

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY'S VISION FOR THE FAMILY:

THE COMPELLING ISSUE OF THE DECADE

By

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THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degrees of Master of Arts in Public Policy
and Juris Doctor in Law

College of Law and Government

CEN University

Virginia Beach, Virginia

1989

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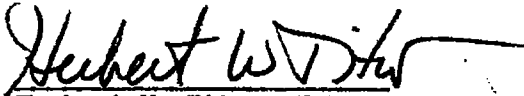
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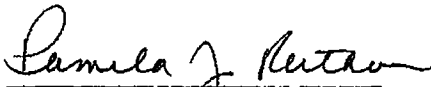
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my love and gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. John F. McDonnell, my mother and father, who first taught me the meaning and importance of family, values and love. It was my father who said:

"The family is like a tree. The family heritage is derived from the roots of the tree. The tree grows to be strong, and with energetic parenting, the fruit blossoms into a new generation."

I am deeply grateful to my wife Maureen, whose encouragement and expert clerical support turned marginally-legible scratch, into these finished pages, and whose steadfastness and love for our children provided me with the time to devote to this project.

I am indebted to Executive Director Bob Okun, and the staff of the House Republican Policy Committee, Frank Gregorsky, Flint Lewis, and David Ramey, for their keen insights and assistance in giving me an inside look at the formulation of Republican policy in the U. S. House of Representatives.

Finally, I want to express my gratitude to my committee chairman, Dean Herbert Titus, and committee members, Professor Paul Morken, and Professor Pamela Ruthven, for their wisdom, probing critiques, and meticulous editing in the design and revision of this project.

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ABSTRACT

The traditional family is the cornerstone upon which Western civilization has been built, but changes in demographics, ideology, and political philosophy during this century have resulted in the decline in the strength of the family institution. The model relationship among church, state, and family, based on history, law, and scripture, is presented as a framework in which legitimate public policy decisions must be made to facilitate family restoration.

Fundamental Republican Party principles concerning the family and the role of government are articulated, and recent federal legislative initiatives are analyzed for consistency. Political factors affecting family policy development are examined to determine why Republicans are not more successful. The paper concludes that Republicans must stay consistently committed to their principles, communicate more effectively with the American public, and take bold action to restore the family to a position of strength in modern society.

"Strong families are the foundation of society. Through them we pass on our traditions, rituals, and values. From them we receive the love, encouragement, and education needed to meet human challenges. Family life provides opportunities and time for the spiritual growth that fosters generosity of spirit and responsible citizenship.

Family experiences shape our response to the larger community in which we live. The best American traditions echo family values that call on us to nurture and guide the young, to help enrich the lives of the handicapped, to assist less fortunate neighbors, and to cherish the elderly. Let us summon our individual and community resources to promote healthy families capable of carrying on these traditions and providing strength to our society."

Ronald Reagan
Proclamation of National Family Week
November 15, 1984

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I

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

One need not be a family research professional, nor an ideologue of any particular political philosophy, to acknowledge that profound changes have occurred in the fabric of American society in recent decades. While economic prosperity has been generally consistent since the end of World War II, the attendant consequences of that success have included a significant shift in American demographic patterns, a redefinition of societal norms, a decline in respect for authority and the importance of values, and an assault on the traditional family, Professor Peter Uhlenberg, University of North Carolina sociologist, has distilled the root cause of the problem, asserting that "increasingly, Americans are pursuing a selfish individualism which is inconsistent with strong families and strong communities."¹

Scholars disagree in their attempt to pinpoint the time and origin of the changes in traditional values and the role of the family in society. While cause and effect are often difficult to distinguish, many point to the events of the 1970's with tax reform, the "legalization" of abortion, the no-fault divorce revolution, and a leftward shift in majority party politics at the federal level.² Others assert that it was the 1960's, which brought the sexual revolution, the Vietnam War, and the Great Society vision of the Johnson administration.³ Still

others trace the ideological groundwork for social change to the new age of liberalism ushered in by John Dewey's 1935 work, Liberalism and Social Action, and the New Deal of the Roosevelt administration.⁴

Regardless of the genesis for the change, the current debate in America over which values and programs are best for the family and public policy in general, goes beyond the basic arguments of conservatism versus progressivism. According to Dr. Os Guinness of the Brookings Institution, the conflict centers on the clash of traditional morality and absolutism with the modern pervasive relativism of truth, ethics and justice.⁵ Whereas faith and family had provided the roots of culture in the past, the rise of modernity and liberalism have given America a legacy of relativistic hollowness, homelessness, selfish heartlessness, and the death of God and heroes.⁶ While changes in the family may be superficially attributed to technological advances, growing international influences, financial circumstances, or evolutionary progress, it is of profound importance to be cognizant that changes in ideology and religious beliefs preceded the contemporary breakdown of the American family.

Perhaps the most discernible empirical evidence of a changed view of family is the:

Massive shift of nurturing and care-giving tasks away from the family and into the hands of institutions. America is changing from a society in which the family was the basic provider of care and nurture, to a society in which institutions are basic and the family is marginal.⁷

Despite an estimated 20 agencies administering 260 federal programs aimed at helping children and families in 1981, and a five-fold increase in per capita social welfare expenditures from 1960 to 1980 (in constant dollars), many of the economic and behavioral indicators of family

stability had only worsened.⁸ As the 1986 White House Working Group on the Family observed, more than two decades of substantial federal intervention had fostered welfare dependency and undermined the authority and liberty of the family:

Everywhere the equation holds true: Where there are strong families, the freedom of the individual expands and the reach of the state contracts. Where family life weakens and fails, government advances, intrudes, and ultimately compels.⁹

The White House Group also noted the ominous historical reality that every totalitarian movement of the twentieth century has tried to destroy the family. The modern American experience can be seen as an ideological battle between the forces of democratic capitalism and socialism, with the latter's attempt to "substitute the power of the state for the rights, responsibilities, and authority of the family."¹⁰ The contemporary conflict between the presuppositions and programs of the Great Society and those of the Reagan Revolution show clearly the tensions expressed previously by Guinness.

Many would not be concerned about this shift in institutional power and a replacement of the Judeo-Christian ethic with the relativistic values of the "me generation" of the 1980's, were they not presented with quantifiable evidence of a breakdown in the family and society at large. A cursory survey of contemporary demographics and statistical behavior patterns provides the necessary proof.

There is nothing so devastating to the American family as divorce. Currently, half of first time marriages end in divorce, while in 1960 the divorce rate was only 25%.¹¹ The consequences of the proliferation of marital dissolution provide a litany of woes for a once stable society, and probably represent the most profound social phenomenon of

this century. Children are involved in 60% of divorces, and 23% of children currently live in a single-parent family.¹² Single-parent families are growing at 20 times the rate of two-parent families.¹³

A closely related symptom of familial breakdown is the tremendous rise in teen-age pregnancy and illegitimacy. From 1970 to 1985, there was an increase of nearly 400% to 2.8 million in the number of children being reared by a mother who had never been married.¹⁴ Many attribute this tragedy in part to anti-family incentives in the federal Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, which in most states disqualifies a woman with a male financial provider living in the house. In fact, of the mothers receiving AFDC benefits in 1986, 46% had never been married, and 36% were separated or divorced.¹⁵ The rise in teen pregnancy and illegitimate births is even more shocking when understood that approximately 40% of these pregnancies have ended in abortion since 1973. Ironically, it appears that the recently-created school-based health clinics which dispense birth control information and products without parental consent, and the new values-neutral sex education programs in public schools, have contributed to increased promiscuity, rather than reduced illegitimacy.¹⁶

Recent decades have witnessed a tremendous increase in the participation of women in the labor force. While less than one-quarter of families had two-earner incomes in 1960,¹⁷ by 1982, almost two-thirds of all married women with children ages 6 to 17, and almost half of women with children under age 6, worked outside the home at least part time.¹⁸ While families were arguably in a better economic position with two wage earners in the home, the derivative problems of "latchkey children" and the "child-care crisis" have become among the most widely discussed

policy issues of the 1980's.

There is a continuing trend of young adults either postponing marriage or opting to remain single. This unique American demographic shift is evidenced by the doubling of never married adults age 25 to 29 from 1970 to 1984.¹⁹ Those who do marry are having fewer or no children. The changing views of the utility of children, the economic burden of raising them, the self-centeredness of modern individualism, and the wide acceptance and convenience of birth control and abortion, have reduced birthrates below that which is required to replenish the current population.²⁰ Increasingly, children spend less time with their parents and more time under institutional supervision, in front of a television, or on the streets with peers.

The unmistakable signs of social dysfunction linked to traditional family breakdown took on a fresh awareness in the 1980's. The scourge of rampant drug abuse by the nation's youth, and the widespread exposure of children as customers and victims of pornography were new indicia of trouble. Studies showed the great negative impact that toys, music, television and other media were having on children, as violence, sex and the occult were common themes in these vehicles of play and entertainment.²¹ Children have been further affected by reductions in child support and spousal maintenance awards in no-fault divorce decrees, and a national crisis in support enforcement.²² These represent yet further manifestations of a spirit of militant individualism and perversity which is gripping the culture.

The vast majority of American children have been educated in the public school system, in which textbooks and courses of instruction are increasingly oriented to humanist values and a secular philosophy.²³

The undermining of respect for parental authority in favor of state direction or individual autonomy, and the contemporaneous purging of religious influence in the public schools has impaired the development of healthy family members.²⁴ Values that had historically provided strength to the family, such as firm discipline and corporal punishment, patriotism, and academic achievement, were either attacked, or given token attention. Despite an increase in government spending on education from \$5.2 billion to \$25.3 billion from 1966 to 1981, scores on the benchmark Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) dropped about 6% in math and 10% in verbal during the period.²⁵

The Internal Revenue Code also wreaked havoc upon the traditional family. Dr. Allan Carlson, president of the Rockford Institute, blames heavy tax growth for giving the financial impetus for pressuring mothers into the work force. He reports that between 1960 and 1984, a two-parent family with four children saw its federal income tax liability increase 224%, while the social security tax increased 600%, to 7.15% of gross income.²⁶

The United States Supreme Court dealt among the harshest blows to the American family and traditional morality. A century ago, the Court demonstrated profound respect for the traditional views of marriage and family, stating in Maynard v. Hill that "marriage is the foundation of the family and of society, without which there would be neither civilization nor progress."²⁷ However in 1965 with Griswold v. Connecticut,²⁸ the Court embarked on dualistic path by attempting to create a view of liberty based on radical individualism, while facilitating statist control of select family issues. The Court postulated a new view of marriage by asserting that the "preservation of marital privacy"

precludes state interference with the right to use contraceptives,²⁹ even though the state had long been empowered to regulate the legal and sexual relationships of marriage. In Eisenstadt v. Baird³⁰ the activist Court illogically extended the Griswold notion of "marital privacy" to unmarried persons, at a time when every state in the union made sexual intercourse between unmarried persons a crime.³¹

In 1973, the Court in the Roe v. Wade decision gave the individual the right to destroy the unborn through abortion,³² and three years later in Planned Parenthood v. Danforth it extended the supremacy of individual privacy over parental authority in the child's abortion decision.³³ In his seminal article on the Court's role in shaping a national family policy, scholar Peter J. Riga suggests that in Danforth, "marriage is seen as a tenuous union formed by the consensual agreement of the two individuals who remain autonomous and independent throughout the relationship."³⁴ He further asserts that by the end of the 1970's, the Court had, for all practical purposes, obliterated the difference between marriage and non-marriage, by replacing the sacred covenantal view of marriage with the "positivistic view that a marriage is but an act of the state, which powers the state may delegate in appropriate circumstances."³⁵ In other cases, the abuses of the judicial doctrines of "in loco parentis" and "parens patriae," particularly in such areas as education, discipline of children, and child custody, have fostered subversion of the role of the parent in favor of ultimate decisions on family and children matters by the state and federal governments.

Professor Henry Holzer of the Brooklyn Law School believes that together the Belle Terre(1974)³⁶ and Moore(1971)³⁷ decisions stand for the proposition that it is a collectivist-statist ideology, not a

concept of individual rights, that lies at the base of official government thinking about the family. Further, when the Court reviews state definitions of, or intrusions into, the family, "the determinative criterion will be the importance of the state interest involved."³⁸

Riga concludes that in 15 years of Supreme Court cases ending in 1979, the view of marriage as an indissoluble lifelong commitment had been abandoned.³⁹ In its wake is the perverted notion of liberty that each individual should be able to live out his sexual life in any way he chooses without interference from the state.⁴⁰ The consequences of such judicial thinking have been previously discussed, and ironically create the very problems that society now calls on the federal government to resolve.

The foregoing discussion should lead one to reasonably conclude that the American landscape of the traditional family and its moral code is being marred by social permissiveness and government programs. In the 1950's, 70% of the typical American family consisted of a working father, a homemaking mother, and one or two children. In the changed demographics of 1980, this family pattern was representative of only 15% of households.⁴¹ Historically, the intact two-parent family has been the foundation of a healthy society, the best hedge against poverty among children, and the time-tested institution for the transmission of culture and values.⁴²

While additional statistics are available to document the impact of the decline of the family on society at large, the more constructive inquiry is into the role of other institutions in society to help arrest the underlying causes of family breakdown. A central premise of this thesis is that the preservation and strengthening of the traditional

family unit by government will, in the long run, substantially eliminate the need for a comprehensive and expensive federal bureaucracy to resolve domestic social problems.

Recognizing the problems and the need for the restoration of values and family stability, a model view of family in society will be proposed and a presentation and analysis of the commitment of the Republican Party to effectuate the model will be given. Unlike many other countries, the United States has no official national family policy, yet the clear erosion of family strength has been a catalyst for dialogue between liberals and conservatives concerning the need for one. After decades of a piecemeal policy approach at both the state and federal levels, and heightened awareness of the importance of the family during the "Reagan Revolution," the voters have looked back to politicians in Washington for solutions. Michael Novak prophetically framed the current political debate over family policy a decade ago:

There will, I assure you, be more and more careful attention paid to the family in public policy debates over the next decade or so. Much of it will be dangerous attention which will call on us to think rather creatively about how to enhance rather than to damage the family in a free society..."

