The Country is Going to Hell: Conservative Christian Groups Use of Chaos Rhetoric as the Root of American Aversion to Same-Sex Marriage

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Introduction

Throughout my studies as a Religion major at Colgate, I have become increasingly fascinated with the role that religious communities play in constructing individual morality. Additionally, as a member of the LGBTQ+ community, I have long had an interest in how politically conservative Americans' positions on same-sex marriage and homosexuality are shaped by religion. To more closely explore the influence that The conclusion that biblical literalism and authority was the root of evangelical aversion towards same-sex marriage was further elevated in my previous project by my use of Saba O cj o qqf ¢u'\j gqt { ''qh'r qukkxg''gyj keu0'Rqukkxg''gyj keu'\vpf gtuvcpf u''gyj keu''cu''ce\kqp0[°] It claims that kpf kxkf wcnu¢'ce\kqpu''ctg'tguwnu''qh'\j gkt 'õtgrc\kqpuj kr ''\q''c''o qtcrl'eqf g0^{°4} However, individuals do not construct their own moral code contingently but tcyj gt''dwkff ''qpg''dcugf ''wr qp''\j g'õtgrc\kqpuj kr '' yj c\'ku''guy pg wj Ò reveals a small, homogeneous, and fairly regionally isolated percentage of individuals who identify as evangelical Protestants. With such small and limited representation, it is misleading to believe that evangelical tenets of biblical authority and biblical literalism have the influence and power to dissuade nearly half of the U.S. primary source of aversion to same-sex marriage in a largely disap

It is relational, meaning its authority impacts individuals in different ways. Some individuals attach less authority and others attach more, depending upon their perspective on the truth values of the text. For example, a secular professor of religion mii j vhqndcvhj g'Dkdrg''cu'õhpg'' nkgtcwtg.ö'y j gtgcu'c'dkdrkecn'hkgtcrkuvhugu'y g'Dkdrg''q'htco g'y g''gpvktg'y qtrf ''ctqwpf ''y go 0¹⁸ Each clearly attaches relational influence of the Bible and its texts to their own lives in dramatically different ways. The professor may use it as a historical text, merely reflecting its truth so far as it pertained to the authors at the time the Bible was written. On the contrary, biblical literalists utilize the Bible as a proof text which constructs their own religious and moral truths in the present day. Second, biblical authority implies legitimacy and justification. As a form of legitimacy and justification, biblical authority provides biblical texts as direct evidence õxq'o cng''dgrkghu.''cevkkkgu ''cpf ''r qukkqpu''etgf kdrg@^{1992.14} reW^hBT/F3 8.04 Tf1 0 00300B33 9 540.12 746.040 0 lae

that they are actually quite ambiguous. The Bible does not include instances of homosexuality wpf gtuqqf "cu"õý g'r u{ej qmj kecn"f kur qukkqp 'ý cv"kpenkpgu"r gqr rg"\q"dg"go qkqpcm{ "cpf "gtqkecm{ " cwtcevgf "\q"r gqr rg"qh"ý gkt"qy p"ugz $@^{23}$ This definition and understanding of same-sex relations did not exist at the time the Bible was written and compiled. Rather, homosexuality in the context of present day biblical interpretation is commonly misunderstood to be the same as j qo qgtqkkkto "cpf "õj qo qi gpkcrkx{ $@^{24}$ Homoeroticism and homogenitality are not r u{ej qrqi kecn%perkqpu"dw%ctg"wpf gtuqqf "cu"õgtqke"gpeqwpvgtu"dgw ggp"r gqr rg"qh%j g"uco g" ugz 'y kj qwqg? """ "e"qq"d e

