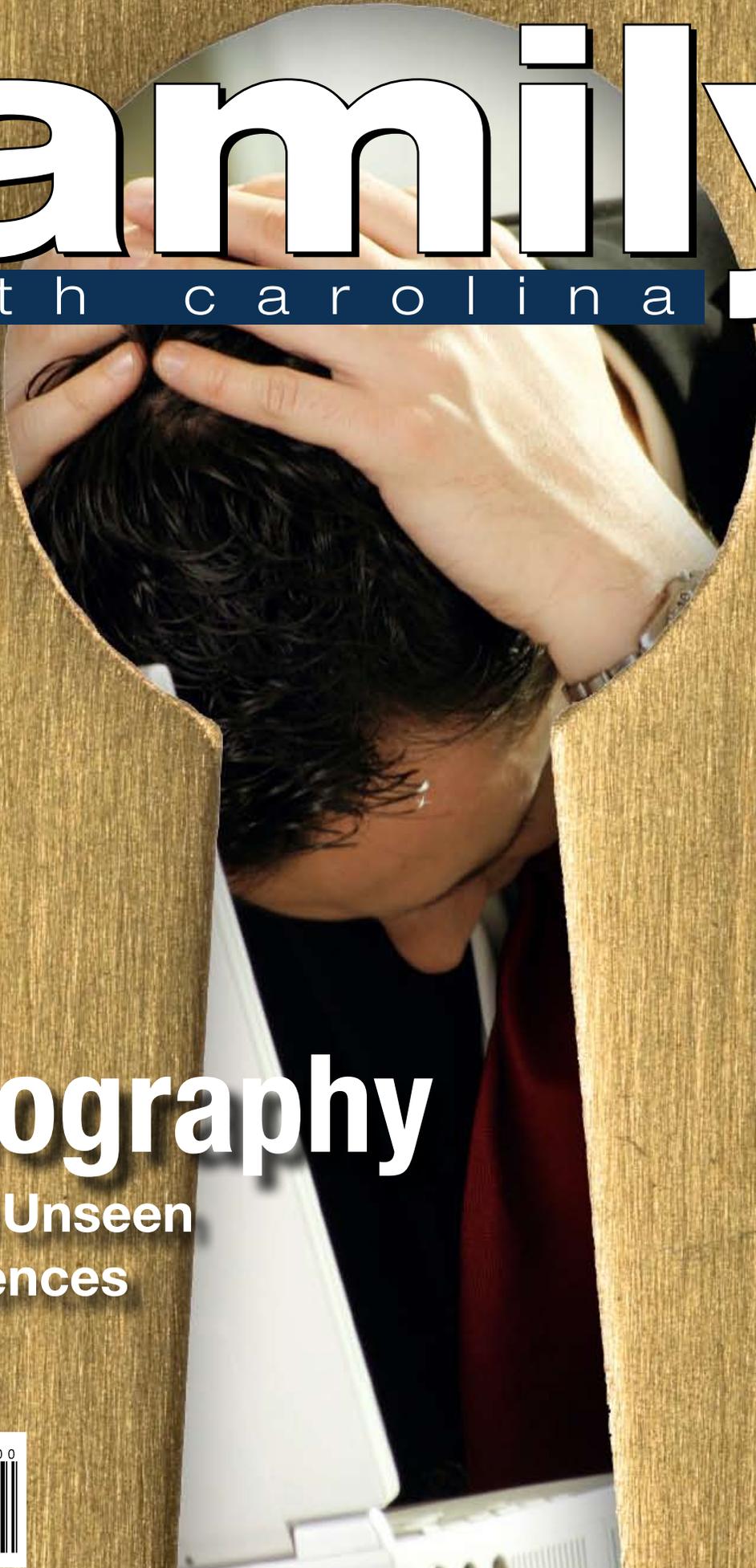


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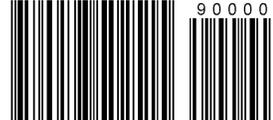


Pornography

Seen and Unseen
Consequences

ncfamily.org

ISBN 0-9785025-1-5



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School Violence Prevention Act • The Silent Killer • Supporting the Life Choice • Votes

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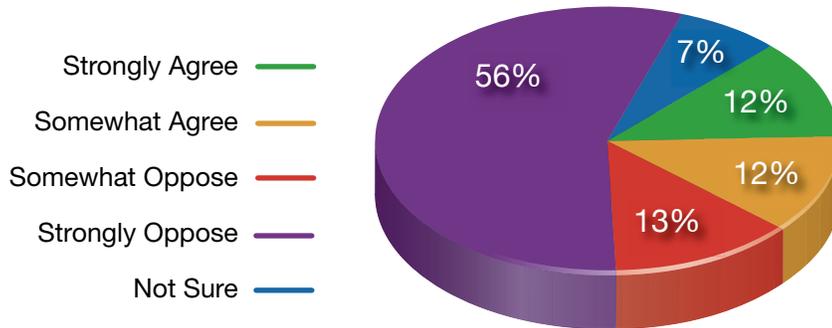
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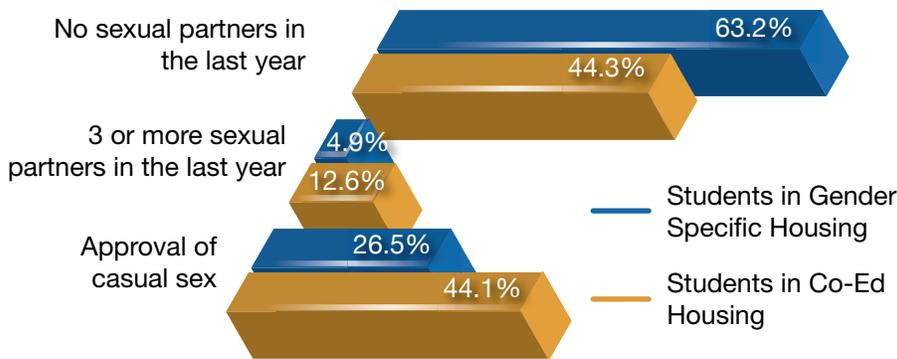
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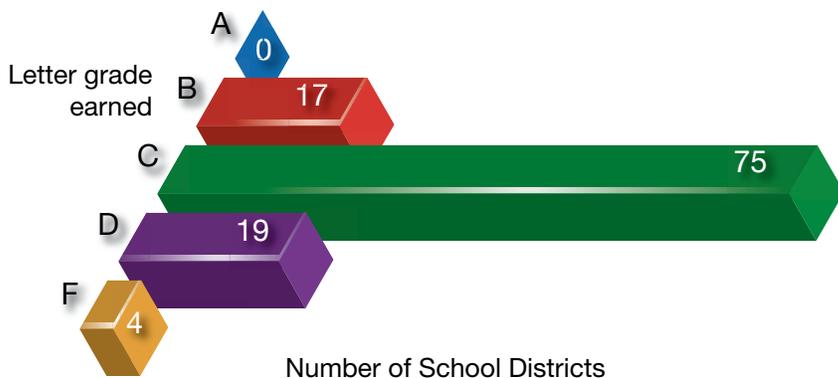
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January/March 2010

Vol. 5, No.1
ISSN 1935-7761
ISBN 0-9785025-1-5

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Family North Carolina is published quarterly by the North Carolina Family Policy Council.

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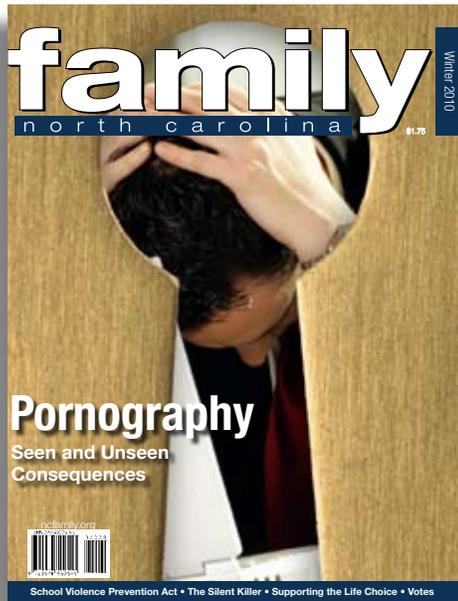
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Visit us on the internet at ncfamily.org, where you can read selected stories from this issue, including endnotes. Publication of website addresses of other organizations featured in our stories does not constitute endorsement by the North Carolina Family Policy Council of those groups or the contents of those sites.

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A Desire for Truth



This issue of *Family North Carolina* is heading to press as we reflect on a year full of excitement—some good, some disappointing, but all in God’s plan. You will be reading this as we embark on a new year—full of potential and opportunity.

As seniors in high school, my classmates and I were given the task of choosing a yearbook quote—one that would outlive our time as seniors, and possibly our time on earth. I took the assignment very seriously and finally settled on one from the great President Abraham Lincoln. “I have an irrepressible desire to live ‘til I can be assured that the world is a better place for my having lived in it.” Shortly after I

arrived at the North Carolina Family Policy Council, the newly appointed Archbishop of Vancouver, J. Michael Miller, took the motto “Veritati Servire”—To Serve the Truth—which I have adopted for my own work. Both of these commands, from President Lincoln and Archbishop Miller, get to the heart of what we are about here at the NCFPC. This issue of *Family North Carolina* is a testament to that. It touches on difficult subjects and seeks to unveil the light of truth in a world of darkness. We are here to make a lasting difference on policy in North Carolina, so as to make the world a better place for the generations that will come after us.

We are privileged to co-release our feature on the harms of pornography with Dr. Patrick Fagan and the Family Research Council. This report seeks to bring light to the corners of this dark and creeping sin. While pornography is a sin of individual choice, its destruction is borne by marriages, children, families, and communities. The oft-repeated argument that the production and consumption of pornographic material is a private individual matter, protected by the First Amendment, withers under the sunny sanitation of truth. Pornography is bad for women, bad for men, bad for marriages, bad for children, and bad for society. Dr. Fagan’s research leaves little room for debate.

One of the most controversial pieces of legislation passed by the General Assembly in the last decade—the pro-homosexual “Bullying Bill”—goes into effect in 2010. Alysse ElHage details what the law does and does not require school districts to include in updated Anti-Bullying Policies, and

explains how parents and schools can avoid being forced to promote or accept homosexuality and transgenderism in their schools. “Tolerance” at all costs has already won many battles in the war for minds. Many of those battles are being waged in our children’s classrooms. Parents and teachers must be on guard and must be actively dressing their children in the armor of truth.

Not so long ago, murder was unequivocally considered evil. In 1973, the Supreme Court granted cover to those who would murder children simply because they could not be seen. Today, the centuries-old Euthanasia Movement is again making progress. Mary Summa relays where this battle has been, where it is, and where it is trying to go. The devaluation of human life to a purely utilitarian calculation has crept into the human psyche to the point that we have now begun to accept the murder of even the unarguably living members of our families whom we see and touch and with whom we speak. Our editors have all been moved by her compelling story.

One of the many real challenges imposed by a breakdown of sexual morals and marriage in our society is out-of-wedlock pregnancy. Women facing unexpected pregnancies often mistakenly believe they only have two options: the difficult life of young unwed single motherhood, or the tragic choice of abortion. Matt Lytle—himself an adoptive parent—argues for the third and often overlooked choice of adoption, which offers a much better option for mother and child. He urges society to encourage adoption, and families to open their homes and hearts to adopting children as an alternative to abortion.

This year, we have included the annual “Votes Paper” in this issue of *Family North Carolina*. We selected some of the most important and interesting votes from the 2009 Legislative Session to give you a sense of the activity down on Jones Street. The “Y”s and “N”s in those charts only tell part of the story. Much of the pro-family legislation that is introduced is buried in committees by legislative leaders, who refuse to even allow members to consider—let alone vote on—bills related to the sanctity of life, charter schools, and the protection of marriage.

We at the NCFPC are preparing for another year of service to policymakers and citizens across North Carolina. What will you do to spread truth in the New Year? Are you assured that your life will leave the world a better place? ❖

Brittany Farrell is research associate for the North Carolina Family Policy Council and editor of Family North Carolina.

written by:
**Brittany
Farrell**

Planning for Change

written by:
**Bill
Brooks**

What's the Plan? Whether you're a high powered CEO, the leader of a legislative body, or a stay-at-home mom who has every role from nurse to educator—there is a plan. Every day you get up, you've got a plan. Even if you're a homeless person living on the streets—you've got a plan for the day. Even if there is no apparent plan, that's a plan.

Many who work in the public policy arena want to know when our elected leaders will tell us the plan. We hear that hospitals are full and surgeons are busy as people rush to have elective surgery they fear will be prohibited under national healthcare reform. They are implementing a plan, based on what they think the government is going to do.

Basketball is in full swing and football is about over for the year, but every coach goes into each game with a plan of how they want their players to play the other team. They call it a "game plan."

When it comes to public policy, however, there is a different dynamic at work. The party or coalition that has the most votes determines the plan, writes the rules, and passes the laws. We are seeing that at the federal level on an almost daily basis. Promises made in 2008 by President Obama and, presumably, by Democrats who were running for Congress are being put into action. We're now finding out what all those plans were and what then-candidate Obama meant when he said, "We're going to spread the wealth around."

On a state level, policy direction is less clear. Because North Carolina has a Constitutional requirement for a balanced budget, the General Assembly must restrain their spending to fit the available income, or raise more funds by increasing taxes. Economists and budget estimators now say the State will face a \$400 million budget shortfall when the legislature returns in May for their "short session" year. What's their plan?

When the General Assembly is not in session, legislative study committees still meet to study various issues and make recommendations. These bodies can't actually pass legislation, but they can make recommendations and introduce new bills. That is one of the reasons we monitor these committees all year long. That's part of our plan.

One study committee now meeting is trying to decide how to consolidate several pre-school programs that have multiplied under a succession of "education governors." The struggle to merge and reform these programs highlights

the difficulty of modifying or eliminating a taxpayer-funded program once it is in place and develops its own constituency. Many such programs through state and federal government need serious attention and many have outlived their usefulness. With record deficits plaguing government at all levels, budgets cannot be balanced without taking a hard look at every program and evaluating both need and effectiveness. We hope these committees will take a hard look at numerous programs and develop a comprehensive plan to reduce the footprint of government.

As we begin the new year, many are glad that 2009 is over because that was the year their own plans were changed. Not that they wanted a change, but that change was forced upon them by a bad economy, business reversals, or government action. It's this last area we focus on, and people we talk to are wanting to know—what's the plan now that some of the old guard are leaving the North Carolina Senate.

We've seen it coming for a while. Older members of the General Assembly retire and are replaced by younger politicians. Increasingly, these new members come to power with a plan. No longer do we see them taking a backseat to those who are older and more experienced. New members are not patiently waiting their turn to head a committee, to introduce legislation, to bring their plan to fruition. Often, no one knows their plan but themselves—and there are 170 plans. That's the number of legislators, and while every legislator may not initially be thinking deeply about every subject, eventually they all have to confront the specifics of each bill that makes its way through the committee process and onto the floor of the House or Senate.

This winter 2010 issue of *Family North Carolina* marks the first time we have put our annual votes paper in the magazine. Initially, this change was part of a plan to reduce mailing and printing costs. Now, it seems like a good idea because having the votes in the magazine, alongside articles on pornography, euthanasia, adoption, and other public policy issues, brings home the point that one day soon, votes on these matters may be recorded for all to see. Our plan is for you to understand the policy issues facing us now and in the future, for if we don't, the change we get may not be the change we want. ♦

Bill Brooks is president of the North Carolina Family Policy Council.



quotes, quips, and other items of interest

“If we are to make real long lasting progress we need lots more going for us than school curriculum.”

—Bill Seabrook in an email to Alysse ElHage dated November 11, 2009, thanking her for her “excellent article in the fall issue of Family North Carolina” regarding the changes made to the state’s sex education curriculum by the 2009 General Assembly’s passage of the Healthy Youth Act.

“If you sell alcohol in North Carolina, you can’t allow gambling; but if you offer gambling, feel free to serve alcohol.”

—L.A. Williams, correspondent for the Christian Action League, in an article detailing a state Attorney General advisory opinion regarding the decision by Harrah’s Casino on the Cherokee Indian Reservation in Western North Carolina to sell alcohol on the casino floor, despite a state law that prohibits alcohol sellers from allowing gambling on the same premises.

“The broadcast networks may ultimately be contributing to a desensitized atmosphere in which people view aggression and violence directed at women as normative, even acceptable.”