We have all counted upon the family for 1,000 years, during many eras when no other institution worked, not the state, not the church, not the educational institutions, nothing. The only thing that worked and made survival possible was the family. Now it seems, the family is at a critical point. We must find ways by which to make its path easier in the future than it has recently been. For often today those who cherish family life feel, even in their own homes, under constant assault, embattled, and at war with a culture unnecessarily adversary to much that they hold dear.⁴³

II

THE NATURE AND AUTHORITY OF THE FAMILY

Before one can evaluate existing government policies with respect to the family, a clear understanding of the nature, definition, authority, and jurisdiction of the family institution is required.

Respect for the rule of law over private morality and custom has been central in the history of western civilization. Deriving its roots from canon law and subsequently the common law of England, the law of marriage and family were formulated in the Christian context of covenant, not purely contract.⁴⁴

In American jurisprudence, the model of the traditional family was drawn from the dominant Protestant ideology, American popular thought, and leading legal writers such as Blackstone and Kent.⁴⁵ In the nineteenth century, the Supreme Court recognized the "ideal Victorian family" as a small government in its own right in the few family cases that came before it. In Reynolds v. United States in 1878, Court upheld a bigamy conviction of Mormons despite a claim of religious freedom, stating that the family in American law is the Western European monogamous family in which sexual activity and child-bearing take place, not the tribal family of Africa or Asia.⁴⁶ In 1923 Justice McReynolds acknowledged in Meyer v. Nebraska that there are limits to what the state can do to improve citizenship, saying that the statist notion that government should supersede parental authority because some parents act

wrongly is repugnant to the American tradition.⁴⁷ It is from this historical western model that American family law and policy has grown, and against which contemporary thinking must be compared.

Today, the U.S. Census Bureau defines family as "two or more people related by blood, marriage, or adoption, and residing under the same roof."⁴⁸ Such a definition, while accurate in its sterile terms of defining logistics and membership, fails to include the covenantal bond of commitment at the core of family life. The "blood" relationship, without further qualification, would allow for incestuous and illegitimate relationships outside of marriage to fit the definition. Even so, some argue that such a definition is archaic, in that the idea of the family of colonial America as a foundation of economics, education, religion, or politics is part of the irretrievable nostalgia of the nation's heritage.⁴⁹ Radical contemporary attempts at redefinition of family eliminate the requirement for legal relationships, as observed in the National Organization for Women's (NOW) concept of family as "people who are living together with deep commitment and with mutual needs and sharing."⁵⁰

The Declaration of Independence, the charter of American liberty, and foundation for the U. S. Constitution, declares that our concepts of rights, duties, and authority are derived from the Law of Nature and Nature's God. From this Judeo-Christian heritage of the founding fathers, it is clear that the Creator is a God of order and authority, not chaos and autonomy. Each institution in society has been instituted by God for specific, limited purposes. Therefore, a good idea does not necessarily translate into good public policy, unless it is promulgated in a proper means by an institution with jurisdiction.

The family as an institution existed antecedent to civil government, and hence is not subject to being defined by it. It is in the Law of Nature of the created order that the Creator instituted marriage and family in Eden, where He ordained that "For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united to his wife, and they will become one flesh."⁵¹ Family arises out of this divinely-created covenant of marriage between a man and woman, the terms of which can neither be originally set nor subsequently altered by the parties or the state. Single life and other households of relatives or friends living together must be regarded as a proper exercise of liberty, but there is no requirement that government promulgate policies which treat alternative lifestyle living arrangements equally with the preferred traditional family. The family as a God-ordained government has an area of sovereignty within which it is free to carry out the duties it owes to God, society, and other family members, under the covenant.

In addition to the family and the individuals who comprise them, God has ordained the institutions of civil government⁵² and the church⁵³ as the foundation of order in society. While there simultaneously exist man-made voluntary associations of business organizations, community service groups and the like, it is these three which have sovereign spheres of jurisdiction in which to exercise authority delegated by God. Although there is some overlap and partnership in pursuing the ends of a just and moral society, each institution has certain responsibilities given exclusively to it.

The church has a monopoly over the administration of the sacraments and it alone possesses the "keys of the kingdom" to preach the gospel and determine church membership.⁵⁴ As the mouthpiece of the Creator to

be salt and light to individual souls and other social institutions, the church has the teaching authority to expound upon the Scripture, and, along with the family, to care for widows, orphans, and the poor and disadvantaged. It should be the primary source of support, counsel, and restoration in the event of family dysfunction.

The civil government was ordained to secure the inalienable rights of individuals created in the image and likeness of God, and to facilitate a society in which other institutions are free to perform their covenantal duties to God and others. The state alone, with the exception of parental discipline of children, bears the authority to punish wrongdoers, for the civil ruler is a minister of God to execute judgment and encourage good.⁵⁵ Government authority is constrained by both this limited delegation of power from God, and by the covenant which the people have established with their leaders, embodied in the Declaration of Independence, the constitutions of the United States and the several states, and statutes passed pursuant thereto. The Congress can legislate in those broad Constitutional areas according to the purposes for which those powers were enumerated, which may indirectly impact the family. The state, more directly, may intervene to protect individual members of families, and, within its police powers, may do what is necessary to advance their health, safety, and morals. However, government at all levels must "support family parenting as the first premise of its social, economic, and fiscal policy."⁵⁶

The family is a self-governing institution upon which the natural law confers the duties of procreation, nurture, and socialization of children through marriage. It should operate as a haven of peace and support for the primary transmission of love, values, education, and

religion to all family members. Families are to be the primary caretakers of and providers for each of its members, and extended families must become self-reliant economic units, although they are to seek help from relatives as a first recourse in times of need, with the church as a secondary source.⁵⁷ As a repository of inalienable rights and intrinsic responsibilities, the family is a stronghold for the possession and channeling of private property between members and generations, a right that is severely infringed upon by burdensome estate and inheritance taxes.

The normative view of institutional interaction in society is seen as a symbiotic relationship of unique entities with the compatible goal of serving other human beings and glorifying God. Both church, in its provision of financial and spiritual support, and the state, in its protection of life, liberty, and marriage, have a role to strengthen and promote healthy family life. The family, in turn, must inculcate religious values, tithe, and give time for ministry in order to support the church, while exercising the disciplines of self-government and stewardship necessary to produce good citizens for the body politic.

While family authority is plenary with respect to its sovereign objects, the state government has a legitimate role to ensure that family members are educated and socialized in order to operate at a minimum level of self-sufficiency. It must be made clear that the government has no independent authority to prescribe conduct for the family, rather the authority arises out of the state's duty to protect the marital covenant and individual family members. Parents do not have the liberty to constructively abuse the child by neglect of their fundamental duties to educate and nurture, any more than they can withhold

food and shelter. However, under the umbrella of parental authority is the choice of means to accomplish their duties, through home schools, church schools, or other alternatives. It is in these areas of concurrent jurisdiction of family and state, in which the state acts in its limited but legitimate role of *parens patriae*, that the difficult policy decisions are made. In all cases, parents must be accorded the maximum opportunity to discharge their responsibilities independent of state oversight or compulsion.

Government, by definition, is to provide leadership to encourage righteousness and justice among and discourage wrongdoing among the governed. To that end, however, government is enjoined from replacing family functions with agencies of the welfare state, such that dependency and apathy are generated. While families may fail in providing a high standard of care, unless there is abuse, the permissive intrusion of the government is unwarranted. Nobel Prize winner Friedrich A. Hayek states that the view that unfettered discretion in the use of government power as a force for the social good and as an instantaneous problem solver when private sector solutions are slow in coming, is a delusion and an impediment to true progress.⁵⁸ This critical assertion underscores the importance of jurisdiction and authority over results and power, and is foundational for the construction of public policy for the family.

Having evaluated the current condition of the family in post-modern, post-Christian American society, followed by an articulation of the model duties and interrelationships of the basic societal institutions, the question implicitly suggested is how to attain the ideal. A detailed analysis of the classic "is-ought dichotomy" is beyond the scope of this paper, yet the question can be addressed in terms of

whether an official family policy should be promulgated by the federal government, and if so what the substance of such a policy should be. Family policy may be generally defined as the sum of all those public policies designed to facilitate the best environment for parents to nurture and support their children and each other. Where there is no vision the people perish,⁵⁹ and Republicans of the 1980's have recently given a share of their vision for the American family through proposed legislation, proclamations, party platforms, and public debate.

III

THE REPUBLICAN VISION FOR FAMILY POLICY

George Bush entered the 1988 presidential race inheriting the strong pro-family legacy of the Reagan administration. An increase in Congressional debates and media attention on the symptoms and consequences of family breakdown, coupled with Democratic activism in injecting a "Kids as Politics" theme into the campaign, compelled Republicans to articulate a vision for the American family. Not surprisingly, Reagan's popularity helped continue conservative social positions in the 1988 platform entitled "An American Vision: For Our Children And Our Future." In it, the party proclaimed:

Strong families build strong communities. They make us a confident, caring society by fostering the values and character - integrity, responsibility, sharing and altruism - essential for survival of democracy. America's place in the 21st century will be determined by the family's place in public policy today....

Republicans believe, as did the framers of the Constitution, that the God-given rights of the family come before those of government. That separates us from liberal Democrats. We seek to strengthen the family.⁶⁰

Looking back to 1980, Reagan's electoral mandate brought a prompt and sustained conservative shift to key Republican executive positions. Using a pro-family theme in response to the assault on traditional values and increasing statism, Reagan used his office as a "bully pulpit" to continue his message of hope, family, economic prosperity, and individual and community empowerment. The 1986 White House Working

Group on the Family claimed that Reagan's defense of the family along with his personality made it:

fashionable to recognize that the restoration of family life is vital to our society's future.... That we need such a [pro-family] policy is clear. The statistics on the pathology affecting American families are overwhelming.... The family needs help!⁶¹

The Republican Platform of 1980 which swept Reagan into office was "one of the most Conservative ever endorsed by a major political party."⁶² The platform embraced such concepts as support for a human life amendment, voluntary school prayer, and an end to forced school busing and the Department of Education, all measures applauded by Conservatives as advancing traditional family values and limited government.

Four years later, Republicans were more specific about their concern for family echoing the words of Maynard v. Hill:

Republicans affirm the family as the natural and indispensable institution for human development. A society is only as strong as its families, for they nurture those qualities necessary to maintain and advance civilization.

Healthy families inculcate values - integrity, responsibility, concern for others - in our youth and build social cohesion. We give high priority to their well being.⁶³

The platform specifically targeted marriage dissolution, pornography, child care, child abuse, and the tax code as major areas in need of federal policy changes.

Republicans pride themselves in being the party of Lincoln, reflecting a commitment to individual liberty, equal rights for all, and traditional moral values. Party Leader, Bob Michel, frequently acknowledges a respect for American pluralism and describes the Republican vision of society as a "nation of communities," wherein the role of

government is to empower individuals, not bureaucracies.⁶⁴ In contrast, Democratic leaders, like New York Governor Mario Cuomo, see America as a homogeneous "national community,"⁶⁵ wherein the national government is fit to rule at the expense of local government and private community action. Republicans see the family as the basic unit of the community, the bedrock of society. Therefore, policy makers must "support and reaffirm the decisions families make out of love and commitment, not undermine them or send a message that Republicans are neutral."⁶⁶

Republicans seem to understand the value of the family's role in society as the greatest influence on individual character development and the educator in principles of self government:

Private choices have public effects. The way our fellow citizens choose to live affects many other lives.... For in the final analysis, the kind of people we are - the kind of nation we will be for generations hence - is the sum of what millions of Americans do in their otherwise private lives.⁶⁷

Implicit in the foregoing assertion is a presupposition that policy decisions must be made with cognizance of the nature of man. For at least 8 years, Republican domestic policies have demonstrated that man is capable of doing good only in an atmosphere of liberty and faith, not compulsion and atheism. However, man's basic nature is inclined towards evil, and when the exercise of liberty takes the shape of pornography, drug abuse, or homosexuality, the government must restrain, punish, and deter. The preamble to the 1988 Republican Platform summarizes these foundational beliefs:

In 1988 we reaffirm [the] truth, Freedom works.... Our platform reflects on every page our continuing faith in the creative power of human freedom.... It is from these innumerable American communities, made up of people with good hearts, that innovation, creativity and the works of social justice and mercy naturally flow and flourish....

At the very heart of this platform is our belief that the strength of America is its people: free men and women, with faith in God, working for themselves and their families, believing in the inestimable value of every human being from the very young to the very old, building and sustaining communities, quietly performing those little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and love that make up the best portion of our lives, defending freedom, proud of their diverse heritages. They are still eager to grasp the future, to seize life's challenges and, through faith and love and work, to transform them into the valuable, useful, and beautiful.⁶⁸

In Republican rhetoric and policies on crime and welfare reform, one discerns a view of man as an accountable and responsible moral agent. In their positions on economic growth, Republicans endorse the provision of opportunity, not guarantees, by getting "government out of the way, off the backs of households and entrepreneurs, so the people could take charge."⁶⁹ In principle the party has supported a pro-family agenda: religious freedom to include voluntary prayer in public schools; a human life amendment; the appointment of judges at all levels who respect the sanctity of life and traditional family values; and the right of private property as the cornerstone of liberty.⁷⁰

Republican family policy must advocate local analysis and solutions in lieu of federal intervention, a focus on emotional and spiritual aspects of a problem in addition to the physical, and support for institutions and individuals promoting a philosophy of responsible charity.⁷¹ The "Committee on the First 100 Days" of the House Republican Research Committee sought to spell out the philosophy for social policy and government intervention for the second Reagan term:

Our premise is simple: America's real energy comes not from government, but from millions of good hearts and creative minds. Our country is embarking on a massive peaceful revolution... Government's role is to encourage this revolution and help bring its benefits to all Americans.... Even as America masters the changes in the material world, it must stay anchored to the traditional values of family and fairness. We

think government can play a positive role in helping families find opportunities for adoption, day care, and good education.⁷²

Rather than employing an empiricist epistemology in formulating programs that treat only the symptoms of family breakdown, Republicans appear earnest in their prescription that the strong family is the preeminent hedge against social disorder. Hence, those things which can be shown to cause or create the conditions for family collapse must be opposed, and where authorized, prohibited by legislation. Republican policy analysts assert a key truth that "marriage is the single best guard against destitution," pointing to the fact while only 7% of intact married-couple families are poor, 82% of those mothers on welfare are either separated, divorced or never-married.⁷³ However, when families break or members reject the value of family, government may well be unable to rescue individuals from their choices. Republican Policy Committee staffer Frank Gregorsky reflects that:

Some individuals are lost to civilization. If not violent or psychotic, they may still be shiftless scoundrels. No mix of carrot and stick can make such people into upstanding citizens or reliable breadwinners.... Evangelicals can occasionally bring one of these people to God, and a much healthier life. Government can give them a subsistence income or put them into labor camps. No one recommends the latter, and government can't subsidize missionary work.⁷⁴

Undergirding the Republican policy formulations is the belief that government reinforcement of family rights and responsibilities must be an essential component of public policy. Documented studies and testimonies before the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, linking family breakdown to a myriad of social woes, prompted ranking minority member Dan Coats (R-IN) to conclude:

The impact of the breakup of the American family is so devastating and the need for restoration so great that all segments

of our society must address this issue of how we can best strengthen the American family.⁷⁵

In advocating the reauthorization of the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families in 1985, Coats suggested that a deep understanding of the importance of the traditional family is required by Congress before it can contribute to contemporary solutions:

If we treat children as if they have no parents, parents as if they don't have primary responsibility for their children, and husbands and wives as if they were just two people living together, will we really treat the problems families experience, or just treat the symptoms of them?We don't want to keep treating the symptoms, we want to do something about the basic cause of the problem itself.⁷⁶

Republican principles of limited federal government, individual accountability and state sovereignty are challenged by popular demands that something be done in Washington about the many problems related to the family. Being pressured to take action, simply because the need exists, or in reaction to calls for the uniformity of policy, Republicans have been forced to define their concept of federalism and sphere-sovereignty:

We do not believe the solutions are ultimately federal. But that does not mean that the federal government cannot provide assistance to good programs, give incentives, and generally help state and local governments, private sector groups, and individuals and families in their efforts to assist children and families with the massive problems they face.⁷⁷

While such language is broad enough to allow for political expediency, it does accurately portray the Republican preference for local government action. However, Republicans are quite willing to use block grants, demonstration projects, and cost-sharing programs with the states in order to accomplish national policy objectives. What appears to be a looser reading of the Constitutional powers given to the

Congress, and a different view of the federal structure than the one articulated by Madison in the Federalist Papers,⁷⁸ provides the ideological cornerstone for Republican family policy. Republicans also do not appear reticent to use an expanded power base provided by decades of judicial legislating by activist Supreme Courts. While not conclusive, one discerns vestiges of an evolutionary or positive view of law in some elements of the party, in the focus on social change as the primary stimulus for change in the law. Quite naturally, too, it is easier to affirm and act upon the special needs of voting constituents, than to explain a more traditional view of federalism as a basis for federal inaction.

While Republican rationales for being committed to the traditional family are sound and convincing, the need and authority for, and extent of federal involvement is less than clear. There is an understanding that the basic undermining of the American family comes from personal choices beyond the reach of government. They agree with Michael Novak that:

Nobody forces people to abandon spouses, to separate, to divorce, or to have children outside of wedlock. Nobody. If you make these choices, there are going to be consequences throughout the social system.⁷⁹

Congressman Frank Wolf (R-VA) admonished his colleagues for failing to understand how families work:

We shouldn't kid ourselves. It is families who do the work of raising our youth who will someday run this country. We can help or hinder them; we can't replace them. No federal program is going to make it up to a child when he loses his father through divorce... No federal program is going to teach a child how to love, to sacrifice for others, or to participate in society. Parents teach those lessons.⁸⁰

Most Republicans understand that there are certain things which government cannot command, partially because of a lack of jurisdiction, but primarily because compelling what should be voluntary doesn't work. Simultaneously, there is tension created by a desire to bridge the "compassion gap," and articulate a federal concern and policy for women and families. While Republicans have thus far shunned a call for an official national family policy, the issue-driven debates of an election year, and the failure of the family, church and state governments to resolve pressing problems, have offered a profound challenge to Republicanism. It is this dilemma of a policy approach bifurcated between need-based pragmatism and adherence to classic Republican principles that colors the internal party debate and many of the legislative initiatives in the Congress.

Turning to the criteria by which government policies are to be judged, Republican policy formulators offer several suggestions. Researchers for the Children and Family Project '88, a Republican initiative, concluded that three questions must be consistently asked in developing sound policy: Is it strengthening the family? Is it building character? Is it developing responsibility?⁸¹ In the Executive Department, a Republican White House Working Group On The Family, headed by then Undersecretary of Education, Gary Bauer, proposed guidelines to President Reagan by which to evaluate the effects of legislation and administrative policies on the family.⁸² The central theme of these model guidelines is that a pro-family policy must recognize that parental and familial rights and responsibilities are fundamental and are superior to those of the state. When intervention is necessary, it should be accomplished by local institutions in the private sector, and

when government involvement is required, it should be undertaken by the appropriate level closest to the people.⁸³

The Republican party, while able to arrive at a consensus in platforms and policy statements, is a composite of different and changing factions dominated by different primary interests. At the federal level alone, there are 173 House Republicans and 46 Senators, supported respectively by the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC) and the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC). Each House has its own party leadership, Bob Michel (R-IL) in the House and Bob Dole (R-KS) in the Senate, supported by a number of policy, research, and steering committees designed to evaluate issues and offer policy guidance. While most state publicly that unity exists in domestic policy, a necessary proclamation for the minority party whose "11th Commandment" is to speak no evil of a fellow Republican, there are in fact differing views on the shape and content of family policy.

In the December 1988 elections for Republican leadership in the 101st Congress, pro-life conservative Jerry Lewis (R-CA) edged pro-choice moderate Lynn Martin (R-IL) by a few votes for the chairmanship of the House Republican Conference, the third-ranking party position in the House. At the height of the 1988 debate over a national child care policy, Marge Roukema (R-NJ) published an editorial entitled "The GOP's myopic vision of the family", deriding her colleagues for not facing the facts of family life as they are.⁸⁴ She claimed that the primary family issue for Republicans was not child care, but a family-and-medical leave policy which provides federally mandated job security for employees leaving work due to illness or to care for a child. That Republicans disagree on specific family policies was especially evident in their

response to the Democrats Act For Better Child Care (ABC) bill of 1987. No less than four alternative Republican bills emerged in the 100th Congress, with a fifth option suggested by then-candidate Bush.

In a nation with a strong two party system, one can expect a party to embrace people with a wide variety of perspectives, who support only part of the total official party agenda. An understanding of contemporary Republican thinking about family requires a brief review of the major ideological subgroups within the party. From World War II until Reagan, the party was dominated by three factions: the party of Wall Street, Main Street, and Easy Street.⁸⁵ Wall Street Republicans of the East were big businessmen who accommodated the big-government policies of the New Deal, and were generally considered the liberal wing of the party. Main Street was the geographic and ideological center of the party, reflecting small town values of decency, honesty, and fiscal conservatism. Easy Street Republicans are a somewhat newer phenomenon, espousing a populist, anti-establishment conservatism appealing to both the nouveau riche and the working middle class.⁸⁶ Republican leaders in the post-Reagan era have been characterized as Reaganite conservatives, either orthodox, guardians of the revolution, revisionists who seek to correct the mistakes, or radical ideologues who want to aggressively extend and export the conservative revolution.⁸⁷

In the past decade the impact of two new and growing groups have had an increasing influence on Republican social policy. The "yuppie Republican" is a younger traditional conservative on economic and foreign policy issues. As a product of the volatile sixties and seventies, he is more moderate and permissive in social and domestic policies. Perhaps the most significant contribution to the pro-family

cause has been given by the New Right, particularly evangelical Christians, who left the Democratic party en masse after severe disappointment with the Carter administration, and the message of hope offered by Ronald Reagan. As Kathryn Murray, director of communications for the Republican National Committee observed:

I think that the Democratic Party has largely alienated the evangelicals. We consider traditional values to be the bed-rock to build strong families and a strong country. And I think evangelicals see that as a very attractive philosophy.⁸⁸

Congressman Dan Coats (R-IN), Ranking Minority Member of the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, believes that because of the entry of active evangelicals into the Republican Party, "There's been a proliferation of discussions to elevate family issues to a very high level of debate, where before the interest was not there."⁸⁹

Acknowledging the increased conservatism and family focus of many Republican proposals during the Reagan years, B. Robert Okun, Executive Director of the House Republican Policy Committee says of evangelicals that "I think they've been a very good barometer upon which we judge what we come out with."⁹⁰

Assessing policy trends into the short-term future, Republicans generally agree that it makes sense either politically, morally, or constitutionally to have the federal government active in issues that affect the American family. Yet, having an impact in an increasingly divided Congress takes votes. In analyzing the anemic performance of the Republican Party in controlling the House of Representatives for only 4 years out of the past 58, staunch conservative Vin Weber (R-MN) claims:

If we are to achieve control of the House, we will need to push family issues... There is much room in the Republican

Party for disagreement on all issues, but as a party, we must take a stand on the controversial issues of the day... [The voters] are frustrated by a timid and hollow isolationist foreign policy and the erosion of America's traditional strong family values.

The decade of the eighties is the decade of the decline of the liberal Welfare State. If we are to see its final demise, Republicans must provide an alternative that is genuinely insightful, innovative, and geared toward the future. In short, we must replace it with a Conservative Opportunity Society.⁹¹

In March 1989, Representative Newt Gingrich (R-GA), an architect of the 1981 Conservative Opportunity Society (COS) vision, catapulted from the status of outspoken maverick to the House Republican Whip, the second-ranking elected party position in the House. While winning by only a narrow margin, his election to the Republican leadership reflects the desire of the Party to have a bold, conservative spokesman, and to work to shed the perennial minority status.

Republican rhetoric and documented principles during the Reagan years have grown increasingly conservative as they relate to family policy. Yet, there are indications, both in theory and in practice, that flexible notions of federalism and a good measure of political realism provide a license for Republican entry into areas of family life previously considered outside the scope of federal involvement. The next chapter will analyze tangible policy proposals in light of these foregoing principles and assumptions about the family.

IV

THE CONSISTENCY OF REPUBLICAN IDEOLOGY AND POLICY PROPOSALS

Having examined the problem, the model, and the Republican political principles, the inquiry will now focus on the articulation of specific legislative proposals of the Republican members of Congress. A fundamental question to be asked is whether the recommended programs and statutes are consistent with the publicly espoused principles of Republicanism. The starting point for Republicans is the recognition that solutions to family problems enacted in the past have not worked as intended. Congressman Coats reflects that:

It astounds me that the reaction of some recognized national leaders is to deny that the problem is anything less than simply an unlimited Government checkbook,...we cannot continue to ignore the message. The erosion of values and the breakup of the family is having a tragic impact on our society, and strong families are essential to the future of this country.⁹²

Until recently, neither political party focused much attention on the decline of the traditional family, the role the federal government was playing to cause it, and what they could do to prevent it. Legislators on both sides of the aisle generally associated a national family policy with socialist countries, and recognized that family law jurisdiction had resided within the states and the family itself. Even more importantly, perhaps, was the patent failure of most legislators to assimilate the family demographic data and the declining moral standards, and conclude that family breakups were at the root of other

social and criminal problems.

Perceiving a need for federal action, the Senate of the 97th Congress created the Subcommittee for Family and Human Services in 1981, a joint effort by Republican Senators Orrin Hatch (R-UT) and Jeremiah Denton (R-AL), at a rare time when Republicans had a majority in the Senate.⁹³ Two years later, the House authorized the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, a special committee without legislative authority which is reauthorized every two years if its mission is still viable. Ranking minority member, Dan Coats, admits the lack of Republican vision at the outset saying "I think we've gone from a question of wondering what the problem is, to [proposing]... pro-active, viable, conservative alternatives to deal with these problems."⁹⁴

The first fruit of the Senate committee brought forth by Senators Hatch and Denton was the introduction and passage of the Adolescent Family Life Demonstration Projects Act of 1981. Aimed at a national epidemic of unmarried pregnant teenagers, Republicans saw the act as a vehicle for adolescent education and pregnancy prevention. The program's purpose was to influence the behavior of adolescents by promoting sexual abstinence prior to marriage, and stressing the crucial role of the family in forming healthy attitudes about sexual relations.⁹⁵ The legislation further provided research and demonstration grants to states and institutions, on a declining federal cost-sharing basis. Funds were also used to provide maternal training and adoption counseling services as an alternative to abortion for unwed teen mothers, while abortion counseling and funding were explicitly forbidden. Drafters prided themselves in the legislation's reach to address the underlying causes and unfortunate results of premarital teenage sexual relations, while

limiting the role of the federal government to the provision of guidance and funding.⁹⁶ The act specifically permitted religious groups and churches to qualify for funds to conduct a demonstration program, so long as the Court-defined standards of the First Amendment's establishment of religion clause were not violated by the advancement of a particular religious position.

The purposes, construction, and administration of the Act were to set a pattern for the Republican Reagan-era Congress. The policy embodied in the legislation was a clear commitment to traditional moral values, a respect for human life, and an understanding of the importance of parental support and instruction of children. In contrast to direct federal intervention and entitlement creation, the Republican methodology has been to preserve voluntary state participation and regulatory control, while finding it an appropriate exercise of the federal spending authority and the affirmative duty of government to promote such a program. The Act demonstrates fidelity to principles outlined in the 1980 platform and elucidated by Ronald Reagan on the campaign trail. It is a good example of the government understanding a problem, tailoring a policy to effect a principled resolution, and then encouraging the citizenry to do what is right without coercion.

While only \$30 million has been appropriated annually for the Adolescent Family Life Act, Republican commitment to the program has withstood several years of reauthorization debates in which the Democratic opposition has attempted to eliminate the participation of religious institutions, and allow counseling for abortion.⁹⁷ Republican proponents won a major victory before a Supreme Court largely influenced by Reagan's conservative pro-family justices, when the Court upheld the

constitutionality of the Act in Bowen v. Kendrick, after a 5-year court battle.⁹⁸ The Court held that government promotion of sexual self-discipline, abstinence, and adoption was not inherently religious, "although it may coincide with the approach taken by certain religions."⁹⁹ Recognition by the Court that Congress can legitimately support religious organizations in influencing values and family life, provides significant impetus for conservative Republicans in developing a strategy for the restoration of the nation's moral base.