o gp"y j q"eco g"\q"{qwl\qpki j vADtkpi "y go "qwl\q"\u."uq"y cvly g"o c{ 'mpqy "y go 66³³ Lot pleads y ky "y go ."dgi i kpi ."ôf q"pqvlcevluq"y kengf n{0Nqqm"Kj cxg"y q"f cwi j vgtu"y j q"j cxg"pqvlmpqy p"c" man; let me bring them out to you, and do to them as you please; only do nothing to these men, hqt"y g{ "j cxg"eqo g"\vpf gt"y g"u gmgt"qh"o { 'tqqh66³⁴ The men are not satisfied with this response, j qy gxgt."et {kpi "qwv."ōy ku"hgmqy "eco g"j gtg"cu"cp"crkgp."cpf "j g"y qwf "r rc { "y g"lwf i g00pqy "y g" y km"f gcrly qtug"y kj "{qwl'y cp"y kj "y go 66³⁵ The two angels pull Lot back inside of his house, õu j wl'y g"f qqt.ö"cpf "uxtkng"cm y g"o gp"õy kj "drkpf pguö"uq"y g{ "eqwf "pqvleqo g"kpq"y g" g" Ch\gt "y ku"gxgpv."kvku"f guetkdgf "y cv'õy g"Nqtf "tckpgf "qp"Uqf qo "cpf "I qo qttcj "uwrhwt "cpf "htg" from the Lord of out heaven; and he overthrew those cities, and all the Plain, and all the inhabkcpw"qh"y g"ekkgu."cpf "y j cv'ī tgy "qp"y g"i tqwpf ö"r wpkuj kpi "Uqf qo 'hqt "ku'ukpuô⁷

Vj g'uvqt { "qh"Uqf qo 'ku"qhvgp'kpvgtr tgvgf "cu'õcp"gz co r ng"qh'I qf øu'wpgs wkxqecn" condemnation of same

npqy "ý g"ý q"cpi gni "Nqv'qhgtu'wr "j ku'f cwi j vgtu "ý q "j cxg"pgxgt"önpqy p"c"o cp.ö"qt "ý j q"ctg" virgins. The offering of his virgin daughters suggests that the usage prior was referencing sexual relavlqpu"cu"y gm"j qy gxgt. "kv"cmq"uwi i guvu"ý g"o gp"qh"Uqf qo "õy gtg"kpvgpv"qp"r gthqto kpi "o crgo crg"i cpi "tcr g.ö"pqv"eqpugpuvcn"j qo qugz vcn"tgrævkqpu0^{f1} In addition, it is not clear whether the etko g"qh"j qo qgtqvke"tgrævkqpu"ku"ý g"uqrg"ecwug"hqt"I qf øu"r vpkuj o gpv"qh"Uqf qo 0"öQpg"qh"ý g" ectf kpcn"twrgu"qh"Nqvau"uqekgv{" y cu"vq"qhtgt"j qur keckv{ "vq"vtcxgrgtuö"cpf "qpg"ku"qdrki cvgf "vq"uj gngt" strangers passing through.⁴² The men of Sodom, by threatening the strangers, are breaking this cardinal rule and Lot, in attempts to uphold it, offer the strangers his daughters.⁴³ Furthermore, it ku"ko r qtvcpv"vq"yqvg"y cv"y g"ögctn{"eqo o gpvctkgu"qp"y g"Uqf qo "uvqt {ö"f q"pqv1tghgtgpeg"uins of j qo qgtqvkekuo "qt"j qo qugz vcrks{."tcvj gt"y g{"go r j cuk g"y g"öUqf qo kguø'dtgcnkpi "qh"y g"ncy "qh" j qur kecks{.ö"ceewukpi "y go "qh"ör tk g."zgpqr j qdkc."cpf "lwf kekcn"qhgpugu06⁴⁴ degrading passions. Their women exchanged natural intercourse for unnatural, and in the same way also the men, giving up natural intercourse with women, were consumed with passion for one another. Men committed shameless acts with men and received their own persons the due penalty for their error.⁴⁷