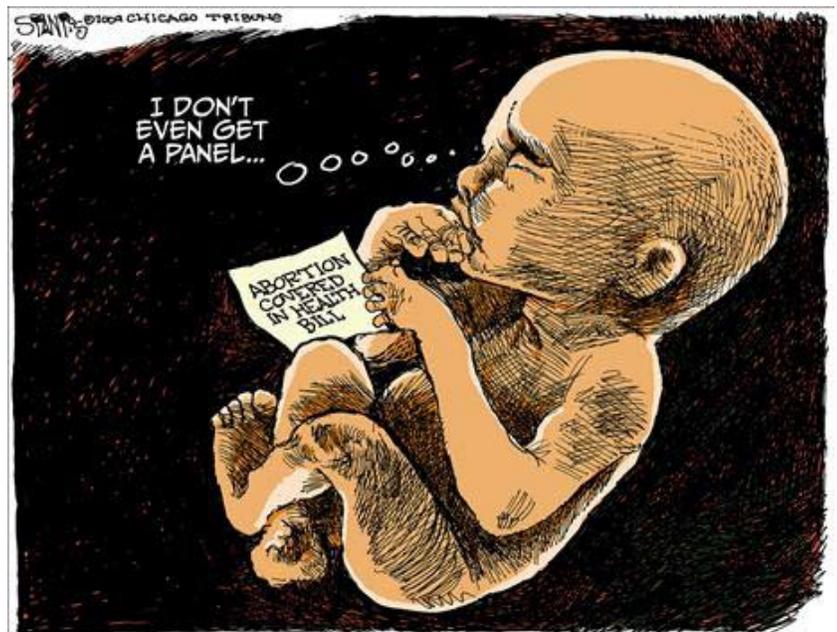
—Parents Television Council (PTC) president, Tim Winters, in a statement announcing the October 2009 release of a special PTC report, “Women in Peril: A Look at TV’s Disturbing New Story-Line Trend.” Overall, the study found a 120 percent increase in all forms of female victimization storylines, including violence against teenage girls; an increase in the use of female victimization as a punch line in comedy series; and an 81 percent increase in the depiction of intimate partner violence.

“By confusing abortion with health care, the feminist groups and the abortion lobby actually demean women.”

—Dr. Charmaine Yoest, president of Americans United for Life, in a statement responding to a pro-abortion Congressional lobbying day to campaign against amendments prohibiting federal funding for abortion coverage in the proposed healthcare reform bill.

The care
of human life
and happiness
and not their
destruction
is the first
and only
legitimate
object of good
government.

— Thomas Jefferson



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The School Violence Prevention Act

How to Implement the Law Without Promoting Homosexuality

written by:
**Alysse
ElHage**

WITH THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY'S ENACTMENT OF THE CONTROVERSIAL SCHOOL VIOLENCE PREVENTION ACT (SVPA) THIS PAST SUMMER, NORTH CAROLINA NOW HAS THE DUBIOUS DISTINCTION OF BEING THE ONLY STATE IN THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES WITH AN ANTI-BULLYING LAW THAT INCLUDES TERMS ASSOCIATED WITH HOMOSEXUALITY, BISEXUALITY AND TRANSGENDERISM IN ITS LIST OF PROTECTED CATEGORIES. THE NEW LAW FORCES ALL 115 SCHOOL DISTRICTS TO UPDATE THEIR EXISTING ANTI-BULLYING POLICIES BY DECEMBER 31, 2009, WITH THE LAW'S DEFINITION OF BULLYING AND HARASSING BEHAVIOR, WHICH CONTAINS 14 POSSIBLE MOTIVATING CHARACTERISTICS, INCLUDING REAL OR PERCEIVED "SEXUAL ORIENTATION" AND "GENDER IDENTITY." IT ALSO REQUIRES SCHOOLS TO IMPLEMENT "STRATEGIES AND METHODS" AIMED AT PREVENTING BULLYING OR HARASSMENT IN SCHOOL.

Equality North Carolina—the state-level homosexual advocacy group that promoted the

legislation—has aptly described the SVPA as “the most progressive anti-bullying law in the South.” In addition to being the only Southern state with a pro-homosexual anti-bullying law on the books, the enactment of the SVPA also marks the first time in North Carolina’s history that the terms “sexual orientation” and “gender identity” have been included anywhere in state law.

The ink was barely dry on Governor Perdue’s signature on the SVPA in late June, when Equality N.C. announced that it was compiling information packets and a toolkit for school systems “to help increase awareness of the new law and its effect within the LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender) community.” As this article will show, homosexual advocacy groups have effectively used the bullying issue as a mechanism to promote sexual and gender confusion in schools nationwide.

There is little doubt that Equality N.C. and their allies will attempt to use the SVPA to promote their agenda in North Carolina’s public schools, and that the SPVA makes it easier for them to do so. However, nothing in the law mandates that school systems discuss or promote “sexual orientation” and

Minimum Requirements for School District Anti-Bullying Policies

“gender identity,” or their associated behaviors, to students as part of implementing anti-bullying/harassment policies. Whether or not the SVPA is used to promote homosexuality in our public schools depends on the policies that local school boards adopt, and how they are implemented. It also depends on the diligence of parents and other concerned taxpayers to protest the misuse of the bullying issue as a mechanism to promote or affirm dangerous behaviors to our youth.

Potential Dangers of the New Law

To understand how the inclusion of the terms “sexual orientation” and “gender identity” in an anti-bullying/harassment law could be used to promote homosexuality, a brief look at the history of pro-homosexual “safe school” efforts, and the leading group behind them—the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network (GLSEN)—is in order. It is also helpful to look at what has happened in other states where similar laws have been on the books for several years.

HISTORY. The effort to convince schools to adopt pro-homosexual anti-bullying policies is part of a national initiative by homosexual advocacy groups to get “comprehensive” safe school laws enacted in every state by portraying LGBT students as targeted victims of bullying, harassment and discrimination in need of special protections.

The leading group behind this effort is GLSEN, which defines comprehensive safe school laws as “statewide anti-harassment and/or non-discrimination laws that are inclusive of the categories of sexual orientation and/or gender identity/expression.”

GLSEN was founded in 1995 by homosexual author and former schoolteacher, Kevin Jennings, who was recently appointed Assistant Deputy Secretary for Safe and Drug Free Schools under the U.S. Department of Education. Jennings is credited with founding the nation’s first homosexual student club (i.e., Gay-Straight Alliance/GSA), and with helping to start the nation’s first state-funded “safe schools” program in Massachusetts. Since then, GLSEN and its allies have helped enact “safe” school laws in a growing number of states, most recently in North Carolina.

NATIONAL LANDSCAPE. According to the Human Rights Campaign (HRC), 14 states plus D.C. have enacted laws prohibiting discrimination, harassment and/or bullying of students based on “sexual orientation.” Ten of these laws, including North Carolina’s, also include “gender identity” as a protected category.

Two states in particular—California and Minnesota—are prime examples of how homosexual activists have successfully used the safety issue to promote the normalization of homosexuality in the classroom. The following examples highlight two

Section 6 (b) of the School Violence Prevention Act requires that school districts include the following eight minimum components in their anti-bullying or harassment policies :

- A statement prohibiting bullying or harassing behavior.
- A definition of bullying or harassing behavior no less inclusive than that set forth in this Article.
- A description of the type of behavior expected for each student and school employee.
- Consequences and appropriate remedial action for a person who commits an act of bullying or harassment.
- A procedure for reporting an act of bullying or harassment, including a provision that permits a person to report such an act anonymously. This shall not be construed to permit formal disciplinary action solely on the basis of an anonymous report.
- A procedure for prompt investigation of reports of serious violations and complaints of any act of bullying or harassment, identifying either the principal or the principal’s designee as the person responsible for the investigation.
- A statement that prohibits reprisal or retaliation against any person who reports an act of bullying or harassment, and the consequence and appropriate remedial action for a person who engages in reprisal or retaliation.
- A statement of how the policy is to be disseminated and publicized, including notice that the policy applies to participation in school-sponsored functions.

training (led by LGBT advocacy groups and/or their allies), and student awareness (i.e., LGBT-inclusive curriculum, LGBT events/programs, and GSAs).

CALIFORNIA enacted its law prohibiting discrimination/harassment on the basis of “real or perceived sexual orientation and gender identity” in schools in 2000. Known as the “California Student Safety and Violence Prevention Act,” the law made changes to the education code by adding these terms to its nondiscrimination policy.

The San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD) has a policy that prohibits “gender-based” harassment, which provides that students: “have the right to be addressed by a name and pronoun corresponding to their gender identity” used exclusively at school; “access the restroom that corresponds to their gender identity;” and “dress in accordance with their gender identity...within constraints” of the school dress code.” In addition, it states that transgender students “shall not be forced to use the locker room corresponding to their gender assigned at birth.”

Additionally, the SFUSD operates a “support” department for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and questioning (LGBTQ) students, and requires elementary, middle and high school students to take specific lessons on LGBT family diversity and violence prevention. The SFUSD Support Services for LGBTQ Youth web site also informs parents that

the district is not required under California law to notify them about (or get their permission prior to) discussions or lessons involving LGBTQ families or people, LGBT-themed school events, or the use of books with LGBT characters or plots.

Recent events involving the Alameda Unified School District (AUSD), which has a nondiscrimination policy that includes “sexual orientation,” highlight the potential conflict between LGBT-inclusive anti-bullying/nondiscrimination policies, and parental rights. In May 2009, the AUSD approved the “Safe Communities Curriculum—Lesson 9” for elementary school students, which was intended to prevent “discrimination and harassment of students based on perceived or actual

selected by a group of teachers and brought to the board for approval in 2010.

MINNESOTA has a nondiscrimination law that prohibits harassment/discrimination in several areas, including education, and includes “sexual orientation” as a protected category. Known as the “Minnesota Human Rights Act,” it defines “sexual orientation” to include transgender individuals. Both the St. Paul and Minneapolis school systems are examples of how homosexual advocacy groups have used the safety issue to become part of the educational establishment.

For example, St. Paul Public Schools has a program called “Out for Equity,” which operates under the district’s Office of Educational Equity. The group’s activities include: providing LGBTQ educational resources, such as “age-appropriate” classroom lessons; conducting anti-bullying/harassment training; and facilitating student-run GSAs. In addition, the program’s web site offers class credits for high school students to attend courses such as, “LGBTQA Health” (described as high school health that “will cater to an LGBTQA audience and cover LGBTQ issues”).

Minneapolis Public Schools sponsors a similar program called, “Out 4 Good.” Among its services: “safe space teams” in schools; student social support groups; individual counseling for students; staff development and training; and LGBT-inclusive curriculum. On its web site, curious students can find informational brochures, including one entitled, “I Think I Might Be Gay,” which answers questions such as, “How Can I Find Other Men Like Me?” and includes this answer: “many colleges and universities have gay and lesbian organizations. Check the phone book for a local hotline...”

A Closer Look at the SVPA

Some would argue that California and Minnesota are extreme examples of how anti-bullying/harassment laws with LGBT-inclusive categories have opened the doors for the promotion of the homosexual agenda in schools. It is true that LGBT advocacy groups are very active in both states. Still, these states offer a glimpse of what homosexual advocacy groups would like to see happen in every school nationwide, including here in North Carolina.

However, there is no reason for North Carolina to head down this road. In fact, school districts can implement effective policies against bullying that adhere to the SVPA’s mandated language, while specifically prohibiting the promotion of homosexuality in their schools. Understanding what is and what is not required by the SVPA is the key to implementing effective anti-bullying policies that do not promote a radical social agenda.

SVPA REQUIREMENTS. The SVPA includes a specific definition of bullying or harassing behavior that school systems are mandated to incorporate

“**School districts can implement effective policies against bullying that adhere to the SVPA’s mandated language, while specifically prohibiting the promotion of homosexuality and transgenderism.**”

sexual orientation of students and their families.” It includes instruction for first graders on “what makes a family;” instruction for second graders on “identification, understanding and tolerance of alternative family structures;” and instruction for third graders on family diversity and sensitivity for LGBT families.

Several local parents objected to “Lesson 9,” and requested that their children be excused from the classes, citing the fact that California law includes an opt-out provision for health-related instruction. When the school district denied their request, the parents filed a lawsuit against the AUSD, asking a court to order the district to allow their children to opt-out of the “Lesson 9” instruction. On November 25, a superior court judge denied their request, ruling that “Lesson 9” does not fall under the health instruction category, and that “any opt-out right” is “outweighed by the policies against discrimination and harassment of students from LGBT families.” In response to the local and national outcry over the anti-bullying curriculum, the AUSD school board voted on December 7 to replace “Lesson 9” with “six literature books to be used in grades K-5” that address tolerance of six protected classes, including sexual orientation. The anti-bullying books will be

Suggested Language To Include in Anti-Bullying Policies for School Districts

into their anti-bullying policies before December 31, 2009. In part, the SVPA defines bullying or harassing behavior as including but not limited to: “acts reasonably perceived as being motivated by any actual or perceived differentiating characteristic, such as race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, gender, socioeconomic status, academic status, *gender identity*, physical appearance, *sexual orientation*, or mental, physical, developmental, or sensory disability, or by association with a person who has or is perceived to have one or more of these characteristics” (*emphasis added*).

The SVPA also requires that local school districts adopt anti-bullying policies that include eight minimum components, including a statement prohibiting bullying/harassing behavior, a definition of bullying or harassing behavior that is “no less inclusive” than the law’s definition, and the positive behavior expected of students and school employees (*see sidebar on page 9 for all eight components*). It also includes a provision that allows school districts to adopt a policy that goes beyond these requirements.

Additionally, school districts are required to publicize their anti-bullying policies, such as in student and employee handbooks and other publications dealing with school rules and procedures, and to incorporate them into staff training programs. Depending on available funding, schools must also train employees and volunteers about the new policy by March 1, 2010. Schools are also mandated to “develop and implement methods and strategies for promoting school environments that are free of bullying or harassing behavior.”

In addition to these requirements, the SVPA contains two provisions that are important to any new anti-bullying policies adopted by school districts.

FREE SPEECH. Section 8 of the SVPA states: “This article shall not be construed to permit school officials to punish student expression or speech based on an undifferentiated fear or apprehension of disturbance or out of a desire to avoid the discomfort and unpleasantness that always accompany an unpopular viewpoint.” This provision was added to address very real concerns over the potential misuse of the anti-bullying law to punish free speech and religious expression among students, particularly regarding the controversial issue of homosexuality.

NO NEW CLASS. Section 8 of the SVPA also includes the following provision: “Nothing in this act shall be construed to create any classification, protected class, suspect category, or preference beyond those existing in present statute or case law.” This provision is important because, as stated earlier, the terms “sexual orientation” and “gender identity” do not exist anywhere in North Carolina law, nor are they defined in the SVPA.

Finally, it is important to clarify what the SVPA *does not* mandate. Specifically:

- It *does not* mandate what an anti-bullying program in a particular district should look like.

(Please note this is not intended to be a complete anti-bullying policy, but includes suggested provisions to include in a full policy):

INTRODUCTION: “The _____ School District is committed to a safe and civil educational environment for all students, employees, volunteers and patrons, free from bullying or harassing behavior. *In this school district, bullying or harassment of any child—for any reason—is not acceptable and will not be tolerated. Every staff member, teacher, volunteer, and student associated with this school district is expected to treat their fellow colleagues, students, peers, and classmates with respect and compassion—regardless of differences.*”

Pursuant to GS§115C-407.5 (a), “bullying or harassing behavior” is defined as: “any pattern of gestures or written, electronic, or verbal communications, or any physical act or any threatening communication, that takes place on school property, at any school-sponsored function, or on a school bus, and that:

- Places a student or school employee in actual and reasonable fear of harm to his or her person or damage to his or her property; or
- Creates or is certain to create a hostile environment by substantially interfering with or impairing a student’s educational performance, opportunities, or benefits. For purposes of this section, “hostile environment” means that the victim subjectively views the conduct as bullying or harassing behavior and the conduct is objectively severe or pervasive enough that a reasonable person would agree that it is bullying or harassing behavior.”

“Bullying or harassing behavior includes, but is not limited to, acts reasonably perceived as being motivated by any actual or perceived differentiating characteristic, such as race, color, religion, ancestry, national origin, gender, socioeconomic status, academic status, gender identity, physical appearance, sexual orientation, or mental, physical, developmental, or sensory disability, or by association with a person who has or is perceived to have one or more of these characteristics.”

NEED TO ADD: “*Nothing in this policy requires the affected student to possess a characteristic that is a perceived basis for the harassment or bullying, or any other distinguishing characteristic.*”

“*Promotion, affirmation and/or discussion of behaviors associated with the terms, “sexual orientation” and/or “gender identity,” including homosexuality, bisexuality and transgenderism, are expressly prohibited under this policy.*”

In recognition of state and federal laws protecting the freedoms of speech and religion, including GS§115C-407.8 (a): “This policy is not intended to prohibit expression of religious, philosophical, or political views, provided that the expression does not substantially disrupt the education environment. Many behaviors that do not rise to the level of harassment or bullying may still be prohibited by other district policies or building, classroom, or program rules.”

“*Counseling, corrective discipline, and/or referral to law enforcement will be used to change the behavior of the perpetrator and remediate the impact on the victim. This includes appropriate intervention(s), restoration of a positive climate, and support for victims and others impacted by the violation. False reports or retaliation for harassment, intimidation or bullying also constitute violations of this policy.*”

*Some of this language is adapted from Bully Police USA’s “Example of a School Anti-bullying Policy,” which is available in full on their web site, www.bullypolice.org.

promote or even discuss “sexual orientation” or “gender identity,” or their associated behaviors as part of anti-bullying programs. In fact, it does not even define these terms.

- It *does not* require schools to *promote or sponsor* homosexual student clubs/ GSAs, or LGBT events, nor does it require schools to incorporate LGBT issues into school curriculum.
- It *does not* mandate school districts to bring in homosexual advocacy groups to train staff or promote LGBT awareness. These groups include Equality NC, Safe Schools N.C., GSafe, GSLEN, and PFLAG (Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays).