Another legislative initiative at the onset of the Reagan Revolution was the Family Protection Act of 1981, the first sweeping policy aimed at limiting government intervention in many areas of family life and bolstering the conjugal, two-parent family as normative.¹⁰⁰ The Act provided for a variety of traditional family support measures such as a restriction of federal funds for abortion, a restraint of federal interference with state statutes pertaining to child abuse, a redefinition of abuse to exclude parental spanking, and a prohibition of funds for homosexual legal services and other anti-family activities.¹⁰¹ The act incorporates sound principles of federalism and self-government, while refusing to acknowledge homosexuality and abortion as acceptable behaviors and actions. It is noteworthy that these latter two issues are even framed in the context of family policy, a noticeable omission of Democratic policy makers, who discuss these as issues of personal liberty distinct from the family. The Republican vision is cognizant of immorality and the attack on family values as the root of otherwise secular social problems, and the legislative response demonstrates an unwillingness to legitimate those actions which are both cause and effect of family breakdown.

The critical question to be posed against these and other Republican policies is whether an admittedly good idea or program is appropriately within the province of the federal government. Clearly, the withholding of federal funds from programs which are likely to undermine family authority or facilitate the decay of family values, is legitimate. Less clear is the authority for the affirmative use of federal funds to encourage and support programs which are reasonably calculated to build strong traditional families and reinforce the bed-rock values. The major controversy surrounds legislation intended as a symptom-treating federal safety net to catch those victims of family breakdown. One might argue that the pragmatic response to the real problems occasioned by man's sin and irresponsibility reflects a false compassion and a paternalistic governmental view of the family. Perhaps the proper, but more difficult, response to some "good ideas" is to reflect restraint in legislative language, commitment to sphere-sovereignty, and adherence to first principles, even when action or inaction may cause political and practical hurt with the media and voters. If the government at all levels has a duty to uphold the family, then it follows that it has the authority to legitimately discriminate in support of this goal.¹⁰²

Several recent Republican initiatives support the contention that many Congressmen do adhere to social conservatism and espouse a consistent approach to those issues and problems that rightly come under the ill-defined umbrella of family policy. In the face of liberal rhetoric about encroachments upon hallowed First Amendment freedoms, Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) and Representative Thomas Bliley (R-VA) were able to push the Telephone Decency Act of 1988 through Congress into law

effective July 1, 1988.¹⁰³ Utilizing creative parliamentary procedures to attach the Act to a broadly supported education bill, these Republicans efforts succeeded in making it a federal crime to transmit indecent or obscene material across telephone lines.

In the waning moments of the 100th Congress in October of 1988, several conservative Republicans were able to force the Child Protection and Obscenity Enforcement Act to a successful voice vote.¹⁰⁴ The law provides for felony sanctions for convicted telephone and television pornographers. The combined effect of the above bills is that a stand has been taken against a perverse element of American business, which has been positively correlated not only with deviant and criminal behavior, but with the propagation of values which are inimical to healthy family life.¹⁰⁵

While Republican legislators are inundated with family policy suggestions from individuals, special interest and public policy groups, and communications with opinion leaders, the Minority Staff of the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families has become a principal breeding ground for Republican family policy thinking. Beginning in 1987, Committee staff members began extensive hearings and nationwide travel to begin to synthesize a Republican vision for the American family and the role of federal government. In 1987, the Committee articulated the key themes that would guide Republican policy making:

- (1) Family based approaches to problems.
- (2) Fostering the development of personal responsibility.
- (3) Encouraging the building of character and values.
- (4) Opposing ideas that undermine strong families and values.
- (5) Targeting programs to the needy.

- (6) Encouraging more efficient utilization of resources so more can get to the most in need.
- (7) Featuring public/private partnerships, private sector, local and state resolutions rather than a primary emphasis on the federal government's responsibility to solve all problems.
- (8) Highlighting prevention programs.¹⁰⁶

In 1988, the Committee's efforts were formalized into the Children and Family Project '88: A Republican Vision for Children and Families in the 1990's and Beyond. Under the direction of Representative Coats, and in cooperation with Representative Jerry Lewis, Chairman of the House Republican Policy Committee, the committee crafted years of background research into a series of related legislative proposals. The omnibus package of Republican bills was banded together and presented to a press conference as "The American Family Act" on July 7, 1988 by House Republican Leader Bob Michel. Introduced as a Republican vision for an innovative approach to family policy by Coats, the Act featured an eleven-point plan to address education, family support and stability, and "at risk" children.¹⁰⁷ Attempting to highlight differences between Republican and Democratic views, Policy Committee Chairman Jerry Lewis stated:

No issues separate Republicans from Democrats more than issues affecting the American family. The reason is that most Americans prefer the Republican approach to family issues -- the role of the federal government stops at the family doorstep... While leaders of the other party view the family as fair game to more government intervention -- more programs, more taxes -- our party stresses the need to lighten the load on families, to get the federal government off the backs of those who want to raise their children without being overburdened by Uncle Mario [Guomo], Uncle Mike [Dukakis], or Uncle Sam.¹⁰⁸

A sampling and analysis of the Act's provisions will give a fair representation of current Republican thinking, and the degree of the

party's allegiance to its own principles. Perhaps no issue garnered more attention during the 1988 Presidential election than the call for a federal response to a perceived national child-care crisis. Although child care expenditures by the federal government had been accepted for years through the AFDC programs and tax credits, the explosion in the number of working women with small children brought about a popular outcry for more federal aid programs and tax credits. Democrats had taken the political initiative from Republicans in 1987 by proposing their controversial \$2.5 billion ABC bill designed to establish a federally-controlled baby-sitting business.¹⁰⁹ While Republican Congressmen had actually introduced two child care bills in March and September prior to the ABC bill, they were targeted at institutional providers and low-income families, and drew little response. Both Republican bills were criticized as being "far less totalitarian in scope and less costly than ABC, but in general they looked like typical moderate Republican examples of 'less of the same.'" ¹¹⁰ House and Senate Republicans, motivated by the political environment of an election year, and at a conclusory point in their policy research, proposed four different child care bills in the first six months of 1988.¹¹¹ Hustling to join the fray, Republican presidential front-runner George Bush released his high-priced version of a federal child care program, headlined by a \$1000 per child annual tax credit.

Nearly all the Republican alternatives had some type of revised child-care tax credit, along with some special provisions for low-income taxpayers. Others provided for vouchers, tax incentives for institutional providers, and block grants to States. After some internal debate, the "Choices in Child Care Act" of Rep. Tom Tauke (R-IA), was

selected as the child-care component of the American Family Act, chiefly because it was the product of an extensive study by the House Republican Research Committee, and its broad provisions and \$1.3 billion price tag seemed to offer something for everyone (See Appendix A). The bill provided a \$400 refundable tax credit for each dependent under age six, with a phase out for families with incomes above \$40,000. The proposal also called for \$400 million in state administered vouchers for low-income working parents, not limited to licensed institutional care, \$200 million in block grants to States to increase quality and availability of child care, and the enactment of tax incentives and simplification for businesses and home-based child-care providers.¹¹²

American Family Act sponsor Representative Coats believes that a legitimate federal role in providing child-care assistance must be based upon three principles:

- (1) It must strengthen families by not discriminating against mothers who choose to stay at home to raise children;
- (2) It must leave the choice of where and by whom the care is provided in the hands of the parents, not the state; and
- (3) It should target assistance to those who need it most.¹¹³

Coats believes that the Tauke bill passes the test and is consistent with fundamental Republican principles. It is noteworthy that Tauke, a Roman Catholic, and Coats, an evangelical Protestant, have combined in this conservative approach to a significant family issue.

Many conservative public policy groups applauded the Republican universal tax credit approach of the Holloway and Schulze bills, as preserved in principle in the Tauke bill. Concerned Women of America (CWA) stated that the Republican options were "based upon solid pro-family principles," and were good policies because they eliminated tax

discrimination against one-earner families, provided equal treatment of informal, in-home, and church-based care providers, increased parental choice, and kept the primary responsibility for care within the family.¹¹⁴ The Republican vision is also consistent with the cherished prerequisite of providing maximum parental choice in the means of nurture.

A flaw in the approach, however, is accepting a priori that federal involvement is legitimate, and allowing the issue to be framed in terms defined by the Democratic Left. Research by Phyllis Schlafly of Eagle Forum concluded that there is no persistent shortage of day care, that the industry is one of the most rapidly growing in the economy, and that the quantity and quality shortage was a misrepresentation to the American citizenry by welfare state elitists.¹¹⁵ Even if there is a temporary shortage in the availability of care, Republican principles consistently advocate that free market mechanisms provide the solution. While the proliferation in the day care industry was created in part by the financial hardships of women fostered by no-fault divorce, it was also stimulated by the private choices of individuals to increase their family income, or for some women, to break their perceived stereotypical role bonds and seek workplace equality and individual self-actualization. Must government subsidize the choices of a generation with an increased appetite for the materialistic components of the American Dream? This seems to be a partial abrogation of the Republican commitment to deal with the cause of family problems, not just treat the symptoms. Further, it poses a fundamental question for political leadership: Must good government affirmatively respond to any needs the people express, or should leaders begin with an evaluation of what is

constitutionally permissible, and what can be better accomplished by other societal institutions?

Republican concerns for fiscal austerity are easily impaled by an additional \$1.3 billion a year in expenses. Surely the leadership recognizes that existing federal child-care programs already cost more than \$6.9 billion in 1988.¹¹⁶ Further expenditures would be used to subsidize a dynamic new trend of working women and feminists that is ultimately detrimental to the family by entrenching a status-quo of non-parental primary nurture of children. Free Congress director Michael Schwartz observed that while there were no ideological leftists to speak of remaining at the end of the Reagan Administration, there was:

a division between those whose conservatism is defined by dollar signs and those whose conservatism is rooted in the family. These groups also differ in framing the day-care question as a workplace issue (how to exploit the "human capital"), and as a family issue (how to help families care for their children).¹¹⁷

Schwartz derides the economic conservatives for making "unimaginative compromises with the far-reaching statist schemes of the Left" in their provisions for assistance to licensed centers and low-income targeted plans, while he applauds the universal tax credit as a pro-family policy giving maximum parental liberty.¹¹⁸

While an analysis of the tax code as a powerful instrument of public policy is beyond the scope of this paper, one might question whether the direct provision of federal aid via the ABC bill, is different in principle, or only in means of delivery, from an indirect provision of similarly substantial funds via tax expenditures. Also, the Tauke bill's phase-out of credit for upper-middle income families, and targeting funds directly to low-income families, seems to perpetuate the

income redistribution philosophy of the Great Society which has already produced its harvest of dependency, anomie, and irresponsibility. As will be discussed later, a further increase in the dependent care exemption, notwithstanding the tremendous national debt, is a better approach to the child-care problem. Once differential tax rates and benefit distributions are accepted in principle, there is but an arbitrary legislative line that inhibits the slide to socialism.

Despite the foregoing challenges to the Republican initiatives, the child-care bill does fairly account for the reality of how children of working mothers are currently being cared for. With over 54% of children under 5 under the daily tutelage of Mom at home, and only 11% at institutional day care centers,¹¹⁹ the Republican provision of choices will trigger the best of the capitalist market mechanisms to deliver quantity and quality, while allowing maximum liberty to utilize parents, churches, relatives, and friends who can truly care. If the premise of a constitutional and intelligent federal role is accepted, then the Republican child-care policies are indeed pro-family and protective of the jurisdiction of family and church.

A second endeavor of the American Family Act is to address the obvious decline of the time-tested family values which have been the moral basis of American liberty and progress. Consistent with the Republican principle of government to treat, where appropriate, the underlying cause of social disorder, the impetus for action is rooted in the belief that a government of the people and by the people (i.e. self-government) will only succeed if the people have character.¹²⁰

The Republican vision is that the overriding necessity for the inculcation of values to produce good citizens, triggers the need for

government intervention when the family fails to do its job:

It has always been assumed that families and churches provided most of the moral/ethical leadership for our children, and that sound instruction plus good literature in the schools would reinforce those values. However, the nature of families has changed... children want to know what's right and what's wrong, but, to know this, they must be taught values and standards. If this is not available in the home, due to changing lifestyles, then it must be stressed in school.¹²⁰

The statement strikes an uneasy balance between the socialist-elitist view of government as "Big Brother," and a legitimate encouragement by government of what is truthful and righteous for the formation of productive citizens. Before assessing the merits of such a program, it must be determined whether exclusive parental jurisdiction prohibits government from becoming father to the constructive orphan, and if not, whose values are to be taught. The model promulgated in Chapter II proposed that citizenship values necessary for a minimal level of social and economic independence may be appropriate.

The Republican proposal would call for a formal character education program for the nation's public elementary and secondary schools. The relatively lean \$600,000 a year test program would be administered by the Department of Education through the state school systems. The program's goals are to encourage research into the traits of character that produce sound moral development, encourage new program development, disseminate information to school districts, and promote character development as a partial long-term solution to both social problems and a potential employment crisis.¹²² The particular values to be taught are based on those currently used in successful city programs around the country, and from a consensus from surveys of business leaders and the population at large about what values are important in

society¹²³ (See Appendix B). Republicans believe that while family must still be held as the primary transmitter of values and character, a federal program giving seed money to the states will accelerate and stimulate the return to those fundamental American values, whose absence has caused family-breakdown and the resultant crime and social chaos. The initial version of this concept was introduced by Rep. Hall (R-OH) as the "Commission on Values Education Act of 1987," which proposed that a national commission be established to recommend ideas for values education to the President and Congress. The Commission would:

Identify those values supported by a consensus of Americans as essential to a complete education and preparation for becoming productive members of society, and which may be appropriately endorsed and promoted by the Federal Government.¹²⁴

The Commission was specifically directed to "consider the widest range of values for inclusion in the consensus of values that should be taught, including traditional Judeo-Christian values..."¹²⁵

Character education programs unquestionably exhibit Republican fidelity to focusing on true causality, strengthening and protecting traditional family values, and the realization that private acts have public effects. Further, the model programs and consensus surveys favored by Republicans largely reflect values that are wholesome and good for individuals and families, and should be taught in homes, schools, churches, and businesses across the nation. However, while the validity and effectiveness of public education is beyond the scope of this paper, it is highly doubtful that the secular school environment is the proper forum for such a program, particularly in light of current First Amendment jurisprudence. The stringent Supreme Court tests currently applied to evaluate books and programs under the establishment

clause would likely leave only relativistic humanistic values suitable for teaching. A teacher may be put in the awkward position of advocating objectively sound values, but unable, due to either ignorance or school rules, to explain to students why these values are good, and their connection with religious principles.