Similar to Leviticus 18:22, Romans 1:24-26 appears to be a clear condemnation of homoeroticism. Although few argue that this verse could be interpreted differently, there are certckp "kuuwgu"y j kej "tgo ckp"wpergct0Hqt"gzco r ng. "vj gug"xgtugu"ctg"f ktgev"tgur qpugu"vq"c"õncti gt" r qrgo ke"ci ckpuv'kf qrcvt { 66^{48} They are not in direct reference to homoeroticism. Homoeroticism, in this case, is an impurity and a degradation of passions.⁴⁹ It is a response to the initial offense, which was idolatry. Several scholars argue that Paul, when choosing homoeroticism as r wpkuj o gpv'hat 'kf arcvt {. 'y cu'pav't ghgt gpekpi 'kv'cu'c 'ukp'd wv't cvj gt 'y cu'mamkpi ''cv'vj g'oI gpvkrg'' world and saw homoerotic activity and idolcxt {ö'cpf 'õrkpngf 'vj g'w q'hto nf 'vqi gy gt@⁵⁰ Cffkkapcm{. "ky'uj qwf "dg"pqygf "yj cy'Rcwi'fkf "pqy'õcrrn{"yj g"xqecdwrct{"qh'ukp"yq"j qo qgtqyke" cevkxkv{ö'dwlfqgu'kp'tghgtgpeg'vq'kfqrcvt{''y tqwi j qwl'y g'tguv'qh'Tqo cpu'cpf ''cv'y g''gpf ''õcu'c'' heading for a whole liuv'qh'y tqpi uö'y j kej 'f qgu'pqv'kpenwf g''qt 'o cmg'o gpvkqp''qh'ugz wcn' behavior.⁵¹ Therefore, homoeroticism in Romans 1:24-26, in alignment with Leviticus 18:22, is understood as an impurity, not as a sin. It becomes clear upon an analysis and closer reading of all three of these verses, that an argument against same-sex marriage based upon biblical literalism and interpretation is far more complicated and blurred than is typically presented.

⁴⁷ Mgppgyi 'C0Nqeng. 'öVj g'Dkdng''qp''J qo qugzwcrks{ <'Gzr mtkpi 'Ku'O gcpkpi ''cpf ''C wj qtk{ .ö''Journal of Homosexuality 48 no. 2, (2005): 138.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid, 139.

To further problematize the impact of biblical authority and literalism in these debates, I raise the question of why some biblical issues are more salient than others in the present social and political climates. If biblical literalism serves as the sole reason for aversion towards samesex marriage, it should also serve as the sole reason for aversion towards many other social, political, and religious issues among the U.S. populace. However, when looking at the contemporary political and social climates, some issues which are condemned in the Bible just as often, or even more frequently, as acts of homoeroticism have not risen to the public consciousness as major social, political, or religious issues in the present day. For example, adultery is not commonly recognized as a social issue which is deserving of broader political and religious intervention in the United States. As I discussed previously, however, there are over fifty clear references to adultery in the Bible. For example, Exodus: 20, or the Ten Eqo o cpf o gpvu. "ur gekhecm{ "uvcvgu."o[qw'uj cm'pqv'eqo o k/cf wngt{05⁵² Similarly, in Leviticus 42-32"k/ku'uvcvgf. "õKu'c"o cp"eqo o ku'cf wngt { 'y kj ''y g''y khg"qh'j ku'pgki j dqt. "dqyi ''y g''cf wngtgt" cpf "cf wrgtguu"uj cm'dg"r w/vg"f gcyj 05^{3} Unlike the passage referencing homoeroticism in Leviticus, it is clear that this verse speaks directly to the understanding of adultery as infidelity with little to no interpretive wiggle room. It also important to note that the punishment is death, an equal punishment to the condemnation of homoeroticism in Leviticus. If the Bible is being interpreted literally, based upon the two verses in Leviticus, adultery and homoeroticism should be held in the same social and political regard. ⁵⁴

see them protesting court rulings on same-sex marriage. Such actions combined with the 24% of Americans who do not identify as biblical literalists yet who disapprove of same-sex marriage, suggests that there is something much larger than biblical literalism driving the aversion towards same-sex marriage in the United States.

If not the Bible, what?

J kwqtkecm{ 'ur genkpi .'õugz.'i gpf gt.'cpf 'ý g'heo kn{ 'ctg'tgeno u'ý ev'j exg'dggp'ev'ý g''etwz''qh'' defining American concepts of fear and dapi gt.ö''cpf 'ý gtghqtg.'j exg''dggp''ev'ý g''egpvgt''qh''uqo g'' qh''Co gtkecøu'o quv'r gtukuvkpi ''ewnwtg''y etuto f⁵ As Smith discusses in her book, *Religious Rhetoric*, y gug''kuuwgu''etg''r gtegkxgf ''eu''grgxevgf ''y tgevu''q''õuqeken'r qy gt''uvtwewtgu.ö''y ev'j exg''dggp''kpveev'' since the birth of a Christian America.⁵⁶ The constant struggle to maintain the status quo by Christian Americans can be witnessed throughout American history. Rather than fading with the passage of time, these concerns took on new life during the twentieth century. During the World War II era, for hqwi j v'hkgtegn{"vq'uvqng''õhgct"cdqwv''y g'hwwtg''qh'Co gtkec'kp''c''dkf "vq'uvgo "y g''kf gö''y j gp'hcegf" y kj "eqpuvcpv'xkevqtkgu'htqo ''y g''õNI DV''tki j vu''o qxgo gpv@⁶⁵ As one can see, the Christian Right has made numerous attempts in the past and present to antagonize homosexuals and LGBTQ+ activists. In doing so, they often place these individuals at the center of evil, immorality, and causes of major tragedies.

