

RICK SANTORUM'S CATHOLICISM AND WEDGE ISSUES: A CONTENT
ANALYSIS OF RELIGION COVERAGE IN MAJOR U.S. NEWSPAPERS

by

ALISON MATAS

Dr. Debra Mason, Project Chair

Laura Johnston

Maggie Walter

MAY 2013

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the members of my committee for their advice, encouraging words and excellent copy editing skills. Thank you, especially, to Debra for helping with the tricky aspects of my research and for continually reassuring me I was on the right track.

I would also like to thank the Duffy Fund for providing me with financial support, which made it easier for me to live and work in Maryland.

Finally, I would like to thank the editorial staff at *The Baltimore Sun* for welcoming me to the newsroom, trusting me with important work and allowing me to contribute to the high quality newspaper it provides to Marylanders each morning.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. WEEKLY FIELD NOTES.....	2
3. EVALUATION.....	57
4. ABUNDANT PHYSICAL EVIDENCE.....	60
5. ANALYSIS COMPONENT.....	152
APPENDIX	
1. CODEBOOK AND CODE SHEET.....	186
2. ARTICLES CODED.....	196
3. WRITTEN PERMISSION TO USE COPYRIGHTED MATERIALS.....	393
4. PROJECT PROPOSAL.....	394

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Sentences Containing References to Abortion by Newspaper.....	173
2. Sentences Containing References to Homosexuality by Newspaper.....	173
3. Sentences Containing References to Evolution by Newspaper.....	174
4. Code Sheet.....	187

RICK SANTORUM'S CATHOLICISM AND WEDGE ISSUES: A CONTENT
ANALYSIS OF RELIGION COVERAGE IN MAJOR U.S. NEWSPAPERS

Alison Matas

Dr. Debra Mason, Project Chair

ABSTRACT

Little scholarly research has been conducted about how journalists report on religion during a political campaign. Even so, there is evidence to suggest religion plays a major role in voting patterns in an election. Journalists, however, often avoid covering the religious beliefs of political candidates. When they do, they choose to focus on wedge issues, such as abortion, homosexuality, or evolution, to frame their articles. During the 2012 election, Rick Santorum, a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, talked about his Catholicism frequently and took a hard stance on social issues involved with the campaign.

This study used a content analysis to assess journalists' use of wedge issues to frame news articles and editorials about Santorum's Catholicism from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and [washingtonpost.com](http://www.washingtonpost.com) from January through March 2012, when Santorum was running in the presidential primaries. There was not enough disparity in results to run nonparametric tests to assess relationships among the collected variables.

This research corroborates previous studies showing that journalists usually cover religion on a superficial level and deal with the outcomes of a candidate's religious beliefs rather than examining the tenets of those beliefs. It also indicates several of the wedge issues most widely used by journalists when reporting on religion might be antiquated and could be updated to include views on the death penalty, torture and contraception.

INTRODUCTION

I chose to complete my professional project at *The Baltimore Sun* because I wanted an opportunity to work for a newspaper in a major U.S. city. I had already spent time as a journalist at newspapers that reach small communities and at one that had a statewide reach, but I had never worked in a large metropolis. I also wanted the chance to pursue investigative and data-driven reporting rather than just doing general assignment work, and I knew I would be able to do that at the Sun.

My goal is to someday be a journalist at a newspaper or a nonprofit journalism organization on the East Coast where I could work mostly on investigative and computer-assisted reporting projects. Not only is the Sun located on the East Coast, but it is also home to several excellent investigative reporters. By spending a semester at the Sun, I had the chance to learn from these journalists and help them with some of their investigations — in some instances, I was leading the team. Those experiences taught me more about best practices in investigative journalism and, I imagine, will make me more marketable in future job searches.

WEEKLY FIELD NOTES

Week one: Jan. 21 to 25

Baltimore Sun duties:

- I wrote a story with a fellow metro-team reporter about a man who allegedly killed his wife the same day a court let him go on personal recognizance for a previous assault charge. It started out as a daily and turned into an enterprise project that looked at the legal system's failure to protect this woman and advocates' recommendations for keeping domestic violence victims safe outside the legal system. I made multiple trips to the district courthouse to request and take notes on court files and managed to track down the man's arrest record in Massachusetts. I researched similar domestic violence cases, argued with court commissioners over the phone and interviewed experts. The story ended up running on 2A Friday.
- I'm going to be writing a follow-up story about how district court commissioners are trained, using the transcript from a bail review hearing as my launching point. I started some preliminary work for this.
- Friday, I spent most of my day at an "intern assignment" covering a polar bear plunge at the Chesapeake Bay. I wrote a feature story that I was told will most likely be the 1A centerpiece in Saturday's paper. My editor/supervisor (Andy) told me he was very pleased with what a good writer I am and said it will make this experience much easier.

- I also had a meeting with Andy to talk about his expectations for me and my expectations for my project experience. We agreed that I'm going to function as a full member of his metro reporting team -- especially because he said he's feeling short-handed -- and brainstormed some projects I can work on. I feel good about our working relationship, and I've noticed that he's trying hard to be an advocate for me in the newsroom.

Reflection:

I think the Baltimore Sun is more of a reporter's newspaper than it is a writer's paper. Andy told me much of the news coverage here is approached as a team effort because it's faster, considering the newsroom is smaller than it used to be. On an average day, he said, about half the stories on the front page will have a double byline. He said he doesn't think much of that because if you've done enough work to earn credit for it, then that's what counts.

I'm a person who likes to have control over her work and thinks of an article as my project. Already, I've been challenged to change that view. When I was writing my crime story, I was in a file that both the other reporter and editor were tinkering with, and I was constantly emailing notes from interviews or paragraphs for the story to them so we could include it. I can certainly recognize what I contributed, but it's a different experience. I can see how it works for this newsroom, though, and I'm glad I'm learning how to do this.

Research progress:

- I finalized my coding sample, which contains about 75 editorial and news articles, equaling more than 150 pages of text.
- I pulled a pretest sample to use to test for coding reliability. Because I'd taken all the Washington Post and New York Times articles that had come up in Factivia using my search parameters, I widened it to include all major U.S. publications. I selected four news articles and four editorials, which is about 15 pages of text and 10 percent of the size of my primary sample.
- I coded the eight pretest articles, and now I'm going to wait a week before coding them again to check for reliability.

Week two: Jan. 28 to Feb. 1

Baltimore Sun duties:

- I attended a press conference and gathered charging documents from police and then wrote a story about two men who allegedly stole 29 handguns from a store in Pennsylvania and then drove to Baltimore to sell them on the streets. Maryland's governor actually tweeted my article the next day.
- I wrote an article about sporting goods stores that might reopen after the Super Bowl if the Ravens win (kind of like a Black Friday thing). It got combined with another Super Bowl article, and I ended up getting a 1A byline out of it in both the Maryland and special Louisiana edition of the newspaper.
- I attended an event that was part of the city's 10-year campaign to end homelessness by 2018. The city is halfway through its efforts to do this, so the article also looked at what has actually been accomplished and raised some criticisms of the project, too. I wrote an article for print/online.
- I spent hours weeding through Excel documents of workers' compensation information provided to the newspaper from seven counties and Baltimore. (My computer-assisted reporting skills are really coming in handy.) I'm pulling out information to create new spreadsheets for a four-part project with the newspaper's city government reporter. I'm finding the most ridiculous claims and the most serious claims, looking at claims that relate to violence at

- I continued working on the follow-up to my previous story about domestic violence. Mostly, I transcribed court recordings that I'd requested and worked with a local shelter to find a former victim of domestic abuse whom I'm going to interview next week.
- I also got to have a day of reporter field trips. I went to city hall to sit through a board of estimates meeting with the city government reporter, and I went to Annapolis with the social services reporter. I got to watch her fight with Maryland's Court of Special Appeals for documents, and then I helped her sort through them. She also took me to the statehouse and showed me around. It was a nice chance to talk with a more experienced reporter about the culture of the newspaper, what the editors are really like and which reporters have expertise in which areas — I feel like I have a better understanding of how the Sun operates. We also brainstormed some projects I could work on while I was here.

Reflection:

One of the neatest things about this newspaper is its focus on enterprise and investigative reporting. Every day, reporters are using Maryland's Public Information Act to request documents and data from law enforcement and local government. Most stories here always include sources that aren't people, which makes them much

stronger, I think. I've seen editors decide several times since I've been here to hold stories that could be daily to wait to get more documents.

It's strange to me to work in a place where there's not a major push to turn daily stories. I'm used to newspapers where the focus is writing as many stories as quickly as possible. Here, there's a bit of the opposite problem. I learned this week that the Sun has a backlog of investigative/project stories because the newshole isn't large enough to accommodate all of them. There's basically a waiting list, and reporters often file stories months before they run.

I think some of this has to do with the fact that there's not a ton of media competition in this town. From what I've gleaned in my two weeks here, no one at the newspaper takes the TV stations seriously, and there's just one other tiny daily newspaper. I have yet to hear someone talk/worry about the newspaper breaking a story first. After working in Columbia and Charleston where there were two competing daily papers, it's kind of a nice break.

Research progress:

I recoded my pretest sample and made sure I had a reliability of .9 or higher in each coding category. I've creating a coding spreadsheet, and I'm going to start coding my sample this week. My goal is to be finished with all 80 articles by the end of February so I can spend March analyzing the data.

Week three: Feb. 3 to Feb. 8

Baltimore Sun duties:

- I covered the Super Bowl! I worked as a field reporter in Fell's Point, which is considered to be Baltimore's party scene. I walked around for nine hours, talking to fans and keeping tabs on whether anyone rioted. Every hour, I would text or call in feeds to the reporter who was sitting in the office writing the article. It was kind of tricky because I was writing vignettes in my head, but I wasn't sure which of them would work with the rest of the article because I couldn't see what was coming in from the other field reporters. A handful of my feeds got used, and I ended up with a contributing reporter tag on the Sun's main Super Bowl story.
- I spent the bulk of my time working on the follow-up to the domestic violence story that ran my first week here. One of the most interesting things I got to do was interview a former victim of domestic violence that I'd connected with through a local shelter. I met her at her office Wednesday afternoon, and we talked for about an hour. The experience required me to talk with my editor about the newspaper's anonymous source policy, and he got permission from the higher-ups for me to only use the woman's first name in my story because there are legitimate concerns about her safety. I also had to corroborate everything she told me independently. I surprised myself with how quickly I was able to cross-reference court records to make sure she was telling me the truth. Both of these issues were things we discussed in my investigative

- I also got called into a meeting with some of the top metro editors to discuss my domestic violence article. It was slated to run this week, but there have been several instances of fatal domestic violence recently, and they wanted to update the article to reflect that. The meeting started out as a cool experience but quickly got frustrating. None of the editors had read the article but all had suggestions on how it should be changed—and a lot of what they wanted was already spelled out in the article. I also felt as though one of the editors didn't believe I had actually contributed to the article because she directed all her questions to the other reporter, who kept deferring to me.
- My editor, my co-reporter and I came up with a rough outline for how the new article should look, and I spent most of Friday rewriting it. It's sitting at 75 inches. There are supposed to be more meetings about it Monday, and it is tentatively running next weekend. I know it's going to be worth it when it finally publishes—I'm just anxious to get there.
- I finished making new spreadsheets based on the workers' compensation information the newspaper got and moved on to creating pivot tables in Excel so I could compare data from different counties. That's a trick I learned in my CAR class I hadn't gotten to use yet.

- I also started a new project with the top investigative reporter in the office. He'd requested a bunch of cell phone records from county officials, and I'm helping weed through them to see whether phones are being misused.

Reflection:

Before several of the field reporters dispersed on Super Bowl Sunday, the editors spent close to an hour trying to figure out where people who aren't white watch football. They kept saying they didn't just want "frat boys and beer" in the story but wanted "a little macaroni salad and grandma," too. People scoured church websites and Twitter trying to decide where they could get a little diversity.

I thought it was funny, albeit sad, that it was such a challenge to find black people in Baltimore. Shouldn't we know? The newspaper covers people of different races all the time, but often only in the context of crime.

That's the first time I'd heard anyone discuss race or worry about fault lines in reporting, and it hasn't been brought up since. Maybe it's not a day-to-day concern, but I think the Super Bowl proved the newsroom is a little out of touch with a solid portion of the city's demographic.

Research progress:

I began my adventure in coding and made it through about 15 articles, which is one-

I'm noticing that most articles are only discussing Rick Santorum's Catholicism for the purpose of talking about how it affects voting patterns. I'll be interested to see whether that remains the trend as I forge ahead.

Week four: Feb. 11 to Feb. 15

Baltimore Sun duties:

- I helped our investigative reporter go through the rest of the cellphone records for county officials and pointed out anything fishy. It was a pretty tedious process, but I really enjoyed getting to figure out to whom the phone numbers belonged. I ended up using a lot of the backgrounding skills we learned in investigative reporting to match up cellphone numbers with people and to figure out why the county officials might be calling them.
- I wrote a brief about an assault at an elementary school. This was a really short article, but it took me five hours to get the information I needed. There were two other Sun reporters also trying to get the information on the assault for other articles they were working on, and it took them just as long. Apparently, there's a big problem getting basic safety information from the city schools.
- I worked late Tuesday to help cover the roommate shooting in College Park-- the editors wanted to be able to profile the 22-year-old who was killed. I was glad I'd had so much experience writing life stories at the Missourian and coaching reporters on how to find sources for them because those skills came in handy. We had an old home address and a current home address for the victim in the shooting, and I was tasked with finding neighbors and calling them to see whether they had any memories of the victim. I also found

out where he worked. I contacted each of his former high schools, too, and did end up hearing back from one of the principals. My hours of phone calls didn't yield a lot, but the editors told me I'd done everything I could to try to learn more about him. I ended up getting a contributing credit on the front-page article, which I hadn't expected.

- We have entered what my co-reporter calls "editor quicksand" with our big domestic violence piece. I kept being asked to make a more phone calls about different aspects of the article because my editor kept changing his mind about what he wants the focus of the story to be. We had firmly decided on a focus last week, so this threw me for a loop. Andy spent nearly all of Thursday just looking at the article and trying to work with it, and I kept interviewing people in an attempt to reframe it. But then he picked a different focus again, so I decided to wait to interview more people until he made up his mind about how we were going to organize the information.
- I researched a first-degree murder case so I could cover what was supposed to be the start of the trial. I attended court for a few hours Friday morning, but the judge granted a joint postponement until April. I did learn the prosecution has disclosed a bunch of new evidence, so that might give me a story to write next week once I can go back and pull the court files.
- I helped cover a follow-up about a rapper who was arrested by state police and then posed for a photo with them that ended up on social media. I called a

bunch of county officials and spoke with the rapper's publicist. I got a contributing writer tag.

- We got more workers' compensation information, so I spent a few more hours working with data.
- My editor wanted me to come up with a new enterprise project to work on, and I suggested looking at inmate homicides after reading a Sun article about a recent string of them--it seemed strange to me that there were so many happening at the state's maximum-security prison. Andy seemed pretty skeptical and asked me to spend the next morning coming up with a pitch for him. When I started researching the next day, I saw that The Associated Press had published a story 18 hours earlier about the rise in inmate homicides in Maryland state prisons, triggered by the same incident I'd noticed. I started researching national statistics and learned that inmate homicide has risen over the past 10 years and seems to be rising at a higher rate in Maryland. Andy got really excited and told me I'd come up with a great idea. He told me to spend some time going through a former reporter's documents on the prison system to see what information I might still need to request and that we'd go from there. When I called the department of corrections to chat with them about what I was going to request, however, I learned that another one of our reporters already had all the information about prison deaths because he was working on an article about it. My editor came back and said he must have forgotten that and said it looked like a few people had something going with

submitting a PIA request for information about prison assaults, which seems to be a topic no one else has cornered, and they've purportedly dropped a lot in recent years. I think I'll be able to get something out of this, but I was frustrated at the lack of communication in the newsroom and felt like I wasted some time planning out a story I wasn't going to get to write.

Reflection:

The staff members of this newspaper are at war with the Baltimore mayor's spokespeople. I'm learning there's routinely been animosity between the groups, especially following a series of investigative articles about the flaws with the city's speed cameras, but it reached a new level this week.

The Sun obtained some internal emails proving that the city's spokesmen would send reports and press releases to other media outlets and not to the Sun. When Sun reporters would find out and email the PR people asking for the information, they would ignore the Sun's requests. The spokespeople would forward the Sun's emails to each other with messages such as "Winning." Then, the Sun would publish articles proving some system of the city's was flawed despite the information they didn't get, and the spokespeople would email each other calling the articles "pathetic and desperate."

So the Sun's investigative reporter wrote up a blog post this weekend detailing what's been going on and including snippets of the emails. The hashtag #winning because

popular among reporters on Twitter in our newsroom, and the comments reporters made got kind of passive aggressive and mean.

I support calling the spokesmen out on their unprofessional behavior, but I don't support doing it in an unprofessional manner. Using the Sun Investigates blog was a good way to present the facts and talk about the issue. I don't think Sun reporters making fun of the PR people on Twitter after the blog post came out was useful. No matter how frustrated the city government and investigative reporters are with the mayor's spokesmen, they still need them to cover their beats effectively.

Already, they're seeing what happens when you go after people who have something you want: Prior to the state of the city address Monday, the spokesmen sent out the mayor's talking points to everyone but the Sun. But to retaliate, the Sun's reporters made countless Public Information Act requests--in part because they wanted the information and in part because they wanted to make the spokespeople angry. We'll see what next week brings.

Research progress:

I'm about three-quarters of the way finished with my coding, so I will definitely be able to wrap it up by the end of the month, if not sooner. I realized I'll need to do a post-reliability check, too, and I'll need to wait a week after I finish coding to be able to complete that. I might try to finish my coding more quickly so I can recode 10 percent of my sample by the first week in March.

Week five: Feb. 18 to Feb. 22

Baltimore Sun duties:

- I wrote the follow-up article to the newspaper's biggest developing story from the weekend. A student was stabbed to death on a University of Maryland campus only a week after there was an apparent murder-suicide at another University of Maryland campus. Initially, I was told I would be helping other reporters gather information, but as the day went on, the coverage got handed over to me. I wrote one version of the story for the Web during the afternoon, and I fleshed out another version with more information for print later in the day. I worked with both my editor, who handles crime, and the education editor, so there was a lot of back-and-forth once I did get the answers I needed. (See my reflection.) My story was the main article on the website from Monday afternoon through Tuesday morning, and it ran on 2A.
- I went to circuit court again to cover what was supposed to be the start of a murder trial. Once again, I researched the case, spent a few hours watching other cases in the reception room while I waited to hear it, and watched it get postponed until after my internship ends. This time, though, the prosecution withdrew its plea offer after the defendant declined to take it and requested more time so it could prepare an expert witness, so that was different from last week. The good part in all this is that I'm becoming increasingly comfortable with how the legal system works on a day-to-day basis, so I feel more prepared each time I head to court.

- I covered a rally outside a Walmart that was held in support of proposed legislation about raising Maryland's minimum wage. The store had called in a fleet of Baltimore County police officers in preparation for this event, and after kicking the group off private property, the cop cars circled while the protesters held a 10-minute demonstration on the sidewalk. I worked with the business editor for this piece, and he had me call a few people who oppose the wage hike and talk with a Walmart spokesperson to round out the article. The Walmart people must do their homework because the spokesman in Arkansas who called me following the media request I placed knew all about the event I attended, even though I hadn't mentioned anything about it. Anyway, the business editor said he was pleasantly surprised about what a good job I did because he normally has trouble with interns.
- I worked with a new editor again Friday because I covered a federal court sentencing. The defendant was convicted in June of selling \$9 million worth of phony biodiesel fuel credits to oil companies and commodities brokers. It was my first time in federal court, and I loved it. I really enjoy covering trials and sentencings because it's such a fun combination of news and feature writing. My biggest challenge was keeping my story to 12 inches--the defendant, who fired his lawyers because he thought they were in cahoots with the prosecutors--got up Friday and blamed the federal government for making him violate his restraining order, and I wish I could have included that detail in my article. This was the lightest edit I've had--my editor changed a few

- I helped our investigative reporter start a new project using data from the city's transparency website. He pulled all the city's expenditures from the past year and created a spreadsheet. I helped categorize the expenses into groups such as construction, consulting and nonprofits and then did further research to help us understand why the city might be paying for certain out-of-state or otherwise ambiguous services. I also got to find some quirky expenses. These data projects are teaching me just as much about how city government works as they are about how to conduct an investigation. Plus, I feel like I'm getting to put my CAR skills to good use, so I'm really enjoying this part of my job.
- We got more workers' compensation data in, so I worked with that again.

Reflection:

I covered tragedy on college campuses twice in the span of a week. It was a new experience for me. I've written about death, but I've never written about murder (outside of covering a trial). I think the primary difference is that people are less sad when they speak with the press and more worried about it instead. I learned the challenge isn't just getting busy people on the phone but then getting them to actually help you. It presents a new level of difficulty. No one wants to give any answers out of fear it will make the organization look culpable. I understand that, but after reading some of these stories after they're written, not answering just makes a police

I spent a lot of time exchanging emails with an overwhelmed spokesman at the University of Maryland this week. He had to obtain authorization to communicate with me--and was only permitted to send me answers in writing--and had to get the answers to my questions from other school officials because he didn't know the information. I felt kind of bad for him, actually, because when he kept telling me he didn't know the answers, I thought I was going to have to put a line in my story saying the university was unable to provide me with responses to specific questions.

Writing the article about the stabbing was a good lesson in being assertive both with PR officials and my editors. The spokesman kept telling me he could only do so much, but I had a job to do, too, and I needed him to help me. I figured out a way to firmly tell him that and to nail him down on when he might be able to get me some answers.

Because I was working with two editors, I had two different people with ideas about how the article should look, and both of them wanted to take the information I got from my sources and twist it to make it juicier. I had to make clear to them what we knew and what we didn't know and make sure they weren't making assumptions that weren't true. It was a little intimidating, seeing as I'm at the bottom of the totem pole at the Sun, but I knew if we printed incorrect information, I'd get the blame for it, and I wasn't going to let that happen.

Research progress:

I finished my coding! (I feel that is an accomplishment that warrants an exclamation point.) I also created a new spreadsheet I can use to import my data to SPSS. This weekend, I'm going to use a random number generator to select eight articles for my post-coding reliability check, which I need to wait until next week to complete. Then, I'll be ready to start running some tests.

Week six: Feb. 25 to March 1

Baltimore Sun duties:

- I wrote a follow-up article about a weekend homicide. Police found two bodies in a burning car, and both people had been shot in the head. We learned one of the victims was the daughter of a prominent lawyer and a retired circuit court judge in Roanoke, Va.—the law firm issued a statement on behalf of the family. I kept tabs on the story all week and will continue to do so next week as it develops. The investigator I spoke with said there still isn't a known motive or a suspect. My editor and some of the crime reporters here are interested in this case mostly because wealthy white women aren't often murdered in Baltimore.
- I went to the circuit court to pull some files from a murder case I watched get postponed two weeks ago. The public defender had told me the state has disclosed “a bunch” of new evidence, and I wanted to see whether that was indicated in the files and whether there could be a pretrial follow-up article. I learned the police are still withholding the identity of a third, living victim in the case but that the state's attorney's office knows who it is. The state, in its disclosure of evidence to present at trial, repeatedly requested to keep one witness identity a secret—and my guess is it's the same person. That's all interesting but not really relevant until the trial starts. And, unfortunately, I won't be here to cover it.

- I was tasked with tracking down people who might have known a Baltimore Police Academy recruit who was shot during training a few weeks ago. I found phone numbers for about 35 people, made calls and located those people on Facebook and messaged them. My editor admitted it was sort of busywork but said it needed to be done because “we would be sad” if another paper had done that work and gotten interviews and we didn’t.
- I went to a crime scene Thursday afternoon with one of our veteran reporters. We didn’t see much—just some blood smeared on the door of a house and some clothing in the doorway. Mostly, we traipsed through alleys and tried to find ways to get as close to the scene as possible without stepping over the police tape. The shooting occurred in West Baltimore, which I learned is the part of the city local government has basically given up on. Nearly every row house we walked past had an “X” on it, denoting it wasn’t structurally sound, and it looked as though some combination of a tornado and fire had swept through. There was a school next to the crime scene, and I asked the other reporter whether it was on lockdown because of the shooting—he laughed and said no, because it happens so often there.
- I covered an event during which University of Maryland students tried to break their own world record for the longest human-powered helicopter and win an international \$250,000 prize. Another reporter started at this event, and then the editors sent me in a panic when she had to come back and the students hadn’t attempted their prize-winning flight yet. I spent a few hours

- I started doing research and interviews for an event I might cover next week about senior citizens being the victims of telemarketing and mail fraud. Apparently, the postal service has started intercepting packages that look like they might be linked to a scam and trying to alert senior citizens to the crime. The challenge right now is to figure out whether there's anything new about this because it's a problem that's been around for years. The FBI did return my phone call Friday, though, which I found to be cause for great excitement.
- The bulk of my week was spent cleaning city expenditure data, pulling December 2012 information from the city's transparency website, looking up all the catering/restaurant expenses, and identifying which departments had made which purchases. It was a labor-intensive process and took far more time than I'd expected. I'm thankful, though, to have the opportunity to spend a lot of time on an investigative, data-driven project—that's probably not something I'll get to do in my career again for years. Next week, I'm sitting down with the investigative editor and the investigative reporter to talk about how to start reporting this story using all the information I've uncovered.

Reflection:

The reporter who sits next to me, also named Alison, covers Baltimore County.

Saturday, one of the councilmen in the county got arrested on suspicion of driving while under the influence. Alison wrote an article about that, and, since then, she's

down. One of them was a lawyer—and the brother of a man whose wife was having an affair with the councilman. The lawyer told her the councilman is testifying during his brother's divorce trial Monday and wanted Alison to write an article exposing the affair. He sent Alison the councilman's deposition and put her in touch with the private investigator who uncovered the affair.

Alison and I talked a lot this week about what she should do in this situation—a situation that is similar to a hypothetical scenario we discussed at length during my Philosophy of Journalism seminar. She and I agreed that because the councilman's affair doesn't seem to directly affect his job performance, it's not relevant. Also, because the woman he was having the affair with is a private citizen, it doesn't seem ethical to pull her divorce into the public spotlight. We talked about finding out whether the councilman was using a county phone, county email or a county car to conduct this affair because that might make a difference in whether she covers it. Alison is going to the divorce trial next week to listen, and I'll be interested to hear what happens.

Research progress:

I recoded 10 percent of my sample to check for reliability. I have achieved it, so I'm all set to upload the data into SPSS and start running chi square tests. I've successfully figured out how to connect to the new VPN, but I can't get the remote desktop connection I need to access SPSS—there's no address for the desktop. My

goal for this weekend is to work with IT people at Mizzou to figure it out so I can start running tests next week.

Week seven: March 4 to March 8

Baltimore Sun duties:

- I wrote an article about senior citizens who are victims of lottery fraud. This presented a bit of a challenge because there wasn't much data about this topic, and I had to do some research so I could narrow my article down enough to make sure I wasn't making inaccurate, sweeping generalizations. I learned that senior citizens are disproportionately targeted by Jamaican scammers, and, in a stroke of luck, it happened that members of the Jamaican parliament were discussing a bill to more aggressively prosecute lottery fraud perpetrators, so that became my primary focus. My story ran in print and was the centerpiece on the website. It ended up being the most-read article of the day, and I think it bolstered my credibility with my coworkers and editors.
- I wrote a brief about firefighters rescuing a person who was trapped in a burning car following a collision. Not much to say about this, but it is interesting how the Sun handles breaking news -- I updated the article at least three times as I got more information, rather than waiting until I had everything to craft a story.
- We were expecting to get pummeled by winter storm Saturn overnight Tuesday and Wednesday, so I was tasked with handling roads and traffic updates in our coverage contingency plan for Wednesday and Thursday. Turns out all we got was cold rain, but I still worked as the rewrite person, monitored

road conditions and closures, and made a few calls to the airport and the Maryland Transportation Authority.