With a character education program the federal government would not just encourage the development of good character, but would assume the authority to define what is. At one level, it is an idea repugnant to the sovereignty of church and families to teach religion and to "train up a child in the way he should go."¹²⁶ The concept of federal intervention justified by social need, popular demand, or abdication by other institutions is a utilitarian, rather than a principled approach to government. However, the role of the federal government as the guardian of inalienable rights and liberties may rationally extend to the provision of prophylactic programs intended to produce citizens able to understand and honor the civil covenant and respect the inalienable rights of all citizens. Faced with a society in which immediate gratification, violence, and anarchy are pervasive among adolescents, Republicans view the program as an investment in the future designed to restore the strong family. Therefore, while solid in theory and intent, this program belongs in the church, or to the degree it rationally fosters good citizenship, in the states.

A third policy advocated by Republicans in the American Family Act is the creation of a Congressional Family Impact Statement. Similar in general concept to the environmental impact statement already in place, the statement would require an analysis of all bills reported out of legislative committee for the impact of the potential legislation on the

stability and well-being of the family. The family impact analysis idea is not new, having been initially advocated in a report by a joint Congressional Committee chaired by then-Senator Walter Mondale (D-MN) in 1974, and again in 1980 in the White House Conference on Families Report to President Carter.¹²⁷ In 1987, following intense lobbying by pro-family groups, and the comprehensive 1986 Report to President Reagan from the White House Working Group on the Family, the family impact analysis concept was put into action at the federal level for the first time. Proposed and written by Reagan domestic adviser Gary Bauer, and issued as an executive order, the directive required all federal agencies of the Executive Department to file a "Family Fairness Statement" to analyze and describe how any new policy or initiative would impact the traditional family.¹²⁸

The American Family Act proposal would extend the Reagan initiative beyond the executive to the legislative branch, so that a full analysis of a bill's impact would be made known to Congressmen before voting, and presumably made available to committeemen to use in drafting legislation that is pro-family. Given the current battered state of the traditional family, and a Republican understanding that both federal overreaching and inaction are a proximate cause of the damage, the American Family Act drafters see the Family Impact Statement as an important first step in honoring the central tenet of the Hippocratic Oath: *Primum, non nocere*. First of all, do no harm.¹²⁹ As sponsor Coats noted, "It's time we end the era, where we know more about the impact of a proposal on the snail darter than we do about whether a bill will actually strengthen families."¹³⁰

The bill calls for the creation of a family impact analysis

division within the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) to develop analysis guidelines for legislators, and to scrutinize each reported bill. The primary goal of the analysis is to measure direct and indirect effects of policies and programs, and to develop practical methodologies and processes to achieve the complex result of adequately evaluating families as an integrated unit.¹³¹ While other family impact models had been developed in private studies over the past decade, the Republican version is thorough, probing and reflective of baseline moral issues. Constructed as a strategy for preventing the breakdown of marriage and family, Republicans call for the consideration of five key criteria to guide program evaluation and policy analysis: family stability, family improvement, family involvement and interdependence, family support and responsibilities, and targeting vulnerable families (See Appendix C).¹³² Republican respect for family sovereignty is reflected in one of the many excellent areas of inquiry:

To what extent is family autonomy respected by the policy or programs and the family left to make their own decisions and lead their lives the way they wish? On what principles is family autonomy breached when program staff intervene and make the decisions? How does the program protect the family from unwarranted intrusion and allow parents choice?¹³³

The impact analysis enacted at the White House and proposed by Congress is prima facie evidence of Republican commitment to formulation of a pro-family policy with minimal interference by government. While the specific criteria developed by CBO, and the precise application of those guidelines to a particular piece of legislation, is in the hands of theoretically non-partisan bureaucrats, the proposals presented by Republicans, if followed, would raise the pro-family consciousness of the entire Congress. Coats describes the impact statement:

This is a great chance for legislators to ask for the first time what impact the legislation will have on the family. We won't get agreement on what standards should be set to measure family impact, but at least we'll be asking the question.¹³⁴

The anticipated result of family impact analysis is that government will refrain from acting, or select the least intrusive means of acting, when potential harm to the family is indicated.

The remainder of the omnibus American Family Act contains provisions for replacing strictly-divided public school districts with competition-based magnet schools, enacting a decentralized school based management system, and creating a federal college savings bond program. Other Republican initiatives, drawn chiefly from successful private sector ideas, include revisions in child-support enforcement and child custody, tenant-management in public housing, and increased support for adoption services. A tough gang-busting provision calls for restitution for non-violent offenders, parental liability for juvenile restitutionary adjudications, and community reclamation projects. Apart from questions of the legitimacy of block-grant federalism and the scope of Congressional authority, the ideas are in accord with the pro-family principles of the Republican leadership, and based on successful programs.

Assessing the Republican policy vision in its totality, one discerns a preference for limited government and fiscal restraint, yet little hesitancy to legislate when an urgent unmet need or objectively good idea presents itself. Somewhat akin to Supreme Court jurisprudence in its crafting of a variety of "compelling state interest" tests to evaluate the constitutionality of a statute, most Republicans feel there is a role for the federal government in its need to be sensitive to

shifts in family and society. Republican Policy Committee Executive Director, Bob Okun, asserts that the American Family Act was designed to maintain the integrity of the traditional American family, while recognizing and making provisions for the "changed" families of the 1980's.¹³⁵

The desire to preserve family strength has been used historically to justify government intervention in otherwise unauthorized areas.

Gilbert Y. Steiner, a Brookings Institution Scholar reports:

A strong and stable family is the voluntary association most consistently admired by politicians as well as philosophers. Fear of its breakdown has haunted American society from early settlers in Plymouth to modern reformers and social scientists. The use of civil authority to strengthen the family can be traced to roots as old and honorable - if not democratic - as the Puritans. They believed that civil government was necessary...because after the sin of the first Adam, family governors could not be trusted to maintain the order that God had commanded. In the Puritan era, family incapacity produced the chief problem for the state: to see that family governors enforced the laws of God, which covered the minutest details of personal action.¹³⁶

While there is little evidence to believe that most Republicans cognitively legislate in areas of family policy to enforce the laws of God, it is true that many strong conservatives and Christians have been responsible for the principles and policy statements that have come from the Republican Platform Committee, the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, and the Republican Study Committee. Perhaps inherent in the nature of political activity, strong principles give way to expediency in the chambers of Capitol Hill, and compromise legislative packages are necessary in order to get anything done.

The Republican vision in the majority of the aforementioned bills begins to reflect a policy pattern: provide a federal safety net when other institutions fail; use state block grants and demonstration

projects to preserve federalism; legislate with the cause of family breakdown in clear focus; act affirmatively whenever possible to maximize parental choice and responsibility; encourage life, health, and morals; concentrate on prevention of family breakdown rather than intervention and reaction; and use a strong economy and the tax code to strengthen the financial position of the traditional family.¹³⁷ Where inconsistencies with principle result, it appears to be due to different Republican perceptions of whether and how to bridge the gulf between support for the ideal traditional family, and recognition of the changing family patterns and increasing family dysfunction in a fallen world. As Bob Okun observes about future Republican family policies, "I think it's going to be a combination of paying a lot of attention to demographic changes and tide shifts, but doing all we can to keep that rootedness among people."¹³⁸ It is this dualism of purpose that may explain the absence of any coherent national family policy. As Steiner notes:

There is continued uncertainty over whether family policy should be a policy that accepts family relations as they are and eliminates legal and social barriers to a variety of family life-styles, or should be a policy that posits a goal - for example, a permanent self-sufficient family relationship for every American -- and programs to implement the goal.¹³⁹

V

POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF FAMILY POLICY

Ronald Reagan brought a number of conservative, anti-establishment ideologues to Washington in 1981 to begin the "revolution." Not only did the conservative social agenda outlined in the 1980 platform meet resistance in Congress from the increasingly liberal Democratic Party, but substantial opposition also came from establishment, big-business, and "country-club" Republicans. Moreover, the reality of legislating in an increasingly vocal and permissive society, in which political survival was a higher priority than attainment of social ideals, made Congressmen more attentive to voters than party ideologues.

The social agenda of the 1980 campaign included position statements on such newly categorized family issues as abortion, school prayer, pornography, and homosexuality. The Party platform reflected the impact of the New Right, a grass roots, populist, conservative movement led by evangelical ministers and public policy think-tank executives.¹⁴⁰ While giving the appearance of harmony between social Conservatives and big-business Republicans on both economic and family issues, the platform concealed an arms-length standoff between the two factions. Convention observers in 1984, noting the dissatisfaction of the New Right with the failure of the Reagan Administration to deliver on the conservative social promises of 1980, forecast that "for the conservatives of the New Right, concerned with seeing their ideological goals translated into

policy, the GOP is not the ideal partner - nor will it ever be."¹⁴¹ The obstacle apparently lies at the heart of the national political process: That following emotional and academic platform discussions, party leaders return to Washington, "where ideological purity tends to give way to legislative pragmatism."¹⁴² While most Republicans are at least publicly committed to limited government and the conservative pro-family agenda of the past three platforms, many are not willing to risk the loss of political capital or lack the strong ideological attachment to aggressively pursue legislation in these areas.

The more difficult problem is the political reality mentioned earlier: that Republicans have become the entrenched minority Party on Capitol Hill.¹⁴³ Several changes in the nation's political temperament account for this inferior status. Beginning with the 1936 Presidential campaign, the general bipartisan agreement that "the government that governs best governs least" was rejected by Democrats in favor of a philosophy of trying to be all things to all people.¹⁴⁴ In a Congress in which select issues have become acid tests for party loyalty (abortion, ERA, Contra aid, balanced-budget amendment, etc.), and in which everyone claims to be pro-family, it is increasingly difficult for the minority party to make inroads into substantive family policy areas. However, it must be asserted that Republicans have failed to effectively communicate to the general public about why conservatism is truly best for them.

When looking ahead to the 1988 Presidential election, House Republican Leader Bob Michel predicted that candidates' positions on family issues would be decisive:

In 1988, the words 'community' and 'family' will be written and spoken over and over again - but these major political and social ideas mean one thing to Republicans, another to Democrats. The party that is best able to communicate its unique vision of these key terms - so full of emotional and conceptual power - will win in 1988.¹⁴⁵

While it is arguable that George Bush's articulation of a Republican vision of family helped him win the Presidency, Michel underscores the point that the legislative branch is currently dominated by those with different views on family issues. In fact, Democrats are likely to redefine family in a way that labels what was once deviant as acceptable. They have had the louder public voice as the majority party, and with a lock on committee appointments and rule setting, have been able to determine which issues constitute family policy. For Democrats, family policy encompasses such concepts as the creation of national health insurance, increased minimum wage, guaranteed minimum income, increased transfer payments through welfare, increased public housing, mandatory parental leave, increased cash and in-kind entitlements for lower-income "families," and an overall increase in direct federal intervention in family government. As Thomas Mangieri points out, the crucial question in the national debate over family policy is how to frame the issues.¹⁴⁶ So far Congressional Democrats have been the framers, as well as the more successful marketers.

Republicans have been effectively labeled by Democrats as the party of big business and the rich, and a party not concerned with important family issues such as poverty, women's rights, civil rights, and child care. Conservative Republican family positions have been portrayed as a restraint upon freedom, and the party has been criticized for having a "compassion gap" with the poor and a "gender gap" with women. It is not

a surprising attack by liberals who measure equality on a factual economic basis, rather than by equal access to opportunity. Republican calls for workfare, education cuts, and ERA rejection, without solid philosophical explanations, only fueled the perception. Republican response has come in two primary forms. One is to react to the social progressives of the Democratic Party by offering a cheaper compromise version of the same program, paying only lip service to the principle of limited government and fiscal conservatism. The "cheap Democrat" approach has been tried and failed, because it makes Republicans different, not in kind, but in degree only.

A second approach is to embark on a campaign to relate a principled Republican vision of family policy to the American people by carefully and repeatedly explaining the intellectual framework which undergirds the Republican philosophy. Because of political apathy of the electorate, and poor marketing, Republican views are not fully understood and accepted even less. After all, the simplistic Democratic approach, which focuses on individual license and continually-increasing government spending and regulation to improve the position of the family, is much easier to explain to the average voter, and superficially appears better for him. Bob Okun laments that "less government doesn't sell very well."¹⁴⁷ Representative Jerry Lewis admits that "we have a great difficulty communicating in a way that is received by the average citizen, that which is our fundamental philosophy," which he finds especially troublesome for the party comprised of a large number of marketing and business people.¹⁴⁸ Lewis criticizes the Democratic majority for stealing pro-family rhetoric from Republicans to use selectively for political gain, when in fact they have little faith in

individuals and families.¹⁴⁹ He believes that party leaders must work intensely on semantics and marketing of the Republican vision for families and communities, and must explain to the citizenry "that the Democrats' vision of government is to spend more of your dollars on programs that don't work, and take it out of your pocket rather than to let you exercise your own will with your earnings for your family purposes."¹⁵⁰ Okun echoes the challenge to expose the elitism by highlighting specific family policy failures of Democratic legislators, and he says that while articulating Republican philosophies and Reagan successes clearly, they must make the factual argument that "If we're spending that much money, and still having the same problems, we've got to look at how we're spending that money. There's got to be a better way."¹⁵¹ Republican Policy Committee staffer Frank Gregorsky believes that "the pragmatic party wins" because Americans are pragmatic people.¹⁵² But he explained that Republicans can adhere closely to principle by showing Americans that Republican family policies are better for them in the long run. He adopts the framework developed by his former boss, Representative Newt Gingrich (R-GA), who in 1981 articulated the vision of a Conservative Opportunity Society to replace the Liberal Welfare State.¹⁵³

Lewis believes that Republicans have formulated good conservative pro-family policies, but concedes:

The chance of our proposals becoming law are not nil, they're absolutely nil... We should not be compromising on principles, but lets not kid ourselves about the people who dominate this scene. They are liberals who are fundamentally believers in more government, with essentially an authoritarian tilt.¹⁵⁴

The Republican strategy must be to exercise perseverance and chip away at the fringes, as has been done with abortion funding, pornography, and

long-term health care. Republicans meanwhile should be encouraging the Bush Administration to use the visibility and credibility of its offices to transform public opinion, training leaders on how to explain Republican family ideas, and mailing policy statements and research documents to opinion leaders across the nation.¹⁵⁵

The fact that questions of a political nature should matter at all in the formulation of family policy, indicates that to some degree, departure from fundamental ideals is essential in order to get programs approved in pluralistic America. While political compromise can be a concession of the moral high ground, it is predominantly a realistic approach to policy making. The Reagan election and staunch conservative family policy platform planks seemed to violate a common belief that only moderates could be elected president. Reagan, it now seems, had not fully committed to pursuing the family issues on which he campaigned. It is also becoming clear in modern culture that the voting American mainstream is not willing to accept a true pro-family ideologue because as then-Representative Trent Lott (R-MS) observed, "Americans think of themselves as conservatives; they want government reduced. But in their hearts they are liberals; they want all the goodies coming in."¹⁵⁶ Leadership, however, does not require giving voters what they want, for whimsical and capricious government would result. Republican legislators must exercise independent professional judgment as statesmen, to make decisions that are objectively right, and proved effective.

