the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ bloc. This is to see if there is a unique mobilization argumentation used by the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ bloc, as this might indicate a strategic approach to their mobilization efforts online.

#### 7.5.2.1 Frequent word usage and context of press release: Signature Gathering Has Begun to Place Discriminatory Marriage Measure on California's November 2008 Ballot

Here I will present the words used 1 times or more, the full data can be found in Appendix 1.



The most frequent words here, again setting aside prepositions, conjunctions and relative pronouns, are: ‘Equality’ used 10 times; ‘Executive’ used 8 times; ‘All’, ‘Are’ and ‘Californians’ 7 times; ‘California’ and ‘This’ 6 times; ‘Campaign’, ‘Discrimination’, ‘Is’, ‘Marriage’ and ‘State’ 5 times; ‘Amendment’, ‘Committee’, ‘Member’, ‘Said’ and ‘These’ 4 times; and ‘Ballot’, ‘Center’, ‘Discriminatory’, ‘Effort’, ‘Lesbian’, ‘Measure’, ‘Our’, ‘Such’, ‘Voters’ and ‘We’ 3 times. The remaining words in the press release were used between 1 to 2 times, as seen in the graph in Appendix 1.

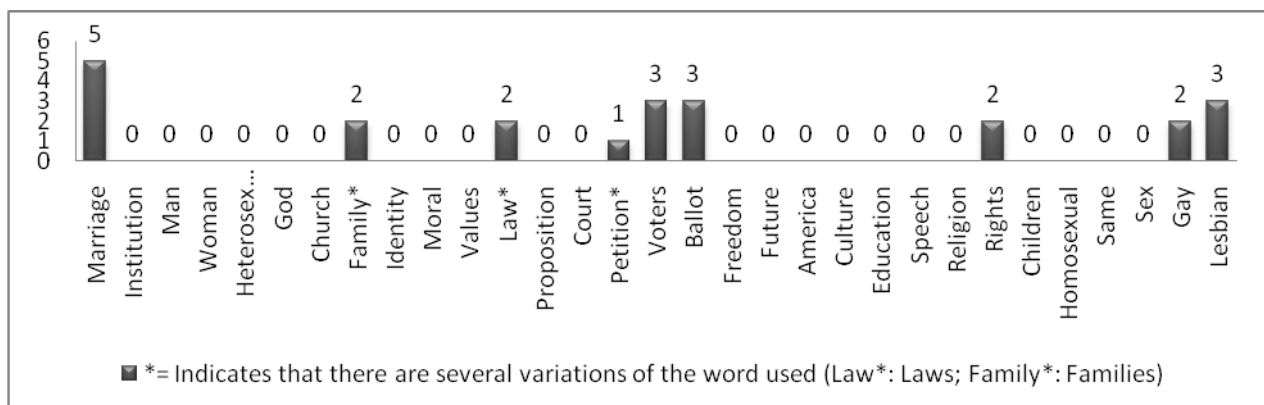
To fully understand the word-usage and rhetoric, one must look at the context in which these words occur. I will input the most frequently used words (‘Equality’ through ‘We’) into the Concord function of the WordSmith Tools program, which will give me the context in which the words are used. Phrases and argumentations that were used were:

*“After failing multiple times to qualify an anti-marriage equality measure for the ballot, conservative organizations are now utilizing paid signature gatherers in another attempt to put this discriminatory constitutional amendment on the November 2008 ballot according to Equality for All, the statewide campaign to defeat such measures”; “Equality for All has confirmed that an out-of-state organization is backing this effort to permanently deny loving and committed*

*California couples the right to marry”; “These out-of-state extremists continue to expend time and resources to write discrimination into our California Constitution”; “Californians are tired of these costly and divisive campaigns”; “California voters have a long history of supporting fairness and equal treatment under the law”; “these types of amendments will only bring harm to California families”; “Every day, lesbian and gay Californians are denied the right to marry the person they love. Every day, they are denied the dignity, respect, rights and responsibilities that only come with marriage”; and “It is imperative that fair-minded Californians reject these efforts, by refusing to sign the petitions and talking with their friends and family members about why marriage discrimination is wrong” (NCLR Press Center, 2010: Signature Gathering Has Begun to Place Discriminatory Marriage Measure on California's November 2008 Ballot).*

This rhetoric emphasizes a need for legal action and a need for the Californian people’s involvement in order to prevent the curbing of homosexual rights. This may indicate a view of marriage of only encompassing legal rights and sanctions, and not an institution created by an almighty God. Should these different views of marriage exist then this would explain the two sides’ inability to understand each other.

To further explore this, and the usage of words and rhetoric in general, I will look at the pre-chosen key word usage in this press release.



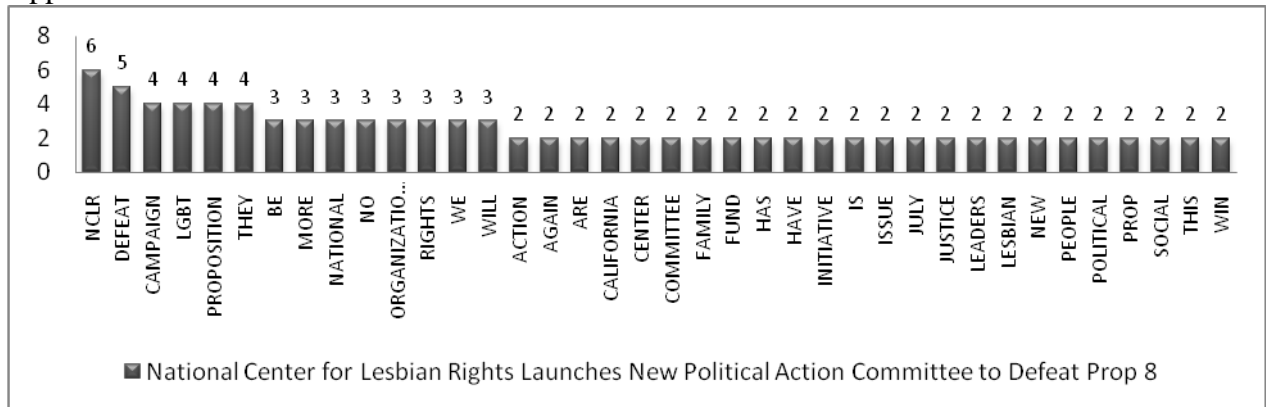
There seems to be a general trend that the ‘No to Proposition 8’ use different rhetoric than the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ camp, as yet again there is next to no use of the pre-chosen key words. The most frequently used pre-chosen key words here are: Marriage, Lesbian, Voters, Ballot, Rights, Gay, Family and Law.

These words overlap a great deal with the most frequent key words used in the three ACLU blog entries. In the “Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8” blog entry, these key words were most used: Right, Same, Gay, Family, Marriage, Court and Freedom. In the “Please Fight Proposition 8's Assault on Same-Sex Marriage” entry, these key words were most prolific: Gay, Family, Man, Marriage, Proposition, Voters, Rights, Same, Law and Future. And finally, in the “Worried About Marriage in California” blog entry these words were most

frequently used: Marriage, Voters, Rights, Same and Sex. So one sees some similarities between the two ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations.

7.5.2.2 Frequent word usage and context of press release: National Center for Lesbian Rights Launches New Political Action Committee to Defeat Prop 8

Here I will only present the words used more than 1 time, the full data can be found in Appendix 1.



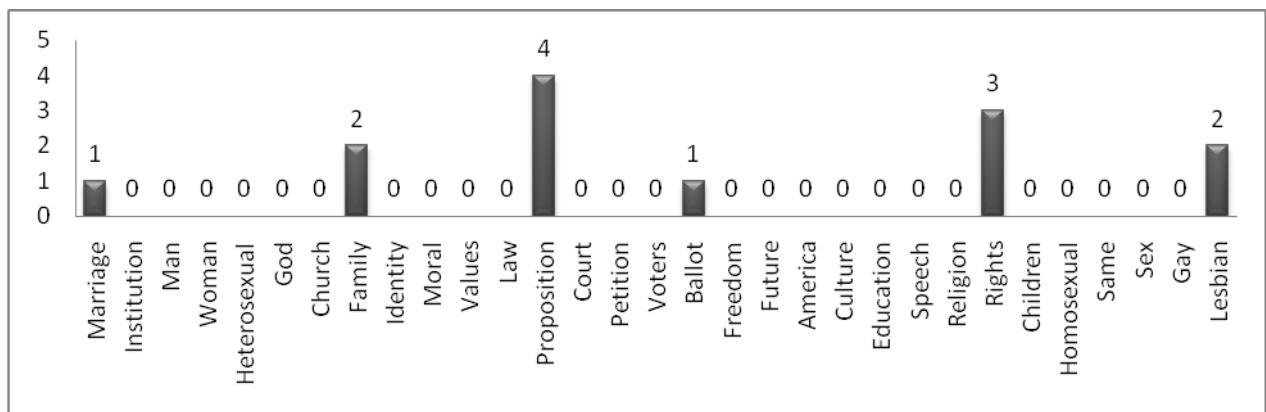
The most frequent words here, again setting aside prepositions, conjunctions and relative pronouns are: ‘NCLR’ used 6 times; ‘Defeat’ used 5 times; ‘Campaign’, ‘LGBT’, ‘Proposition’ and ‘They’ 4 times; ‘Be’, ‘More’, ‘National’, ‘No’, ‘Organizations’, ‘Rights’, ‘We’ and ‘Will’ 3 times; and ‘Action’, ‘Again’, ‘Are’, ‘California’, ‘Center’, ‘Committee’, ‘Family’, ‘Fund’, ‘Has’, ‘Have’, ‘Initiative’, ‘Is’, ‘Issue’, ‘July’, ‘Justice’, ‘Leaders’, ‘Lesbian’, ‘New’, ‘People’, ‘Political’, ‘Prop’, ‘Social’, ‘This’ and ‘Win’ 2 times. The remaining words in the text are mentioned one time.

To fully understand the rhetoric used in the NCRL press release, one must look at the words used in context. Therefore I will input the most frequent words (‘NCLR’ through ‘Win’) into the Concord function of the WordSmith Tools program which will give me the contexts of the words used. Here are some of the phrases and argumentations that the words occurred in:

*“National Center for Lesbian Rights Launches New Political Action Committee to Defeat Prop 8”; “Through the No on 8 / NCLR Social Justice Fund, NCLR pledges to contribute significant dollars to the campaign to defeat Proposition 8”; “Proposition 8 seeks to deny LGBT couples the right to marry”; “If our opposition succeeds in their efforts, they will not stop there”; “Colorado Springs-headquartered Focus on the Family has contributed more than \$400,000 to the campaign”; “NCLR is a key member of the No on 8: Equality for All Campaign, which consists of more than 50 national and local organizations, including LGBT organizations, civil rights organizations, labor representatives, religious leaders, business leaders, and elected officials working to defeat Prop 8”; and “If the initiative passes, it could be devastating—for every issue affecting the lives of LGBT people in California and the rest of the nation” (NCLR Press Center, 2010: National Center for Lesbian Rights Launches New Political Action Committee to Defeat Prop 8).*

These statements points to LBGT being a legal rights oriented organization, who underline to their readers the crucial role each individual has in opposing Proposition 8 in order to preserve their rights, and warn the readers that should they fail to do this, then the ‘opposition’ will not stop there. It plays to the people’s fear of losing their rights and becoming ostracized in one’s country as lesser citizens. So one can see how this press release might motivate or persuade individuals to become involved in opposing and voting against Proposition 8.

I would again, like to look at the pre-chosen key words in this article, in order to see if this press release contains those key words, as this might allude to what type of words the NCLR employ.



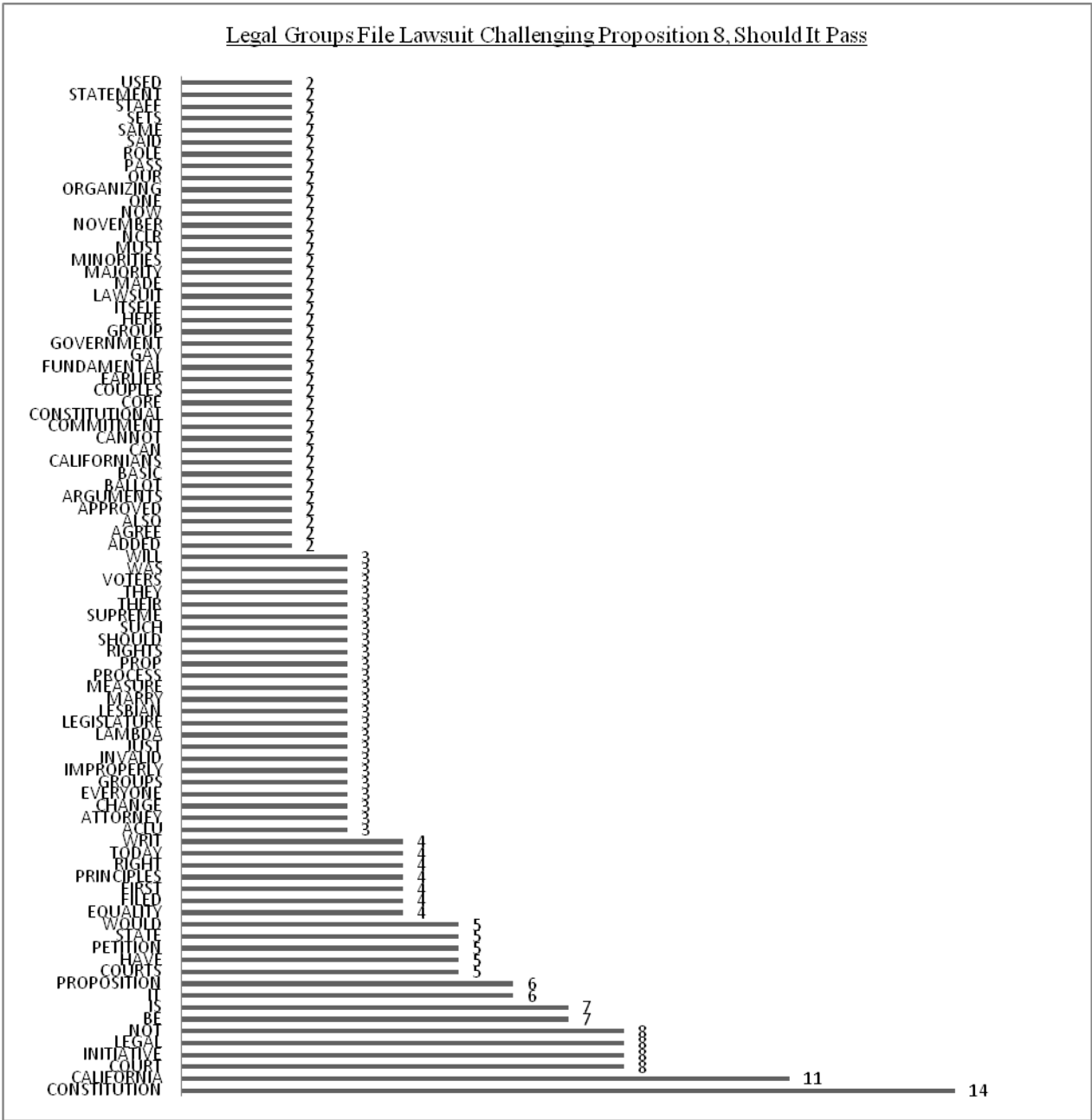
Again the results of the pre-chosen key word analysis shows a distinct difference in the words used by the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ and the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations. Here the most frequent words used are ‘Proposition’, ‘Rights’, ‘Lesbian’, ‘Family’, ‘Ballot’ and ‘Marriage’. This is similar to the previous result for the NCLR press release (“Signature Gathering Has Begun to Place Discriminatory Marriage Measure on California's November 2008 Ballot”), where the most frequent pre-chosen key words were: Marriage, Lesbian, Voters, Ballot, Rights, Gay, Family and Law. So one sees a slight trend in the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations use of the pre-chosen key words.

#### 7.5.2.3 Frequent word usage and context of press release: Legal Groups File Lawsuit Challenging Proposition 8, Should It Pass

Here I will only present the words used more than 1 time in the graph, the full graph can be found in Appendix 1.

As seen below the most frequent words here, again setting aside prepositions, conjunctions and relative pronouns are: ‘Constitution’ used 14 times; ‘California’ used 11 times; ‘Court’, ‘Initiative’, ‘Legal’ and ‘Not’ 8 times; ‘Be’ and ‘Is’ 7 times; ‘It’ and ‘Proposition’ 6 times; ‘Courts’, ‘Have’ ‘Petition’, ‘State’ and ‘Would’ 5 times; ‘Equality’, ‘Filed’, ‘First’, ‘Principles’, ‘Rights’, ‘Today’ and ‘Writ’ 4 times; ‘ACLU’, ‘Attorney’,

‘Change’, ‘Everyone’, ‘Groups’, ‘Improperly’, ‘Invalid’, ‘Just’, ‘Lambda’, ‘Legislature’, ‘Lesbian’, ‘Marry’, ‘Measure’, ‘Process’, ‘Prop’, ‘Rights’, ‘Should’, ‘Such’, ‘Supreme’, ‘Their’, ‘They’, ‘Voters’, ‘Was’ and ‘Will’ 3 times. The remaining words are used between one to two times. Notice that variations of ‘Rights’ are used 7 times (‘Right’ and ‘Rights’) and variations of ‘Courts’ is used 13 times (‘Court’ and ‘Courts’).



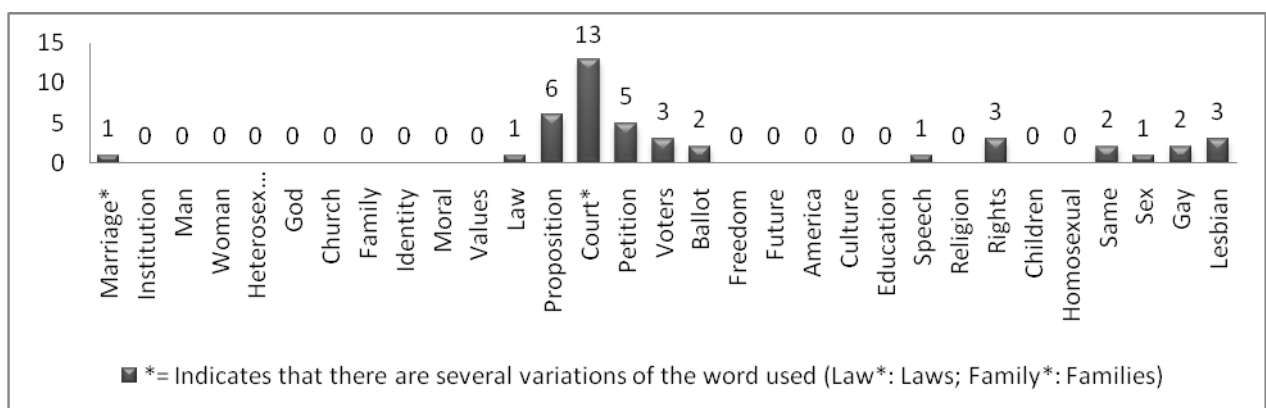
To further understand and analyze these words, I will look at the most frequent words (‘Constitution’ through ‘Will’) in context using the Concord function of the WordSmith Tools program. Some phrases and arguments in which the words were wielded in the press release are shown below.



*“The American Civil Liberties Union, Lambda Legal and the National Center for Lesbian Rights filed a writ petition before the California Supreme Court today urging the court to invalidate Proposition 8 if it passes”; “The petition charges that Proposition 8 is invalid because the initiative process was improperly used in an attempt to undo the constitution’s core commitment to equality for everyone by eliminating a fundamental right from just one group—lesbian and gay Californians”; “According to the California Constitution, such radical changes to the organizing principles of state government cannot be made by simple majority vote through the initiative process, but instead must, at a minimum, go through the state legislature first”; “If the voters approved an initiative that took the right to free speech away from women, but not from men, everyone would agree that such a measure conflicts with the basic ideals of equality enshrined in our constitution. Proposition 8 suffers from the same flaw it removes a protected constitutional right here, the right to marry not from all Californians, but just from one group of us”; “In a statement issued earlier today, the groups stated their conviction, which is shared by the California Attorney General, that the state will continue to honor the marriages of the 18,000 lesbian and gay couples who have already married in California”; and “The California Constitution itself sets out two ways to alter the document that sets the most basic rules about how state government works. Prop 8 passed through the initiative process. However, any measure that would change the underlying principles of the constitution must first be approved by the legislature before being submitted to the voters. That didn’t happen with Proposition 8, and that’s why it’s invalid” (NCLR Press Center, 2010: Legal Groups File Lawsuit Challenging Proposition 8, Should It Pass).*

Here one sees that a good deal of the language directly pertains to legal actions against Proposition 8. They seem to view, or at least present marriage as merely a legal right that they wish to keep through court action, if made necessary by the passing of Proposition 8. This again shows a different view of marriage than the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations, that tend to portray and view marriage in their released documents as a sacred institution ordained by God, a moral pillar in all good and stable societies.

Once again, I will further analyze this press release by looking at the pre-chosen key words.



Again the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations use of the pre-chosen key words is very distinct, here the most frequently used keywords are: ‘Court’, ‘Proposition’, ‘Petition’, ‘Rights’,

‘Voters’ and ‘Lesbian’. Yet again, one sees a linkage between the legal system and the fight for same-sex marriage. This might be seen to be a trend in the ‘No to Proposition 8’ bloc’s view of marriage and the Proposition 8 case.

#### 7.6 In depth study of Focus on the Family’s motivation and involvement in Proposition 8.

As mentioned earlier my analysis will also look at Focus on the Family’s motivation and involvement in Proposition 8, as it is presented through their actions and argument stated in the interview with them, and also as presented in the electronic media.

Focus on the Family is a conservative, Christian, non-profit organization situated in Colorado Springs, USA. I was able to interview three individuals within the organization who were involved in Focus on the Family’s role in Proposition 8. These were Glenn T. Stanton, director of Global Family Foundation Studies in Focus on the Family; Jenny Tyree, analyst for marriage in the Public Policy Department in CitizenLink; and John Focus, research analyst in CitizenLink.

CitizenLink is an affiliate family advocacy organization of Focus on the Family; CitizenLink was formerly known as Focus on the Family Action, but underwent a name and logo change in 2010 (Focus on the Family, 2010). When I asked them what they would characterize as Focus on the Family’s main goals as an organization they answered this: “*we are nurturing families, trying to help them stay together, and be strong, and the culture has just gotten, you know, more difficult. And um, also defending the laws that we know support and strengthen the family*” (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 36). This effectively summarizes Focus on the Family’s official statement on their website, mentioned earlier:

*“Since Focus on the Family’s primary reason for existence is to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ through a practical outreach to homes, we have firm beliefs about both the Christian faith and the importance of the family. [...] In short, Focus on the Family is a reflection of what we believe to be the recommendations of the Creator Himself, who ordained the family and gave it His blessing”* (Focus on the Family, 2010).

The organization aims to support and maintain families according to what they perceive as God’s will and intention with creating families.

My analysis here will be divided into two sections: their course of action in Proposition 8 and their argumentation and stated reasons for their involvement. I believe this will shed light on how they present their involvement in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008 and what motivation and mobilization strategies this presentation might indicate.

### 7.6.1 Focus on the Family and the Coalition's involvement in Proposition 8

According to Focus on the Family US\$ 641 000 were spent on the Proposition 8 campaign (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: p. 4). This money came out of the C3, which is the non-profit section of Focus on the Family; while CitizenLink is under the C4 section (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: p. 4). During the interview I asked how Focus on the Family was involved in Proposition 8, and the reply was that they were mainly involved by assisting, backing and supporting the California Family Council, the local state organization active in California. Whose websites describe themselves as the following:

*“California Family Council is a not-for-profit, 501(c) (3), religious organization. Our mission is to protect and promote Judeo-Christian principles in California's culture for the benefit of its families. [...] serves as the statewide family policy council associated with Focus on the Family, an international media ministry based in Colorado Springs, CO”* (California Family Council, 2010).

Jenny Tyree describes their involvement as the following:

*“We were involved, but definitely from a distance. And it was sort of a partner; but more in a, uh, they had a um, a public relations group, Schubert & Flint that was hired, uh the coalition hired them to, run the campaign, and so we, the money that we supplied helped to do all of that”* (Focus on the Family Interview, II: Tyree, p. 5).

The coalition she is alluding to is the coalition that presented Proposition 8 to the Californian Supreme Court, and who mounted the ‘Yes on Proposition 8’ campaign (SF Gate, 2011). The Protect Marriage coalition, as mentioned earlier, consisted of conservative Catholics, Protestants and Evangelicals; the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (S.F. Gate, 2009); Focus on the Family was also involved in supporting this coalition.

Focus on the Family promoted Proposition 8 by sending email to people encouraging them to donate in California to help pass Proposition 8, but also by getting involved in the two marriage amendments on the ballot in Arizona and Florida, which also occurred in the same time period (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: p. 5). They summarized their efforts in Proposition 8 to three points: supporting the state organizations and the coalition, funding, and messaging- sending emails out to people making them aware of Proposition 8 and how they could get involve or help.

Focus on the Family helped pass Proposition 8 by assisting the California Family Council, and in extension supporting the Coalition in which the California Family Council was a part of (Protect Marriage, 2010). As mentioned earlier the coalition hired Schubert Flint Public Affairs to run the campaign, and in February of 2009 they published an article in Politics Magazine describing their involvement and strategic approach in the Proposition 8 campaign (Politics Magazine, 2010). Thus to describe the Coalition's (and thus Focus on the

Family's) collective involvement in Proposition 8, I will look at this article, as it is a firsthand account from the public affairs company involved in Proposition 8 perspective of their actions and strategy.

Schubert and Flint Public Affairs were hired by the 'Yes on Prop 8' campaign run by the Coalition, and immediately had to decide on how they would respond to gay marriage (Politics Magazine, 2010). They decided that a negative response would be counterproductive and urged all supporters to refrain from negative protests and such, they recognized that

*"passing Proposition 8 would depend on our ability to convince voters that same-sex marriage had broader implications for Californians and was not only about the two individuals involved in committed gay relationship. [...] Our fight was not with the gay couples getting married, our fight was with the flawed reasoning of a narrow majority of the Californian Supreme Court"* (Politics Magazine, 2010).

They organized meetings, conference calls with pastors and campaign leaders, enforced their online presence, and *"delivered a stream of messages to supporters designed to keep them informed and engaged"* (Politics Magazine, 2010). The challenge in creating the message was that only 40% of voters identified themselves as supporters of traditional marriage, and that in order to pass Proposition 8, the coalition had to appeal to a much broader spectrum of voters. Thus Schubert and Flint believed that a campaign merely focused on traditional marriage would not be enough to pass Proposition 8. Their conclusions were the following:

*"We needed to convince voters that gay marriage was not simply 'live and let live'-that there would be consequences if gay marriage were to be permanently legalized. [...] We made one of the key strategic decisions in the campaign, to apply the principles of running a 'No' campaign-raising doubts and pointing to potential problems-in seeking a 'Yes' vote. [...] there were limits to the degree of tolerance that Californians would afford the gay community. They would entertain allowing gay marriage, but not if doing so had significant implications for the rest of society"* (Politics Magazine, 2010).

Playing on the idea of 'how tolerant are Californians really?', and strategically playing to their doubts, potential problems and consequences of gay marriage, Schubert and Flint chose and focused on three areas where conflicts of rights were most likely to occur: religious freedom; freedom of expression; and children and schools (Politics Magazine, 2010). Now that they had chosen their three main strategic points, they had to mobilize voters and volunteers to win the campaign.

*"Our ability to organize a massive volunteer effort through religious denominations gave us a huge advantage [...] We built a campaign volunteer structure around both time-honored campaign grassroots tactics of organizing in churches, with a ground-up structure of church captains, precincts captains, zip code supervisors and area directors; and the latest Internet and web-based grassroots tools. Our campaign website was rebuilt to serve as an incredibly effective organizing tool. Online volunteers sign-ups were immediately sent*

*electronically to the appropriate ZIP code supervisor for follow up”* (Politics Magazine, 2010).