Vj g'wpks wg'pcwtg'qh'yj gug'i tqwr uø'f kueqwtugu'ku'y j cv'elevates the issues of sex, gender, and the family from individualized religious qualms to broader morally founded social and political culture wars. The rhetoric used by these groups, which Leslie Smith coins as *chaos rhetoric*, labels issues such as homosexuality and same-ugz 'o cttkci g'cu'owpks wgn{ 'ko o qtcroorite within the public sphere.⁶⁶ Uj g'f ghløgu'ku'cu'oc'v{r g'qh'f gengpukqp'ur ggej 'yj cv'cwgo r u'vq'' r gtuwcf g'cp'cwf kgpeg'd{ 'uvtgukpi 'cp'ko o kpgpv'yj tgcv'vq'c'dgrqxgf 'gpvkv{06⁶⁷ Køu'o clqt'' characteristics of moral authority, secular appearance, emotional appeal, and timelessness ó all of which will be discussed in further detail ó is the primary reason that some biblical issues such as homosexuality, are more salient in the social and political climates of the U.S. than others. I argue chaos rhetoric is the unknown factor which influenced the outlying 24% of individuals in 2014 who did not identify as biblical literalists yet disapproved of same-sex marriage.

Chaos Rhetoric: Defining Features

Chaos rhetoric is a type of speech which addresses moral decline in a way that resonates with a broad swath of Americans, including the religiously unaffiliated and the religious

⁶⁵ Marie Griffith, Moral Combat: How Sex Divided American Christians and Fractured American Politics,

of homosexuality, these arguments suggest that such groups do nqv'dgn\gxg'\di c{"r gqr mg''ctg" kphgtkqtö'dwv'y cv'\di qo qugz wcn'eqpf wev'ku'j cto hwdi'pqv'qpn\{ '\q''y g'r gqr mg''y j q''gpi ci g'kp''kv'dwv' d{ "gz vgpukqp'\q''uqekgv\{ ''cv'ncti g00⁷⁵ Typically, the legalization of same-sex marriage is portrayed cu''y g''dgpf ''qh'Co gtkecö''qt''c''uki pkh hcknwtg'cpf ''ecml'hqt''o qtcn'tgf go r vkqp&''Vj gug''v{r gu''qh''etkks wgu''cpf ''y gkt''õr gtuvcukxg''ghkece{ö'' are dependent upon thgkt''cwf kgpegu''cf qr vkpi ''õc''egtvckp''wqr kcp''xkukqp''qh''y g''pcvkqp&⁸⁰ For

the immorality of homosexuality, however, each still has the same underlying message and effect: homosexuality is in some way irrational and detrimental to the well-being of the country.

The timelessness, persuasiveness, and influence of chaos rhetoric is why it is so impactful within the demographic of Americans that do not identify as biblical

Smith's Chaos Rhetoric in the Present

The Family Research Council

One popular and more influential Christian Right group in the present day is the Family Research Council (FRC). Established in the 1980s and merging with the more well-known Focus on the Fco kn('kp''3; : : . 'y g''Hco kn{ 'T gugctej 'Eqwpekrluxtkxgu'\q'öeqwpvgt''y g''etgf gpvkcrgf ''xqkegu'' cttc { gf ''ci ckpuv'hkg''cpf 'hco kn{ ''y kj ''gs wcm{ ''ecr cdrg''o gp''cpf ''y qo gp''qh'hckj 06⁹⁷ Its founder and first president, Gerald P. Regier, drew upon his federal experience in the Department of Health cpf ''J wo cp''Ugtxkegu'wpf gt''y g'Tgci cp''cf o kpkrvtcvkqp'\q''õrkpmlr tq-family d F1Fx1 merien44\$/BT1 0 0 1 393.07