The established American media has proven to be another obstacle to the Republican ability to communicate an ideologically pure and comprehensible vision for preserving the traditional American family. The media's generally liberal perspective on important issues such as teen

pregnancy, abortion, welfare dependency, and homosexuality have made conservative orators sound like extremists. As Valparaiso professor James Nuechterlein observes, "There is no greater obstacle to the progress of a responsible conservatism than the perception, carefully cultivated by the Norman Lears of this world, that the Right is inhibited only by inadequate and unhinged personalities."¹⁵⁷ Yet believing in the correctness of their moral vision for the family and limited constitutional government, Republican pro-family advocates must also be political risk takers and educators, who understand that often the profound wisdom of God's law for the family will appear as folly to foolish men.

Even if Republicans were in control of the Congress, the inquiry must still be made into the efficacy of their undiluted legislative initiatives. As distinguished from a utilitarian approach to policy formulation, this analysis requires that the jurisdictional threshold be crossed before discussing whether policies work.

Recently both Republicans and Democrats have portrayed themselves as the true pro-family party. The 1988 Presidential campaign rhetoric was filled with statements and promises about family issues deemed to be important to voters. In fact most exit polls showed the family issue of abortion to be the one element of the candidates' positions that most influenced their vote. The sharply conflicting proposals of two "pro-family" parties leads one to inquire as to which set of policies actually provide an environment of health and strength for the family?

Where Republicans have been successful in using parliamentary tactics or compromise to get bills passed, the results, to the degree verifiable, have been good. Clearly, the banning of federal funding for

abortion through the Hyde amendment and the encouragement of adoption for unwed mothers in the Adolescent Family Life Act, have helped to constrain the ability of low-income women, those most likely to become pregnant out-of-wedlock, to have abortions. Coincidentally, the annual abortion rate has leveled off at approximately 1.5 million per year.

The Republicans have followed through on several platform commitments and waged a partially effective war against pornography. While their efforts have effectively curtailed dial-a-porn and some telecable obscenity, it is a small drop in the sea of licentiousness available in print, movies, videos, night clubs, and on radio.

The Republican child-care bills are a concession to a practical need created by changing demographics. Granting for the moment, that there is a real problem, the universal tax credits will provide the financial resources and freedom of choice for parents requiring child care in order to work. Yet there is implicit encouragement of continuing the demographic shift away from the traditional two-parent, one-earner family, by reinforcing non-parental nurture of children. While the equal tax credit provision for in-home maternal care is a strong part of the vision, the capability for increasingly bureaucratized child nurture opens the door for an amplification of the psychological, physical, and moral harm done to children by absent parents, with the foster care system providing solid empirical evidence of the negative results of the abdication of parental care responsibilities.¹⁵⁸

The character education program, if implemented with traditional Judeo-Christian values as the principal substance, will undoubtedly achieve some results. While the program may not change hearts, it can

change minds and behavior. Model city programs currently in operation report a significant decline in school disciplinary problems, reduced vandalism, fewer lunchroom problems, increased academic achievement and acceptance of responsibility, improved SAT scores, and an overwhelming interest by both students and parents.¹⁵⁹ The key problem is in determining which values are to be taught. If the Republican structure is put in place and filled with liberal Democratic values or values-neutral character education, as those espoused by the NEA, then the program will only fuel the problem it seeks to eliminate. However, the same risk inheres in the political process generally, as the collective values of elected representatives form the presuppositional base for all legislation.

The family impact statement is a strong recommendation which at the least will inject family concerns into the policy debate, and at most will facilitate principled legislation that encourages traditional families, and discourages or sanctions alternate lifestyles and anti-family behaviors. The problem with the proposal, similar to the values education proposal, is by whose standards federal policies will be judged. The reality of CBO operations indicates their partiality to the philosophy and programs of the majority party, as reflected in skewed cost estimates presenting an unrealistically favorable light legislation proposed by powerful Democrats.¹⁶⁰ Further, the complexities of family impact analysis makes the process expensive and time-consuming and delaying an analysis until the bill is reported from committee and ready for a vote, gives "insufficient time to obtain impact statements which would be reliable and useful to legislators in helping them make their decisions."¹⁶¹ She also contends that "very few have had any marked

effect on policy formulation and/or policy change," and that impact statements are much more successful at the state and local level because of the lack of suitable advocacy for their application at the federal level.¹⁶²

In the final analysis, the efficacy of the proposals hinges on the generation of a Republican congressional majority party to oversee their proper content and enactment. Yet to the degree that proposals can be pushed through in an undiluted form, and are based on sound conservative Republican principles, they should work, in the long run to foster healthier families.

VI

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The American Republican party, while generally asserting unity of belief on the major social issues, has been characterized in the 1980's as "a party in search of self."¹⁶³ As New York Times Magazine correspondent Steven V. Roberts observes:

The struggle really centers more on strategy than on ultimate goals.... Probably the major clash is between Republicans who insist on maintaining certain principles and policies, no matter what, and those who say the party's job is to govern the country, even if that means messy compromises and imperfect solutions.¹⁶⁴

Nowhere does the conflict seem to be so acute as in matters of family policy, where the legislator's bifurcated role as agent of the constituent impels him to be sensitive to needs of the voter, and as fiduciary of the public trust motivates him to vote his conscience as to what is objectively right and best for the nation as a whole. To the extent possible a Republican consensus must be reached and systematic efforts made to articulate the pro-family vision. While liberal intellectuals may be lost to the Republican cause, pro-family principles and policies, geared culturally and intellectually at the target audience, will be more readily received by the typical Democratic strongholds of blacks, the working middle class and low-income people. The generation of strong grass roots movements embracing traditional values will be a forerunner to the return of a Republican Congress.

To restore the proper balance of church, family, and state authority, and to create a national awareness of the importance of the family, requires exceptional Republican leadership. The Republican party, long known as the party of ideas and entrepreneurial spirit, must find a way to "lead while not necessarily legislating," realizing that guarantees of family stability may be outside the scope of government's purview, but not "outside the purview of the emerging model of political leadership."¹⁶⁵ Republicans must believe in moral persuasion over compulsion in the family policy areas. Van Wishard of the Commerce Department believes that "national leadership must articulate the core beliefs of our Western tradition, with a fresh dynamism and resonance, if such beliefs are to shape future relationships and institutions."¹⁶⁶ A like-minded leader opposing the evolutionary tide that proclaims change as intrinsically good, is former Secretary of Education, William Bennett, who states:

First, public leadership must do what public leadership is supposed to do: Lead. That is, public leadership must affirm with no apologies the values and ideals which our tradition has affirmed as good. We must speak up for the family. We have to say it, we have to say it loudly, we have to say it over and over again...¹⁶⁷ This is not something we can be properly neutral about.

To combine successfully limited government and legitimate family support, Republican legislators must commit to facilitate an atmosphere where individual responsibility is encouraged and esteemed, and apathy and neglect are not underwritten by government. First, there should be no intervention where Constitutional and statutory powers do not allow, where principles of federalism grant exclusive state authority, and where family autonomy circumscribes. Policies presupposing that government is a benevolent agent of social change fail to understand the

social and legal order, and function as a long-term detriment to building strong families. The legacy of dependency, apathy, and entrenchment of the public housing ghettos provide partial evidence of the bankruptcy of the Great Society vision. Policies, however, must be sufficiently realistic to acknowledge that man lives in a broken and sinful world formed by his inherent selfishness, but should be geared to facilitate the model.

Secondly, where the federal role is appropriate, its focus must be on prevention of family discord and support for the traditional family, a legitimate policy preference. The use of family impact statements, while imperfect, will help committed legislators preclude harmful governmental effects on family life. Thirdly, by virtue of government's role to support other societal institutions, Republican presidents, cabinet members, and congressmen must use the the visibility of their office, the tax code, and the media to facilitate the partnership of caring for the family. Republicans should challenge the largely liberal media to apply the same standards to themselves which they apply to public officials, and to report honestly the failures of the liberal welfare state.

Fourthly, with the new Republican Administration under George Bush, and a conservative leaning Court, leaders must correct the conventional folklore about the separation of church and state. Historically, the religious liberty guarantees of the First Amendment were intended to prevent government encroachment upon the free church, not eliminate the impact of religion on society. Therefore, government at all levels must help create the legal and financial conditions to unleash the power of the church to restore broken families and create the safety net of

pastoral care for families. Government can spend money for social programs, but it can not give the gospel or the love that is the only solution for the hopeless. The recent decision in Bowen v. Kendrick should encourage Republicans that, if tax revenues are to be spent for family programs, then the church can permissibly use federal funds to promote traditional family values. Republicans must speak publicly, candidly, and frequently about what churches should be doing to support the family and prevent its dissolution.

Republicans must also dialogue with leaders of business and the local community to prompt them to take responsibility for family preservation, as part of sharing the vision of the Conservative Opportunity Society. A comprehensive scheme for transfer of family support functions from the public to private sector should be made, taught, and advocated by Republican leaders. While this is obviously a significant undertaking requiring a substantial amount of heavy policy work, it is the only way that the deficit-busting programs that Democrats have given the nation can be properly assumed by a more appropriate institution. Pushing such an agenda will require bold leadership and a lengthy phase-in, but community solutions for such matters as child and elderly care, poverty, pornography, child abuse, and marriage support will be more effective. If Republicans balk at local solutions, then the rhetoric of a "nation of communities" is meaningless. The political carrot for private institutions to do more must be a long-term commitment to reduce taxes as government withdraws from family intervention.

Republicans need to be more aggressive in reforming and simplifying the tax code to support the family. As a legitimate instrument of

public policy to encourage citizens and institutions to do what is right, tax laws should be altered to universalize the child-care credit or preferably, increase the dependent exemption to an inflation-adjusted level of about \$6,000.¹⁶⁸ Obviously, the resulting annual loss in revenue of about \$80 billion can only be offset by at least as large a reduction in high-overhead family support services the federal government is currently funding. Despite improvements made in the 1986 Tax Reform Act, Republicans should still work to eliminate income graduation, and deduction ceilings in the tax code, and advocate the modified flat tax proposal of the 1984 platform. A taxation system that procures revenue based on an ability to pay, and awards deductions and distributions based on need, is socialist in its underlying philosophy, and impairs the family's ability to transfer property.

Republicans should work to restore federalism in family policy matters, and leave family law in the hands of the States. While the use of block grants and demonstration projects are a step in this direction, Republicans must exercise restraint when a matter is clearly within the purview of state police powers, and the federal solution is likely to increase dependency and reduce family responsibility. Leaders at the federal level must not see themselves in isolation, but should work with the Republican National Committee (RNC) and local party political machinery to share the vision with state, county, and city legislators and leaders. Research has shown that grass roots private family support programs are more effective than the bureaucratic ones because they are more responsive to individual needs, and they are more comfortable for the participant.¹⁶⁹ Republicans should use moral authority to encourage the voluntarism that Tocqueville noted as the source of America's

greatness, a spirit of enterprise and community that is stronger than the stresses of modern life.

Republican policies must aim at the most destructive trend in family disintegration: the undermining of parental authority through parental abdication and government usurpation. Notwithstanding Democratic rhetoric to the contrary, it is not uncompassionate and anti-family to mandate parental consent for all decisions made by minors in and out of school, and to refuse government aid to families who reject the traditional values of responsibility and accountability. While no government program can make people be good, policies should reward people when they are, and not subsidize them when they are not. For example, every level of government should statutorily and procedurally prefer married couples over cohabitators, homosexuals, or fornicators. The cost of sin should fall on the sinner not the taxpayer. While such thinking may be attacked for lacking political realism in a changing world, it is imperative that government stand firm in support of traditional family values.

The real enemies of the traditional family - materialism, irresponsibility, feminism, lust, and ultimately selfishness - are largely outside the sphere of federal government impact. Republicans have been wise not to advocate a comprehensive national family policy, as that would reduce to compulsion that which is essentially voluntary. Government has a duty to provide the liberty and opportunity for family health and vitality, but is under no obligation to factually guarantee its success.

While obviously a difficult proposition, Republicans should adhere to the party's foundational principles even if it is to their own

political detriment. Subscribers to need-driven pragmatism should be challenged to make policy decisions reflecting their respect for family liberty. Among the specific family policy proposals that Republicans should pursue:

(1) Continue to work for passage of strong state anti-abortion laws, while, in the alternative, supporting a human life amendment or statute.

(2) Make adherence to constitutional interpretivism, a covenant view of marriage and family, and a deep respect for parental authority, the first areas of scrutiny in the selection of federal and state judges.

(3) Support a voluntary parental-leave program by giving tax incentives for businesses that allow lengthy position-protected leaves.

(4) Continue to battle the interstate sale of pornography and obscenity to the extent constitutionally permissible, and encourage state Republicans to do the same.

(5) Continue welfare reform to promote work and eliminate all anti-family provisions, with an ultimate goal of transferring social welfare responsibility to the private sector in local communities.

(6) If public benefits are to be paid, utilize the voucher system which maximizes freedom of choice for families and others in the area of housing, education, and medical care.

(7) Demonstrate a commitment to advocating the traditional family by using one-minute speeches, floor debates, extensions of remarks, committee testimony and press releases to imbue the public with the idea that the traditional family is still normative.

(8) Fight any attempts to redefine family by allowing special

rights for homosexuals or single-parent unwed mothers.

(9) Fight the use of federal funds for state sex-education programs or school-based health clinics giving abortion referrals, contraceptives, and family planning.

(10) Repeal the inheritance tax.

(11) Reverse the no-fault divorce law trend, by documenting for state legislators the pain for women and children when the covenant can be so easily discarded. The law is a tutor for the young, and no-fault undermines the importance of accountability and commitment.

(12) Use national, state, and community Republican organizations and resources to create viable networks of church, business and government designed to solve family problems in the community.

(13) Show boldness at the state level by a gradual weaning from the apron strings of the federal government, by rejecting conditional federal funds for family programs.