“...it would be unfair for school districts to single out LGBT students as potential bullying victims deserving of special attention, when there are any number of possible reasons a child may become the victim of bullying...”

Prohibiting Bullying Without Promoting Homosexuality

The SVPA requires school districts to update their existing anti-bullying/harassment policies to reflect its definition of bullying. While this definition includes the terms “sexual orientation” and “gender identity,” nothing in the law mandates that school district policies and/or anti-bullying programs focus specifically on these characteristics. In fact, it would be unfair for school districts to single out LGBT students as potential bullying victims deserving of special attention, when there are any number of possible reasons a child may become the victim of bullying, ranging from the size of their bodies or the shape of their noses, to their personalities, or for no reason at all.

Brenda High, founder and co-director of Bully Police USA, believes the most effective anti-bullying laws/policies are those that focus on bullies and their behavior, not on the potential victims, because—as she points out—any child can become a victim of bullying. Brenda should know. Her son, Jared, committed suicide at age 13, after being repeatedly victimized and beaten by bullies at his middle school.

Since her son’s tragic death, Brenda has been involved in the successful passage of anti-bullying laws in several states, but she does not believe that these laws should include a list of potential victims. In fact, Bully Police USA recommends not adding victim categories to anti-bullying laws/policies, in part, because, “the way a bully’s target or victim acts or physically looks is not the victim’s problem but the bully’s own psychological problem.”

“All that needs to be done to stop bullying is to stop the behavior of these bullies,” Brenda said in a 2008 interview on the North Carolina Family Policy Council’s weekly radio program. “What kids need to learn to do is respect one another, not to particularly like someone. We as a nation are putting too much emphasis on solving the bullying problem by looking at victims and defining what they do.”

Instead of trying to focus on specific “at-risk” groups of bullying victims, school districts should implement strong policies that prohibit bullying and harassment, and demand respectful and compassionate behavior by and for all students—regardless of differences. Additionally, these policies should expressly prohibit the promotion, affirmation and discussion of homosexuality, bisexuality and transgenderism in the classroom. (See sidebar on page 11 for suggested language for local anti-bullying policies.)

Conclusion

Without question, the SVPA could potentially open the door for the promotion of sexual and gender confusion in North Carolina’s public schools. But it does not have to go any further than the controversial terminology in the law’s list of protected categories. There is no reason for North Carolina to head in the same direction as states like Minnesota, where homosexual advocacy groups have used the “safety” issue so effectively that their programs have become a “legitimate” part of the school system, and their radical ideology is taught as truth in the classroom.

It is not necessary to promote, affirm, or even discuss homosexuality, bisexuality or transgenderism in order to promote a safe school environment for all children, including those who struggle with sexual or gender confusion. School districts should enact anti-bullying policies that adhere to the requirements of the SVPA, while expressly prohibiting the affirmation, promotion and/or discussion of homosexuality, bisexuality and transgenderism. North Carolina schools should not allow the safety issue to be hijacked by activists seeking to promote the homosexual agenda, but instead go back to teaching and enforcing the “golden rule”: “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.” ❖

Alysse ElHage is associate director of research for the North Carolina Family Policy Council. For a footnoted version of this article, please visit ncfamily.org.



The Silent Killer

An Argument Against Euthanasia

“HE’S NOT RESPONDING. WHAT DO YOU WANT US TO DO WITH HIM? WHAT ARE YOUR PLANS?” THE YOUNG WOMAN HAD BEEN SITTING BESIDE HER FATHER, HOLDING HIS HAND.

THE ELDERLY MAN WAS A PILLAR OF THE COMMUNITY, A DEVOTED HUSBAND, A LOVING FATHER, A HERO TO THOSE WHO KNEW HIM. SHE LOOKED UP TO SEE THE HOSPITAL SOCIAL WORKER—FILE IN HAND—READY TO WRITE DOWN HER INSTRUCTIONS. HER FATHER HAD SUFFERED A MASSIVE STROKE FIVE DAYS BEFORE, WHICH THE DOCTORS EXPECTED TO KILL HIM. BY THE GRACE OF GOD, HE HAD RALLIED.

“We’re having a gastro feeding tube put in next week,” the daughter responded. The social worker looked at her as if she was a stupid child. “Oh, everyone likes to feed their family members, but it’s not so bad after a couple of days.”

The daughter could not believe her ears! She looked the social worker straight in the eye. “We are feeding my father. We are not starving him to death.”

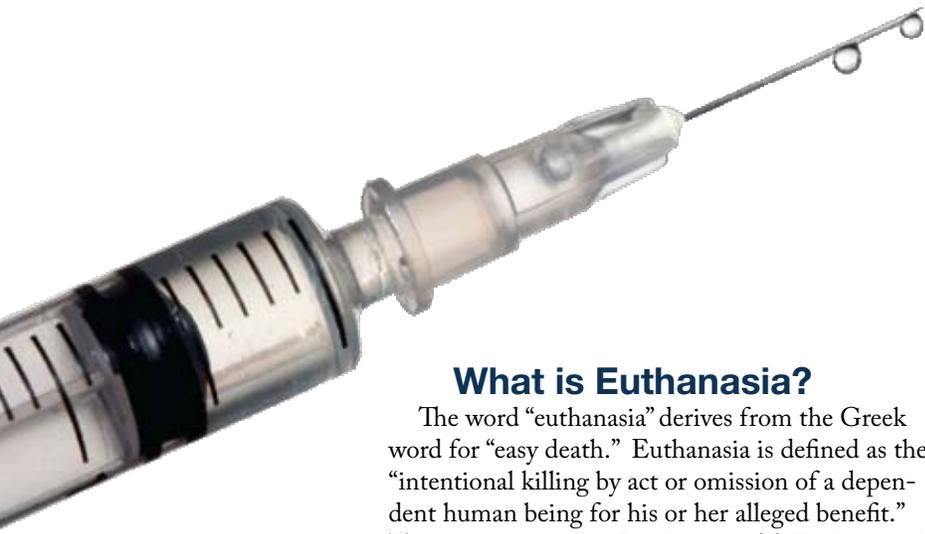
The social worker snapped her file shut, turned and exited the room. She did not like what she heard. The daughter didn’t either.

This true encounter illustrates the diminished value placed on human life in America today. Previously, our long-held belief that life is sacred had deemed all forms of intentional killing including abortion, infanticide, euthanasia, and suicide to be ethically wrong. Doctors’ and nurses’ commitment to this basic principle would have led them to do everything they could to keep this man alive. To have even suggested to a daughter that she consent to starving her father would have been unheard of, much less promoted.

Now, in 2009, as this woman discovered, our nation’s rejection of God has real ramifications. Without God, man has no inalienable rights, including the right to live; only life with a utilitarian value deserves protection. Otherwise, extinguishing that life by starvation is morally acceptable.

In order to understand how our nation has slid into this abyss and what we can do about it, one must understand what euthanasia is, where it came from and what is legally happening in North Carolina and elsewhere.

written by:
**Mary
Summa, J.D.**



What is Euthanasia?

The word “euthanasia” derives from the Greek word for “easy death.” Euthanasia is defined as the “intentional killing by act or omission of a dependent human being for his or her alleged benefit.” There are two types of euthanasia. (1) Euthanasia by omission ends a patient’s life by withdrawing medicines or food and water necessary to sustain life. (2) Euthanasia by action is achieved by administering a treatment or lethal dose of medication to a patient who has requested to die. Either form of euthanasia can be voluntary where the patient consents to the euthanasia; non-voluntary where the patient did not make a request or give consent; or involuntary where the patient withheld consent.

Origin and History of Euthanasia

Euthanasia dates back to Ancient Greece and Rome when doctors commonly administered poisons to hasten the death of patients. The growth of the Christian Church caused support for euthanasia to wane and Western governments, for the most part, condemned euthanasia until the 20th Century.

While a few doctors and philosophers promoted euthanasia in the 18th and 19th Centuries, it failed to gain much support until the early 1930’s. Then, on October 16, 1931, C. Killick Millard, the Medical Officer of Health for the City of Leicester in Britain, reignited the debate by calling voluntary euthanasia “rational, courageous and often highly altruistic” and proposed a draft bill. Undaunted by his lack of success in Parliament, in 1935 Millard founded the Voluntary Euthanasia Legalization Society (VELS) to promote his cause. Some historians have suggested that the VELS, although framed as an organization promoting “voluntary” euthanasia, in fact, obscured the distinctions between voluntary and involuntary euthanasia and sympathized with Nazi euthanasia.

For the next 40 years, the Euthanasia Movement continued to organize voluntary euthanasia societies around the world. In 1973, voluntary euthanasia societies formed in the Netherlands; in 1976 in Japan and Germany. That same year the first international conference of voluntary euthanasia associations was held in Tokyo.

The U.S. Euthanasia Movement

In the United States, just as in Europe, the voluntary Euthanasia Movement preceded judicial and legislative victories permitting euthanasia. In 1935, the same year Millard established the VELS in Britain, Reverend Charles Potter founded a lobbying group in the U.S. called the Euthanasia Society in America. The U.S. organization’s goals extended well beyond those of its British counterpart. Unlike the British organization, which fostered “voluntary” euthanasia, the Euthanasia Society in America aspired to legalize all euthanasia, voluntary and involuntary. In 1942, Foster Kennedy, M.D., a former president of the Society, while criticizing euthanasia laws that “ignore creatures who cannot speak,” offered a plan of involuntary euthanasia for defective children. Eight years later, in 1950, Reverend Potter publicly praised and supported the “mercy killing” of two cancer patients. The Society had moved very quickly from the position of supporting the killing of those who “want” to die to those who “should” ask to die.

The philosophical table was set for judicial and legislative action to legalize the taking of human life, whether the patient expressed the desire to die or not.

Physician-Assisted Suicide

The Euthanasia Movement has had limited success in legalizing physician-assisted suicide, a type of voluntary, active euthanasia, which can be accomplished through direct consent from the patient or indirectly through a living will. Either through court action or legislative mandate, only three countries—Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg—have legalized physician-assisted suicide. Switzerland does not officially allow physician-assisted suicide, but the government will not prosecute physicians who engage in it. In Uruguay and Columbia, “mercy killings” are not prosecuted. Just this year in Britain, the Director of Prosecutions issued a similar directive to prosecutors to withhold prosecutions against individuals who assist in suicide.

In the U.S., there have been many attempts but few successes to legalize physician-assisted suicide. The Ohio State Legislature made the first attempt in 1906. That bill failed 79-23. The International Task Force on Euthanasia and Assisted Suicide reports that between 1994 and 2009, 24 state legislatures entertained a total of 113 bills that would have legalized this type of active euthanasia. All attempts failed. Between 1991 and 2000, four states entertained ballot initiatives to legalize physician-assisted suicide. All failed. In 1997, Oregon legalized physician-assisted suicide, followed by Washington State in 2008, which legalized it by referendum. Currently, the Montana Supreme Court is considering the constitutionality of physician-assisted suicide.

Euthanasia “by Omission”

While the Euthanasia Movement has made slow progress in courthouses and state legislatures with physician-assisted suicide, it has knocked the hinges off the backdoors of hospital rooms and nursing homes with euthanasia “by omission.” Judicial implementation of a legal fiction called “substituted judgment” and legislatures’ broadening of the definition of “medical treatment” has led to the passive euthanasia of countless individuals in this country and abroad, primarily through the withdrawal of food and water to living patients (i.e., silent euthanasia). Here’s how it happened:

As technological advances allowed the elderly to live longer, bio-ethicists began to question, “How much is too much?” In 1983, Daniel Callahan, a bio-ethicist and co-founder of the Hastings Center, wrote “On Feeding the Dying.” In that article he stated the widely held view that “...a denial of nutrition, may, in the long run, become the only effective way to make certain that a large number of biologically tenacious patients actually die... Given the increasingly large pool of superannuated, chronically ill, physically marginal elders, it could well become the non-treatment of choice.” He recognized, however, that society’s “deep-seated revulsion” to starving patients to death would prolong the journey toward legalization of the practice. While not totally convinced in 1983, Daniel Callahan 10 years later wholeheartedly endorsed the starvation of patients in a “vegetative” state. Most recently, he has joined the torch-bearers for rationed, government-run health care.

While bio-ethicists deliberated the ethics of using advancing technology on the elderly, the Euthanasia Movement’s leaders saw an opportunity to advance the cause. In 1984, Helga Kuhse, a leader in the Euthanasia Movement and a philosophy professor at Australia’s Monash University, seized the opportunity. At an international conference, she informed the audience that by showing the public how painful death by dehydration and starvation really is, society would conclude that a lethal injection is “in the patient’s best interest.” In effect, coming in the backdoor will accomplish what the Euthanasia Movement was unable to accomplish through the front.

Social and verbal re-engineering was needed to accomplish this long-term goal. First, euthanasia proponents needed to transform the simple procedure of inserting a feeding tube into a complicated “medical treatment” in order to disguise the desire to starve a patient.

The often-cited story of Mary Hier illustrates how verbal re-engineering can affect the outcome. Mrs. Hier was a 92-year-old patient suffering from severe dementia, but not terminally ill. An abnormality in her esophagus required that she be tube-fed for many years. When her tube became dislodged, the court denied the petition of her guardian ad litem to reinsert it, citing the “rela-

tively high risk” to the patient of performing this “major medical procedure.” On the same day the paper reported on the Hier case, it also reported on a 94-year-old woman who received the same procedure, now characterized as “minor surgery to correct a nutritional problem.” The woman was Rose Kennedy. Eventually, Mrs. Hier’s feeding tube was reinserted and she and Mrs. Kennedy lived for several more years.

This dichotomy in the characterization of the same procedure begs the question, “Is it called a ‘medical procedure’ when the real intent is to starve the patient?” In truth, gastrostomy tubes (G-tubes) have been around for at least 100 years. In the early 1980s the technique was perfected so as to be performed in a 30 minute procedure.

While the “food and hydration” debate has focused on “artificial” feeding through tubes, some courts and ethicists have argued that there is no distinction between food given “artificially” and that given by mouth. Both should be considered “medical treatment,” which can be withdrawn from a patient.

Still others have argued that removing a ventilator is morally equivalent to removing artificial food and hydration. There is, however, a very clear distinction. Without a ventilator, the patient will die due to the underlying condition, which perpetrated the decision to ventilate the patient. Without food and hydration, the person will die of a new cause—deliberate starvation and dehydration—not the underlying condition, which prompted insertion of the feeding tube.

Lastly, medical and law journals are filled with the burden/benefit argument—a low quality of life is considered in light of the “burden” to the hospital, the family and society. In this argument, the patient is not dying (or not dying fast enough), and it is deemed best to end the patient’s suffering. The response is philosophical—The sanctity of human life gives it intrinsic value. A person’s value and right to live should not be determined by his/her utilitarian value.

“The sanctity of human life gives it intrinsic value. A person’s value and right to live should not be determined by his/her utilitarian value.”

Judicial and Legislative Action

The Euthanasia Movement has won tremendous victories over the past 25 years. First, the case of Karen Ann Quinlan provided the foothold needed for the Euthanasia Movement in America by allowing parents to remove their daughter's ventilator. In 1990, the Supreme Court declared in the Cruzan case that the "right to die" is protected under the Due Process Clause of the Constitution. While the court did not rule specifically on whether food and water could be treated as "treatment," which could be withdrawn from the patient, nonetheless, that was the effect. The Cruzan family was allowed to kill their child by withdrawing her food and water.

We need to be a nation which honors the living, not one which abandons the dying.

The Schiavo case ranks as the most public of all euthanasia cases. It highlighted for the world that food and hydration are no longer considered medical "care," but are "medical treatment," and can be withdrawn from any patient. Using a "legal fiction" of substituted judgment, the courts decided that Terri Schiavo would have wanted her feeding tube to be withdrawn. Terri died 13 days after her feeding tube was removed by court order. In effect, the courts ruled just as the Euthanasia Society of America wanted in 1950: What a patient wants has been supplanted with what a patient "should" want.

Most courts and state legislatures have fallen into the arms of the Euthanasia Movement and now characterize artificial food and hydration as "medical treatment," which can be withheld at the consent of the patient or another person acting on the patient's behalf. Many states allow food and hydration to be withdrawn by legislative mandate or court action.

North Carolina succumbed to the Euthanasia Movement relatively early. In 1991, the North Carolina legislature authorized "Living Wills" and "Health Care Powers of Attorney." In that statute, "Life-Prolonging Measures," which can be withdrawn by a physician with consent of the patient or an agent of the patient, include "artificial nutrition and hydration." So, in North Carolina, it is legal for a doctor to starve a patient to death as long as he receives some kind of consent from the patient or the patient's designee.

Although many have supported voluntary euthanasia—euthanasia with the consent of the patient or the patient's designee—others have argued that the distinction between voluntary and

involuntary euthanasia is fleeting. That conclusion has proven prophetic.

Chris Docker, Director of the Scottish euthanasia group, Exit, wrote a paper in 1996 suggesting that when a patient is in a persistent vegetative state (PVS), the consent of the patient's loved one should be replaced with "institutional guidelines developed by the professional associations." These guidelines "could be developed for other conditions as well as PVS where the patient's preference is no longer the most relevant factor."