In other words, an effective grassroots political mobilization effort was put into motion. Fundraising and campaign ads were also an important part of the coalitions involvement. Schubert and Flint claimed that the coalition raised US \$ 22 million from July-September of 2008, with almost 40% of this sum coming from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saint. Yet the individual contributors were vitally important as *“our fundraising operation also relied heavily on small contributions from some 60,000 individual donors via an extensive direct mail operation, and an extraordinarily effective online fundraising campaign”* (Politics Magazine, 2010). Jenny Tyree added to this when I interviewed her:

*“the way the money was separated on Prop. 8 was a lot of small donations on the part of people who supported it, and then very large chunks of money from out of state and from Hollywood, you know, those other large [gay activist] organizations that I mentioned earlier”* (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 8).

Television ads also played a huge role in the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ campaign. The initial ad that the coalition used was the television ad showing San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom addressing a crowd on Proposition 8 where he claimed *“This door’s wide open now. It’s gonna happen-whether you like it or not”* (Newsweek, 2010) (Protect Marriage, 2010: Video Archives). Schubert and Flint used that ad as *“that 7-second sound bite perfectly summarized for Californian voters why this issue was before them, reminding voters that four judges had overruled four million voters by imposing same-sex marriage on California”* (Politics Magazine, 2010). This played well into all their three strategic conflict zones, and they spent some time in the ad showing the potential consequences for religious freedom and freedom of expression; and also *“letting voters know that as a result of the court’s decision, gay marriage would be taught in public schools”* (Politics Magazine, 2010). This was also something that Focus on the Family emphasized in my interview with them *“the way the messaging ended up working in California was, the biggest message that worked there was: this is going to affect education. That’s how, so it affects children [...] we redefine marriage, it’s gonna be taught in school”* (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 15).

Since this message worked, the next two prominent ads the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ campaign used were two ads featuring young children coming home from school and telling their parents about what they had learned in school that day: homosexual marriage. The first ad depicting a young Hispanic girl telling her parents that: *“she could marry a princess!”* and the second ad *“featuring a Massachusetts couple whose son had been introduced to gay marriage in second grade”* (Politics Magazine, 2010) (Protect Marriage, 2010: Video

Archives). These two ads and the ‘No to Prop 8’ campaign’s response to them resulted in that the final period of the campaign being focused largely on education (Politics Magazine, 2010). One final ad that solidified the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ campaign’s claim that education would be affected by gay marriage was when a public school in San Francisco took a first grade class to see their lesbian teacher’s wedding. This was documented by the media. To make matters worse for the ‘No to Proposition 8’ campaign, they had just released an ad featuring State Superintendent of Public Instruction Jack O’Connell where he claimed that Proposition 8 had nothing to do with education. Schubert and Flint describe the situation as the following “*within 24 hours of the No side airing their best ad, the one featuring O’Connell claiming that Prop 8 had nothing to do with schools, we were on statewide TV showing bewildered six-years-olds at a lesbian wedding courtesy of their local public school*” (Politics Magazine, 2010) (Protect Marriage, 2010: Video Archives).

The final days of the campaign were spent on reinforcing ads and a ‘Google surge: an electronic carpet bombing of advertising reminding voters in California to vote for Proposition 8. Schubert and Flint believe the coalition won the campaign because:

*“We had the support of virtually the entire faith community in California [...] It won because we created superior advertising that define the issue on our terms; because we built a diverse coalition; and, most importantly, because we activated the coalition at the grassroots level in a way that had never before been done”* (Politics Magazine, 2010).

#### 7.6.2 Focus on the Family’s argumentation and stated reasons for their involvement in Proposition 8.

Focus on the Family stated various reasons and had different arguments for why Proposition 8 was important, and thus why they got involved. I asked Focus on the Family representatives why they were working towards a marriage amendment, when they already had Proposition 22. Their answer was this:

*“A constitutional marriage amendment is the only thing that has protected marriage [...] [Proposition 22] was a defensive marriage act. Which was just a legal statue that said: ‘this is the definition of marriage’. The judges have overturned those left and right, Iowa, California...um Vermont..., so only marriage amendments have actually withstood”* (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 17).

So they saw a need to preserve the institution of marriage within the state constitution, because if they did not they felt there was a real chance that marriage would be redefined to also include same-sex marriage. Previously the laws have not defined marriage, as the meaning as marriage between a man and a woman has been inherently understood.

*“Well the union of marriage has been so inherent for so long in laws, you know like, they don’t say ‘this is what marriage is’, they just say ‘well, you know, can’t marry your cousin Bob...you know, you can’t marry your own sister, [...] because*

*the meaning has been so [...] cultural understood that it's heterosexual. That's the reason it's not defined, so this starts coming, and this is the defense that organizations like ours are making, [...] even though a lot of people want to redefine it, we think that there are ...is good reason, at least for this generation, this is our fight, to keep it between a man and a woman and help preserve what vestige of strong family and understanding of marriage there still is"* (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 17).

As marriage was becoming threatened by a willingness to redefine it within the legal system, thus Focus on the Family and other organizations found themselves bound to fight against this. Focus on the Family believes that God has created mankind with an intention, and that this designer's plan for his creation is the best plan for mankind to follow. John Focus describes this as the following

*"God's created intent for humans and sex, biological sex, and flowing from that sexuality, and flowing from that marriage, and flowing from that family. The created intent is based on the male and female paradigm, as we bear his image as male and female. You know, out of diversity of male and female...we all coming together in unity, the complementary unity, new life come forward. And society is, you know, from one generation to next propagated, and this is clearly the ordination of life"* (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Focus, p. 14).

Therefore homosexual marriage disrupts God's intended order for marriage, families, and male and female roles. This is understandably a serious threat for those who hold to this view as the truth. Tyree notes that

*"by its very nature someone who lives homosexually, especially if they have a partner, and they want to adopt a child removes that child from either its father or its mother. And how can this be a good thing? You know, when it required a father and a mother biologically to create him etc"* (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 13).

But she also underlines that their fight is not against homosexual partners, but with the consequences allowing them to marry has on society.

*"And so I would just say that this is the one argument that we continue to go back to [it required a father and a mother biologically to create him'], that we are continually fighting, that it's not about who someone decided to sleep with, it's about what this will do in policy"* (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 14).

They underlined that homosexual marriage would change policy, and that this would affect children and school curriculum, it would affect religious freedom and freedom of speech.

In reference to education Tyree claimed that

*"If the law is that two men can be married and two women can be married, that is gonna get put in school curriculum [...] this is actually what was the biggest message in California. Um, and so we're always talking about that one thing, in different ways, and it continues to be the message that people hear. And they think 'well, so it's not just 'live and let live', it's my daughter is gonna go to public school and she's gonna hear about this [...] as a 5 year old"* (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 15).

This is seen as a clear indicator that their children are going to be taught things in school that their parents might disagree with, and yet they will not be able to stop this in schools, unless Proposition 8 is passed.

In evaluating Proposition 8 Tyree noted that *“this is kind of unprecedented in the US, that if you have a controversial view about something, or actually, if you hold the view that marriage, that kids, that kids need a mom and a dad, then you are a social liability. Um, way outside political correctness”*, to this comment John Focus added: *“and you should be ostracized, and you could be castigated”* (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree and Focus, p. 10). This they felt forewarned a growing lack of freedom of expression and religion, that if you did not agree with homosexual marriage you were almost labeled as a racist and a bigot, instead of being able to respect their different understandings of marriage.



## **8.0 Analysis: qualitative analysis**

The analysis of the articles released by the different organizations involved in the Proposition 8 case, indicate a difference in the culture, identity and rhetoric of the two main blocs. There is a clear difference in how the two groups formulate themselves; view and understand the institution of marriage; understand the stakes of Proposition 8 and finally, how they view their position in society. Here I will use three previously presented theories: Cultural Politics theory, Identity Theory and Rhetorical theory to look at these differences in an attempt to understand the conservative, religious, right-wing organizations' involvement and perceived motivation for this involvement in the Proposition 8 case.

### 8.1 Analysis: Cultural Politics Theory

As mentioned earlier in the theory chapter of this thesis, Cultural Politics Theory builds on the thought that each society has basic cultural preferences, such as values, norms and identity. These cultural preferences are highly salient, as they are very personal and intuitive for the people within the specific society or group. One can thus use this theory to study and understand how voters can be mobilized through being persuaded to believe that an issue touches upon their basic cultural preferences, especially if it threatens to alter the status of these preferences. Legee et al. shows how this approach might easily mobilize religious groups or societies:

*«Short of forming hermetically sealed societies and avoiding contact with the larger culture [...] it is no longer possible for traditionalists to avoid contact with social practices and norms that directly counter to their own cultural preferences. While they may minimize the challenge by various means, such as creating 'parallel culture' institutions like Christian broadcasting and Christian rock, the intrusiveness of modernizing institutions leaves them no place to hide. The open challenges to traditional values and widespread perception of the disintegration of the social order may have provided the necessary conditions that encouraged political counter mobilizations» (Legee et al., 2002:36).*

Conservative, Christian societies may feel that their Christian values are under attack from the 'secular' part of the population. Add this to the notion of the United States as 'one Nation under God', the eradication or alteration to Christian values and institution may be perceived as devastating and dangerous to some. I will here analyze and study the use of cultural politics by the organizations involved in Proposition 8, to see if they use this approach to mobilize voters, explain their involvement and justify this involvement.

Legee et al. underlines that one only needs to be socialized within one culture, to find cultural political arguments compelling and legitimate, as they play on shared cultural preferences. Once one is immersed in a culture, it can easily be used as an effective tool in political mobilization efforts. *«Cultural politics is less a set of issues than a style of*

*argumentation that invokes fundamental social values and emphasize group differences»* (Leege et al., 2002: 27-28). They point out a few tactics politicians may choose to emphasize cultural political differences, in order to mobilize voters. One effective way is to use the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ approach, one the subtly and effectively shows that there are two distinct groups which disagree. To further this impression, one tactic is to emphasize the differences between the groups, rather than look at what the groups might agree on. To further highlight these differences, one might declare what is ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ regarding the other group and regarding the issue at hand, creating a situation where the disagreement escalates into a moral, black and white conflict. Then one can simply limit the debate on the conflict, and keep highlighting the differences between the groups and the conflict at hand (Leege et al., 2002).

I will look for the use of these four tactics in order to analyze whether the organizations involved in Proposition 8 attempt to use cultural political strategies in mobilizing the voters and involving themselves in the case. I will also attempt to generally lay out the apparent differences in culture between the two groups; I contend that this is vital as this is a study of the political use of culture.

#### 8.1.1 The culture of the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations

The ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations seem to have focused on the notion of freedom. Freedom of rights, equal rights, democracy and so on. This is a highly salient cultural idea, and many would contend that it is one of the three main cultural values in the United States. The first being: religious freedom, the second: freedom of speech and the third: freedom of rights. If this is true, then the culture in the homosexual activists’ organizations would convey members to believe that by trying to limit marriage to heterosexual couples, one would be denying homosexual couples freedoms and basic rights. They could thus perceive themselves as a minority, and in extension judge lack of support from others within the society around them as discriminating. I contend that the following four statements could easily be supported in such a cultural environment. Firstly, people should have equal rights. Secondly, marriage is a legal right. Thirdly, opposing same-sex marriage is to deny homosexuals legal rights. Finally, given that same-sex marriage is being opposed, homosexuals are being discriminated against by the rest of society.

If one accepts these four statements, then the conclusion should be fairly simple: one must fight for the right to be equal, free citizens of the United States, as this right is clearly being challenged by conservative groups. I do not claim these thoughts as my own; I am merely trying to portray how I have perceived the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations’ culture and argumentation regarding Proposition 8. I will attempt to show how the ‘No to Proposition

8' organizations portray these cultural arguments in the following statements from the previously studies articles.

A blog entry from ACLU clearly shows that they believe marriage is a basic right, and implies that without it homosexuals will not be treated like everyone else: *“help us ensure that gay couples all across California keep their fundamental right to marriage — the basic right to be treated just like anybody else”* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Please Fight Proposition 8's Assault on Same-Sex Marriage). The same entry relays the feelings of one mother confronted with the fact of her son's homosexuality, it is clear that both she and her son believe that he would be treated as a second-class citizen: *“She knew that treating gay and lesbian people like second class citizens — people who may be worthy of ‘tolerance,’ as some assert, but not of equality — was and still is the last socially-acceptable prejudice”* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Please Fight Proposition 8's Assault on Same-Sex Marriage). The blog entry author goes on to describe the treatment of homosexuals in society as pariahs:

*“The right to be equal citizens and to marry whomever we wish — unimaginable to me when I first came out — is now ours to lose in California unless we stand up for what's right. All of us must fight against what's wrong. In my 43 short years of life, I have seen gay and lesbian people go from pariahs and objects of legally-sanctioned discrimination to being on the cusp of full equality”* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Please Fight Proposition 8's Assault on Same-Sex Marriage).

One can see that this author felt that homosexuals have been discriminated towards in the United States, and would continue to endure this opposition should Proposition 8 pass.

Another blog entry from ACLU clearly juxtaposes marriage with freedom, urging people to tell their friends to oppose Proposition 8, as they feel it is denying homosexuals their freedom.

*“Talk to someone you've never talked to about same sex marriage and explain that it's just not right to deny someone their freedom because of who they are or who they love. And you can tell them something else: Tell them the fight to stop Prop 8 from disrupting people's lives and denying gay couples the full measure of their freedom is far from over[...] remind them that no one should ever lose their rights or face bigotry because of who they are and who they love. Make it clear that, no matter how someone feels about same-sex marriage, gay people are a part of our community entitled to the same rights, the same dignity, as everyone else”* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8).

A press release statement by Equality California, announced Pacific Gas & Electric Company's (PG&E) contribution to the 'No on Proposition 8' campaign, citing advocacy for freedom and rights in the workplace, again emphasizing this cultural understanding of same-sex marriage.

*“Across California, individuals and businesses like PG&E are pledging to vote no on Proposition 8 because they know it's wrong to single out one group of*

*people to be treated differently. ' [...] 'We are proud to join NO on 8 and Equality California to protect the freedom to marry for all Californians,' said PG&E Senior Vice President of Public Affairs Nancy McFadden. 'For years, PG&E has advocated for equality and fairness in the workplace, and across California. In that same spirit, PG&E is honored to be a founding member of the Equality Business Advisory Council and urge our business colleagues to join us as we work to guarantee the same rights and freedoms for every Californian'' (EQCA, 2010: 2008 Press Releases).*

A NCLR blog quotes senior 'No on Proposition 8' Strategist, Steve Smith: "*our constitution guarantees the same freedoms and rights to everyone. Regardless of how anyone feels about marriage for same-gender couples, it's wrong to deny a person's fundamental rights and freedoms*" (NCLR, 2010: PG&E Announces \$250, 000 Contribution to Fight Prop. 8). The NCLR also tells of a writ petition that the ACLU, Lambda Legal and NCLR are prepared to submit should Proposition 8 pass, citing that Proposition 8 denies people equality, in effect violating the constitution.

*"The petition charges that Proposition 8 is invalid because the initiative process was improperly used in an attempt to undo the constitution's core commitment to equality for everyone by eliminating a fundamental right from just one group—lesbian and gay Californians. Proposition 8 also improperly attempts to prevent the courts from exercising their essential constitutional role of protecting the equal protection rights of minorities [...] A major purpose of the constitution is to protect minorities from majorities. Because changing that principle is a fundamental change to the organizing principles of the constitution itself, only the legislature can initiate such revisions to the constitution"* (NCLR Press Center, 2010: Legal Groups File Lawsuit Challenging Proposition 8, Should It Pass).

It is clear though these statements that the 'No to Proposition 8' organizations view marriage as a legal right, and that their democratic right to freedom of rights is denied them should they be excluding from the institution of marriage.

#### 8.1.2 The culture of the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations

The 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations appear to have a different cultural basis on which they build their understanding of Proposition 8 and marriage. While the opposition focuses on freedom of rights, the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations seem to focus on religious freedom and the sanctity of religious institutions. This might stem from an idea of the United States as an inherent Christian nation, where Christian institutions, morals and values are essential for the preservation of a stable nation. One also sees a fear of being discriminated against, and a need to protect one's religious rights from being stripped away by liberal organizations. I would argue that the following four statements would be perceived as true and correct within the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations. Firstly marriage is an institution ordained by God, and should thus not be altered. Secondly, that the United States is a Christian country. Thirdly that the removal of Christian values and morals from the United States would somehow

damage the nation and erode away at national values. Finally, that should these Christian institutions disappear, Christians will lose their freedom of religion and become ostracized. If one accepts these four statements, then the natural conclusion would be: Christians have to fight to preserve this Christian culture in the United States, in order to protect the erosion of values from the nation, and to protect them from losing the religious freedom. This would then offer an explanation for the organizations' involvement in Proposition 8. I will attempt to show the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations' cultural argumentation in the following statements from the previously studies articles.

The Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America released the following statement underlining the fact that marriage is a sacred institution ordained by God, and that any alteration to this institution is a 'direct attack' on freedom of religion:

*“The decision of the California Supreme Court on May 15, 2008, unilaterally redefines the sacred institution of marriage in a manner unprecedented in human history — and alien to our Christian tradition. We, the Orthodox Christian bishops of California, were saddened by this decision which constitutes a direct attack upon the longstanding role and freedom of religion in American life [...] Orthodox Christianity holds in high regard the God-ordained institution of marriage and the family. The Orthodox Church must and shall remain true to its faith and tradition, and affirm that marriage is the union of one man and one woman, given by God to one another for mutual support, encouragement, love and the ability to bear children “ Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, 2009).*

The California Catholic Conference refers to marriage as a deeply, imbedded part of our culture, of which God himself is the author of:

*“This radical change in public policy will have many profound effects on our society, because it -Discounts the biological and organic reality of marriage—and how deeply embedded it is in our culture, our language and our laws and ignores the common understanding of the word marriage; and because it - Diminishes the word 'marriage' to mean only a 'partnership'-a purely adult contractual arrangement for individuals over the age of 18. Children—if there are any—are no longer a primary societal rationale for the institution [...]Crystallizing the teaching on marriage, the Catechism of the Catholic Church (1603, 1604) proclaims: 'God himself is the author of marriage. The vocation to marriage is written in the very nature of man and woman as they came from the hand of the Creator' [...]We must support traditional marriage as the source of our civilization, the foundation for a society that can be home to all human beings, and the reflection of our relationship with God” (California Catholic Conference, 2009).*

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints also underlines the importance of marriage as a God-ordained institution; they also emphasize the importance of marriage for children, a value the California Catholic Conference also emphasized.

*“The Church’s teachings and position on this moral issue are unequivocal. Marriage between a man and a woman is ordained of God, and the formation of families is central to the Creator’s plan for His children. Children are entitled to be born within this bond of marriage”* (Newsroom, 2010: California and Same-sex Marriage).

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints continues to clarify their view of marriage in the article 'The Divine Institution of Marriage' where they state:

*“Marriage is sacred, ordained of God from before the foundation of the world [...] the sacred nature of marriage is closely linked to the power of procreation. Only a man and a woman together have the natural biological capacity to conceive children. This power of procreation – to create life and bring God’s spirit children into the world – is sacred and precious. Misuse of this power undermines the institution of the family and thereby weakens the social fabric [...] Legalizing same-sex marriage will affect a wide spectrum of government activities and policies. Once a state government declares that same-sex unions are a civil right, those governments almost certainly will enforce a wide variety of other policies intended to ensure that there is no discrimination against same-sex couples. This may well place ‘church and state on a collision course.’ The prospect of same-sex marriage has already spawned legal collisions with the rights of free speech and of action based on religious beliefs [...] if same-sex marriage becomes a recognized civil right, there will be substantial conflicts with religious freedom. And in some important areas, religious freedom may be diminished”* (Newsroom, 2010: The Divine Institution of Marriage).

It is clear they believe marriage is not only a sacred institution, but also a vital institution that sustains civilization and create a stable social fabric for future generations. This shows that a removal of marriage, would inherently threaten the moral fiber and stableness of future societies for generations to come. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints also emphasizes the threat that the altercations of these institutions are for religious freedom.

These cultural ideals are supported by the official Protectmarriage.com website, where they state that *“Proposition 8 protects marriage as an essential institution of society. While death, divorce, or other circumstances may prevent the ideal, the best situation for a child is to be raised by a married mother and father”* (Protect Marriage, 2010: Ballot Arguments).

This again shows that they believe that society will flourish best and will go in the right moral direction with the institution of marriage reserved for heterosexual couples.

### 8.1.3 ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ approach

Societies and groups tend to regard those who are different then themselves, who have different views, values or opinions then that which dominants the specific social group, as outsiders. These groups may be based on religion, monetary value, social status, race, sexual preference, political beliefs and many more. One need only look to history to confirm this trend in humanity, some examples are: the social hierarchy of India or Great Britain; the seclusion of Jews in European history; the segregation of blacks and whites in the United

States; the issue of female voting; and the list continues. In this political conflict as well, the two opposing groups have an idea of how the ideal society should function in regards to a specific case, in this case: the institution of marriage. This difference of ideals in the political conflict evolves the conflict into a cultural one. Here I will look at how the two blocs address their opponents, in order to see if there is a clear 'Us' versus 'Them' approach. I will analyze this by looking at the articles already presented in the thesis.

#### 8.1.3.1 The use of 'Us versus them' in the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations

There is little explicit critique towards 'them' in the released articles from the different 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations which I have analyzed above. Some of the 'Yes to Proposition 8' clearly state to their readers that homosexuals are not to be treated with contempt, and underline that the issue at hand is to protect the institution of marriage. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints states that

*"The Church's opposition to same-sex marriage neither constitutes nor condones any kind of hostility towards homosexual men and women. Protecting marriage between a man and a woman does not affect Church members' Christian obligations of love, kindness and humanity toward all people"* (Newsroom, 2010: The Divine Institution of Marriage).

This is also emphasized in the Orthodox Jewish community's statement: *"Just as we condemn discrimination against the gay community, we ask that the same tolerance be shown towards those with sincerely held religious beliefs"* (What is Prop 8, 2008). ProtectMarriage.com, the coalition behind Proposition 8, goes as far as to exclude homosexuals from the Proposition 8 argument saying *"Proposition 8 is about preserving marriage; it's not an attack on the gay lifestyle"*, thus they indicate that they will spend time advocating marriage, not attacking homosexual activist (Protect Marriage, 2010: Ballot Arguments). This position provides the 'Yes to Proposition 8' with a stated intent to focus only on the issue at hand, which might explain why there is little critique aimed at the 'No to Proposition 8' organizations in the various articles studied here.

One might conclude from this data that the 'Yes to Proposition 8' campaign has chosen a strategy where they do not mention their opponents; rather their focus is on the issues at hand. Judging from this quote by Schubert & Flint Public Affairs who handled the 'Yes on Prop 8' campaign, I would contend that this was a strategic choice.

*"We immediately faced our first important strategic challenge: How to respond to the marriages? We decided to withhold criticism of the same-sex couples who were getting married (after all, they were simply taking advantage of the rights the Court had granted them), and urged all our supporters to refrain from demonstrations, protests or rallies opposing the marriages. This initial strategic positioning, later validated in qualitative and quantitative research, recognized that passing Proposition 8 would depend on our ability to convince voters that*

*same-sex marriage had broader implications for Californians and was not only about the two individuals involved in a committed gay relationship” (Politics Magazine, 2010).*

#### 8.1.3.2 The use of ‘Us versus them’ in the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations

However, the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations are more explicit in what they believe the other camp capable of. In asking for monetary support to defeat Proposition 8, ACLU emphasizes the danger of the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ bloc:

*“But they are going to start hitting soon. We made a great television ad buy early on. But they have now bought a week ahead of us. More ominously, they're now out-fundraising us significantly. They've taken in over \$16 million compared to our \$11 million (and they only pulled ahead after Labor Day). And the stuff is pouring in, mostly in \$1,000, \$2,500 and \$5,000 chunks, mostly driven by the Mormon church. The kinds of gifts the Mormons are bringing in are just not coming in on our side. We've already raised more than has ever been raised on a progressive issue campaign in California. But the forces of intolerance see this as the Waterloo of the ‘culture war.’ And they are backing up what they say with money. If they keep outdoing us on money, they'll get up on television first, they will saturate, and they may well redefine the issue for those conflicted voters. If they do, our lead will evaporate. And our chances of winning will become remote” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Worried about Marriage in California).*

They even go as far as to refer to the opponents as the ‘forces of intolerance’, which sets a clear wedge between the two groups. Another ACLU blog entry refers to the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ bloc as ‘the forces of discrimination’, setting another wedge between the two groups, as shown in this quote: *“due to a vicious, deceitful \$30 million advertising blitz, the supporters of Prop 8 may be within days of taking that fundamental right away. To stop the forces of discrimination from succeeding, we have to win over conflicted voters” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Please Fight Proposition 8's Assault on Same-Sex Marriage).* This blog entry also refers to the ‘forces of intolerance’: *“Given what's at stake in the outcome of this election, I am personally appealing to you for help to fight the forces of intolerance from carrying the day in California next Tuesday” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Please Fight Proposition 8's Assault on Same-Sex Marriage).* A third ACLU blog entry also refers to the supporters of Proposition 8 as the ‘forces of intolerance’, *“The forces of intolerance behind Prop 8 went through a process for less serious constitutional changes called amendments”*, which makes one wonder whether this is a coincidence, or a standard reference to the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8). Regardless, it is clear that the ACLU views this bloc in a very unfavorable light, as a group who clearly is in the wrong.

NCLR refers only a little to their opponents, focusing mostly on underlining the importance of passing Proposition 8 in order to preserve and protect homosexual rights.



However in one press release on their website they quote Lorri L. Jean, chief executive officer of the L.A. Gay & Lesbian Center, and member of the Equality for All campaign's executive committee. Here Jean calls the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations for 'extremists', and underlines that many of them are from other states in the United States: "*These out-of-state extremists continue to expend time and resources to write discrimination into our California Constitution, in spite of the fact that Californians are tired of these costly and divisive campaigns,*' said Lorri L. Jean" (NCLR Press Center, 2010: Signature Gathering Has Begun to Place Discriminatory Marriage Measure on California's November 2008 Ballot). They also quote NCLR Executive Director Kate Kendell, who claims

*"If our opposition succeeds in their efforts, they will not stop there. As they have done before, they will be back again and again, chipping away at the basic protections for LGBT people in this country that we have fought long and hard to win. With a win they will be revitalized and emboldened"* (NCLR Press Center, 2010: National Center for Lesbian Rights Launches New Political Action Committee to Defeat Prop 8).

The 'No to Proposition 8' campaign seem to have chosen a different strategy, than their conservative counterparts. They seem to have chosen to portray their opponents in an unfavorable light in order to discredit them. They portray the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations as discriminating conservatives eagerly poised to strip homosexuals of their rights. This strategy seems to play on the fear of what conservative, religious groups will do next if they are not stopped, and the fear of losing rights for homosexuals. This plays into the cultural focus of the 'No to Proposition 8' organizations, where one sees the Proposition 8 case as a fight for legal rights and equal treatment. I contend that they view marriage as a legal right that is denied them, and a symbolic gesture that sets them apart from others. In light of this, they wish to be able to marry so that they may be equal citizens, with the same rights as heterosexual couples, as shown in the quote below.

*"The right to be equal citizens and to marry whomever we wish — unimaginable to me when I first came out — is now ours to lose in California unless we stand up for what's right. All of us must fight against what's wrong. In my 43 short years of life, I have seen gay and lesbian people go from pariahs and objects of legally-sanctioned discrimination to being on the cusp of full equality. The unimaginable comes true in our America if we make it happen. But, it requires effort and struggle [...] Given what's at stake in the outcome of this election, I am personally appealing to you for help to fight the forces of intolerance from carrying the day in California next Tuesday"* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Please Fight Proposition 8's Assault on Same-Sex Marriage).