- I had a meeting with our investigative editor and investigative reporter about the city expenditure story I've been working on. They've decided I'm going to get the head byline on the article, even if it means working on it via email after I leave here. (The editor told me I should stay longer, and I was tempted to tell him I would if they'd start paying me...) I filed a slew of Maryland Public Information Act requests with city agencies, asking for documentation that would explain some of the expenses I pulled from the database. I also poked around a bit, looking at hotel costs and trying to figure out why the city's Board of Estimates is racking up so many expenses--because the department is just supposed to approve other agencies' expenses. The other reporter and I are thinking about filing some MPIA requests for city credit card reports, too, because we think many of the city officials' travel expenses are missing from the database we have.
- I helped write a Sun Investigates story for Sunday's paper. The article— about a proposed bill that would shield nonviolent misdemeanors in case searches and background checks--was reading one-sided. Andy asked me to step in and interview some people who were opposed to the bill. I talked to a few people and sent my editor some feeds.

- I went to the courthouse to pull some records for an article my coworker was writing. The document he wanted wasn't in the file, but it was yet another experience in learning what's important and what isn't in court files.
- I also went to district court to pull some protective order files for my domestic violence story—the last piece of reporting my editor decided he wanted. It's good I did it because I caught some errors my co-reporter inserted into the story because she only used the online case search and not the paper records. My work only yielded about two sentences for the article, but I think that's just how reporting goes sometimes. The good news is I can see the light at the end of the tunnel, and it is a bright and beautiful 50-inch front-page story.
- We got more cellphone records in, so I spent some time analyzing them. Luckily, these were in Excel format, so I was able to create pivot tables and go through the data more quickly than with previous records.

Reflection:

I wrote a few weeks ago about the fight a few of our reporters were having with some city officials, mostly stemming from a speed camera series the reporters wrote that unearthed the inaccuracies of the program. This week, a circuit court judge ruled the speed camera system was illegal, largely in part because of the research and work our reporters had done. Obviously, this was a huge blow to the

One of our reporters went in to have a sit-down interview with the mayor the day after the ruling. When he took out his recorder, the mayor's spokespeople took out a video camera to record him. During the interview, the spokespeople accused the Sun of a conflict of interest regarding the speed camera stories.

Here's the basis of their accusation: This month, the Tribune Company hired J.P. Morgan to accept bids for the sale of its newspapers, including the Sun. J.P. Morgan holds stock in RedFlex, which is a speed camera system. The mayor and her officials are saying the Sun reporters went after Baltimore's speed camera system, run by ACS, to discredit it and switch the city's business to RedFlex, which would benefit J.P. Morgan.

Obviously, this is a stretch. Our reporters started working on their series long before J.P. Morgan was in the picture. And the Tribune Company isn't beholden to J.P. Morgan, and the bank has no say in the newspaper's content.

Our reporters spent the better part of Thursday trying to prove the spokespeople wrong. Their research wasn't for an article; it was just for their personal edification. I think this fight has turned petty and proven to be a waste of time. If our reporters really "don't care," as they're claiming, why are they putting so much effort into this feud, especially when the city's argument is clearly bogus? Also, one of the reporters has been seriously bad-mouthing one of the spokespeople over the phone when he's talking to other sources--he's resorted to name-calling. I think that's a dangerous path

to head down. Don't get me wrong—this has been funny to listen to, but if it were me in this situation, I would handle it differently.

Research:

I started running tests on my data in SPSS. I'm saving the output from each test and also making a list of tests I've run so that I don't confuse myself later. Debra and I will need to talk about this, though. There were fewer references to wedge issues and less disparity between newspapers and article types than I thought there might be, so SPSS keeps issuing me warnings about the fact that some of my cells have an expected count of less than five. I'm not sure how to remedy this, though, because I crafted my codebook to try and avoid this situation, and I can't control the fact that the data set turned out to be less diverse than I hoped.

The good news, though, is that once the data crunching is sorted out, I can write my results, discussion and conclusion sections. My goal is to finish a first draft of my paper by the beginning of April.

Week eight: March 11 to March 15

Baltimore Sun duties:

- I spent all day Monday covering a jury selection for a murder trial--the defendant, an illegal immigrant from Mexico, is accused of nearly beheading three children in 2004. The process was pretty slow, and it only yielded a brief, but I liked getting to see the selection from beginning to end. I'm keeping my fingers crossed that I might get to cover a day or two of testimony, since the trial is running for four weeks.
- I wrote an article about nonprofits attempting to reduce child sexual abuse in sports. The impetus for the story was a conference call I listened to that featured speeches from several organization heads, including those with the Cal Ripken Sr. Foundation and the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children.
- I got to go to the hospital's birthing center and interview new parents--and see their adorable two-day-old baby. The interview was supposed to be a feed for a population boom story one of our business reporters was writing, but it didn't make it in. I couldn't complain, though, because I'll jump at any chance to go see a baby during work. I'm always amazed by people who are so willing to share their lives with reporters. We ask a lot of people sometimes, I think. This woman hadn't slept well, was in severe pain from her birth and was still

dressed in a hospital gown but was game for us to take her picture and interview her for 20 minutes.

- I wrote an article about a deconstruction project at a nearby maximum-security prison that was closed in 2007 following a rash of violence, including the murder of a correctional officer. The facility was built in the 1800s, and the layout of the prison made it unsafe. The state decided that rather than hiring a contractor and his/her employees to demolish the facility, it would train inmates how to do the work, and they could help a contractor tear down the prison--a process that would save the state money and also give inmates some marketable skills. I got to watch the inmates train for their asbestos abatement certification tests and talk with them, as well as with the former prison warden and some people helping with the training. I also got a tour of the prison, which was equal parts creepy and exciting.
- I wrote the day-two article about the Marylander who died of rabies after we learned the person contracted the disease via an organ transplant. The business editor came over and told me he was going to "throw me in the deep end of the pool" because the reporter who wrote the initial brief based on a press release was covering something else today. I almost laughed because this is the kind of story I would have casually been handed the Gazette (my summer internship) as part of a list of things to cover that day. Anyway, I spoke with medical experts, the CDC, the Maryland health department, the Secretary of Defense's office and organ recovery agencies and got them to tell me what I

out well, I got to cover a huge national story, and I got my first single front-page byline. I'm glad this happened, because my immediate editor has been highly concerned about finding me something that would get me a sole authored front-page byline, and (while I don't think he's intended to) he's actually been making me feel like I haven't accomplished enough here because I hadn't managed to do that yet. But he was very, very pleased at the end of the day and made sure just my name was going to run at the top of the article on the cover of the paper.

- I finished up working with cell phone records for another county executive.
- I attended a brown bag lunch that's part of staff training here. A few reporters spoke about records requests, interactive graphics and the rewrite shift.
- I also got pulled aside by one of the top editors here who wants to help me get a job. He told me the community newspapers that are owned by the Sun and operate out of the Sun's building have openings, and I'm supposed to email my resume and some clips to the publisher of those papers. The editor also said they'd of course keep me in mind were there an opening at the Sun, too. I'm not sure I'd want to stay here, but I'm certainly interested in applying and interviewing for a job.

Reflection:

I had an experience this week that made me really uncomfortable, and I'm not sure how to handle it.

My main contact for the prison article was the public information officer for the prison system. He had to clear my name at security, meet me at the prison, and set up my interviews with the inmates and other prison officials--basically, he was my ticket to getting information.

When I first met him, he shook my hand and immediately told I had "beautiful eyes," which I sort of brushed off as I shook his hand. But things got weirder as we walked around the prison. When we were out of earshot of other people, he kept putting his hand on my shoulder and told me a long story about how his wife left him after he lost his job years ago, so now he's raising his seven daughters alone. He was talking to me a little bit about where I was going to school and kept telling me how I've got such a great career ahead of me because I'm working such an impressive job, am so smart, and am such a beautiful woman. He called me beautiful or a "beauty queen" several more times while I was there, and, when I was leaving, told me I was the prettiest woman to ever set foot inside that prison. He also said he wished he had a camera with him so he could have taken my picture in the facility.

The whole thing threw me because I'd been apprehensive about going the prison and interviewing the inmates, but they were far more respectful to me than this man was. I

It continued after I got back to the office. He emailed to correct some information he'd told me while were on site, and I wrote him back to ask a question. He addressed me as "Dearest Alison," and when I thanked him for helping me, he wrote that he could "see that beautiful smile from here!" These were messages sent to my work email.

Now, I have had sources ask me on dates before, but that has occurred when I've talked to "regular citizens," people who aren't speaking to me in their official, professional capacities. This man has been trained to interact with media, and I think what he was did was unprofessional and inappropriate. I felt trapped, though, because he's not someone from whom I could just walk away or tell off because I needed him to be able write my story. And he probably knew that.

I realize this might seem like an odd topic for a reflection, but, so far, is the one thing that's happened to me that my journalism education didn't teach me how to resolve-- maybe because situations like this aren't particularly common? The good thing is that I probably won't have to deal with this man again, but I also think that's kind of a cop-out answer and wouldn't solve the problem were I staying here indefinitely.

Research:

Debra and I have successfully sorted out my coding issue. I won't have to run any nonparametric tests because I can't. Instead, I spent a few hours working on the results

before that are updated to reflect what I did this semester. I'm feeling good about my progress so far and should definitely be able to have a draft of my research paper completed within the next two weeks.

Week nine: March 18 to March 22

Baltimore Sun duties:

- I wrote a brief about another domestic violence homicide in the city. Any time we write a crime brief here, we always try to reach the lawyer of the suspect and look up his or her previous criminal record in the online case-search system. It's a few more steps than I was used to at other newspapers, but I feel like I've gotten the hang of it well enough now. I did a more thorough records search for both the suspect and the victim than I would have ordinarily because my editor and I talked about adding the case into my domestic violence article.
- I went to circuit court Tuesday to attend the arraignment of a man who has been charged with first-degree murder. He's one of the primary cases in my domestic violence article, and I wanted to see whether he had finally secured a public defender and be there for his plea. He pleaded not guilty and had a trial date set for the end of May. It looks like my domestic violence story might not run until that time, too. A lot of this week was spent making sure it was ready to go. It's finished now, and everyone is happy with it, but it keeps holding. Initially, it had been slated for Wednesday, but no such luck. I have a tentative promise that it will be on tomorrow's front page.
- I was assigned to go cover an event about probation and parole officers making care packages for former inmates who are now homeless. I decided to

of the ex-offender/homelessness problem and explaining what leads to homelessness among former inmates--the little event with the officers just became a news peg. I spent a lot of time calling nonprofit advocacy groups and government agencies to try and find some data about the problem and get some expert opinions. I also learned that Baltimore this week had made 200 housing vouchers available for homeless ex-offenders, so that was another good news peg. However, it is still being held.

- I got two responses from my MPIA requests about city expenditures, so I worked with that information. Right now, it's just a lot of waiting for things to come back. I contacted the lawyer who handles MPIAs for the city to check in on the progress of my other requests, since it's been almost three weeks, and I followed up with each of the public information officers, too. I have been assured that most of my data will be in next week.
- I did some prewriting for an assignment I've got Monday when I work the coveted 6 a.m. shift. I'm going to a chametz burning to mark the start of Passover. I'm excited to finally get to do a little religion reporting.
- I examined the data on Maryland's new "statestat" website to find interesting stuff about criminal justice. My editor and I are going to work on a data visualization project together.

- I also spent a lot of time scouring our website and trying to come up with story ideas. It's tough because the other people on my beat have carved out their own niches, and they've got everything covered—plus, they have relationships with sources who give them tips. So I struggle a little with finding things that no one else has already cornered and that are still relevant and interesting.
- I had a meeting with the publisher of the Sun-owned community newspapers to talk about a job opening. Basically, the community papers have lost their best reporters to the Sun within the past year, and now the publisher wants to hire someone who can come in and be a projects person--write well researched, big-issue cover stories for the papers each week. The publisher attends all the meetings the top Sun editors hold, since the papers share content, and he said he and the Sun editors think I could be the person to fill that role. He also told me that, as an intern, I'm "an aberration" in terms of what I've covered and what the editors have to say about me. It was nice to hear that because, honestly, I've kind of been feeling like I haven't done enough while I've been here, and I haven't gotten a lot of feedback from the editors about my overall performance--just occasionally about individual stories. Anyway, this publisher and I are going to keep talking. He's really reasonable and understands that I have a master's degree to finish and am probably weighing other jobs or contemplating moving back home to Ohio. But I am going to think about it.

Reflection:

As I said in my duties section, I was assigned to go write a feature about community supervision agents creating care packages for former inmates who are now homeless. After realizing this assignment was loosely tied to the prison system, I had a talk with Andy about what happened to me at my assignment last week with the prison spokesman and told him I wanted him to know about it in case that man showed up at the event.

Andy was great--he said that what happened to me was inappropriate and that maybe that man felt he could talk to me that way because I was an intern, which he also said wasn't OK. I told Andy I hadn't felt like the man was trying to date me, exactly, but that it was just strange. Andy said I didn't seem too shaken up and that some people have a weird way of being friendly. But he also said to tell him if it happened again so he could call that man's boss. He gave me the choice of whether I wanted to cover the event, and he checked in with me about the incident again later in the day to make sure I really did feel comfortable.

Obviously, I did end up going. I made that decision because I knew that if that man was there, we'd be surrounded by a lot of other people at all times. And, frankly, I didn't want to let that man be the reason I missed out on the opportunity to write a good story. Everything turned out fine. The spokesman was there, but I barely interacted with him. When I did, he was very professional, and he wasn't making any attempts to make extra conversation with me. His behavior was so markedly different,

it almost made me wonder whether someone had overheard him and said something to him.

Research:

The first draft of my analysis portion is nearly finished. I would guess I have about two hours left of work to do to finish up the discussion and conclusion, so it'll be done by the time I send these notes next week. To give myself a little break, I switched gears and spent several hours formatting my project and completing some of the other chapters that go in the final paper (introduction, physical evidence, abstract). Right now, I'm fighting with my clips, which are in PDF form. Most of them are multiple pages, and I have since learned Microsoft Word doesn't deal with that.

Week 10: March 25 to March 29

Baltimore Sun duties:

- I worked the 6 a.m. shift Monday, and one of my jobs was to update the school closings database for our website. We got smacked with the most snow Baltimore has seen all season, so I had to check with every public school system and every private school in the area to see whether they were operating on normal schedules.
- I covered a chometz burning for the start of Passover, and my story ran both in print and online. I found out this was the first year the annual event had set up a way for people to donate their food, rather than just pitching it, so I was able to earn myself a few extra inches for the article.
- I collected feeds for the main snow story Monday. I wandered around local grocery stores trying to find teachers who were off school and children who had snow days.
- I was assigned to "come up with a story about the federal workplace" for one of the business pages. Talk about a broad topic. I spent a couple hours thinking up a few ideas and then presented them to Andy. I ended up writing an article about a professor at Johns Hopkins University who was just named director of the National Institute of General Medical Sciences and is going to

proud of myself for coming up with this idea, turning the story in a day, and only receiving a light edit. The other good news is that at least one of the other story ideas I pitched is something I can pursue next week for a potential front-page story.

- I analyzed the mayor's cell phone records, which involved sleuthing to figure out which phone numbers belong to whom and examining to whom she was speaking most often. We're only waiting on the governor's records, and then we'll be able to write this article.
- My domestic violence article finally ran, but, in all the excitement with that, my article about inmates and homelessness held. Andy had me running around in circles trying to change it--he even had me flip the top and bottom of the story--but by the time he was ready to publish it, he had it exactly how I did when I first filed it. It ran Wednesday.
- The Sun has a bunch of topic pages on its website, many of which are neglected. I've been assigned to come up with events for an interactive timeline on the gay and lesbian page. I started doing some research this week.
- Responses to my Maryland Public Information requests finally rolled in, so I matched up itemized receipts with the costs I found in the city's expenditure database. It's been tricky because the city sometimes pays for things purchases in the months after they're actually bought, so depending on when the

what expenses. Also, the city's lawyer sent me a slew of documents-- literally hundreds of pages--in response to my request. I think it, in part, was an effort to dissuade me from combing through all of them. But even upon a cursory look, I realized he'd left out documentation for expenses I'd specifically requested, so I'm going to have to go back to him about that one. Andy was out Friday, so I spent almost all day wading through this stuff.

Reflection:

The newspaper has started holding brown-bag luncheons biweekly to promote staff development. I attended on Wednesday when we talked about ledes that have appeared on Sun articles during the past 10 years. We also talked about a few famous ones, including, "Gary Robinson died hungry."

The presentation launched a discussion about what makes a lede successful and when it's appropriate to use a soft lede versus a hard lede. People seemed pretty divided about what to do in a breaking news situation, and I also learned the Sun has rules about what kinds of stories can go in which spots on the front page--so where the story is running dictates the kind of lede it can have.

During the talk, I kept being reminded of a lede Katherine Reed told us about in our reporting class, which, if I've got it right in my head, was: "They found her in the trunk." The story went on to talk about a son who murdered his mother. I think that's an engaging way to start a crime story, and, frankly, more simple than clunking all the

Those ledes don't get written often, though, and I think I might have an idea of why--my guess is that it stems from a lack of information about what happened. Sometimes, all we know is that police found a dead body--if we're lucky, we know in what condition they found this person. It's hard to write a lede with detail when it's not available. But by the end of the day, though, when we've been able to update the story with new information a few times, I think we should be changing the lede to be more interesting. Too often, we just tack the new stuff into the lower graphs of the story, but I think it would be more effective to rework the whole thing--and it would provide fresh content for print the next morning.

Research:

I finished the first draft of the research portion of my paper and sent it to Debra for review. Other than that, I've been making sure my project report is as complete as it can be right now (with weekly field reports and physical evidence) so I'm not scrambling at the end of my internship to put everything together. My goal is to be able to send my entire project report to all of you within the first few days after I leave here so you have plenty of time to review it before my defense.

Week 11: April 1 to April 5

Baltimore Sun duties:

- I interviewed a law professor about a bill in the General Assembly that has him upset. He's a consistent source for us, so when he called my editor complaining, my editor had me talk to him to decide whether we wanted to write anything about the bill, which would make defendants reapply for counsel after their bail hearings. It seems like a lot of people oppose the bill, and, with the session ending Monday, it doesn't seem like it's going to go anywhere. I'm keeping tabs on it to see what happens, though, and then maybe I'll write something.
- I wrote a little story about a water pipe burst that closed one of the circuit courthouses. I made a few phone calls after an editor told me to check it out, and then I got so frustrated that I couldn't get any information that I just went over there. It seemed kind of silly to me, actually, that that wasn't my first step. I think it probably had something to do with the fact that no one in the newsroom was super concerned about what was going on at the courthouse, so they didn't want to spend too much time on the story. But I managed to con the details out of a sheriff at the scene, and then I came back to the office and followed up with a few calls after I filed the brief.
- I wrote an article about what's going to happen to the state's federal court

upset about this and calling it a violation of the Sixth Amendment. I pitched this story, wrote it while Andy was gone, and got it on the front page. (See my reflection for more details.)

- All of my public information requests re: city expenditures are back in, so now I'm starting to write up what I've got. Nothing turned out to be scandalous, but I think the story is still going to give an interesting look at how the city spends it money. The investigative reporter I'm working with is on vacation next week, so I'm going to send him my notes, and I'll work with him remotely once I'm done here.
- I covered a "creativity in cancer treatment" competition at Johns Hopkins. The amount of space slotted for my article got cut in half while I was at the event, but that was OK. This was some pretty high-level science because it was doctors presenting to other doctors and researchers, so it was difficult for me to go into any detail about the specifics of the proposals. I wrote up a quick newsy feature that made it into print.
- I helped one of my colleagues write the Sunday centerpiece, which is a follow-up article to an audit that said the city's liquor board was ineffective. I spent nearly all of Thursday pulling liquor license and court files to add fodder to our story--complaints about patrons pouring their own alcohol, bar fights, people being served underage. We're focusing on one bar that we know doesn't have a license to have live entertainment, even though it routinely

moving out because of the disturbance. I interviewed some people who live in the building, and my colleague, who lives in their neighborhood, went over to their apartment Thursday night to listen to the noise level. This is probably the most fun I've had writing a story yet because it's such a hot topic, and, by Friday, it seemed like we were really upsetting the people at the liquor board, which I took to mean that we were on to something.

- I did some more work on the timeline I'm helping with for the website.

Reflection:

Writing the story about the public defenders furloughs started out as a gratifying experience and ultimately ended as a frustrating one.

This was an idea I came up with last week when I was pitching federal workplace stories, and I got the green light to start working on it Monday. Andy ended up being out sick the entire time I was reporting and writing the article, so I presented it to him when he returned. He told me he thought it had everything it needed.

Later, after being in the story for more than an hour, he asked me to put a bit more sweep in the lede. I did that, and he printed it out to give to the top editors at the 3 p.m. meeting. As I was leaving for another assignment, he told me it looked good.

Some background: A common gripe among some of the older reporters in the

them of their narrative quality--they become repetitive, stilted, and, sometimes, inaccurate during the editing process. I was privy to one of these complaint sessions the day before my public defenders story was edited. I, however, had largely escaped this until now.

When I came back from my assignment, Andy and some of the other editors called me over to look at my public defenders story. It no longer had a nut graph and basically made the same broad statements using different phrasing for the first five paragraphs. One of the editors had changed the number of days the defenders would be furloughed, and some of the information in the story was attributed to incorrect sources. I made the necessary corrections, but I also watched the two editors huddle over the story and basically decide what they thought it should say and go back and forth making changes to it. It read like a list of marginally related facts.

I think this was a case of overediting. It's funny to me because there's a serious editor shortage here, so to have two people dedicate so much time to one article seems like a waste. I think it's because they were both excited about what I'd written--I just wish they'd actually paid attention to what I had there.

At the end of the day, the editors were very pleased with me because I'd written a "great" story and done "really nice work," but I left feeling discouraged. Yes, I reported the article and did all the necessary legwork, but I'm embarrassed about how it reads.

Ultimately, I'm trying remember that I'm an intern at the Sun who pitched a story, wrote it by herself with no guidance from an editor, and got the article slated for the front page the same day she turned it in. Regardless of how I feel about the finished product, that's still a big accomplishment.

Research:

Debra is reviewing my research, so in the interim I've been making sure my report is up-to-date with my clips and that everything that needs included in my appendix is in the document. I also obtained the written permission I need to include my clips from the Sun in the report.

Week 12: April 8 to April 12

Baltimore Sun duties:

- I finished coming up with events for the timeline for the gay and lesbian page on the website. This required a lot of research and digging--both in our archives and elsewhere--so it took me longer than I anticipated.
- I was one of about six reporters tasked with reporting the big news of the day Tuesday--A car sped up on a Maryland State Police car, passed it, and it flipped over in front of City Hall, killing a city employee. I called MSP and the Baltimore city police to get their policies on vehicle pursuits because we were initially told this was a chase. We learned it wasn't, and I had public information officers yelling at me on the phone, asking why I was asking these questions if I understood this wasn't a pursuit. I pushed back and told them I was working on an explainer piece that wasn't daily because this had alerted us in the newsroom to the fact that we didn't know what constituted a pursuit and didn't know different jurisdictions' rules about pursuits--which is what Andy told me might happen. The MSP public information officer even called me back and yelled at me about what the article said, even though my name was nowhere on the story. He acknowledged that, yelled at me for another two minutes, and then said he was going to call the reporter who did write the article. I politely offered to give him an editor's phone number, but he declined. I also searched through our clips to find incidents of

- The next day, I helped with some follow-up. I noticed a TV station reported the driver had been taken to the hospital and released, so Andy had me call state police to confirm that. While I was talking with them, I asked why the driver hadn't been identified. The information I got showed us the driver hadn't been charged yet and led our cops reporter to find out that not only had the driver been released from the hospital but that he'd also been released from custody because he hadn't been charged. Later in the day, I had to call defense attorneys to ask whether they were representing this unidentified driver and whether they knew who was.
- I helped collect expert opinion and research for our article about how violent crime is affected by the weather. Baltimore hit 96 degrees Wednesday and tied for the highest temperature in the country. That night, there were eight shootings. I talked to a bunch of people, wrote up my half of the article, and got a double byline on the front page above the fold, which was a pretty exciting way to start off my last day.
- I interviewed forensic scientists about cold cases for a forward-looking article the Sun was working on about a missing persons case that turned into a homicide case after a body was found. I wrote up my part of the article and passed it off to my editor.
- I called all the public safety officers and dispatchers in Baltimore and the

overnight was. That was all the information I had from my editor: People heard a loud noise in the middle of the night, and it was loudest in the eastern part of the city. I basically got laughed off the phone. Needless to say, this did not end up being a brief.

- I wrote a brief about an NFL copyright infringement lawsuit. We'd gotten scooped on this (by several days), and I guess none of the business or sports reporters were around, so I got asked to handle it. Once I got a lawyer to send me a copy of the motion, I was all set.
- I finished up my part of the city expenditures story, which involved calling some agencies, writing parts of an article and organizing my notes so Scott, the investigative reporter, could use them. I also made sure he has my phone and email so we can continue to work after I'm gone.
- I worked with Maryland State Police to get more handgun permit data and to figure out why they keep it. Andy and I were planning to do a data visualization project together, but we ran out of time. I made him a spreadsheet, though, with some of the data I'd received in PDF form and did some background research in the Maryland code about the state's rules regarding handgun permits.
- I worked the 6 a.m. shift Thursday and was responsible for monitoring traffic during the morning commute and updating the traffic brief. I also kept an eye

- I attended a brown-bag lunch about the Sun's new touch site and how to file MPIA requests.

Reflection:

I turned down this job when I was originally offered it as a summer internship last year. I already had something else lined up, and my adviser had warned me I'd "get lost" at the Sun because it's so big. I'm thankful I came to work here, but I'm glad to have waited until I was finishing my master's degree to do so. Because so many people at this paper have at least five years of professional experience on me, it was much more difficult to do work that made a splash. I think the challenge required a good synthesis of the skills I'd gleaned from my time at Missouri.

I feel like I was able to elevate myself above typical intern status while I was here, and that, to me, really is proof that I can hack it in this business. I'm not saying I was necessarily on the same level as the Sun's seasoned reporters, but I was definitely trusted to handle stories the editors cared about, and they would have me sub in on shifts when other reporters were on vacation. More than anything, I think I really showed myself what I'm capable of.

There were several aspects of this job that frustrated me along the way, and I'm not sure this newspaper is where I'd want to spend my career. Overall, though, I enjoyed my time at the Sun. I've been thinking about my experience a lot this week, and I just

feel so lucky that, for a little while, I got to be a journalist in the big leagues. I'm not sure when I'll get that opportunity again, and I'm feeling sad to see it end.

Research:

The full project report will be on its way to you shortly. WOOHOO!!!!!!

EVALUATION

I am very pleased with what I was able to accomplish during my time at *The Baltimore Sun*. My body of work includes breaking news clips, longer daily turn articles, feature stories, and enterprise pieces. I also had the opportunity to use the data skills I gleaned from classes at the Missouri School of Journalism to help some of the newspaper's top reporters work on investigative articles. Overall, I feel my professional project experience allowed me to showcase my versatility as a reporter, and the work I produced is evidence that the staff at the *Sun* trusted me with important projects.

