Ryan Anderson: What Is Marriage?

Introduction: The Moynihan Report (1965)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Out of wedlock births</th>
<th>1965</th>
<th>2015</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>General population</td>
<td>&lt;5%</td>
<td>40%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hispanics</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Blacks</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>70%</td>
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- The Sexual Revolution began setting forth this false view of marriage decades ago.
- Heterosexuals, not LGBTs, invented the lie about sexuality, marriage, family.
  “Love makes a family” “Marriage should last as long as the love does.”
- Hookup, illegitimacy, cohabitation, divorce, no-fault divorce
- Obergefell represents the legal redefinition that naturally follows the cultural redefinition.

Lesson Learned: Ideas shape behaviors, which, in turn, shape laws.

1. What Is Marriage?

Let’s be clear: everyone wants “marriage equality.”

The question is: What is marriage? How do we draw the lines? (everyone is drawing lines)

Marriage Redefined | Marriage, Historically
---|---
Intense EMOTIONAL Union | COMPREHENSIVE Union
Different DEGREE - “#1 Person” | Different KIND
Cannot account for the marriage vows. | Organically leads to the marriage vows.
(Marriage vows = Permanence, Exclusivity, Monogamy)

Cannot account for Government's interest | Fully accounts for Government's interest

Is there an objective way to approach an evaluation of various communities?
Yes. Aristotle shows the way.
Every community has characteristic Actions, Goods, and Commitments.
Actions are all ordered toward certain Goods and require corresponding Commitments.

How is this applied to marriage?
The Action of Marriage is a “Comprehensive Union” - hearts, minds, and BODIES
The Goods of Marriage are children - which are comprehensive in nature
The Commitments of Marriage must be Permanence, Exclusivity, and Monogamy

ACTION: What is a “Comprehensive Union” of Persons?
1. What is a ‘person’?
   Answer: “enfleshed spirits” -or- “ensouled bodies” - The body matters.
2. What ‘unifies’ a body?
   Answer: bodily subsystems, integrated and coordinated for the life of the person.
3. What is the only bodily subsystem which is not unified except in marriage?
   Answer: the reproductive system is parital in every person.
GOODS: I become ONE FLESH with regard to that system only with the complementary sex. The action that makes us one (unitive) husband and wife...

Also makes mothers and fathers (procreative).

This union sets your life on a new trajectory unlike any other activity.

Hence, comprehensive COMMITMENTS.

1. Permanent -- throughout time this unity is kept together.
2. Exclusivity (sexually) -- at every moment of time this unity is guarded from intrusion.
3. Monogamy -- because a child, by nature, can only have one mother and one father.

All of this is purely natural law, across time and cultures everywhere.

It depends on no particular religious view.

2. Why Does Marriage Matter as a Political Institution?

“Marriage exists to unite

a man and a woman

as husband and wife so that they will then

be mother and father

to any children that their union creates.”

Notice that marriage rests on three certainties:

Anthropological Truth: (male and female are distinct and complementary)

Biological Fact: (union of these two is the ONLY way that life is procreated)

Sociological Reality: (both mother and father are necessary in a child’s life.)

Biology itself puts mother and child in an inseparable relationship. (gestation, nursing, etc.)

Marriage encourages father and child also to be in an inseparable relationship.

...to maximize the possibility that he will commit to that woman to raise that child.

When this does not happen, social/political costs run high.

(Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Charles Murray, Robert Putnam)

Focusing on the Sociological Reality: There is no such thing as “parenting”

there is only mothering and fathering -- each has a unique contribution.

The breakdown of marriage usually does not make for motherlessness, but fatherlessness.

Boys without fathers are

more likely to commit crime,
less likely to complete school,
more likely to end up in prison.

Girls without fathers

usually start sexual activity earlier, are
more likely to get pregnant out of wedlock,
more likely to have an abortion.

It is in the interest of the state to have children raised by mothers and fathers.

But they cannot coerce this. They can only encourage it by incentives and teaching with law.
3. How Does It Hurt You if Marriage Is Redefined? (i.e. so what?)

Answer: Ideas have consequences; Bad ideas have bad consequences.

Three things shape culture:
- Art (Entertainment Industry (including news media))
- Government (including public schools)
- Church

While the Church and Hollywood have been contrary for decades,
now the government has flipped sides and joins Hollywood against the Church.

There are 4 consequences of this bad idea:
1. The Pedagogical function of the law now teaches that fathers are optional.
   Moreso, lacking the public institution of marriage, it will soon become “hate speech”
   to say: “A child has a right to a mother and a father.”