What immediately jumps out in the history of the Family Research Council and its structure is that it is research driven. Although the FRC does utilize purely religious rhetoric or õI qf-vcmö'kp'ugxgtcn'qh'kuu'r kgegu. "c'hcti g'r qt vkqp"qh'vj gkt 'y qtmu't ghrgevu'vj g'ej co grgqp-like ej ctcevgtkuvke"qh"Uo kj øu"ej cqu"tj gvqtke0C "o clqtkv{ "qh"yj g"Hco kn{ "Tgugctej "Eqwpeknøu"tgr qtvu"qp" same-sex marriage and homosexuality disguise their religious roots in science and scholarly studies. For example, Peter Sprigg, a Senior Fellow for Policy Studies at FRC, has written a o clqtkv{ "qh'r kgegu'y j kej "ekg'uej qrctn{ 'uwf kgu'cu'õgxkf gpegö'ci ckpuv'y g'rgi cnt cvkqp of same-sex o cttkci g0'Kp''j ku'y qtm'õGxkf gpeg''Uj qy u'Ugz wchQtkgpvcvkqp'Ecp''Ej cpi g<'F gdwpmkpi ''y g'O { y '' qh":Ko o wcdkrky . øö'Ur tki i "eqwpvgtu'vj g'uekgpvkhke"cpf "uqekqrqi kecn'pcttcvkxg"vj cv'õugzwcn" qtkgpvcvkqp'ku" ko o wcdrg.øö''qt 'wpcdrg' vq'dg''cnygt gf 0J g''ekgu''organizations such as The American Psychological Association and well-renowned colleges, such as, the University of Chicago to dwktf 'j ku'ecug0Vj g'o ckp'r kgeg'qh'gxkf gpeg'j g'wktk gu'cpf 'f guetkdgu'cu'õqpg'qh'y g'hkuv' comprehensive modern surveys of sexualiv/ "kp"yj g"Wpkgf "Ucvgu.ö'yj g"P cvkqpcn'J gcnj "cpf "Uqekcn" Nkhg''Uwtxg{ 'eqpf wevgf 'd{ ''y g''Wpkxgtukx{ ''qh'Ej keci q'f go qpuvtcvgu''y g'öhnxkf kx{ ö''qh''ugz vcn'' orientation and same-sex attraction.¹⁰¹ He cites quantitative data which portrays the different types of attractions and sexual interactions (male-male, male-female, female-female) that individuals have acted on in contrast to their sexual orientation identification. The numbers suggest that individuals who identify as heterosexual have had both same-sex interactions and attractions, however, it also shows that those who identify solely as homosexual have also acted on heterosexual attractions.¹⁰² Ur tki i "wugu"yi gug"pwo dgtu"yq "eqpenwf g"yi cv"õej cpi gö"kp"ugz wcn" orientation is possible. He argues that if an individual expet/gpegu'c'ouki pk/kecpv'gxgn'qh'ej cpi g''

¹⁰¹ Rgvgt 'Ur tki i .'öGxkf gpeg''U qy u'Ugz wcrlQtkgpvcvkqp'Ecp'Ej cpi g.ö''Vj g'Hco kn{ 'Tgugctej 'Eqwpekn0'p0f 0'Ceeguugf " April 19, 2020: 4.

¹⁰² Ibid, 5.

kpö'cwtcevkqpu 'dgj cxkqt.'qt'kf gpvkv{ 'vj gp'övj g{ 'j cxg'gzr gtkgpegf 'uqo g'o gcpkpi hwt';ej cpi gølp'' ugzwcn'qtkgpvcvkqp''y j kej 'j g''dgrkgxgu''yj g''P cvkqpcn'J gcnj 'cpf 'Uqekcn'Nktg''Uvtxg{ 'gzgo r nktkgu0b¹⁰³ Overall, the debunking of tj g'öko o wcdktkv{ö''qh'j qo qugzwcrkv{ 'eqwpvgtu''yj g''cti wo gpv''yj cv'uco gsex marriage is a 14th Amendment issue. If homosexuals are not born homosexuals, and there is no scientific proof that they are but there is quantitative data suggesting they are not, then marriage equality for same-sex couples should not be considered on the same grounds as heterosexual couples, or, more significantly where law is concerned, interracial couples. Therefore, there is no reason to disrupt the tradition of institutionalized heterosexual marriage in the U.S. by legalizing same-sex marriage on a scientifically ungrounded claim. As one can see, Sprigg does not have to mention religion anywhere in this piece to convince his readers to rethink the legal argument for same-sex marriage. Rather, all he has to do is cite a study which appears credible to make individuals question the foundations of their own political views.