From this project, I have become a stronger, more confident reporter. Specifically, my knowledge of the criminal justice system, particularly the courts, has vastly improved. Now, I could walk into a courtroom at any stage in the legal process and have a solid understanding of what was going on. I also became more comfortable in using documents to help report a story, whether it was a daily or a long-term piece. I know how to request the information I want, and I am more familiar with what information exists and is available to me. On a more general level, I also have a better understanding of the culture of a large newsroom, including the dynamics among reporters and editors. I feel prepared to effectively function in a fast-paced, competitive work environment should I find myself in one again.

I have included an evaluation from my supervisor below:



Andy Rosen
501 N. Calvert St. P.O. Box 1377
Baltimore, Maryland 21278-0001
Tel: 800/829-8000

Debra Mason
29 Neff Annex
University of Missouri
Columbia, MO 65211-2600

Ms. Mason,

I could not have been happier with Alison Matas' performance as an intern at The Baltimore Sun during during the 2013 spring semester. Her dedication, positive attitude, thoroughness and writing ability showed that Ms. Matas is well-prepared for her next position.

Over the three months she spent in The Sun's newsroom, Ms. Matas worked as a member of the Maryland News reporting staff on the crime and courts desk. She made the most of the opportunities that emerged in breaking news (there was plenty during the semester), but Ms. Matas also found ways to distinguish herself as other needs emerged.

On the desk, she helped in the reporting of a breaking news story on the arrest of a man for allegedly killing his wife. The initial story was gripping because the suspect had been released on his own recognizance on a charge of abusing the woman just hours before she died – and had been charged with hurting the victim at least six times in a year. But Ms. Matas also helped us write an important, broader piece on how the criminal justice system had failed this woman and others in Baltimore this year.

When I asked Ms. Matas to help find a story about an issue affecting federal workers – an important readership group in Maryland – she brought me three ideas. She ably fulfilled the initial assignment within a day, but saved another story idea about sequester furloughs affecting public defenders. Within a week, she wrote that one onto the front page.

Ms. Matas also stood out when asked to help with an investigative project evaluating Baltimore City purchases. She filed several public records requests and did many interviews to find out what was behind some of the stranger procurements (thousands of dollars at a sub shop, for instance). Ms. Matas was also valuable in her help in creating a timeline element for a digital project on LGBT issues.

I have no doubt that Alison will be a successful professional journalist, and we at The Sun were happy for the chance to help her build experience.

Sincerely,
Andy Rosen
Crime and Courts Editor
The Baltimore Sun

ABUNDANT PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

baltimoresun.com**Baltimore firefighters free victim from burning car**

By Alison Matas and Carrie Wells, The Baltimore Sun

11:06 PM EST, March 7, 2013

A man fled from police and crashed his car blocks away Thursday, leaving him trapped in the burning vehicle after it rolled over, Baltimore police said.

The man, whom police did not identify, was in "very critical" condition a few hours after the crash, which happened at noon at the intersection of Pratt and Fulton streets. As of Thursday afternoon, the man was in surgery at the University of Maryland Shock Trauma Center, police said. He faces a "litany" of traffic charges and a charge for possession of narcotics police say they found in his car.

Police said an officer driving in the opposite direction spotted the man driving through a stop sign at the intersection of Ashton and Smallwood streets. The officer made a U-turn to begin to pull the car over, but before the officer could do so, the man sped off.

The officer caught up with the car several blocks later and realized it had crashed into another car driven by a woman. Police say the woman was in stable condition after the accident.

A passenger in the car that caught fire had cuts and bruises, but her condition was unknown.

amatas@baltisun.com

cwells@baltisun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-county/perry-hall/bs-md-lottery-fraud-20130306,0,1532360.story

baltimoresun.com

Baltimore man, 81, loses his home following lottery fraud

Jamaican legislators debating bill to crack down on lottery fraud offenders

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

6:58 PM EST, March 6, 2013

The first caller told Norman Breidenbaugh he had won \$2.5 million in a foreign sweepstakes, but there was a catch: Breidenbaugh needed to send \$2,000 in fees before collecting his earnings.

Other calls followed, promising Breidenbaugh millions more — even a Mercedes Benz — as long as he would wire some money to pay taxes on the prizes. He obliged, sending more than \$400,000 over about six years, hoping the promised winnings would cover his wife's medical expenses.

The prizes never came. The people calling Breidenbaugh, 81, were con artists from Canada and Jamaica, claiming they were Border Patrol or Secret Service agents, a fraud scheme that has increasingly targeted elderly people. Breidenbaugh fell behind on property taxes and last year lost his Baltimore home.

"I never told anybody what kind of mess I was in because I was too proud, too stubborn to let anybody know it," he said. "I'd like to wring the necks of these people."

Breidenbaugh plans to share his story with his peers at 7:15 p.m. Thursday at Augsburg Lutheran Home and Village, in hopes of helping others avoid being taken in.

The event, hosted during National Consumer Protection Week, is part of an effort by the U.S. Postal Inspection Service to teach senior citizens to avoid sweepstakes scams — a type of telemarketing fraud.

The U.S. Postal Inspection Service estimates Americans lost more than \$42 million to lottery fraud between 2009 and 2011. Many of the scams the inspection service dealt with originated in Jamaica and other Caribbean countries, inspector Frank Schissler said, and targeted senior citizens.

In 2009, Jamaican and American authorities partnered to create a task force to crack down on Jamaican lottery schemes. And members of Jamaica's House of Representatives took up a bill on Tuesday that would more aggressively prosecute Jamaicans accused of lottery fraud conducted within and outside the country.

The proposed legislation states that lottery scams have become widespread and pose a threat to Jamaica because they are a combination of both organized and financial crime. "The law in its present stage has proven to be ineffective in prosecuting offenders," the bill reads.

According to Federal Trade Commission data, lottery scam complaints about Jamaican companies have risen dramatically over the past five years, from 3,606 in 2008 to a projected 28,702 last year.

Terrill Caplan, chief security officer with the nonprofit victim advocacy organization Fraud Aid, said most lottery scams come out of West Africa and are run over the Internet. Jamaican lottery fraud is less common, he said, but what sets it apart is that its perpetrators specifically go after senior citizens.

From January to September in 2012, people between the ages of 60 and 69 logged more than 1,400 lottery scam complaints against Jamaican companies and reported losing more than \$4 million, according to FTC data. People 70 and older made more than 3,000 complaints and reported more than \$9 million lost.

Karen Straughn, with the Consumer Protection Division of the Maryland attorney general's office, said senior citizens are "prime targets" for lottery fraud because many live on fixed incomes and are more likely to take a chance on extra money.

Schissler said lottery schemes account for more than half of the telemarketing fraud against people who are 60 or older. The most successful scammers chat with senior citizens, learn about them and then use that knowledge against them, he said.

The people calling Breidenbaugh found out his wife had dementia and was in a nursing home. They told him that if he sent them money, he could use his winnings to bring his wife back to his house and hire someone to care for her.

Breidenbaugh, whose wife has since died, said he has no legal recourse against the "scumbags" who scammed him. He now lives in Nottingham with a family friend.

"No, you can't prosecute them," he said with a laugh. "You don't have any idea of knowing who they are or where they are."

Breidenbaugh said the best advice he can offer people who might be facing sweepstakes scams is to avoid conversation with anyone who calls asking for money.

"Do not say a word — just hang the phone up," he said. "Because if you say anything, they got you."

amatas@balt.sun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Gwynns Falls Elementary staff member assaulted

Attack occurred at 6 a.m. at the school's main entrance

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

2:55 PM EST, February 12, 2013

A Gwynns Falls Elementary School staff member was assaulted as she entered the building early Tuesday, according to a Baltimore City public schools spokeswoman.

The staff member was assaulted by an unknown assailant at 6 a.m. at the school's main entrance. The attacker left the scene, and the staff member was taken to the hospital.

Spokeswoman Molly Rath said she could not release any information regarding the staff member's occupation, her injuries or what hospital she was transported to.

No students or other staff members were present for the assault, Rath said, and parents were notified about the incident via a phone call and letter.

The city school police department is handling the investigation.

amat@balt.sun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](http://www.baltimoresun.com)

baltimoresun.com

Jury seated in trial of man in 2004 killings of three children

Policarpio Espinoza Perez is being tried separately for the crime the first time

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

5:53 PM EDT, March 11, 2013

A panel of jurors took their seats Monday in the trial of a man accused of nearly beheading three children nine years ago.

Prosecutors say Policarpio Espinoza Perez, a 31-year-old illegal immigrant from Mexico, slashed the throats of three children ages 8, 9 and 10 in 2004 in a Baltimore apartment in the 7000 block of Park Heights Ave.

Perez has been on trial for the murders twice before, both times with Adan Canela, 26, who is also accused of killing the children.

Jury selection lasted all day Monday under the jurisdiction of Judge M. Brooke Murdock. The jury consists of seven women and five men, along with five alternates.

Perez's attorney Nicholas Panteleakis has told The Baltimore Sun the separate trial will allow him to explain a police interview Perez gave during which he said he hadn't entered the apartment where the murder occurred.

The trial continues with opening statements Tuesday morning.

amatas@baltsun.com

[Text NEWS to 70701 to get Baltimore Sun local news text alerts](#)

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Marylander who died of rabies contracted disease from kidney transplant

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

7:54 PM EDT, March 15, 2013

The first Marylander to succumb to rabies since 1976 developed the virus through a kidney transplant that took place more than a year before the Army veteran died of the disease in February, national health and defense officials said Friday.

Tests performed by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention since the Marylander's death showed that the Florida organ donor, a 20-year-old Air Force service member, died of rabies, and the same type of rabies was found in both the donor and the kidney recipient. The transplant occurred at the Walter Reed National Military Medical Center in Bethesda, confirmed Cynthia Smith, a Defense Department spokeswoman.

Contracting rabies from organ transplant is extraordinarily rare, but other deaths have been reported in the past. Officials and medical experts said it's probably impossible to determine whether a donor has rabies before transplanting an organ.

Both the CDC and Maryland health officials said they would not release any information regarding the genders of the donor or recipient, or the names of medical facilities involved with the case. CDC officials are working with public health officials and health care facilities to investigate how the donor contracted rabies.

The donor also gave another kidney, a heart and a liver to living recipients in Florida, Georgia and Illinois, said Barbara Reynolds, a CDC spokeswoman. She said the recipients have been evaluated by their health care teams and were being given the rabies vaccine and immune-system boosters.

Before an organ is transplanted, tests are performed to determine whether the donor has any transmissible diseases, said Joel Newman, a spokesman for the United Network for Organ Sharing, the private organization that manages the country's transplant system.

UNOS maintains a list of tests that must be run on all potential donors, including taking blood and urine samples and conducting a chest X-ray. Doctors and organ recovery teams can decide whether to run additional tests based on the information available to them from the donor's medical history, Newman said.

David Leiser, chief of kidney and pancreas transplantation at the University of Maryland Medical Center, said doctors are primarily looking for blood-borne diseases, such as HIV, hepatitis and syphilis.

In the recent case, Leiser said, four medical teams working with organ recipients must have examined the organs from the donor who had rabies, and all decided they were acceptable for patients.

There's a 24- to 48-hour period after a potential donor has died to harvest and transplant, but not all medical tests can be completed in that time, Newman and others said.

"There's not really a confirmatory rabies test that would turn a result in a 24-hour window," Newman said.

Charles Haile, chief of infectious diseases at Greater Baltimore Medical Center, said brain tissue or spinal fluid is often needed to determine whether someone has rabies.

The disease can be difficult to diagnose because it can present atypically, he said, without the classic symptoms of lethargy, restlessness, irritability or swelling of the brain. Also complicating a diagnosis is that some people can harbor rabies for more than a year without displaying any symptoms, even though the incubation period typically lasts several weeks to a month.

Haile called the chances of transmitting rabies through an organ transplant "infinitesimal."

Any transplant patient who accepts an organ is taking a risk, but there's no way to test for every possible disease within the tight time parameters, said Dory Segev, transplant surgeon and epidemiologist at the John Hopkins University School of Medicine.

"The likelihood is we would be discarding perfectly good organs," he said.

Charlie Alexander, president and CEO of the Living Legacy Foundation, the organ recovery organization for the Baltimore region, said sometimes a potential recipient who is facing death will choose to take a donor organ even if the donor had a disease, but that it was highly unlikely a person would accept an organ if the donor were known to have rabies.

He also said that's not something that can be determined before an organ transplant. The only way to have prevented this rabies death, he said, would have been not to conduct a transplant.

"You're really dealing with the world of rare events," he said.

Maryland's health department announced the rabies death earlier this week, cautioning people around the state to take care around wildlife and to report any animal bite to health officials. Rabies cases have grown uncommon, with five or fewer reported nationally over the past decade, largely because of effective preventive treatments given after an animal bite occurs.

Rabies has been known to spread via organ transplant surgeries in the past. In 2004, the CDC confirmed diagnoses of rabies in three organ recipients who all received organs from a common donor. The donor was an Arkansas man who visited two Texas hospitals complaining of mental health problems and a low-grade fever, according to the CDC. His liver and kidneys were passed along to organ recipients, who each died.

The type of rabies both the organ donor and recipient had is known to come from raccoons but can also be found in other animals.

Baltimore Sun reporter Scott Dance contributed to this article.

amatas@balt.sun.com

twitter.com/ssdance

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](http://www.balt.sun.com)

www.baltimoresun.com/features/green/blog/bs-gr-rodney-hailey-20130222,0,1241814.story

baltimoresun.com

Md. man gets 121/2-year term in biodiesel credit fraud

Hailey ordered to pay \$42 million in restitution for selling \$9 million in fake credits

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

6:07 PM EST, February 22, 2013

A Perry Hall man was sentenced Friday to 121/2 years in prison and ordered to pay more than \$42 million in restitution after being convicted of selling \$9 million worth of fake biodiesel fuel credits to oil companies and commodities brokers.

Rodney R. Hailey, 34, was found guilty in June of eight counts of wire fraud, 32 counts of money laundering and two counts of violating the Clean Air Act. Hailey operated Clean Green Fuel, a company that purportedly created renewable fuel from waste cooking oil but sold credits for more than 23 million gallons of biodiesel he never made.

The federal government established a renewable fuel program in 2005 that required oil refiners and importers to make renewable fuel or purchase credits from manufacturers. The initiative, intended to reduce the nation's dependence on foreign oil, has come under congressional scrutiny after a few companies were accused of selling phony biodiesel credits.

Environmental Protection Agency investigators visited Hailey's office in 2010 after receiving a tip that he was selling fake credits. Several months later, a federal financial crimes task force investigated after a neighbor complained to Baltimore County police about the luxury cars parked outside Hailey's house. He was charged in October 2011 and accused of using money from the fuel credits to purchase real estate, jewelry and several cars, including a Rolls-Royce and a Lamborghini.

Assistant U.S. Attorney Tonya Kelly said Friday that while Hailey seemed remorseful, the judge needed to consider his character at the time of the crime, particularly that he continued to collect Maryland unemployment insurance while running Clean Green Fuel.

"Mr. Hailey defrauded a government program," she said, "to essentially make \$9 million by doing nothing."

Hailey looked downward and shook his head as he acknowledged the pain he'd caused, saying he had made victims of his family. He pleaded with U.S. District Judge William D. Quarles Jr., asking him to consider his clean record.

"I've never done anything like this before," he said. "Let me show you that I can fix it and I can be better, your honor."

Quarles called Hailey's fraud "blatant" and said the sentence would send a message about what happens when people try to cheat the federal government. The \$42 million in restitution was based, in part, on claims made by the credit purchasers who were forced to purchase replacements at a higher price.

Hailey's attorney, Gerald Ruter, said he would meet with his client to consider an appeal.

Ben Evans, a spokesman for the National Biodiesel Board, a trade organization, said Hailey's punishment will help ensure that there's less credit fraud in the future.

But Jennifer Case, CEO of San Diego-based New Leaf Biofuel, said 12 1/2 years is a light sentence for the damage Hailey has done and that his actions made credit buyers less likely to trust small businesses like his.

"Companies like mine are still being penalized," she said.

amatas@balt.sun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

State police investigating response time in UMES stabbing death

Victim's family says it took too long for campus police to help him

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

7:51 PM EST, February 18, 2013

University of Maryland, Eastern Shore officials on Monday said state police are investigating assertions that campus officers took an extended period of time to respond to the fatal stabbing of a student during homecoming weekend.

Edmond A. St. Clair, 21, of Severn was stabbed on the Princess Anne campus Saturday night. St. Clair's family has said that it took too long for police to help him and that the assailants lingered at the scene after the stabbing. Campus spokesman Bill Robinson said state police are constructing a timeline.

Police have said St. Clair was riding with his brother and another man in a car through the campus about 9 p.m. when they encountered a group of people walking in the street and got into a fight.

St. Clair's brother, Isaiah St. Clair, told The Baltimore Sun he was riding with Edmond St. Clair and friend Tre Hardy when three men stood in the road and wouldn't move. Edmond St. Clair got out to talk to the men and was stabbed in the heart, Isaiah St. Clair said.

Robinson said the campus police department was "fully deployed" during homecoming weekend and had assistance from state police. Officers from Princess Anne and the Somerset County Sheriff's Office also were on call if the university needed additional help.

State police are offering a reward of up to \$2,000 for information leading to an arrest. Police are searching for three suspects. Anyone with information is encouraged to call 410-548-1776.

Isaiah St. Clair said he and Hardy were taken to the police station for questioning, and he wasn't able to contact his mother to tell her about the stabbing until midnight or 1 a.m. Isaiah St. Clair said he didn't learn his brother had died until 8 a.m. Sunday.

State police said Isaiah St. Clair was held for hours without being able to contact his family because he was at the crime scene and was part of the investigation.

"They were trying to interview and identify all the people who were involved in the altercation," spokeswoman Elena Russo said.

Police said in a statement that they don't think the stabbing was random because it appeared to have been "the result of an argument or ongoing dispute." Because the investigation is active, Russo wouldn't elaborate further.

Friends and family described Edmond St. Clair, a junior biology major, as an aspiring doctor who enjoyed producing reggae-style music. St. Clair was born in Trinidad and moved to the United States about six years ago after his father's death. He was known in college by his DJ name, "Trini Wes," which honored his heritage and his late father. St. Clair liked music, movies and videos, and his loved ones remembered him as kind-hearted. He was awaiting the birth of his first child, a girl, in April.

School officials will hold a meeting for students at 11:15 a.m. Tuesday to provide more information about the incident and talk about how the university can move forward.

The stabbing was the second act of violence in a week involving the University System of Maryland. On Feb. 12, police say, 22-year-old Stephen Rane was shot and killed at his off-campus home in College Park. Police say Rane's housemate, graduate student Dayvon Green, killed Rane and wounded another roommate before killing himself.

amatas@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Organizations join to stop child sexual abuse in sports

The Cal Ripken Sr. Foundation is co-hosting a summit to discuss best practices

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

6:33 PM EDT, March 12, 2013

Following a string of recent cases in which coaches used their positions to sexually abuse children, the Cal Ripken Sr. Foundation says it is trying to help sports organizations better screen people who work with young athletes.

The foundation has created an online resource that offers training for employees and volunteers. The site also directs sports organization leaders to a legal research website where they can search potential staff members' criminal histories at a minimal cost.

"Most organizations serving kids do the bare minimum to protect them" because they feel overwhelmed just managing their day-to-day operations, and screening volunteers can be expensive, said Steve Salem, CEO of the foundation.

The online resource is one step the foundation has taken to help end abuse amid growing concerns about sexual abuse in the sports realm. Next week, the Cal Ripken Sr. Foundation is partnering with the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children to hold a summit about child sexual abuse in sports.

Event organizers saw a need for a conference after the sexual abuse scandal surrounding Jerry Sandusky and the Pennsylvania State University football program.

"Although this was a wake-up call for many in America to learn about the scope and type of abuse children encounter in youth sports activities, it was an issue we were very familiar with and that our staff, frankly, deals with every day," said John Ryan, CEO of the National Center for Missing and Exploited Children.

Maryland has also seen recent cases of alleged child sexual abuse in sports. In October 2011, a coach with [Michael Phelps'](#) former swim club, the North Baltimore Aquatic Club, resigned following allegations of inappropriate conduct with a female swimmer in 1975.

A year later, Rick Curl, who founded the Washington Curl-Burke Swim Club, turned himself in to Montgomery County police on a charge of abusing one of his students in the 1980s. Curl pleaded guilty in February to one count of child sexual abuse and faces up to 15 years in prison.

In September 2012, ice dancer and coach Genrikh Sretenski was arrested in Howard County on New York charges of sexual abuse and endangering a child. He was released from jail a few days later on the condition he turn himself in to New York police.

Ryan said there's no data tracking the scope of child sexual abuse as it relates to sports but said the center's tip line has received about 1.8 million reports of children being exploited since 1998.

Joe Ehrmann, a former NFL defensive lineman who is speaking at the summit, said sports has paved the way for social change before with issues such as segregation and women's rights and that it could do the same for child sexual abuse.

"I think this could be a pivotal moment in the history of youth sports," he said.

amatas@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Police identify man, woman found dead in burning car Friday

Both had gunshot wounds to the head, police say

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

9:55 PM EST, February 25, 2013

City police have identified the man and woman who were found dead in a burning car in West Baltimore early Friday.

Alysia Strickland, 33, of the 600 block of Dover Street and Taewon Tuck, 34, of the 2000 block of N. Bentalou Street were both found dead with gunshot wounds to the head, police said.

The fire was noticed around 5 a.m. Friday in the 2000 block of N. Monroe Street in the Mondawmin neighborhood, fire officials said. The car was thought to have been in the alley behind 1800 block of Clifton Ave.

Strickland was the daughter of retired Roanoke County circuit judge Diane Strickland and Art Strickland, an attorney with the firm Strickland, Diviney, & Strelka in Roanoke, Va. Art Strickland's practice areas include products liability, criminal defense and personal injury, according to his firm's website.

In the 1980s, Art Strickland helped defend Hustler magazine publisher Larry Flynt when evangelical pastor Jerry Falwell accused the magazine of libel. Hustler had run a parody ad that featured Falwell describing an incestuous sexual escapade. The case traveled to the Supreme Court, which ruled against Falwell.

Art Strickland's firm on Monday issued a statement on behalf of the family, requesting privacy as they grieved the loss of their "beautiful" daughter.

"We greatly appreciate your thoughts and prayers," the statement said.

Police are also investigating a separate Sunday night homicide in which a victim was found in a car.

Northeast district officers, after responding to calls reporting gunfire, found a man who had suffered gunshot wounds lying in the 1700 block of Montpelier Street. They also found an unresponsive woman a block away, lying in a car with the front passenger door open. Both were pronounced dead shortly before 11:30 p.m.

amatas@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Some Baltimore-area students get day off after Super Bowl

Restaurants and other businesses change schedule on Sunday

By Carrie Wells and Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

6:54 PM EST, January 31, 2013

For some area residents — including students at the John Carroll School, a Catholic high school in Bel Air — the day after the Super Bowl will be observed with a moment of rest.

A handful of schools and businesses around the region will close or open later than usual on Monday after the Baltimore Ravens play in the Super Bowl in New Orleans Sunday evening. The reasons range from a desire to build morale — at John Carroll, students got a reprieve from the archbishop of Baltimore — to predictions that no one will really want to work on Monday, anyway.

The game will affect the schedules of other businesses as well. Some restaurants from Timonium to Columbia are closing early on Sunday, because they expect few people to eat out. And several area sporting goods stores are preparing to open right after the game ends if the Ravens win, so fans can buy team gear.

"We have to be prepared for a Black Friday-type event," said Bobbie Bardzik, community marketing manager for Dick's Sporting Goods in the Baltimore region

Last week, someone even started a petition to the White House to make the day after the Super Bowl a national holiday, declaring the event to be the "most popular ... in modern American culture." By Thursday evening, more than 11,700 people had signed, short of the 100,000 required to spur a response from the White House.

Amy Burke Friedman, vice president of the Baltimore-based Profiles public relations firm, said the seven staffers have been told they can come in at 10 a.m. on Monday instead of the usual 8:30 a.m.

"The Super Bowl is keeping us pretty busy," Friedman said. The firm's owner "just thought it would be something nice to do for the staff; she knew we would be up late tuning into the game. We're really excited."

Mike Evitts, a spokesman at the Downtown Partnership, suspected productivity after the Super Bowl will be "through the floor." The Partnership employs about 120 people, and Evitts said the organization is considering giving most of them a half-day off Monday.

"Baltimore knows how to throw a party and we also know how to recover from a party," Evitts said. "A lot of people have been talking about purple passion and purple fever but I think that might be the ailment that keeps people out of work on Monday."

Archbishop William E. Lori granted some 850 John Carroll students and more than 100 teachers and staff Monday off during a visit this week. He used the Ravens as an example of community-building, principal Madelyn Ball said, telling students that the team would not be so successful if players did whatever they wanted. He spoke of the importance of working together.

"For us in the church, with our faith, we also have to work as a team," Ball said. "It requires us to have someone to lead us and guide us in what we do in a daily basis."

Then Lori announced the school would have Monday off.

"Everybody seemed thrilled," Ball said. "This doesn't happen all that often in Baltimore, to be in the Super Bowl.

This way we get a chance to enjoy ourselves this weekend."

In contrast, none of the public schools in the area are scheduled to close, or even open late, due to the Super Bowl.

"We certainly expect students and staff to arrive excited for the new week and excited for the Ravens victory, ready to go for the day," said Charles Hemdon, a Baltimore County schools spokesman. "Let's hope all the students' and staffs' eyes are open."

The Archdiocese of Baltimore leaves it up to individual schools to make decisions on closing, according to an official there. A Catholic school in Towson, the Immaculate Heart of Mary, will open two hours late on Monday.

For the past few years, Immaculate Heart had a tradition of closing the day after the Super Bowl. This year, Deborah Thomas, the new principal, said the school's pastor settled on a compromise that would balance the desires of hard-core Ravens fan-parents who wanted the school closed Monday with the notion that learning should come before sports.

In 2011, the school was given \$10,000 by the National Football League for its fitness efforts and Ravens players came to visit. Since then, Thomas said, students have been inspired to raise money for charitable causes.

"We talked with our students, we said, 'You can stay up late and watch the team that's had such an impact on our school, then you came in the next day and be ready to work,'" Thomas said.

Though some parents lobbied for the delayed opening, not everyone was thrilled.

"I know I'm being the Grinch," said Maynard Thurfield, a local AM radio host whose son attends the school. "I just think it's sending the complete wrong message. I think what it directly says is this sporting event — which at the end of the day is something we watch on television — is more important than going to read and write in the morning."

Ira Miller, who runs the Rotunda Cinemas in Baltimore, said the theater will show two matinees on Sunday and then close for the day, "because with the game, we're not going to compete against that."

"We get destroyed on the Super Bowl even without the Ravens playing," Miller said. "It's an imposition, but it's like having a snowstorm. Everybody in Baltimore is going to be watching that game," including him. "I'm the world's biggest Ravens fan. We love our Ravens. I'm wearing purple right now."

Some independent restaurants also are closing early. Il Basilico, an Italian restaurant in Timonium, said it would close at 5 p.m. on Sunday, instead of the typical 11 p.m.

"Football is very important and we have no TVs," Vince Culotta, general manger of the Iron Bridge Wine Company in Columbia, said of the restaurant's decision to close at 4 p.m. after a Super Bowl-themed brunch.. "The first couple years we were open we gave it a shot — very few people showed up. When I say very few, I mean nearly zero." He added: "I think any place that has a TV will probably stay open."