2. Without sexual complementarity, no logical reason prevents further redefinition of marriage.
   “Throuple” what is magical about the number 2 once M/F complementarity is denied?
   “Monogamish” - What is the point of exclusivity under this new view of marriage?
   “Wed-lease” - What is the point of permanence under this new view of marriage?
   All three of these innovations will (a) increase the number of sexual partners and
   (b) decrease commitments. Which will
   (c) increase the odds that children will not have fathers.

3. Unborn Human life. (The greatest defender of the unborn is marriage.)
   A. The abortion industry is fed by a Demand Side, namely sexual promiscuity.
      More fatherless children means more abortions. (7/8 abortions to single mothers)
   B. Redefined marriage, redefines parenthood. Creates market for IVF and other ARTs.
      Children are commodified (California’s Conception Mandate)
      “Eggs-ploitation,” and “selective reduction”
      Children are now created specifically to be denied either mother or father.

4. Religious Freedom: Bakers, Florists, Schools, Photographers, Adoption agencies, etc...
   “Opposition to same sex marriage is identical to that against inter-racial marriage.”
   Now, ask yourself: What civil rights do bigots and racists have?

Resources for further study:
Anderson, George, and Girgas, What is Marriage? Man, Woman, a Defense
Anderston, Ryan, Truth Overruled: The Future of Marriage and Religious Freedom
Kupelian, David, The Marketing of Evil...

Videos
The Austin Institute: The Economics of Sex
Alliance Defending Freedom, Marriage and Society, the Big Picture
Focus on the Family, The Family Project and Irreplaceable
1. Religious Liberty

1. What is religion?

“The SEARCH for,
the ADHERENCE to,
the RELATIONSHIP with,
and ACTION in accordance with
the ultimate truth about man and the universe.”

Every religious community -- including secular humanism and atheism -- does such things.

This drive is hard-wired into us. It is essential to being human.

“Religious LIBERTY” is simply creating the space for these things to take place.

Key is: “As THEY understand it.” (Not me, not you, not the state.)

Since it is essential to human being, it is a NATURAL right.

this is not an optional benefit, bestowed by governmental generosity.

A government that respects the humanity of its citizens and let’s man be man,

will be limited by this inherent human right -- not interfering in the religious pursuit.

George Washington, To the Hebrew Congregation of Newport Rhode Island

“The citizens of the United States have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind the examples of an enlarged and liberal policy -- a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is, now, no more that “toleration” is spoken of, as if it were the indulgence of one class of people that others enjoy the exercise of their inherent, natural rights. For, happily, the government of the United States gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance; requires only that they who live under its protections should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.”

James Madison - Memorial and Remonstrance

“Because we hold it for a fundamental and undeniable truth that religion, or the duty that we owe to our creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence. Therefore, the religion of every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man. And it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate to him. This right is in its nature an unalienable right. It is unalienable because what is here a right towards man, is a duty towards the Creator. It is the duty of every man to render the Creator such homage and such only as he believes to be acceptable. This duty is precedent both in order of time and in degree of obligation to the decree of civil society.”

John Henry Cardinal Neumann: “Conscience has rights because conscience has duties.”

Conscience is not just doing whatever you feel like.

No. It is a STERN monitor upon man.

Conscience is not authenticity to SELF, but to the authenticity to the TRUTH (God).
2. How did the founding fathers intend to protect it (Religious Liberty)?
The First Amendment? WRONG.
   Many thought that the Bill of Rights was unnecessary -- even dangerous!
   They protected Freedom of Religion by protecting freedom in general.
Constitution avoids mass conflict, by fostering many small competitions (checks and balances)
   a) Federalism (divide power between Washington and the states)
   b) Enumerated Powers limits what Washington can do,
      reserving ALL OTHER powers to the states.
   c) Division of Power into the Judicial, Executive, and Legislative branches.
Only after this entire form of government did they tack on the Bill of Rights.
Common Thread: In every challenge to Freedom - Gov't shouldn't be doing this in the first place.

Exhibit A: The HHS contraception mandate has a three tier system
   1 Houses of Worship - Exempted
   2 Religious Organizations “accommodation” (Little Sisters, Wheaton)
      Is this the “Least Restrictive” way? (Oral arguments mid-March 2016)
   3 Everyone else (Hobby Lobby, Conastoga Wood won at SCOTUS 5-4)
      “Once you step out into the marketplace, you must leave religion behind”
      Not litigated under the 1st Ammendment, but under RFRA!!
      RFRA = Compelling Government Interest / Least Restrictive Way Possible

Exhibit B: Catholic Charities of Boston (also Lutheran Adoption in Illinois)
   Massachusetts forced them to shut down their operations by stripping their license.
      - no freedom to place children in Mother/Father homes

Exhibit C: Gordon College -- Requested a Religious Liberty exemption from “Title IX”
   Accrediting Agency threatened their accred.
   County School District kicked out student teachers
      After two years Gordon prevailed. But stay tuned for round two.