Ur tki i "cwj qtgf "cpqyj gt"ct kerg. 'y g'öJ qo qugz wcrlRctgpv'Uwf {ö'y j kej "eqo dkpgu'ej cqu" tj gqtkeøu"o qtcn "cwj qtkc kve element with its use of secular argumentation. In this piece, Sprigg cites an article written by researcher Mark Regnerus and published in the journal of *Social Science Research* which presents troubling data on the welfare of children raised in homosexual homes. The study compared and contrasted the overall well-being of children in homosexual homes to children in heterosexual homes referencing things, such as, likelihood to suffer from depression and drug abuse, to being arrested, to experiencing sexual assault, etc. Sprigg uwo o ctk gu'T gi pgt wuøu'hlof kpi u.'r tgugp kpi 'uqo g'ktqwdrkpi 'uxckukleu0'Hqt 'gzco r rg. 'T gi pgt wu'' hqwpf 'kj cv'ej kf tgp"qh'rgudkcp'o qyj gtu'kp'eqo r ctkuqp'\q''ej kf tgp'kp''j gygtqugz wcrlj qo gu'ctg'öcp'' cuvqpkuj kpi ''33''ko gu'o qtg'rkngn{''q'j cxg''dggp''=touched sexually by a parent or other adult

сß

ectgi kxgtølp"ej kf j qqf."ctg"cm quv'6"vko gu"o qtg"hkngn{"vq"dg"ewttgpvn{"qp"r wdrke"cuukuxcpeg."cpf" ctg"o qtg"vj cp"5"vko gu"o qtg"hkngn{"vq"dg"wpgo r nq { $gf 0i^{104}$ Similarly, children in both lesbian and gay homes in comparison to heterosexual homes are more likely to have been arrested more often, suffer from depression, had more sexual partners, and have lower educational attainment.¹⁰⁵ Sprigg uses all of these statistics to make a 5 point conclusion:

3+"Vj g" #pvcev"dkqmi kecn"hco kn{ø"tgo ckpu" y g" pqto cvkxg" ugvkpi "hqt" ej kf rearing in American today; 2) Children do better when raised by their own, married mother and father, 3) Children suffer when raised by homosexual parents... in comparison to all other family structures, 4) Homosexual tgrcvkqpuj kru"ctg"kpvtkpukecm{"#wpuvcdrg.ø"cpf "7+"Rwdrke"r qrke{"uj qwf "eqpvkpwg" to encourage the raising of children by a married mother and father.¹⁰⁶

Once again, Sprigg does not have to mention religion at all in order to persuade his readers to reconsider their opinions and political views of same-sex marriage. He takes advantage of what appears to be a credible scholarly source to present an emotional argument which addresses the well-being of innocent children. Similar to the abortion case I cited in previous discussions, his tgcf gtu'f q''pqv'j cxg'\q''ci tgg'\j cv'I qf 'j cvgu'j qo qugz wcnu'\q''go r cvj k g''y kj ''Ur tki i øu'tgrki kqwu'' aversion to same-

cpf ''y tgcwl'\q'uqekgv{0Kp''y ku'y qtm''Ur tki i ''qr gpu''d { ''uxcvkpi .''õkp''tgegpv'f gecf gu.''y gtg''j cu''dggp''cp'' assault on y g''ugzgu0i¹⁰⁷ He frames the emergence of feminism, the homosexual movement, and y g''tcpui gpf gt''o qxgo gpv'cu''õcwcemiö''qp''wpf kur wgf 'tgcrkvkgu''*y j kej ''ecp''dg''wpf gtuvqqf ''cu'' a concern for gay, bisexual, and other men who have sex with men. Some types of HPV can cause genital and anal warts and some can lead to the development of anal and oral cancers. Gay, bisexual, and other men who have