Sadly, Mr. Docker did not have to wait long to see his theory put into action. In the fall of 2009, *The Daily Telegraph* (a London-based newspaper) reported several cases where hospitals euthanized or attempted to euthanize non-terminally ill patients under the British Palliative Care Program, the "Liverpool Care Pathway."

Shockingly, according to a recently released audit of the program, 28 percent of the families did not even know that their loved ones were put into the Liverpool Care Pathway.

Conclusion

Natural rights, including the right to life, serve as the foundation of our democracy. Preserving these rights insures freedom. Destroying them guarantees tyranny.

"If we wish to be free," Patrick Henry once said, "We must fight." Turning our nation from a culture of death to a culture of life will not be easy. The Euthanasia Movement is a formidable foe, but for the sake of human freedom and dignity, we must be willing to fight the battle.

To begin this quest to regain our freedom, state legislatures should criminalize physician-assisted suicide. Despite legalization in only two states, many states, including North Carolina, remain silent on the issue, leaving the door wide open for physicians to engage in this ghastly act with impunity. Secondly, state laws should designate food and hydration, including "artificial" food and hydration, as "care" not "treatment" which can be withdrawn. We need to be a nation which honors the living, not one which abandons the dying.

No one should be put through the scene described at the outset of this article. I understand the pain. You see, I was the daughter and my father was the patient. My father regained his ability to speak, understand, eat and sit up on his own. He lived for three more months, giving my siblings and me, and, most importantly, our mother, the opportunity to take care of him the way he took care of us all our lives. In his dying hours, Dad held my hand, with extra squeezes in the same rhythm that he used when I was a little girl. He died in God's time, not the hospital's, in the wee hours of a warm summer morning while I, alone in his hospital room, held his hand reciting the 23rd Psalm. ❖

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footnoted version of
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ncfamily.org.

On Air With Dr. Timothy George

BB: First, what is the history behind this statement? How did this come about, and why did you choose to call it the Manhattan Declaration?

TG: The issues we talked about here in this declaration have been longstanding issues in the Christian community; they are not new. What is new is that for the first time evangelical, Protestant, [Catholic] and Orthodox believers all across the spectrum have come together to make a united witness on behalf of these deeply held religious principles. This started about a year ago, as a number of people in prayer and study and reflection began to think, this is really the time for Christians to stand up to speak out, and to be united in how we approach these fundamental issues of our faith. Then, in September of this year, there was a meeting in New York City, in Manhattan, where we unveiled this document in its early stages, and received input from a wide variety of voices. And that's why it's called the Manhattan Declaration because that first meeting was held in September in Manhattan.

BB: The declaration has been described as a clarion call for Christians. But it is much more than that. What is the purpose of this declaration and who specifically is it addressed to?

TG: Well, I think the first thing to say is that what it's not. This is not a statement of partisan political initiative. I'm an independent, myself; I don't have any loyalty to any political party. There are Republicans who signed this document and Democrats who signed this document. We are coming together out of our convictions as believers in Jesus Christ, Catholic, Orthodox and Evangelicals, and so we are addressing this in the first place, to our own communities of faith. Now, we make clear we are not speaking for them, but we are speaking *from* them, and we're speaking *to* them. And we think if followers of Jesus Christ, would come together and take a principled moral stand on these issues, it could make a difference in our culture and in our society. So it is addressed more widely to the world in which we live, the social and political world in which we live. But it comes from the religious community, based on our own inviolably held principles. That's what I'm going to say about it. So, we are hoping and praying that as this document gathers support all across the country, that it will be heard and listened to, and that this will make a difference, in the deliberations of our Congress and state legislatures, and in the courts of our land...

BB: Dr. George, as we've mentioned, the Manhattan Declaration addresses three foundational



Dr. Timothy George has been the dean of Samford University's Beeson Divinity School since its inception in 1988. He teaches church history and doctrine, serves as executive editor for *Christianity Today*, and on the editorial advisory boards of *The Harvard Theological Review*, *Christian History* and *Books & Culture*. Dr. George has also served on the board of directors of Lifeway Christian Resources of the Southern Baptist Convention. A regular contributor to scholarly journals, he has written more than 20 books. He is active in evangelical-Roman Catholic Church dialogue and is an ordained minister.

The following is an edited transcript of an interview with Dr. Timothy George conducted by Bill Brooks, president of the North Carolina Family Policy Council (NCFPC). An edited version of this interview aired in December 2009 on the Council's weekly radio program, "Family Policy Matters." Dr. George discussed "The Manhattan Declaration," a landmark statement that—upon its release in November 2009—was signed by over 150 prominent Catholic, Orthodox, and evangelical Christian leaders, and addresses three foundational Biblical principles: the sanctity of life, marriage, and religious liberty. To date, the number of signatories to the Manhattan Declaration has reached over 200,000 and continues to grow. Dr. George discussed the groundbreaking declaration, which he drafted, along with Chuck Colson and Dr. Robert George of Princeton University.

The interview can be heard on www.ncfamily.org.

Biblical principles, the sanctity of life, marriage and religious freedom. Why were these three principles chosen?

TG: I call them threshold issues. They are certainly not the only issues Christians are to be concerned about, and sometimes Christians are accused of being single issue, this or that. This is

“If followers of Jesus Christ, would come together and take a principled moral stand on these issues, it could make a difference in our culture and in our society.”

“**And if these three threshold issues are violated, if they are assaulted as they seem to us to be increasingly under assault in our country today, then all the other things we ought to be concerned about ... are going to be by the wayside.**”

not a triple issue replacement of that. But these are threshold issues, life, the sanctity of life, that every person in the world is made by a Creator, and endowed, as the Declaration of Independence says, with certain inalienable rights. Among these are life, that's the very first one listed in that document, and we think this comes, not just from the Declaration of Independence, as wonderful as that document is, but from the charter document of the Christian Faith—from the Bible itself. That describes God, our heavenly Father, as our Creator. The second issue is the dignity of marriage, one man and one woman united in a covenantal bond. This is an institution that predates the state, that predates even the institution of the Church, and it also is a divinely given institution, and we think that every foundation of our society is based upon the family and upon the holiness and dignity of marriage. And then the third issue has to do with religious liberty—with the freedom that we are endowed by our Creator, to know Him and to love Him and to serve Him. And if these three threshold issues are violated, if they are assaulted as they seem to us to be increasingly under assault in our country today, then all the other things we ought to be concerned about—concern for the poor, peacemaking, the whole list of issues that require Christian moral concern—are going to be by the wayside.

BB: Well, thanks for that clear introduction to this topic. Let's talk about these principles one by one. First, the declaration addresses the sanctity of human life. What specific principles about the sanctity of human life does it communicate, and what pledge is made regarding its defense?

TG: Well, the sanctity of life is, as I said, one of the fundamental principles of not only Christian-

ity, but really of all of human society. We pledge ourselves as believers in Jesus Christ to defend the most vulnerable members of our society, and there is an atrocious avalanche of assault against the dignity of life, not only of the continuing slaughter of unborn babies through abortion in this country, but in so many other areas related to the end of life, concerns for the aged and the disabled, and euthanasia in all its various forms. We think it is important for Christians to come together, and we articulate those principles, and say, “Here we stand, we can do no other, and God help us to be Faithful.”

BB: Marriage is the second foundational principle addressed in the declaration. What does the declaration state regarding the design and purpose of marriage, and what pledge is made?

TG: Well, we quote a verse from the book of Genesis, where we are told in the Bible that God's intention in marriage is that one man and one woman be united together, that they become one flesh, and this is such an important principle in the Scriptures that when we get to the new testament, we read how Paul describes the relationship of Christ and the church, he uses the analogy of marriage. The church is the bride of Christ, and we are to have that kind of relationship, so sacred and holy is that relationship, and so in the Christian tradition we've talked traditionally about holy matrimony, signifying that this is really something that comes from our heavenly father. Now, I want to say now very clearly this is not an anti-homosexual document. We respect every person made in the image of God, and we believe that every individual has the freedom and liberty to live their life under God's direction and His guidance and His wisdom. This is not an anti-document; it is a pro-document. We are pro-marriage, we are pro-family and we are pro-life, because it is in the context of marriage that new human life is born and nurtured in our community, and we think that many of the problems we face in society today—juvenile delinquency, the tremendous rate of prison incarceration of younger people—many of these societal issues are directly related to the erosion of a marriage culture. And we want to see that rejuvenated. We want to see it bloom again in the best possible way.

BB: Finally, the declaration addresses religious liberty. And I love the language used to describe it, that “religious liberty is grounded in the character of God, the example of Christ and the inherent freedom and dignity of human beings created in the divine image.” Give us some examples of what you mean by this statement.

TG: Yeah, that's a very important statement, in grounding religious liberty not just in the political developments that led to the founding of our coun-

try. Now, we celebrate those, every Fourth of July and we ought to. But what those founding documents recognize is something much more basic than simply the political arrangement that ended up in our Constitution and Bill of Rights, specifically the First Amendment to the Constitution. But what we are talking about with the Character of God, this is the kind of God the God of the Bible is—a God who chooses to relate to us not by coercion but by persuasion, and so He does not impose but He proposes. In the New Testament, there is a wonderful verse in Revelation 3:20 where Jesus says “Behold I stand at the Door and knock, if anyone will hear by voice, and open the door, I will come in.” And this is the posture of God, we see it in the example of Christ, you know, He had power to call Angels from Heaven to deliver Him from his tormentors, but He chose to stand and to suffer and die on behalf of those in the world who needed His love and His grace, rather than use violence and force. And so we are really calling here on the example of Christ, who allowed that kind of freedom in the response made to Him. We think this extends certainly beyond the question of religion, into every other area of our life. Religious liberty is the foundation really for what we call freedom of association and freedom of speech and freedom of press, and all these other things are basically related in that third element, in the definition of what you quoted, the nature and dignity of what it means to be a human being created in the divine image. If we take that away, then we really are one step away to tyranny, to totalitarianism. Now, we don’t say that that’s the condition we have right now, but we are concerned about certain trends we see in our society that could lead us to that situation.

BB: *The Manhattan Declaration ends by directly addressing civil authorities with a very strong pledge, including that Christians will not comply with any law or rule that violates these three principles. Tell us about that, and its importance to the overall declaration.*

TG: Well, in some of the press reports about the Manhattan Declaration, it’s been declared that these religious leaders are calling for civil disobedience. That’s not accurate. We are not calling for civil disobedience. We hope and we pray that in this country, civil disobedience does not become necessary. But we are saying that there are certain principles that we hold inviolate, and these relate to life, liberty..., marriage and family, and on these issues we cannot and we will not render unto Caesar the things that belong to God. We will give Caesar everything that belongs to him, this is what Jesus told us to do, but under no circumstances will we render to Caesar that which belongs to God. And this may require Christians to take a very

difficult stand to refuse certain rights and benefits that this society provides, such as tax exemptions, that’s already under assault today, in various proposed legislation before Congress. And it could come to that. In Canada, for example, already you have ministers of the Gospel, churches, even Rabbis, who are forbidden to speak out in their own houses of worship because they are defending a religious view of sexuality. And that’s not just a matter of free speech; it’s also a matter of religious liberty. We are not quite there yet, and we pray we never will be in America, but there are certain principles that we cannot violate, and so in that sense it is a line in the sand, if you want to call it that. We want to say with the Apostles of the early church, we would rather obey God than men. ❖

Radio Stations Airing Family Policy Matters

Asheville	WKJV 1380 AM	Wed. and Friday, 3:00 PM
Belmont/Gastonia	WCGC1270 AM	Saturday, 5:00 PM
Charlotte	WHVN 1240 AM	Saturday, 5:00 PM
Charlotte	WOGF 88.3 FM	Saturday, 2:30 PM
Charlotte	WOGF 1540 AM	Saturday, 2:30 PM
Fayetteville	WCLN 107.3 FM	Saturday, 7:00 AM
Forest City	WWOL 780 AM	Wednesday, 8:45 AM
Franklin	WPFJ 1480 AM	Saturday, 4:30 PM
Greensboro	WCOG 1320 AM	Sunday, 9:30 AM
Greensboro	WKEW 1400 AM	Sunday, 9:30 AM
Kernersville	WTRU 830 AM	Sunday, 9:30 AM
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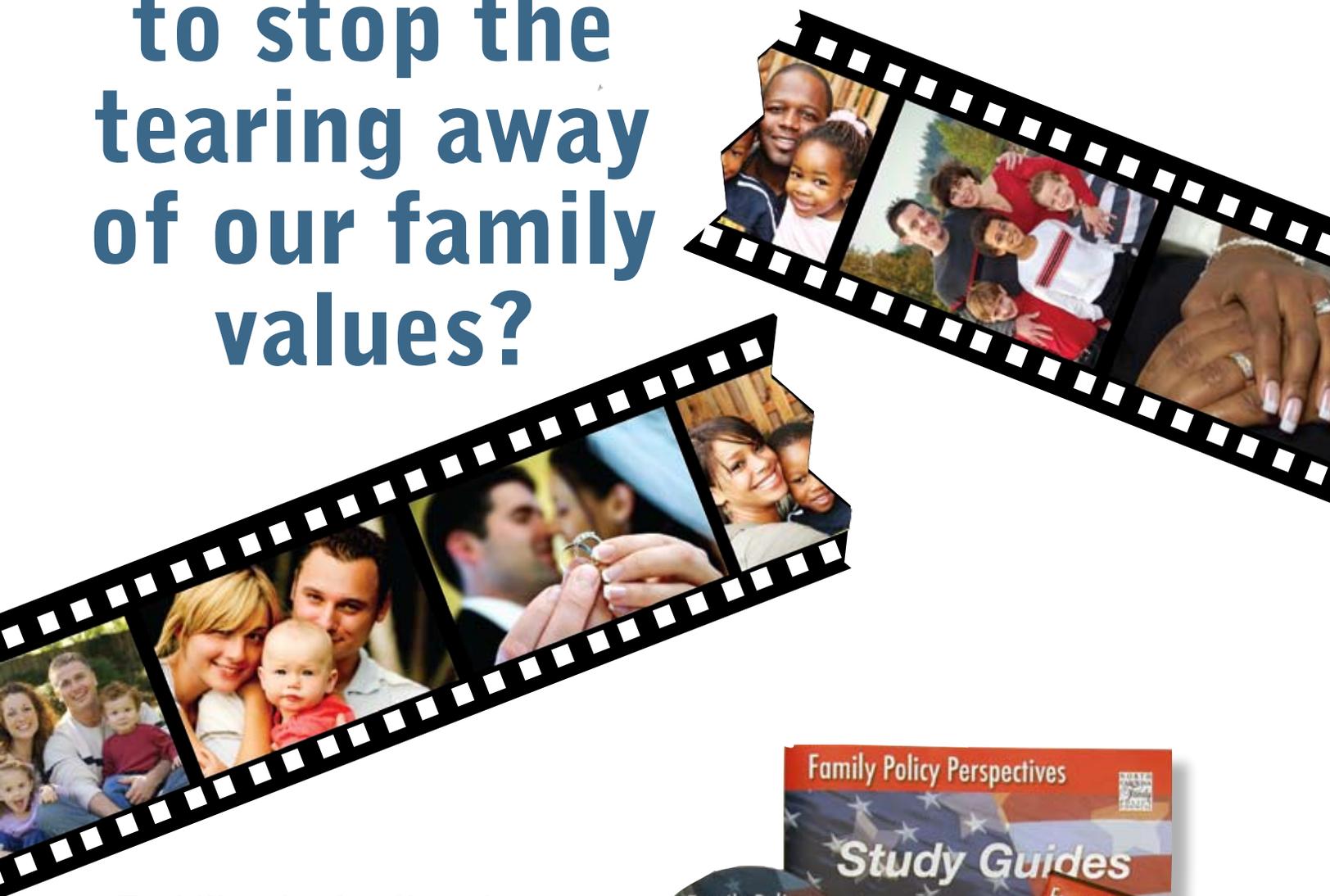
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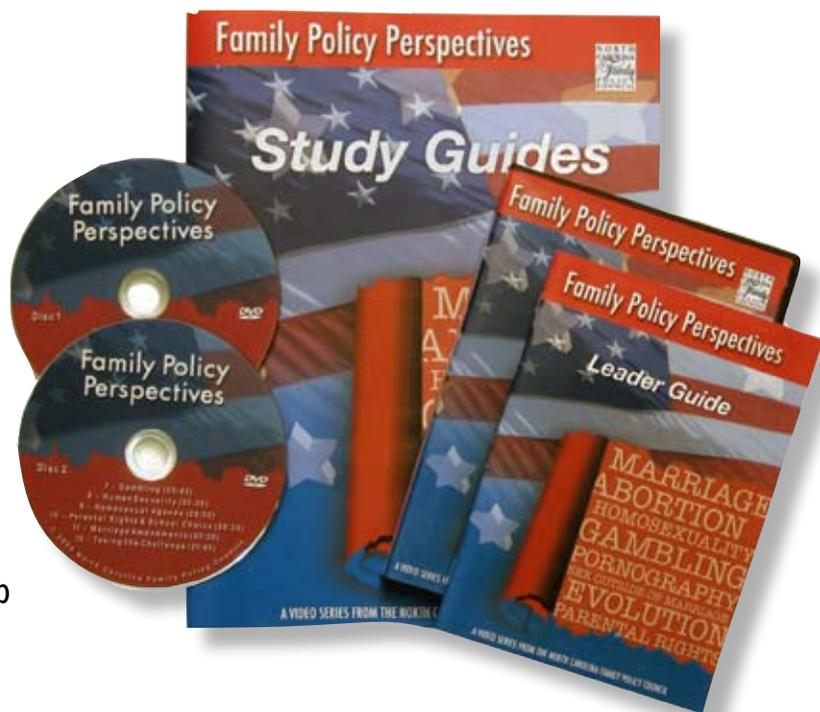
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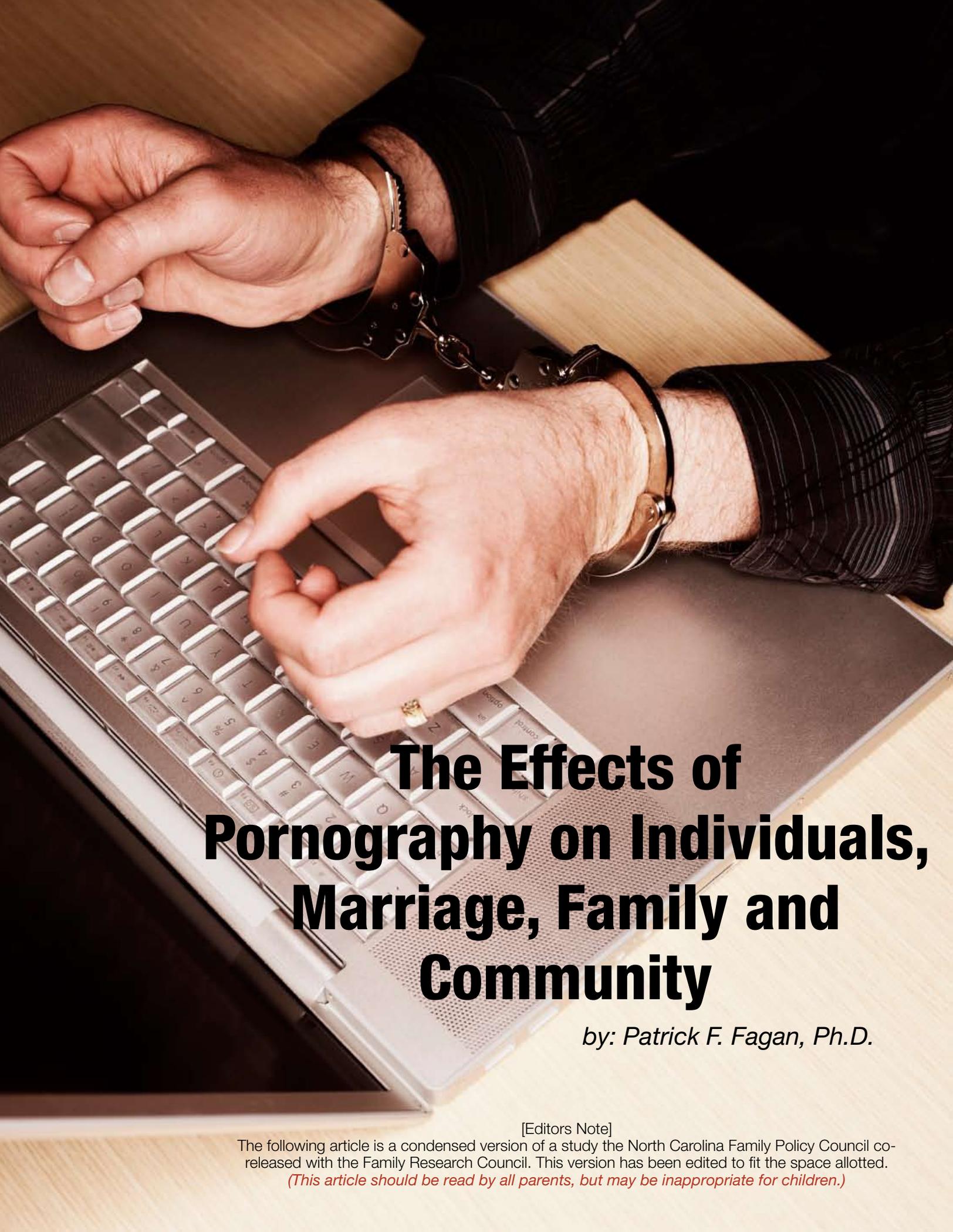