Indeed, even as some businesses scale back hours, others are extending them to capture Ravens-fueled revenue.

Several area sporting goods stores plan to open after the game in the event of a win, so shoppers can buy commemorative apparel.

For example, Dick's Sporting Goods in White Marsh will unlock its doors "as soon as time expires" if the Ravens are victorious, Bardzik said.

The store will remain open until 2 a.m. — or until the rush calms down — and reopen at 6 a.m. Patrons can shop for Ravens apparel immediately following the game, but the rest of the merchandise will be blocked off, Bardzik said.

She didn't know how many employees would be called in but said the store expects large crowds.

Modell's Sporting Goods on Reisterstown Road in Baltimore also plans to reopen Sunday night if the Ravens win. All of the store's merchandise will be available for purchase, but assistant manager Mike Milazzo said he expects the bulk of the sales to be Ravens-related.

He said the store will open as quickly as the staff can get championship merchandise set up and will stay open until business slows. "I have my people in place," he said, laughing.

Sports Authority Sporting Goods stores — including locations in Baltimore, Towson and Laurel — will also open Sunday night if the Ravens win and reopen at 6 a.m. Monday.

Despite the excitement surrounding the game, not all local sporting goods stores will be unlocking their doors to celebrate a Super Bowl win.

"Oh, not us," said Geri Durham, co-owner of The Sport Shop at Harborplace.

She plans to be at home watching the game but said the store will open around 8 a.m. Monday to sell championship T-shirts.

Baltimore Sun Media Group reporters Erica L. Green and Larry Perl contributed to this article.

amatas@baltsun.com

cwells@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](http://www.baltsun.com)

baltimoresun.com

University of Maryland students fly human-powered helicopter

Engineering students try for \$250,000 prize at Baltimore Convention Center

By Carrie Wells and Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

8:54 PM EST, February 28, 2013

This will be Flight Test No. 40.

In the center of the contraption — a 90-pound, human-powered helicopter made mostly of carbon fiber, balsa wood, foam and string — is University of Maryland doctoral candidate Colin Gore, decked out in orange cycling clothes and safety goggles.

Gore will pedal, as he would on a bicycle, until the craft they call the Gamera II XR lifts off the floor. A student stands at each of the four massive propellers as they wait for the cue.

"Tension on, take off," comes the order, and Gore's face turns red with effort as he pedals. The propellers turn and the Gamera lifts about a foot off the ground.

The College Park students have been trying for years to win the \$250,000 American Helicopter Society Sikorsky Prize, an award that has gone unclaimed since its inception in 1980.

To claim the prize, they must keep their human-powered helicopter in the air for at least 60 seconds, while staying within a 10-meter-by-10-meter area and reaching a height of at least 10 feet.

In August, the team was able to get the Gamera into the air for 65.1 seconds and get as high as 9.4 feet. They broke world records in the process, but now they want the prize.

This week, the students — 51 graduates and undergraduates have worked on the Gamera — used a large space in the Baltimore Convention Center. Their several attempts, before judges from the National Aeronautic Association and the American Helicopter Society International, have drawn media attention from around the region.

The \$250,000 prize — which would go to the university, not the students — isn't the only allure.

"It's one of the most thrilling things I've ever done in my life," said Gore, 26. "More people have walked on the moon than have flown in a human-powered helicopter."

The team stopped Thursday after dozens of unsuccessful attempts to reach the 10-foot height mark. They did get the Gamera about 6 feet up.

In 2011, a University of Maryland team with an earlier version of the Gamera set the first world record of a human-powered helicopter taking flight — then, less than a foot of height was enough to set the mark. The flights are certified by the National Aeronautic Association and, for world records, the Federation Aeronautique Internationale in Switzerland.

Elizabeth Weiner, a graduate student at Maryland, was working as the communicator between students on the sidelines and the pedaling pilot.

"Achieving the impossible is fun, for sure," said Weiner, 23. "People have said we couldn't do it, and we're showing them that we can." William Staruk, another graduate student, said the biggest challenge isn't the

helicopter's construction. It's powering it. The team has to deal with "how poor of an engine a human is," Staruk said.

Staruk said jokingly that he has enjoyed the sleepless nights and general sense of panic the project has given him.

But he also said he has appreciated the opportunity to work with "fabulous engineers."

Darryl Pines, dean of Maryland's A. James Clark School of Engineering, described the effort as "a labor of love" as he watched the students make a few attempts at winning the prize and breaking their own record.

He said he was prepared to pull the plug on the project a year ago — for financial reasons, and because he felt the students had already accomplished a lot. But he realized it wasn't about what he wanted.

"We'll go as far as we can go," he said. "I'm very happy for them, and I hope that they achieve their goals."

cwells@balt.sun.com

amatas@balt.sun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](http://www.baltimoresun.com)

baltimoresun.com

City plans to find housing for most at-risk homeless

Volunteers conducted a survey to determine the 75 people most likely to die on the streets

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

6:58 PM EST, February 1, 2013

Whitney Swander woke before dawn three days this week to talk with people who have been sleeping on the city's streets.

That's how she met Ron — a man who has moved across the country since becoming homeless and, lately, has spent his days drinking coffee in a McDonald's in southern Baltimore.

"He wants a way into a more stable life," she said, pausing. "I keep thinking about Ron."

The Mayor's Office of Human Services-Homeless Services Program and the Baltimore Home for Good Campaign announced Friday morning an initiative to find housing for the 75 most vulnerable homeless people in the city. The effort is part of the 10-year plan to eliminate homelessness in Baltimore, which is at the halfway point. Although the new program focuses on helping those who cost the city the most in time and resources, some people in attendance Friday said the plan doesn't go far enough.

More than 100 volunteers visited neighborhoods and shelters in Baltimore from 4 a.m. to 6 a.m. Monday through Wednesday. They talked with the homeless about their health conditions, such as whether they have liver or kidney disease, whether they have a history of hypothermia and how many emergency rooms visits they've made in the past three months.

The information will be used to identify the 75 individuals most likely to die if they remain on the streets and then find housing for them. These people, who are considered chronically homeless, pose the greatest expense to the city because they spend nearly every night in a shelter, said Mark Slater, who is helping to head up the campaign. Getting at-risk individuals in permanent housing frees up the city to use its limited resources in a smarter way, he said.

The city said it needs \$75,000 to get the 75 in homes and solicited donations Friday.

About 10 protesters who attended Friday's event displayed neon signs that read "What about #76?" and "Housing is a human right!"

Paul Behler, 59, who was among the protesters, said he's been homeless for the past year and a half, since he lost his job working as a concert piano tuner and rebuilder. He called for the city to re-examine its priorities.

"Seventy-five people being housed is only a drop in the bucket," he said.

That sentiment was also echoed by several of the morning's speakers, who included city officials and volunteers. Many of them noted that the push to get 75 people in homes is just a starting point.

Volunteers also counted the homeless in Baltimore this week; the Housing and Urban Development Department requires cities to conduct a census of their homeless populations every two years. They encountered 636 homeless people, 147 of whom they deemed highly vulnerable, according to data presented Friday.

The final tally for Baltimore won't be available until April, said Gabby Knighton, outreach coordinator with the Homeless Services Program. In 2011, however, the city counted more than 4,000 homeless individuals during its January census.

After the event, protester Brooks Long said that he was glad to hear officials say they would look to help more than the initial 75 homeless and that it seemed like their hearts were in the right place.

"I think everybody knows we can do better," he said.

amatas@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Man allegedly stabs wife hours after release on own recognizance

Daren Ruffin had been repeatedly charged with beating wife

By Alison Matas and Carrie Wells, The Baltimore Sun
9:46 PM EST, January 24, 2013

Daren Ruffin had been home from jail for only about a week before he found himself in custody again.

The charge was the same: second-degree assault, after his wife told Baltimore police that Ruffin beat her. But instead of spending a month in jail in lieu of bail, as he had before, Ruffin was released the next day on his own recognizance and ordered to stay away from his wife, Melissa Davis.

Hours later, he was charged with first-degree murder. Police found Davis stabbed to death in the couple's apartment last Friday and say Ruffin confessed to the crime. He is being held without bail in the Baltimore City Detention Center. He has no lawyer listed in state court records and family members could not be reached.

Ruffin had been arrested six times in as many months — four times in Massachusetts and twice in Maryland — on charges that he hurt his wife. In the first Maryland case, Ruffin was cleared when Davis refused to testify against him.

The allegations highlight some of the legal system's challenges in protecting victims of domestic abuse, many of whom are unwilling to come forward or testify in court. Police say they are often hamstrung in their efforts to help victims.

But Davis' family is furious at the most recent decision to let Ruffin out, arguing the courts should have recognized a pattern in the accusations of violent behavior.

"I am so angry about that," said Davis' mother, Brenda Ballard. "They have his rap sheet right there. Why do you let him out?"

Eric Gooden, the court commissioner who released Ruffin without bail, left his job Wednesday. Court officials would not discuss the circumstances of his departure and had no comment on his role in releasing Ruffin. Gooden could not be reached.

Lt. Rhonda McCoy, who runs the intimate partner and elderly abuse unit for Baltimore police, said authorities often find their options limited as they seek to stop a cycle of domestic violence.

"There's not much the system could do," she said. McCoy noted that Davis had previously refused to testify against her husband, resulting in a not-guilty verdict in the prior assault case. There are some victims who just don't want to see their significant others charged, McCoy said, even when police intervene.

Ruffin, 47, and Davis, 44, married in June 2012 and lived in Massachusetts before moving to Baltimore in November, according to family members.

Police in Chelsea, Mass., the suburb of Boston where the couple previously lived, said Ruffin was arrested four times for assaulting Davis between August and early November. Massachusetts limits the public disclosure of court files, and the outcome of the arrests was not available.

His record also includes a year and six months spent in North Carolina jail from March 2008 to August 2009 for an attempted assault with a deadly weapon conviction. In the 1990s, Ruffin was incarcerated in North Carolina for assault on another woman.

In early December, Ruffin was charged with second-degree assault after Davis wound up in a hospital with injuries to her upper lip, ribs and arm, telling Baltimore police that Ruffin beat her.

A court commissioner noted the violent nature of the assault, and Ruffin was held in the city jail in lieu of \$35,000 bail. Ruffin was found not guilty after Davis invoked marital privilege and declined to testify against him during his Jan. 8 trial.

On Jan. 17, Ruffin was arrested and charged with assault again. This time, Davis' injuries were less serious.

Ruffin appeared in court Friday morning and was released on the condition that he have no contact with Davis.

About midnight Friday, police found Davis fatally stabbed in the couple's apartment in the 300 block of E. North Ave. On Saturday morning, Ruffin confessed to stabbing Davis with "a large chef-style knife," according to police.

Police spokesman Anthony Guglielmi compared Davis' case to that of Veronica Williams. In 2008, Williams requested a protective order against her husband, Cleaven Williams, but did not fully detail years of abuse or say that she feared for her immediate safety. Williams was stabbed by her husband as she left the courthouse with the protective order and later died of her injuries.

Guglielmi said Williams' murder showed the Baltimore Police Department it needed to be "as proactive as possible" in reaching out to victims of domestic violence.

That means making sure victims understand all their options, McCoy said. Even if someone has been arrested or a protective order has been issued, a victim might still want to stay with a relative or seek shelter at place like the House of Ruth in Baltimore.

Julie Drake, a University of Maryland, Baltimore professor and the former head of the family violence division in the city state's attorney's office, said she and the city Police Department are working on a pilot program through which students reach out to victims of domestic violence.

Drake, who teaches at UMB's School of Social Work, said the services offered to victims would include crisis counseling, safety planning and evaluating each case on a scale to determine how likely a victim is to be killed by their partner.

"If we want to save the lives of victims of domestic violence, it is imperative that we provide services to the victim as quickly as possible," she said.

amatas@baltsun.com

cwells@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Maryland domestic violence killings expose cracks in system

City sees spike of domestic-related homicides amid other high-profile area cases

By Alison Matas and Carrie Wells, The Baltimore Sun

7:47 PM EDT, March 22, 2013

Melissa Davis' husband had six domestic-violence arrests in less than a year of marriage, and was released by a judge on his own recognizance.

Katie Hadel's ex-boyfriend was let out of jail early on good behavior.

And Candace Hurt's husband had three women seek court protection against him but didn't follow through.

Davis, Hadel and Hurt all were killed this year in what police describe as domestic homicides by these men. Police, prosecutors or court officials had been in touch with each of them in the months, days, or, in Davis' case, hours before they died.

Advocates for victims of domestic violence say these and other cases expose cracks in a system that is supposed to protect the vulnerable — and raise the question of whether police and courts can effectively identify people who pose a deadly threat to their partners.

Five women have been killed in Baltimore so far this year in what police say were domestic homicides, compared with an average of six in each of the previous four years.

At a legislative oversight hearing this week, top police officials took questions about the killings. Police Commissioner Anthony Batts said the deaths are contributing to this year's uptick in murders. He pointed out that there had been no domestic murders at this point last year.

"I have been alarmed by the number of domestic issues," Batts said.

Particularly vexing for Davis' family is the fact that her husband, Daren Ruffin, was released by a court hours before her death. He had been charged with assaulting her but was not required to post bail.

On Tuesday, Ruffin pleaded not guilty to a charge of first-degree murder in the death of Davis. He was ordered held pending a trial in May.

Family members say there were many opportunities — in Maryland and elsewhere — for police and prosecutors to stop the violent cycle.

"There's a trail of people who are accountable," said Teneka Williams, a cousin of Davis. Law enforcement officials say the cases show some of the inherent challenges in confronting domestic violence. It can be difficult for police, prosecutors or judges to determine whether a relationship is dangerous. Police in Baltimore handle several thousand domestic violence complaints every year. And the task is made more challenging when victims are unwilling or afraid to work with authorities.

Davis declined to testify against Ruffin in an earlier assault case, and he was acquitted. Hadel was under police observation at a family member's house but was killed after she returned to her own apartment without notifying officers.

Police, prosecutors and advocates say they've made progress in addressing domestic violence, and the number of domestic-related homicides had dropped significantly in both Baltimore and the state in previous years.

Yet despite their efforts, recent cases highlight the amount of work that remains.

Advocates are trying to fill the gaps in the judicial system with volunteer outreach coordinators, and by pushing for stronger laws. They say their efforts will never stop all domestic homicides, but they're hoping for a further reduction in violence.

"When there are these terrible tragedies, we keep trying to make the system as close to perfect as possible," said Tracy Brown, executive director of the Women's Law Center of Maryland.

Brenda Ballard, Davis' mother, remembers the way her daughter would dote on the man she married — getting up at 3:30 a.m., for example, to make him breakfast.

The devotion was not returned, Ballard said, as Ruffin was arrested on several assault charges, first in Massachusetts and later in Maryland.

The devotion was not returned, Ballard said, as Ruffin was arrested on several assault charges, first in Massachusetts and later in Maryland.

The marriage ended in tragedy in January with Davis found dead of stab wounds in the couple's Baltimore apartment and Ruffin charged with first-degree murder. His lawyer, a public defender, was not present at Ruffin's arraignment Tuesday and did not respond to repeated requests for comment.

Davis' family has criticized the Baltimore justice system for what members say was a failure to protect Davis from Ruffin, but court officials say the volume of cases they handle makes it difficult to determine which victims are most at risk.

The Baltimore court commissioner who released Ruffin without bail after his sixth assault arrest in late January is no longer on the job. The commissioner, Eric Gooden, did

not respond to requests for comment.

Officials would not discuss the circumstances of his departure.

Dorothy Lennig, director of the legal clinic at House of Ruth Maryland, said Davis' case calls for examining whether officials could have done anything differently.

"These are the hardest kinds of cases because, in retrospect, you can see the whole picture, and you can kind of see where things don't work," she said.

Protective orders

Katie Hadel's mother says Jeffrey Matthew Shiflett, the man now charged in her death, had threatened her daughter for years.

Shiflett and Hadel had a brief relationship years ago, her family said, but she had broken it off and gotten married.

Shiflett had been behind bars for a robbery he'd committed with Hadel in 2007. But by December, he had earned enough prison credit that he was required to be released on good behavior.

After his release, police advised Hadel, 33, to stay at her mother's house, where officers would check on her a few times a day. Against their advice, police said she returned to her apartment in Garrison on Feb. 5, and was stabbed to death.

Shiflett was arrested the following day and charged with first-degree murder.

Shiflett is being held without bond awaiting a preliminary hearing this month on the murder charge. His lawyer, a public defender, did not respond to several requests for comment.

Victim advocates say Hadel's case highlights the limitations of state law regarding protective and peace orders. Both kinds of orders limit contact between the two people, yet protective orders last longer and can have stronger protections.

In a protective order, a judge can order a subject to surrender firearms, leave a joint residence or provide temporary financial support. A final protective order can last up to a year, with possible extensions, while peace orders only last up to six months.

Protective orders are also more difficult to get. They are available only against a current or former spouse, a partner with whom the petitioner has a child, or live-in partner of at least three months.

Hadel made at least three requests for court protection against Shiflett but was eligible only for a peace order.

Lisae Jordan, executive director of the Maryland Coalition Against Sexual Assault, said protective orders should include people who are dating or have lived with each other for less than 90 days so they cover all relationships.

"They have the same kinds of issues and dynamics that people who are living together have," she said.

But being eligible to request a protective order is only half the battle. In Maryland, a petitioner must show proof of danger before being granted a protective order. Jordan said that hurdle has been a "consistent problem" in Maryland.

Tracy West, an Anne Arundel County woman whom police say was shot by her estranged husband, tried to obtain two protective orders against him. She obtained a temporary order against Calvin Cofield on New Year's Eve, but a judge denied a permanent order, saying there was insufficient evidence that it was necessary.

Police say Cofield shot and wounded West at her workplace, a newspaper distribution center in Annapolis, in late January before killing himself.

West was discharged from the hospital Feb. 13. Attempts to reach her were unsuccessful.

On Feb. 19, police logged another domestic homicide in Baltimore. Police say Candace Hurt, a state probation agent who volunteered with a nonprofit conflict resolution center, was shot to death by her husband, Alvin Baird, who killed himself afterward.

Hurt had applied for a protective order in late December, after Baird allegedly pulled a gun on her. But she didn't return to court, so a final protective order was never issued.

Two other women filed for legal protection against Baird in the past four years, but they also failed to return to court to finish applying for long-term orders.

Jacquelyn Campbell, a professor at the school of nursing at Johns Hopkins University, said some women understand their risk, but, as a coping mechanism, choose to ignore it.

"That is very scary, to walk around all day thinking the person who somewhere along the line was supposed to love you the most is capable of killing you," Campbell said.

Baltimore Sun reporters [Justin Fenton](#), Kevin Rector and Ian Duncan contributed to this article.

amatas@baltsun.com

cwells@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Balto. police recover 29 stolen firearms early Tuesday

Police said the intention was to sell the handguns

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun
4:27 PM EST, January 29, 2013

Baltimore police have two men in custody after seizing 29 stolen handguns Tuesday morning.

Around 2:30 a.m. Monday, two men allegedly broke into an outdoor supply store in Saxton, Pa. by crashing into it with a vehicle, then stole multiple handguns. They then drove to Baltimore with the intention of selling the guns, police said.

Law enforcement with the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives alerted Baltimore police that the vehicle might be in the city. Police located the vehicle in the western patrol district around 4 a.m. Tuesday.

The vehicle fled from officers before crashing at Chapel Hill Road and Route 40, Major Dan Lioi with the Baltimore Police Department said.

Officers found one loaded firearm under the driver's seat and a duffel bag with 28 additional handguns in the vehicle. Each gun is worth between \$300 and \$500, Lioi said. Police also recovered two boxes of ammunition, 12 rounds of loose ammunition and a small amount of cocaine.

Michael Faircloth, 25, and Garrett Sherlock, 25, both of Saxton, Pa., were in police custody as of Tuesday afternoon but hadn't yet been charged, spokesman Anthony Guglielmi said.

amatas@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Bill would 'shield' misdemeanor convictions from public

By Carrie Wells and Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

7:00 AM EDT, March 12, 2013

Members of the public and most employers would be unable to look up the records of some people convicted of nonviolent misdemeanor offenses under a proposal before the state legislature.

The recommendation, under which people could ask the state to shield such information from the public eye after they complete their sentences, was a key recommendation of a task force that examined how best to integrate ex-offenders back into society. But it has faced a tough fight; a similar proposal failed last year amid arguments that citizens are entitled to information about the actions of the legal system.

Twin bills in the state House and Senate would shield the records three years after the person's sentence is complete. There was a hearing in the state Senate on the bill Thursday.

Police, prosecutors, the person's attorney and certain employers that require more rigorous background checks for applications, including some federal agencies, would still be able to view the convictions.

State Sen. Verna L. Jones-Rodwell was a member on the re-entry task force and is sponsor of the bill. The Baltimore Democrat said she has met individuals who have had trouble getting a job after spending time in prison.

"They were disqualified before they even had an opportunity to prove themselves, to get in the door," she said.

Under the bill, people who want their records shielded would have to file a formal request. Under current law, some minor charges can be expunged, or wiped from the record, but only if the person has not been convicted of the crime. The proposal does not specify which misdemeanors it would cover.

Sen. James Brochin, a Baltimore County Democrat, opposed the proposal last year and said he planned to do so again. He said he has heard from groups, including people who advocate for foster children, who are concerned that the bill could limit their access to information they need to make decisions.

"Before they say yes to these volunteers who are doing work with very troubled kids, they think they have a right to know if somebody has a background," Brochin said. "I think you have a right to know in areas like that, and there's no way to avoid that if this law passes."

cwells@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Inmates help tear down House of Correction, earn professional certifications

The project gives prisoners the chance to develop marketable skills, officials say

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

6:42 PM EDT, March 14, 2013

While Travis Baldwin is incarcerated at Jessup Correctional Institution, he's learning how to safely remove asbestos from contaminated buildings — by working next door at the shuttered Maryland House of Correction.

Baldwin, a mechanic by trade, is one of about 160 inmates who will help tear down the prison and will be certified to perform a handful of construction and contracting tasks in Maryland, Virginia and Washington when released.

"It's something we can take with us when we get out," said Baldwin, who is serving time for burglary and assault.

The House of Correction, built in the 1800s, was once home to some of the state's most violent offenders. The state shut down the maximum-security prison in 2007 amid safety concerns after a rash of violence in 2006, including the murder of a correctional officer.

Now the Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services is having inmates work with a contractor's crew to deconstruct the building — a process that department officials say is saving the state millions of dollars and equipping inmates with marketable skills.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, hazardous materials removal workers earned a median of \$18.08 a hour in 2010. Demand for such workers is expected to grow 23 percent between 2010 and 2020, the bureau estimated.

On Thursday, 10 inmates gathered in the brick building and practiced for their asbestos-removal certification test under the supervision of Dave Truman of Aerosol Monitoring and Analysis Inc.

The inmates volunteered for the deconstruction and were selected based on criteria such as their physical ability and expected release from prison, said John Wolfe, warden of Jessup Correctional Institution.

In addition to earning professional certifications, there were other incentives for prisoners to take part in the project: The inmates are getting time off their sentences and will make \$2.50 a day tearing down the facility, more than double what they'd earn working other prison jobs.

Gary Hornbaker, who was the last warden at the House of Correction and now serves as project manager of the deconstruction, said the work should not pose health risks. Inmates had physicals before starting the project, and they'll have regular pulmonary function checkups for asbestos exposure, he said.

Some facility deconstruction began in 2011, but the bulk of the work is expected to be completed in the next 18 months, ending September 2014, Hornbaker said. Mark Vernarelli, spokesman for the Department of Public Safety and Correctional Services, said the state hasn't decided what the site will be used for after the prison is taken down.

On Thursday, the inmates worked in a mock asbestos site set up in the administration wing of the House of Correction, where they pretended the ceiling tiles were full of asbestos. The men secured sheets of plastic to the walls from floor to ceiling, using a spray adhesive and duct tape to contain the "contaminated" area. Later that afternoon, they planned to remove the ceiling tiles, wash them with soap and water, and seal them in bags so they could dispose of them.

In preparation for a day of work, Antonio Edison had fashioned kneepads by wrapping duct tape around rags placed over his jeans.

"Sometimes that's how you improvise in the field," he said with a laugh.

Edison has his asbestos abatement certification and worked as a licensed asbestos remover in schools and military bases before he was imprisoned for robbery. For him, participating in the project is about helping his fellow inmates learn what to expect once they encounter an asbestos-filled environment, he said.

Goddard Simmons, an inmate who is serving time for DUI, has a background in construction, having worked with concrete, roofing and heavy equipment. He said working with asbestos is new to him, but he's enjoying it.

He took a lead abatement certification test as part of the deconstruction project and scored 90 percent. His asbestos removal certification test is Friday.

"I plan on getting a hundred on that," he said.

amatas@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Jewish families donate leavened food in observation of Passover

Unopened, nonperishable goods will help stock a new food pantry

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

3:57 PM EDT, March 25, 2013

Passover is seen traditionally as a holiday of the spring, not usually marked by snow.

But Howard Kaplan and his wife, Roberta, of Baltimore, wouldn't let Monday's inclement conditions deter them from coming to the [Pimlico Race Course](#) to dispose of their leavened food.

"Snow won't hold anybody up," she said.

Baltimore-area families burned their chametz Monday morning in observation of Passover. The holiday commemorates God's freeing the Israelites from slavery in Egypt more than 3,000 years ago. Because the Jewish people had to leave Egypt quickly, they had to eat their bread before it had risen. No leavened food is consumed during the eight-day period of Passover, which began Monday, and families cannot keep any of it in their homes.

Usually, people burn or throw away their leavened food at the annual event, but this year marked the first time they were encouraged to donate it. Comprehensive Housing Assistance Inc. and Park Heights Renaissance have partnered to open a food pantry in April at the Towanda Community Center, and the unopened, nonperishable food donated Monday will stock its shelves.

Betsy Gardner, who organized the food drive and serves as the Northwest and Jewish community liaison for City Council President Bernard C. "Jack" Young, said the donations will help meet a need in Park Heights while eliminating waste.

"Watching people throw away so much food, it's heart-wrenching," she said.

Gardner said she didn't know how much food people had contributed as of midmorning but added that she hoped to fill an entire U-Haul truck by the end of the day.

Many people who were at the race course said they hadn't been aware they could bring food to donate but thought it was a good idea.

As he prepared to burn chametz Monday, Yisroel Rabinowitz of Baltimore scarfed down a few bites of a chocolate-chip muffin—his last taste of leavened food before dropping the muffin wrapper and some slices of bread in the fire with his father. Other people pulled hot dog buns, rolls and protein bars out of grocery bags and placed them in the fire.

After burning their chametz, the Kaplan family huddled together and recited a declaration stating their known leavened products were no longer in their possession.

Benjamin Kaplan, 20, son of Howard and Roberta Kaplan, said burning chametz has spiritual as well as practical implications. Giving up the food is a metaphor for getting rid of any undesirable quality or trait.

And for Gabrielle Burger, of Baltimore, who burned bagels and challah with her stepfamily, tossing the food in the fire was symbolic because it was the physical representation of a complete purging.

"It brings it to light," she said.

amatas@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Polar Bear Plunge weekend kicks off as teens jump into bay

About 1,000 students participated in the Cool Schools Challenge Frigid Friday Plunge

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

7:52 PM EST, January 25, 2013

Lyndsey Darling and Erin Stump huddled on the beach Friday at Sandy Point State Park, sipping cups of hot chocolate and looking skeptical.