#### 8.1.4 Emphasizing group differences

As mentioned before, one key tactic in Cultural Politics is to emphasize group differences, in order to enhance the cultural conflict and create a sense of one group being morally superior

to the other. Here I will look at the previously studies articles released by the various organizations involved in Proposition 8, in order to see if they emphasize group differences between the two blocs involved in the conflict.

#### 8.1.4.1 ‘No to Proposition 8’ bloc’s emphasis of group differences

It seems that the ‘No to Proposition 8’ merely emphasize group differences to show what the stakes of the Proposition 8 vote is, focusing mainly on statistic, mobilizing and funding differences. Although this is clearly emphasizing group differences, it does not play on cultural differences, and therefore is not a cultural political strategy.

The ACLU refers little to the differences between the two groups, although they spend some time relaying the evilness of their opponents (as shown in the ‘Us’ versus ‘Them’ section of this paper). They do however show the statistic difference between the two blocs, showing where support for and against Proposition 8 lies.

*“The latest California Field Poll shows us ahead by a very respectable 55 percent to their 38 percent. But when you look beneath the surface, the situation is a little more complex. All of the in depth research appears to show: 1) we have a solid 40 to 42 percent; 2) they have a solid 38 to 40 percent; 3) we’re both chasing the remaining 16 to 20 percent. That remaining 16 to 20 percent is made up of voters who are deeply conflicted; they don’t like marriage for same-sex couples, but they also don’t like the idea of voting to take someone’s rights away” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Worried About Marriage in California).*

This merely states the current situation of the conflict, and although shows the difference between the groups, it does not enhance the conflict. The same blog entry from ACLU also emphasizes the difference in funding and TV ads between the blocs, though this is described in more personal terms, acknowledging that this is a cultural war, and the other side is an intolerance force.

*”We made a great television ad buy early on. But they have now bought a week ahead of us. More ominously, they’re now out-fundraising us significantly. They’ve taken in over \$16 million compared to our \$11 million (and they only pulled ahead after Labor Day). And the stuff is pouring in, mostly in \$1,000, \$2,500 and \$5,000 chunks [...] We’ve already raised more than has ever been raised on a progressive issue campaign in California. But the forces of intolerance see this as the Waterloo of the ‘culture war’” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Worried About Marriage in California).*

#### 8.1.4.2 ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ bloc’s emphasis of group differences

Like their opposition, the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations’ articles do not focus on the cultural political differences between the organizations. They do however lay out the difference in campaign strategies used by the two blocs during the campaign. This is not a cultural political tactic, rather a description of the different campaigns.

*“In a little over a week of advertising, we went from being significantly behind, to taking the lead in two published polls [...] The gay community sounded the alarm*

*by releasing to the gay media an internal poll showing them behind and telling their supporters they would lose unless more money was raised. This emergency cry for contributions was incredibly effective. Whereas they had raised \$15 million in the previous nine months, they raised another \$25 million in the ensuing seven weeks of the campaign. But their failure to respond to the ‘consequences’ messages (especially the education message) in a timely fashion ultimately led to their downfall” (Politics Magazine, 2010).*

Thus one can conclude, that although the ‘No to Proposition 8’ do refer to their opponents in somewhat negative terms, neither they nor that ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ bloc emphasize the cultural political group differences.

#### 8.1.5 Establishing a ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ view of the issue or conflict

As mentioned before, an effective way of emphasizing cultural aspects of political conflicts and thus creating cultural political conflicts, is to establish a ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ view of that issue or conflict. Here I will see if the two blocs involved in Proposition 8 use this tactic.

##### 8.1.5.1 ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ bloc’s use of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ view of Proposition 8

The ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations seemed to recognize the need to establish the correct view of Proposition 8 in order to win over undecided voters in California. The public affairs company hired by the ProtectMarriage.com coalition, Schubert Flint Public Affairs, commented on this strategic decision:

*“The dynamics of the Proposition 8 campaign were unique. We were asking voters for a Yes vote to ban same-sex marriage and restore traditional marriage. We strongly believed that a campaign in favor of traditional marriage would not be enough to prevail. We needed to convince voters that gay marriage was not simply ‘live and let live’—that there would be consequences if gay marriage were to be permanently legalized. But how to raise consequences when gay marriage was so recently legalized and not yet taken hold? [...] We reconfirmed in our early focus groups our own views that Californians had a tolerant opinion of gays. But there were limits to the degree of tolerance that Californians would afford the gay community. They would entertain allowing gay marriage, but not if doing so had significant implications for the rest of society [...] This initial strategic positioning, later validated in qualitative and quantitative research, recognized that passing Proposition 8 would depend on our ability to convince voters that same-sex marriage had broader implications for Californians and was not only about the two individuals involved in a committed gay relationship” ( Politics Magazine, 2010).*

So one sees, that the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations knew they had to show voters why same-sex marriage was wrong for society, through showing what consequences this had. If one looks at the articles released by the bloc, one clearly sees this strategy of claiming what is right and outlining the consequence of same-sex marriage in society.

The Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America tell their readers that same-sex marriage is not true marriage, and that implementation of the new definition of marriage will deny the Church its role in society:

*“we, the Orthodox bishops of California, call upon the faithful, as responsible and concerned citizens of California, to overturn this ruling by the California Supreme Court by voting in favor of Proposition 8 this coming November. This proposition is a regrettably necessary measure to restore the true definition of marriage in the eyes of our state. A state that believes same-sex couplings constitute ‘marriage’ implicitly — and sooner or later, explicitly — denies the role of the Church and all faiths that adhere to traditional values in public life” (Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, 2009).*

The California Catholic Conference also emphasizes that allowing same-sex marriage radically redefines the definition of marriage, and that affects children, culture, laws and language:

*“This radical change in public policy will have many profound effects on our society, because it -Discounts the biological and organic reality of marriage—and how deeply embedded it is in our culture, our language and our laws and ignores the common understanding of the word marriage; and because it -Diminishes the word ‘marriage’ to mean only a ‘partnership’-a purely adult contractual arrangement for individuals over the age of 18. Children—if there are any—are no longer a primary societal rationale for the institution [...] same-sex unions are not the same as opposite-sex unions. The marriage of a man and a woman embraces not only their sexual complementarity as designed by nature but includes their ability to procreate. The ideal for the well being of children is to be born into a traditional marriage and to be raised by both a mother and a father” (California Catholic Conference, 2009).*

Catholics for the Common Good also note that same-sex marriage is not marriage as God ordained it, *“Same-sex ‘marriage’ is just a symptom of a more serious problem that is affecting children in every family -- the redefinition of marriage, the family, and human sexuality”*, they go as far as to call it a ‘symptom of a more serious problem that is affecting children’, showing their fear that same-sex marriage hurt children (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010).

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints released the following statements on this issue:

*“The focus of the Church’s involvement is specifically same-sex marriage and its consequences [...] The Church has a single, undeviating standard of sexual morality: intimate relations are proper only between a husband and a wife united in the bonds of matrimony [...] Perhaps the most common argument that proponents of same-sex marriage make is that it is essentially harmless and will not affect the institution of traditional heterosexual marriage in any way. ‘It won’t affect you, so why should you care?’ is the common refrain. While it may be true that allowing single-sex unions will not immediately and directly affect all existing marriages, the real question is how it will affect society as a whole over time, including the rising generation and future generations. The experience of the few European countries that already have legalized same-sex marriage suggests that any dilution of the traditional definition of marriage will further erode the already weakened stability of marriages and family generally. Adopting same-sex marriage compromises the traditional concept of marriage, with harmful*

*consequences for society [...] The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has chosen to become involved, along with many other churches, organizations, and individuals, in defending the sanctity of marriage between a man and a woman because it is a compelling moral issue of profound importance to our religion and to the future of our society” (Newsroom, 2010: The Divine Institution of Marriage).*

Here one sees an underlining of the importance of marriage on society, and the danger for future generations should same-sex marriage be legalized.

Finally, ProtectMarriage.com stated that: *“Proposition 8 protects marriage as an essential institution of society. While death, divorce, or other circumstances may prevent the ideal, the best situation for a child is to be raised by a married mother and father” (Protect Marriage, 2010: Ballot Arguments).*

Therefore I would argue that the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations did try to emphasize what is ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ regarding Proposition 8, through emphasizing the marriage is only right between a man and a woman, and confirmed this by placing the weight of the Church and God behind this statement. I would imagine that this would help persuade those of the populace who believe in God, or are part of a religious community. Furthermore, I contend that the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations also emphasized that Proposition 8 was ‘wrong’ by showing to the consequences for society should Proposition 8 pass, playing on people’s fear of the future.

8.1.5.2 ‘No to Proposition 8’ bloc’s use of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ view of Proposition 8  
The ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations also emphasize what is ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ in the Proposition 8 case, as shown in the following article excerpts from the various organizations. The ACLU underline explicitly what is ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ with Proposition 8 in the following statements, also emphasizing the strategic need of winning conflicted voters by showing them that voting ‘no’ the same-sex marriage is to vote ‘no’ for people’s right. :

*“The right to be equal citizens and to marry whomever we wish — unimaginable to me when I first came out — is now ours to lose in California unless we stand up for what’s right. All of us must fight against what’s wrong [...] To stop the forces of discrimination from succeeding, we have to win over conflicted voters who aren’t sure they’re ready for gay marriage but who are also uncomfortable going into a voting booth and stripping away people’s rights” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Please Fight Proposition 8’s Assault on Same-Sex Marriage).*

*“Talk to someone you’ve never talked to about same sex marriage and explain that it’s just not right to deny someone their freedom because of who they are or who they love. And you can tell them something else: Tell them the fight to stop Prop 8 from disrupting people’s lives and denying gay couples the full measure of their freedom is far from over [...] The case we are making is a powerful one — and I want you to know its details — because if we are going to secure equal rights for everyone in our great nation, the argument for equality has to be made*

*not just in a California courtroom, but in countless conversations between families and communities all across America [...] So, our lawsuit — and your Prop 8 conversations over the holidays — will all come down to the same question: Is it a big deal — a revision, rather than a mere amendment — to take the right to marry away from an entire group of people? We firmly believe it is. - What could be more serious than rejecting the very idea that everyone is equal before the law? - And what could be a more drastic change than undermining the essential constitutional principle that we all have rights, which can't be taken away just because a majority of people might like to do so?" (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8).*

Equality California stated in a press release in July, 2008 that:

*"Across California, individuals and businesses like PG&E are pledging to vote no on Proposition 8 because they know it's wrong to single out one group of people to be treated differently [...] 'It's clear that Proposition 8 is wrong for California,' said NO on 8 Senior Strategist Steve Smith. 'We are happy PG&E and other business leaders are joining the millions of Californians who recognize that our constitution guarantees the same freedoms and rights to everyone. Regardless of how anyone feels about marriage for same-gender couples, it's wrong to deny a person's fundamental rights and freedoms'" (EQCA, 2010: 2008 Press Releases).*

Again a statement, underlining the pivotal importance of freedom of rights, and that Proposition 8 is wrong to deny a group of Californians the right to marriage.

The NCLR also emphasizes that Proposition 8 is wrong as it endangers the future rights of homosexuals:

*"'Proposition 8 seeks to deny LGBT couples the right to marry, but the stakes go far beyond that critical issue. If the initiative passes, it could be devastating—for every issue affecting the lives of LGBT people in California and the rest of the nation,' said NCLR Executive Director Kate Kendell. 'If our opposition succeeds in their efforts, they will not stop there. As they have done before, they will be back again and again, chipping away at the basic protections for LGBT people in this country that we have fought long and hard to win. With a win they will be revitalized and emboldened. That is why we are doing absolutely everything we can to defeat this initiative'" (NCLR Press Center, 2010: National Center for Lesbian Rights Launches New Political Action Committee to Defeat Prop 8).*

Another NCLR press release states the following:

*"'Every day, lesbian and gay Californians are denied the right to marry the person they love. Every day, they are denied the dignity, respect, rights and responsibilities that only come with marriage,' said Kate Kendell, executive director of the National Center for Lesbian Rights and a member of the Equality for All executive committee. 'People should not be treated unfairly under the laws of our state. This amendment to our state's constitution would enshrine discrimination for generations of Californians.' 'It is imperative that fair-minded Californians reject these efforts, by refusing to sign the petitions and talking with their friends and family members about why marriage discrimination is wrong,' said Dr. Delores A. Jacobs, chief executive officer of The San Diego LGBT Community Center and a member of the executive committee of the Equality for All campaign" (NCLR Press Center, 2010: Signature Gathering Has Begun to Place Discriminatory Marriage Measure on California's November 2008 Ballot).*

So one clearly sees that the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations more directly claim that Proposition 8 is wrong, they also emphasize that it strips away fundamental freedoms and rights, playing on the cultural notion of the importance of freedom of rights, in effect using an established understanding of what is ‘right’ to convince people of how ‘wrong’ Proposition 8 is.

#### 8.1.6 Limiting the debate and highlighting the conflict

As Cultural Politics Theory builds on the thought that each society has basic cultural preferences, these preferences have to be highlighted in order to create a conflict. Legee et al. show how limiting debate on a political conflict at hand and highlighting this conflict creates a highly salient cultural political conflict. One might then be able to mobilize people to rally around their cultural political preferences, as these issues are deeply personal and important to people in general. I will therefore see if this strategic cultural political approach has been used in this context, as it might show if the two blocs intentionally have tried to mobilize support using cultural preferences.

##### 8.1.6.1 ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ bloc and their efforts in limiting the debate and highlighting the conflict

Looking at the previously studies articles, I contend that the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations intentionally highlighted the conflict, and in effect limited the debate on Proposition 8 in order to gain support for their cause. I see this choice in the statement released by Schubert & Flint Public Affairs who handled the 'Yes on Prop 8' campaign, they underline that they had to emphasize or highlight three salient cultural conflicts in order to ensure the passage of Proposition 8.

*“Whenever a conflict occurred between the rights of a gay couple and other rights, the rights of the gay couple would prevail because of their ‘protected class’ legal status. We settled on three broad areas where this conflict of rights was most likely to occur: in the area of religious freedom, in the area of individual freedom of expression, and in how this new ‘fundamental right’ would be inculcated in young children through the public schools. And we made sure that we had very concrete examples we could share with voters of things that had actually occurred”* (Politics Magazine, 2010).

This shows a strategic intention to focus on three cultural conflicts that would engage the populace to support Proposition 8: religious freedom, freedom of expression and education.

Several other ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations also emphasize these strategically chosen cultural political conflict areas, highlighting the conflict. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints stated the following in 'The Divine Institution of Marriage':

*“The Church does not object to rights (already established in California) regarding hospitalization and medical care, fair housing and employment rights,*

*or probate rights, so long as these do not infringe on the integrity of the family or the constitutional rights of churches and their adherents to administer and practice their religion free from government interference [...] Once a state government declares that same-sex unions are a civil right, those governments almost certainly will enforce a wide variety of other policies intended to ensure that there is no discrimination against same-sex couples. This may well place 'church and state on a collision course.' [...] advocates of same-sex marriage are suggesting that tax exemptions and benefits be withdrawn from any religious organization that does not embrace same-sex unions. Public accommodation laws are already being used as leverage in an attempt to force religious organizations to allow marriage celebrations or receptions in religious facilities that are otherwise open to the public [...] In the absence of abuse or neglect, government does not have the right to intervene in the rearing and moral education of children in the home. Strong families are thus vital for political freedom. But when governments presume to redefine the nature of marriage, issuing regulations to ensure public acceptance of non-traditional unions, they have moved a step closer to intervening in the sacred sphere of domestic life. The consequences of crossing this line are many and unpredictable, but likely would include an increase in the power and reach of the state toward whatever ends it seeks to pursue"*  
(Newsroom, 2010: The Divine Institution of Marriage).

This again emphasizes religious freedom, and the consequences of same-sex marriage for children and future generations.

ProtectMarriage.com also emphasizes that same-sex marriage will harm children: *The narrow decision of the California Supreme Court isn't just about 'live and let live.' State law may require teachers to instruct children as young as kindergarteners about marriage. (Education Code § 51890.) If the gay marriage ruling is not overturned, TEACHERS COULD BE REQUIRED to teach young children there is no difference between gay marriage and traditional marriage. We should not accept a court decision that may result in public schools teaching our kids that gay marriage is okay. That is an issue for parents to discuss with their children according to their own values and beliefs. It shouldn't be forced on us against our will [...] Proposition 8 RESTORED the definition of marriage that was approved by over 61% of voters, overturning the decision of four activist judges. Voting YES protected our children"* (Protect Marriage, 2010: Ballot Arguments).

They warn their readers that allowing same-sex marriage become legalized is to allow the government to teach one's children that same-sex marriage is the same as heterosexual marriage, a cultural conflict that might spur parents and grandparents into action.

The Jewish Orthodox Union also released a statement regarding their fear of losing religious freedoms and rights should Proposition 8 not pass:

*"We know the threat to people of faith and houses of worship is real and is already underway. Religious institutions and people face charges of bigotry and could be denied government funding and more if same sex marriage becomes the law of the land. Just as we condemn discrimination against the gay community, we ask that the same tolerance be shown towards those with sincerely held religious beliefs. Passage of Proposition 8 as an amendment to the state constitution would ensure that this respect and tolerance is demanded and shown*



*towards all*” (What is Prop 8, 2008: Official Orthodox Union Statement Regarding California Proposition 8).

One can see that a broad spectrum of ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations highlight the conflict in their statements by alluding to the fear of losing religious freedom (and inherently within that: freedom of speech), and losing control of the teaching of marriage in public education, exposing one’s children to same-sex marriage. They do not directly limit the debate, yet they do highlight the debate and in some sense that limits the direction of the debate if one accepts the premise that opposing Proposition 8 is to oppose the various Churches’ religious freedom, freedom of speech and to allow the influx of same-sex marriage teachings into public schools.

#### 8.1.6.2 ‘No to Proposition 8’ bloc and their efforts in limiting the debate and highlighting the conflict

In looking at the articles released by the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations, one sees that they also highlight the conflict by alluding to that passing Proposition 8 is equivalent to writing discriminatory law into the state constitution.

The ACLU clearly highlights these stakes in the following statement:

*“One of the things I love about the ACLU is that it’s an organization that understands we are all in this together. We recognize that injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere [...] We need to make sure people keep in mind that gay people are part of every family and every community — that like everyone else, gay people want the same rights to commit to their partners, to take care of each other and to take responsibility for each other. We shouldn’t deny that, and we shouldn’t write discrimination into any constitution in any state. Certainly, we can’t let that happen in California after the highest court in the state granted gay and lesbian people their full equality”* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Please Fight Proposition 8’s Assault on Same-Sex Marriage).

They emphasize that passing Proposition 8 is injustice, and thus a threat to justice everywhere. They believe that homosexuals should have the same rights as everyone (freedom of rights), and that denying them this is discrimination. Thus passing Proposition 8 is to write discrimination into the state constitution and law, and this must in extension be damaging to justice. One sees an escalation of the conflict from whether or not to allow same-sex marriage, to writing injustice into the laws of the state. I would contend that this is to highlight the conflict.

Another ACLU blog urges its readers to recognize this threat and to share with others that:

*“it’s just not right to deny someone their freedom because of who they are or who they love. And you can tell them something else: Tell them the fight to stop Prop 8 from disrupting people’s lives and denying gay couples the full measure of their freedom [...] So, our lawsuit — and your Prop 8 conversations over the holidays — will all come down to the same question: Is it a big deal — a revision, rather*

*than a mere amendment — to take the right to marry away from an entire group of people? We firmly believe it is. What could be more serious than rejecting the very idea that everyone is equal before the law? And what could be a more drastic change than undermining the essential constitutional principle that we all have rights, which can't be taken away just because a majority of people might like to do so?"* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8). Again one sees an emphasis on how wrong Proposition 8 is as it would legally affirm discrimination against homosexuals.

The NCLR also highlights the conflict by emphasizing that passing Proposition 8 is to deny freedom of rights:

*"Our Constitution protects everyone equally. It protects the fundamental rights of every citizen—no one gets singled out," said Kate Kendell, Executive Director of the National Center for Lesbian Rights. "This is something that California businesses like PG&E have put into practice for decades. We are asking all California business to join us as we work to protect the same fundamental freedom—the freedom to marry—for all Californians." [...] "It's clear that Proposition 8 is wrong for California," said NO on 8 Senior Strategist Steve Smith. "We are happy PG&E and other business leaders are joining the millions of Californians who recognize that our constitution guarantees the same freedoms and rights to everyone. Regardless of how anyone feels about marriage for same-gender couples, it's wrong to deny a person's fundamental rights and freedoms"* (NCLR, 2010: PG&E Announces \$250,000 Contribution to Fight Prop. 8).

Yet another NCLR press release echoes this claim:

*"Proposition 8 is invalid because the initiative process was improperly used in an attempt to undo the constitution's core commitment to equality for everyone by eliminating a fundamental right from just one group—lesbian and gay Californians. Proposition 8 also improperly attempts to prevent the courts from exercising their essential constitutional role of protecting the equal protection rights of minorities"* (NCLR Press Center, 2010: Legal Groups File Lawsuit Challenging Proposition 8, Should It Pass).

A final NCLR press release goes even further, claiming that should Proposition 8 pass, then conservative groups will keep on taking away basic rights from homosexuals, alluding to a future wave of discrimination should Proposition 8 pass, further highlighting the conflict.

*"Proposition 8 seeks to deny LGBT couples the right to marry, but the stakes go far beyond that critical issue. If the initiative passes, it could be devastating—for every issue affecting the lives of LGBT people in California and the rest of the nation," said NCLR Executive Director Kate Kendell. "If our opposition succeeds in their efforts, they will not stop there. As they have done before, they will be back again and again, chipping away at the basic protections for LGBT people in this country that we have fought long and hard to win. With a win they will be revitalized and emboldened. That is why we are doing absolutely everything we can to defeat this initiative"* (NCLR Press Center, 2010: National Center for Lesbian Rights Launches New Political Action Committee to Defeat Prop 8).

So one sees that both blocs involved in Proposition 8 attempt to highlight the conflict by explicitly outlining the stakes for each bloc should Proposition 8 pass. Both sides feel that

Proposition 8 could potentially strip them of their rights as citizens, and in highlighting this create a highly salient, cultural political conflict.

### 8.2 Analysis: Identity Theory

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, people often must identify with a state or organization's agenda, values, identity and action, or identify for a cause or against a perceived threat, in order to become politically involved. Thus the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations must be able to tap into already existing identification within the American populace, or strategically create one in order to politically mobilize people to join their fight for Proposition 8. Castells claims that: "*Identity is people's source of meaning and experience*" (Castells, 2004: 6), a view of the world that shapes how people experience life and how they take life choices. Wald and Calhoun-Brown describe their further:

*"People who identify with different social groups often have different, deeply held perspectives not only on how they should live but also on the scope of the political community and its purposes. They have a sense of legitimate moral order, and they expect other citizens and the government to further that design. They often dislike and distrust groups with rival perspectives and they even feel that some groups have no right to participate in democratic politics, much less to have their rival's perspective become binding on society."* (Wald, Calhoun-Brown, 2007: 315).

In short, identity constructs meaning and meaning is often a main motivator to individual and collective action. Castells defines meaning as "*the symbolic identification by a social actor of the purpose of her/his action*" (Castells, 2004:7).

Castells mentions various forms of religious identity, and underlines the importance of recognizing the strong belief of conservative, religious organizations in the 'American patriarchal identity'. Castells claims that the existing crisis to the American patriarchal structure has caused a mobilizing front aimed to protect and rebuild it.

*"the American patriarchal family is indeed in crisis, according to all indicators of divorce, separation, violence in the family, children born out of wedlock, delayed marriages, shrinking motherhood, single lifestyles, gay and lesbian couples, and the widespread rejection of patriarchal authority"* (Castells, 2004: 29).

Castells states that "*patriarchalism requires compulsory heterosexuality*" to uphold the male dominance in society, which might explain the involvement of the conservative, religious, right wing organizations in the 'Yes to Proposition 8' campaign (Castells, 2004: 261).

In short, the homosexual liberation movement so fundamentally challenges the conservative, religious, family values. The result being that the new generation has a different view and approach to sexuality, something that the conservative, right-wing, religious groups see as a detrimental factor eroding America's moral values. If this assessment of Proposition 8 is correct, one should see an identity formation around themes such as: family structure,

children and a Christian nation. I wish to look at the previously studies articles to see if there are any indications of these trends relating to identity. I will also look to see if there are references alluding to the presumed identity of the reader, such as ‘good Catholics’ or ‘just citizens’. These would be effective in mobilizing readers who already identify with the cause or feel that they are ‘good Catholics’, who in extension feel that they should identify with the cause allotted to ‘good Catholics’. Finally, I will see if they admit to a strategic use of identity, which would be an interesting find.

#### 8.2.1 The use of identity in the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations

The ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations use identity frequently in their released articles, in that they allude to the inherent characteristics of being a citizen and a member of the respective churches. This might cause members to feel that in being a citizen of the United States and a member of the specific religious organization, one must also support the passage of Proposition 8. Here are some examples of this approach:

*“Therefore, we, the Orthodox bishops of California, call upon the faithful, as responsible and concerned citizens of California, to overturn this ruling by the California Supreme Court by voting in favor of Proposition 8 this coming November. This proposition is a regrettably necessary measure to restore the true definition of marriage in the eyes of our state. A state that believes same-sex couplings constitute “marriage” implicitly — and sooner or later, explicitly — denies the role of the Church and all faiths that adhere to traditional values in public life. Please exercise your citizenship and vote in November. The passage of Proposition 8 is an imperative” ( Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, 2009).*

Here, they call upon the faithful, the responsible, and the concerned citizens of California, indicating that should you oppose Proposition 8, you are neither. They ask these faithful to vote in favor of Proposition 8.

The California Catholic Conference also call upon their ‘faithful Catholics’, implying that only unfaithful Catholics oppose Proposition 8. They also ask their readers to ‘please exercise your citizenship and vote in November’, an identical call to that of the Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America.

*“As teachers of the faith, we invite our faithful Catholics to carefully form their consciences. We do that by drawing on the revelation of Scripture, the wisdom of Tradition, the experience and insights of holy men and women as well as on what can be known by reason alone [...] we strongly encourage Catholics to provide both the financial support and the volunteer efforts needed for the passage of Proposition 8. And—please exercise your citizenship and vote in November” (California Catholic Conference, 2009).*

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints does not use this tactic to the same degree, although they do state that: *“We call upon responsible citizens and officers of government everywhere to promote those measures designed to maintain and strengthen the*

*family as the fundamental unit of society”*, they also state that “*As Church members decide their own appropriate level of involvement in protecting marriage between a man and a woman, they should approach this issue with respect for others, understanding, honesty, and civility*”(Newsroom, 2010: The Divine Institution of Marriage). Although they clearly hope and wish that their members support Proposition 8, and deem it the responsible thing to do, they also ask their members to respect each other’s choice in the matter.

One sees that the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations used identity tactics to a certain degree, by attributing characteristics and support of Proposition 8 to already existing identities, or favorable identities. However, there does not seem to be a strong formation of a collective identity, rather an emphasis of cultural values that the readers already identify with: freedom of speech, freedom of religious and freedom of rights.