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The Effects of Pornography on Individuals, Marriage, Family and Community

by: Patrick F. Fagan, Ph.D.

[Editors Note]

The following article is a condensed version of a study the North Carolina Family Policy Council co-released with the Family Research Council. This version has been edited to fit the space allotted.

(This article should be read by all parents, but may be inappropriate for children.)

THE CONJUGAL ACT—THE ACT OF SEXUAL INTERCOURSE—BRINGS HUMANITY INTO EXISTENCE AND SETS IN MOTION THE NEXT GENERATIONS OF SOCIETY. SEXUAL INTERCOURSE, LIKE ATOMIC ENERGY, IS A POWERFUL AGENT FOR GOOD IF CHanneled WELL, BUT FOR ILL IF NOT. HEALTHY SOCIETIES MAINTAIN THEIR STABILITY BY CHANNELING THE SEXUAL ENERGIES OF YOUNG ADULTS INTO MARRIAGE, AN INSTITUTION THAT LEGITIMIZES SEXUAL INTERCOURSE, PROTECTS THE CHILDREN THAT ARE THE FRUIT OF INTERCOURSE, AND CHANNELS THE GIVING AND RECEIVING OF SEXUAL PLEASURE IN A WAY THAT BUILDS UP RATHER THAN TEARS DOWN SOCIETY. SEXUAL TABOOS ARE ONE SET OF THE NORMAL MECHANISMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL OF THE SEXUAL APPETITE. THEY ARE ANALOGOUS TO THE CONTROL RODS OF A NUCLEAR REACTOR PLANT: THEY BLOCK THE SEXUAL FROM STRAYING OFF COURSE AND INTO DESTRUCTIVE PATHWAYS.

One of the biggest tasks of adolescent members of all society is to come to grips with their burgeoning sexuality. Some have always tested the limits of sexual expression even when strong social controls were in place. In well-ordered societies, such testing triggers immediate social sanctions from parents, mentors, and community.

In today's media-saturated society, these sanctions operate in fewer and fewer quarters. A substantial factor in this shift has been the growth of digital media and the Internet. This "digital revolution" has led to great strides in productivity, communication, and other desirable ends, but pornographers also have harnessed its power for their profit. The cost has been a further weakening of the nation's citizens and families, a development that should be of grave concern to all. The social sciences demonstrate the appropriateness of this concern.

Two recent reports, one by the American Psychological Association on hyper-sexualized girls, and the other by the National Campaign to Prevent Teen Pregnancy on the pornographic content of phone texting among teenagers, make clear that the digital revolution is being used by younger and younger children to dismantle the barriers that channel sexuality into family life.

Pornography hurts adults, children, couples, families, and society. In this article, the effect of regular viewing of pornography on marriage and family is dealt with first, for there its greatest damage to the innocent can be seen. Then the source of this damage is reviewed: the effects on the individual user, his psyche, and his behavior.

FAMILY CONSEQUENCES

Pornography has significant effects during all stages of family life. For a child exposed to pornography within a family setting, pornography causes

stress, and increases the risk for developing negative attitudes about the nature and purpose of human sexuality. For adolescents who view pornography, their attitudes toward their own and others' sexuality change, and their sexual expectations and behavior are shaped accordingly. For adults, pornography has harmful and even destructive effects on marriage.

YOUNG CHILDREN. The impact of a parent's use of pornography on young children is varied and disturbing. Pornography eliminates the warmth of affectionate family life, which is the natural social nutrient for a growing child. Other losses and traumas related to the use of pornography when a child is young include:

- encountering pornographic material a parent has acquired;
- encountering a parent masturbating;
- overhearing a parent engaged in "phone sex";
- witnessing and experiencing stress in the home caused by online sexual activities;
- increased risk of the children becoming consumers of pornography themselves;
- witnessing and being involved in parental conflict;
- exposure to the commodification of human beings, especially women, as "sex objects";

“Sexual intercourse, like atomic energy, is a powerful agent for good if channeled well, but for ill if not.”

- increased risk of parental job loss and financial strain;
- increased risk of parental separation and divorce;
- decreased parental time and attention—both from the pornography-addicted parent and from the parent preoccupied with the addicted spouse.

ADOLESCENTS. Pornography viewing among teenagers disorients them during that developmental phase when they have to learn how to handle their sexuality, and when they are most vulnerable to uncertainty about their sexual beliefs and moral values. A study of 2,343 adolescents found that sexually explicit Internet material significantly increased their uncertainties about sexuality. The study also showed that increased exposure to sexually explicit Internet material increased favorable attitudes toward sexual exploration with others outside of marriage and decreased marital commitment to the other spouse. Another study by Todd G. Morrison, professor of psychology at the University of Saskatchewan, and

The Effects of Pornography

Pornography, as a visual (mis)representation of sexuality, distorts an individual's concept of sexual relations by objectifying them, which, in turn, alters both sexual attitudes and behavior. It is a major threat to marriage, to family, to children, and to individual happiness.

Social scientists, clinical psychologists, and biologists have begun to clarify some of the social and psychological effects of pornography, and neurologists are beginning to delineate the biological mechanisms through which pornography produces its powerful effects on people.

Pornography's power to undermine individual and social functioning is powerful and deep.

- **Effect on the Mind:** Pornography significantly distorts attitudes and perceptions about the nature of sexual intercourse. Men who habitually look at pornography have a higher tolerance for abnormal sexual behaviors, sexual aggression, promiscuity, and even rape. In addition, men begin to view women and even children as "sex objects," commodities or instruments for their pleasure, not as persons with their own inherent dignity.
- **Effect on the Body:** Pornography is very addictive. The addictive aspect of pornography has a biological substrate, with dopamine hormone release acting as one of the mechanisms for forming the transmission pathway to pleasure centers of the brain. Also, the increased sexual permissiveness engendered by pornography increases the risk of contracting a sexually transmitted disease or of being an unwitting parent in an out-of-wedlock pregnancy.
- **Effect on the Heart:** Pornography affects people's emotional lives. Married men who are involved in pornography feel less satisfied with their marital sexual relations and less emotionally attached to their wives. Women married to men with a pornography addiction report feelings of betrayal, mistrust, and anger. Pornographic use may lead to infidelity and even divorce. Adolescents who view pornography feel shame, diminished self-confidence, and sexual uncertainty.

colleagues found that adolescents exposed to high levels of pornography had lower levels of sexual self-esteem. A significant relationship also exists between frequent pornography use and feelings of loneliness, including major depression.

Finally, viewing pornography can engender feelings of shame. In a study of high school students, the majority of those who had viewed pornography felt some degree of shame for viewing it. However, 36 percent of males and 26 percent of females said they were never ashamed of viewing pornography, giving some idea of the level of desensitization already reached in society.

High adolescent consumption of pornography also affects behavior. Male pornography use is linked to significantly increased sexual intercourse with non-romantic friends, and is likely a correlate of the so-called "hook-up" culture.

Exposure to pornographic sexual content can be a significant factor in teenage pregnancy. A three-year longitudinal study of teenagers found that frequent exposure to televised sexual content was related

to a substantially greater likelihood of teenage pregnancy within the succeeding three years. This same study also found that the likelihood of teenage pregnancy was two times greater when the quantity of that sexual content exposure, within the viewing episodes, was high rather than low.

MARRIAGE. Pornography use undermines marital relations and distresses wives. Husbands report loving their spouses less after long periods of looking at (and desiring) women depicted in pornography.

In many cases, the wives of pornography users also develop deep psychological wounds, commonly reporting feelings of betrayal, loss, mistrust, devastation, and anger in responses to the discovery or disclosure of a partner's pornographic online sexual activity. Wives can begin to feel unattractive or sexually inadequate and may become severely depressed when they realize their husbands view pornography. The distress level in wives may be so high as to require clinical treatment for trauma, not mere discomfort. Viewers of pornography assign increased importance to sexual relations without emotional involvement, and consequently, wives experience decreased intimacy from their husbands.

The emotional distance fostered by pornography and "cybersex" (a form of sexually explicit interaction between two people on the Internet) can often be just as damaging to the relationship as real-life infidelity, and both men and women tend to put online sexual activity in the same category as having an affair. The estrangement between spouses wrought by pornography can have tangible consequences as well: when the viewing of pornography rises to the level of addiction, 40 percent of "sex addicts" lose their spouses, 58 percent suffer considerable financial losses, and about a third lose their jobs.

In a study on the effects of "cybersex," researchers found that more than half of those engaged in "cybersex" had lost interest in sexual intercourse, while one-third of their partners had lost interest as well, while in one-fifth of the couples both husband and wife or both partners had a significantly decreased interest in sexual intercourse. Stated differently, this study showed that only one-third of couples maintained an interest in sexual relations with one another when one partner was engaged in "cybersex."

Prolonged exposure to pornography also fosters dissatisfaction with, and even distaste for, a spouse's affection. Cynical attitudes regarding love begin to emerge, and "superior sexual pleasures are thought attainable without affection toward partners." These consequences hold for both men and women who have had prolonged exposure to pornography, with the decline in sexual happiness being primarily due to the growing dissatisfaction with the spouse's normal sexual behavior.

Finally, pornography users increasingly see the institution of marriage as sexually confining, have diminished belief in the importance of marital

faithfulness, and have increasing doubts about the value of marriage as an essential social institution and further doubts about its future viability. All this naturally diminishes the importance for them of having good family relations in their own families.

Studies have also shown that viewing pornography increases the chances of infidelity by the user. Dolf Zillman of the University of Alabama, in one study of adolescents, shows that the steady use of pornography frequently leads to abandonment of fidelity to their girlfriends. Steven Stack of Wayne State University and colleagues later showed that pornography use increased the marital infidelity rate by more than 300 percent. Another study found a strong correlation between viewing Internet pornography and sexually permissive behavior. Stack's study found that Internet pornography use is 3.7 times greater among those who procure sexual relations with a prostitute than among those who do not.

"Cybersex" pornography also leads to much higher levels of infidelity among women. Women who engaged in "cybersex" had about 40 percent more offline sexual partners than women who did not engage in cybersex.

Given the research already cited, it is not surprising that addiction to pornography is a contributor to separation and divorce. In the best study to date (a very rudimentary opportunity study of reports by divorce lawyers on the most salient factors present in the divorce cases they handled), 68 percent of divorce cases involved one party meeting a new paramour over the Internet, 56 percent involved "one party having an obsessive interest in pornographic websites," 47 percent involved "spending excessive time on the computer," and 33 percent involved spending excessive time in chat rooms (a commonly sexualized forum). Cybersex, which often takes place in these chat rooms, was a major factor in separation and divorce. In over 22 percent of the couples observed the spouse was no longer living with the "cybersex" addict, and in many of the other cases spouses were seriously considering leaving the marriage or relationship.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

Pornography affects both men and women. However there are significant differences between men and women on the likelihood of using pornography, the types of pornography used, and their feelings about pornography.

USE. Men are more than six times as likely to view pornography as females, and more likely to spend more time viewing it. In a study of self-identified female "cybersex" addicts, women reported that they preferred engaging in "cybersex" within the context of a relationship (via email or chat room), rather than accessing pornographic images.

This preference may contribute to the significant difference one study found in the proportion of women who have real-life sexual encounters with their online companions compared to men. It found that 80 percent of women who engaged in these online sexual activities also had real-life sexual encounters with their online partners, compared to only 33 percent for men. Also, as stated above, such women are much more likely to have had very high numbers of such sexual encounters and partners. However, in another study of men who flirted in Internet chat rooms, 78 percent reported they had at least one face-to-face sexual experience with someone they had met through a chat room in the past year. Thus, it seems that a very high proportion of both men and women who engage in "cybersex" may go on to have physical sexual encounters with their online partners.

“... it is not surprising that addiction to pornography is a contributor to separation and divorce.”

REACTIONS. The way men and women view infidelity is very different. One study, using undergraduates from a large university in Northern Ireland, investigated how men and women perceive online and offline sexual and emotional infidelity. When forced to decide, men were more upset by sexual infidelity and women by emotional infidelity. Only 23 percent of women claimed they would be more bothered by sexual infidelity, compared to the 77 percent of women who would be more bothered by emotional infidelity. Males felt the opposite way. Eighty-four percent of the men reported they would be more bothered by sexual infidelity, whereas only 16 percent say they would be more bothered by emotional infidelity.

In a study which examined different types of degrading pornography, featuring themes such as "objectification" and "dominance," both men and women rated the same three major themes as the most degrading of all, but with different intensities: women rated them as even more degrading than men did.

INDIVIDUAL CONSEQUENCES

Pornography changes the habits of the mind, the inner private self. Its use can easily become habitual, which in turn leads to desensitization, boredom, distorted views of reality, and an objectification of women. A greater amount of sexual stimuli becomes necessary to arouse habitual users, leading them to

A case could be made that repeated viewing of pornography induces a mental illness in matters sexual.

pursue more deviant forms of pornography to fulfill their sexual desires.