(14) Where practical, lobby strongly to pass legislation to remedy Supreme Court decisions which impair the preferred status of the intact family.

(15) Republicans must produce creative marketing to reach the average citizen with the pro-family message. The giftedness of the Republican philosophy is that it embraces the talents and worth of all peoples, while Democrats seek to shepherd a nation of powerless incompetents. Republicans must spend research funds to understand the voters' views about themselves, the family, and Republican values. They should then launch a comprehensive educational campaign to teach Republicans first, and then the nation, that what is good for the family is good for all America. Rather than spending the majority of effort and funds at

election time when the public is inundated with and desensitized to political messages, an ongoing teaching campaign in both the media and at the grass roots level should be engineered. If voters do not understand and accept Republican ideals before election time, television spots giving candidate credentials and opponent weaknesses will not be as effective.

As the nation prepares to enter the third millennium after Christ, the circumstances and issues brought on by technology and culture will change. Yet for the family the question will be the same: will it be strong enough and supported well enough by the church and the government to survive? Within this very century, history will record in Russia, Germany, China, Algeria, and other nations, the efforts of rulers to carry the vision of Hobbes, Rousseau, and Marx to fruition: the destruction of the family institution. While still hard to imagine even in post-Christian America, the nation must rely on pro-family Republicans to reverse the trends of recent decades. Perhaps the Republicans most significant contribution is to create awareness and encourage voters to get active in the political life of the nation. Congressman Lewis concludes that the family must protect itself:

The best way that the American family can address itself to the role of government regarding the family, and the impact that government policies have upon families, is for those family members themselves to recognize that they get about the kind of government they ask for.¹⁷⁰

So long as Republicans compromise on fundamental principle, rather than on program and funding mechanics, they will not be able to present a unique and clear vision to a nation in need of family restoration. Building on the conservative ideology and Judeo-Christian morals that are unquestionably responsible for America's phenomenal political,

social and economic success, Republicans must hold down the budget in Washington, while exporting the vision to every community in the nation. It is a unique time in the nation's history when a conservative party can be the party of reform and new ideas rather than the guardian of the status quo created by Democrats. A people that reject the importance of the family in its God-ordained covenantal form must assuredly reap the consequences, notwithstanding governmental programs to support the broken model. If Republicans at every level are committed unashamedly and zealously to promote and protect the traditional family as the American norm, and to resist family dissolution as an inevitable reality of progress and culture, then the vision of restoration will begin to bear fruit. As the family goes, so goes the nation.

ENDNOTES

(1) Peter Uhlenberg, Ph.D., in Cultural Trends and the American Family (Washington, D. C.: Family Research Council, 1986), p. 9. Dr. Uhlenberg's comments were made at the 1986 Family Research Network Conference.

(2) See, for example, James Hitchcock, "The Family as a Stabilizing Force in the Life of an Adult" in The Family: America's Hope (Rockford, IL: The Rockford College Institute, 1979), p. 41-42.

(3) See, for example, "The Family: Preserving America's Future," A report to the President from the White House Working Group on the Family, 1986, p. 1.

(4) See, for example, Irving Kristol, "The Spiritual Roots of Capitalism and Socialism in Michael Novak (ed.), Capitalism and Socialism (Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, 1979), pp. 120-21. See also Michael Novak, "The American Family, An Embattled Institution" in The Family: America's Hope (Rockford, IL: The Rockford College Institute, 1979), p. 18-19.

(5) Os Guinness, Ph.D., in Cultural Trends and The American Family (Washington, DC: Family Research Council, 1986), p. 1.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Mark B. Liedl (ed.), Issues '88: A Platform For America, Vol. III (Washington, D.C.: The Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, 1988), p. 15-16.

(8) Connaught Marshner, "What Social Conservatives Really Want," National Review, Vol. 40 (September 2, 1988), p. 39. The House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families found that there were 71 programs aimed at low-income families in 1984. U.S. Census Bureau figures show that during this same time period the poverty rate increased from 12.1% in 1969 to 14.0% in 1981, as reported in Pat Swindall, A House Divided, p. 161. The federal budget under Kennedy in 1962 allocated 46% for defense and 25% for social programs. In 1983, defense spending was only 28% of the budget while social programs were 55%. See J. Craig Peery, "The Family: Federal Policy and Private Initiatives," in Joseph R. Peden and Fred R. Glahe (eds), The American Family and the State (San Francisco: Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy, 1986), p. 430.

(9) "The Family: Preserving America's Future," A Report to the President from the White House Working Group on the Family 1986, p. 1.

(10) Ibid.

(11) C. W. Scudder, The Family In Christian Perspective (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1962), p. 13. Research by the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, Children and Family Project '88, indicates that nearly 60% of second marriages and 80% of third marriages end in divorce. This is one of the highest divorce rates among the world's industrialized countries. Since 1986, however, there has been some decrease in the rate.

(12) "The Family Impact Statement: Strengthening American Families Through Public Policy Changes." Children and Family Project '88, Minority Staff of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, U. S. House of Representatives, 1988, p. 4. The impact is especially acute on black families, about 50% of whom are headed by single-parent females. There were about 6.6 million single-parent families in the nation in 1981. Census Bureau data reported in J. Craig Peery, "The Family: Federal Policy and Private Initiatives" in Peden & Glahe (eds.), The American Family and the State, p. 427.

(13) Ray R. Sutton, Who Owns The Family? (Ft. Worth: Dominion Press, 1986), p. xv.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Frank Gregorsky, "Welfare Reform: The Scariest Near-Miss?" The House Republican. Newsletter of the House Republican Policy Committee, September 23, 1987, p. 5. Studies conducted by Health and Human Services (HHS) conclude that a \$100 increase in AFDC payments was estimated to increase the number of female-headed households by 15%. See Christiansen and Williams, "Welfare, Family Cohesiveness, and Out-Of-Wedlock Births," in Peden and Glahe (eds.) The American Family and the State, p. 325.

(16) Barrett Mosbacher, "Teen Pregnancy and School-Based Health Clinics" (Washington, D.C.: Family Research Council, 1987), p. 3.

(17) George Masnick and Mary Jo Bane, The Nation's Families: 1960-1990 (Cambridge, MA: Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard University, 1980), p. 8.

(18) Shirley L. Zimmerman, Understanding Family Policy (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1988), p. 30. Figures taken from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, December 1983. For divorced women, the labor force participation increased to 84% for mothers with children ages 6 to 17, and to 67% for mothers with children under age 6.

(19) Ibid.

- (20) Julian L. Simon, The Ultimate Resource (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 166-67.
- (21) Phil Phillips, Turmoil In The Toybox (Lancaster, PA: Starburst Publishers, 1986), p. 20, 51, 139.
- (22) Lenore Weitzman, The Divorce Revolution (New York, NY: The Free Press, 1985), p. 262.
- (23) Sutton, p. 85.
- (24) Hitchcock, p. 55.
- (25) Sutton, p. 98.
- (26) Allan Carlson, Ph.D., in Cultural Trends and the American Family, p. 7.
- (27) Maynard v. Hill, 125 U.S. 190, 209 (1888).
- (28) Griswold v. Connecticut, 381 U.S. 479 (1965).
- (29) Peter J. Riga, "The Supreme Court's View of Marriage and the Family: Tradition or Transition," Journal of Family Law, Vol. 18 (1978-79), p. 302.
- (30) Eisenstadt v. Baird, 405 U.S. 438 (1972).
- (31) Riga, p. 303.
- (32) Roe v. Wade, 410 U.S. 113 (1973).
- (33) Planned Parenthood v. Danforth, 428 U.S. 52 (1976).
- (34) Riga, p. 305.
- (35) Ibid.
- (36) Village of Belle Terre v. Boraas, 416 U.S. 1, 12 (1974).
- (37) Moore v. City of East Cleveland, 431 U.S. 494 (1971). The court struck down a city ordinance defining the family in the traditional way.
- (38) Henry Mark Holzer, "Philosophic Assumptions of Some Contemporary Judicial Doctrines" in Peden and Glahe (eds.) The American Family and the State, p. 176. The Court has also struck down attempts to enforce the moral order of the family as a basis for public assistance in King v. Smith, and USDA v. Moreno. The Court ended a legal preference for the intact family in Levy v. Louisiana, Gomez v. Perez, and Weber v. Aetna Casualty and Surety Company.

- (39) Riga, p. 328.
- (40) Ibid., p. 329.
- (41) Zimmerman, p. 30.
- (42) Gregorsky, p. 7.
- (43) Michael Novak, "The American Family: an Embattled Institution," in The Family: America's Hope, (Rockford, IL: The Rockford College Institute, 1979), p. 21.
- (44) Homer H. Clark, The Law of Domestic Relations In The United States (St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co., 1987), p. 69-75.
- (45) Eva R. Rubini, The Supreme Court and The American Family (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), p. 16.
- (46) Reynolds v. United States, 98 U.S. 244 (1878).
- (47) Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 1042 (1923).
- (48) U.S. Census Bureau as cited in Robert V. Thompson, "Pro-Family Public Policy: Creating a Just Society," Christian Century, Vol. 105 (June 8-15, 1988), p. 577.
- (49) Thompson, p. 577.
- (50) Sutton, p. xvi. The obvious implication is that a family is anybody living together, including homosexuals, lesbians, or other arrangements where a "deep commitment" exists. President Reagan's 1986 White House Working Group on the Family headed by Gary Bauer claims that even President Carter's 1980 White House Conference on Families foundered on the fundamental question of what constitutes a family and what makes for good family life (p. 1). In fact, only 53% of the Carter Minneapolis delegates agreed with the U.S. Census Bureau's traditional definition of the family (p. 87).
- (51) Gen. 2:24.
- (52) Gen. 9-11.
- (53) Matt. 16: 17-20.
- (54) Sutton, p. 21.
- (55) Rom 13:1-4, 1 Peter 2:13-14.
- (56) Family Manifesto. A statement of Family Forum '88. An international symposium on the family sponsored by the Free Congress Foundation and others.

(57) 1 Tim. 5: 3-16. The family is to care for their widows and poor before the church. The multi-generational extended family care model was advanced by the Family Manifesto of Family Forum '88. Families not providing for each other are worse than unbelievers.

(58) Friedrich A. Hayek, Law, Legislation, and Liberty, as cited in Dwight R. Lee, "Government Policy and the Distortions in Family Housing," The American Family and the State, p. 326.

(59) Prov. 29:18.

(60) Republican Party Platform, 1988, p. 21.

(61) "The Family: Preserving America's Future," p. 2.

(62) Robert W. Lee, "Measuring the Reagan Presidency by That 1980 Platform," American Opinion, Vol. 26 (April 1983), p. 14.

(63) Republican Party Platform, 1984, "America's Future: Free and Secure," Adopted August 21, 1984, p. 14.

(64) Cover letter to the American Family Act addressed to Republican members of the House. The theme is frequently promoted by House Republican Leader Bob Michel, and was used in the preamble of the 1988 platform.

(65) Ibid.

(66) "The Family: Preserving America's Future," p. 3.

(67) Ibid., p. 2.

(68) Republican Party Platform 1988, "An American Vision: For Our Children And Our Future," Adopted by the Republican National Convention, August 15, 1985, p. 1.

(69) Ibid., p. 3. Colloquially called "Reaganomics" or the "supply-side" theory, the policies were implemented via the bills of Congressmen Kemp and Roth in the early 1980's.

(70) Ibid., p. 31-32.

(71) Pat Swindall, A House Divided (Nashville, TN: Oliver-Nelson Books, 1987), p. 176.

(72) "Ideas For Tomorrow, Choices For Today: Policy Initiatives of the Committee on the First 100 Days," U. S. House of Representatives Republican Research Committee, Committee on the First 100 Days, 1985.

(73) Gregorsky, "Welfare Reform: The Scariest Near-Miss?" p. 4-5. He endorses George Gilder's assertion that "The answer to poverty is work and family."

(74) Ibid., p. 8-9. Gregorsky contends that our expectations for government and society become lessened, and public policy more realistic by "injecting the dim side of human nature into a debate that, in Washington, passes too easily into legislative fine print and sociological hot air."

(75) 132 Cong. Rec. H139 (January 27, 1986) (Statement of Representative Coats).

(76) 131 Cong. Rec. H1140 (daily ed. March 7, 1985) (Statement of Representative Coats).

(77) Darcy Coulson Reed (ed.), Children and Family Project '88, "An Overview of the Project." Minority staff of the U. S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, p. 1.

(78) See, in particular, the views expressed in The Federalist No. 39 at 240 (J. Madison)(C. Rossiter ed. 1961).

(79) Michael Novak, National Forum Foundation address, as cited in Reed (ed.), Children and Family Project '88, p. 6.

(80) 131 Cong. Rec. H1144 (daily ed. March 7, 1985) (Statement of Representative Wolf).

(81) Ibid. Secondary themes to be employed are empowerment/choice, accountability, targeting, prevention, establish priorities, sweat equity, public/private partnerships, and building programs.

(82) "The Family: Preserving America's Future," p. 45-46. All heads of departments and agencies should review new and current programs and policies, rigorously applying each of these specific criteria:

(1) Does this action by government lessen earned household income? If so, how do the benefits of this action outweigh, and justify, the exaction from the family budget?

(2) Does this policy serve to reinforce the stability of the home and, particularly, the marital commitment that holds the home together?

(3) Does this measure strengthen or erode the authority of the home and, specifically, the rights of parents in the education, nurture, and supervision of the children?

(4) Does it help the family perform its functions, or does it substitute governmental activity for that function.

(5) What message, intended or otherwise, does this program send to the public concerning the status of the family?

(6) What message does it send to young people concerning their behavior, their personal response, and the norms of our society?

(7) Can this activity be carried out by a lower level of government?

(8) Can it be performed by a mediating institution in the private sector?