Schubert and Flint describe the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ campaigns strategic choices in the following statement:

*“One of the most important aspects of our behind-the-scenes work during this critical early period was to develop messages that would result in voters casting a Yes vote for traditional marriage. To do so, we had to have messages that appealed to a much broader audience than the 40 percent or so of voters who made up our base. The dynamics of the Proposition 8 campaign were unique. We were asking voters for a Yes vote to ban same-sex marriage and restore traditional marriage. We strongly believed that a campaign in favor of traditional marriage would not be enough to prevail. We needed to convince voters that gay marriage was not simply ‘live and let live’—that there would be consequences if gay marriage were to be permanently legalized. But how to raise consequences when gay marriage was so recently legalized and not yet taken hold? We made one of the key strategic decisions in the campaign, to apply the principles of running a ‘No’ campaign—raising doubts and pointing to potential problems—in seeking a ‘Yes’ vote. As far as we know, this strategic approach has never before been used by a Yes campaign. We reconfirmed in our early focus groups our own views that Californians had a tolerant opinion of gays. But there were limits to the degree of tolerance that Californians would afford the gay community. They would entertain allowing gay marriage, but not if doing so had significant implications for the rest of society”* (Politics Magazine, 2010).

This suggests that a main strategic choice was to point to potential, pivotal consequences of Proposition 8 that played to people’s cultural preferences, as those already identifying with the cause were supportive of it. Thus one can understand why the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations identification strategies seem mostly directed towards those who already identified with them, as the undecided voters would be approach using a different tactic: cultural political tactics.

### 8.2.2 The use of identity in the 'No to Proposition 8' organization

The 'No to Proposition 8' organizations do not seem to focus too much on identity, although they do to some degree seem to assume that their readers already identify with their cause. One sees the ACLU include their readers in a collective identity, by using the words 'us', 'we'. They make it clear that their readers are included in the fight against Proposition 8, and that they assume they support them and will defend homosexual rights. This is effective in that it might make people feel included and thus feel a need to get involved, yet this approach to the readers is also to be expected, as these are blog entries on ACLU's own websites. It seems likely that these are mostly read by their supporters and those who identify with their cause.

*"You can count on the ACLU to defend LGBT rights in courtrooms, classrooms, and legislative hearings all across the nation. We're counting on you to do the same around the water cooler at work and over Thanksgiving dinner. Be brave and outspoken. It's the only way to move freedom forward"* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8).

The ACLU also recognizes how many they stand to lose unless undecided voters learn to identify with their plight for equal rights. They note that they only have 40-42% of the votes, they know they will not win the 38-40% who identify with the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations, but they are hoping to persuade the final 16-20% to identify with their fight against Proposition 8.

*"All of the in depth research appears to show: 1) we have a solid 40 to 42 percent; 2) they have a solid 38 to 40 percent; 3) we're both chasing the remaining 16 to 20 percent. That remaining 16 to 20 percent is made up of voters who are deeply conflicted; they don't like marriage for same-sex couples, but they also don't like the idea of voting to take someone's rights away"* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Worried About Marriage in California).

The other articles released by EQCA and the NCLR do not seem to be aimed at identity building, with the exception of a statement released by NCLR where they in effect speak out for all Californians.

*"California voters have a long history of supporting fairness and equal treatment under the law. We believe voters will reject this measure, and the politics of hate and division it represents' [...] Californians support equality and we are determined to make sure voters understand the very real pain that comes with marriage discrimination and how these types of amendments will only bring harm to California families."* (NCLR Press Center, 2010: Signature Gathering Has Begun to Place Discriminatory Marriage Measure on California's November 2008 Ballot).

This statement might have some effect in that Californians who are initially for Proposition 8, might feel that they are being unjust should they chose to continue support Proposition 8.

### 8.3 Analysis: Rhetorical theory

As mentioned before, St. Augustine described rhetoric as an 'inducement to action' and shows that rhetoric is when one actor wields their words and argumentation in a certain way that persuades another actor to believe or act in a certain way. In other words an actor will be persuaded to act as another actor wills if:

*“he likes what you promise, fears what you say is imminent, hates what you censure, embraces what you commend, regrets whatever you built up as regrettable, rejoices at what you say is cause for rejoicing, sympathizes with those whose wretchedness your words bring before his very eyes, shuns those whom you admonish him to shun...and in whatever other ways your high eloquence can affect the minds of your hearers, bringing them not merely to know what should be done, but to do what they know should be done”* (Augustine in Burke, 1962:574).

As persuasion involves a choice to believe or act, rhetoric is only truly persuasive if people are free. *“Only insofar as men are potentially free, must the spellbinder seek to persuade them. Insofar as they must do something, rhetoric is unnecessary,”* (Burke, 1962:574). Cicero and Augustine distinguish between two types of rhetoric: *“movere”* ('move') and *“flectere”* (bend) (Burke, 1962:573), this distinction being the difference between act and attitude. Therefore one might assume that the two blocs involved in Proposition 8 had two possible strategic rhetorical approaches available to them: they might persuade people to act and get involved in the Proposition 8 vote, or they might affect their attitude towards Proposition 8, causing them to support the campaign by approving it

I have looked at what phrases, arguments and words the two blocs have used in their released articles in the Proposition 8 campaigns in the quantitative analysis section of this paper. Here I wish to look at direct calls to action, and phrases coined to affect the attitude of the readers of the articles. One might expect the two blocs to emphasize and use certain phrases or values that point to values and cultural attitudes that are vital to the American people, homosexual activists or conservative religious organizations in order to gain their goodwill to persuade them to adopt their attitudes and values. It is interesting to note that there is a striking likeness in the approaches of the two different blocs, as they both believe that vital freedoms will be lost should they lose this fight over marriage, and they both believe they are creating a better world for future generations should they win.

#### 8.3.1 The rhetoric of the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations

The ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations effectively linked lack of support for Proposition 8 to the potential loss of religious freedom and freedom of speech, as well as the influx of same-sex marriage teachings in the public education system. As freedom of religion and speech are two of the strongest cultural values of the United States, this is a highly effective rhetorical mobilization strategy. The different ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations also call on their

members to get involved in the Proposition 8 case to protect these cultural and religious values, to protect vital social institutions for this generation and for future generations.

The Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America both call on their members to vote in favor of Proposition 8 and tell them that failure to do so will sooner or later result in an exclusion of the church and traditional values in public life. Thus voting for and passing Proposition 8 is ‘imperative’.

*“Therefore, we, the Orthodox bishops of California, call upon the faithful, as responsible and concerned citizens of California, to overturn this ruling by the California Supreme Court by voting in favor of Proposition 8 this coming November. This proposition is a regrettably necessary measure to restore the true definition of marriage in the eyes of our state. A state that believes same-sex couplings constitute “marriage” implicitly — and sooner or later, explicitly — denies the role of the Church and all faiths that adhere to traditional values in public life. Please exercise your citizenship and vote in November. The passage of Proposition 8 is an imperative”* (Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, 2009).

The California Catholic Conferences similarly call their members to action: *“we strongly encourage Catholics to provide both the financial support and the volunteer efforts needed for the passage of Proposition 8. And—please exercise your citizenship and vote in November”*. They justify this call by referring to the Catholic Catechism’s definition of marriage, a reference I would contend that a adherent Catholic would have problems ignoring as it is in a sense church law instigated by God:

*“God himself is the author of marriage. The vocation to marriage is written in the very nature of man and woman as they came from the hand of the Creator. Marriage is not a purely human institution despite the many variations it may have undergone through the centuries in different cultures, social structures, and spiritual attitudes. The well-being of the individual person and of both human and Christian society is closely bound up with the healthy state of conjugal and family life”* (California Catholic Conference, 2009).

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints also asks their member to get involved to protect the ‘sanctity of marriage’:

*“We ask that you do all you can to support the proposed constitutional amendment by donating of your means and time to assure that marriage in California is legally defined as being between a man and a woman. Our best efforts are required to preserve the sacred institution of marriage”* (Newsroom, 2010: California and Same-sex Marriage).

Here one also sees that they justify this by referring to the Church doctrine and to God’s will for marriage, making it a very persuasive case for members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

*“The Church’s teachings and position on this moral issue are unequivocal. Marriage between a man and a woman is ordained of God, and the formation of families is central to the Creator’s plan for His children. Children are entitled to*



*be born within this bond of marriage”* (Newsroom, 2010: California and Same-sex Marriage).

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints further explains its stance in another article released by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, where they state that:

*“The focus of the Church’s involvement is specifically same-sex marriage and its consequences. The Church does not object to rights (already established in California) regarding hospitalization and medical care, fair housing and employment rights, or probate rights, so long as these do not infringe on the integrity of the family or the constitutional rights of churches and their adherents to administer and practice their religion free from government interference. The Church has a single, undeviating standard of sexual morality: intimate relations are proper only between a husband and a wife united in the bonds of matrimony”* (Newsroom, 2010: The Divine Institution of Marriage).

Therefore one sees that several of the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations call their members into action asking them to give monetary support and get involved in passing Proposition 8. They also appeal to the inherent religious and cultural values that their members already identify with in order to justify their support of Proposition 8. It is interesting to note that much of the language is highly personal, and that it centers around a thought that marriage is a sacred institution ordained by God, and that it is imperative to protect this institutions for the United States now and for future generations to come.

### 8.3.2 The rhetoric of the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations

The ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations also effectively link supporting Proposition 8 to a pivotal cultural preference: freedom of rights. They juxtaposed supporting Proposition 8 to denying a whole group of people equal rights. This rhetorical choice is most likely highly salient in the American context as freedom of rights is one of the main cultural values of the United States, alongside freedom of speech and freedom of religion. Likewise the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations call on their members to fight for equal rights and against discrimination, both of which they feel Proposition 8 brought on. They claim that this fight is necessary to ensure that future generations of homosexuals can live in freedom, free from ostracizing forces.

The ACLU implores their readers in several blog entries to get involved in opposing Proposition 8 in order to ensure freedom of rights for homosexuals. This is presented in the following excerpts from articles below:

*“In the most personal way possible, I’m asking you for a favor: help us ensure that gay couples all across California keep their fundamental right to marriage — the basic right to be treated just like anybody else [...] The right to be equal citizens and to marry whomever we wish — unimaginable to me when I first came out — is now ours to lose in California unless we stand up for what’s right [...] I am personally appealing to you for help to fight the forces of intolerance from*

*carrying the day in California next Tuesday.*” (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Please Fight Proposition 8's Assault on Same-Sex Marriage).

*“With holiday gatherings of family and friends right around the corner — I’m urging you to make the case against intolerance in a very personal way. Prop 8 has made clear that we all have a lot of work to do challenging discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. And we can’t do it without you [...]gay people are a part of our community entitled to the same rights, the same dignity, as everyone else”* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8).

*“We can still win this, but our community has got to start supporting the effort in a big way now, or we are done for. Please, give as generously as you can. Here's a link where you can do so. I don't have to tell you how important it is that we defeat Prop. 8 [...] We could have the fight for equality more or less finished in less than a generation. But if we lose the largest and most economically important state in the nation, and if we lose because the voters reject marriage, winning will be at least an additional generation away”* (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Worried About Marriage in California).

These statements show that the ACLU urges their members to get involved opposing Proposition 8, underlining that it is everyone’s responsibility to raise awareness for the devastating effect of Proposition 8: the stripping of equal rights from homosexuals. They rhetorically juxtaposed opposing Proposition 8 to fighting for freedom of rights, effectively mobilizing those who adhere to that cultural and political value and principal.

The NCLR do not explicitly ask members to get involved in Proposition 8, yet they do link Proposition 8 to loosing freedom of rights, and show how important this is. One might imagine that this would affect people’s attitude towards Proposition 8.

*“Proposition 8 seeks to deny LGBT couples the right to marry, but the stakes go far beyond that critical issue. If the initiative passes, it could be devastating—for every issue affecting the lives of LGBT people in California and the rest of the nation,”* said NCLR Executive Director Kate Kendell. *‘If our opposition succeeds in their efforts, they will not stop there. [...] With a win they will be revitalized and emboldened. That is why we are doing absolutely everything we can to defeat this initiative’”* (NCLR Press Center, 2010: National Center for Lesbian Rights Launches New Political Action Committee to Defeat Prop 8).

Another NCLR press release echoes this sentiment:

*“California voters have a long history of supporting fairness and equal treatment under the law. We believe voters will reject this measure, and the politics of hate and division it represents.’ [...] we are determined to make sure voters understand the very real pain that comes with marriage discrimination and how these types of amendments will only bring harm to California families’”* (NCLR Press Center, 2010: Signature Gathering Has Begun to Place Discriminatory Marriage Measure on California's November 2008 Ballot).

There seems to be a rhetorical strategy of linking the opposing of Proposition 8 to supporting of equal rights, a seemingly effecting political mobilizing strategy.

## **9.0 Conclusion**

I approached this thesis fascinated by religious involvement in American politics, and chose to further study this unique relationship between religion and politics by looking at one case: Proposition 8 and the religious organizations' involvement in that case. Specifically focusing on the question of how the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations presented their involvement in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008 through the electronic media and what motivation and mobilization strategies this presentation indicates. I looked at the main conservative, religious organizations involved in the 'Yes to Proposition 8' campaign, and studied their released articles in the electronic media concerning their involvement and views on Proposition 8. I juxtaposed these organizations with two 'No to Proposition 8' organizations and their articles in order to see if this analysis showed a difference in perspective, word usage and argumentation style between the two blocs. I contend that this is an important contrasting method which allowed me to see which traits were specific and characteristic of the 'Yes to Proposition 8' bloc. I processed the articles of both blocs through the WordSmith Tools program in order to gain quantitative data on the word usage of the organizations in their articles, and also looked at the context in which these words were used. This was done in order to gain an overview and understanding of the organizations' argumentation style, presentation of Proposition 8, presentation of their involvement in Proposition 8 and word usage in both justifying their involvement and attempting to mobilize voters. I also looked at a set of pre-chosen key words and used the WordSmith Tools program to see how often these key words were used in all the articles. The pre-chosen key words are categorized into groups based on the different subjects or aspects of Proposition 8, thus what words the organizations used, reflects to some degree what aspect of Proposition 8 the organizations focuses on. This was in order to get an overview of what aspect of Proposition 8 the various organizations placed their focus on, or made their arguments from. I also did a qualitative analysis of the articles by looking at them in relation to Cultural Politics Theory, Identity Theory and Rhetorical Theory. This was in order to see if they used cultural political, identity oriented or rhetorical strategies in their involvement in Proposition 8.

Here I will present my findings and discoveries. First, I will present my findings that correspond and support my research question and data. Secondly, I will present the unexpected findings, weaknesses of my thesis, and possible ideas for future study on the subject. By unexpected findings, I am alluding to findings that are relevant to the research question and add to the study, but are not derived from or follow the theory used to study this research question. Examples are findings that are not what I thought I would find based on the

early data procured in the study, or findings that differ from the established theory on the subject of religion in politics.

#### 9.1 Findings that correspond and support my research question and data

The ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations seem to explain and present their involvement in the Proposition 8 case by pointing to the importance of preserving the institution of marriage. They claim that marriage is an essential institution, ordained by God, and that any alteration to the institution of marriage would be devastating to families, society and religious freedom. They seem to be fighting for collective rights for conservative, religious organizations; and for a stable society, which they believe can only be established by adhering to religious values. This is a contrast to the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations who seem to be fighting for individual rights and freedoms. This is particularly interesting when the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations tout religious freedom and freedom of speech, as these are generally accepted as individual freedoms and rights. It makes one wonder whether this is a strategic choice to win over undecided voters, or if they view them as collective rights. Here are some of the statements released by the different ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations that highlight my findings.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints contends that the church’s position is unequivocal, and they directly and personally appeal to their members to support Proposition 8 (Newsroom, 2010: California and Same-sex Marriage). The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints also points to the future consequences should Proposition 8 not pass, as grounds for their involvement. They claim that failure to pass Proposition 8 will affect children and families, in effect being detrimental to relationships and stability in society in the future (Newsroom, 2010: The Divine Institution of Marriage). In other words there is a collective focus in their argumentation: it will affect all of society, our children and our future. In studying the word usage of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints one sees that their most frequently used words in the articles analyzed in this thesis are: marriage, children, church, God, family, man and woman and same-sex. These correlate directly to their argumentation that same-sex unions are wrong, as marriage should be between a man and a woman in order to preserve families and children within the God ordained institution of marriage. The pre-chosen key word usage further reinforces this understanding. As mentioned before, the pre-chosen key words are categorized into groups based on the different subjects or aspects of Proposition 8, thus what words a organization used, reflects to some degree what aspect of Proposition 8 that organizations focuses on. In this case, one sees that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints’s argumentation is mainly focused on the

‘Marriage’(Marriage, Institution, Man, Woman and Heterosexual), ‘Christian’ (God, Church, Family, Identity, Moral and Values) and ‘Homosexuality’(Homosexual, Same, Sex, Gay and Lesbian) category of the key words.

The Catholic Church claims that God is the author of marriage and appeals to faithful Catholics to join and support Proposition 8(California Catholic Conference, 2008). They also insist that same sex unions are not the same as heterosexual unions; marriage is only between a man and a woman, as intended by God (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010). They anchor this claim by quoting from the Catholic Catechism, which states that “*God himself is the author of marriage. The vocation to marriage is written in the very nature of man and woman as they came from the hand of the Creator*” (California Catholic Conference, 2009). The Catholic Church also warns of future consequences should Proposition 8 fail to pass, they believe it will impact society, families and children in a negative way (Catholics for the Common Good, 2010), again emphasizing the collective consequences for society. The Catholic Church’s most frequently used words in the previously mentioned articles are marriage, children, God, society, family, man and woman and same-sex; these show an argumentation focused on the religious and family aspects of marriage and Proposition 8. This is further enhanced by the keywords analysis, which shows that their main focus is on the ‘Marriage’, ‘Christian’ and ‘Homosexuality’ category. Thus one could argue that the Catholic Church’s main focus is to link marriage to Christianity and God, in order to validate the claim that it is an essential God-ordained institution which is crucial for every stable and good society.

The Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America underline the importance and value of the institution of marriage, and warn of the consequences of not guarding this institution is the erosion of religious freedom in America (What is Prop 8, 2008). Their word usage revolves around marriage, the Jewish people, family, law, and same-sex. They underline the importance of marriage as a key value for the Jewish people, enshrined in their laws (What is Prop 8, 2008). So here one sees both an individual and collective focus: the importance of marriage for the Jewish people, and the impact on individual and collective religious freedom should Proposition 8 fail to pass. They see marriage as essential to establishing families, and they do not recognize same-sex unions as the same as heterosexual unions. The analysis of pre-chosen key words the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America indicates a focus on the categories ‘Marriage’, ‘Legal System’ (Law, Proposition, Court, Petition, Voters and Ballot) and ‘Homosexuality’. This shows that the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America is more concerned with the legal implications of

Proposition 8, than the other ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations, at least in their argumentation.

This understanding of marriage and Proposition 8 is very similar to the Orthodox Christian Bishops in California’s view of the issue, which contends that the passage of Proposition 8 is imperative, as marriage is a sacred institution and a change in this institution constitutes a direct attack on religious freedom (Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, 2009). They appeal directly to concerned and responsible citizens to vote in favor of Proposition 8 (Antiochian Orthodox Christian Archdiocese of North America, 2009). Their frequent word usage includes the following words: marriage, Orthodox, Church, court, institution, God and Proposition. The analysis of pre-chosen key words of the Orthodox Christian Bishops in California indicate a focus on the categories ‘Marriage’, ‘Legal System’ (Law, Proposition, Court, Petition, Voters and Ballot), ‘Homosexuality’ and ‘Christian’ category. This shows that both they and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America are more focused on the legal implications of Proposition 8 in their argumentation.

Juxtaposed the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations, one find that the focus on marriage as a sacred institution ordained by God is unique for the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations. The ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations’ focus is on the fight for equality and rights that they believe Proposition 8 constitutes. They seem to link marriage directly to freedom of rights and freedom of equality (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Worried About Marriage in California). They personally appeal to people to support them and to spread awareness of their cause, as they are fighting for the right to marriage, which they see as a fundamental right in society (ACLU Blog of Rights, 2010: Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8). They claim Proposition 8 is discriminating against minorities and destructive to equal rights, and their word usage confirms this approach. The ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations’ most frequently used words are: Proposition 8, equality, discrimination, marriage, votes, law, ballot, family, court, gay, lesbian, LBGT, constitution, rights, California, and freedom. The pre-chosen key word analysis also confirms this argumentation style and issue focus, as the ‘No to Proposition 8’ organizations key words fall in the ‘American cultural values’ (Freedom, Future, America, Culture, Education, Speech, Religion, Rights and Children), ‘Legal System’ and ‘Homosexuality’ categories.

This further confirms that the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations focus is unique of their bloc, and their understanding of Proposition 8 and marriage differs greatly from the opposition. Their word usage, and thus their presentation of their involvement are also radically different from their opposition. Their focus differs as their understanding of what

freedoms and rights are threatened by same-sex marriage greatly differs from the 'No to Proposition 8' organizations understanding of what freedoms and rights are threatened by the passage of Proposition 8. In the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations, failure to pass Proposition 8 has collective, social implications; while it has individual implications within the 'No to Proposition 8' organizations, as their focus is on individual, legal rights.

This is further highlighted in the analysis of the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations and in their articles correlation to the Cultural Politics Theory, Identity Theory and Rhetorical Theory. Cultural Politics Theory builds on the thought that each society has basic cultural preferences and one can thus use this theory to study and understand how voters can be mobilized through being persuaded to believe that an issue touches upon their basic cultural preferences, especially if it threatens to alter the status of these preferences (Leege et al., 2002). The difference in the two blocs' focus, argumentation and word usage indicate a difference in culture. The 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations appear to have a cultural understanding of Proposition 8 and marriage which differs from their opposition's cultural understanding of the case. While the opposition focus is on freedom of rights, the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations seem to focus on religious freedom and the sanctity of religious institutions. One also sees a fear of being discriminated against, and a need to protect one's religious rights from being stripped away by liberal organizations. This culture is apparent in the rhetoric of their released articles, although one cannot be sure if this is a strategic choice in order to highlight this cultural understanding, or if it is a natural effect of these organizations being immersed in this culture. However, they do use cultural preferences in their presentation of their involvement and mobilization efforts of voters. Although they do not emphasize the cultural group differences, and use an 'us versus them' approach, they do clearly establish what is culturally right and wrong regarding the Proposition 8 case, and they do highlight the conflict. Schubert Flint Public Affairs who ran the 'Yes to Proposition 8' campaign, clearly state that they chose to focus on three highly salient, cultural conflicts: religious freedom, freedom of speech and influx of liberal teaching in the education system. These three cultural conflicts constituted the unwanted consequences and thus potential threat towards society should Proposition 8 fail to pass. Thus these were highly mobilizing factors for those who identified with these cultural preferences and recognized these three conflicts as threats.

Identity theory constitutes that identity is key for political mobilization, as identity constructs meaning and meaning is often a main motivator to individual and collective action (Castells, 2004). The 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations use identity frequently in their

released articles, in that they alluded to the inherent characteristics of being a citizen and a member of the respective religious organizations. This might have politically mobilized voters in that they felt compelled to support Proposition 8, when their religious organizations set this support juxtaposed to being a good citizen and member of the respective religious community or organization.

Finally in correlation to Rhetorical theory, rhetoric is described as an 'inducement to action' and implies that rhetoric is when one actor wields their words and argumentation in a certain way that persuades another actor to believe or act in a certain way (Burke, 1962). The 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations effectively linked lack of support for Proposition 8 to the potential loss of religious freedom and freedom of speech, as well as the influx of same-sex marriage teachings in the public education system. This is a contrast to the 'No to Proposition 8' organizations' rhetoric that effectively link support of Proposition 8 to actively denying a group of citizens freedom of rights and freedom of equality. This shows that the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations' rhetoric is distinctly different from their opposition and thus unique for their bloc. As freedom of religion and speech are two of the strongest cultural values of the United States, this is a highly effective rhetorical mobilization strategy. Using this rhetorical strategy the different 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations call on their members to get involved in the Proposition 8 case to protect these cultural and religious values, to protect vital social institutions for this generation and for future generations. This underlines again the collective focus on the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations involvement and mobilization efforts.

Focus on the Family stated that their reasons for getting involved in the Proposition 8 case was that "*A constitutional marriage amendment is the only thing that has protected marriage*" (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 17), thus they felt there was a need to pass Proposition 8 in order to proactively protect the institution of marriage. They felt that marriage was threatened by the sheer willingness of the courts to redefine marriage within the laws to include same-sex marriage. Focus on the Family claim that homosexual marriage disrupts God's intended order for marriage, families and male and female relations; and thus should be prevented. They underlined that homosexual marriage would change policy, and this would affect children and school curriculum, religious freedom and freedom of speech. In evaluating these threats Tyree notes that "*this is kind of unprecedented in the U.S., that if you have a controversial view about something, or actually, if you hold the view that marriage, that kids, that kids need a mom and a dad, then you are a social liability*" (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 10). This Focus on the Family feels



forewarns a growing lack of freedom of speech and religion, that if you do not agree with homosexual marriage you are at risk of being labeled a racist and a bigot. Thus their involvement is presented as a response to an acknowledgement of the growing threat to marriage as an institution, and a desire to protect this institution by giving it constitutional weight. They attempt to mobilize and justify their adherence to marriage by pointing to the potential consequences of failing to pass Proposition 8, the threat to religious freedom, freedom of speech, and alteration to public school curriculum; in other words a threat to what they perceive as a good and stable society now and for future generations to come.

This shows that the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations, including Focus on the Family, present their involvement in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008, as a reaction to the threat to marriage by homosexual advocates pursuing same-sex marriage, a threat that they believe will propel America society in a detrimental direction. They state that their involvement in Proposition 8 is due to the importance of their support of marriage, as it is a vital institution ordained by God. They personally believe marriage to be an institution between a man and a woman, created by God in order to procreate and raise children within the context of the family. They believe that this institution creates stability in society, protects children and is a moral value that future generations cannot do without. They also believe that alteration to this institution, is a threat to religious freedom, freedom of speech, and will affect the public school system in a negative way. These arguments are the basis of their presentation of their involvement in Proposition 8, as they justify their involvement as a fight for cultural and religious values for future generations, and a fight to protect fundamental values such as religious freedom and freedom of speech. These arguments also support their mobilization efforts, as they are effective in persuading voters to support Proposition 8. These arguments also explain their motivation for their involvement. This unique cultural, identity oriented and rhetorical understanding and presentation of marriage and Proposition 8, shows that the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations truly believed that they have to protect marriage, and thus became involved in the Proposition 8 case in order to protect marriage. They attempt to mobilize voters on the same basis, by underlining the imperativeness of passing Proposition 8. This presentation of Proposition 8 reflects their motivation for becoming involved in the case, the need to protect God-given institutions in order to preserve their way of life for themselves and for generations to come.

#### 9.2 Unexpected findings; weaknesses; and thoughts on future studies

In every study one approaches one has a set of assumptions and expectations as to what one will discover and find. These may be assumptions derived from early data procured in the

study, theory on the subject of the study, or theories chosen to use in the study. There is no difference here. In studying how the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations presented their involvement in the Proposition 8 case in California in 2008 through the electronic media, I expected to find a more objective and impersonal presentation of the organizations’ involvement in the Proposition 8 case. This assumption was based on an academic, yet perhaps naïve, thought that political conflicts are grounded in a debate, where there is room for compromise. I was surprised to see that both blocs presented very personal appeals and argumentation for their involvement in the case, and in their mobilization efforts. There seemed to be little room for a discussion and compromise between the two blocs, rather both parties were geared up for war on the political front. Both blocs seem to have formed a ‘right’ and ‘correct’ understanding of the institution of marriage and thus eliminated any room there might have been for discussion or compromise on what the institution of marriage really is. The sole focus of both blocs’ involvement in Proposition 8 became the anchoring of their own understanding of marriage in the law.

I was also surprised by the word usage of the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations. I had expected more references to ‘Future’ and ‘Education’. This supposition was based on my interview with Focus on the Family early on in my study, where they stated the following: *“the way the messaging ended up working in California was, the biggest message that worked there was: this is going to affect education. That’s how, so it affects children [...] we redefine marriage, it’s gonna be taught in school”* (Focus on the Family Interview, Appendix II: Tyree, p. 15). Thus I expected more references to education; however the most frequent word usage in regards to this change in education was: ‘Children’. Education was used a grand total of 2 times in the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations’ articles, while ‘Children’ was used 55 times. This shows a more personal approach to the question of the liberalization of the education system: they directly appealed to the protection of children, not the educational system. I would assume that this is a tactical and extremely effective choice of words on the part of the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations, as people tend to feel more passionately about their children, than their country’s education system. Thus one can understand why the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations might have chosen this strategic word usage.