DESENSITIZATION, HABITUATION, AND BOREDOM. Prolonged use of pornography produces habituation, boredom, and sexual dissatisfaction among female and male viewers, and is associated with more lenient views of extramarital sexual relations and recreational attitudes toward sex. A 2000 study of college freshmen found that the habitual use of pornography led to greater tolerance of sexually explicit material, thus requiring more novel and bizarre material to achieve the same level of arousal or interest. For example, habituation may lead to watching “depictions of group sex, sadomasochistic practices, and sexual contact with animals,” engaging in anal intercourse, and trivializing “nonviolent forms of the sexual abuse of children.”

The pornography industry adapted to this desire for more bizarre and uncommon images. An analysis of the content of *Playboy*, *Penthouse*, and *Hustler* from the years 1953 to 1984 revealed 6,004 child images, and an additional 14,854 images depicting crime or violence. Furthermore, nearly two-thirds of the child images were sexual and violent, with most of the images displaying girls between the ages of three and eleven years of age. Each of these magazines portrayed the scenes involving children as though the child had been unharmed by the sexual scene or even benefited from it.

Heavy exposure to pornography leads men to judge their mates as sexually less attractive, resulting in less satisfaction with their affection, physical appearance, and sexual behavior. The need for more intense sexual stimulation brought on by pornography can lead to boredom in normal relationships and a greater likelihood of seeking sexual pleasure outside of marriage. Repeated exposure to pornography leads the viewer to consider “recreational sexual engagements” as increasingly important, and changes the viewer to being very accepting of sexual permissiveness.

DISTORTED PERCEPTION. Pornography presents sexual access as relentless, “a sporting event that amounts to innocent fun” with inconsequential effects on emotions, perceptions, and health. This is not the case, however. Pornography leads to distorted perceptions of social reality: an exaggerated perception of the level of sexual activity

in the general population, an inflated estimate “of the incidence of premarital and extramarital sexual activity, as well as increased assessment of male and female promiscuity,” “an overestimation of almost all sexual activities performed by sexually active adults,” and an overestimation of the general prevalence of perversions such as group sex, bestiality, and sado-masochistic activity. Thus, the beliefs being formed in the mind of the viewer of pornography are far removed from reality. A case could be made that repeated viewing of pornography induces a mental illness in matters sexual.

These distortions result in an acceptance of three beliefs: (1) sexual relationships are recreational in nature, (2) men are generally sexually driven, and (3) women are sex objects or commodities. These are called “permission-giving beliefs” because they result in assumptions that one’s behavior is normal, acceptable, and commonplace, and thus not hurtful to anyone else. These beliefs are deepened and reinforced by masturbation while viewing pornography, a frequent practice among those who use pornography to deal with stress.

OBJECTIFICATION AND DEGRADATION OF WOMEN. Pornography fosters the idea that the degradation of women is acceptable. Since males use pornography much more frequently than females, exposure to sexual and even semi-sexual material from the Internet, magazines, and television is associated with stronger notions that women are sex objects or sexual commodities. Men thus exposed are more likely to describe women in overtly sexual terms, rather than by other personal attributes.

A study of widely distributed x-rated films by Gloria Cowan and colleagues, professors of psychology at California State University, San Bernardino, determined the range and extent of domination and sexual inequality depicted of women in a random selection of movies in family video rental stores in California. Physical aggression was present in 73 percent of the films, and rape scenes were present in 51 percent, with the woman as the victim every time. The films depicted gender-role inequalities as well, typically portraying the men as professionals and the women as school-girls, secretaries, or housewives. During the sexual scenes, the man usually remained at least partially clothed, whereas the woman was usually naked.

Pornographic films also degrade women through “rape myth acceptance” scenes, which depict women being raped and ultimately enjoying the experience. These scenes foster the belief that women really “want” to be raped. Jeannette Norris of the University of Washington conducted a study in which a group of students read two versions of the same story depicting a woman being raped. The story, however, had two different endings: one version ended with the woman deeply distressed, the other ended with the woman seeming to enjoy herself. Even though the two stories were identical in every

way except for the woman's reaction at the end, the students viewed the scenario more positively when the story depicted the woman as enjoying the rape. They perceived the raped woman as having a greater "desire" to have sex and were thus more accepting of what the man had done.

Women tend to view pornography as more degrading of women than men do. When a sample of students was asked about their feelings toward pornography, 72 percent of the young women but only 23 percent of the young men stated their feelings were negative. Moreover, when asked if pornography is degrading, almost 90 percent of young women, but only 65 percent of young men, agreed that pornography is degrading.

CLINICAL CONSEQUENCES

Pornography consumption has more than just psychological and familial ramifications. There are numerous clinical consequences to pornography use, including increased risk for significant physical and mental health problems and a greater likelihood of committing a sex-based crime.

STDs AND OUT-OF-WEDLOCK PREGNANCIES. Since pornography encourages sexually permissive attitudes and behavior, users of pornography have a higher likelihood of contracting a sexually transmitted disease (STD) or fathering an out-of-wedlock pregnancy. Pornography's frequent depiction of intercourse without condoms (87 percent of the time) is an invitation for the promiscuous to contract a STD, to have a child out of wedlock and to have multiple sex partners. Pornography also promotes sexual compulsiveness, which doubles the likelihood of being infected with a STD.

SEXUAL ADDICTION. Pornography and "cybersex" are highly addictive and can lead to sexually compulsive behaviors (that decrease a person's capacity to perform other major tasks in life). Over 90 percent of therapists surveyed in one study believed that a person could become addicted to "cybersex." In an American survey, 57 percent of frequent viewers used online sexual activity to deal with stress. A 2006 Swedish study of regular Internet pornography users found that about six percent were compulsive users and that these compulsives also used much more non-Internet pornography as well.

Addictive pornography use leads to lower self-esteem and a weakened ability to carry out a meaningful social and work life. A survey of pornography addicts found that they disliked the "out of control" feeling and the time consumption that their pornography use engendered. All reported they had felt distressed and experienced impairment in an important aspect of their lives as a result of their addiction. Almost half said their behavior had significant negative results in their social lives, and a quarter reported negative effects on their job. No wonder, then, that severe clinical depression

was reported twice as frequently among Internet pornography users compared to non-users.

AGGRESSION AND ABUSE. Intense use of pornography is strongly related to sexual aggression, and among frequent viewers of pornography, there is a marked increase in sexual callousness, including the "rape myth acceptance" noted above. A significant portion of pornography is violent in content. A study of different pornographic media found violence in almost a quarter of magazine scenes, in more than a quarter of video scenes, and in almost half (over 42 percent) of online pornography. A second study found that almost half the violent Internet scenes included nonconsensual sex.

The data suggest "a modest connection between exposure to pornography and subsequent behavioral aggression," though when men consume *violent* pornography (i.e. depicting rape or torture), they are more likely to commit acts of sexual aggression. Pornography strongly affects psychotic men, who are more likely to act out their impulses.

Consumption of nonviolent pornography also increases men's self-acknowledged willingness to force compliance with their particular sexual desires on reluctant partners. And though there are conflicting data on the relative effects of violent versus non-violent pornography, there is little doubt that the consumption of pornography leads to a significant increase in "rape myth acceptance," which involves a reduction of sympathy with rape victims and a trivialization of rape as a criminal offense, a diminished concern about child sexual abuse, short of the rape of children, and an increased preparedness to resort to rape.

One study at a rape crisis center interviewed 100 sexually abused women to determine if pornography played a role in any past incidences of sexual abuse.





While 58 percent could not say, 28 percent stated that their abuser had in fact used pornography. Of these women, 40 percent reported that pornography actually played a role in the abusive incident they experienced. In some cases, the abuser had watched pornography before abusing the woman, in one case he used pornography while committing the abuse, and in yet some other cases he forced his victim to participate in the making of a pornographic film.

SEX OFFENDERS AND PORNOGRAPHY. Pornography viewing and sexual offense are inextricably linked. One study of convicted Internet sexual offenders reported that they spent more than eleven hours per week viewing pornographic images of children on the Internet. Another study compared two groups of offenders: those convicted of Internet collection and distribution of child pornography images, and those who commit real life child sex abuse. The results showed that a majority of those who were convicted of only Internet-based offenses also had committed real life sexual abuse of children. Moreover, the study also found that real life offenders had committed an average of over 13 different child sex abuse offenses, irrespective of whether they had formally been convicted of any real life incident.

A study of sex offenders revealed significant differences in adolescent pornography use as well as current use. Significant proportions of different types of rapists and molesters had used hard-core pornography during their adolescence: 33 percent of heterosexual child molesters, 39 percent of homosexual child molesters, and 33 percent of rapists. The current use of hard-core pornography was even greater for these groups: 67 percent of heterosexual child molesters, 67 percent of homosexual child molesters, and 83 percent of rapists, contrasted with 29 percent of non-offending pornography viewers.

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About a third of the sex offenders reported using pornography as a deliberate stimulus to commit their sexual offenses.

CONCLUSION

Contemporary society is alarmingly sexualized, and the traditional sexual taboos of a well-functioning society have broken down. As the empirical data make clear, pornography further misshapes this already dysfunctional sexuality, and the consumption of pornography can become a destructive addiction as well. This sexual malformation not only affects the consumer of pornography, but also weakens those close to him or her. Habitual consumption of pornography can break down the relational substrates of human life and interaction—family, friends and society. As such, reinforcing these relationships is the surest guard against such destructive sexual tendencies.

The cultural censure of disordered sexuality that enables stable family life has faded with the proliferation of Internet pornography. As a result, the effects of hyper-sexualization permeate society. Today's youth are reaching puberty earlier, engaging in sexual intercourse sooner, while "Emerging Adults" are cohabiting more, having children out of wedlock, and getting married significantly later or not at all.

The key to militating against these damaging patterns and to protecting against the effects of pornography is to foster relationships of affection and attachment in family. The first and most important relationship is between the father and mother. The second is engaged parents who love their children. In today's technological society, this means limiting, monitoring, and directing their children's Internet use. This, in turn, provides an invaluable shield against Internet pornography, and allows room for a healthy sexuality to unfold in a natural and socially supported way. In our over-sexualized culture, with a longer pre-marriage period, children need the capacity for abstinence if their sexuality is to be channeled into stable marriage, procreation, and healthy family life for their children. Strong families remain the best defense against the negative effects of pornography, especially when aided by regular religious worship with all the benefits it brings.

Finally, the fundamental role of government (including the courts) is to protect innocent citizens, most especially children, and to protect the sound functioning of the basic institutions of family, church, school, marketplace, and government. They are all interdependent.

Pornography, clearly, undermines both marriage and the family, and has a host of ill effects. It is time for government to reassess its laissez-faire attitude towards the proliferation of pornography, especially on the Internet. Our present and future families need protection from this insidious enemy of love, affection, family and social stability. ❖



Supporting the Life Choice

How Adoption Can Be an Alternative to Abortion

written by:
R. Matthew Lytle, Ph.D.

KELLY GOT PREGNANT AS AN UNMARRIED 18-YEAR-OLD. DURING HER TIME AT THE MATERNITY HOME, SHE MET WITH SEVERAL COUNSELORS WHO LISTED HER OPTIONS FOR HER UNBORN CHILD. FOR ANY WOMAN FACING AN UNPLANNED PREGNANCY TODAY, THE LEGAL OPTIONS ARE TO ABORT, PARENT, OR MAKE AN ADOPTION PLAN FOR HER CHILD. KELLY'S PRO-LIFE LEANINGS MEANT THAT ABORTION WAS NOT AN OPTION. WHEN FACED WITH THE CHOICE OF EITHER PARENTING THE CHILD OR PLACING HIM FOR ADOPTION, KELLY THOUGHT THE DECISION WOULD BE AN EASY ONE: TO PARENT.

Through continued counseling, Kelly started to consider the options presented to her. Her counselors suggested that she seriously consider all the options—not thinking just about herself, but also about her child. As she started to see her life through her son's eyes, Kelly began to understand that she would have to work full time in order to provide for her child. The possibility of rotating boyfriends would not be the best atmosphere for

her son. She also began to realize that a string of bad decisions had gotten her pregnant. She could not bear to make similar bad decisions for her child. In the end, Kelly chose to make an adoption plan for her son, describing her decision this way: "I can look my child in the eye one day and tell him that I made the best decision for him as his mother."

The Current Landscape

Unfortunately, Kelly's decision to choose adoption is not a common one. According to Child Trends, the teen birth rate in the United States "increased in 2006 for the first time in 15 years," totaling 441,832 births, a five percent increase over the previous year. Of these births, 84 percent occurred outside of wedlock. In North Carolina, there were 14,931 births to mothers under 20 out of 127,646 total births in 2006, meaning that 12 percent of all births in North Carolina were to mothers less than 20 years of age. Of these births, 83 percent occurred out of wedlock.

In addition to these births, 4,541 of the almost 30,000 abortions in North Carolina in 2006 were performed on women under age 20; 146 of these

“Teen mothers are more likely than other young women to drop out of school, remain unmarried, and become single parents, and to live in poverty and rely on public assistance.”

abortions were performed on girls age 10–14. In other words, over 15 percent of the abortions performed in North Carolina were performed on teen and pre-teen girls. Furthermore, over 23 percent of all pregnancies to girls under 20 in North Carolina ended in abortion.

Planned Parenthood notes, “More than 50 years ago, 95 percent of unmarried teen mothers placed their child for adoption,” but that “[t]oday, only two or three of every 100 teen pregnancies lead to births for which the mother makes an adoption plan.” The main reason for this dramatic decline in adoption is the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case *Roe v. Wade* in 1973. *Roe* overturned laws from individual states that either outlawed or restricted abortions, arguing that such restrictions were a violation of a woman’s right to privacy under the Fourteenth Amendment.



Because *Roe* made abortion legal and because abortion providers make getting abortions alarmingly easy, abortion has replaced adoption as a pregnant teen’s first choice. Even so, pro-life advocates have fought to overturn *Roe* since the Supreme Court’s decision. Much of this fight has come through legislation and demonstration. Legislation such as informed-consent and parental notification and consent laws have helped to fight abortion by making it more difficult for teens—and indeed any woman facing an unplanned pregnancy—to rush into having an abortion. Demonstration-based approaches to fighting abortion are also effective. Campaigns such as “40 Days for Life” and “Life Chain” help to fight abortion at the grassroots level. Pregnancy Resource Centers personally counsel women faced with unplanned pregnancies with the hope that these women choose life for their children. While all of these efforts are effective, the numbers show that thousands of teens in North Carolina still choose to abort their unborn children.

Why Birth Mothers Do Not Place for Adoption

Since most teen pregnancies occur outside of marriage, teens are often left without a support structure for raising a child. Many pregnant teens believe that they lack the resources to continue the pregnancy. According to Karen Bomgardner, director of client services for LifeCare Pregnancy Center in Raleigh, many girls say, “I can’t afford a child right now. I can go out and have an abortion for this price,” but as far as placing for adoption, they still feel like there’s medical care involved.” Bomgardner goes on to describe some myths associated with teen pregnancy finances: “Some of the clients have been told that they have to pay to place for adoption, and they don’t have enough money to pay a person to adopt their child.”

Furthermore, many teen mothers are either in high school or college. A pregnancy often means that the mother must drop out of school. Child Trends offers the following description of teenage motherhood: “The problems that teen mothers face are well documented. Teen mothers are more likely than other young women to drop out of school, remain unmarried, and become single parents, and to live in poverty and rely on public assistance.” While the report acknowledges that there are usually factors that existed in these teenagers’ lives prior to pregnancy, “teen parenthood seems to perpetuate many of these burdens.”

Before a teen must face motherhood, she must also face the pregnancy. Her body undergoes tremendous changes over an extended period of time. In most of these situations, there is no husband, and the boyfriend is often long gone. Allison Brame, Maternity Care Coordinator for the Warren County Health Department, describes most of her

clients as “teenage to young adult. The majority of them are high school dropouts and unemployed.” Because of this situation, many of them have “been in the welfare system their whole life,” as are their mothers and grandmothers.

ABORTION: Many girls in this situation believe abortion will be the easiest way out of the situation. “The best way I can say it, is that someone who is choosing abortion is trying to turn back the hands of time and act as if this never happened,” says Deborah Wood, CEO of Asheville Pregnancy Support Services. “But the reality is that you cannot undo a decision. The choice is already made, the result has already happened. The consequence is not going to go away.”

Even so, pregnant girls in this situation believe that abortion is a convenient and painless way to end the pregnancy without anyone knowing. Tom Strowd, executive director of LifeCare Pregnancy Center in Raleigh, NC, says, “Our studies show ... there are aftereffects for women who have an abortion—a multitude of things: guilt, anger, [and] grief.” Indeed, studies do confirm Strowd’s assertion, demonstrating that abortion can lead to several physical and psychological side-effects for the mother. Immediate physical complications can include cervical injury, abnormal bleeding, pelvic infection, perforated uterus, blood clots, incomplete abortion, and even death. There are also several long-term physical effects associated with abortion: premature births in later pregnancies, placenta previa, and possibly breast cancer. More troubling are the psychological effects that many studies link to abortion: depression, a specific form of post-traumatic stress disorder known as post-abortion syndrome, substance abuse, and even suicide.