Both wore sweatshirts and boots, but within an hour they planned to swap their heavy layers for bathing suits and waded into the Chesapeake Bay, kicking off the weekend of the 17th annual Maryland State Police Polar Bear Plunge.

Stump, 15, said the swim was against her better judgment, but Darling, 16, had one idea to stay warm.

"I'm going to wear my socks," she said, "because I've got another pair."

Special Olympics Maryland held its fourth annual Cool Schools Challenge Frigid Friday Plunge as a precursor to Saturday's main event, which drew a raucous crowd of nearly 15,000 people last year, many wearing outrageous costumes.

About 1,000 plungers were registered to jump into the 37-degree Chesapeake Bay on Friday afternoon, and the event already had raised more than \$220,000, said Meghan Wilson, director of marketing services with Special Olympics Maryland.

Andrew Brow, 19, was there to support the Special Olympics. He helps with the organization's Prince George's County swim team and had donned the full-length penguin suit of the team's mascot. Others opted to wear much less.

Jack McCallister, 15, stood on the sand with two of his friends, hopping up and down to keep warm. All three sounded a chorus of grunts and cheers as they steeled themselves for the cold dip. Then, announcing they were going in with only their swim trunks on, they lifted up their sweatshirts to reveal bare chests.

Kylie Sheapp had already abandoned her beach towel and wore just a green bikini as she waited to jump in the bay. The 17-year-old from Sherwood High School in Montgomery County said she'd participated in the plunge before and described it as "exhilarating." She said that once she's in the water, she goes numb. It doesn't start to feel warmer, she cautioned — just colder.

When it was time for the plunge, the jumpers congregated on the beach for a group photo and let out a collective scream. Then the throng of teenagers charged into the bay, holding their elbows above the water and running out to the police officers who stood about waist-deep, bundled in caps and other cold-weather gear, waiting for them.

Hannah Moren, 13, had wrapped herself in a blue bathrobe to warm up after her plunge. She said the bay was freezing, but she went in because she "would have been called a wimp" otherwise.

Her classmate, Quinn McGinness, 14, bragged that he had put his head under the water and swum out to high-five the police officers.

As he stood on the beach wearing a coat and hat, the first-timer had some advice for the people who hadn't taken the plunge yet.

"Just go," McGinness said. "You can't worry about it. You just have to run."

amatas@baltsun.com

twitter.com/alisonmatas

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Police searching for suspect in murder of Baltimore woman

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

1:56 PM EDT, March 18, 2013

Police have identified a suspect in the Thursday stabbing murder of a Baltimore woman who was found dead in her home.

Police are searching for Michael Wesley in connection with the homicide, which they have called "domestic-related." Online court records show Wesley has previously been charged with assault but not convicted. A lawyer who represented him in one of those cases did not immediately respond to requests for comment.

On Thursday, police found Rachel Curtis, 31, unresponsive with multiple stab wounds in her Lakeland neighborhood home in the 2600 block of Wegworth Lane. She was pronounced dead at the scene.

Her brother told The Baltimore Sun she had five children and was studying to become a mortician.

Wesley is thought to have a cut on his right hand from the attack and frequents the Edmondson Village area in southwest Baltimore, according to police.

Anyone with information regarding the case is asked to call 410-396-2100.

amatas@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Raise Maryland calls for higher wages for corporate employees

The campaign released a report highlighting the need to up the minimum wage

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

9:45 PM EST, February 21, 2013

Some members of the Rev. David Carl Olson's congregation are homeless. A few work minimum-wage jobs, he said, but they still cannot afford to leave shelters.

His faith calls him to live in a world with "profoundly more justice," said Olson, who oversees First Unitarian Church of Baltimore, and that starts with increasing wages.

Olson spoke to about 25 people gathered to protest the corporate profits of low-wage employers Thursday morning at a Walmart store in Catonsville. Demonstrators chanted "Raise the minimum wage!" and held up signs with frowning faces parodying the Walmart logo of a smiling face. Raise Maryland, a campaign supporting the wage increase, sponsored the event.

The group intended to rally in front of the store, but Baltimore County police lined the entrance. Walmart officials said the group wasn't permitted on the property, so the organizers moved to the sidewalk at the edge of the parking lot.

The event came as attention has been refocused on the minimum wage, currently \$7.25 an hour in Maryland and other states that adhere to the national rate. During his State of the Union address last week, President Barack Obama called on Congress to raise the minimum wage to \$9 an hour.

In Annapolis, state legislators are considering a bill that would increase Maryland's minimum wage to \$10 an hour by 2015, boost the minimum wage for those who receive tips to 70 percent of the minimum wage and index minimum wages to the cost of living.

A January 2013 study by the liberal-leaning Economic Policy Institute found that upping the minimum wage would help more than 500,000 Maryland residents.

At Thursday's event, Raise Maryland released a report concluding that major corporations could "readily afford" to pay their minimum-wage employees more.

Of the nation's 50 largest low-wage employers, more than 90 percent were profitable last year, according to the report, which was based on a National Employment Law Project analysis of Standard and Poor's Capital IQ database.

"What we're trying to get across is people are making a fabulous amount of money, and it just is not coming down to the workers," said Stacey Mink, Raise Maryland's spokeswoman.

The nation's top minimum-wage employers are Wal-Mart Stores, Yum! Brands — which operates fast-food chains Taco Bell, KFC and Pizza Hut — McDonald's and Target. During the last fiscal year, those companies' top executives made millions each; Yum! Brands' highest earner took home in more than \$20 million, the report said.

Thursday's demonstrators held up signs detailing the compensation disparity. A Walmart store worker made about \$15,000 last year, the posters read, while the company's highest-paid executive made more than \$18 million.

Walmart employee Michael Mensah, 31, said he's worked full time at \$10 an hour for more than a year but can't pay for "basic necessities." He's living with his mother while he saves up to purchase a car. Mensah said he'd like to make more money — closer to \$12 an hour.

"I believe Walmart can afford that," he said.

Wal-Mart, with a workforce of 1.4 million, is the nation's largest low-wage employer. Spokesman Dan Fogleman said the national average pay for a full-time hourly Walmart associate is more than \$12 an hour.

Before 2007— the last time Congress approved a minimum wage increase — Wal-Mart championed the increase, saying its customers didn't have enough money to make purchases between paychecks. Fogleman said the company is reviewing several proposals from Obama's State of the Union address but wouldn't say whether the company had taken a position on the proposed minimum wage increase.

Those opposed to hiking the minimum wage have said the jump would lead to layoffs and higher prices.

Kathy Snyder, president and CEO of the Maryland Chamber of Commerce, said it's not the right time to consider an increase because many small businesses haven't recovered from the recession. Those owners would have to make tough financial decisions that could include eliminating part-time jobs or deciding not to hire an extra worker, she said.

The chamber also worries about "wage creep," Snyder said. If small-business owners raise wages for lower-level employees, other workers might want a salary increase, too.

Ellen Valentino, Maryland state director of the National Federation of Independent Business, said higher costs wouldn't run big businesses out of state but would hurt small business owners.

Olson said he recently spoke with a 7-Eleven owner who shared those concerns. While Olson conceded the owner may be right, he said he also thought increasing the minimum wage could mean more people would come into the store to buy coffee.

"Any raise in pay is going back to the economy," he said, citing an Economic Policy Institute study that found raising the minimum wage would generate about \$492 million in increased economic activity.

Olson likened the struggle for higher wages to the biblical story of David and Goliath. He said people fighting to increase the minimum wage have their own metaphorical stones to throw, and one of those stones is fairness.

Corporations should make money, Olson said, but not at the worker's expense.

"We need to find another way," he said.

amatas@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

311 complaints ignored, communities fight bars themselves

Audit finds liquor inspectors not up to scratch, something community leaders had suspected

By Ian Duncan and Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

7:05 PM EDT, April 6, 2013

Black scuff marks line the staircase at 922 N. Charles St., left there by frustrated tenants kicking the wall in a vain attempt to make their neighbor, the Museum Restaurant and Lounge, quiet down. Most nights, tenants say, the sound of DJs hyping up the crowd rattles china cabinets and nerves alike.

"It's thump, thump, thump from the music," said Will Penn, 48, who lives in one of the apartments next door. Penn, like many other Baltimoreans who live near bars, said he has filed complaints using the city's 311 system but has seen nothing change.

"Next day I'd get an email saying, 'Your issue has been resolved,'" he said. Exasperated, he plans to move in with his girlfriend at the end of May.

Walter Webb, who runs the Museum, denied that it had a noise problem and said he has been targeted unfairly because he is one of the few black business owners in the neighborhood.

But complaints about the authorities' response highlight larger problems at the Baltimore Board of Liquor License Commissioners. State auditors reported last week that half the complaints made to the board via the 311 system were closed with no evidence of any investigation — something the agency's executive secretary acknowledged is "lazy and wrong."

The scathing report confirmed what many community leaders say they have long suspected: that the state agency is either unable or unwilling to respond to concerns. The audit also said liquor inspectors failed to carry out routine reviews, and closed some complaints before starting an investigation because they did not want city statistics on open issues to reflect poorly on them.

"Usually [I would] not speak out against an organization that's there to help us, but the liquor board inspectors don't help us," said Kevin Bernhard, president of the Highlandtown Community Association. "I've never seen one in my seven years in Baltimore City."

Close to 1,400 Baltimore businesses hold liquor licenses — including stores, bars and restaurants. Each must comply with a long list of regulations covering who can buy alcohol and when, along with restrictions on noise levels and crowd control.

The liquor board is a state agency and not directly controlled by city authorities, but it gives revenues from fees and fines to the city, and the city's budget funds its operations.

The board employs a squadron of 10 inspectors to check on problems; several inspectors have been laid off since the audit because of budget cuts. Webb said they have been out to the Museum numerous times in recent months and deemed the complaints unfounded.

"They're not playing with me," he said. "I think they're doing their job."

He acknowledged some problems with an older music system at the Museum but said it was replaced more than two months ago. "We're willing to work with anyone to correct any problems," he said.

But in general, the audit found that in the inspectors' work is often not documented and that routine inspections are carried out only spottily. Two inspectors made just 41 visits in an entire year reviewed by auditors, who calculated that each inspector should be able to handle 872 inspections a year.

Samuel T. Daniels Jr., the executive secretary of the licensing agency, acknowledged many of the problems and said he was happy to talk about them because he has been "inspired to retire" sometime this year.

"It's lazy and wrong," he said of inspectors not properly investigating 311 complaints. He said the problems could be remedied by replacing a few of the inspectors.

The average salary for an inspector is \$43,875, according to city data.

If the inspectors find that establishments are violating liquor laws, the board can levy fines and even take away licenses. But community leaders say they must do the work of inspectors themselves. A group of 10 neighbors can protest the transfer of a license or its annual renewal.

Mount Vernon residents have followed that path with the Museum, campaigning to have its license revoked when it comes up for renewal this year and filing pages of signed petitions with the liquor board. A hearing is set for April 18.

The Baltimore Sun was unable to review the Museum's liquor board file, which is supposed to include records of complaints and inspections, because it had been removed to City Hall in advance of the hearing.

The petition for a hearing came after months of frustration, residents said. Neighbors have filed 42 complaints via the 311 system about the Museum since October, with 13 of them referred to the liquor agency, according to the system's records.

"I was told my first complaint was resolved, but obviously not. PLEASE deal with the noise situation," a complaint filed Nov. 11 reads.

When issues do come before the three-member liquor board — which oversees the inspectors — they are usually dealt with consistently, the state auditors found. Community association leaders said they think Chairman Steve Fogleman gives them a fair hearing.

Fogleman does not run the liquor agency day to day; that's Daniels' job. But Fogleman said the report's findings give him a "mandate for change."

He added that he strongly supported the board using the 311 system, an upgrade from a single cellphone line, and said that thousands of complaints had been successfully resolved.

Club Confetti in Upper Fells Point was called before the board late last month in response to multiple complaints about assaults and reported violations of liquor laws. Residents had called 311 about the establishment 23 times since October.

"Several guys drunk thrown out of the bar over 15 mins of yelling and banging on the door then the bar called the police," reads a complaint about the bar filed Nov. 18.

"At closing customers yelling and get into a fight where a guy punched another knowing [sic] him to the ground," another reads. The club disputes the complaints. The owner of the bar, named in liquor-licensing records as Cristin Neal Adad, did not respond to requests for comment. Franklin Alvarado, a manager, said the bar was "taking care" of some problems.

A liquor board ruling on Club Confetti was postponed.

Bernhard mounted a campaign to get La Raza Cantina, an Eastern Avenue bar, closed down. Residents filed noise complaints via the 311 system, but in some cases inspectors later deemed them unfounded.

"We've had to go and do sleuthing to get pictures of live entertainment," Bernhard said. "We really are the police where [the inspectors] should be."

Bernhard said that might have been because the inspectors did not come out immediately, another common complaint among neighborhood activists. "There was an issue where there was loud noise reported on a Saturday evening [and] the liquor board inspector came out on a Monday afternoon before the bar even opened."

Noise is a problem for bars across Baltimore, but inspectors chose an unusual approach to dealing with it, auditors found. Although the board has a noise meter, inspectors chose to trust their ears instead, according to the audit. The auditors were perplexed. "It would appear appropriate for [the board] to use objective, scientific equipment to determine the validity of noise complaints," they wrote.

In the end, La Raza's neighbors hired a lawyer and presented evidence in a two-hour hearing before the board in November. The board took the bar's license away, but the owners appealed to Circuit Court, so the bar stayed open temporarily.

Jenny Mejia, who ran La Raza and is named on its liquor license, said neighbors had made a racially motivated decision to drive her out of business and made unfounded complaints.

"There wasn't no drug dealing in the building, there were no issues or anything apart from two incidents that happened outside the place," she said. "They were being racist."

Bernhard said race did not play a role in the community's opposition to the bar.

At the end of March, a Baltimore judge upheld the board's decision to revoke La Raza's license, but not before its owners had been fined \$500 for selling a \$5 glass of Wild Turkey whiskey to an underage police cadet in January. jduncan@balt.sun.com

twitter.com/duncan

An earlier version of this story erroneously attributed a quote to Victor Corbin, president of the Fells Prospect Community Association. It has been corrected here.

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](http://TheBaltimoreSun.com)

baltimoresun.com

Furloughs begin for federal public defenders

Sequester cuts raise fears about fair trials, overburdened courts

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

9:37 PM EDT, April 3, 2013

Federal public defenders will begin taking furloughs this week because of forced spending cuts, raising concerns that reduced schedules will strain an already overburdened court system and compromise rights to adequate counsel and speedy trial.

In one of the first direct effects of budget cuts known as the sequester on Maryland's sizable federal workforce, U.S. public defenders will take 15 furlough days this fiscal year, beginning on Friday.

Officials including James Wyda, federal public defender for the district of Maryland, said cutbacks not only place a financial strain on the public workers but stress an indigent defense system. Critics have lambasted the reductions as unconstitutional and warned that they would unfairly impact defendants waiting — many behind bars — for their day in court.

While many [federal workers](#) are facing furloughs, "it's a very different story when the person being furloughed has a constitutional duty to defend another person's freedom," said Professor Doug Colbert of the University of Maryland School of Law.

Federal agencies across government have been rolling back budgets to account for across-the-board cuts that took effect last month, with impacts on a range of services from parks to airports. Many worker furloughs haven't taken effect yet as agencies negotiate with unions.

The nation's court system, including federal defenders, must absorb \$350 million in spending cuts. The sequester cuts also affect spending for probation officers, court clerks, court security and information technology programs, according to federal court administrators.

In addition, the Justice Department has to take a \$1.6 billion sequester cut, with about \$100 million coming from the budget for U.S. attorneys, according to the agency. No decision has been made about whether Maryland's attorneys will be furloughed.

It's up to local courthouses to decide exactly how to handle the reductions. Around the country, judges have reduced schedules on Fridays, for instance.

In Maryland, there are no planned closures for the state's federal courts because of furloughs, but Chief U.S. District Judge Deborah K. Chasanow said it's "a very fluid situation."

U.S. District Judge Catherine Blake of Maryland, who oversees federal public defenders, said furloughs mean they will have fewer days to prepare cases, which gives them less time to forge relationships with clients, investigate cases and meet deadlines. Public defenders also will have a reduced budget for case research.

"It's going to cause delays and postponements in criminal proceedings, and it ultimately can affect the quality of the representation provided," Blake said.

Nationally, federal public defenders are faced with cuts totaling about \$43 million, said Charles Hall, spokesman for the administrative office for U.S. Courts. He said the cuts are expected to delay assignment of counsel and slow payments to court-appointed private attorneys, who are typically called in when the public defender's office has a conflict of interest in a case.

In Maryland, the federal public defender's office faces a 5 percent spending cut, a reduction of about \$500,000, Wyda said. That's on top of a funding crunch his agency already has confronted, which has led to staff reductions, canceled training sessions and the postponement of equipment purchases, he said.

For the fiscal year through September, the median time for a criminal case in Maryland federal court to go from start to sentencing was 13.5 months, according to data from the federal judiciary website.

Aside from taking unpaid leave, Maryland's federal public defenders won't be able to take cost-intensive cases, in which lawyers need to obtain depositions from witnesses across the country, for instance. Those cases will be given to court-appointed private attorneys.

Currently, the state's 30 federal public defenders handle about 75 percent of the cases in which defendants do not have their own counsel, Wyda said, and the other 25 percent go to court-appointed attorneys. Donna Shearer, who supervises these lawyers in Maryland, declined to comment on how sequestration would affect them.

David Rocah, staff attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union of Maryland, said the judiciary is likely to run out of money to pay the private attorneys, too.

"I think this is a slow-moving disaster in progress," he said.

Virginia Sloan, president and founder of the Constitution Project, an organization pushing to reform the criminal justice system, said the cutbacks are "a clear violation of the Sixth Amendment," which guarantees a defendant counsel and a speedy trial. She noted that no one is lobbying to ensure that criminals have adequate representation.

"The courts are trying to do the best they can, but when it comes to constitutional rights, you can't just say, 'We don't have the money, so sorry,'" Sloan said.

"There needs to be somebody who's worried about these people," she said of defendants who have been accused but not convicted and are sitting in jail. "It's a disgrace."

amatas@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Hopkins scientists compete to find new solutions to treating cancer

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

8:46 PM EDT, April 3, 2013

Jason Howard, 32, posed a question to Johns Hopkins University students and doctors on Wednesday.

"So how are we doing in the war against cancer?" he asked those gathered for the second annual Rangos Award for Creativity in Cancer Discovery presentations.

Howard, a Catonsville resident and postdoctoral fellow in the head and neck cancer therapeutics program at Hopkins, proposed creating a vaccine using proteins from tumors to teach the immune system to fight the disease — and the idea won him \$25,000.

Hopkins held an awards ceremony on Wednesday for the Rangos competition, which recognizes innovative solutions in treating metastatic cancer — cancer that has spread from its original location in the body. Five finalists — narrowed down from 55 applications from undergraduates, medical students, residents and fellows — presented their ideas to an audience of about 75 and a panel of judges, who decided the winner on the spot.

Because metastatic cancer starts in one part of the body and spreads to others, the National Cancer Institute does have a method of tracking how many people die from it each year. But Theodore DeWeese, faculty sponsor for the competition, said, to date, it's essentially incurable, which is why the competition focuses on treating it.

The program is funded by John G. Rangos Sr., who heads a foundation that has donated to Hopkins. He said he chose to start a competition because he thought young scientists were an underused resource, and he wanted to offer them a challenge.

"I think it's a key to getting a dreaded disease that's affected every family in the world," he said.

Other ideas centered on personalizing cancer treatment and studying gene sequencing.

In second place was Ashwin Ram, 27 a resident in radiation oncology; in third place was postdoctoral fellow Hogan Tang, 32; in fourth place was Sylvie Stacy, 27, a resident in general preventive medicine; and in fifth place was postdoctoral fellow Xiaochuan Yang, 27.

The finalists received \$12,500, \$6,250, \$3,150 and \$1,500, respectively. They may use the prize money for whatever they choose, DeWeese said.

After being announced as the winner, Howard said everything included in his proposal was feasible, but it was also theoretical, so it was up to someone to take his idea and make it a reality.

But he found it fascinating to see how five different people came up with solutions to treating cancer. "To me, it was heartening," he said.

amatas@balt.sun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Water pipe burst delays opening of Courthouse East

The burst appeared to have happened over the weekend, officials said

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

10:02 AM EDT, April 1, 2013

A water pipe burst delayed the opening of Courthouse East on Monday morning.

A half-inch pipe burst on the fourth floor of the building, and water trickled down to the lower floors, said Captain Roman Clark, a spokesman with the Baltimore City Fire Department.

The break appeared to have occurred over the weekend, according to the Baltimore City Sheriff's Office.

No one was injured in the burst, and it looked like damage was limited to carpeting, according to the sheriff's office.

Connor Scott, a spokesman with the Mayor's Office of Emergency Management, said everyone had been evacuated from the building as a precaution and that the water to the courthouse was turned off. He said the fire department was waiting on an electrician to determine which parts of the building were safe for electricity.

Two fire trucks were parked outside the courthouse as a large crowd gathered outside the front door waiting to get in.

Clark said as of Monday morning, the courthouse wasn't closing for the day.

Court officials were not immediately available for comment.

amatas@baltsun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Suspect in fatal City Hall crash released without charges

Authorities say prosecutors could still take up case against driver

By Justin George, Luke Broadwater and Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

2:18 PM EDT, April 10, 2013

The man accused of driving a speeding car that killed a city worker and overturned in front of City Hall was released by the Maryland State Police on Wednesday without charges, though police say their investigation continues and prosecutors could still pursue the case.

The 43-year-old Baltimore man, whose identity has not been made public, was treated for minor injuries at Mercy Medical Center after the accident and was not detained after state investigators interviewed him. Police said the Baltimore City State's Attorney's Office holds the responsibility to indict him.

After conferring with prosecutors, Maryland State Police Sgt. Marc Black said his agency decided against filing charges against the driver so more serious charges can be filed after a thorough investigation.

"Through an investigation I'm not going to charge him with a lesser crime that may cause some kind of legal concerns with trying to charge him [later] with something more serious," Black said.

"He's not in our custody," Black added. "If you have no charges there's no need to hold him for any certain time. He was detained, no charge has been placed so he has been released."

A message to the Baltimore City State's Attorney's Office was not returned, and Black would not go into detail about what remains to be investigated.

On Tuesday, state police said the driver of a black 2000 Acura TL driving at speeds that may have approached 100 mph veered off an interstate and sped onto downtown streets, striking a pedestrian and flipping over in front of City Hall. Matthew Hersl, 45, a 28-year city finance department employee who was struck and killed.

Hersl was beloved in his Little Italy neighborhood where he was an active community leader, and Black said he understands there may be anger toward the agency for releasing the driver in the crash. But he stressed that police are trying to make sure the case ends with a successful prosecution.

"We just want to make sure we do a thorough an complete investigation," he said. "Our first responsibility is to that victim."

"Flight risk is always a concern but once the State's Attorney's Office was consulted we advised them on what we had," he added. "With their guidance, we decided to release and wait [for the investigation to be completed]."

"We're very sympathetic to the community on the whole but at the same time we want to make sure we serve the community the best we can by putting together the best investigation," he said.

Black said it's common state police practice to withhold the driver's identity before charges are filed.

At least one past case has shown charging drivers involved in deaths with traffic violations can endanger vehicular homicide prosecutions. In 2004, an Ellicott City woman avoided a vehicular homicide charge after killing a

motorcyclist in a drunken driving accident because a police officer issued the woman a negligent-driving citation on the night of the crash.

A Howard County circuit judge ruled that the citation protected her from prosecution on a vehicular homicide charge, because negligent driving is considered a lesser form of motor vehicle homicide. It is unconstitutional for a suspect to be prosecuted twice for the same crime.

"I think the best way we can protect ourselves from this is simply not to issue negligent-driving citations," then-Howard County State's Attorney Timothy J. McCrone said in 2004. "It has almost no value, but it creates the potential for serious problems."

Mayor Stephanie Rawlings-Blake called it "ridiculous" that a grown man "doesn't have the sense to know that you don't speed like that in a crowded city."

"It's senseless; it's tragic," Rawlings-Blake said. "It's a loss that we all feel in the City Hall family. She said she has spoken with Hersl's mother and offered her condolences.

"My prayers are with his family," the mayor said. "I spoke to his mother last night, who remembered a son who was a giver, who worked so hard for the city. It is a senseless, senseless tragedy. It could have been any one of us. I've stood on that corner. You've stood on that corner. It could have been any of us."

Neil E. Duke, the school board president, said he offered his condolences to Hersl's family for suffering an "unfortunate, random criminal act."

"His passing reminds us that every day is precious," Duke said. "We mourn his loss and pray that justice is both swift, certain and sure following the aftermath of yesterday's horrible event here on the grounds of City Hall."

The city's Board of Estimates also held a moment of silence for Hersl Wednesday morning.

jgeorge@baltsun.com

Twitter.com/justingearge

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Traffic: Collisions on I-95 in Howard, Baltimore counties

The accidents occurred near MD 32 and White Marsh Boulevard

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

9:02 AM EDT, April 11, 2013

Collisions closed lanes along I-95 south and the outer loop during Thursday's commute.

A four-car collision closed one southbound lane and the left shoulder of I-95 before White Marsh Boulevard at exit 67. The accident had cleared as of 8:25 a.m., according to the State Highway Administration.

A three-vehicle collision also shut down a southbound lane and the left shoulder of I-95 near MD 32 in Howard County. Both had reopened as of 8:10 a.m.

Earlier, a three-vehicle collision briefly shut down two lanes and the shoulder of the outer loop at Edmondson Avenue, according to the State Highway Administration. As of 6:50 a.m., traffic lanes had reopened.

The 8:10 a.m. Baltimore departure MARC train was operating one car short, and passengers were told to expect crowded conditions.

amatas@balt.sun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Federal judge throws out case against NFL over Ravens logo

Copyright infringement case will move forward against Electronic Arts Inc.

By Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

7:26 PM EDT, April 8, 2013

A federal judge last week threw out a Baltimore security guard's copyright infringement case against National Football League Properties, saying there was no evidence the NFL had licensed the use of the Ravens logo he'd designed to a software company.

Frederick E. Bouchat has been credited with designing the Ravens' first logo, known as the "Flying B logo," and is awaiting compensation.

In this most recent case, Bouchat claimed he wasn't getting credit for the use of the logo in some Madden NFL video games. He alleged the NFL had licensed the use of the "Flying B" logo to Electronic Arts Inc., a California-based video game maker, and subsequently profited.

U.S. District Judge Marvin Garbis released NFL from the case, claiming there was no evidence to hold the company culpable. The case against Electronic Arts will move forward.

Versions of the Madden NFL video games for Xbox 360, PlayStation 3 and Nintendo Wii have a "throwback" feature that allows users to dress players in older uniforms, some of which display the "Flying B" logo.

In his ruling, Garbis said Bouchat presented "not a scintilla of evidence" that NFL Properties had licensed the use of the logo to Electronic Arts Inc. and financially benefited.

amatas@balt.sun.com

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Murder trial shifts to woman's body found in Elkridge backyard

Forensics experts say identification of body a 'tried and true' science

By [Justin Fenton](#) and Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

6:12 PM EDT, April 14, 2013

When Howard County authorities said they found the badly decomposed remains of Christine Jarrett beneath a shed in her own backyard, they moved swiftly to charge her husband — long a suspect — with the murder.

That discovery — two decades after her disappearance — is expected to become the focus of Robert Jarrett Jr.'s first-degree murder trial as it enters its second week. Though the body proved to be the tipping point for investigators in the field, it has also become a target for Jarrett's lawyers, who say it doesn't prove their client is guilty.