I also expected more specific references to ‘Identity’, ‘America’ and its ‘Future’; this was due to an understanding of the American, religious culture where the United States is perceived as a nation founded on Christian principals. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Wald and Calhoun-Brown point to the idea of America as a Christian nation in a covenant with God: *“many conservative Protestants believe that embracing homosexuality violates*

*America's covenant with God*" (Wald, Calhoun-Brown, 2007: 330). The phrases "*In God we Trust*" and "*One Nation under God*" found on U.S. coins and in the 'Pledge of Allegiance' also indicate that there is a strong tradition in the United States as a whole, of linking Christianity to the American nation (The New York Times, 2002: 'One Nation Under God'). Thus I presumed the conservative, religious organizations would identify with this thought of 'One Nation under God' and attempt to profit from it and wield it in their mobilization efforts. However, they focused more on themes that directly engaged people's sense of being American citizens: freedom of religion and freedom of speech; as well as a fear that the government, not parents would decide what version of 'Marriage' their children would be taught in the public school system. While the word 'America' was used 3 times, 'Future' was used 4 times and 'Identity' was used 5 times in the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations' articles, 'Freedom' was used 9 times and 'Rights' was used 11 times. This shows a slightly increased focus on freedom and the rights of being American, rather than the inherent religious heritage of the United States. This choice may be indicative of a strategy aimed at drawing in undecided and non-religious voters by not solely focusing on the religious aspect of America, but also focusing on the value of freedom that encompasses the notion of the 'American nation'.

In studying this research question, I also expected marriage to be depicted as a vital, moral value. This was due to an assumption of how the various Christian organizations would talk about marriage based on early readings of the articles studied in this thesis: "*The Church's teachings and position on this moral issue are unequivocal. Marriage between a man and a woman is ordained of God, and the formation of families is central to the Creator's plan for His children*" (Newsroom, 2010: California and Same-sex Marriage). However what I found was that marriage was depicted as a religious institution, which strengthens society and families. While the word 'Moral' was used 11 times in the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations' articles, and 'Values' was used 3 times, 'Institution' was used 37 times and 'Family' was used 45 times.

So one sees that the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations had a different word-usage and argumentation style than what I had expected. In light of that, I am thankful I chose to use the WordSmith Tools program, as it gave me an overview of the word usage of the organizations, free from suppositions and bias.

However, although this approach in studying the word usage and argumentation of the 'Yes to Proposition 8' organizations provides an unbiased overview, it also has a decided flaw. This flaw is that one cannot possibly claim to have understood the organizations' true word

usage and argumentation, as one cannot possibly look at all the articles released by the organizations, as this would take too much space in such a limited thesis. Although I have attempted to choose the main organizations involved in the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ campaign and the relevant articles released by them, I cannot be sure I have not overlooked important organizations and articles that should have been included in this study. This is a weakness. However, I have to the best of my ability, aimed to avoid this pitfall.

My study does however indicate that the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations became involved in the Proposition 8 case to defend and protect the institution of marriage from an understanding of that marriage is a religious institution, not a legal one. This is an interesting find, as many would solely define marriage as a legal institution. When one understands, through the ‘Yes to Proposition 8’ organizations own presentation of their involvement, that they have a different understanding of the institution of marriage, the scope of the case changes. One can no longer view Proposition 8 as solely a legal battle; rather one must acknowledge that it was in many ways a cultural battle over the definition of marriage. It might also be interesting to note that the conservative, religious values that dominated the United States in the past are now being weeded away in an increasingly secular world in the name of individual freedom. Thus it might be easier to understand why these conservative, religious organizations feel threatened, when one takes into consideration how much they have already lost in the battle against secularism and liberalism.

It would be interesting to see if other cases of religious involvement in American politics show that the conservative, religious organizations’ definitions and understandings of specific issues differ from their opponents’ understanding. Then issues such as abortion, education, school prayer and so on are no longer merely power battles between different organizations within politics, or the opposing of one bloc’s values on the other; rather they might be one bloc’s desire to protect their understanding of an issue to protect their way life, not to critique others’ way of life. This would be interesting to pursue in future studies; to better understand religious organizations, a group of organizations that political scientists have often dismissed as fanatical or irrational. Perhaps ‘irrational’ is a word too easily used by political scientist convinced, much in the same way as religious individuals, that their way or understanding of the world is correct and rational. This case has challenged me in this aspect, and I hope further studies in this field will continue to challenge political scientist.

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### 1.0 “The Divine Institution of Marriage”

<b>Word</b>	MARRIAGE	SAME	SEX	CHILDREN	BE	HAS	ARE	NOT
<b>Frequen cy</b>	74	34	33	27	25	25	24	23
<b>Word</b>	WILL	CHURCH	HAVE	IT	FAMI LY	THIS	MAN	SOCIETY
<b>Frequen cy</b>	23	22	22	20	19	18	17	17
<b>Word</b>	WOMAN	ONE	RELIGIOUS	CALIFORNIA	ONLY	THEY	TRADITIO NAL	OTHER
<b>Frequen cy</b>	15	14	13	11	11	11	11	10
<b>Word</b>	ALL	GOD	INSTITUTIO N	ITS	MORA L	ANY	CAN	COUPLES
<b>Frequen cy</b>	9	9	9	9	9	8	8	8
<b>Word</b>	DOES	GENDER	GOVERNME NT	HIS	LOVE	RIGHT	SOCIAL	STATE
<b>Frequen cy</b>	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
<b>Word</b>	STATES	TOLERAN CE	AFFECT	ALREADY	CHILD	FATHER	JESUS	MOTHER
<b>Frequen cy</b>	8	8	7	7	7	7	7	7
<b>Word</b>	PUBLIC	RIGHTS	WIFE	BEING	BOTH	HE	INDIVIDUA LS	ISSUE

<b>Frequency</b>	7	7	7	6	6	6	6	6
<b>Word</b>	MANY	MARRIAGES	MAY	MEMBERS	MORE	ORGANIZATIONS	PROVIDE	SHALL
<b>Frequency</b>	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
<b>Word</b>	SOME	THEM	THESE	TWO	UNIONS	WORLD	WOULD	ADVOCATES
<b>Frequency</b>	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	5
<b>Word</b>	BECOME	CHRIST	CONSEQUENCES	CONSTITUTIONAL	COURSE	ESSENTIAL	FAMILIES	FREEDOM
<b>Frequency</b>	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
<b>Word</b>	HETEROSEXUAL	HUSBAND	IDENTITY	LIFE	LONG	PARENTS	PEOPLE	RECOGNIZED
<b>Frequency</b>	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
<b>Word</b>	SACRED	SINGLE	THOSE	UNITED	ADAM	ADULTS	AMERICAN	ANOTHER
<b>Frequency</b>	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	4
<b>Word</b>	BENEFITS	CIVIL	COALITION	CREATED				
<b>Frequency</b>	4	4	4	4				

## 2.0 “California and Same-sex Marriage”

<b>Word</b>	MARRIAGE	CALIFORNIA	CHURCH	THIS	IS	WILL	AMENDMENT	ARE
<b>Frequency</b>	8	7	5	5	4	4	3	3
<b>Word</b>	MAN	PROPOSED	WOMAN	YOU	ALL	APPROVED	BE	CHILDREN
<b>Frequency</b>	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
<b>Word</b>	COALITION	FAMILIES	JUNE	LEADERS	MARCH	STATE	VOTE	VOTERS
<b>Frequency</b>	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
<b>Word</b>	ARTICLE	ASK	ASSURE	BACK	BALLOT	BASED	BECOME	BEING
<b>Frequency</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Word</b>	BEST	BOND	BORN	BROAD	CALIFORNIANS	CAN	CAUSE	CENTRAL
<b>Frequency</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Word</b>	CHRIST	CHURCHES	CITY	CONGREGATION	CONSTITUTION	CONSTITUTIONAL	COURT	CREATOR

<b>Frequency</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Word</b>	DAY	DEFINED	DEFINITION	DO	DONATING	EFFORTS	EMAIL	ENTITLED
<b>Frequency</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Word</b>	FIRST	FOLLOWING	FORMATION	GOD	HIS	IMPORTANT	INFORMATION	INSTITUTION
<b>Frequency</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Word</b>	INVOLVED	ISSUE	ITS	JESUS	LAKE	LATTER	LAW	LEGALLY
<b>Frequency</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Word</b>	LETTER	LOCAL	MAY	MEANS	MORAL	NOVEMBER	NOW	ONLY
<b>Frequency</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Word</b>	ORDAINED	ORGANIZATIONS	OTHER	OUR	OVERWHELMINGLY	PARTICIPATE	PASSAGE	PEOPLE
<b>Frequency</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Word</b>	PLACED	PLAN	POSITION	PRESERVE	PRESERVING	PRESIDENCY	PRINT	PROVIDE
<b>Frequency</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Word</b>	PROVIDING	READ	RECENTLY	RECOGNIZED				
<b>Frequency</b>	1	1	1	1				

### 3.0 “Same-Gender Attraction”

<b>Word</b>	<b>IS</b>	<b>IT</b>	<b>WE</b>	<b>BE</b>	<b>MARRIAGE</b>	<b>HAVE</b>	<b>NOT</b>	<b>ARE</b>	<b>I</b>
<b>Frequency</b>	166	108	82	81	66	63	61	58	56
<b>Word</b>	<b>ELDER</b>	<b>YOU</b>	<b>HAS</b>	<b>THERE</b>	<b>THIS</b>	<b>ONE</b>	<b>THEY</b>	<b>OUR</b>	<b>SAME</b>
<b>Frequency</b>	47	46	45	44	42	39	38	37	36
<b>Word</b>	<b>THOSE</b>	<b>GENDER</b>	<b>CAN</b>	<b>CHURCH</b>	<b>OAKS</b>	<b>WOULD</b>	<b>SOME</b>	<b>DO</b>	<b>HIS</b>
<b>Frequency</b>	35	33	32	30	29	29	27	26	26
<b>Word</b>	<b>US</b>	<b>BEHAVIOUR</b>	<b>WILL</b>	<b>LIFE</b>	<b>GOD</b>	<b>MAY</b>	<b>OTHER</b>	<b>ANY</b>	<b>PEOPLE</b>
<b>Frequency</b>	25	24	24	23	22	22	22	21	21
<b>Word</b>	<b>THEM</b>	<b>THINK</b>	<b>WAY</b>	<b>BEEN</b>	<b>PERSON</b>	<b>SUCH</b>	<b>ALL</b>	<b>LORD</b>	<b>NO</b>
<b>Frequency</b>	21	21	21	19	19	19	18	18	18

Word	THEIR	WICKMAN	CHILDREN	FEELINGS	MAN	MY	SAY	THESE	VERY
Freq.	18	18	17	17	16	16	16	16	16
Word	HE	INSTITUTION	LAW	ATTRACTION	LOVE	MATTER	SOMETHING	WOMAN	INCLINATIONS
Freq.	15	14	14	13	13	13	13	13	12
Word	JESUS	JUST	MORE	FACT	MADE	NOW	SEE	YOUR	CHRIST
Freq.		12	12	11	11	11	11	11	10
Word	COME	DON	ETERNAL	EVEN	FIRST	ME	REALLY	SAID	SHOULD
Freq.	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10
Word	SON	TEMPTATION	APPROPRIATE	CONTROL	HERE	HOMOSEXUAL	KIND	PUT	RELATIONSHIP
Freq.	10	10	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
Word	RIGHT	WHATEVER	ALSO	ANSWER	COURSE	DEFINITION	EVERY	MAKE	MEANS
Freq.	9	9	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Word	ONLY								
Freq.	8								

4.0 Analysis of the statement by the Catholics Bishops of California & California Catholic Conference in support of Proposition 8:

Word	MARRIAGE	IS	WE	HUMAN	OUR	ARE	BE	MAN	NOT
Freq.	23	16	12	9	9	6	6	6	6
Word	THEIR	WOMAN	CALIFORNIA	THIS	US	ALL	ANY	BEING	BOTH
Freq.	6	6	5	5	5	4	4	4	4
Word	CHILDREN	GOD	IT	ONLY	SOCIETY	THEY	WELL	CAN	FAMILY
Freq.	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3
Word	HAVE	INSTITUTION	MAY	NEED	PROPOSITION	RELATIONSHIP	THERE	TRADITIONAL	BEINGS
Freq.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2
Word	CATHOLIC	CATHOLICS	CHANGE	CHURCH	CONTRACTUAL	COURT	FOUNDATION	GOD'S	HOME
Freq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	IDEAL	INDIVIDUALS	ISSUE	LANGUAGE	MANY	MEN	MUST	NATURE	NOVEMBER
Freq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	OFFER	OTHER	POLICY	PUBLIC	PURELY	RADICAL	SAME	SEX	SUPPORT

Fre q.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	SUPREME	UNDERSTANDING	UNIONS	WILL	WOMEN	WORD	ABILITY	ACTING	ADDRESSING
Fre q.	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1
Word	ADULT	AFFIRMS	AGE	ALONE	ANCIENT	ARRANGEMENT	AGE	ALONE	ANCIENT
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	ARRANGEMENT	ARRANGEMENTS	ATTITUDES	AUTHOR	AVAIL	BALLOT	BENEDICT	BENEFITS	BIOLOGICAL
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	BISHOPS	BORN	BOUND	BROTHERS	CALIFORNIA'S	CAME	CAPABLE	CAREFULLY	CATECHISM
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	CENTURIES								
Fre q.	1								

5.0 Analysis on statements on CatholicsforProtectMarriage.com

Word	MARRIAGE	IS	THIS	FAMILY	CALIFORNIA	CHILDREN	OUR	SAME	COURT'S
Fre q.	13	9	7	5	4	4	4	4	3
Word	IT	NOT	SEX	SUPREME	ARE	BE	CAMPAIGN	CAN	CREATED
Fre q.	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2
Word	EVERY	FATHER	HUMAN	INSTITUTION	LOVE'S	MORE	MOTHER	NATURAL	NO
Fre q.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	RESTORE	ROOTED	RULING	US	VOTERS	WE	WILL	WISDOM	ACTIVIST
Fre q.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Word	ADOPTED	AFFECTING	APPRECIATION	ARMY	AUTHENTIC	BEEN	BIAS	BIGOTRY	CALLING
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	CENTRALITY	CHILD	COMMON	COMMUNITY	CONFIRMED	CONFUSION	CONSTITUTION	CONTINUES	CONVICTION
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	COURT	COURTS	CULTURE	DECISION	DEFINITION	DESIGN	DESIRE	DISCRIMINATION	EFFORTS
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	ENSHRINE	EQUIVALENT	FAITH	FIRMLY	FORM	FOUNDATION	FREEDOM	FRIENDLY	FUTURE
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	GO	GOD	GOD'S	GOOD	GREAT	HAVE	HEADED	HEART	HIGHER

rd					ER				
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	IDEOLO GY	IMPOSI TION	INTEGRI TY	JOIN	JUDGES	JUST	KNOWN	LAST	LAWS
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	LIVE	MAKE	MANY	MARRIE D	MOST	NATION	NATURE	NEVER	NOVEM BER
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	NULLIF IED								
Fre q.	1								

6.0 Analysis of the statement issued by the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations in America

Wo rd	IS	MARRIA GE	SAME	WE	JEWISH	PEOPL E	RABBI	SEX	ANY
Fre q.	5	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	2
Wo rd	BE	DIRECT OR	DISCRIMI NATION	FAMIL Y	LAW	RELIG IOUS	RESPEC T	SHOWN	SINCER ELY
Fre q.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Wo rd	TOLER ANCE	UNIONS	ACTS	ADAM	ALAN	ALL	ALREAD Y	ALSO	AMEND MENT
Fre q.	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	ASK	BECOME S	BEEN	BELIEF S	BIGOTRY	BUILD	CHANGE	CHARGE S	COAST
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	COMM AND	COMMU NITY	CONDEMN	COND EMNS	CONSTIT UTION	COULD	DANIEL	DEFINIT ION	DEMAN DED
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	DENIED	EFFORT S	ENSURE	EVE	EXECUTI VE	FACE	FAITH	FIRST	FUNDIN G
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	GAY	GOVERN MENT	HAS	HELD	HERSH	HOUSE S	INCLUDE	INSTITU TIONS	JOIN
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	JUDAIS M	JUST	KALINSKY	KIND	KNOW	KOROB KIN	LAND	LEADER S	LONG
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	MORE	MOREO VER	NATIONAL	ONE	OPPOSE	OPPOSI NG	ORTHOD OX	OTHERS	PASSAG E
Fre q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	PRIME	PROPOSI TION	RABBIS	REAL	RESOLU TELY	SERVI CES	STATE	SYNAG OGUS	TEACHE S

Fr q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	THEM	THIS	THOSE	THREA T	TZVI	UNDER WAY	UNEQUI VOCAL	VALUES	WEINRE B
Fr q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	WEST	WORSHI P	WOULD						
Fr q.	1	1	1						

7.0 Analysis of the statement released by the Eastern Orthodox Church

W o r d	OUR	CALIFOR NIA	MARRIAG E	THIS	ORTH ODOX	WE	IS	CHRIS TIAN	CHURC H
Fr eq.	10	8	8	8	6	6	5	4	4
W o r d	BE	BISHOPS	COUPLIN GS	COUR T	DECISI ON	GOD	INSTIT UTION	LOVE	MUST
Fr eq.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
W o r d	NATU RE	ONE	PROPOSIT ION	STATE	SUPRE ME	ALL	CANNO T	CITIZE NS	COUNT RY
Fr eq.	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
W o r d	FAITH	FAITHFU L	GREAT	HISTO RY	HUMA N	INSTITU TIONS	LIFE	LIGHT	MARRI AGES
Fr eq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
W o r d	NOVE MBER	PRINCIP LES	ROLE	SAME	SEX	SOCIETY	SUCH	THERE FORE	TRADIT ION
Fr eq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
W o r d	TRUE	UNILATE RALLY	ABILITY	ACT	ACTS	ADHERE	AFFIRM	ALIEN	ALLOW ED
Fr eq.	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
W o r d	ALTER ED	AMERICA	AMERICAN	ANOT HER	ANYTH ING	ARCHPAS TORAL	ARE	ATTAC K	BASIC
Fr eq.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
W o r d	BEAR	BELIEVES	BLESSINGS	CALL	CALLE D	CASES	CHARIT ABLE	CHARIT Y	CHILDR EN
Fr eq.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
W o r d	CHRIS T	CHRISTIA NITY	CITIZENSH IP	COMIN G	CONCE RN	CONSTIT UTE	CONSTI TUTES	CONTI NUE	CONTRA DICTS
Fr eq.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1



W o r d	COUPL ED	COUPLES	DECLARED	DEFINI TION	DEFINI TIONS	DENIES	DERIVE	DIRECT	DIRECT LY
Fr eq.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
W o r d	DISCR ETION	EMANAT ES	ENCOURA GEMENT	ENDU RING	ENGAG E	ENGAGE MENT	EXERCI SE	EXIST	EXPERIE NCE
Fr eq.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
W o r d	EXPLIC ITLY								
Fr eq.	1								

8.0 "Turkey Day Talking Points on Prop 8"

W o r d	ARE	PROP	YOU	IS	IT	THAT	WE	THEY	BE
Fr eq.	10	10	10	9	9	9	9	8	7
W o r d	PEOPL E	ACLU	ALL	CALIFO RNIA	DO	OUR	RIGHTS	SAME	THANKS GIVING
Fr eq.	7	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
W o r d	THEM	GAY	HAS	I	CAN	MARRI GE	SOMEON E	TELL	AWAY
Fr eq.	6	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	3
W o r d	COURT	DAY	EQUALI TY	EVERY ONE	FAMILY	FREEDO M	HAVE	JUST	LOVE
Fr eq.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
W o r d	ONE	RIGH T	THEIR	THIS	WILL	YOUR	AMERICA	ASKIN G	CALLED
Fr eq.	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2
W o r d	CASE	CHAN GES	CLEAR	COME	CONSTITU TIONAL	CONVER SATION	CONVERS ATIONS	COUL D	DINNER
Fr eq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
W o r d	DON	ELSE	EQUAL	EVER	FAMILIES	FRIENDS	GOING	HEARI NGS	HERE
Fr eq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
W o r d	HOLID AY	HOLI DAYS	INTOLE RANCE	LAW	LAWSUIT	LEGISLA TURE	LESIBAN	LGBT	MADE
Fr eq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
W	MAKE	MATT	MORE	NATION	NO	NOT	POWERFU	QUEST	SERIOUS

Word		ER					L	IONS	
Freq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	SEX	STOP	SUPREME	TALKING	TURKEY	US	VERY	WAY	WORK
Freq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	ADDRESSING	ADVICE	AMENDMENT	AMENDMENTS	ANGUISH	APPROVED	ARGUMENT	AVOID	BECOMING
Freq.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	BELIEVE								
Freq.	1								

9.0 "Please Fight Proposition 8's Assault on Same-Sex Marriage"

Word	I	MY	GAY	THEM	YOU	WE	PEOPLE	WAS	IT
Freq.	40	20	14	14	13	12	11	11	10
Word	ME	THEY	RIGHT	BE	FAMILY	IS	ALL	CALIFORNIA	THIS
Freq.	10	10	9	8	8	8	7	7	7
Word	DISCRIMINATION	EQUALITY	THEIR	ACLU	CAME	EVEN	HAD	HAVE	LOVE
Freq.	6	6	6	5	5	5	5	5	5
Word	MOM	SHE	ARE	FIGHT	FRIENDS	LESBIAN	LIFE	LIKE	MAN
Freq.	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Word	NOW	PROP	SEE	WASN'T	BEING	BELIEVED	CITIZENS	COULD	DIDN'T
Freq.	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3
Word	FULL	FUNDAMENTAL	HAPPEN	HELP	LET	MAKE	MARRIAGE	MAY	MORE
Freq.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Word	NEVER	OTHER	OWN	PLEASE	PREJUDICE	PROPOSITION	TELL	US	WILL
Freq.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Word	YEARS	AFRAID	ALSO	ALWAYS	AM	ANY	ANYTHING	ARC	ASK
Freq.	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	AWAY	BEHALF	CAN	CHOOSE	CLASS	COMMUNITY	CONTACT	DAD	DIGNITY
Freq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

Word	DOLLARS	EACH	EFFORT	ELSE	EQUAL	EVERY	FACE	FELT	FIND
Frequency	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	FINISHED	FORCES	FUTURE	GO	HARD	HER	HOMOPHOBIA	IM	INFORMATION
Frequency	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	INJUSTICE								
Frequency	2								

10.0 “Worried About Marriage in California”

Word	THEY	WE	ARE	MARRIAGE	OUR	PERCENT	CALIFORNIA	HAVE	IS
Frequency	13	10	9	6	6	6	5	5	5
Word	MORE	US	WILL	LIKE	NOW	VOTERS	YOU	AHEAD	CAN
Frequency	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	3	3
Word	CONFLICTED	DON'T	GET	HAS	IT	OTHER	TELEVISION	ALL	AWAY
Frequency	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2
Word	BE	BEEN	COUPLES	DO	FIELD	FIGHT	GENERATION	IMPORTANT	ISSUE
Frequency	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	JUST	LESS	LGBT	LOSE	MADE	MAY	MILLION	MONEY	MOST
Frequency	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	MOSTLY	NEW	POLL	RAISED	REMAINING	RIGHTS	SAME	SEX	SIDE
Frequency	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	SOLID	START	STATE	TELL	THIS	THOSE	WAY	WELL	WE'VE
Frequency	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	WIN	WINNING	WORREID	ACLU	AD	ADDITIONAL	ALMOST	ALREADY	ALSO
Frequency	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	APPEARS	BACKING	BALLOT	BECOME	BEGUN	BIG	BOTH	BOUGHT	BRINGING
Frequency	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	BUSY	BUY	CAMPAIGN	CHANCES	CHASING	CHUNKS	CHURCH	COMING	COMMUNITY
Frequency	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	COMPARED	COMPLETELY	COMPLEX	CONFLICT	CONVINCED	COULD	COUNTY	COVERAGE	CRITICAL
Frequency	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

q.									
Word	CULTURE								
Frequency	1								

11.0 “Signature Gathering Has Begun to Place Discriminatory Marriage Measure on California's November 2008 Ballot”

Word	EQUALITY	EXECUTIVE	ALL	ARE	CALIFORNIANS	CALIFORNIA	THIS	CAMPAIGN	DISCRIMINATION
Frequency	10	8	7	7	7	6	6	5	5
Word	IS	MARRIAGE	STATE	AMENDMENT	COMMITTEE	MEMBER	SAID	THESE	BALLOT
Frequency	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	3
Word	CENTER	DISCRIMINATORY	EFFORT	LESBIAN	MEASURE	OUR	SUCH	VOTERS	WE
Frequency	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Word	ANOTHER	CHIEF	COMMITTED	CONSTITUTION	DAMAGING	DAY	DENIED	DIEGO	DIRECTOR
Frequency	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	EVERY	FEBRUARY	GAY	GROUP	HAS	HAVE	IT	LONG	MARRY
Frequency	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	NOVEMBER	OFFICER	ONLY	QUALIFY	REJECT	RIGHT	RIGHTS	SIGNATURE	SUPPORTING
Frequency	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	THEY	WILL	WOULD	WRONG	ACCORDING	ALLOWING	AMENDMENTS	ANTI	ATTEMPT
Frequency	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Word	AVAILABLE	BACKING	BE	BECAME	BEGUN	BRING	CALIFORNIA'S	CAMPAIGNS	COME
Frequency	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	COMES	CONTINUE	COSTLY	COUPLES	DEFEAT	DELORES	DENY	DETERMINED	DIGNITY
Frequency	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	DIVISION	DIVISIVE	EFFORTS	ENSHRINE	EQUAL	EQUALITYFORALL	EXPEND	EXTREMISTS	FACT
Frequency	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

eq.									
Word	FAILED	FAILING	FAIR	FAIRNESSES	FAMILIES	FAMILY	FINANCIALLY	FIRST	FORM
Freq.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	FRIENDS								
Freq.	1								

12.0 “National Center for Lesbian Rights Launches New Political Action Committee to Defeat Prop 8”

Word	NCLER	DEFEAT	CAMPAIGN	LGBT	PROPOSITION	THEY	BE	MORE	NATIONAL
Freq.	6	5	4	4	4	4	3	3	3
Word	NO	ORGANIZATIONS	RIGHTS	WE	WILL	ACTION	AGAIN	ARE	CALIFORNIA
Freq.	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
Word	CENTER	COMMITTEE	FAMILY	FUND	HAS	HAVE	INITIATIVE	IS	ISSUE
Freq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	JULY	JUSTICE	LEADERS	LESBIAN	NEW	PEOPLE	POLITICAL	PROP	SOCIAL
Freq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Word	THIS	WIN	ABSOLUTELY	AFFECTING	ALL	AMERICAN	ANNOUNCED	APPEARING	ASSOCIATION
Freq.	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	AWAY	BACK	BALLOT	BAN	BASED	BASIC	BUSINESS	CAN	CHIPPING
Freq.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	CIVIL	COLORADO	COLUMBUS	CONSISTENT	CONTRIBUTE	CONTRIBUTED	COULD	COUNTRY	COUPLES
Freq.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	CRITICAL	DATE	DENY	DEVASTATING	DIRECTOR	DOING	DOLLARS	DONATED	DONE
Freq.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	EFFORTS	ELECTED	EMBOLDENED	EQUALITY	EVERY	EVERYTHING	EXECUTIVE	FAR	FOCUS
Freq.	1	1							
Word	FOUGHT	FRANCISCO	GO	HARD	HEADQUARTERED	IMMEDIATE	INCLUDING	INVESTED	IT
Freq.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Word	KATE	KENDELL	KEY	KNIGHTS	LABOR	LAUNCH	LAUNCHES	LEARN	LIVES

Fr q.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Wo rd	LOCA L								
Fr q.	1								

13.0 “Legal Groups File Lawsuit Challenging Proposition 8, Should It Pass”

W o r d	CONSTITUTION	CALIFORNIA	COURT	INITIATIVE	LEGAL	NOT	BE	IS	IT
Fr eq.	14	11	8	8	8	8	7	7	6
W o r d	PROPOSITION	COURTS	HAVE	PETITION	STATE	WOULD	EQUALITY	FILED	FIRST
Fr eq.	6	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4
W o r d	PRINCIPLES	RIGHT	TODAY	WRIT	ACLU	ATTORNEY	CHANGE	EVERYONE	GROUPS
Fr eq.	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3
W o r d	IMPROPERLY	INVALID	JUST	LAMBDA	LEGISLATURE	LESBIAN	MARRY	MEASURE	PROCESS
Fr eq.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
W o r d	PROP	RIGHTS	SHOULD	SUCH	SUPREME	THEIR	THEY	VOTERS	WAS
Fr eq.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
W o r d	WILL	ADDED	AGREE	ALSO	APPROVED	ARGUMENTS	BALLOT	BASIC	CALIFORNIANS
Fr eq.	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
W o r d	CAN	CANNOT	COMMITMENT	CONSTITUTIONAL	CORE	COUPLES	EARLIER	FUNDAMENTAL	GAY
Fr eq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
W o r d	GOVERNMENT	GROUP	HERE	ITSELF	LAWSUIT	MADE	MAJORITY	MINORITIES	MUST
Fr eq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
W o r d	NCLR	NOVEMBER	NOW	ONE	ORGANIZING	OUR	PASS	ROLE	SAID
Fr eq.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
W o r d	SAME	SETS	STAFF	STATEMENT	USED	ABLE	ADDITION	ADDRESSING	AFFORD
Fr eq.	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1

<b>W o r d</b>	AFFORDE D	ALL	ALREAD Y	ALTER	AMERIC AN	ANY	APPE ARED	ARE	ATTEMP T
<b>Fr eq.</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>W o r d</b>	ATTEMP TED								
<b>Fr eq.</b>	1								

## Appendix II

### **Interview with Focus on the Family and CitizenLink representatives 10/06/2010**

Persons interviewed:

Glenn T. Stanton, director of Global Family Foundations Studies [Focus on the Family]

Jenny Tyree, Analyst for marriage, Public Policy Department [CitizenLink]

John Focus9, Research analyst.