PARENTING: Not every pregnant teenager chooses abortion, however, as evidenced by the 14,931 births to women under 20. Only 2–3 percent of these children will end up being adopted. The remaining 97–98 percent of mothers decide to raise their children. According to Brame, the prevailing mindset of birth mothers is as follows: “If I’m going to carry this baby for nine months, I might as well keep it.” Woods adds, “There’s no woman who would tell you that she could carry her child for nine months, watch her body go through all those changes, give birth, and then it wouldn’t break her heart to hand that baby over to someone else.” Unfortunately, according to Wood, “they believe that by never having the baby in the first place, that it is less painful.”

Benefits of Adoption

Notwithstanding the prevailing attitude toward adoption, adoption actually yields benefits for all involved.

CHILDREN: The most obvious benefit for adopted children is that their right to life is respected. Instead of being killed in utero, these children are

- Planned Parenthood performed 62 abortions for every one adoption referral.**
- There are 1.8 million adopted children in the U.S., or 2 percent of all American children.
- In 2008, 55,000 of the 123,000 children waiting were adopted.
- One-third (37 percent) of adoptions involved children in foster care.
- 38 percent of adoptions were private domestic adoptions.
- One-quarter of adoptions were international.
- Nearly one-quarter (24 percent) of adopted children were adopted by relatives.
- Four of 10 parents of adopted children reported paying expenses of \$10,000 or more to adopt their child. Adopting children from foster care was the least expensive.

Family Relationships:

- 36 percent of adopted children have post-adoption contact with their birth family.
- Over two-thirds of all adopted children lived with two married parents in 2007.
- Nearly all adopted children older than age 5 know they are adopted.

Well-being:

- 85 percent of adopted children are in excellent or very good health.
- 68 percent of adopted children are read to every day as a young child (versus 48 percent of children in the general population).
- 73 percent of adopted children are sung to or told stories daily (versus 59 percent of children in the general population).

*Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, “Adoption USA: A Chartbook Based on the 2007 National Survey of Adoptive Parents,” Published 11/23/09.

**Source: Planned Parenthood, “Annual Report 2007-08,” Published April 2009.

given a chance at life. In addition, adoption gives these children the opportunity to thrive.

A Child Trends study reported that children born to young mothers exhibited more developmental problems than children born to older mothers. Specifically, the research found that “children born to mothers aged 17 and younger performed significantly worse on math, reading, and general knowledge tests and teacher assessments than children born to mothers aged 20 and older.”

Similarly, children raised by younger mothers “scored lower on five out of six teacher and direct assessments,” were more likely “to be impulsive or overactive and to suffer from anxiety, loneliness, low self-esteem, or sadness,” and “had fewer fine motor skills than children of mothers aged 20 and older and lower ratings of overall health than children of mothers aged 22–29.”

The research found that the major factor in the children’s development was not the mother’s age, but her life situation. The research indicates that



who has the interest of the child first and is willing to go through a lot of hardship to give her child what she can,” notes Emily Bellflower of New Life Christian Adoption. “It’s not a flippant decision, but it’s definitely the best to make.”

An Alternative to Abortion

The unfortunate fact is that once a teenager becomes pregnant, her life will irrevocably change. There is no going back; sacrifice will necessarily be involved. The real question before the mother is who will sacrifice. This sacrifice will either be borne by both the mother and her child or primarily by the mother.

Adoption involves tremendous sacrifice on the part of the birth mother. It involves sacrifice in that the mother has to carry the child to term and then place the child in the care of a family that is better equipped to care for the child’s needs. When this happens, it gives the child a chance to have opportunities to thrive that he or she otherwise would not have. In addition, being raised by adoptive parents in a father-mother family gives the child an opportunity to break the realm of dependence on welfare—hopefully breaking the cycle of poor choices that often lead to teen pregnancy.

In this way, adoption is a powerful weapon in the fight to end abortion. It is the chance to take teen pregnancy and redeem it so that all parties involved benefit. While this is the case, the fact remains that the vast majority of mothers do not choose to place their children for adoption.

The best way to change this is to educate birth mothers in order to help them understand the benefits of adoption. Bellflower believes that “one of the things that would help [birth mothers see adoption as a viable option] is if birth mothers were to speak out about their experience. ... [I]f birth mothers could speak, and if there could somehow be some movement about adoption where people were just as educated about adoption as they are about abortion and understand that there is life after adoption, and even though it hurts to place your child, at least you know your child is okay.”

Kelly Pizzino, director of NewLife Christian Adoption, expressed her vision for adoption this way: “I hope that one day, adoption would be the new abortion. By that I mean that, when a girl gets pregnant, many times she thinks of abortion as her first option. I hope that one day, girls would begin to think of adoption first.” ❖

“the analyses show that part of the reason children of teen mothers begin kindergarten behind in several areas is because of their family’s social and lower economic status and a likelihood of being in a single-parent household.”

BIRTH MOTHERS: While most birth mothers cannot imagine placing a child for adoption, adoption gives young mothers a chance to get their lives in order. By not devoting all their resources to caring for a child, girls can focus on getting an education and work on getting themselves out of or avoiding poverty.

Mothers who choose adoption also save themselves from having to endure the damaging effects of abortion. From the experiences of the Raleigh LifeCare staff, Strowd indicates that women who have an abortion face a “doubly devastating effect.” According to Strowd, “[F]or a woman carrying a child—it’s part of what that woman was created for, that nourishing and helping and caring. And so there’s not only been the loss that she will eventually deal with and agonize [over] and suffer, but there’s also the horror of realizing that she created the loss—that she was the one who caused it. It’s a double kind of loss.”

Choosing adoption allows mothers to look beyond themselves by placing the needs of their children above their own needs. “I don’t know if ‘hero’ is the right term, but it really takes a mother

R. Matthew Lytle is a former director of research for the North Carolina Family Policy Council. For a footnoted version of this article, please visit ncfamily.org.

General Assembly Votes

Selected Votes from the 2009 Legislative Session

compiled by:
**Brittany
Farrell**

WITH THE TRADITIONAL DROP OF A WHITE HANDKERCHIEF AND A BANG OF THE BELL ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 11TH, THE 2009 “LONG” SESSION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADJOURNED. ACCORDING TO LEGISLATIVE STAFF, LAWMAKERS RATIFIED 610 BILLS, ONE OF WHICH WAS A \$19 BILLION STATE BUDGET THAT INCLUDED NEARLY \$1 BILLION IN NEW AND HIGHER TAXES. NORTH CAROLINA’S TOBACCO LOBBY LOST THE BATTLE TO PREVENT A BROAD BAN ON SMOKING IN MOST INDOOR SPACES ACROSS THE STATE. TWO MAJOR BILLS OF CONCERN FOR FAMILIES WITH STUDENTS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM WERE PUSHED THROUGH AFTER YEARS OF SUCCESSFUL OPPOSITION BY MANY PRO-FAMILY CITIZENS AND GROUPS.

The “Healthy Youth Act” went through many and diverse variations before finally mustering enough votes to pass both chambers. The final version amended the state’s sex education law to require instruction to incorporate more contraception-focused material in addition to the existing Abstinence-Until-Marriage standard, and eliminated a requirement that local school boards hold a public hearing before implementing comprehensive sex education.

The pro-homosexual version of the “Bullying Bill” hijacked a statewide public school anti-bullying policy as a means to introduce special protections based on “sexual orientation” and “gender identity” into state law for the first time.

Legislators authorized Superior Court Judges to perform marriages in the State, but a House committee killed a similar bill that would have given mayors the same authority.

For years, the General Assembly has debated the role and legal framework surrounding closed adoptions in the state. This year, a bill that would essentially eliminate the option of closed adoptions sailed easily through the House, but stalled in a Senate committee over concerns that it would breach the existing understanding of mothers who had chosen closed adoptions in the past and whose children are now adults searching for them. On the final full day of the Senate session, the bill was removed from the floor calendar and scheduled for consideration on May 19, 2010.

Keep in mind that the bills included in this votes paper fail to tell the whole story. These are merely a fraction of the bills introduced during the legislative session. They are some of the lucky few that managed to receive a vote by our elected

representatives. Hundreds of other bills that never received a final vote fell by the wayside at adjournment, including a great deal of pro-life and pro-family legislation.

For the sixth year in a row, the General Assembly neglected to act on measures that would allow North Carolina voters the opportunity to vote on whether to include the definition of marriage as “the union of one man and one woman” in the State’s Constitution. As a result, North Carolina remains the only state in the Southeast that has failed to take decisive action to protect the definition of marriage in its constitution.

A bill that would have authorized the issuance of “Choose Life” license plates remains eligible for consideration when the legislature reconvenes in May. If approved, North Carolina would become the 24th state to offer the specialty plate, which would raise funds for pregnancy resource centers.

The 2010-2011 Session of the North Carolina General Assembly is scheduled to convene at Noon on Wednesday, May 12, 2010.

Researching Votes

This article includes information on select votes taken by the House and Senate during the 2009 Legislative Session. Throughout the session, we reported on the progress of many of these bills. This report is not intended to be a “voter’s guide,” although many citizens may want to use this information to talk with legislators about their positions on various issues. Additional “Votes” papers from prior legislative sessions are available on the NCFPC Web site ncfamily.org.

If you are interested in researching how members of the General Assembly voted on certain issues yourself, you can access the General Assembly website at www.ncleg.net, or visit the General Assembly library in the legislative building in Raleigh. The library has copies of every bill introduced during the session, all amendments considered on the chamber floors, copies of all conference reports, and copies of all recorded votes.

Being informed is an effective way to influence your lawmakers as you advocate for important public policy issues that matter to your family.

Due to space limitation, votes for members of the legislature who left before their term expired and the Speaker of the House, who votes at his pleasure, have not been published here. Those members’ records on these votes, as well as additional votes for all members are available with more information at ncfamily.org. ❖

SENATE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

Ref.	Bill No.	Vote Description	Vote #	Date	Final
1	SB 202	Senate vote on the Conference Report for SB 202—Appropriations Act of 2009. The Conference Report for SB 202 appropriates \$19 billion for the state’s operating budget for the 2010-2011 fiscal years, and includes a tax package consisting of a one cent increase in the sales tax, increased taxes on cigarettes, liquor, and beer, and income tax surcharges on individuals and corporations making as little as \$60,000 per year.	1056	8/5/09	27–18
2	SB 440	Senate 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for SB 440—Establish Gestational Surrogacy Agreements. The SCS for SB 440 would establish a legal structure for regulating contracts between intended parents and surrogate mothers, who are hired to carry and give birth to a child conceived through assisted reproductive technology. The bill never received a final vote in the Senate and remains eligible for consideration in the 2010 legislative session.	336	5/13/09	31–17
3	SB 526	Senate vote on the motion to Table Amendment #3 to the SCS for SB 526—School Violence Prevention Act. Amendment #3, by Sen. Eddie Goodall (R–Union), to remove the list of characteristics, including “sexual orientation” and “gender identity,” considered to be motivation for acts of bullying, so as to provide equal protection to all students in a state-wide public school policy that purports to protect students against bullying. The motion to Table Amendment #3 essentially kills the amendment from further consideration.	202	5/5/09	26–22
4	SB 526	Senate 3rd Reading vote on the SCS for SB 526—School Violence Prevention Act. The SCS for SB 526 establishes a state-wide public school policy that purports to protect students against bullying by listing characteristics that could motivate acts of bullying, including “sexual orientation” and “gender identity.”	237	5/6/09	26–22
5	SB 992	Senate 3rd Reading vote on SB 992—Authorize Mayors to Solemnize Marriage. SB 992 would add mayors to the current list of ordained ministers, magistrates, and tribal chiefs authorized to perform marriages in the state.	424	5/14/09	35–9
6	SB 1018	Senate vote on the motion to Concur with the HCS2 for SB 1018—Ban Certain Single-Use Bags. The HCS2 for SB 1018 bans the use of plastic bags by most stores in coastal counties, except to hold certain grocery items.	681	6/22/09	44–2
7	HB 2	Senate 3rd Reading vote on the SCS for HB 2—Prohibit Smoking in Certain Public Places. The SCS for HB 2 implements a ban on smoking in government buildings and vehicles, and “in all enclosed areas of restaurants and bars” in the state.	300	5/11/09	30–18
8	HB 88	Senate vote on Amendment #2 to the SCS for HB 88—Healthy Youth Act. Amendment #2, by Sen. Eddie Goodall (R–Union), to require parental consent for students to be enrolled in a new contraception-focused portion of the state’s sex education curriculum as amended to incorporate more contraception-focused material into the current Abstinence-Until-Marriage (AUM) curriculum.	686	6/23/09	22–25
9	HB 88	Senate vote on Amendment #4 to the SCS for HB 88—Healthy Youth Act. Amendment #4, by Sen. Andrew Brock (R–Davie), to prohibit the promotion, teaching, or counseling of non-heterosexual relationships as part of changes in the state’s sex education curriculum to incorporate more contraception-focused material into the current AUM curriculum.	687	6/23/09	19–28
10	HB 88	Senae vote on the motion to Call the Previous Question on 2nd Reading of the SCS for HB 88—Healthy Youth Act. The SCS for HB 88 amends the state’s sex education curriculum for public school students in grades 7-9 by incorporating more contraceptive-focused material into the current AUM curriculum to create a single course with both contraception and abstinence materials and information for all students. The motion to Call the Previous Questions ends the opportunity for debate on the bill.	689	6/23/09	28–19
11	HB 88	Senate 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for HB 88—Healthy Youth Act. The SCS for HB 88 amends the state’s sex education curriculum for public school students in grades 7-9 by incorporating more contraceptive-focused material into the current AUM curriculum to create a single course with both contraception and abstinence materials and information for all students.	690	6/23/09	25–21
12	HB 442	Senate 2nd Reading vote on the HCS for HB 442—Parental Involvement in School Discipline. The HCS for HB 442 would require schools that practice corporal punishment to allow parents to opt their child out of corporal punishment, and would require an attempt to notify parents before administering corporal punishment.	709	6/24/09	21–25
13	HB 494	Senate 3rd Reading vote on HB 494—Superior Court Judge May Perform Marriage. HB 494 adds Superior Court judges to the established list of ordained ministers, magistrates, and tribal chiefs authorized to perform marriages in the state.	122	4/9/09	38–9
14	HB 1110	Senate vote on Amendment #1 to SCS for HB 1110—Clarify/Alienation of Affection/Criminal Conversation. Amendment #1, by Sen. Jerry Tillman (R–Randolph), to allow acts occurring within 120 days after separation to be considered in a cause of action for alienation of affection or criminal conversation brought against third parties who interfere with a marriage.	814	7/8/09	23–23
15	HB 1110	Senate 3rd Reading vote on the SCS for HB 1110—Clarify/Alienation of Affection/Criminal Conversation. The SCS for HB 1110 limits the legal actions available for wronged spouses to bring against third parties who interfere with a marriage to acts that occur prior to separation.	815	7/8/09	32–14
16	HB 1261	Senate 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for HB 1261—Protect Our Kids/Cyber Bullying Misdemeanor. The SCS for HB 1261 establishes a misdemeanor penalty for activity intended to “embarrass, intimidate, or torment a minor” through electronic means. HB 1261 does not enumerate possible motivating characteristics or categories of minors needing special protection.	1151	8/6/09	39–2
17	HB 1289	Senate 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for HB 1289—Lottery-No Check Cashing Sites/High School Ads. The SCS for HB 1289 would prohibit lottery advertising related to high school sports, and the sale of lottery tickets at businesses “where the majority of its business, not including lottery sales, is the cashing of checks, drafts, or money orders.”	925	7/20/09	20–23
18	HB 1595	Senate 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for HB 1595—Malt Beverage Special Permit. The SCS for HB 1595 allows breweries, distributors and importers to purchase permits to offer beer samples to customers at retail locations.	898	7/15/09	36–11

(The letters “HCS” and “SCS” in the descriptions above stand for “House Committee Substitute” and “Senate Committee Substitute,” respectively.)

(Lieutenant Governor Walter Dalton is only permitted to vote in order to break a tie.)