around the persistence of dominant, status quo institutions of sex, such as, heterosexual marriage, traditional gender roles, and childbearing by the proper individuals. A majority of their articles do not rely on religious rhetoric or cite biblical verses as would be expected. It appears that they deliberately avoid using religious language and biblical evidence to refute American contestations of same-sex marriage and homosexuality. In place of such arguments, the Family Research Council and its fellows relies on journal articles and well-known and respected cuuqekckqpu'kq'eqo r kg'o gcpkpi hwdouekgpkhleö'gxkf gpeg0Vj ku'gxkf gpeg''y gp''r tgugpu''r gtegkxgf " notions of threat or danger to particular demographics or to the overall well-being of society, instilling negative emotions in its readers, and thereby accomplishing social and political persuasion. Without appearing credible under the umbrella of scientific evidence and eliciting pgi ckxg''go qkqpu 'Hco kq' 'Tgugctej 'Eqwpektot'y qtn'o quv'tkngn{ 'y qwf 'dg'tgpf gtgf 'kpgHgekxg'kp'' reaching its less religious audience.

Although it is important to note that many of these articles fail to acknowledge other sociological factors that may contribute to many of the statistics cited, I argue that this will most likely go unnoticed among a majority of its readers. Being a form of rhetoric, these arguments have the ability to create their own particular reality. Residing in the discursive structures of õnpqy rgf i g.'r qy gt.'cpf ''ci gpe{.ö''ej cqu''tj gvqtke''cmqy u'hqt''c''egtvckp''õr j {ukecn'eqpvtqn'qxgt ''yj g'' r qr wrcvkqpö''cpf ''õkf gqrqi kecn'eqpvtqn'qxgt ''yj g''ygto uö''qh''ku''qy p''gzkuvgpeg()¹¹ This is how it gpi ci gu'y kj ''o { yj o cmkpi .''õqt ''yej pks wgu...to naturalize a relationship between things that qvj gty kug''j cxg''pq''kpj gtgpv'eqppgevkqp@¹¹² For example, it can be seen that the Family Research Council enmeshes certain concepts, like child

Ej tkukep'i tqwru'cu'qr r qugf '\q'\j gkt'r qrkkecn'uwtxkxcn0'Vj gtghqtg.'Kcti wg'\j cv'ej cqu'tj gvqtkeøu'' emotional appeal and adaptability to different socio-historical climates are bi-products of its largely secular appearance which allows for a religious position to be made relevant in an increasingly secular America. Once it is made relevant, or deemed a credible position, elicitation of negative emotions helps to elevate the status of the claim from a relevant political position to an existential moral threat which demands national attention.

However, in the present day, conservative Christian groups are faced with an American majority that now largely supports same-sex marriage.¹¹⁵

cf o kpkutckqpøu'heti gn{"kpf khgtgpv'qt"pgi ckksg'tj gxqtke"qh'uco g-sex marriage has influenced the overall decrease in approval among the U.S. population. These observations may imply interesting relationships between chaos rhetoric employed by conservative Christian groups and political rhetoric used by political elites. Additionally, they may signify unique alternating roles of chaos rhetoric in political environments which are conducive to religious rhetoric as opposed to those which are discouraging of it. For example, perhaps chaos rhetoric serves as merely a survival mechanism for conservative Christian right groups in largely secular and liberalizing political administrations. On the other hand, in conservative and more expressively religious political administrations, perhaps it serves more so as a tool of influence and solidification of certain religiously based political claims.

If I were to extend this study, I would like to focus further research on comparing the influences of chaos rhetoric both within and outside of political rhetoric in American culture y ctuOKi'qdugtxgf 'o qtg''enqugn{.'Uo kyj øu''ej cqu'tj gvqtke.''f gur kg'ku''vcekv'tgrki kqwu''pature and hence secular emotional appeal, may be found less influential than political rhetoric within a largely secularized U.S. population on issues such as same-sex marriage. This might suggest that chaos rhetoric utilized by conservative Christian groups is not taken as authoritatively as claims made by political elites as may be seen in the case of the approval of same-sex marriage

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