FLØYSVIK: Did you guys want to hear more about my degree and stuff before I begin?

STANTON: Yeah

FLØYSVIK: um, I'm taking....in English it's called...uh..Public Administration, I think. Let me just check, cause I usually just use the Norwegian name. Yeah, masters in Public Administration, uh, and it's very unique for the University of Bergen. Um, and it is sometimes referred to as the Bergen School of Thought, cause it's political science combined with organization theory. And the thought behind the fusion was that to understand politics you have to understand the organizations involved, and you can't just have an ideal view of how politics is apart from the organizations, because they do affect each other.

STANTON: yeah, mm-hm

FLØYSVIK: And that's kinda why I'm doing this, because it's really interesting how people get involved and organizations are in essential people. Um, and the reason I'm focusing on American Christian organizations is because they are so different from their European counterparts.

FOCUS: mm-hm

FLØYSVIK: Um, in Europe they don't get involved, at least not in the same degree. I mean they'll do some, but

STANTON: yeah

FLØYSVIK: not, not to the same....not at all...with the financial power and everything

STANTON & FOCUS: mm-hm

FLØYSVIK: that it is done in the states. Um, and the reason I chose Proposition 8 is... cuz homosexuality has been ...like a...issue in Europe lately as well, and it just kind of breezed through. Like uh, in Norway they tried to bring up...uh.. a little bit of like family issues and like 'well kids growing up in same-sex marriages probably won't be as well of', but then the

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9 Name changed due to interviewee's wish to remain anonymous.



same-sex marriage part, well parties, they came up with statistics showing that that wasn't true, and it, so it just kind of faded off. And nothing happened, and so it's so interesting that like all of America got engaged, just for California. And so that why I'm here to learn why and...

STANTON: ok

FLØYSVIK: how, because it's just so different.

STANTON & FOCUS: mm-hm

FLØYSVIK: Very interesting. And I think alot of people in Europe just write it off like most...American Christians are different or whatever

STANTON: yeah

FLØYSVIK: but I think it's important to understand

FOCUS: uh-huh

FLØYSVIK: so that's why I'm here.

TYREE: Good

FOCUS: on the other side though, do Gay advocacy and other advocacy groups, apart from the Church, do they get really involved in European politics?

FLØYSVIK: um

FOCUS: or is it just sort of...

FLØYSVIK: they make a lot of noise, yeah

FOCUS: Right, well I guess what I was just wondering was, I mean, part of me wonders if just culturally, if Americans are just more...because of our founding as a country that was, you know, people largely seeking religious freedom and freedom of expression and freedom of..you know from England, by and large, if maybe something about us, in terms of political discourse is just different than Europe. Apart, I mean

FLØYSVIK: right

FOCUS: not just Christians, but, across the board. With our enshrined first amendment rights, freedom of speech, religious expression

FLØYSVIK: I absolutely think so.

FOCUS: yeah...

FLØYSVIK: definitely, I think culture has a lot to do with it. Um, I think in Norway and probably in Scandinavia as a whole there is a tendency to be politically correct above all, and like, no matter what they'll do they have to, they want to be politically correct. And so, um, homosexual groups can ask for right and say they're being not fairly treated and all that...uh.

People accept it, but if Christians start talking then uh, they're discriminating. So there's a...it's kind of a

STANTON: and does that have a deep tradition in Norway? Or...cause here it's entrenched, but it is not deep at all. I mean it's just blown in and taken huge control.

FOCUS: and in a very few, short years.

STANTON: yeah

FLØYSVIK: right

FOCUS: like in 15 years, is all, that we've seen such power coming from the Gay.

FLØYSVIK: um, I'm not quite sure, but I think homosexuality was taken off the list of uh...psychological illnesses in the 60s or 70s.

STANTON: um-hm

FLØYSVIK: so it's pretty new, that it's so...flamboyant I guess.

STANTON: um-hm

FLØYSVIK: um, but, Norway is officially a Christian country, so it is kinda ironic that Norwegian Christians don't get involved while American Christians do.

FOCUS: yeah

STANTON: mm

TYREE: and we're not officially a Christian nation

FLØYSVIK: right

TYREE & FLØYSVIK: laugh

FOCUS: in fact we are being stripped of our Christian heritage as we speak

TYREE: well...we are not technically a Christian country, but we say we have a Christian heritage, but they are, I mean, it's written in your laws. Correct?

FLØYSVIK: right, right

TYREE: yeah

FLØYSVIK: and there is a state church, and everyone goes for Christmas and Easter, and almost never...they don't it, um, people aren't really Christians I think.

STANTON: yeah

FLØYSVIK: but, I may be wrong.

FOCUS: yeah, mm-hm

STANTON: they don't have to; they live in a officially Christian nation

FLØYSVIK: right

STANTON: that's the downside of...

FLØYSVIK: kind of being Catholic in Italy, you're Catholic

STANTON: Exactly. That's exactly right.

FLØYSVIK: so, um yeah, there's um...but yes. So my first question would be, if you could tell me a little bit about your involvement in Proposition 8. Just generally tell me what you guys did.

STANTON: let's start by just saying kinda what we do and then that kinda defines how we were involved.

FLØYSVIK: right

STANTON: and Jenny, why don't you start.

TYREE: ok, well, my work in the policy division, or for CitizenLink, the C4, the political advocacy group, um, but like Glenn said, compared to 2006, um ...and I'm the marriage analyst, sorry.

FLØYSVIK: ok

TYREE: So, but compared to 2006 when we had a marriage amendment on the ballot here in Colorado, and we also had a domestic partnership referendum, we were very involved, we spent money, and we created ads and um, all kinds of different things. And, so I was specifically involved in the campaign. I was not; it was not the same with Prop. 8 at all.

FLØYSVIK: ok

TYREE: So my involvement was more uh...from a distance...uh, Focus on the Family, this total is for you<sup>10</sup>, we spent 641 000 dollars

FLØYSVIK: thank you

TYREE: um, and that came out of the C3, the non-profit, because Focus on the Family can advocate for issues in the various states, um, so that's how we, um, that was our advocacy money on the issue in California for...Prop 8. Uh, so there we were basically, um, we have state organizations called Family Policy Councils, so we have one in California, and I think it's just called the...

FOCUS: California Policy

TYREE: yeah

FLØYSVIK: California Policy

FOCUS: family...

TYREE: I could tell you later...or I could actually, probably in some of my...

STANTON: Family Council, I think

FOCUS: I thought it was California Family Council

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10 Tyree hands Fløysvik a note on total sum given by FOTF C3 in advocacy money on Prop 8: US \$ 641,000

TYREE: I'm sure I have it in some of my paperwork here, so I can tell you that...um, but they are basically, um we don't give them money, but they operate on their own in California, and they were part of the large coalition of pastors and organizations in California.

FLØYSVIK: So did you guys, contact them, and then like work through them?

TYREE: yes, we would, we basically supported them, so yeah we probably did send them money

FLØYSVIK: yeah

STANTON: and that was our energy

TYREE: So that was, so we were involved, but definitely from a distance. And it was sort of a partner, but more in a, uh, they had a um, a public relations group, Shubert & Flint that was hired, uh the coalition hired them to, run the campaign, and so, we, the money that we supplied helped to do all of that.

FLØYSVIK: right

TYREE: just like all the efforts did. So my role really was kind of um, backseat in a way, except as we sent our emails and things from Focus on the Family to, um, we probably did encourage people to um, donate in California if they felt led to do that, but there were also two other marriage amendments on ballots in Arizona and in Florida. And those were all huge battlegrounds as far as we were concerned, California was absolutely the big one, because um, they had basically just said same-sex marriage was law there. Um, so that was the biggest effort that way. But, Florida was also a very big deal, because its passage was just as tenuous in some ways, we weren't sure it was gonna go. And in Arizona, they had had um, an marriage amendment fail in the previous.

TYREE & FOCUS: in 2006.

FLØYSVIK: right

TYREE: So as far as we were concerned our efforts, we supported our state organizations and the coalitions they were involved with in all three of those states. And so I was in...I was kind of helping our team that supplies the money that I helped write some of the emails that probably...and I don't even remember specifically...

FLØYSVIK: right

TYREE: specifics of what I did, but it was basically in a supportive way, support of our team, that was support, helping support the Family Policy Council in California, and the overall effort. And then, as far as helping Focus on the Family do news and media about what was happening in California, and that would be just through our own little outlets, like um, well I say little, but that's because it's not like huge media organization, but through our CitizenLink

e-newsletter, through Family news and Focus, through our Citizen magazine, and I probably checked everything we wrote and wrote some of the stuff that we sent out.

STANTON: um-hm

TYREE: so that's more, that's my role, for our division. And like I said, much less campaign oriented, um, compared to 2006, where, you know, we were going everywhere.

FLØYSVIK: right, so just kind of administrating?

TYREE: well, probably content support, most likely they came to me for correct wording and to make the details of things of what was going on in the different states.

FLØYSVIK: right

STANTON: and what was, I mean why were we so much more heavily involved in 06 than in 08, and was it, I mean I assumed California was because we had people on the ground there, and it was like ' you know what, let us know what you need and...

TYREE: yeah, but that's technically how we do it with each state is, we don't, we really think that people on the ground there, know best how to run their campaign.

FLØYSVIK: right

TYREE: and a lot of times the money that we... help with helps provide for, um the um the what do they call those groups that you

FOCUS: yeah Focus Groups

TYREE: Focus Groups

FOCUS: where we are studying the messaging with...

TYREE: so you find out: does this message work with this audience, does this...

FLØYSVIK: right, sorta marketing

FOCUS: it is

TYREE: yes, what happens behind the scene before you start you marketing and messaging effort

STANTON: and messaging

FLØYSVIK: right

TYREE: and that's what we...a lot of times do, and try to support that state group as they desire our help. And so in Colorado the FPC was kind of just getting off the ground, it was still a very small organization, and they were part of the coalition and they were the main speaking voice. But Focus on the Family and the Catholic Bishops and some other organizations were very strongly supportive of their efforts, so that's...

FLØYSVIK: right

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: yeah, and just so, you know, you understand from a broader perspective, of looking at America, um, you know you got all these gay right groups that are very wealthy and very powerful, mainly located in D.C. And in some ways Focus but other groups has sorta been the lightning rod of like the focus of their anger. They saw Colorado, because we're in Colorado, and our backyard, if they can win here... I mean, there was something kind of symbolic. And one of the most wealthy gay activist, philanthropist, donors and organizers is here in Colorado, he's a guy named Tim Gill. And he is a multi, multi, he's a multi millionaire to the tune of like 500 million dollars, he was a software, he, I mean he developed a company called Quark and he sold it for like 400 million dollars back in 1994, and he's basically been funding lots and lots of the gay activists efforts for years now. And so they really saw Colorado as 'we want Colorado'. If anything to get at, to get at Focus in the backyard of Dr. Dobson. And so they had an marriage amendment, well, we had a marriage amendment battle going on here, that we were obviously pushing, but they were trying to get, um, domestic partnership. So there were two things going on, and there could of, at one point been 3 or 4 things happening on the ballot, and so, but the time it all shook out there were two things on the ballot.

TYREE: it would have been marriage in all but name, um, the domestic partner, it was more than...what that sounds like.

FOCUS: yeah, so we really felt like, you know, we have to fight this.

STANTON: um-hm

TYREE: but we don't wanna go into too much detail about 2006.

FOCUS: yeah, cause, um, yeah

TYREE: Um, Tim Gill, who we mentioned just a second ago...he gave more that 700,000 dollars towards uh...against Prop.8 in California.

FLØYSVIK: so 700 000

TYREE: um-hm, he gave 700 000 according to this, um.. and he wasn't the only one, i mean, it was, um. The thing with California too, and this is getting a little bit off the subject, I will let Glenn talk, but they outspent us, the negative side outspent the pro-side by about 8000 dollars, 6000, somewhere around there...

FLØYSVIK: yeah, I saw the numbers were pretty close.

TYREE: but it was huge, and the other things with, um the opposition to the marriage amendment in California, was Google gave money toward, PG & E, which is um, the power, gas and light. ...um, or the

FOCUS: it's Pacific, Gas and Electric.

TYREE: and electricity yeah, Pacific, Gas and...anyways large state run organizations, like Public Works organizations, gave to overturn Prop. 8, you had huge donations from Hollywood, and a lot of the Prop. 8 money, and you're gonna hear about the Mormons, you're probably read about that and everything. And I don't know if we really know how much they ended up giving...however, while they probably gave large donation, we gave, you know I gave, which is, that's pretty paltry, I mean Tim Gill gave more than that.

STANTON: um-hm, one person

TYREE: um, but , like I can tell you that I gave some personal donations, and I know other people did as well...and for the most part the money, the way the money was separated on Prop. 8 was a lot of small donations on the part of people who supported it, and then very large chunks of money for out of state and from Hollywood, you know, those other large organizations that I mentioned before. Huge amounts of money, and they outspent us, and they still lost

STANTON: In California.

FLØYSVIK: and this sum<sup>11</sup>, is it just Focus on the Family or people pouring into Focus on the Family.

TYREE: no that's just, well that's, I mean all our money is donated so, but that wasn't given specifically for that.

FLØYSVIK: you guys decided to use this for...ok right

STANTON: Yeah, part of our strategic budget for things that we're going to do, we took that lot and spent it on that, um.

TYREE: we have to, and I say C3, we have to budget all of our, only so much of our Focus on the Family budget that is the non-profit portion can go towards issue advocacy, so that is an amount of money that ...I mean what can we spend...

FOCUS: like 7 %

TYREE: 7 % or something.

FLØYSVIK: mm

TYREE: so that's not even our full budget, that year.

STANTON: that's a portion of the 7% we can spend a year

TYREE: a portion

FLØYSVIK: ok, so the C3 is also the non-profit

TYREE: the C3 is the non-profit, and the C4

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11 Alluding to note stating Focus on the Family sum used on Proposition 8 given to me by Jenny Tyree.

FOCUS: is the Focus<sup>12</sup>

TYREE: but for that issue we spent all of our money from the non-, from the not for profit, you'll probably have to dig into that a little bit

FLØYSVIK: ok

TYREE:I can also tell you that the Focus budget this past fiscal year is online, so you can look at that and see how much is apportioned toward issue advocacy, um so that amount comes of the 7% that we can use towards issue advocacy, the majority of our budget is towards benevolent um...

FLØYSVIK: but everything's donated?

TYREE: yeah, so um

STANTON: the other interesting thing like with Prop. 8, was there was Florida, Arizona and California, You had these little dust-ups along, you know, like you do in a political campaign, um...it was just non-stop in California. And so a lot of our work was not so much on Prop. 8 particularly, but it was like, on these crazy stories of the list of donors being leaked

FLØYSVIK: I read about that.

STANTON: and people on our side, being harassed. Their property being destroyed

FOCUS: There is a website you can go to, where um, every donor to Prop. 8 is listed with a Google address of where they live.

FLØYSVIK: is that legal?

FOCUS: there were, there was a lot of legal back-and-forthness as to whether or not it is. And um, similar things have come from Washington state, where people who donated to pro-family campaigns gay activist have...there's a campaign called 'know thy neighbor.org', and these are gay activists who are basically harassing people who contribute to pro-family causes. So...

TYREE: well, actually in Washington they are trying to get the names of petition-signers to be public

FOCUS: yeah, yeah

TYREE: and in California, if you give a donation its public disclosure. So it's already public knowledge. The LA Times website, actually you could look up donors from Colorado and see who is listed for and against.

STANTON: well and...

FLØYSVIK: Does it matter what sum or?

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12 Audio unclear.



TYREE: um-hm, I think

FOCUS: well there may be a threshold...

TYREE: there may be a threshold of like 100 dollars.

FLØYSVIK: ok, right

STANTON: and historically politically, you know, for people who looked that kind of stuff up, apart from this issue. You know, at the tennis club or something, you see someone and you'd go 'Dude! You donated to such-and-such, what are you thinking?' And there'd be this little argument back and forth, you know, and that would be it. And um...

TYREE: well it's probably a bigger deal on um...like if people, like not around social issues. Like if, you know, some investigative reporter wanted to go in and find out who gave the money that built, that took away the marsh land and...Like the movie the Pelican Brief.

STANTON: right, yeah

TYREE: or something like that, those were the, that's when you were kind of interested to see 'ok, what big oil, or who's vested in this sort of thing'. So this is kind of unprecedented in the US, that if you have a controversial view about something, or actually, if you hold the view that marriage, that kids, that kids need a mom and a dad, then you are a social liability. Um, way outside political correctness.

FOCUS: and you should be ostracized, and you should be castigated and you should be...you know, gone after.

STANTON: Well and Barbara Nicolosi, we had a women from Hollywood come and speak here, and we were talking about this later on, and she is Catholic goes to this little Catholic church in West Hollywood, she said that they broke in to her church and smeared faeces just all over.

FLØYSVIK: Ew.

STANTON: I mean it's, and those, I mean those kinds of stories don't get out. So that's what we were doing, kind of telling these stories, and essentially the punch-line being is, exactly like John did<sup>13</sup>, you know this is not just a political squabble, these are not nice people. Um, you know.

FOCUS: The owner of the San Diego Marriot Hotel, gave money to Proposition 8, and the gay activists found out about it, and they, you know...even right now there's still kind of an ongoing campaign to boycott his hotel.

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13 Name changed (John Focus).

TYREE: they had a boycott last fall when the History, History Association was meeting there, and they went ahead and kept their date there, and there were the activist outside marching around. And I only know that because, you know I was looking...one of my friends, anyway..not because I was involved with, you know, continuing to check up on what was happening with the Marriot owner, but because my masters.

FLØYSVIK: right

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: the Mormon church has really gotten dinged on this. There's a new documentary that is coming out on Proposition 8, where basically the gay activists are really trying to drag the Mormon church through the mud, and they're still even to this day, you know, they're trying to get fines lobbied against them because they didn't report their donations correctly. Their donations in kind, you know, and it's really complicated to know how to report political activity cause the laws vary from state to state and then there's fed...I mean, so you can see where the Mormon church could have easily maybe made a little mistake here and there.

FLØYSVIK: right

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: I mean, I doubt if they were intentionally were trying to like...

STANTON: sure

FOCUS: you know...obfuscate, but they're really getting hammered right now.

TYREE: so you didn't tell about your involvement and yours in Prop. 8

FOCUS: Well, you know my involvement in Prop. 8, I don't know, I mean I'm an analyst in public policy and I work on the issues of sexuality and gender.

FLØYSVIK: ok

FOCUS: So I work a lot on the issues of homosexuality and trans-genderisms and intersexuality and stuff like that. Because we get a lot of questions like that. But, you know, in terms of Prop. 8, I mean I, a lot of us on the team worked together, I worked closely with Jenny, worked closely with our Federal Issues Analyst, which is our lobbyist in D.C on issues like the non-employment discrimination act, and hate-crimes legislation and various kinds of, you know, ah, legislation of the gay activists groups have set as goals to get passed through Congress, especially now that there is a Democratic controlled Congress in power. Um, so I work a lot on that, and then I've just come along beside Jenny and our Federal Issues Analyst and our Judicial Analyst, cause a lot of this is judicial issues.

FLØYSVIK: right

FOCUS: playing out on the courts. So, just helping with messaging and um, worked a lot on the Colorado Marriage Amendment and our Referendum I, which was our domestic partnership ah...referendum here. Um, so just coming along side in that regard, has really been my, sort of behind the scenes involvement.

FLØYSVIK: And is that a lot of statistics or is it mostly formulating, like a, Focus on the Family's view on marriage?

FOCUS: I'd say it's a lot of messaging and talking points.

FLØYSVIK: ok, yeah.

FOCUS: some statistics, unfortunately, you know with issues of homosexuality and transgenderism. Um, academia is so tilted to the left.

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: to the pro-gay and pro-transgender position, that there's really, you know, all the...the gates as it were for peer review literature and studies, everything is very much slanted to the pro-gay side. So, its, its, again you are always sort of navigating through studies that um, have a lot of methodological flaws and problem, but yet they turn a blind eye to that because the studies tell them what they want to be propagated in the media. You know, the...that lesbian parented families do better than otherwise, you know I mean, we were just, that's been sort of the issue this week has been a study that came out that has lots of flaws, but.

TYREE: a better example is the 10% myth

FOCUS: yeah

TYREE: everyone gets...there are 10 % of people are, of Americans, of the population, 10% is gay. That was a quote that was a statistic often quoted. It's actually between 2 and 3%. So that is just now starting to...

FOCUS: it's taken like 25 years to debunk that.

STANTON: some facts have to be more rigorous than others. I'm just...you know

FOCUS: If you've got a good heart and you say it sure, you know that's...that's fine.

TYREE: that got repeated in media, I mean no one checked that out to find out if it was true. So...a lot of the statistics that are actually true like the higher incident rate of drug use and alcohol abuse um, by people who identify as gay and lesbian...you do not hear about that.

FLØYSVIK: right

FOCUS: and if you do, it's not, now it's all completely couched, I mean, there's a...there's a reason for it

STANTON: yeah

FOCUS: they don't have to prove it; all they have to do is that it is.

TYREE: homophobia

FOCUS: it's homophobia, its societal stigma

FLØYSVIK: right, so they feel

STANTON: yeah

FOCUS: and they don't even have to jus...they don't even have to quantify that or justify it at all, all they have to say it's homophobia, and everyone agrees: it's homophobia

STANTON: oh, of course. Yeah

TYREE: so we do work with statistics, but...

FOCUS: we're always kind of on the losing end it seems

TYREE: yeah

STANTON: mm, well and that's the amazing thing, to see you got solid facts, you know and to be fair, you know if we've got lousy facts, we'll tell you, but you know what, there's just good solid facts, and it's, and it's the issue of intention, you know what...um, this issue is winning um on just no good strong data at all. Um, and they're all the smart people too, you know who 'oh we're the enlightened ones'. And it's just crazy. Even fighting, fighting a lot of that kind of stuff, which is a lot of very similar to what John<sup>14</sup> does, that I do...um, in terms of just helping develop arguments and helping shape those arguments and helping to try to be persuasive and just putting arguments in the hands of people and so a good bit of that was done um, by me and others here um, for Prop. 8. And you know they had, you know help on their website of, how to, how to...pamphlets and things, how to people, you know, make the case that needs to made, and so a lot of that we contributed as well. So that was, that was a bit of what I did. Um...

TYREE: one thing I'd say that we have to deal with the most, and had to do with this Lesbian Parenting study this week, and Glenn, your master's is in sociology right?

STANTON: mm

TYREE: So, um he wasn't here, this was very unfortunate, but actually the bottom line is the same...um, because the lesbian parenting study came out, I blogged about some flaws that I thought were in the study, and um, and this one guy wrote, and he written me previously, he responded to my blog post, and he believed that the only reason that I, that I wasn't being fair to gays and lesbians because I did not think that they could be good parents.

FOCUS: because of their sexual orientation

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14 Name changed (John Focus).

TYREE: because of their sexual orientation

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: and so my response to him, and he still hasn't written back, so I don't know if he like 'so I never thought about that before', but we don't, Focus has this reputation...well, it's easy to stigmatize groups who believe in marriage, as being against people who identify as gays or lesbians. You know, that is not the case.

FLØYSVIK: right

TYREE: and so I wrote back and said, you know by its very nature, and this, I would say this is an argument that Glenn started with, and that I've, you know, picked up...and, but by its very nature someone who lives homosexually, especially if they have a partner, and they want to adopt a child, removes that child from either it's father or it's mother. And how could this be a good thing? You know, when it required a father and a mother biologically to create him ect. And so I would just say that this is the one argument that we continue to go back to, that we are continually fighting, that it's not about who someone decides to sleep with, it's about what this will do in policy. And so um, that is probably the firmest ground that we stand on, other than our own, you know, Christian belief in the bible, and that you know, and this is John's<sup>15</sup> line, so you see our work is always intersected.

FLØYSVIK: right

FOCUS: you know that God's created intent for humans and sex, biological sex, and flowing from that sexuality, and flowing from that marriage, and flowing from that family. The created intent is based on the male and female paradigm, as we bear his image as male and female.

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: you know, out of the diversity of male and female....we all coming together in unity, the complementary unity, new life comes forward. And society, is you know, from one generation to the next propagated

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: and this is clearly the ordination of life. And um...

STANTON: and that all cultures do this. It's not like, you know, you fly anywhere in a plane, land in that culture and its like 'oh they do marriage this way, they do family this way'. The differences are of..of, um degree in the sense of, yes men and women divide up labor differently in different cultures, um, there are in some cultures difference in number of partners, you know, one man, several wives; one wife, several men. But it's always men and

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<sup>15</sup> Name changed (John Focus).

women, and men and women working together to raise their common children. You know, you don't go anywhere and you're like 'I have no idea how to understand the family system in this culture, can you explain it to me?' You know what I mean, it's human. Um, so it is Christian and it is human. Um, and we tend to think that...well this is the heterosexuals trying to you know, overcome the you know, the population out there that has done it a different way. No, not at all...

TYREE: and that you see that that, I mean that is the bottom line we can, that we all continually go to. But the way the messaging ended up working in California was, the biggest message that worked there was: this is going to affect education. That's how, so it affects children.