SENATE VOTES

Legislator/Party	Dist.	Home Co.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Charles W. Albertson (D)	10	Duplin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	EA	EA	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Austin M. Allran (R)	42	Catawba	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Tom Apodaca (R)	48	Henderson	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Bob Atwater (D)	18	Chatham	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	EA	N	Y
Marc Basnight (D)	1	Dare	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Doug Berger (D)	7	Franklin	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	EA	N	Y	Y	N	Y
Phil Berger (R)	26	Rockingham	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Stan Bingham (R)	33	Davidson	EA	Y	N	N	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y
Harris Blake (R)	22	Moore	N	EA	EA	NV	EA	Y	EA	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Dan Blue (D)	14	Wake	Y					Y		N	N	Y	Y	Y		N	Y	EA	Y	Y
Julia Boseman (D)	9	New Hanover	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	EA	EA	Y	Y
Andrew C. Brock (R)	34	Davie	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Harry Brown (R)	6	Onslow	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Peter S. Brunstetter (R)	31	Forsyth	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Debbie A. Clary (R)	46	Cleveland	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y
Daniel G. Clodfelter (D)	37	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Walter Dalton (D)		Rutherford														N				
Charlie Smith Dannelly (D)	38	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Don Davis (D)	5	Greene	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Katie G. Dorsett (D)	28	Guilford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	EA	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Don East (R)	30	Surry	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Tony Foriest (D)	24	Alamance	NV	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
James Forrester (R)	41	Gaston	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N
Linda Garrou (D)	32	Forsyth	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
W. Edward (Eddie) Goodall (R)	35	Union	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Steve Goss (D)	45	Watauga	Y	N	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N
Malcolm Graham (D)	40	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	EA	N	Y	EA	EA	Y
Fletcher L. Hartsell, Jr. (R)	36	Cabarrus	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	EA	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
David W. Hoyle (D)	43	Gaston	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	EA	EA	Y	N	Y
Neal Hunt (R)	15	Wake	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Jim Jacumin (R)	44	Burke	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Clark Jenkins (D)	3	Edgecombe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	EA	N	Y
Ed Jones (D)	4	Halifax	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	EA	Y
Eleanor Kinnaird (D)	23	Orange	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Floyd B. McKissick, Jr. (D)	20	Durham	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	EA	N	Y
Martin L. Nesbitt, Jr. (D)	49	Buncombe	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	EA	Y
Jean Preston (R)	2	Careret	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y
William R. Purcell (R)	25	Scotland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	EA	Y
Joe Sam Queen (D)	47	Haywood	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	EA	Y
Tony Rand (D)	19	Cumberland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	NV	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y
David Rouzer (R)	12	Johnston	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Bob Rucho (R)	39	Mecklenburg	N	N	N	N	EA	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y
Larry Shaw (D)	21	Cumberland	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	Y	EA	EA	NV	Y	EA
John Snow (D)	50	Cherokee	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N
R. C. Soles, Jr. (D)	8	Columbus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Josh Stein (D)	16	Wake	NV	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
Richard Stevens (R)	17	Wake	EA	Y	N	N	Y	EA	Y	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	N	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA
A. B. Swindell (D)	11	Nash	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Jerry W. Tillman (R)	29	Randolph	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Don Vaughan (D)	27	Guilford	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
David F. Weinstein (D)	13	Robeson	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	EA

VOTE KEY:
 "Y" = Yes
 "N" = No
 "EA" = Excused Absence
 "EV" = Excused Vote
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HOUSE VOTE DESCRIPTIONS

Ref.	Bill No.	Vote Description	Vote #	Date	Final
1	HB 2	<i>House vote on the motion to Concur with the SCS for</i> HB 2—Prohibit Smoking in Certain Public Places. The SCS for HB 2 implements a ban on smoking in government buildings and vehicles, and “in all enclosed areas of restaurants and bars” in the state.	411	5/13/09	62–56
2	HB 88	<i>House vote on Amendment #3 to the HCS for</i> HB 88—Healthy Youth Act. Amendment #3, by Rep. Bruce Goforth (D–Buncombe), to delete a recognition of “long-term committed relationships” as equivalent to marriage as the proper context for sexual activity as part of changes in the state’s sex education curriculum.	156	4/15/09	105–11
3	HB 88	<i>House vote on Amendment #4 to</i> HB 88—Healthy Youth Act. Amendment #4, by Rep. Mitch Gillespie (R–McDowell), to require schools to “accurately describe the contents of” both Abstinence-Until-Marriage (AUM) and Comprehensive Sexuality Education (CSE), including a list of all FDA-approved contraceptives as part of changes in the state’s sex education curriculum.	157	4/15/09	53–64
4	HB 88	<i>House vote on Amendment #8 to</i> HB 88—Healthy Youth Act. Amendment #8, by Rep. Paul Stam (R–Wake), to delete the word “unprotected” before the term sexual activity in a list describing risky behaviors for adolescents in the state’s sex education curriculum.	171	4/16/09	52–62
5	HB 88	<i>House 3rd Reading vote on the HCS for</i> HB 88—Healthy Youth Act. The HCS for HB 88 would amend the state’s sex education curriculum for public school students in grades 7-9 by instituting a three-track system of sex education (abstinence until marriage, comprehensive sex education, or neither). parent declined to choose one of these tracks, a child could not be enrolled in sex education.	175	4/16/09	62–52 If a
6	HB 88	<i>House vote on the motion to Concur with the SCS for</i> HB 88—Healthy Youth Act. The SCS for HB 88 amends the state’s sex education curriculum for public school students in grade 7-9 by incorporating more contraceptive-focused material into the current AUM curriculum to create a single course with both contraception and abstinence materials and information for all students.	851	6/25/09	60–55
7	HB 442	<i>House 2nd Reading vote on the HCS for</i> HB 442—Parental Involvement in School Discipline. The HCS for HB 442 would require schools that practice corporal punishment to allow parents to opt their child out of corporal punishment, and would require an attempt to notify parents before administering corporal punishment.	220	4/27/09	91–24
8	HB 524	<i>House 3rd Reading vote on the HCS3 for</i> HB 524—Annexation – Omnibus Changes. The HCS3 for HB 524 would reform the 50-year old annexation statute to require a referendum of citizens in both the city being annexed and the annexing city if 15 percent of the residents sign a petition asking for a referendum before an annexation could go into effect. The bill remains eligible for Senate consideration in the 2010 legislative session.	1104	7/23/09	83–31
9	HB 1110	<i>House vote on Amendment #3 to the HCS2 for</i> HB 1110—Clarify/Alienation of Affection/Criminal Conversation. Amendment #3, by Rep. Johnathan Rhyne (R–Lincoln), to allow post-separation acts to be considered as corroborating evidence in suits accusing a third party who interferes with a marriage of alienation of affection or criminal conversation.	506	5/14/09	58–60
10	HB 1110	<i>House vote on the motion to Concur with the HCS2 for</i> HB 1110—Clarify/Alienation of Affection/Criminal Conversation. The HCS2 for HB 1110 limits the legal actions available for wronged spouses to bring against third parties who interfere with a marriage to acts that occur prior to separation.	1093	7/22/09	63–48
11	HB 1261	<i>House vote on the motion to Concur with the SCS for</i> HB 1261—Protect Our Kids/Cyber Bullying Misdemeanor. The SCS for HB 1261 establishes a misdemeanor penalty for activity intended to “embarrass, intimidate, or torment a minor” through electronic means. HB 1261 does not enumerate possible motivating characteristics or categories of victims.	1370	8/10/09	114–0
12	HB 1289	<i>House 2nd Reading vote on the HCS for</i> HB 1289—Lottery-No Check Cashing Sites/High School Ads. The HCS for HB 1289 would prohibit the sale of lottery tickets at businesses “where the majority of its business, not including lottery sales, is the cashing of checks, drafts, or money orders.”	400	5/12/09	84–29
13	HB 1595	<i>House vote on the motion to Concur with SCS for</i> HB 1595—Malt Beverage Special Permit. The SCS for HB 1595 allows breweries, distributors and importers to offer beer samples to customers at retail locations.	1095	7/22/09	84–28
14	SB 202	<i>House vote on the Conference Report for</i> SB 202—Appropriations Act of 2009. The Conference Report for SB 202 appropriates \$19 billion for the states operating budget for the 2010-2011 fiscal years, and includes a tax package consisting of a one cent increase in the sales tax, increased taxes on cigarettes, liquor, and beer, and income tax surcharges on individuals and corporataions making as little as \$60,000 per year.	1232	8/5/09	65–52
15	SB 526	<i>House vote on the motion to Rerefer the SCS for</i> SB 526—School Violence Prevention Act to the Committee on Education. This motion would have re-referred the “Bullying Bill” from the floor back to the Committee on Education to amend the bill title to remove a list of characteristics, including “sexual orientation” and “gender identity,” considered to be motivation for acts of bullying, so as to provide equal protection to all students. House rules prohibit amending a bill title on the floor.	816	6/22/09	57–59
16	SB 526	<i>House 2nd Reading vote on the SCS for</i> SB 526—School Violence Prevention Act. The SCS for SB 526 would establish a state-wide public school policy that purports to protect students against bullying by listing characteristics that could motivate acts of bullying, including “sexual orientation” and “gender identity.”	817	6/22/09	59–57
17	SB 526	<i>House vote on Amendment #1 to the SCS for</i> SB 526—School Violence Prevention Act. Amendment #1, by Rep. John Blust (R–Guilford), to establish consequences, including corporal punishment, suspension and expulsion, for students who violate the state anti-bullying policy put in place by SB 526.	826	6/23/09	50–65
18	SB 526	<i>House 3rd Reading vote on the SCS for</i> SB 526—School Violence Prevention Act. The SCS for SB 526 establishes a state-wide public school policy that purports to protect students against bullying by listing characteristics that could motivate acts of bullying, including “sexual orientation” and “gender identity.”	830	6/23/09	58–57
19	SB 1018	<i>House 2nd Reading vote on the HCS2 for</i> SB 1018—Ban Certain Single-Use Bags. The HCS2 for SB 1018 bans the use of platic bags by most stores in coastal counties, except to hold certain grocery items.	802	6/18/09	78–41

Legislator/Party	Dist.	Home Co.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Alma Adams (D)	5858	Guilford	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Kelly M. Alexander, Jr. (D)	107	Mecklenburg	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Martha Alexander (D)	106	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Lucy T. Allen (D)	49	Franklin	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Marilyn Avila (R)	40	Wake	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	NV	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Jeff Barnhart (R)	82	Cabarrus	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	EA	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	EA	EA	N
Larry M. Bell (D)	21	Sampson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	NV	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y

HOUSE VOTES

<i>Legislator/Party</i>	<i>Dist.</i>	<i>Home Co.</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
Hugh Blackwell (R)	86	Burke	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Curtis Blackwood (R)	68	Union	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
John M. Blust (R)	62	Guilford	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Jamie Boles (R)	52	Moore	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Alice L. Bordsen (D)	63	Alamance	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
R. Van Braxton (D)	10	Lenoir	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
William D. Brisson (D)	22	Bladen	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	EA	EA	Y
Larry R. Brown (R)	73	Forsyth	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Harold J. Brubaker (R)	78	Randolph	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Angela R. Bryant (D)	7	Nash	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Justin Burr (R)	67	Stanly	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Pearl Burris-Floyd (R)	110	Gaston	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N
Becky Carney (D)	102	Mecklenburg	EA	EA	EA	EA	EA	Y	EA	N	EA	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
George Cleveland (R)	14	Onslow	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Lorene Coates (D)	77	Rowan	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Nelson Cole (D)	65	Rockingham	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Tricia Ann Cotham (D)	100	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Jim Crawford (D)	32	Granville	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
William Current, Sr. (R)	109	Gaston	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
N. Leo Daughtry (R)	26	Johnston	N	Y	Y	EA	EA	N	EA	Y	Y	NV	Y	N	NV	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Margaret H. Dickson (D)	44	Cumberland	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Jerry C. Dockham (R)	80	Davidson	N	EA	EA	EA	EA	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Nelson Dollar (R)	36	Wake	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Beverly M. Earle (D)	101	Mecklenburg	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Bob England, M.D. (D)	112	Rutherford	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Bill Faison (D)	50	Orange	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Jean Farmer-Butterfield (D)	24	Wilson	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Susan C. Fisher (D)	114	Buncombe	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Elmer Floyd (D)	43	Cumberland	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Dale R. Folwell (R)	74	Forsyth	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	EA	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Phillip Frye (R)	84	Mitchell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Pryor Gibson (D)	69	Anson	Y	Y	N	EA	EA	Y	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Rosa U. Gill (D)	33	Wake						Y		Y		Y	Y		Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Mitch Gillespie (R)	85	McDowell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Rick Glazier (D)	45	Cumberland	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	EA	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Bruce Goforth (D)	115	Buncombe	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Melanie W. Goodwin (D)	66	Richmond	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	EA	Y	Y	EA	N	Y	N	Y	Y
W. Robert Grady (R)	15	Onslow	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
David Guice (R)	113	Transylvania	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Jim Gulley (R)	103	Mecklenburg	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
R. Phillip Haire (D)	119	Jackson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	EA	Y	Y	EA	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Larry D. Hall (D)	29	Durham	Y	N	N	N	Y	EA	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	EA	EA	EA	Y
Ty Harrell (D)	41	Wake	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Pricey Harrison (D)	57	Guilford	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Dewey L. Hill (D)	20	Columbus	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y
Mark K. Hilton (R)	96	Catawba	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Hugh Holliman (D)	81	Davidson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Bryan R. Holloway (R)	91	Stokes	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	M
Julie C. Howard (R)	79	Davie	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	M
Sandra Spaulding Hughes (D)	18	New Hanover	Y	NV	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Pat B. Hurley (R)	70	Randolph	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	M
Frank Iler (R)	17	Brunswick						N		Y		N	Y		Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	M
Dan W. Ingle (R)	64	Alamance						N		Y		N	Y		N	N	Y	N	Y	N	M
Verla Insko (D)	56	Orange	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	EA	N	EA	Y	Y	EA	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Darren Jackson (D)	39	Wake	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	EA	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Maggie Jeffus (D)	59	Guilford	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y

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Linda P. Johnson (R)	83	Cabarrus	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	M
Earl Jones (D)	60	Guilford	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Carolyn H. Justice (R)	16	Pender	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	EA	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Carolyn K. Justus (R)	117	Henderson	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Ric Killian (R)	105	Mecklenburg	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
James H. Langdon, Jr. (R)	28	Johnston	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
David R. Lewis (R)	53	Harnett	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	EV	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Jimmy L. Love, Sr. (D)	51	Lee	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Marvin W. Lucas (D)	42	Cumberland	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Paul Luebke (D)	30	Durham	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	EA	EA	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Nick Mackey (D)	99	Mecklenburg	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Grier Martin (D)	34	Wake	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Daniel F. McComas (R)	19	New Hanover	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Darrell McCormick (R)	92	Yadkin	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Pat McElraft (R)	13	Carteret	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
William C. "Bill" McGee (R)	75	Forsyth	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Marian McLawhorn (D)	9	Pitt	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	EA	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Henry M. Michaux, Jr. (D)	31	Durham	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	NV	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Grey Mills (R)	95	Iredell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Annie W. Mobley (D)	5	Hertford	Y	Y	N	N	Y	EA	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Tim Moore (R)	111	Cleveland	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Wil Neumann (R)	108	Gaston	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	EA	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Bill Owens (D)	1	Pasquotank	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Earline W. Parmon (D)	72	Forsyth	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Garland E. Pierce (D)	48	Scotland	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Shirley Randleman (R)	94	Wilkes	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	NV	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Ray Rapp (D)	118	Madison	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Johnathan Rhyne, Jr. (R)	97	Lincoln	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	EA	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Deborah Ross (D)	38	Wake	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	EA	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Efton Sager (R)	11	Wayne	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Ruth Samuelson (R)	104	Mecklenburg	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	EA	EA	Y	N	N
Mitchell S. Setzer (R)	89	Catawba	N	Y	Y	Y	N	EA	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Timothy L. Spear (D)	2	Washington	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y
Paul Stam (R)	37	Wake	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Edgar V. Starnes (R)	87	Caldwell	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Fred F. Steen, II (R)	76	Rowan	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Sarah Stevens (R)	90	Surry	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Randy Stewart (D)	25	Nash	Y	Y	N	EA	EA	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Ronnie Sutton (D)	47	Robeson	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	NV	Y
Cullie M. Tarleton (D)	93	Watauga	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Thom Tillis (R)	98	Mecklenburg	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N
Joe P. Tolson (D)	23	Edgecombe	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Russell E. Tucker (D)	4	Duplin	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	EA	Y	N	EA	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Alice G. Underhill (D)	3	Craven	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
William L. Wainwright (D)	12	Craven	Y	Y	N	N	Y	EA	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Edith D. Warren (D)	8	Pitt	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Ray Warren (D)	88	Alexander	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	NV	NV	EA	EA	Y
Jennifer Weiss (D)	35	Wake	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Roger West (R)	120	Cherokee	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Jane Whilden (D)	116	Buncombe	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	NV	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Laura I. Wiley (R)	61	Guilford	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
W.A. (Winkie) Wilkins (D)	55	Person	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Arthur Williams (D)	6	Beaufort	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
Larry Womble (D)	71	Forsyth	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Michael H. Wray (D)	27	Northampton	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	EA	Y	Y	EA	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
Douglas Y. Yongue (D)	46	Scotland	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y

VOTE KEY:
 "Y" = Yes
 "N" = No
 "EA" = Excused Absence
 "EV" = Excused Vote
 "NV" = Not Voting

Upcoming Dinners

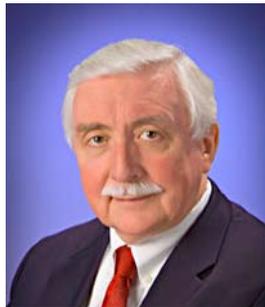
The North Carolina Family Policy Council hosts several Major Speaker Series dinners across the state each year to highlight ways the Council serves families of North Carolina and to allow those in attendance to hear from nationally renowned experts on a wide variety of topics.

Greenville

Thursday, February 4, 2010

Keynote Speaker — Patrick Fagan, Ph.D.

Dr. Fagan is Senior Fellow and Director of the Center for Research on Marriage and Religion at the Family Research Council. He has authored or co-authored a vast number of scholarly articles on the effects of divorce on America, the benefits of marriage for society, the dangers of universal daycare, and the roots of child poverty. Dr. Fagan is the primary author of the Mapping America Project, which the NCFPC co-publishes with the Family Research Council. His articles have appeared in *National Review Online*, *Human Events*, and *Family North Carolina*.



Come *join* us

For more information, or to sponsor a table, please call the NCFPC office at (919) 807-0800

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