Exhibit D: Solicitor General
   Bob Jones was stripped of non-profit status when they prohibited “interracial marriage”
      Alito Asked: “What happens to same sex marriage deniers?”
      Answer: “I don't deny that it will be an issue....I don’t deny it.”
      (Someone in the Obama Administration surely instructed him to answer this way.)
   What happens when you lose non-prophet tax status?
      -Property taxes go through the roof
      -Donations dry up

Exhibit E: Baker, Florist, Photographer
   Neither of them refused to serve LGBTs in general.
   ONLY that they could not participate in Same Sex Wedding
   -Barronelle Stuttsmann - florist in Washington (came after her business and her person)
   -Melissa and Aaron Klein - baker in Oregon $135,000 fine
Ryan Anderson: Forward for Wyoming
(Four Lessons from the Pro-Life Movement)

1. Rejected Roe v. Wade
- Never accepted it as the truth about the Constitution or the truth about unborn life.
  Likewise, let us refuse to let SCOTUS have the final word on marriage.

2. Legislation to protect the freedom to be pro-life/pro-marriage
  “Even if you're personally pro-choice, there's no reason for the government
  to be persecuting those who are pro-life.” We have to do this now for marriage.

  a) Bad policies to be defeated: (usually passed by elites not by the ballot box)
     SOGI (adds this phrase to existing non-discrimination ordinances)
     ENDA, HERO, Eq. Act (expanded definition of public accommodations).
     - Every private business, open to the public is now a “public accomodation.”
     Problem: Such laws say that if you believe that M/F is to be cherished and fostered,
     and that mothers and fathers are important, that is the equivalent of racism.
     No exemptions from this law can undo it’s clear teaching.
     and every exemption is only temporary and will eventually be taken away.
     - The truth remains: male-female complementarity IS a true and natural distinction.

  b) Good policies to be enacted:
     1. RFRA - Balancing test: compelling interest / least restrictive means possible.
     2. FADA - The bright line rule. Not a balancing test.
        “The state simply NEVER has justification to persecute people
        who continue to believe what the state said until last June!”
     3. Partial FADAs - Pastors and priests will be protected. Will any one else?
        Adoption Agencies (MI), Clerks and Judges (NC)
        Else the Christian world-view will be driven from the public square.

3. Bear witness to the truth.
- Educate our people in the secular, philosophic case on the issue of SSM.
  Using vocabulary, rhetoric, idiom that their interlocutors accept.

  1. Develop and teach the Philosophical Case:
     What IS Marriage?
  2. Do and learn the Social Science
     (science is your friend, just like ultrasound turned the abortion debate)
  3. Seek out the Narratives
     (personal stories connect with people better than pastors spouting doctrine)
4. Church in Particular: Problem is not SSM. The problem is marriage.

A. We need to develop a response (imaginative) to the Sexual Revolution.
   Theology of the Body. Family Project. Lots and lots of approaches.
   Deliberate, systematic, wholistic catechesis.
   Counter the glamour of hookup, porn, divorce, by highlighting
   the glory of true marriage and sexuality.
   “I want to cultivate certain virtues because I want to have a certain kind of family.”
   Young people, especially, have a hunger for this.

B. Develop ministries to same sex attracted Christians.
   Don't ignore it: Be orthodox, loving, faithful, all at the same time.
   (Eve Tushnet, Wesley Hill, The Desire of Everlasting Hills)
   What should each and every one of us be doing with our SSA friends?
   Kennedy claimed that it’s either marriage or loneliness. Make him wrong.

C. Teach Bakers, Florists, Photographers how to live out their vocations.
   -Prepare congregation for the new cultural reality.
   -Much of how these things are sorted out in the media is not WHAT they did
     -but in HOW they did it. This helps people WANT to accomodate us.
   -Teach how to speak the truth in love. (Don’t let Westboro Baptist speak for you.)

D. Put this in a larger narrative. 2000 year framework of heresy and clarification
   -“The Word shines brighter through the cross.”
   -This is an opportunity to reflect on Christ in a fresh way.
   -Anthropology is under attack today, like Trinity in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century.
     This will make for richer reflections on human nature, on Christology.

E. Live it out! This is where the rubber hits the road.
   “It’s not the arguments of the intellectuals, but the lives of the saints that win converts.”
   An encounter with holiness is most likely to convert somebody.
For 50 years, we didn’t live out the truth, ergo others said, who cares?
   What can we do so that more people are embodying the truth about marriage?
   People are not converted by reading Anderson’s book,
   but by coming into contact with someone who has read it and lives it out.

   “You yourselves are our epistle,
    written in our hearts,
    to be known and read by all men.”
   2 Corinthians 3:2