The potential challenges for prosecutors increase as time passes between murder and trial, experts say, and can provide openings for opposing counsel to try to sow doubts about a case.

Defense attorneys said in opening arguments that they plan to question the medical examiner's inability to determine a cause of death. They also hope to raise doubts about whether the body is in fact that of Christine Jarrett.

John Tobin, coordinator of the forensic science program at Stevenson University, said pieces of evidence can change over time, and witnesses might forget facts of the case.

Tobin, who is not involved with the Jarrett trial, said the body is circumstantial evidence, enough of which can mount up to establish guilt. Tobin likened such evidence to "pieces of a puzzle that you're putting together, and no single piece by itself can make a picture."

Among the anticipated exhibits this week is the giant slab of concrete found over the body, which is so big it had to be transported in an ambulance and is being stored in a holding cell in the courthouse.

Police had suspected Jarrett in the disappearance of his wife, who he said had left their Elkridge home after an argument in January 1991. He remarried and continued to live in the home, and Christine was eventually declared legally dead. When he left his second wife for another woman, detectives asked if they could search the property and found the body under concrete in a backyard shed.

The first week of testimony focused on the Jarretts' troubled marriage, including three accounts of physical abuse, which Jarrett acknowledged in his early conversations with police. In the days after her disappearance, Jarrett appeared concerned, and as time went by grew emotional, according to Thomas O'Connor, a retired officer who made two visits to the home in the first three days.

"He hadn't heard from her, and he said she would've at least called to speak to her boys," O'Connor testified Friday, recalling one of their conversations.

Less than two weeks after the remains were found in April 2012, and after an autopsy had been completed, the remains were released by the state medical examiner, and her sons had them cremated. At a motions hearing in December, defense attorney George Psoras said he would have wanted to conduct independent tests such as a DNA test to confirm it was Christine Jarrett and to try to determine a cause of death.

Circuit Court Judge Richard S. Bernhardt said at that hearing it was "shocking" that investigators hadn't performed a DNA test on the body, but added that will be "part of the state's burden" in proving the case to a jury.

Mark Profili, director of the forensic science program at Towson University, called the defense claim a "good defense argument, because they can't retest what isn't there anymore." But he also called the identification of remains "a tried and true science." Profili is not involved with the case.

He said the next step for the defense would be to review the dental records report and assess the credibility of the person who made the identification based on other cases where he or she has identified bodies using dental records.

Tobin, who also spent 37 years with the Maryland State Police, said that while DNA could be recovered, the best bet is to use dental records.

"If it's a match, then you've got an identity," he said.

James M. Adcock, a Georgia-based forensic consultant who specializes in cold cases and homicides, said it's the job of a good defense attorney to find something about the investigation process to dispute and that no identification method is always right.

But he also said there should be enough photos and documentation of the remains that it doesn't make a difference that the body was cremated. Adcock is also not involved with the case.

A necklace and a ring were found buried with the body, along with clothing and photos of Christine Jarrett's children and relatives from her side of the family. When relatives of Christine Jarrett identified the objects as hers at trial, Psoras questioned how they could be sure after so many years.

Psoras has raised several theories at various court hearings — he said the body could be that of another person and already been in the yard when the Jarretts moved in, or that Jarrett could have killed someone else and buried the person in the backyard.

At trial, he suggested to jurors that a man with whom Christine was having an affair had more of a motive to kill her than her estranged husband. But broadly, he said defense attorneys simply can't prove that Jarrett killed his wife.

Assistant State's Attorney Jim Diedrich told jurors that Jarrett was "living a lie" that came crashing down when the body was found.

"It's taken 22 years to reach the point it's at now," Diedrich said in opening arguments. "It's time to put Christine Jarrett to rest, to put an end to the defendant's lies and deceit."

jfenton@baltsun.com

[Text NEWS to 70701 to get Baltimore Sun local news text alerts](#)

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Wet spring snowfall was Baltimore's latest in a decade

5 inches measured across Howard, Carroll, Baltimore counties

By Scott Dance, The Baltimore Sun

6:42 PM EDT, March 25, 2013

The blanket of as much as 5 inches of wet, slushy snow that fell across the Baltimore area Monday was the heaviest snowfall of an underwhelming season and the latest measurable springtime snow in a decade.

The snow caused a few disruptions for morning commuters and minor power outages. It gave a snow day to some schoolchildren eager for sledding and snowball fights after a winter of multiple disappointments.

"I've got to do something, or I'll have a mutiny," said Clark Lare, chuckling, as he bought bacon and eggs to feed his son, Jack, and daughter, Sasha, at Whole Foods in Mount Washington.

Jack and Sasha had their own ideas of what to do on their day off from elementary school.

"Making a snowman!" exclaimed Sasha, a kindergartner at Garrison Forest School.

Snow chances rose and fell in forecasts leading up to Monday, like so many times during the past winter, but finally the snowfall exceeded the expectations of many. The difference, meteorologists said, was timing: The precipitation arrived overnight, before the spring sun's melting influence.

That meant one late taste of winter weather with spring already under way and milder weather arriving Tuesday, which is supposed to have a high in the low 50s. But there still may be a wait for the arrival of real spring weather, one forecaster said.

"Anybody that's looking for spring, they're just going to have to wait because it's not coming anytime soon," said Tom Kines, a senior meteorologist with AccuWeather.com. "If you're looking for those stretches of two to three days in the 70s with sunshine, it's going to be a while."

A measurement of 3.2 inches at BWI as of 2 p.m. made Monday Baltimore's snowiest March day since March 2, 2009, when 4.7 inches were measured at Baltimore-Washington International Thurgood Marshall Airport. It was Baltimore's snowiest March 25 on record, surpassing the 2.5 inches measured on that date in 1933.

It was also the latest snowfall for Baltimore since March 30, 2003, according to the National Weather Service.

Without more accumulation, Monday's snow will bring the seasonal total to 8 inches at BWI. That is more than four times as much as last season's 1.8 inches but well below the norm of about 18-20 inches.

Heavier snow fell to Baltimore's west and north, with 5 inches from Columbia to Parkville, and Arbutus to Loch Raven Reservoir.

March snow is relatively common in Baltimore — an average of about 2 inches have fallen during the month since the 1880s. But after a handful of snow predictions that didn't pan out, some were surprised to find they still needed their shovels.

At Ayd Hardware on York Road, owner Vincent Ayd decided just last week to put shovels, ice melter and other snow supplies into the basement storage room, he said.

"We took all the snow shovels away," he said, "and kind of just went into our spring mode."

Then came the snow. Luckily, the shovels weren't too far away, "and I did actually leave a couple bags of ice melter on the shelves, just in case."

The store sold a few snow shovels and sleds on Monday, he said.

Snow supplies are an important income source throughout the cold months, Ayd said.

"All winter long in my business, I suffer when I don't have snow, because that's my cash flow in my winter months," he said.

His store is stocked with spring supplies such as fertilizer, seeds and garden spades.

"All that has been selling, and when the weather warms up, it'll go back to selling," he said.

The weather wasn't a threat to those gardens, though, said Gene Sumi, horticulturist at Homestead Gardens in Davidsonville. The snowfall had more affect on business — things were unusually quiet there Monday — than on the health of most of the center's plants and flowers, he said.

Most of Homestead's outdoor plants, from pansies to roses and fruit trees, are hardy enough to withstand considerably colder weather than Monday's, he said, and snow can even be a boon.

"Snow actually helps a lot of wintering-over plants by acting as insulation," he said.

Still, the unseasonably cold weather is potentially harmful to a variety of perennials the garden center has brought in from nurseries in North Carolina and Georgia, where they were planted during a growing season that starts about a month earlier than Maryland's.

"We're moving those inside," Sumi said. "That's really just an inconvenience, and again, it has to do with the temperatures, not the snow."

The snow isn't expected to stay around for long, with high temperatures forecast to hover around 50 degrees for the rest of the week.

But that's still well below normal for the month. Normal highs approach 60 degrees by the end of March in Baltimore.

The average temperature this month was running 2 degrees below normal through Sunday, at 40 degrees. If the trend holds, it would be the first string of consecutive colder-than-normal months since December 2010-January 2011.

Baltimore Sun reporters [Alison Matas](#), [Jonathan Pitts](#) and [Alison Knezevich](#) contributed to this article.

sdance@baltsun.com

twitter.com/MdWeather

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

Hopkins professor new head of national research institute Lorsch to take over top role as Bethesda-based institute faces budget cuts from sequestration

Section: The Federal Workplace

Edition: FINAL

Page: 8A

Source: The Baltimore Sun

Byline: By Alison Matas

Illustration: Photo(s)

Graph Source: Kim Hairston/Baltimore Sun Photo

Caption: Photo: With government funding for research cut, Jon Lorsch said it's important to see taxpayers "getting the most bang for their buck."

For 12 years, Johns Hopkins professor Jon Lorsch has studied how cells make proteins -- a process that can provide insight into why people get cancer -- through a grant from the National Institute of General Medical Sciences.

Lorsch said the government funding has helped him advance his research, but he's seen many other worthy projects struggle without assistance. Now, as he takes over at the federal institute, Lorsch plans to use his experience to set the program's priorities amid the forced spending cuts known as sequestration.

"I can say from the perspective of someone who is doing science now ... there's a lot more great and important science that people would like to do than can be funded," he said.

Lorsch, who teaches in Hopkins' biophysics and biophysical chemistry department, was named director of the Bethesda-based institute Monday. The program funds research and training related to biology, pharmacology and genetics.

He is preparing to take over the institute's \$2.4 billion research budget as its parent organization, the National Institutes of Health, faces \$1.6 billion in cuts from sequestration. Lorsch said his primary goal will be to make sure money is spent efficiently.

During a February teleconference, NIH Director Francis Collins said the agency will see its budget of \$30 billion slashed by 5.1 percent as a result of the sequester, which means fewer grants and a reduction in jobs.

Each of the 27 institutes and centers that make up NIH is required to take the same 5.1 percent cut, he said.

No one at NIH last week would go into detail about what would happen to spending at the National Institute of General Medical Sciences. A 5.1 percent cut to a \$2.4 billion budget is a reduction of about \$122 million.

"These are challenging fiscal times for everyone in the country, and I think those will present challenges for those of us at NIGMS as well," Lorsch said.

L. Mario Amzel, director of the biophysics and biophysical chemistry department at Hopkins, said Lorsch is taking over the top spot at the institute at a financially

difficult time for science.

He said Lorsch is prepared for the job because of his experience as a practitioner and his strong leadership skills. He mentioned Lorsch's role in developing curriculum for the university and starting an internship program for high school students, saying he's been "outstanding in all areas."

"The best that could happen is to have somebody like Jon," Amzel said. "I think they couldn't have gotten anybody better."

Collins, of the NIH, declined comment on why Lorsch was selected for the position, but said in a letter to staff that Lorsch would successfully lead the institute during "uncertain times."

"With his reputation of being a broad-minded and visionary thinker with strong management skills, and possessing the confidence to challenge the status quo, I am sure that Jon will develop and execute new policies and procedures necessary to keep the U.S. at the forefront of biomedical research," Collins said in the letter.

Jeremy Berg, who directed the National Institute for General Medical Sciences from 2003 to 2011, also served as chair of the biophysics and biophysical chemistry department at Hopkins and hired Lorsch as a professor there. He said he was impressed by Lorsch's ability to come up with creative solutions to problems and to balance people's needs when making decisions.

"That's what I saw in him at Hopkins, and I think that's exactly the right skill for an institute director," said Berg, now a professor at the University of Pittsburgh.

Berg said the biggest obstacles the director of the institute faces are having to deal with a scientific mission that's relatively broad and choosing what gets funded. Grant proposals are reviewed by groups of scientists who make recommendations, and the proposals then come back to program directors at the institute for consideration. The institute officials give final approval as to what projects get funded and at what levels.

"In this environment," Berg said, "there are probably three times as many applications they think are absolutely worth funding than they have funds to support."

As the science community deals with a lack of resources, Lorsch said his philosophy is to make sure scientists are driving what gets funded. Officials at the institute get excited about projects, he said, but because scientists are the people with experience in the field, they have a better idea about where big breakthroughs will come from.

"I think we have to manage models we're using, making sure taxpayers are getting the most bang for their buck," Lorsch said.

amatas@baltsun.com

baltimoresun.com

Spring heat rises in Baltimore, and so does city violence

Link between heat and crime has been studied, debated for years

By Justin George and Alison Matas, The Baltimore Sun

7:53 PM EDT, April 11, 2013

As record heat baked Baltimore, a wave of violence unfurled across the city: six shootings and eight people wounded over a period of less than eight hours.

The first shots were fired around dinnertime Wednesday, and the violence continued until after 2 a.m. Thursday. Police have no suspects in any of the crimes — which included two double shootings — and believe the seven wounded men and one injured woman will survive.

Several academic studies of crime suggest that it's no coincidence that the outburst of violence came as the temperature at the Inner Harbor hit 96 degrees. Researchers have debated the subject for years, but those who see a link say warmer weather drives people from their homes and into potential conflicts.

"One of the things in Baltimore is there's not a lot of air conditioning, so people move outside," said Phil Leaf, associate director of the Johns Hopkins Urban Health Institute. "The more you have different people interacting, the more chance you have for beefs."

Baltimore police say they don't need statistics to tell them what they already know from patrolling the same city streets as winter turns to spring and summer.

"We can all look at seasons of the moon and we can look at the weather," police spokesman Anthony Guglielmi said. "But if you ask a cop what their gut feelings are, yeah, things get crazy when it gets hot outside. "What we do know is when the weather's warm, people go outside."

The National Weather Service reported a high temperature of 91 degrees at BWI-Marshall Airport on Wednesday, which broke a 91-year record. And a reading at the Inner Harbor hit 96 degrees, which tied Port Isabel, Texas, for the highest temperature in the United States on Wednesday.

It was one of the most violent nights recorded in the city so far this year.

Police are not overreacting to Wednesday night's shootings, Guglielmi said, but are working to "drill down" into each incident, looking for connections to gangs and drugs and developing sources that help police get in front of any retribution.

But the warm weather does mean police are shifting strategies. That includes shuffling schedules for patrol and plainclothes officers and even permitting officers to wear short-sleeve uniform shirts — an annual changeover that started Monday.

On the streets where the wounded were hauled away in ambulances overnight, people speculated Thursday on the causes of the violence. "I don't know," said Meechie Thornton, 53, just half a block up from the intersection of West Fayette and North Stricker streets where a man was shot in the left side while sitting in a car. "They just go buck wild."

Thornton sat on the step of a brick rowhouse on Fayette Street talking to Kenyatta Player, 34, who wore a summer dress and sunglasses in the warm breeze.

"When it gets hot, people are crazy," Player said. As she spoke, a car screeched up the street.

"See? That made no sense whatsoever."

Researchers have tried to make some sense of the connection between heat and violence.

Psychologists at Florida International University looked at crime reports in Minneapolis for a 2000 study and found crime was more prevalent during the summer than in other seasons.

Similarly, a 2010 study conducted through Kent State University found that violent crime in Cleveland increased as temperatures rose.

Craig Anderson, who directs the Iowa State University's Center for the Study of Violence, has also studied the relationship between temperature and crime. He said heat tends to make people cranky, which can amplify minor provocations.

People also become more likely to retaliate. That can turn into a cycle, he said, and it doesn't take much to see a big effect on crime statistics.

He helped conduct a 2010 study that showed that as temperatures rise, so do people's tempers. The research examined the impact climate change could have on violent crime.

Using data from 1950 to 2008, the professors predicted that if the country's annual average temperature were to increase by 8 degrees, the number of murders and assaults would jump by 34 per 100,000 people.

Others have said the relationship between crime and temperature is complex.

James Alan Fox, a professor of criminology at Northeastern University, studied daily crime counts and temperatures in Columbus, Ohio, for a year. He discovered crime did increase with the temperature but only to a point. Once it got too hot, crime reports dropped again.

He wrote in 2010 that crime was highest when temperatures were hovering in the mid-80s, but petered out as temperatures climbed into the 90s.

He also found temperature had the greatest impact on crimes outside of the home.

Most of the overnight incidents in Baltimore took place outside, Guglielmi said.

But some research has raised questions about the link between heat and murder in the city.

A 1995 article published in the *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* looked at crime in Baltimore over a period of eight years to see whether temperature had a direct influence on the number of killings. The study found that "homicide in Baltimore is a surprisingly consistent — or constant — process, showing little or no variation on many temporal factors important at the national level."

On Thursday, in a home in the 800 block of Arnold Court in the Gay Street neighborhood, two women sat on a back porch speculating what may have prompted a shooting in their complex. They blamed the drug dealers who seem to proliferate in their alleys when it's warm.

"It's not even summertime and they're already outside, selling their damn weed and all that mess," said a woman who declined to give her name because the shooter has not been caught. "They stand out in front of your doors. You ask them to leave, they give you mouth."

The woman said she saw paramedics rolling the wounded man in Wednesday's shooting into an ambulance. All the while, she said, the man kept saying, "Please, just give me some cold water."

The woman looked at her friend and said, "Bullets are hot, I believe."

Baltimore Sun reporters Scott Dance, Kevin Rector and Carrie Wells contributed to this article.

jgeorge@baltsun.com twitter.com/justingorge

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Winter storm warning canceled, leaving only slight snow accumulations

By [Scott Dance](#), The Baltimore Sun

4:36 PM EST, March 6, 2013

Expectations of a storm to bring the heaviest snow in at least two years for the region have been dialed back as the National Weather Service has canceled its winter storm warning. High winds and wet roads remain a concern.

Check here for live blog updates on conditions and forecasts.

4:36 p.m.: Weather service meteorologists are no longer expecting any meaningful wintry precipitation Wednesday night, lifting the winter weather advisory for much of Central Maryland. Concerns remain over high winds in the Baltimore area and dangerous conditions along the coast, however, with rough surf and some rescues needed.

One fisherman has been rescued and two are missing in the waters 15 miles east of Assateague Island, the Coast Guard reported Wednesday afternoon.

The Coast Guard received a distress signal at 10:39 a.m. from the 67-foot fishing boat, Seafarer, which was disabled and being towed by a sister vessel when the line parted in 40-mph winds and 12-foot seas.

An MH-60 Jayhawk helicopter dispatched from Coast Guard Air Station Elizabeth City, N.C., found one man on a life raft and rescued him. The unidentified man was taken to Peninsula Regional Medical Center in Salisbury.

The Coast Guard has deployed a 47-foot rescue boat from Station Chincoteague to continue the search.

Ocean City officials warned of higher-than-normal tides and beach erosion, with rough surf and wind gusts up to 50 mph through the evening.

A wind advisory was in effect until 11 p.m. for much of central and southern Maryland, with winds gusting to 45-50 mph expected.

2:40 p.m.: Odds for any late snow accumulations are waning, meaning what relatively few flakes have fallen across the region are likely to be all that's coming, according to one weather service forecaster.

The weather service canceled its winter storm warnings for the region about 2:30 p.m., replacing them with a winter weather advisory.

"We were expecting the cold air from out west to move in and modify the air mass over Central Maryland and give you some accumulating snow in the afternoon and evening, but it appears it won't move in fast enough," said Calvin Meadows, a meteorological technician in the weather service's Sterling, Va., office. "The low is going to move away before that happens."

Snowfall totals around the region have not budged far from where they stood late Wednesday morning, with about 4 inches across northern Baltimore and Carroll counties, an inch or two in Howard County and just a trace at BWI Marshall Airport, according to weather service reports.

AccuWeather.com meteorologist Bernie Rayno, who acknowledged getting a lot of spiteful messages on Twitter from snow lovers, said he is still holding out some hope for snow showers over Central Maryland [in a video posted Wednesday afternoon](#). But the earlier calls for as much as 8-10 inches across the Baltimore area were clearly no longer in the cards.

Strong winds were meanwhile expected to continue. The Maryland Transportation Authority shut down the Bay Bridge because of high winds.

1:07 p.m.: Given widespread school and office closures, the scant precipitation made for an awkward snow day for many.

In downtown [Towson](#), the only difference from any other nasty afternoon was a lack of bustling bodies. Some businesses made the best of the lack of snow.

At bakery La Cakerie in Towson, shop owners were prepared for a quiet day but decided to offer a limited menu and shortened hours. They took to social media to ensure that everyone who had to trudge to work today would be rewarded.

Shop co-owner Jason Hisley said the shop offered two cupcakes for the price of one and free coffee to those who did trek into Towson.

"It was a good thing to do for the community," Hisley said. "The people that had to go to work, at least they got a cupcake and a coffee."

12:35 p.m.: With more rain than snow in many areas, a coastal flood advisory has been enacted for Anne Arundel and Calvert counties. Snowfall accumulation forecasts have meanwhile been slashed again across Central Maryland.

The weather service is forecasting 4-6 inches from Baltimore to Washington, D.C. High tides on the western shore of the Chesapeake are expected to be 1.5 to 2 feet above normal this afternoon.

The storm is still carrying some intensity, with reports of thundersnow in the Washington suburbs and a special weather statement cautioning of heavy rain and up to 55 mph winds on the Eastern Shore.

The weather service reaffirmed a winter storm warning in effect for the Baltimore area about noon, saying chances for 4-8 inches of snow across the region remain through Wednesday evening. The warning is in effect through 3 a.m. Thursday.

11:10 a.m.: Some reports of light snow were made around Baltimore City via Twitter. Strong winds were meanwhile reported.

Breezes of about 20 mph with gusts of 30 mph have been reported at BWI since 8 a.m., while a buoy on the Chesapeake

Bay at the mouth of the Patapsco river recorded gusts of 45 mph.

BGE reported about 200 power outages at 10:45 a.m., with more than 250 restored.

Snowfall totals reached 2.5 inches near Cockeyville and 3 inches near Clarksville, according to weather service reports.

10:46 a.m.: Light snow was reported at BWI Marshall Airport, with a temperature of 37 degrees. About a third of an inch of liquid precipitation has fallen at the airport since about 1 a.m.

With rain still falling in Baltimore City and along the I-95 corridor, it may not be until 4 p.m. or later that precipitation could change over to snow, [Foot's Forecast suggests](#).

10:13 a.m.: WBAL-TV meteorologist Tom Tasselmyer [posted a helpful explanation on Twitter](#) of what is keeping precipitation rainy for Baltimore City -- a warm easterly flow of air. While north and northwest winds are blowing to our west and south, warmer air from the coast is circulating into Central Maryland, he explained.

Once winds shift to the northwest, bringing colder air to Central Maryland, snowfall is expected in the area this afternoon and evening, forecasters said. But the delay is likely to pare back accumulations significantly.

9:43 a.m.: Snow has yet to materialize in downtown Baltimore, and the delay has forecasters again cutting back on accumulation totals. The National Weather Service was calling for 4-6 inches close to the bay in Baltimore and Anne Arundel counties, with 6-8 inches still possible west of I-95 and 8-10 inches in Carroll County.

In Carroll, 5 inches of snow was measured in Manchester, and 4.3 inches near Westminster. Close to 3 inches was on the ground in Parkton in northern Baltimore County, while earlier totals of an inch or two in Howard County remained unchanged.

8:42 a.m.: Heavier bands of snow were moving through the Washington, D.C., area as the storm intensified. Rain over the I-95 corridor was expected to change into snow in the morning hours, with snow accumulation totals cut slightly for areas closest to the Chesapeake Bay.

The National Weather Service was still forecasting 8-10 inches for areas north and west of I-95, with 4-6 inches forecast to the east and south, including Anne Arundel, southeastern Baltimore and Harford counties.

Local meteorologist "Eric the Red" said that although the storm has yet to intensify and show its heaviest snowfalls, expectations of accumulations may need to be cut to 1-3 inches east of I-95, 2-6 inches in Baltimore and the surrounding suburbs and 4-8 inches further north and west.

7:58 a.m.: Winds have already been gusting heavily, but power outages are minimal so far with only light snow coating trees so far.

Gusts of 25-30 mph have been recorded every hour since 4 a.m. at BWI Marshall Airport, according to the National Weather Service. Baltimore Gas and Electric Co. was reporting 131 customers without power as of 7:45 a.m.

At BWI, airlines are still operating flights though there were a number of canceled flights with impacts from the storm being felt across the Midwest and East. There were no unusual lines at the airport Wednesday morning, and many airlines relaxed ticket change policies, said BWI spokesman Jonathan Dean.

"To this point in the early morning hours conditions at BWI are mostly just wet," Dean said. "The airport's snow removal team has been planning and preparing for several days. The airport employees have been here all night and are prepared to clear runways and taxiways as needed."

7:22 a.m.: Light snow had already fallen by daybreak across many areas west of I-95. In Westminster, 2 inches had fallen, with 2.5 reported in Eldersburg, 1.6 inches in Columbia and 3.5 inches in Frederick. Lighter totals were reported to the east, with half an inch in Middle River.

The prospect of more snow had many offices and governments around the region closed. That included the federal government. State government employees were

granted liberal leave, along with employees of Baltimore City and Baltimore, Harford and Howard counties. Offices were closed in Carroll County.

Government offices in Anne Arundel County are open and functioning regularly Wednesday -- making them the exception in the region. Annapolis government offices were meanwhile delayed 2 hours opening with a liberal leave policy, and the Maryland General Assembly's schedule was unchanged.

6:00 a.m.: Snow was expected to begin early Wednesday morning, possibly starting as rain or a wintry mix. Forecasts as of late Tuesday were calling for 6-12 inches of accumulation across the region, with the highest totals to the northwest of Interstate 95, according to the National Weather Service.

Blustery winds were meanwhile expected, with breezes of 15-25 mph and gusts of 35 mph or greater. The weather service cautioned that could mean poor visibility with blowing snow, and combined with snow-covered roads could make for treacherous travel.

A winter storm warning was in effect for all of Central Maryland through 3 a.m. Thursday. While earlier forecasts had called for lighter accumulations south and east of I-95, forecasts as of late Tuesday included Baltimore and points west and south in an area that could see 8-10 inches.

The snow was forecast to be wet and heavy, causing concerns of power outages from downed trees and tree limbs. Baltimore Gas and Electric Co. officials said they were preparing for the possibility of hundreds of thousands of power outages.

The forecast spurred a flurry of activity Tuesday among everyone from first responders to utilities to school districts. For more details on storm preparations, read [this morning's print edition story](#).

The snow was expected to continue through Wednesday evening. To view the latest snowfall forecasts from the weather service, [visit its winter storm page](#).

Baltimore Sun Media Group reporters Kevin Rector, Alison Matas, Candy Thomson and Jon Meoli contributed to this report.

Have a weather question? Contact me:

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

baltimoresun.com

Rapper 2 Chainz arrested on Eastern Shore, takes photo with troopers

By [Justin Fenton](#), The Baltimore Sun

4:57 PM EST, February 15, 2013

Maryland State Police said they arrested Grammy-nominated rapper 2 Chainz on a drug citation following a Thursday traffic stop on his way to perform at a homecoming event at the University of Maryland Eastern Shore.

The rapper, whose real name is Tauheed Epps, tweeted about the incident and posted a photo of himself standing with two unidentified state troopers. Gregory Shipley, a spokesman for the state police, told The Baltimore Sun that the incident is under review.

Troopers pulled over a white Ford van for going 79 miles per hour in a 55 mile per hour zone at the intersection of Route 50 and Rabbit Hill Road at about 9:20 p.m., said Sgt. Marc Black, a state police spokesman. Black said police smelled an odor of burnt marijuana, and conducted a probable cause search where they found a backpack containing a grinder with trace amounts of marijuana.

Black said Epps claimed ownership of the backpack and was arrested and issued a citation for possession of marijuana and drug paraphernalia.