FLØYSVIK: ok

TYREE: So the message there, and they used it again in Maine, and they actually used the same PR group, when they were appealing, um, the state's legislature, um

FOCUS: they passed gay marriage

TYREE: they passed gay marriage, and the people there in Maine, they have...this was in 2009, so they have a veto, they can gather signatures, and they can say 'we disagree with this law, we think, we at least wanna vote on it'. And they used the same argument there to say 'we redefine marriage, it's gonna be taught in school'. And of course that is an absolutely intuitive...Intuitive, but of course they said that wasn't going to happen, you know there are laws that say this will never happen

FLØYSVIK: right

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: well, what a bunch of boloney, because if your system, if your entire world is based on, you know, these laws, and if the law is that two men can be married, or two women can be married, that is gonna get put in school curriculum. And there are even laws that, you know, say the education sort of laws, or what need to be taught, what school-children need to learn ect...so that is coming back to that family thing, a mother and a father and a child, that is actually what was the biggest message in California. Um, and so, we're always talking about that one thing, in different ways, and it continues to be the message that people hear. And they think «well, so it's not just 'live and let live', it's my daughter is gonna go to the public school, and she's gonna hear about this', so...

FLØYSVIK: right

FOCUS: as a 5-year old.

TYREE: yeah as a 5-year old.

FOCUS: as a kindergartner.

TYREE: so we had a example from Massachusetts, and this ad, um had continued to do very very well. Where little girl comes home or little boy..I don't remember, the...a the...this one family...the

FOCUS: Parkers

TYREE: the Parkers

FOCUS: it was a boy, it was a little boy

TYREE: and so they're being interviews, and they

FLØYSVIK: I think I've seen that one, his father got arrested?

STANTON: yeah

FOCUS: yeah, he refused to leave the premises

TYREE: the Worthlands, his first name was Parker, but it was the Worthland family, I think. So, um, so that ad played very well in California, where they said, he came home from school, and of course Massachusetts was the first state to have gay marriage, and there were some very damning quotes that came out of Massachusetts after that happened.

STANTON: oh

TYREE: on lesbian activist that was interviewed at NPR that said 'whatever, it's the law now', you know? Like...

FLØYSVIK: mm, so you...

TYREE: the other thing that happened in California was um, the governor, you should be able to see this ad as well, who just said 'Like it or not, it's gonna be'

FOCUS: no, that was the mayor

FLØYSVIK: major of San Francisco right?

FOCUS: Gavin

TYREE: yeah the major, he said that, we that made great TV and of course nobody likes to think that something is going to be pushed on them.

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: but he said that, and then there were two lesbians getting married, getting married at the state house, the parents of one of them...

FOCUS: and one of them was a school teacher

TYREE: one of them was a school teacher, and parents had taken their children, there's this beautiful stock photo, you know of these two women coming out of the court house, and they're gowns, and all these little school children from you know, clapping and cheering, and this is right after the no on Prop.8 side had said 'this isn't going to affect education'. So...

FOCUS: the teachers are dragging their classes to watch their own wedding.

TYREE: and that came about apart because, the judging, the Supreme Court there had said 'we're going to allow a 5 month window before this vote takes place for gay couples to get married'.

FLØYSVIK: right

TYREE: because the work for the marriage amendment was in place, we were working toward that, helping the coalition work toward that long before ...um, that was happening when the Judges decided to overturn Prop. 22.

FLØYSVIK: but why were you working towards a marriage amendment, when they had already had one in 2004? Proposition 22, right?

TYREE: because, yeah, Prop. 22.

FOCUS: mm

TYREE: because they had already, because they were seeking to overturn the

FOCUS: the court

TYREE: a court was overturning it; there was a court case that had been brought to overturn the definition of marriage law.

STANTON: and dictated that that was the case.

FLØYSVIK: So you for-saw that this would be an issue again?

TYREE: mm-hm, not just in California, but in every state...the only thing that has held up has been an marriage amendment. A constitutional marriage amendment is the only thing that has protected marriage. Um, a lot of states, California included, is what Prop. 8 was, was a defensive marriage act. Which was just a legal statue that said: 'this is the definition of marriage'. The judges have overturned those left and right, Iowa, California...um, Vermont...so, only marriage amendments have actually withstood...

FLØYSVIK: um, ok

FOCUS: So you understand that there is like, the federal constitution and each of the fifty states has a constitution.

FLØYSVIK: yeah

FOCUS: ok

TYREE: so there's a constitution and then state laws, well the union of marriage has been so inherent for so long in laws, you know like, they don't say 'this is what marriage is', they just say 'well, you know, can't marry your cousin Bob...you know, you can't marry your own sister, you know, it's been like that because the meaning has been so like one the same, cultural understood that's it heterosexual.



FOCUS: Cause it's heterosexual

STANTON: You know you're right, it's not defined.

TYREE: that's the reason it's not defined, so this starts coming, and this is the defense that organizations like ours are making, like the only way to protect this, even though a lot of people want to redefine it, we think that there are... is good reason, at least for this generation, this is our fight, to keep it between a man and a woman and help preserve what vestige of strong family and understanding of marriage there still is.

STANTON: um-hm

TYREE: Because with the high divorce rate, we're losing that. Um, so it's part of that whole, it's part of a much bigger picture.

FLØYSVIK: so could you, um, just tell me what you think the effects of same-sex marriage would be for California and for America? Like if it hadn't been upheld? What would you think happen?

FOCUS: well it's currently on trial right now again,

STANTON: yeah

FOCUS: ok, I mean, you have to understand that there is a gay, I mean as far as I understand; he's a gay-identified judge out of San Francisco. I mean the gay activists are so smart, that they picked exactly the right jurisdiction with exactly the right judge, in order to have Proposition 8 put on trial.

FLØYSVIK: ok

FOCUS: and so that is currently happening, you know.

TYREE: well previously, they brought a lot of pieces in different states in various jurisdictions that, I mean they've done this previously in Iowa, that's what happened as well, they're like, think that 'if we can get a court to... if we can get this to the supreme court level of that state in Iowa, that we...they'll overturn it ' Not the marriage amendment, the defensive marriage act. So, go ahead.

FLØYSVIK: right

FOCUS: yeah, so right now, I mean back in February, the two sides came together and Focus is helping with that too. Um, in turns of our side, helping support our legal defense of Prop. 8, and the will of the people of California to vote to have an amendment put in their constitution that defines marriage as a man and a woman. Um, you know, that was back in February, and another round of questions came up this week, and he's gonna be making a decision this summer. But it's possible that Prop. 8 will be overturned at the federal level, in a federal court, by this judge in San Francisco, which is gonna set it up to go, probably all the way to the U.S.

Supreme Court, I mean, that is why California was seen as ground zero of the battle, because how it shakes up there is gonna impact the rest of the nation. So that's why it's been so critical to fight on that particular battleground.

TYREE: arguably, the most left leaning, I mean there is the phrase, 'as goes California, so goes the Nation'. That's been around for a long...I don't even know how long that's been around. But a common....so, they also had domestic partnerships already in that state.

STANTON: um-hm

FOCUS: since 2000

TYREE: since 2000, that provided, they're really marriage in everything but name. I mean, so gay and lesbians there have every single state, legal responsibility, and right of a married couple.

FLØYSVIK: right

TYREE: Um, so this really is about marriage.

FOCUS: it's about the word

STANTON: see, and that's a big distinction, because like when we go out and debate opponents they're like 'oh, we need these rights, we need these benefits', and they'll tell you all these sad stories about this family, that family. And so, if you take them at their word, you know what? 'No, this was good enough...what you had in California, cause all those protections were in place'. But guess what? That wasn't good enough. It goes to, you know what, largely what we are saying is true, it's more about the symbolism, you know, the symbolism is, if you can overturn marriage and make marriage not about um, elevating and praising in a sense heterosexuality, and the importance of moms and dads for their children, and biological children. Um, if you overturn that you've really done something, and that goes to your question earlier of you know 'ok, what's the consequences of same-sex marriage?' It's really radically redefining the family. Um, and there's you know, a zillion and one consequences of that, we could go into that, but the point in California is- all those rights and responsibilities, you know what I mean: signed, sealed, delivered-it was done.

FOCUS: yeah what happened was that in 2000 they passed the domestic partner bill that basically gave them like, six rights and responsibilities. 2001 they expanded that, 2002 they expanded that, 2003 they expanded that, 2004 they expanded that, by 2005 it included everything that heterosexual married couples have. Everything, except for the name marriage. So...

STANTON: and that was unjust,

FOCUS: yeah and so the court said that's unjust.

TYREE: at the beginning of 2008, they, right

FOCUS: yeah know, the spirit of the age really, from like a spiritual perspective, is to say that: sex, biological sex, gender does not matter. That male and female, there is no difference; and um, so really that is what this does. The biggest consequence is that gender no longer matters. That..

STANTON: and even in the place where it matters most, an example of that is um, when the law passed in Massachusetts in 2004, there were some people on our side who had said,

FOCUS: the law didn't pass, it was a court ruling

STANTON: court ruling, that's right; court ruling,

FLØYSVIK: they just?

FOCUS: court,

FLØYSVIK: court ruled it? No referendum?

FOCUS: the highest court in Massachusetts ruled that..

TYREE: no referendum.

FLØYSVIK: wow

FOCUS: yeah, the people didn't get a say.

TYREE: actually there's never been a referendum...that's been same-sex marriage, it's always been court decided.

FOCUS: The people of Massachusetts have never had a say.

TYREE: Vermont, we finally had a legislature say: turn civil unions into same-sex marriage, but that's the only case, that that just happened...<sup>16</sup>

FOCUS: it, there's a four-three ruling, and the one judge who ruled, the key was a South-African, a white, South-African woman, who is a naturalized US-citizen, and was on the court, and she relied on international law for her, for her understanding. That also was controversial.

TYREE: Um, the bottom line of all those court cases.

FOCUS: sorry

TYREE: oh, I'm sorry Glenn.

STANTON: no that's ok, that's ok.

TYREE: I'm forgetting, but I was just going to say and I'll go back to you, that bottom line of the court cases too is, whenever you read the decisions of these judges, they actually, they have to say, one: that it doesn't matter that children know there ....first they have to and you

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<sup>16</sup> Inaudible end of sentence.

probably know this better than I do, they have to say first of all that doesn't matter that children have a mother and father, that the state has no vested interest, the government has no vested interest, in giving a mother and a father to every child. So they sort of get all squishy, and what the meaning...on what marriage really is. 'Oh, it's this', and Glenn's written about this, so maybe I should let you pick up. Um, but they wanna just say that it's like, uh, private relationship. And like Glenn likes to say, if there's anything we know about marriage, or maybe David Blankenhorn says this, if there's anything you know about marriage, it's that the people in it are having sex and it's publically recognized.

STANTON: um-hm

TYREE: you know, so it's a publically recognized declaration that these two people are living their lives together, and if there's anything that it's about as far as privacy goes, it's about the sexual component. And so, um, and children are a result of that, you know, so the...for these judges to just pretend, to gloss over that fact, they're really taking leave of reality. And that's what's happening.

STANTON: And to read a lot of the decisions, California's was not too terribly bad, other than the fact, I mean. The Massachusetts decision, was, I mean you think if that had been turned in as a paper to a decent law professor, I mean, it was really atrocious. You know, I mean it was just bad. Um, and a number of them, and I really do try to be fair, if like: you know what my opponent, you know what 'you made a great point', it's my job to kind of counter that. If they make a crappy point, you know what, no that's just dumb. And theirs, theirs was just horrid. Um, and in some of the states have gotten a bit better, but it really has been remarkable. I mean, that be an interesting thing, is to, to collect all of them and let a panel of you know, smart, kind of disaffected legal scholars read them, because they're filled with emotion, um, and that was one of the things in the, in the Goodridge decision from Massachusetts. They start out writing about each of the plaintiffs, and how nice and wonderful they are, and you think.

TYREE: Because there is no legal...

STANTON: yeah

TYREE: that's not even the beginning of a legal document.

STANTON: you think...that the...the legal liberals would go 'I don't care if they beat their cats you know, they have rights!' And it's not based on how nice they are, how kind...you know, are they citizens and what's the rights? You know, but they massage all this with 'eh, it's just you know...it' and that's where, you know, they would've gotten marked off in law school, for that kind of stuff. Um...

TYREE: her question, um, I think John<sup>17</sup> and Glenn kind of addressed the big picture on what we see, your question was what what really happens, um what would have happened if Prop.8 had gone the other direction and everything. Well, in the short term...it would have been the redefinition of marriage in California; it might not have meant anything. Like if you have a couple of neighbors who, you know, are gay or lesbian, together, maybe, that's not maybe exactly where it happens, but like the education issue that I mentioned. Immediately in California the laws would have been changed to the fact, to the effect of this has to be taught in education of legitimate family. And so the ripple effect of that, and when the ripple effect of that just gets bigger, so you have a whole generation of school children that in the public school, learning um that this is...this is what a real family is. And that when you learn about the birds and the bees, that doesn't really matter because there's nothing special about heterosexual um...love, there's nothing special about what happens when a man and a woman get together, so on a spiritual level when John<sup>18</sup> was saying, you know, 'the spirit of the age', um on a spiritual level that means that in some way, um, male or female is sort of put down or, I don't know how to say this, but there's a...there's a suppression on the beauty and what it means on our differences as male and female.

STANTON: well, they just come down to preference, if that's what you're in to-knock yourself out, but one is just as good as another, and that's really what it comes down to is: mother and father, husband and wife, become just merely preferential. And that's a radical statement. And, and even the idea of the governor in Massachusetts, has said that children...after the Massachusetts decision, the children oughta have a mother and a father. And the Boston Globe editorialized that that was hate-speech, and that has become more common, that to say-as radical as that is-that you know what, that as many children as possible should have a mother and a father, is to say 'ok what are you saying about us as two homosexuals?' Um, you know what; you are saying something about them. But we couldn't even, we as a society: a politician, a health care worker, couldn't say 'you know what, we ought to strive for a culture where as many children as possible grow up with a mother and a father'. Because that is making a negative statement against all the gays and lesbians in the community who want children...um.

TYREE: and so I mentioned, like the whole generation of children, school children, well it's happening now in Massachusetts. Ok and other states where gay marriage...I'm assuming that somewhere curriculum is being re-written. Um, about so what will go into public schools? So

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17 Name changed (John Focus).

18 Name changed (John Focus).

you think about that, and we often compare it to the 'no-fault divorce laws' that were signed here, started being signed in 1969. And throughout...people all said, 'the best thing...they said kids won't be affected if there are more divorces as a result of the no-fault divorce laws'.

Previously...

FLØYSVIK: No-fault divorce is?

TYREE: yeah I was just going to say. Previously you had to show, if you wanted to divorce your spouse, you had to say 'I know he's been sleeping with another woman'.

STANTON: and here's the evidence

TYREE: and here's the evidence

FOCUS: there has to be a compelling, overarching like reason, there has to be a fault for there to be a divorce.

FLØYSVIK: right

TYREE: so it started in 69 and into the 70s, where no-fault divorce laws, I think they're in every state now, except New York! Weird.

STANTON: mm

TYREE: um, so in all these states, you no longer have to show fault, which essentially says, I mean if you think of marriage at least civilly as a contract, I mean from a spiritual perspective I would say it's much more than that. But as a contract, just from a very bald, you know you signed so you know you're married in the eyes of the state, whatever, if the husband says 'I want a divorce', or the wife says 'I want a divorce', the other party has absolutely nothing they can say to try to keep their marriage together. They only have persuasive with their...persuasion with their spouse. They have no legal recourse in the eyes of the law.

STANTON: quite literally, I mean I could go home today and my wife got bonked on the head out in the garage, and just kinda went nutty; she could go see a lawyer, and there's just not much I can do.

TYREE: and Glenn can't say to the judge, 'please judge we have these children together, we have...', he'll say 'she wants a divorce, you're out'. So like, as far as a contract goes it's not that he hasn't kept up his end of the bargain, you know, bringing home money, it's that if she just willingly wants to go, she just can.

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: so, all the experts, and they really were experts, said 'this is gonna have no effects'.

FOCUS: back then

TYREE: back then in the 70s, they said this gonna, this is a simple policy, it's gonna be better...more kids are gonna up with two people who really wanna be together.

STANTON: yeah

TYREE: it's not good for...

STANTON: and the parents will be happier, therefore the kids will be happier.

TYREE: Right, that's not what happened. Um, now there's not only, so I was growing up in the 70s and the 80s; and um-widespread divorce, I remember some of my little classmates, their parents divorcing ect. And then when they started tracking this through social science data, what they saw was that kids are suffering even into adulthood. Um, higher, um...so if your parents divorced, you have a greater chance of getting caught in substance abuse, if you're a boy-going to jail, if you're a girl-losing your virginity sooner, becoming sexually active at a younger age, getting pregnant, ah...having trouble in school, um you talk to any teacher or school counselor, they'll tell you 'oh, that kid is having trouble, because there is something going on at home'. They can spot it.

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: So um, so here we are, forty years later, and the divorce rate has sky-rocketed, number of marriages is down, co-habitation has risen by like 400% or something astronomical like that in the U.S. Just within the last 15 years or 10 years or something like that. And now we have um, a rate of un-wed child bearing at 40%.

FLØYSVIK: 40 %?

TYREE: 40. Which is kind of low, considering Europe.

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: but for the U.S., the number has just shot up. So we already know that when marriage was devalued in law, when the whole culture wasn't like conspiring together to keep couples married for the good of children; that, it's had a devastating effect. So, an argument that we'll use a lot of the time is to say: ok, yeah you say it has small effect, but we've never been able to rightly predict the weird relationship and effect that policy has on um, our culture and on our families.

STANTON: and anytime we've moved away from mom and dad committed together to raising their own kids, anytime we've moved away from that, it has never meant good things for the kids. But you guys come along now and think 'oh, this will be different', you know? No, I mean we have lots of examples of co-habitation, divorce, fatherlessness and things like that, where it has really hurt and harmed kids. But just like the no-fault divorce issue, you know what, the authorities told us with a good heart: 'oh, this will be great', you know, it wasn't great. And now we've come to this place, and people 'oh, this will be great', you know what?

FOCUS: meaning gay marriage won't have any impact on anybody.

STANTON: right, yeah,

FLØYSVIK: right

FOCUS: it's a social experiment we're launching into, with the...um, example of no-fault divorce 40 years before us, and that really did have an impact.

STANTON: And that's the other big point, I mean a big talking point for us is: no culture has ever raised a generation of children in same-sex homes, we do not know how it will turn out. But that doesn't cause us caution; it says 'you know what? The adults want it, so let's try and let's hope it works out fine for the kids'. Well we did that with no-fault divorce, and millions and millions suffered. You know, in deep profound ways, um...so.

TYREE: yeah, the other effect, I mean that's, that's our...definitely our hugest...Glenn and...Glenn goes out on the road and debates and that's his biggest, I mean I'd say that's our biggest talking point even coming from a policy perspective. Policy is interested in the best interest of the children, and um, so that's that, but the other effect that we absolutely see, is the effect on American Religious liberties.

STANTON: mm-hm, absolutely.

TYREE: and I would say that this is definitely what you can see in Europe, um, specifically we've seen it in the U.K. and Canada and where was Ake Green from?

FOCUS: Sweden

TYREE: Sweden, I knew it was one of those countries, um, so here, so just like we were saying with you could no longer say, well that the governor of Massachusetts like got in trouble for saying kids need a mother and a father, immediately you hit up against um...because that is a biblical perspective: a marriage is between a man and a woman. That, so, if our, if, marriage is changed widely in the U.S., um then, um we will be in trouble as a Christian if you try to advocate for children having a mother and a father. It's like they like to say 'oh, there's a religious exemption', your church isn't gonna have to marry us. You know, they write that into some of these laws. Well what a bunch of bolony. You know, if it's happening on the school level, and you're a parent with a third grader, and you wanna pull your, you don't want your child to learn that gay marriage is the same as...something else. You are in trouble with the state. And actually the school we found out in Massachusetts, has no requirement to warn you that that is gonna be taught on a certain day, because it is the law of the state.

STANTON: sure.



TYREE: so, we're seeing that again and again and again, and Chai Feldblum a really smart attorney that is now working for President Obama, I mean, she's... is some of her writing, has said things like: yeah, there's gonna be a clash between religious liberties and gay rights, and I don't see any reason why gay rights wouldn't win every single time. And...she...

STANTON: why it should

TYREE: why it should

FOCUS: she says 'I can think of very...I'm hard press to think of a single example where religious freedom and liberty should win'.

TYREE: yeah

FLØYSVIK: wow

FOCUS: and she's a gay acti...

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: yeah, I mean basically what you've got, is this gay activist juggernaut ok?

FLØYSVIK: yeah

FOCUS: and you've got religious liberty, and it's a zero-sum game and the gay activists admit this.

TYREE: John<sup>19</sup> uses great words.

FOCUS: it's not like it...there's a winner and a loser

STANTON: and...

FOCUS: cause there's no safe harbor for religious liberties at all, and so there'll be one winner and one loser, and what we're seeing around the world, in western countries, that are...have already..this is played out...religious liberty nearly always loses.

STANTON: And see the other picture to that is, I mean some of these attorneys that are really moving this and they will, see they have their public spokes peoples that 'oh no no no no', and then they have their legal people and I mean, this imagination of the religious plaintiff coming in, the same-sex marriage or gay plaintiff coming in, they are gonna bludgeon this person, just bloody. You know what, because that's what they want to do. And that's what they will do, and it will happen. And...and once this takes place, it is gonna be fascinating to see just how quickly and how aggressively that happens. You know?

TYREE: that's...

FOCUS: and there's a, there's a whole set of legislation that you know if you go to any of the gay activist group websites, you know like Human Rights Campaign or any of those groups

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19 Name changed (John Focus).

and you see what their legislative goals are...every single thing that they are lobbying for will ultimately shut down religious liberty, and put Christians..uh or Jews, like orthodox Jews or anybody that wants to...uh, even Muslims.

TYREE: yeah it's not just about Jews

FOCUS: yeah, I mean anybody that holds to any kind of uh...biblically, orthodox viewpoint will um, be relegated to second-class status.

STANTON: yeah, yeah

TYREE: and we compare it to...um in this country...um you know if you technically...well to the way you treat racists really, there sort of culturally excluded. Not, I mean they have their own little cultural enclaves now where they can maybe make their racist statements and stuff like that. But, um...but if you make a racist...look at Helen Thomas<sup>20</sup>, an example of the news here in the U.S lately. Ok, uh and you can look at that just from a legal...from a free speech point of view, and probably she should be able to say whatever she wants, anytime. However, what she said of course was very ugly, and terrible and racist. In my opinion, it was racist.

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: well it's the Obama administration's viewpoint.

TYREE: right, John...<sup>21</sup>

FOCUS: that...that Israel's the problem.

TYREE: that's the way that a person who holds to a Christian, orthodox view of marriage of man and women, not just a Christian, but a view of marriage of a man and women; that's the way we believe they'll be treated. As someone who...um is racist. And so um...you know there's that...and I was gonna mention as well Maggie Gallagher group...um the National Organization for Marriage, think they were the ones who did a poll last year in Massachusetts about the effect that gay marriage had had in Massachusetts since it became law. And they were asking people, some of what they asked was 'how willing are you to share your belief in what marriage is?' Already, people were feeling, were suppressed. They were less likely to talk about their belief in marriage publically, because the laws had changed. And it's just...

STANTON: and the pressure.

TYREE: and the pressure has grown. And so, it's not like, I haven't heard anything yet out of that state where you're in trouble if you've said, other than the governor several years ago who said marriage should be between a man and a woman. But I really, really, really, truly believe,

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20 The Hill (2010), Helen Thomas quits after Israel remarks. <http://www.webcitation.org/5qPIVDRIZ> [04.07.2010]

21 Name changed (John Focus), end of sentence inaudible.

that the two... people who want to promote same-sex marriage are too smart to bring a lawsuit right now.

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: about that, because of course it would...ah...there are certain things are happening, but none that are like in a real legal forum, that we could really tout.

STANTON: well it's interesting, it was starting in Massachusetts, but they really toned it down. Because of...the rest of the nation goes 'hey Massachusetts cool it! We don't have what you have yet'

TYREE: yeah

STANTON: and they were really starting to get super aggressive in some ways and they really have kind of toned it down. Um, and that, you know, is clearly seen.

TYREE: that's why we point to California and all those examples we were using earlier...and make sure you give her the website, did you give it to her?...where people who just said 'I support Proposition 8', lost their jobs. Like one woman worked in a restaurant, they found out that...she was a waitress..she gave money to Proposition 8, some found that...she had even like, had a friend who was like gay or lesbian, she had like personally given money to...taken food to them, all this different stuff. But because she had given money to Proposition 8, they...

STANTON: the harassed the restaurant.

TYREE: they boycotted the restaurant.

FOCUS: well, she lost her job and the restaurant was boycotted.

TYREE: she eventually resigned I believe. Because the restaurant was being boycotted, to the point that they were losing so much money and she knew that she was the reason.

FLØYSVIK: mm

TYREE: there's also a theater owner, and <sup>22</sup> put on like Hair on all these, you know...and he gave money toward Prop. 8 run out of his job, in California. So, those on like the non-violent examples.

STANTON: yeah

TYREE: So, when we mention those examples, it's a little bit a...um, it's like this is what could become...this is how, how the reaction is. This is an example of the reaction when they don't get what they want.

STANTON: mm-hm

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22 Inaudible section

TYREE: and, um...that people are in trouble for being able to even stand up for what they believe in.

STANTON: in Maine, the next day...and I've, I've got...cause I use it in my debates...the head guy of the campaign said 'we've lost, but we will not rest until we know where everyone of these voters lives'.

TYREE: mm-hm

STANTON: And...That's the quotes, and it not like, no follow up questions, like 'what do you mean by that?'...I mean

TYREE: he made it in on paper

STANTON: oh yeah! I mean, there not gonna come by and thank them...I mean that's how these people act. You don't get that

FLØYSVIK: that's like...yeah dictatorships in third world countries.

STANTON: oh exactly.

FOCUS: well there's a totalitarian spirit to it, I mean that's what..

TYREE: yeah

STANTON: yeah

FOCUS: I mean, I mean I just have to look at things through the spirit of the age. And it's a totalitarian spirit.

STANTON: it is

FOCUS: it really is. And it's um...

TYREE: explain what you mean when you say

FOCUS: it's one, well I mean...it's seeks to stifle freedom. It seeks to um...dictate a viewpoint and no dissenting viewpoints will be allowed. And what happens is that the gay activist community has done such a good job of linking sexual attraction to identity.

STANTON: yeah

FOCUS: and saying that that is the same thing as race. And that it's inborn and unchangeable, um...which we know isn't true. I mean, people can and do change their sexual orientation. It's not the same thing as race, but they've done such a good job of making that linkage...that to disagree with the gay-rights platform, on any point, means that you are an equivalent of a racist and a bigot. And so...

STANTON: and who wants to jump into that pot?

FOCUS: and they don't, they don't even have to justify or quantify...the onus is not on them to actually prove their point with statistics, all they have to do is say 'bigot', 'homophobe', you know...whatever. That's all they have to say and everybody else is cowed into

silence...because they don't wanna get into the fight, they don't want to be dragged through the mud and they don't want their name to appear on a website, or on a Google map that shows their exact address because they contributed to a campaign. That's totalitarian. It is.

FLØYSVIK: mm, and do you think that's, that's uh...a strategic thing they've done, or do you think that's like a spiritual um...

FOCUS: well, there's a book that was written in 1987 and 89 called, called 'After the Ball'

FLØYSVIK: mm

FOCUS: um, how America will... the subtitle is: How America Will Overcome its Fear of the Gays in the 90s.

STANTON: mm

FOCUS: and it was written by...you should get a hold of that book, because it is a marketing, playbook, handbook, strategy outline for how the gay activist community, which is a teeny, tiny percentage of our culture, is going to overtake America. There's six or seven strategies, one of them is: to jam the opposition. Where you take everything they say, you twist it, you jam it...you...you know, marginalize, ostracized them. Make them, look like idiots, homophobes, bigots...whatever. I mean, there's all these points in their strategy, one of them is to win over straight allies...to carry the water for you, because you've, you know, because 'we can't do it alone, we're only 3% of the population, so we need to get straight allies'.