- (83) Ibid., p. 4-5.
- (84) Marge Roukema, "The GOP's myopic vision of the family," U.S. News and World Report (August 22, 1988), p. 5.
- (85) William Schneider, "The Republicans in '88," Atlantic Monthly Vol. 260 (July 1987) p. 59.
- (86) Ibid., p. 60.
- (87) Ibid.
- (88) Kathryn Murray as cited in Mike Yorkey, Focus on the Family Citizen, Vol. 2, No. 7 (July, 1988), p. 2.
- (89) Interview with the Honorable Dan Coats, Member of Congress, Ranking Minority member of the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, in Washington, D.C. (July 28, 1988). Congressman Coats was appointed as a U.S. Senator from Indiana to fill the unexpired term of Dan Quayle, now Vice-President of the United States. Senator Coats, a graduate of Wheaton College, is a professing Christian.
- (90) Interview with B. Robert Okun, Executive Director, House Republican Policy Committee, in Washington, D.C. (July 21, 1988). Mr. Okun characterized the views of evangelical candidate Pat Robertson, in areas of family policy as "pretty mainstream Republican." In December, 1988 Mr. Okun was appointed Executive Director of the House Republican Conference as the principal staff assistant to the Honorable Jerry Lewis, Conference Chairman, third ranking Republican in the House.
- (91) Vin Weber, "New Ideas and the GOP," Election Politics, Vol. 2 (Summer 1985), p. 24-25.
- (92) 132 Cong. Rec. H203 (January 30, 1986) (Statement of Representative Coats).
- (93) Peery, p. 435.
- (94) Interview with the Honorable Dan Coats.
- (95) The Adolescent Family Life Act. Report from the Committee on Labor and Human Resources. Report 98-496, 98th Congress, 2nd Session, April 30, 1984, p. 5.
- (96) The Adolescent Family Life Act. Report from the Committee on Labor and Human Resources. Report 99-298, 99th Congress, 2d Session, May 12, 1986, p. 2-3. The language of the bill's purposes are laced with prefaces such as "to promote," "to encourage" and "to support."
- (97) Senator Kennedy's proposed substitute amendment of S. 1950 during 1988 was contested in committee and killed at the end of the 100th Congress, preserving the heart of the Act as originally envisioned.

(98) Bowen v. Kendrick, 108 S. Ct. 2562 (1988). The Court majority was a close 5-4 vote.

(99) (97) Ibid.

(100) Spakes, p. 11.

(101) J. Ross Eshleman, The Family (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc. 1988), p. 639. The House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families conducted lengthy hearings in 1986, which concluded that pornography hurts families and society, it victimizes women and children, and it is operated as an industry by organized crime.

(102) Riga, p. 322-33.

(103) "Congress Disconnects Dial-a-Porn," Focus on the Family Citizen, Vol. 2, No. 6 (June 1988) p. 11.

(104) Letter from James C. Dobson, Ph.D., to Friends of Focus on the Family (November, 1988), p. 1.

(105) James Dobson's recent interview with condemned serial killer Ted Bundy revealed pornography to the chief catalyst in Bundy's spree of rape and murder. His testimony about other inmates and associates reflects a broad link of pornography to criminal behavior.

(106) "Report on the Activities For the Year 1987," House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families, Report 100-000, 100th Congress, 2d Session (1988), p. 187-88.

(107) Press Release of Rep. Dan Coats, "Republican American Family Act Provides Vision for Innovative Approach to Family Policy" (July 7, 1988), p. 1.

(108) Press Release of Rep. Jerry Lewis, "Family Act Distinguishes Republican Vision of American Family Policy (July 7, 1988), p. 1.

(109) H.R. 3660/S. 1885, "The Act For Better Child Care Services of 1987." The bill provided \$2.5 billion annually for child care services, with three-quarters of the money going to institutional care for children under age 15 in low - and moderate - income families. Funding was available only to state-licensed centers which met secular federal guidelines.

(110) Michael Schwartz, "Keeping Day Care in the Family," Restoration (Sept. - Oct. 1988), p. 21.

(111) Among those proposed were:

S. 2084/H.R. 4002, "Child-Care Services Improvement Act of 1988" sponsored by Sen. Hatch/Rep. Johnson.

H.R. 4768, "Choices in Child Care Act of 1988" sponsored by Rep. Tauke.

S. 2187/H.R. 3994 "Child Care Tax Credit Reform Act of 1988" sponsored by Sen. Wallop/Rep. Holloway.
H.R. 4434, "Toddler Tax Credit" sponsored by Rep. Schulze.

(112) H.R. 4768, "Choices in Child Care Act of 1988" sponsored by Representative Tom Tauke (R-IA).

(113) Ann Hibbard, "Fulltime Moms Go to the Back of the Bus," Focus on the Family Citizen, Vol. 2, No. 6 (June, 1988), p. 3. Secretary of Education, William Bennett, articulated five principles, adding the prohibition against adding layers to the bureaucracy, and no discrimination against non-institutional providers (church and relatives).

(114) "Giving Credit Where Credit Is Due: Two Pro-Family Alternatives," Concerned Women for America Position Report (April 1988), p. 3-4.

(115) Phyllis Schlafly, The Phyllis Schlafly Report, "Exposing the Myths About Child Care" (May, 1988), p. 1. Schlafly found that from 1960 to 1986, while the number of children in day care grew 1500% from 141,000 to 2.1 million, the number of centers increased from 4400 to 39,929, plus a current total of 1.65 million unlicensed neighborhood providers.

(116) Ibid., p. 3.

(117) Schwartz, p. 21.

(118) Ibid.

(119) Jerry Reiger, President, Family Research Council. Testimony before the Republican Platform Committee (May 31, 1988) Kansas City, MO.

(120) "The Family Impact Statement," p. 4.

(121) "An Overview of the Project," p. 5.

(122) Darcy Coulson Reed (ed.), "Character Education," Children and Family Project '88, Minority Staff of the House Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families (1988), p. 21.

(123) Ibid., p. 6-9.

(124) H.R. 2667. "Commission on Values Education Act of 1987," introduced June 11, 1987 by Representative Hall (R-OH). 100th Congress, 1st Session, p. 2. The Commission is comprised of 17 members, 7 members each appointed by the Speaker of the House and Senate majority leader, from the private Sector, state and local governments, or the church, a member of each House of Congress, and the Secretary of Education. The Commission is to serve without pay.

(125) Ibid., p. 4.

- (126) Prov. 22:6.
- (127) Spakes, p. 12, 135.
- (128) As cited in letter from James C. Dobson, Ph.D., to Focus on the Family Friends, (November, 1988), p. 3.
- (129) "Family Impact Statement," Children and Family Project '88, p. 1, 10.
- (130) Press Release of Representative Dan Coats (July 7, 1988), p. 2.
- (131) "Family Impact Statement," p. 11.
- (132) Ibid., p. 13-18.
- (133) Ibid., p. 15.
- (134) Interview with Representative Coats, July 28, 1988.
- (135) Interview with B. Robert Okun, June 21, 1988.
- (136) Gilbert Y. Steiner, The Futility of Family Policy, (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1981), p. 4.
- (137) In the relationship between strong economies and strong families, there is clear evidence that easing the financial burden on families helps preserve their strength. When inflation began to fall from the double-digit numbers of 1979 and 1980, the divorce rate began to decline in 1981. At the same time (1980-1983), real per-capita federal public expenditures declined by about 9%. As reported in Lowell Galloway and Richard Veder, "Inflation, Migration, and Divorce in Contemporary America," in Peden and Glahe, The America Family and the State, p. 307.
- (138) Interview with B. Robert Okun, June 21, 1988.
- (139) Steiner, p. 7-8.
- (140) Rob Gurvitt, "The New Right and the GOP: Can This Marriage be Saved?" Congressional Quarterly (August 25, 1984), p. 2085. New Right leaders included Jerry Falwell of Moral Majority, Paul Weyrich of Free Congress Foundation, and Richard Vigurie, publisher of Conservative Digest.
- (141) Ibid., p. 2084.
- (142) Ibid.
- (143) Currently the Republicans hold 173 of 435 in the House, and 46 of 100 in the Senate. Democrats have controlled the House for 54 of last 58 years, and Senate for 27 of last 29 years.

- (144) Peery, p. 433.
- (145) Cong. Rec. E3468 (Sept 9, 1987) (Statement of Rep. Michel).
- (146) Mangieri, p. 13.
- (147) Interview with B. Robert Okun, July 21, 1988.
- (148) Interview with Representative Jerry Lewis, July 27, 1988.
- (149) Ibid.
- (150) Ibid.
- (151) Interview with B. Robert Okun, July 21, 1988.
- (152) Interview with Frank Gregorsky, Senior Policy Analyst, House Republican Policy Committee, in Washington, D.C. (July 18, 1988).
- (153) Ibid. Gingrich and others developed a four-point plan of vision, strategy, operations, and tactics necessary to win the country to Republicanism. Congressmen, House Staffers, and Senior party officials hold monthly C.O.S. group meetings to discuss implementation of the plan.
- (154) Interview with Representative Jerry Lewis, July 27, 1988.
- (155) For example, Republican Policy Committee Statements are mailed regularly to about 2500 key leaders. In September 1986, the Republican Research Committee published a concise 72-page document called "The Case for a Republican Congress," to explain in colloquial language the party's stance on family, poverty, dependency, and a number of other issues.
- (156) Steven V. Roberts, "The G. O. P.: A Party in Search of Itself," The New York Times Magazine (March 6, 1983), p. 36.
- (157) James Nuechterlein, "The Republican Future," Commentary, v. 75, (January 1983), p. 19.
- (158) Thomas Mangieri, "Mother Sam: The Politics of Nurture," Restoration, (Sept-Oct, 1988), p. 13.
- (159) "Character Education," Children and Family Project '88, p. 15-20.
- (160) Republican research revealed a trend of politically-pressured revisions of CBO cost estimates. Reps. Grandy, Ballenger and Petri introduced a bill mandating a stringent CBO honesty procedure in June 1988.
- (161) Spakes, p. 14. On the other hand, doing impact analysis prior to reaching a vote is prohibitively expensive.

(162) Ibid., p. 18-20.

(163) Roberts, p. 31.

(164) Ibid., p. 32.

(165) Frank Gregorsky, "Ten Years That Redirected America," The House Republican, The Newsletter of the House Republican Policy Committee (May 24, 1988), p. 14. Gregorsky cites Reagan's education policy as an example.

(166) Van Wishard as cited in Gregorsky, "Ten Years that Redirected America," p. 14.

(167) William Bennett, as cited in "The Family: Preserving America's Future," p. 24.

(168) Mark B. Liedl (ed.), Issues '88, Vol. III, (Washington: Free Congress Research and Education Foundation, 1988), p. 34.

(169) Kagen and Powell, American Family Support Programs (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 369.

(170) Interview with Representative Jerry Lewis, July 27, 1988.

APPENDIX A

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE CHOICES IN CHILD CARE ACT

Tax Credits to Low and Middle Income Families with Young Children

- o Establishes a \$400 maximum tax credit per child under the age of six for families with incomes under \$20,000; phases out the credit for families with incomes between \$20,000 and \$40,000.
- o Increases the income levels during which credit is phased out to between \$25,000 and \$45,000 in 1992 and beyond.
- o Allows the credit to be refundable from general revenues up to the amount paid by the household in FICA/FECA taxes.
- o Repeals the existing child care tax credit.
- o Estimated five-year net cost of \$4.0 billion.

Supplemental Assistance to Low-Income Working Parents

- o Authorizes \$400 million in the first year for child care certificates for working parents, increasing to a \$500 million authorization by Fiscal Year 1993.
- o Provides flexibility to the states to administer the program for families with incomes below 185 percent of the poverty level.
- o Allows certificates to be redeemed by any registered provider.
- o Requires a 30 percent state match.

State Child Care Block Grants

- o Revises the existing Dependent Care Block Grant to expand the allowable uses of these block grant funds.
- o Authorizes \$200 million in FY 1989 and "such sums" through FY 1993 to permit states to address issues of availability and quality.
- o Requires a 30 percent state match.

Employer-Provided Child Care Incentives

- o Provides a 10 percent tax credit for capital expenses incurred in establishing child care facilities for employees.
- o Makes the credit available to individual businesses or consortia of businesses.
- o Limits expenses qualifying for the credit to \$200,000 per facility.

Tax Simplification for Family-Based Child Care Providers

- o Streamlines self-employment taxes for home-based providers.

Source: H.R. 4768, "Choices in Child Care Act of 1988"

APPENDIX B

CHARACTER EDUCATION

One influential survey asked business leaders what skills lead to job success. The results:

1. Be honest and dependable
2. Be reliable and punctual
3. Get along well with people
4. Cooperate with supervisors
5. Accept and handle responsibility
6. Be willing to undergo further job skill training
7. Think of self as a worthy person
8. Communicate orally and listen effectively
9. Work with minimum supervision
10. Solve personal and professional problems
11. Possess entry-level job skills/knowledge
12. Read with understanding
13. Understand required mathematics

"This Is Freedom's Code" (The American Institute for Character Education)

1. Be honest
2. Be generous
3. Be just
4. Live honorably
5. Be kind
6. Help others
7. Have convictions
8. Have courage
9. Be tolerant
10. Use time and talents creditably
11. Provide security for self and dependents
12. Understand citizen obligations
13. Fulfill citizen obligations creditably
14. Stand for truth
15. Defend freedom's human rights

These are the standards that keep men free.

Source: Children and Family Project '88: Character Education, p. 2,6.

APPENDIX C

PROPOSED FEDERAL FAMILY IMPACT STATEMENT

Principle #1 -- Family Stability:

Policies and programs should encourage and reinforce family, parental and marital commitment and stability, especially when children are involved. Thus, intervention in families is justified only to protect family members from serious harm, or, at the request of the family itself.

Principle #2 -- Family Empowerment:

Families need to be empowered by providing them with information and a maximum degree of choice and decision-making. Policies and programs should treat all families with trust and respect as partners when providing services to a dependent member and should offer a range of levels of involvement depending on the families' wishes and situations.

Principle #3 -- Family Involvement and Interdependence:

In general, the most effective and efficient way to help a person in need is to involve the other members of the family so that the family reinforces rather than undermines the goals of the program. Policies and programs should recognize the strength and persistence of family ties, even when they are problematic, and the influence family members have upon each other.

Principle #4 -- Family Support and Responsibilities:

Policies and programs should be support and supplement family functioning. Services that substitute for families should only be provided in situations where it is clear the family will not be able to function sufficiently even with support.

Further, policies and programs need to vigorously enforce and support parents' responsibility to provide economic support and adequate protection for their children; similarly, family members' responsibility to care for each other in crisis or in chronic sickness, disability, or frailty should be encouraged, facilitated, and supported.

Principle #5 -- Targeting Vulnerable Families:

Families in greatest economic and social need, and those determined to be most vulnerable to breakdown, should have first priority in government policies and programs.

As a corollary, policies and programs should seek to prevent family crisis rather than targeting all resources on remedial/band-aid services.

Source: Children and Family Project '88: Family Impact Statement, p. 14-18.

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