Epps tweeted about the experience, writing that a member of his entourage said the suspected drugs belonged to him but that Epps was arrested anyway. "They said, he [the entourage member] don't smoke," Epps wrote. "How da [expletive] u know?"

The photo, meanwhile, had been "liked" on photo-sharing site Instagram nearly 45,000 times by Friday afternoon.

"Locked me up then wanted pictures," he wrote on Twitter.

It was unclear who had the idea to take the picture. Sen. Richard F. Colburn, a Republican who represents Talbot County in the General Assembly, said it would be "poor judgment" if the officers initiated it.

Still, he wondered why Epps chose to publicize the image.

"It's not a glorious thing to be arrested," he said. "It will [probably promote] sales for 2 Chainz to promote advertisement of his arrest. It's hard for me to understand why anybody would want to do that."

Black said there is "no specific policy, per se" about officers taking pictures with people they arrest. "But we're looking at it administratively to see if anything should be pursued," Black said.

He said Epps had not filed a complaint about the incident and police have no contact since last night with him or his group. Epps' publicist said he would not be available for comment about the incident.

He continued to tweet about the ordeal and still made it to his performance at the university.

"I work hard and pray even harder , we gone always b good yall...." he wrote. "Not to mention my security said it was his and they said , he don't smoke ,, how ... u know? Haha wut a valentines day!!!"

The rapper was also arrested at LaGuardia Airport last May and charged with fourth-degree criminal possession of a weapon when TSA agents found what they believed to be brass knuckles in his carry-on. His friend Big Sean said

that they weren't brass knuckles but a "4 finger ring that spelled hood" that 2 Chainz had been wearing at a shoot the day before.

2 Chainz was nominated for best rap song, rap album and rap performance at Sunday's Grammys Awards.

Baltimore Sun reporter Alison Matas and the Los Angeles Times contributed to this article.

jfenton@balt.sun.com

[Text NEWS to 70701 to get Baltimore Sun local news text alerts](#)

Copyright © 2013, [The Baltimore Sun](#)

This is a timeline I constructed for an interactive portion of the gay and lesbian page on the website.

Leon's opens

1957

Leon's, thought to be Baltimore's oldest continuously operated gay bar, opened at the corner of Park Avenue and Tyson Street. It's known for its tight quarters and cheap drinks on Sundays.

<http://www2.citypaper.com/special/story.asp?id=13743>

<http://www.baltimoresun.com/entertainment/music/midnight-sun-blog/bal-50-best-bars-pg.0,5282229.photogallery>

John Waters, Divine debut first feature film

March 14, 1969

"Mondo Trasho," a movie shot in Baltimore about a hit-and-run driver, starred Divine, singer, actor and drag queen. This was the first full-length film Waters and Divine made together, along with a group of actors dubbed the Dreamlanders.

<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0064683/>

First Baltimore Pride Celebration

1975

The festival, held in Druid Lake Park, draws a crowd of about 30,000 each year. It's considered the largest LGBTQ event in Maryland.

First issue of Gay Life publishes

September 1977

Gay Life, a product of the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender Community Center of Baltimore and Central Maryland, publishes in Baltimore and covers news and local events. The center distributes about 10,000 newspapers every month across the mid-Atlantic area.

<http://www.baltimoregaylife.com/about-us>

Chase Brexton clinic opens

1978

The gay health clinic, which was volunteer-run, opened in Mount Vernon in 1978. The clinic now has locations in Easton, Randallstown and Columbia.

http://chasebrexton.org/about_us/history/

Baltimore judge writes first opinion about same-sex adoption

1996

Judge Kathleen O'Ferrall Friedman gave a lesbian couple custody over each other's children. Maryland's adoption laws don't address same-sex adoption, so it's up to the judge to decide. Baltimore's courts, according to adoption lawyers, are the best bet for same-sex parents.

<http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-gay-adoptions-20111111,0,6750235.story?page=1>

Baltimore judge rules same-gender sexual activity not illegal

Oct. 16, 1998

Circuit Judge Richard T. Rombro decided Maryland's anti-sodomy laws violated the constitutional rights of people who are gay. The ruling was considered a victory because it treated heterosexual and homosexual couples the same.

http://lalypsav01.tila.trb:8080/Save/classic/doc?docid=18340430&q=sodomy%20law%20Maryland%20gay&stem=false&spaceop=AND&ttype=xsl&tval=bs_headline&pos=25&hn=26&pubAbbrev=tribune&dtokey=secafsgvviacacrmv#anchor18340430

Del. Maggie McIntosh becomes first openly gay person in General Assembly

October 2001

Del. Maggie McIntosh, D-Baltimore, was elected in 1992 and disclosed that she is gay during a speech in 2001. She was the first openly gay Maryland legislator and is credited with being the driving force behind the passage of the state's marriage equality law.

http://lalypsav01.tila.trb:8080/Save/classic/doc?docid=18654059&q=Del.%20Maggie%20McIntosh,%20gay&stem=false&spaceop=AND&ttype=xsl&tval=bs_headline&pos=25&hn=26&pubAbbrev=tribune&dtokey=hatddvgliovbggonqjxb#anchor18654059

Chrissy Lee Polis attacked in hate crime at Rosedale McDonald's

April 18, 2011

Polis, a 22-year-old transgender woman, was repeatedly kicked and punched in the head when she tried to use a women's restroom at the Baltimore County restaurant. Teonna Monae Brown, 18, pleaded guilty and was sentenced to 10 years in prison with all but five years suspended. The other assailant, a 15-year-old girl, was found responsible in juvenile court.

http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2011-05-16/news/bs-md-co-mcondalds-hate-crime-20110516_1_crime-charge-sandy-rawls-baltimore-county-grand-jury

Voters approve same-sex marriage in Maryland

Nov. 7, 2012

Maryland became the seventh state to allow same-sex marriage in November 2012. The law's victory followed a celebrity-studded fundraising campaign that included swanky parties in Manhattan, San Francisco, Arizona and Colorado, all headed up by Gov. Martin O'Malley.

<http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/politics/bs-md-same-sex-ballot-20121106,0,442750.story>

First legal same-sex marriage ceremonies in Maryland

Jan. 1, 2013

Couples jumped at the chance to get married just after midnight Jan. 1. Baltimore City Hall opened for weddings, and many people invited officiants into their homes to hold early morning ceremonies.

<http://www.baltimoresun.com/news/maryland/baltimore-city/bs-md-first-same-sex-marriages-20121231,0,1749686.story>

Below are a few screenshots of some of the pivot tables and basic spreadsheets I compiled for several data projects, as these articles have not published yet:

Workers' compensation claims — Anne Arundel pivot tables

	A	B	C	D
1				
2				
3	Count of Cause			
4	Cause	Total		
5	Abdomen -	1		
6	Abdomen - - Bites - Insect	2		
7	Abdomen - - Contusion, Crushing, Bruise	6		
8	Abdomen - - Cut, Laceration, Puncture	2		
9	Abdomen - - Flying Objects	1		
10	Abdomen - - Hernia, Rupture	1		
11	Abdomen - - Multiple	1		
12	Abdomen - - Not Injured	4		
13	Abdomen - - Not Otherwise Classified	3		
14	Abdomen - - Sprains, Strains	9		
15	Ankle (Left) -	5		
16	Ankle (Left) - - Bites - Animal	1		
17	Ankle (Left) - - Contusion, Crushing, Bruise	5		
18	Ankle (Left) - - Cut, Laceration, Puncture	2		
19	Ankle (Left) - - Fracture	2		
20	Ankle (Left) - - Not Otherwise Classified	1		
21	Ankle (Left) - - Sprains, Strains	54		
22	Ankle (Right) -	5		
23	Ankle (Right) - - Bites - Insect	1		
24	Ankle (Right) - - Contusion, Crushing, Bruise	9		
25	Ankle (Right) - - Cut, Laceration, Puncture	1		
26	Ankle (Right) - - Fracture	5		
27	Ankle (Right) - - Multiple	1		
28	Ankle (Right) - - Not Otherwise Classified	1		
29	Ankle (Right) - - Sprains, Strains	65		
30	Arm (Left) -	4		
31	Arm (Left) - - Bites - Animal	2		
32	Arm (Left) - - Bites - Human	22		
33	Arm (Left) - - Bites - Insect	9		
34	Arm (Left) - - Burn - Heat	3		
35	Arm (Left) - - Burn - Scald	1		
36	Arm (Left) - - Carpal Tunnel	1		
37	Arm (Left) - - Contusion, Crushing, Bruise	28		
38	Arm (Left) - - Cut, Laceration, Puncture	13		
39	Arm (Left) - - Electrical Shock	1		
40	Arm (Left) - - Exposure(Disease)	1		
41	Arm (Left) - - Fracture	2		
42	Arm (Left) - - Multiple	1		
43	Arm (Left) - - Scrapes, Abrasions	1		
44	Arm (Left) - - Scratch	15		
45	Arm (Left) - - Sprains, Strains	25		
46	Arm (Right) -	6		

Workers' compensation claims — Harford pivot tables

	A	B	C
1			
2			
3	Count of Department		
4	Department	Total	
5	1ST DIST-ABINGDON	2	
6	2ND DIST- N FOUNTAIN GRN	1	
7	3RD DIST-WHITEFORD	1	
8	4TH DIST-JARRETTSVILLE	5	
9	ABINGDON WTP	6	
10	ANIMAL CONTROL	1	
11	BRIDGE CREW	1	
12	BUILDING MAINTENANCE	2	
13	BUR CONST INSP	1	
14	BUR SOLID WASTE	9	
15	CAPITAL PROJECTS	1	
16	COMMUNITY WORK SERVICES	1	
17	CONSTRUCTION CREW	1	
18	DETENTION CENTER	12	
19	DRAINAGE CREW	2	
20	ELECTION OFFICE	1	
21	EXECUTIVE OFFICE	1	
22	FALLSTON MAINTENANCE SHOP	11	
23	FIRE/EMS/911 DISPATCHERS	1	
24	GROUNDS MAINTENANCE	1	
25	HOUSING DIR/OFFICE	1	
26	JUDGES/STAFF	1	
27	MAINT (PHILA ROAD)	5	
28	METERS (PHILA ROAD)	1	
29	PLUMBING SERVICES	1	
30	SEALING CREW	2	
31	SHERIFF'S OFC NORTHERN PRECINCT	9	
32	SHERIFF'S OFC SOUTHERN PRECINCT (NEW)	1	
33	SHERIFF'S OFC SOUTHERN PRECINCT (OLD)	15	
34	SHERIFF'S OFFICE	48	
35	SOD RUN WWTP	4	
36	TRAFFIC PAINT	1	
37	TRANSPORTATION	3	
38	Grand Total	153	
39			
40			
41			
42			

Baltimore city expenditure data — vendor payments

Baltimore%20City%20Ve				
New Open Save Print Import Copy Paste Format Undo Redo AutoSum Sort A-Z Sort Z-A Gallery Tool				
			Sheets	Charts
	A	D	E	F
1	VENDOR	PAYMENT	CATEGORY	NOTES
2	Fru-Con Construction	\$53,904,156.50	construction	
3	Washington Gas Energy Svcs, Inc.	\$26,478,680.45	electric/gas	
4	BGE	\$22,181,319.73	electric/gas	
5	Synagro	\$21,677,590.96	trash/recycling	
6	Allan A. Myers, LP/American Infrastructure	\$21,458,612.84	construction	
7	P Flanigan & Sons Inc	\$20,896,372.81	construction	
8	Associated Black Charities	\$18,793,472	nonprofit	
9	Monumental Paving Co Inc	\$17,701,437.53	construction	
0	Veolia Transportation Services Inc	\$16,885,831.64	transportation	
1	Spiniello Companies	\$16,787,093.90	construction	
2	Ulliman Schutte	\$15,787,241.40	construction	
3	Visit Baltimore	\$15,698,964	marketing	
4	M. Luis Construction Co., Inc	\$14,236,584.88	construction	
5	Cruz Contractors, LLC	\$13,501,836.90	construction	
6	Xerox State and Local Solutions, Inc. /ACS	\$12,709,481.88	administrative	
7	Verizon/Verizon Wireless	\$10,834,049.27	phone/Internet	
8	Wheelabrator Baltimore Lp	\$9,664,076.03	trash/recycling	
9	Kci Technologies Inc	\$9,370,626.18	construction	joint venture
0	City Of Baltimore Development Corp	\$9,278,851	nonprofit	
1	Allied Contractors Inc	\$9,154,317.38	construction	
2	Whitman,Requardt & Assoc	\$8,795,741.92	construction	split w/Mirmiran
3	Bny Mellon	\$8,500,000.00	investment	
4	Rummel, Klepper & Kahl, LLP	\$8,092,332.99	construction	
5	The Family League Of Baltimore City Inc	\$7,218,003	nonprofit	
6	Johnson,Mirmiran & Thompson	\$6,478,926.32	construction	split with Whitman
7	Baltimore Health Care Access	\$6,291,037.50	health care	
8	R.e. Harrington	\$6,046,824.78	plumbing/heating	
9	Johns Hopkins University	\$5,910,486.68	university	
0	Whiting-Turner Contracting Co	\$5,734,435.69	construction	
1	MWH Americas / EA Eng, Science & Tech	\$5,120,803	construction	
2	Civil Construction Llc	\$4,853,605.25	construction	
3	Xerox Corporation	\$4,758,626.06	supplies	
4	Concrete General, Inc.	\$4,527,497	construction	
5	Parking Authority Of Balto	\$4,501,892.76	transportation	
6	East Baltimore Development	\$4,337,547.28	nonprofit	
7	Maryland Industrial Trucks	\$4,241,378.44	construction	
8	Uplands	\$4,101,624.21	construction	
9	Machado Construction Co Inc	\$3,980,871.19	construction	

I have also included notes from some data-driven stories I worked on that have not published yet.

Notes from analysis of county executive's cell phone records

443-307-9777

Bel Air, phone appears to belong to B. Casiano, but I can't figure out who that is.

This is the number that shows up most on the phone records, sometimes with multiple calls between Craig and this number daily. There were quite a few when Craig was in Florida in August, many of them late at night:

6/26/12 10:48 p.m.

6/29/12 9:27 p.m.

7/4/12 7:10 p.m., 7:27 p.m., 7:29 p.m., 7:36 p.m., 10:31 p.m.

7/6/12 9:08 p.m.

7/14/12 9:06 p.m., 10 p.m.

8/26/12 10:44 p.m.

8/28/12 9:49 p.m., 10:46 p.m., 11:56 p.m.

8/29/12 11:30 p.m.

8/31/12 12:38 a.m.

9/24/12 9:30 p.m., 10:46 p.m.

10/5/12 8:37 p.m.

10/10/12 6:11 p.m., 6:13 p.m., 6:55 p.m., 8:47 p.m.

10/24/12 9:10 p.m.

11/6/12 (election night) 8:11 p.m., 8:23 p.m., 8:56 p.m., 9:42 p.m., 11:13 p.m.

410-939-5561

Jessica B. Craig, Randolph Emerson Craig – David's son and daughter-in-law
Almost all calls to this number were made after work hours and lasted at least 20 minutes:

8/7/12 9:13 p.m., 25 minutes

9/6/12 8:52 p.m., 23 minutes

9/19/12 9:27 p.m., 37 minutes

10/17/12 8:17 p.m., 21 minutes

11/14/12 5:50 p.m., 25 minutes

11/30/12 6:28 p.m., 17 minutes

410-939-8249

David Tramontana, Craig's son-in-law who's married to his daughter Courtney
 Craig called this number at night frequently during November and made calls to this
 number during the work day. None of the calls really lasted more than five minutes, but
 he did call/receive calls from this number at least 25 times by my count.

--There are a handful of other late-night phone calls, but many of them are to cell phones
 I can only find last names associated with.

Notes from analysis of workers' compensation data across the state

DEPTS MAKING CLAIMS MOST OFTEN:

(Depts with more than 100 claims and grand totals of all claims made, not necessarily paid)

Howard

Fire: 320

Police: 194

Public Works: 152

Rec and Parks: 109

TOTAL: 966

Harford (none with 100+, so these are top 2)

Sheriff's Office: 48

Sheriff's Office Southern Precinct (old): 15

TOTAL: 153 (we only received list of paid claims)

Baltimore

Police, 2,471

Schools: 1,679

Fire: 819

Transportation: 777

PW Solid Waste: 522

PW Water/Waste Water: 478

Other agencies: 209

Rec and Parks: 156

Health: 146

General Services: 100

TOTAL: 7,418

Carroll (none with 100+, so these are top 2)

Detention Center: 35

Roads Admin: 31

TOTAL: 190

Anne Arundel

Superintendent of Schools: 1,813

Police Dept: 475

Fire Dept: 416

Public Works: 163

TOTAL: 3,251

Prince George's

Board of Education: 3,017

Police: 797

Fire/EMS: 646

Corrections: 209

DPW&T: 142

Sheriff: 137

TOTAL: 5,351

MOST COMMON INJURY TYPES /ACIDENT TYPES REPORTED:

Howard

Injury/result of detainee: 91

Cut/puncture/scrap contact with object: 86

Harford

doesn't give body part injured or standard activity description, but, anecdotally, it looks like most accidents involved a vehicle or slipping/falling/stepping off something wrong

Baltimore

Vehicle accidents: 1,239

Overexertion: 826

Falls same level: 778

Altercation/assault: 646

Altercation/assault/student not crime: 595

Carroll

Sprain: 42

Anne Arundel

Back—sprains, strains: 221

Prince George's

Fall: 712

Altercation, assault: 421

Lifting: 308

Exposure: 290

Struck against: 202

Struck by/falling, flying: 270

OTHER STUFF

Howard—most common injury claims by department (don't know how many of these were paid)

Public Works: cut/puncture/scrape: 20

Fire: absorption/ingestion/inhalation: 41 and training/exercise: 42

Police: injury result of detainee: 55

Harford—most common injury claims by department (data say these all were paid)

I made a table to look at the injuries sheriffs reported to receive payment, and they run the gamut—smelling weird odors, getting bitten by something, getting in an accident, spraining fingers, getting knocked down by detainees...

Harford—most common injury claims to receive payment

(like I said in previous section) Harford doesn't give body part injured or standard activity description, but, anecdotally, it looks like most accidents involved a vehicle or slipping/falling/stepping off something wrong

Baltimore—most common injury claims to receive payment

Vehicle accidents: 681 (about 24 percent of all paid claims)

Overexertion: 372 (about 13 percent of all paid claims)

Falls/same level: 285 (about 10 percent of all paid claims)

Assault/altercation: 256 (about 9 percent of all paid claims)

TOTAL PAID CLAIMS: 2,863

Baltimore—department most likely to get payment for claims

Police: 1,127 (almost 40 percent)

Fire: 483 (about 17 percent)

Schools: 455 (about 16 percent)

Carroll—most common indemnity claim

Sprains: 16

TOTAL: 35

Carroll—department with most indemnity claims

Roads admin: 9

Anne Arundel

We don't know many of these were paid, and there are 250+ causes listed, so it's tough even to discern what depts made what kinds of claims most often.

Prince George's—most common indemnity claim

Fall: 281 (about 12 percent of total indemnity)

Vehicle accidents: 218 (about 9 percent of total indemnity)

Altercation, assault: 190 (8 percent)

Lifting: 188 (8 percent)

Exposure: 161 (about 7 percent)

TOTAL: 2,309

Prince George's—departments with most indemnity claims

Board of Education: 1,023 (made up 44 percent of total indemnity claims for the county.

Also, this means about one-third of the total claims the BOE made were indemnity claims, which seems higher than other depts to me) 182 of the indemnity claims were falls and 112 were assaults/altercations

Police: 603 (26 percent) 113 of these were vehicle accidents, 58 were assaults

Fire: 326 (14 percent) 67 were exposure, 59 were lifting

Below are all the Maryland Public Information Act requests I filed during my project.



501 N. Calvert Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21278
tel: 410/332-6000

Eric Solomon
Director of Communications
Department of Juvenile Services

Jan. 28, 2013

Dear Mr. Solomon:

I am filing a request, pursuant to Maryland's Public Information Act, as amended, State Government Article 10-611 to 10-628, for access to:

A blank medical intake form used during a juvenile's initial evaluation

A database/spreadsheet from January 2012 to the present that tracks incarcerated youth and denotes whether they were exposed to lead paint before entering the juvenile system

I would like to review these records as soon as can be arranged. The provisions of the Public Information Act require that access to public records be provided promptly upon the receipt of a written PIA request, unless specific circumstances apply that then allow for a delay not to exceed 30 days.

As you know, the state public information laws provide that if portions of a document are exempt from release, the remainder must be segregated and disclosed. Therefore, I expect you to provide me with all nonexempt portions of the records I have requested, and ask that you justify any deletions by reference to specific exemptions of the PIA that you believe are applicable.

I also request that fees for reviewing and copying these materials be waived, as is permitted in cases where release of the records services the public interest.

If information is readily available in electronic form, I would like to receive it via email. The PIA requires that information that is clearly a public record be made available immediately, upon request.

I am making this request in my capacity as a reporter for The Baltimore Sun. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Alison Matas
410-332-6717
amatas@baltsun.com

501 N. Calvert Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21278
tel: 410/332-6000



THE BALTIMORE SUN
A T R I B U N E P U B L I S H I N G C O M P A N Y

Beverly Carter
Court Administrator
Circuit Court for Baltimore City

March 4, 2013

Dear Ms. Carter:

I am filing a request, pursuant to Maryland's Public Information Act, as amended, State Government Article 10-611 to 10-628, for access to:

documentation, such as itemized receipts or purchase orders, detailing the following purchases made by the circuit court during 2012:

Always Ginga Fit, Baltimore, April, \$125
Robinhood Paintball, Havre de Grace, May, \$595
Jay's Catering, Baltimore, March, \$1,127.50
Flourjohns Catering, Baltimore, January, \$286.20
Flourjohns Catering, Baltimore, May, \$280
Flourjohns Catering, Baltimore, June, \$174
David and Dad's, Baltimore, January, \$494.50
David and Dad's, Baltimore, November, \$252.40

I would like to review these records as soon as can be arranged. The provisions of the Public Information Act require that access to public records be provided promptly upon the receipt of a written PIA request, unless specific circumstances apply that then allow for a delay not to exceed 30 days.

As you know, the state public information laws provide that if portions of a document are exempt from release, the remainder must be segregated and disclosed. Therefore, I expect you to provide me with all nonexempt portions of the records I have requested, and ask that you justify any deletions by reference to specific exemptions of the PIA that you believe are applicable.

I also request that fees for reviewing and copying these materials be waived, as is permitted in cases where release of the records services the public interest.

If information is readily available in electronic form, I would like to receive it via email. The PIA requires that information that is clearly a public record be made available immediately, upon request.

If any part of this request is unclear, please feel free to reach me at 410-332-6717 or amatas@baltsun.com.

I am making this request in my capacity as a reporter for The Baltimore Sun. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Alison Matas



THE BALTIMORE SUN

A T R I B U N E P U B L I S H I N G C O M P A N Y

Kevin Cartwright
Public Information Officer
Baltimore City Fire Department

March 4, 2013

Dear Officer Cartwright:

I am filing a request, pursuant to Maryland's Public Information Act, as amended, State Government Article 10-611 to 10-628, for access to:

Any documentation, such as itemized receipts or purchase orders, detailing the following purchases made by the fire department during 2012:

Family Inn Bakery and Deli, Owings Mills, June, \$4,725
Family Inn Bakery and Deli, Owings Mills, July, \$903
S'ghetti Eddie's, Baltimore, September, \$13,315
S'ghetti Eddie's, Baltimore, November, \$13,809.15
The Classic Catering People, December, \$317

I would like to review these records as soon as can be arranged. The provisions of the Public Information Act require that access to public records be provided promptly upon the receipt of a written PIA request, unless specific circumstances apply that then allow for a delay not to exceed 30 days.

As you know, the state public information laws provide that if portions of a document are exempt from release, the remainder must be segregated and disclosed. Therefore, I expect you to provide me with all nonexempt portions of the records I have requested, and ask that you justify any deletions by reference to specific exemptions of the PIA that you believe are applicable.

I also request that fees for reviewing and copying these materials be waived, as is permitted in cases where release of the records services the public interest.

If information is readily available in electronic form, I would like to receive it via email. The PIA requires that information that is clearly a public record be made available immediately, upon request.

If any part of this request is unclear, please feel free to reach me at 410-332-6717 or amatas@baltsun.com.

I am making this request in my capacity as a reporter for The Baltimore Sun. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Alison Matas



THE BALTIMORE SUN

A T R I B U N E P U B L I S H I N G C O M P A N Y

Tiffany Thomas Smith
 Public Information Officer
 Baltimore City Health Department

March 4, 2013

Dear Ms. Thomas Smith:

I am filing a request, pursuant to Maryland's Public Information Act, as amended, State Government Article 10-611 to 10-628, for access to:

Any documentation, such as itemized receipts or purchase orders, detailing the following expenses made by the Commission on Aging and the Health Department during 2012:

Commission on Aging:

Prentiss Boots, Baltimore, June, \$500
 Jay's Catering, Baltimore, October, \$136.62
 Jay's Catering, Baltimore, October, \$359.98
 Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, January, \$233.64
 Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, January, \$344.36
 Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, April, \$259.60
 Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, August, \$285.56
 Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, October, \$155.76
 Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, October, \$211.20
 Jay's Restaurant Group, December, \$316.80
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, August, \$251

Health Department:

Forever 21 Retail, LA, September, \$500
 GameStop, Eden Prairie, September, \$750
 AMC Theaters, Chicago, September, \$4,306
 Charm City Caterers, Baltimore, March, \$527
 Charm City Caterers, Baltimore, March, \$858.75
 Charm City Caterers, Baltimore, March, \$595
 Charm City Caterers, Baltimore, September, \$1,813.75
 Charm City Catering, Baltimore, May, \$223.75

Charm City Catering, Baltimore, June, \$217
Charm City Catering, Baltimore, August, \$149.25
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, February, \$407
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, February, \$501
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, February, \$158
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, March, \$4,907
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, March, \$391
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, April, \$202.85
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, April, \$219.85
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, May, \$818
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore May, \$778.10
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore May, \$724
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore May, \$362
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore May, \$473
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, June, \$204.95
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, June, \$557
Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, June, \$125
Biddle street Catering and Events, Baltimore, August, \$277
Black Tie Caterers, Baltimore, January, \$4,723.52
Black Tie Caterers, Baltimore, May, \$406.92
Black Tie Caterers, Baltimore, August, \$2,055.60
The Classic Catering People, Baltimore, January, \$901
The Classic Catering People, Baltimore, January, \$1,407.25
The Classic Catering People, Baltimore, January, \$160
The Classic Catering People, Baltimore, February, \$444.50
The Classic Catering People, Baltimore, March, \$615.50
The Classic Catering People, Baltimore, March, \$615.50
The Classic Catering People, Baltimore, May, \$484.25
The Classic Catering People, Baltimore, June, \$248.75
The Classic Catering People, Baltimore, July, \$120.75
Forum Caterers, Baltimore, June, \$4,528
Harbor Market Catering/Sodexo, Baltimore, May, \$1,162
Subway, Connecticut, September, \$1,000
Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, January, \$507.38
Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, June, \$194.48
Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, July, \$162.80
Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, October, \$238.43
Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, October, \$289.58
Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, November, \$611.60
Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, November, \$254.32
Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, November, \$347.60
Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, December, \$390.50
Desserts Designed/Angela Wade, Baltimore, November, \$600
Grateful Deli, Baltimore, June, \$2,025

I would like to review these records as soon as can be arranged. The provisions of the Public Information Act require that access to public records be provided promptly upon the receipt of a written PIA request, unless specific circumstances apply that then allow for a delay not to exceed 30 days.