FLØYSVIK: right

FOCUS: you know, so you see..

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: Campaigns called allies, straight allies

TYREE: the gay-straight alliance

FOCUS: the gay-straight alliance, you know, I mean you see that this is played out like a prophetic vision over the last 25 years. And you would be really well served to get a hold of that...'After the Ball'.

FLØYSVIK: it that written by a homosexual activist, or...?

FOCUS: two

FLØYSVIK: two...ok.

FOCUS: one of them has a PhD in something or other and its Mads...Hunter and Madsen?

mm...I could, I could email...I could email it to you<sup>23</sup>. You know another part of the strategy is

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<sup>23</sup> John Focus later sent an email stating the authors' names: Marshall Kirk and Hunter Madsen

to make gays look like victims. It's this whole victimization, our...you know our culture is all about entitlement and victimization.

TYREE: the bullying laws that are right now being considered in a lot of states, are all about children who might identify as gay or lesbian, which is crazy that you would have an eight year old saying ' I think I'm lesbian' ...you know.

STANTON: mm

TYREE: um, but it's about, um, you know all...all bullies of school children should be punished.

FLØYSVIK: mm

TYREE: but the bullying laws are specifically set up around what John's<sup>24</sup> mentioning

FOCUS: well there set up to leverage, to create protected classes like sexual orientation, gender identity...you know, that sort of give special protected status based on an identity.

TYREE: that's the victim identity.

FLØYSVIK: so that would make the homosexual a minority.

STANTON: yeah

FLØYSVIK: right

FOCUS: so you see this in hate crime laws, employment non-discrimination law, um...hate crime law finally got passed by congress last fall. After many many attempts through Congress at the federal level, so that's now law.

TYREE: explain to her what that means.

FOCUS: yeah, well hey... I mean I'm sure they have hate-crime laws in most countries in Europe...but... I mean sexual orientation and gender identity are now protected classes.

TYREE: that's where it's happening at the federal level.

FOCUS: Along side is race and religion and national origin and creed, I mean there's all these categories that have sort of historically been kind of developed and now they've tacked on sexual orientation gender identity. And that's happening, currently there's a law that being debated, although I'm not sure if it's gonna pass this time around. But um, it's called the employment non-discrimination act.

And at the federal level, which means that employers you know, couldn't hire somebody well see...basically what it means is that in the employment and public accommodation settings that um, and even for religious entities, depending on their size and you know...that that they can't bring to the table their own values, in terms of when they make employment decisions.

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<sup>24</sup> Name changed.

FLØYSVIK: so a private school couldn't possibly ....

FOCUS: like a private Christian, Christian school whose belief is that homosexuality is sinful, and that people can and do change, they would potentially have to hire a gay candidate, even though it's against their doctrine, their belief.

TYREE: it also makes an issue of sex that doesn't really even need to be there.

STANTON: right, right

FOCUS: yeah

TYREE: like if you come in and you're Asian or you're black or you're, you know, and you interview for a job um, it's understood what you are. But it actually makes kind of a deal of...I mean, how would you even know? If someone identifies as gay or lesbian.

STANTON: right, right...Mm-hm

FLØYSVIK: you'd have to...<sup>25</sup>

TYREE: so that's like an off-limits question, you couldn't even ask if someone's married! But, as far as I understand, you cannot ask marital status, there are all these things that you cannot ask. You can't ask if they go to church on Sunday, well you can if you're a private employer.

STANTON: mm

TYREE: But it's against the law to discriminate for one of those things, but I think it will be easy for someone to sue, I think it's gonna be a huge deal at some point where um, you refuse...you decide to hire someone different, and they say 'you just didn't hire me because I'm gay or lesbian'. You...like, how is that person even to know? There's a...there's like a...

FOCUS: it gets into a thought crime.

TYREE: yeah, a thought crime of how did you even...it makes an issue of something that you... doesn't self-present.

FOCUS: that's our issue with hate-crimes legislation

TYREE: yeah that's our issue, anyways.

FOCUS: is that basically creates an Orwellian thought crime scenario where who knows what the motive is for somebody to perpetrate an attack on another person

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: or vandalize their property, I mean you don't necessarily know. But yet suddenly sexual identity politics is front and center in what was motivating the attacker.

TYREE: you get in a fight with someone...

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<sup>25</sup> Inaudible end of sentence.

FOCUS: like you have to get in their head.

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: and uh, you know what it does, is it creates...treat crimes differently based upon some actual or perceived status of the victim.

TYREE: so that's the victim strategy

STANTON: yeah

FOCUS: again it's getting back to the victimization part of our culture that is so prevalent.

G. mm

FOCUS: not only on this issue but across the board.

TYREE: and again it's not that anyone here wishes that any crime would go unpunished.

STANTON: right

TYREE: but they should all be

FOCUS: treated...

TYREE: if you kill someone

STANTON: punished to the extent of the law

TYREE: right! You should be...you know...receive the full yeah...full legal, but I'm sure you have couple more questions.

FLØYSVIK: um

TYREE: I don't want us just to talk willy-nilly.

FLØYSVIK: hehe

STANTON: uh-huh

FLØYSVIK: but yeah, let me just look at my sheet. You guys covered a lot of stuff without me even having to ask about it.

TYREE: ok good.

FLØYSVIK: um

STANTON: we tend to do that.

TYREE: we tend to talk a lot if we land on the right stuff.

FOCUS: are you meeting with other people while you are here too?

FLØYSVIK: I'm not actually

FOCUS: ok

FLØYSVIK: no, I'm...

FOCUS: just curious if you were, like who else you were sort of involving in your thesis development.



FLØYSVIK: well um, I haven't, like the people that I contacted, most of them never got back to me or they didn't have time.

STANTON: mm, ok

FLØYSVIK: either they were non-profit and were hard pressed for time or they really didn't wanna comment on it.

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: yeah

FLØYSVIK: uh, so...I'm really glad you guys...would talk to me. Um, cause I think that a lot of people feel this is a touchy subject

FOCUS: um

STANTON: yeah yeah

FLØYSVIK: probably bad experience with uh journalist...

STANTON: and that's I mean, that's a bigger thing, you were talking about the motivation, and a big thing for us, we make a real, try to make a real distinction between the individuals that we interact with and the idea behind them. And we want to embrace, accept, love, care for, treat respective...respectably everybody. Um, you know what? Once we start talking about our ideas, um you know what- let's talk about our ideas, and if we disagree with you we'll tell you where we disagree, and if we have to draw hard lines, we will. But in terms, I mean we've even got some organizations on our side, who, you know what, they are just super angry about homosexuals. And we're like: you know...you may be angry, but you know what? We do live in a democracy, and citizens have a right to do all kinds of things. Um, let's come together and let's engage people seriously. It's interesting when groups come here, you know just like you called us, I mean they'll call and say 'hey can we come dialogue?' absolutely! Um, we'll bring you in, we'll feed you lunch, we'll talk, we'll talk about our kids, you know, and we'll treat you kindly and nicely, and you'll see, you know what this is not just putting on. Um, and that's where, in terms of our thinking that's very important to us, and it's important to us from a Christian point of view of, you know what, that opponent across the table, that we're facing, they bear the image of God, and that requires us to care for them, to love them, doesn't mean we have to agree with everything, but it does mean we have to take them very seriously. And so that's huge, and I'm really proud to say, um, that I think that does mark Focus on the Family in a very distinct way and that's very important to us. And also to teach other Christians how to do that. Um, and that you can do that. And that it's needed.

TYREE: have you told her about your debate

STANTON: no, I, um the debates that I do, um there's a few...and one guy in particular, that I've become you know very good friends with. Um, and it's interesting that when we go do debates, people are like 'you guys really are friends', it's like, cause he feels the same way, you know, um we can debate very, very passionately and really, really disagree. And I think our friendship helps us to do that better, um, but we know each other and we know each other's arguments and things, and we know where each other is weak, and we really do go after each other. But we can also respect one another as well. Um, and that that's important. That's, that's critical. And there are people on both sides of the argument that can do that. There's some people who just cannot, I mean, quite literally, and John, my buddy, has seen it, that people on his side...I'll put out my hand, they will not shake my hand. Um, because they think, you know what, I'm like a racist. Um, and you know what, you wouldn't, you wouldn't be friendly to a racist, so why would I be friendly to you? Um, and that makes John angry, you know, and it is interesting when he sees a lot of that on his side, of just nastiness. Um, I get attacked constantly, um and John will come to my defense. And then John will say 'you know what Glenn, why didn't you come to my defense?', 'cause you weren't being attack, your people were being attacked, but you weren't being attacked'. And he's like 'I don't know what the difference is', and I said 'you come to my defense when I'm being attacked'. And he's like, 'you know, yeah, you're right'.

TYREE: hehe

STANTON: um

FOCUS: they did an article on you and John in Christianity Today, right?

STANTON: yeah Christian...

FLØYSVIK: yeah, you sent me that.

STANTON: yeah, ok

TYREE: don't know if you've seen it.

STANTON: yeah...mm.

TYREE: there was something else I was thinking of to say along that line...

FLØYSVIK: But uh, would you guys say, um that part of this, part of Focus on the Family, uh Focus on the Family's mission is to bring up a debate, that otherwise is not, um, would not be debated? Like...

TYREE: I don't know if that's actually...

FOCUS: I wouldn't go that far...

TYREE: I would say that we are trying to bring up a debate. We get...um; people kind of ask that question, well students ask it. John<sup>26</sup> and I often meet with groups of students from Colorado College and from other area universities, even the Gay and Lesbian group at Colorado College, they come...

STANTON: mm

FOCUS:they're fun, yeah I love talking to them.

TYREE:yeah they have really good questions.

FOCUS:they've been here twice now.

TYREE:yeah, we enjoy dialoguing with them, because first and foremost it is an opportunity to show them...just that we care about talking to them, and that, um our difference in ideas, like what Glenn was saying, doesn't mean that we don't like the person that they are. So I would say...and they say 'but you're trying to change, or you're trying to...keep people apart'

FOCUS:'oppress us'

TYREE: 'oppressing people, you're...', and we say 'no'. And I love to say this, um, because Focus on the Family since 1977 when Dr. Dobson as a child psychologist was seeing families suffering from No-Fault Divorce.

FLØYSVIK: mm

TYREE:and knowing that it is best that kids have their mom and dad. In part, that is the reason that he started Focus on the Family, and we are still trying to do that. Back then it was about No-Fault Divorce laws, now it is about trying to redefine marriage.

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE:and we are still trying to do the same thing, which is to say: kids need a mom and a dad. And the policy arm, we are defending the laws, but I started off in the phone rooms downstairs, in the correspondence area, answering phones from parents calling up saying anything from: I need help with potty-training, to my spouse is gonna to divorce me and I really need some help, or I'm really struggling because I've been through a divorce. That is, that's how Focus got started.

STANTON: yeah

TYREE:is with trying to help those families. So we are nurturing families, trying to help them stay together, and to be strong, and the culture has just gotten, you know, more difficult. And um, also defending the laws that we know support and strengthen the family. And so when I say that to kids, and when I say to them what I did about divorce, most of them, I know that

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<sup>26</sup> Name changed (John Focus).

probably half the kids at the table I'm talking to, probably have been in some way effected by divorce, if it wasn't their own parents, it's their grandparents. And you can see that there's a change in 'oh', you know, that we're not just out there trying to like pound on them...

STANTON: right, right

TYREE:who don't agree with us, we're out there trying to advocate for the family and for children in particular really.

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE:and so, um that's, I would say more than trying to create an argument or you know whatever, I just say we're trying to stand on the truth. And we're trying to do it in a winning way, but we believe absolutely in the power of God. And in what he created, and his design and intent for family. And personally, it's because I've seen it work.

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE:It's not just that I um...it's just some idea that's American or Dr. Dobson and I just pulled it out and said 'I'm gonna build my life on this one man. You know, it's because it hasn't just worked in my own family, for generations, it's worked around the world. And I mean, someone said something...they try to, someone I think I was arguing with on a blog, or he wrote to me and said: 'oh what about the poor children who...you know the', I can't even remember what he said, but I was like, 'I'm thinking of other children too'

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE:yeah my heart is pulled by children; my heart is pulled by the child who gets confused, because he's a little boy and he's growing up with two mothers. And he doesn't understand when he gets to a certain age, that he's different, that he doesn't have a father figure, these two women who love him more than life itself, and who he loves, brought him intentionally into this family, but removed him from one half of himself.

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE:that is a travesty that he would go through life feeling that he was missing one half of his person. And it's not just children in that situation, it's also the children of um, single women who chose donor insemination, they chose intentionally to bring a child into the world without a father.

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE:there are implications to that. And so, those...those are the sorts of things that um, we are not trying to create an argument, I would say that we are just trying to stand and be a voice in a culture that's ....

STANTON: but also to give people reasons to say ‘you know what? Not so fast...there are good compelling reasons why we should either say no to this or at least be slow and reflective, um and I think that’s an important part of our work. Um, is to help people understand ‘ok, mm that’s interesting’. I just like the students from Colorado College , ok they’re not gonna be persuaded, but at least they go ‘ok, so that’s why you guys believe what you do’. And then people who are inclined to believe our way just sat ‘you know what, no.’ That kind of gut feeling that you have in your heart about why this may be wrong, there are good and compelling reasons behind that, and to back...to give those people ammunition in a sense to say ‘you know what, yeah it’s not just because I’m a bigot’. I face that with Christian student on campuses all the time. They’re like, ‘you know...it doesn’t seem right to me, but I don’t want to be a bigot, I don’t want to be closed-minded, I don’t wanna be hateful’. You know what? Don’t let them paint you with that brush. Um, it’s just wrong of them to try to do that.

TYREE:so we’re equipping as well...

STANTON: yeah

TYREE:, people to be able to say um...to be able to speak about it, um publically and artic...and to articulate why they believe what they beleive. It’s not just...a Christian student sometime can’t separate...they think uh marriage is only Christian. Well it’s not. And so sometimes, they are lacking in what they need to be able to defend marriage just as a human institution.

STANTON: mm-hm.

TYREE:like what I said earlier...and there’s something else, oh I was just gonna say I really...I don’t think any of us here really believes that , it’s not just the people who want to find..redefine marriage to be um...same, to include same-sex couples, there’s really been...all kinds of people have been trying to do away with the human family . The mother, father-family structure for a long time. I mean, starting with like: Marx. Or even maybe further back than that. I mean, you can find...the historians who write the most about marriage, who are known as the marriage historians, are all about it being redefined. I think that that’s a travesty, you know? When they write about marriage, they can’t find anything good about it, it’s either subjugated women, or it’s um...been something that the law used or that fathers used to hold their daughters.

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: there was an economic arrangement between wealthy people to maintain their power, abd privileged and position.

TYREE: yeah

STANTON: mm

TYREE: and you know, a lot of that...as far as the laws go, yeah, I'm glad they've changed. However, you cannot...so marriage never gets treatment as in history, and I have a master in history, that's why I'm think...that's why I'm talking about this, but they never treat it in history as a thing in it of itself. Which brought us...

STANTON: because people just started falling on love since 1940 or so

TYREE: yeah which brought us to this place, I mean we are here because people have been getting together and having children and raising them for generations. So, there's some good that marriage has done. And...I mean I would say that there is a lot of good that marriage has done, but even, it's not just those who are promoting same-sex marriage that seem to be...I like to just say the 'marriage redefiners', because it doesn't, some people are like 'you know what? I don't care, I hate marriage', and really I think ultimately, spiritually, it's an attack on the image of God. In an unwilling to surrender to what God creates, to God and what he created, that's...

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE:I believe fundamentally it's just another um...a manifestation of man raging against God.

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE:so it's not just, these later... latest, it's not just the newest

FOCUS: well there's nothing new under the sun

TYREE: right, it's not just this newest iteration these past 15 years of trying to redefine it, it really goes back a lot further than that.

STANTON: but it is ironic, a lot of these people, I mean you go to look at what they've written, what they've talked about...they will never mention marriage or not, or not for marriage as an institution unless it has same-sex attached to the front of it. In fact one, one organization, the Alternatives to Marriage Project, this guy, I've debated him quite a few times, and oddly, strangely, he's for same-sex marriage, but he's against deep...I mean he's committedly against marriage. But somehow same-sex marriage is something that he's fine with, and he can't even see the irony in that. You know 'but oh no, it's not change of marriage, it's...' you know?

FLØYSVIK: right

STANTON: and um, you see that just time, and time, and time again. Um, you know, before the idea of marriage came up, show me where you were just a big champion of marriage in

any of your writings. You know? A lot of them just can't do it, and it's uncanny. Um, but they say that 'oh no, same-sex marriage will help promote marriage', you know. No, it redefines it.

TYREE: It will help strengthen it, is the argument of...

STANTON: yeah

FLØYSVIK: right

TYREE: the one guy. Not Corvino<sup>27</sup>, who is it? The other John,...

STANTON: Rouse, Jonathan Rouse

TYREE: Jonathan Rouse

STANTON: yeah

TYREE: he um, he said 'I believe in marriage', he's a really unique actually um same-sex marriage proponent because he believes that by, that by um, allowing same-sex couples into marriage, it will strengthen marriage as an institution.

FOCUS: the institution.

STANTON: and that it will domesticate the people who go into marriage, um you know

FLØYSVIK: ok

STANTON: get them off the street and you know acting right and proper and...

TYREE: but that's a very unusual argument

STANTON: yeah

TYREE: he's one of the few making it from this side

STANTON: yeah, yeah

FOCUS: so

FLØYSVIK: I think that pretty much answers all my questions about your involvement in Prop... Proposition 8

STANTON: ok

FLØYSVIK: but I just um, just out of curiosity, do you have any thoughts on why, um like American Christian organizations are more involved than the European ones?

STANTON: I think a lot of it, I mean it hasn't always been the case, um, I think it has been because of very small handful of Christians have um, have really worked hard to say 'you know what? Our Christian faith demands that we get involved in the life of our nation'. Um, and it's not just about how we behave and whether we go to church and whether we're going to heaven, it's 'you know what? We're citizens, and we... we have a responsibility to be involved'. And as much as people like Jerry Falwell, and there are other people who were

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<sup>27</sup> Dr. John Corvino; Associate Professor of Philosophy at Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan. He is the editor of Same Sex: Debating the Ethics, Science and Culture of Homosexuality (John Corvino (2010): About John, <http://johncorvino.com/wp/about/> [21.08.2010])

you know seen as more thoughtful, Dr. Dobson as well, um you know communicated that ‘no, we have a responsibility’. And there are many in the church who oppose that. It’s not like it’s this, you know, solved question. Um, but I...I think we’ve had you know since probably the mid 70s, um quite a vibrant discussion and conversation in our nation about that, um and I, I think that ... that that, um, that makes a big difference, especially during the Reagan years. I mean it really, really got going um and really got moving... um and I think that there are two, in a way, there-in a popular sense maybe Jerry Falwell and Dr. Dobson, in a theological sense- um Francis Schaffer and Carl Henry were like two of the really big, serious thinkers that really helped Christians understand um, the need for being involved. Um, what’s the nature of our government, and what’s the nature of our faith, and that the two, the two go together... that way. Um.

TYREE:But, I would go back farther than that, I would say, I mean if you look at Alexis de Tocqueville, who was french and who visited the US

STANTON: yeah, yeah

TYREE:and he said, ‘you know I looked at this, I looked at this and I looked at this, but when I saw the strength in her church..

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE:and in her fiery pulpits’, or something like that, um, I would say that, um, even though maybe people weren’t as politically involved with their faith, until perhaps the 70s and 80s, that’s when a lot of people started talking about it, there’s always been strong Christian presence in the US

STANTON: yeah

TYREE: and that’s part of our founding, it’s part of our republican ideals, which until now, and I say republican I mean s... our republican, of like: you are a voter you, you are a citizen

FLØYSVIK: yeah, not the party, but the...

TYREE:right, not the party

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: the Republic

TYREE: you are a voter, you are a citizen, um even the fact that...um even that fact that we’ve not been socialist. Or not ...um that you know you could own your own property and you know you worked hard for what you got and you could get ahead and just that...even that I think that has kept our faith strong

STANTON: mm-hm



TYREE: um, that there is a tradition of that, which I think separates...that definitely separates us from Europe after, especially after the 40s um...and you know b...I don't know all the details, about when there became such a heavy social system in Europe, in the various countries, but I think that even sets us apart. But I would also say that we are following a very rich spiritual tradition that we've seen in Europe, from Wilberforce and um and and others before them, who even Martin Luther, who ...who all each established a very stron

STANTON: 'I'm, I'm a Christian and I'm gonna stand up for this justice or this injustice'

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: Even here in the U.S., um it was the abolitionists, were by...

STANTON: yeah

TYREE: far and away, were Christian women

FOCUS: what we would call evangelic, evangelicals Christians today

FLØYSVIK: ok

TYREE: and so, when injustices has changed or...um, and people I think would like to say that we're on the wrong...they say that we're on the wrong side of this, and I would say this is an instance when we're on the right side, I mean not an instance, I know we're on the right side of this, um, we are standing up for the justice for children, for families, for religious um...

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: for religious faith, um, and so I believe that it doesn't always go to where you're overturning laws, it sometimes is that your standing you know strong

STANTON: against

TYREE:for what you know to be good and against what is evil.

STANTON: yeah

FLØYSVIK: right

TYREE:And um, so it always involved people who has strong faith, the very best um, human, um human movements to free and to seek justice to other humans have always I think, I don't know if you can think of an instance when it has happened apart from faith.

STANTON: mm-hm, mm-hm

TYREE:and primarily Christian faith.

STANTON:mm-hm

TYREE:and so maybe the spirit has remained more alive in Americans because of the way our system and our...has allowed our faith to proliferate here...we've had great revivals...um

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: Europe used to be like that! And so something squashed that.

STANTON: but you're right even, even the bad stories in the sense of the negative, like John F. Kennedy who was you know one of our first...it's just the whole debate of whether a catholic could be in the White House, I mean, that's at base: your faith matters. That it was mattering in a negative way, but you know what? No, we don't just skate over things like that.

FLØYSVIK: mm

STANTON: um, and I think back to you know Jefferson, and I mean that's always been a debate and a discussing um, and so in our tradition, I mean that's...those two things have always been in conflict. And in a healthy conflict, with...with one another, um...

FOCUS: I think the fact that we didn't have a state church is probably...

TYREE: I was just gonna say that.

FOCUS: Important

FLØYSVIK: mm

FOCUS: um, on some level

TYREE: We started out with some states churches, but we get rid of them.

FOCUS: well I mean the whole

FLØYSVIK: yeah

FOCUS: well you know there was, there was the possibility that there could have been the Church of England becoming a state church

FLØYSVIK: mm

TYREE: well there was some churches in the first 13 colonies who were...

FOCUS: you know

TYREE: who used tax money to support church

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: it became a question and they decided, we're not gonna do that.

STANTON: right

TYREE: it was a very good decision.

FOCUS: it was, yeah I think that was huge

TYREE: it is...

STANTON: and really quite radical

FOCUS: very radical, cause really every one in Europe had state churches

FLØYSVIK: right

FOCUS: meaning, all of the nation states that were colonizing and developed and you know, they all had state churches.

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: I mean the secular notion of a secular state of the French Revolution came along later, and well I mean I guess it was kind of all happening similarly but it was, like a half step later.

FLØYSVIK: yeah

FOCUS: and you know, and Europe just seemed to have coalesced around this statist sort of secular paradigm.

TYREE: the French Revolution was pretty amazing in the obliteration of faith

STANTON: oh yeah

TYREE: um and they

FOCUS: with the state... I mean yeah it was pretty radical.

TYREE: and in some ways that was probably good and needed to happen, because there was a lot of corruption

FOCUS: yeah

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: but in other ways, it was like: religion is bad, and it just was

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE: I mean I... I'm not a huge I don't... huge scholar about all of that, but I know that that was pretty pivotal as far as...

STANTON: mm-hm, and then the distinction with the American Revolution, and how those two revolutions you know turned out very, very different.

TYREE: And they happened at the same time

STANTON: yeah yeah

FLØYSVIK: mm

FOCUS: but you know every time I'm in Europe, I'm always kind of amazed at how there is this Christian legacy, it's so clear, in the architecture...

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: even, even in the geography in the ways that villages and cities are laid out, I mean it was clearly Christian you know? And sometimes it... I'm heartened, even though only maybe 3 or 4 or 5 or 7% of European might really, truly be church goers, and... who knows how maybe of them are truly believers, you know other than sort of culturally doing it, um but,

even though that's such a small percentage, I do see Europeans sometimes surprisingly standing up

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: for things that we're not ready to stand up for yet, or maybe it's cause of the threat of Islam at this point. You know, people are sort of saying 'No, you know what? No, we are culturally Christian, we are Christian...we are a Christian Nation'.

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: 'even though we really aren't, we are!' you know? Where, as here, we're doing everything we can right now...when I say 'we' I say culturally, there's this great effort to just shee...to just shed ourselves of our Christian heritage.

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: and to say, you know to, to revise...

STANTON: even when it's obvious that it's there

FOCUS: to revise, to revise our history from what is clearly and obviously what was a reality to say that it wasn't there.

FLØYSVIK: mm

FOCUS: its like: it was there.

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: and it still is there, and, and we're so desperately trying to be like Europe now, oddly as Europe is falling apart in some ways, under the weight of a statist, social service, welfare state.

FLØYSVIK: mm

FOCUS: You know, I mean it's just amazing, course Norway's really unique, in the sense that wealthy, wealthy, wealthy country with lots of oil who's really not part of the EU per se and you guys can sort of separate yourself

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: from the rest of Europe's um issues at the moment. But I mean, the debt crisis and sovereign debt...I mean it's huge! But yet, Europeans still stand up and say 'you know we're Christian'.

STANTON: mm-hm

TYREE:mm

FOCUS: odd...that's, that's fascinating to me.

FLØYSVIK: that is true though

FOCUS: like in Denmark, you know, with the cartoons and you know there's sort of almost this backlash cause they, people can see that Islam is changing things dramatically...

STANTON: mm-hm

FOCUS: you know, France, to outlaw veils, you know...I don't know that that can happen here. It couldn't happen here!

STANTON: yeah

FOCUS: because political correctness wouldn't allow anything happen against this.

STANTON: but that's, yeah, that's the crazy thing about like France, so it's not like there all so tight, tied up, but it is interesting, France, they had um, a public mission, a public hearing on same-sex marriage, and their statement is really wonderful

FOCUS: they understand about gay adoption, it's not ideal

TYREE:they allow, isn't it that they allow two adults to go ahead and have this little partnership, but they do not allow them to adopt.

FOCUS: right

TYREE:Because

STANTON: and marriage...yeah

TYREE:children need a mom and a dad.

FOCUS: I mean there's a certain sensibility in the European context that surprises me sometimes, it really does given how um accepting, uh given how accepting of homosexuality the secular world view is.

STANTON: mmh-m

FOCUS: and um how non-engaged Christians have been in the fight, um it surprises me that they do hold the line in places where I'm not sure we're gonna hold the line.

STANTON: yeah, yeah

FOCUS: if that makes sense.

FLØYSVIK: yeah, I remember we um, there was this huge discussion about uh policewomen in Norway wanting to wear the veil, the hijab, right?

FOCUS: yeah the hijab. Uh-huh

FLØYSVIK: And um, and I think that government just kind of figured it wouldn't be, or at least that party in the government, coalition government, thought it wouldn't be a big deal, like 'yeah, we'll try to pull this through', and people got really mad. Cause it was supposed to be neutral, it wasn't supposed to be, you weren't supposed to show that you were a Muslim you were just supposed to be a police officer.

STANTON: right, right

FLØYSVIK: and, uh

STANTON: well and you just think, peripheral vision right? You know, 'a police woman was clubbed tonight because she could only see' you know, it's like...

FOCUS: practically

STANTON: yeah, it's exactly