As you know, the state public information laws provide that if portions of a document are exempt from release, the remainder must be segregated and disclosed. Therefore, I expect you to provide me with all nonexempt portions of the records I have requested, and ask that you justify any deletions by reference to specific exemptions of the PIA that you believe are applicable.

I also request that fees for reviewing and copying these materials be waived, as is permitted in cases where release of the records services the public interest.

If information is readily available in electronic form, I would like to receive it via email. The PIA requires that information that is clearly a public record be made available immediately, upon request.

If any part of this request is unclear, please contact me at 410-332-6717 or amatas@baltsun.com.

I am making this request in my capacity as a reporter for The Baltimore Sun. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Alison Matas

501 N. Calvert Street
 Baltimore, Maryland 21278
 tel: 410/332-6000



THE BALTIMORE SUN

A T R I B U N E P U B L I S H I N G C O M P A N Y

Ryan O'Doherty
 Director of Policy and Communications
 Office of the Mayor

March 4, 2013

Dear Mr. O'Doherty:

I am filing a request, pursuant to Maryland's Public Information Act, as amended, State Government Article 10-611 to 10-628, for access to:

Any documentation, such as itemized receipts or purchase orders, detailing the following purchases made by the Mayor's Office and the Department of Finance in 2012:

Furs by Demetrios, Cockeysville, February, \$1,500
 Hazelwood Inn Restaurant, Rosedale, January, \$5,575
 Galeway Bay Restaurant, Annapolis, February, \$602
 Samos Restaurant, Baltimore, April, \$350
 Class Act Catering, Baltimore, July, \$600
 Class Act Catering, Baltimore, November, \$600
 Class Act Catering, Baltimore, November, \$5,000
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, March, \$105
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, April, \$140
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, May, \$100.50
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, June, \$146
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, August, \$125
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, September, \$163
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, October, \$97.50
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, December, \$211.50
 Black Tie Caterers, Baltimore, May, \$1,008 (x2)
 Class Act Café and Catering, Baltimore, January, \$800
 Class Act Café and Catering, Baltimore, March, \$600
 Class Act Café and Catering, Baltimore, May, \$3,000
 Grateful Deli, Baltimore, November, \$716.80
 Charm City Catering, Baltimore, December, \$370

The Pantry Catering, Baltimore, March, \$510
The Pantry Catering, Baltimore, April, \$510
Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, July, \$101.75

I would like to review these records as soon as can be arranged. The provisions of the Public Information Act require that access to public records be provided promptly upon the receipt of a written PIA request, unless specific circumstances apply that then allow for a delay not to exceed 30 days.

As you know, the state public information laws provide that if portions of a document are exempt from release, the remainder must be segregated and disclosed. Therefore, I expect you to provide me with all nonexempt portions of the records I have requested, and ask that you justify any deletions by reference to specific exemptions of the PIA that you believe are applicable.

I also request that fees for reviewing and copying these materials be waived, as is permitted in cases where release of the records services the public interest.

If information is readily available in electronic form, I would like to receive it via email. The PIA requires that information that is clearly a public record be made available immediately, upon request.

If any part of this request is unclear, please feel free to contact me at 410-332-6717 or amatas@baltsun.com.

I am making this request in my capacity as a reporter for The Baltimore Sun. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Alison Matas

501 N. Calvert Street
 Baltimore, Maryland 21278
 tel: 410/332-6000



Karen Sitnick
 Director
 Baltimore City Mayor's Office of Employment Development

March 4, 2013

Dear Ms. Sitnick:

I am filing a request, pursuant to Maryland's Public Information Act, as amended, State Government Article 10-611 to 10-628, for access to:

Any documentation, such as itemized receipts or purchase orders, detailing the following purchases made by the Office of Employment Development during 2012:

Howard County Red Light, Baltimore, July, \$75
 Gym Source, Elkridge, March, \$496
 Gym Source, Elkridge, March, \$496
 AMC Theater, Chicago, September, \$2,259.95
 Charm City Caterers, Baltimore, February, \$80
 Charm City Caterers, Baltimore, March, \$238
 Charm City Caterers, Baltimore, September, \$451.25
 Charm City Caterers, Baltimore, December, \$863.25
 Charm City Caterers, Baltimore, December, \$790.25
 Charm City Catering, Baltimore, January, \$907.50
 Charm City Catering, Baltimore, May, \$1,315
 Charm City Catering, Baltimore, May, \$1,626.25
 Charm City Catering, Baltimore, June, \$274
 Charm City Catering, Baltimore, August, \$279
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, January, \$779.75
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, March, \$492.50
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, March, \$164.25
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, June, \$389.50
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, June, \$207.50
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, August, \$276.90
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, October, \$312.50
 Biddle Street Catering and Events, Baltimore, December, \$292.50

Jay's Catering, Baltimore, June, \$449.63
Jay's Catering, Baltimore, June, \$254.38
Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, October, \$122.76
Jay's Restaurant Group, Baltimore, March, \$87.73
Forum Caterers, Baltimore, January, \$1,982
Honey Biscuits, Inc., May, \$600
David and Dad's Café, January, \$635

I would like to review these records as soon as can be arranged. The provisions of the Public Information Act require that access to public records be provided promptly upon the receipt of a written PIA request, unless specific circumstances apply that then allow for a delay not to exceed 30 days.

As you know, the state public information laws provide that if portions of a document are exempt from release, the remainder must be segregated and disclosed. Therefore, I expect you to provide me with all nonexempt portions of the records I have requested, and ask that you justify any deletions by reference to specific exemptions of the PIA that you believe are applicable.

I also request that fees for reviewing and copying these materials be waived, as is permitted in cases where release of the records services the public interest.

If information is readily available in electronic form, I would like to receive it via email. The PIA requires that information that is clearly a public record be made available immediately, upon request.

If any part of this request is unclear, please feel free to contact me at 410-332-6717 or amatas@baltsun.com.

I am making this request in my capacity as a reporter for The Baltimore Sun. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Alison Matas

501 N. Calvert Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21278
tel: 410/332-6000



THE BALTIMORE SUN

A T R I B U N E P U B L I S H I N G C O M P A N Y

Gwendolyn Chambers
Public Information Officer
Baltimore City Department of Recreation and Parks

March 4, 2013

Dear Mrs. Chambers:

I am filing a request, pursuant to Maryland's Public Information Act, as amended, State Government Article 10-611 to 10-628, for access to:

Any documentation, such as itemized receipts or purchase orders, detailing the following purchases made by the department of Recreation and Parks in 2012:

Chuck E. Cheese's, Baltimore, February, \$244
Angelia's Natural Hair & Braiding Salon, Randallstown, January, \$400
Kobe Japanese Steakhouse, Baltimore, May, \$465
Cutting Edge Pizza, Hartford, January, \$333
Cutting Edge Pizza, Hartford, February, \$666
Cutting Edge Pizza, Hartford, April, \$666

I would like to review these records as soon as can be arranged. The provisions of the Public Information Act require that access to public records be provided promptly upon the receipt of a written PIA request, unless specific circumstances apply that then allow for a delay not to exceed 30 days.

As you know, the state public information laws provide that if portions of a document are exempt from release, the remainder must be segregated and disclosed. Therefore, I expect you to provide me with all nonexempt portions of the records I have requested, and ask that you justify any deletions by reference to specific exemptions of the PIA that you believe are applicable.

I also request that fees for reviewing and copying these materials be waived, as is permitted in cases where release of the records services the public interest.

If information is readily available in electronic form, I would like to receive it via email. The PIA requires that information that is clearly a public record be made available immediately, upon request.

I am making this request in my capacity as a reporter for The Baltimore Sun. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,

Alison Matas

ANALYSIS COMPONENT

Introduction

In February of 2012, Republican presidential hopeful Rick Santorum raised the ire of many when, during a television interview, he denounced former President John F. Kennedy's 1960 speech advocating a separation of religion and politics. Santorum, who, like Kennedy was, is a practicing Catholic, said Kennedy's comments made him "throw up" and that he thought America should be more open to people of faith playing a substantial role in the political arena (Barbaro, 2012, p.1). Santorum's comment garnered nationwide scrutiny and set off a flurry of news articles and editorials devoted to his comment.

Both religion and media play a crucial role in informing the public's opinion about politics and political candidates, but little research has been conducted about the overlap of the two subjects. The research that does exist shows that the way journalists frame articles about religion has a direct impact on how readers interpret the issues. Their stories do not just tell people what is in the news but also dictate which information people use to form opinions about religions (Stout & Buddebbaum, 2003).

This research attempts to answer the following question: How often and to what extent did journalists use wedge issues to frame news articles and editorials about Rick Santorum's Catholicism from January through March 2012? To do so, this study calls on previous research to look at how religion has traditionally been covered in newspapers, uses a content analysis to examine coverage of Santorum's Catholicism during his run for the Republican presidential nomination, and suggests ideas for further research.

Literature review

Why Religion and Religion Coverage Matter

Although there is not much scholarly research about how journalists report on political candidates' beliefs, there is ample proof that religion has an impact on the outcome of an election (Leege & Kellstedt, 1993). Perhaps that is because most Americans are religious; more than 80 percent say they practice some type of religion (Putnam & Campbell, 2010). A religious landscape survey found more than a quarter of Americans attended evangelical protestant churches, 18 percent belonged to mainline protestant churches, and 24 percent identified as Catholic; 16 percent were unaffiliated, meaning they did not identify with a particular religion or considered themselves atheist or agnostic (U.S. Religious Landscape Survey, 2008). The 2012 electorate identified as 53 percent Protestant and 25 percent Catholic, with 28 percent of voters saying they attend religious services once a week (How the faithful voted, 2012). Many Americans who are not affiliated with a particular religion or church still hold similar beliefs about prayer, the afterlife, and God, and, consequently, should not be deemed "secular" (Wald & Leege, 2009, pp. 133-4).

While the First Amendment guarantees freedom of religion to Americans, clashes between the largely religious population and its government are unavoidable as disagreements over social issues are dragged into the political sphere, calling religious beliefs into question (Buddenbaum & Mason, 2000). This can be observed in the way religious values drive wedge issues during a campaign (Leege & Kellstedt, 1993). Issues discussed on a national scale often strike a chord with people who are religious: topics

such as abortion, homosexuality and gay marriage, stem cell research, and euthanasia all relate to religious beliefs (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007).

More broadly, religion has reinforced a two-party system in America (Leege & Kellstedt, 1993). For example, 33 percent of the electorate would consider themselves to be evangelical Christians. Now, this group is one of the strongest bases of the Republican Party. For example, in 2004, George W. Bush received 78 percent of the white evangelical vote, and John McCain received 74 percent of this vote in 2008 (Medhurst, 2009); Mitt Romney received 69 percent of the white Protestant vote and 79 percent of the evangelical vote in 2012 (How the faithful voted, 2012). Today, religion has a clear tie to conservative and Republican politics (Putnam & Campbell, 2010); the Christian Right has become the most noteworthy religion-based social movement with no comparable religious-Left movement. Even so, much of the Christian political activity in recent decades has been led by people who lean Left — social movements such as the antiwar movement and the civil rights movement were headed up by Christian Democrats (Wilcox & Fortelny, 2009). Moreover, as debates about wedge issues evolve into discussions about worldviews and moral values, people with similar religious affiliations find themselves in conflict with one another, split over whether to interpret their religious doctrines traditionally — taking the conservative viewpoint — or in line with contemporary assumptions — taking the liberal or libertarian viewpoints (Hunter, 1991). Ultimately, political culture in America is largely affected by religion (Leege & Kellstedt, 1993).

Religious beliefs not only influence how people consider campaign issues and what party they join but also whether they vote. Overall, interpersonal communication

among religious people has an effect on someone's political participation. In particular, religious leaders have power over religious communities; leaders can get their followers to take political action (Wuthnow, 1991). Often, churchgoers learn about politics from church because going to church is a social activity, and there, parishioners encounter opinion leaders and are given political information. Opinions can be strong, and, consequently, it becomes difficult to deviate from them; churchgoers might even find themselves getting bullied into belief. Interestingly, the denomination a person is in also affects his or her level of political efficacy. Sometimes, if the group is committed and connected, a person will be more likely to take part in politics because of those strong association ties (Scheufele, Dietram, Nisbet, & Brossard, 2003).

Occasionally, however, this religious affiliation has the opposite effect and discourages people from participating in politics. In a study conducted during the 2000 presidential election, researchers found that people who attend church more frequently are more likely to take place in political discussions at church. However, while these conversations had an effect on political participation, sometimes, they discouraged people from having political conversations outside of the church realm (Scheufele, Dietram, Nisbet, & Brossard, 2003).

Another reason religion plays a role in either getting people to participate or not participate in politics is because, sometimes, believers follow a strict religious doctrine that dictates their perspective of the world. Sometimes, however, this means that following religion can make people less likely to enter the realm of politics because they disagree with what is going on in the secular world outside of the church (Scheufele, Dietram, Nisbet, & Brossard, 2003).

Religion coverage matters because, just as a person's religious beliefs influence how he or she views politics, so does the way the media cover the election. In the aforementioned 2000 presidential election study, researchers also examined what caused congregations to talk about politics at church. Discussions were linked to television news about politics, and it was found that this media consumption led to increased political knowledge and participation. Researchers also discovered that newspaper reading increased political knowledge. Additionally, outside of church, conversations people had about politics had a stronger effect on political knowledge, television viewing, and political participation. These discussions were also linked to newspaper reading (Scheufele, Dietram, Nisbet, & Brossard, 2003).

Moreover, the way media set the agenda for the public influences perceptions about political candidates and their campaigns. For example, a study was conducted in which researchers looked at how media covered religious beliefs of each political party and tried to determine how accurate the portrayal was. Essentially, the researchers were curious whether Republicans actually hold more fundamentalist beliefs than Democrats do or if that was just the way media made it seem. The researchers hypothesized the stories the media are most willing to cover are those that highlight the differences between what Republicans and Democrats believe and argued this was blatant agenda setting. The study determined that Republicans do hold stricter religious views; however, both Republican and Democrats have the same level of tolerance for differing beliefs and have the same willingness to communicate their beliefs. The disparity in perception, then, could be a result of the fact that people do not often read or see much in the media about the people who fall in between the Right and Left (Punyanunt-Carter, Corrigan, Wrench,

& McCroskey, 2010). Clearly, the media play a role in how people think about politics. This is especially true in times of uncertainty, such as during a presidential election. When people feel unsure, they turn to the media, politicians, and religious leaders more often for assurance about what is important. This makes the media's role as an agenda setter even more pertinent during elections (Kraus, 2009).

How Religion Coverage Traditionally Appears in the Newspaper

Before examining how political candidates' religious beliefs are covered, it is helpful to have an understanding of how religion has been reported in general. Religion coverage experienced rapid growth between 1930 and 1960, with much of the reporting being about the Protestants and Catholics who shared journalists' liberal beliefs about social justice issues. As interfaith coalitions developed as a response to religious persecution, journalists also began to cover Jews. Initially, much religion coverage focused on church happenings, such as sermon topics and meeting notices, not stories about religion. By the 1940s, some well-known newspapers boasted full-time religion reporters, but most other newspapers had only a part-time religion reporter or editor. Following World War II, religion news moved onto the front page as secular religion stories became more popular and relevant. By 1950, religion coverage in newspapers included syndicated religious news to keep up with a growing demand for religion coverage. For the most part, religious news was locally focused, with newspapers such as *The New York Times* handling national religious news. Even so, notable religious groups were missing from this expanded coverage, including African American Christians, Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus; Buddhism and Hinduism did not make many

appearances in newspapers until large numbers of people holding those faiths immigrated to the United States in the 1960s (Mason, 2012b).

A study conducted in the summer of 1981 looked at religion coverage in *The New York Times*, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. At all three newspapers, only half of the stories were concerned with local religious news, and two of the newspapers spent more time discussing national news (Buddenbaum, 1986). In contrast, a similar study conducted during the same decade found that 93 percent of newspapers surveyed covered local religion news and 65 percent covered national religious news. Of these newspapers, 55 percent had expanded coverage on a local level, and 31 percent had expanded coverage on a national level (Hynds, 1987).

Hypotheses about the reasons for the increased religion coverage included that religion reporters were using interpretive reporting and offering more analysis. The researcher also noted that political movements, such as the Religious Right, attracted more attention to religion coverage (Hynds, 1987). However, even though 86 percent of respondents said their religious coverage had increased during the past five years and religion stories were becoming longer, more in-depth, and more issue-oriented (Buddenbaum, 1986), more than 90 percent of editors said their religious coverage still got less attention than news, sports, or lifestyles (Hynds, 1987).

Although religion coverage increased, its focus remained on how religious beliefs came into conflict with law, rather than detailing the specific doctrines of those religions. Newspapers avoided examining Protestant, Catholic or Jewish beliefs in relation to scientific knowledge or findings. Stories revolved around religious freedom or the

activities of less mainstream religious groups, such as Islam or Scientology (Romano, 1986).

Religion sections were common in major newspapers until about 2000. Then, newspaper staffs shrank, and with them, religion sections became scarce. While some newspapers do have online religion sections today, most of the content in those sections comes from readers, not professionals. Moreover, it can be difficult to find the religion news on a website. Generally, major newspapers do not have a separate tab for religion; it is relegated to the news or local sections. Much of today's online religion reporting can also be found on blogs. Some newsrooms are looking to blogs as the means of aggregating religious news; websites such as the Huffington Post and CNN.com have added online religion sections as their websites have started to appeal to niche audiences. There are several differences, however, between niche online religion sections and the religion sections that formerly ran in newspapers. The online sections gather most of their content from bloggers, and they focus more on national religion news, rather than local religious events (Mason, 2012a).

Since the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in particular, religion news has had a more global outlook and dealt with diversity of religion. Islam began to be covered more heavily in newspapers following the Iranian revolution in 1979, but, following 9/11, journalists have had to make decisions about how to cover Islam as a domestic religious issue rather than just a foreign one. Also after 9/11, readers do not approach religious news with the expectation that the reporting will tell them whether the beliefs are true but rather to explain how those beliefs are having an impact on the news of the day (Hoover, 2012). As of 2009, religion stories accounted for less than one percent of the

newshole, and two-thirds of stories focused on religious issues in the United States (Religion in the News, 2009). A 2011 study that examined online religion coverage across major U.S. news outlets found that the 24-hour news cycle meant sites published more than one religion story per day, with almost half of the articles being news-oriented, rather than feature-oriented (Johnston, 44-45). Overall, religion reporting is increasing, and it appears to be covering personal stories rather than institutional stories (Hoover, 2012).

The First Political Campaigns in which Religion Became Salient for Media

The first time a political candidate's religious beliefs were a major point of discussion for newspapers in America is disputed. Some say it occurred as early as the 1928 presidential election, when New York Governor Al Smith, who was Catholic, ran for president. During this campaign, people raised the concern that electing a strongly religious president was a violation of church and state. Smith addressed this question in *Atlantic* magazine; he responded through the magazine by saying he did not intend to use his religion to govern the country. At this, newspapers that supported him ran editorials proclaiming a great victory had been won for religious tolerance. However, when Smith made speeches calling the people who thought he should not be eligible for the presidency bigots, newspapers that were not in his favor said he was using religion as a campaign tactic to get attention (Silk, 1995).

Other authors argue political religious coverage truly began during the 1960 presidential race, when John F. Kennedy ran for president. Like Smith, Kennedy had to separate himself from his Catholic beliefs in order to get votes from Protestants and win

the presidency (Silk, 1995). During the 1960 election, people voted for the people who belonged to the same religious denomination they did (Putnam & Campbell, 2010). However, unlike with Smith, newspapers did not say Kennedy was using his faith to get ahead and played a role in reducing anti-Catholic sentiments (Silk, 1995).

Other scholars contend extensive coverage of political candidates' religious beliefs did not truly start until Jimmy Carter was elected to the presidency. In the 1970s, the 13 million member Southern Baptist Convention expressed interest in taking over the Baptist denomination. One way it attempted to do this was by garnering political support. In 1976, Carter, a member of the convention, was vying for and elected to the U.S. presidency (Winston, 2007). Before Carter, candidates had tried to separate themselves from religion in order to win the presidency. In contrast, Carter was open about his status as a born-again Christian (Hoover, 1998). Because of this, millions of Americans knew what it meant to be a Christian, and the media identified Carter as an evangelical (Winston, 2007). It was during this decade that media began to make national political leaders' private lives public. (Hoover, 1998).

Framing in Journalism as it Relates to Religion Stories

Journalists tend to use recurring frames when writing stories about religion and politics. At its core, the term framing means the way a story is written and the context in which it is placed (Capella & Jamieson, 1997). Fundamentally, a frame is a theory about the way something is or the way an event occurred. In media, a frame helps both readers and journalists synthesize information in a way that makes sense. Because journalists are

always dealing with details that need to be organized for readers, every story has a frame (Gitlin, 1980).

Several elements contribute to the frame of a story, including the sources in an article, how much authority each source is credited, and what arguments are given in the story. Sources are especially important because they inform the tone the article has. They also, to some extent, dictate what the most important part of the news is and what will be discussed within the article and what will not be (Lou-Coleman, 1997). When a reporter crafts a story, he or she chooses facts and words that will trigger the reader's prior knowledge about the topic and inform the assumptions he or she makes about that subject. Every frame awards importance to certain elements of a story and tries to decrease the prevalence of other elements (Capella & Jamieson, 1997).

Consequently, there are multiple frames to choose from when writing and reporting a story. Sometimes, if a reporter selects a frame before doing reporting, that frame will drive the questions the reporter asks sources (Eliasoph, 1997). Occasionally, journalists select frames for stories based on the frames other reporters have previously used to cover an issue. In this way, frames can become hegemonic, as the continually accepted frames begin to narrow the way reporters see the world. With recurring coverage, however, frames can change depending on what happens with an issue (Gitlin, 1980).

In terms of religion and framing, media tend to be more focused on the outcome of religious belief than on the tenets of major religions. When reporting, journalists must maintain a distance from religion so as not to favor a particular set of beliefs. Therefore, religion coverage continues to be more "thematic, issue-oriented, and trend-seeking"

(Silk, 1995, p. 147). In recent history, the primary news from religious groups has dealt with issues seen as a threat to "traditional family values," such as abortion and homosexuality (Silk, 1995, p. 141). Media tune in to some religious values and use them in the coverage. When they write stories about religion, journalists tackle stories using the assumptions they have about religion, such as what it is concerned with and what it should be like. Consequently, journalists use different themes — or frames — depending on what the story is about (Silk, 1995).

While there is little research about how journalists cover religion as it relates to politics, many of the studies conducted about reporting practices examine how stories have been framed. Scholars have found that, historically, coverage of political candidates' religious beliefs has been relatively shallow. It deals with the problems caused or issues raised by religion, but it fails to explore the theology behind the conflict (Heineman, 1998). This disparity could be a result of the inherent goals of media and religion: Journalism seeks to expose wrongdoing and, if necessary, incite controversy. Religion attempts to do the opposite, so the two clash. (Hoover, 1998). This is evidenced by the fact that journalists tend to ignore religious groups that do not create controversy (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007). Consequently, some religion reporting does not occur because reporters do not deem what has happened news; if comments do not generate conflict, they are often glossed over (Winston, 2007). The study conducted in the summer of 1981, which looked at religion coverage in *The New York Times*, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, found the focus of all the papers' religious coverage was Protestant or Catholic news, and the bulk of the stories were framed in terms of power struggles and did not explain or address ideologies (Buddenbaum, 1986).

Similarly, a 2011 study looking at online religion coverage found one of the most common frames used when reporting religion articles was tolerance or conflict, particularly as it related to movements in the Middle East (Johnston, 47).

A recent example of journalists using conflict as a frame for religion reporting is the controversy that surrounded President Barack Obama during his 2008 run for office regarding his minister, the Reverend Jeremiah Wright of the Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago. During Obama's campaign, clips surfaced of Wright giving sermons that media picked up and framed as being racist, anti-American, and anti-Christian. While media covered the content of the sermons, they did not explain the theological underpinnings driving what Wright was saying (Frank, 2009). The anger that ensued following the release of the sermons became "a media-driven controversy" (The rapture, 2009, p. 199). Consequently, media also covered Obama's speech in response to the sermons, "A More Perfect Union," which highlighted the nuances of race relations in America (The rapture, 2009). Similarly, when rumors arose during the 2008 campaign that Obama was Muslim and subsequently a less wise choice for the presidency, media outlets actually perpetuated the rumor by covering the controversy (Weeks & Southwell, 2010; Hollander, 2010).

Journalists' need to create conflict can also be seen in the way reporters force religious political candidates to share their opinions on wedge issues in the context of their religious beliefs and then use their answers about those issues to frame coverage. For example, Mike Huckabee, a Christian, announced his candidacy for presidency on *Meet the Press* in January 2007 and was asked about statements of faith he had made. He said he did not apologize for them because his faith explains him. He also spoke about

faith rather broadly, citing issues such as education and the environment in conjunction with his speech about being a man of faith. It was not Huckabee but instead the moderator who brought up abortion, which is a wedge issue. A similar scenario occurred when Huckabee was being interviewed at the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life; it was the interviewer who introduced questions about evolution (Medhurst, 2009). Because journalists search for conflict, they often miss the larger picture of what religious belief is about.

Journalists also have trouble accurately reporting political candidates' religious beliefs because they are tasked with synthesizing information, while religion is changing and becoming more complicated (Hoover, 1998). The most salient example is that journalists make connections between Democrat and Republican states and religious affiliations because it is a simple way to convey information about a complex topic (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007). Consequently, people who watch television or read a newspaper are more likely to think evangelical Christians are a political party, not a religious group (Medhurst, 2009), considering many conservative Christians do identify with the Republican party. Obviously, this overlooks detail and provides an incorrect picture (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007).

How Political Candidates' Religious Beliefs have been Covered

Reporters lack understanding about the depth of religious differences among the same types of religions (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007) and about religion's role in political rhetoric (Winston, 2007). There are several historical examples to corroborate this point. This phenomenon was evident in 1977, shortly after Carter's election, when

secular media did not understand the theological and ideological differences among social conservatives and consequently called Christian conservatives anti-Semites and said they were racist. Because of this, journalists had trouble analyzing what was really going on politically (Heineman, 1998). Another example of this is Pat Robertson's 1988 presidential campaign. In this campaign, Robertson made his Christian religious beliefs so overt they could not be neglected by media. Consequently, the press treated it as if it were unusual for someone to have faith that strong. A similar scenario occurred when Carter talked about being "born again" during his presidential campaign. Journalists did not understand the concept of being "born again" and subsequently wrote about it as if it were an oddity, even though about 40 percent of the population in 1989 said it was also "born again" (Wills, 1990). More recently, during the 2008 election, journalists ignored what was really going on religiously in the campaign and used prospective candidates' religions to create interesting headlines, for example, talking about Mitt Romney's "Mormon problem" (Winston, 2007).

Another reason journalists often do not know how to handle reporting on political candidates' religious beliefs is because journalists are usually different from people who are religious. Many evangelicals are less educated, and journalists often operate with an elitist mentality (Wills, 1990). It has been argued that, since the 1970s, members of the media have become more liberal because most journalists are college graduates. For example, in 1972, America had the most elite group of journalists in America's history in terms of education. At that time, 75 percent approved of homosexuality, 82 percent approved of abortion, and 50 percent did not think adultery was wrong. Similarly, it has also been argued that journalists' definition of morality is different from religious

conservatives' definition; some scholars go as far as arguing that Carter made journalists uncomfortable because he was moral and they were not (Heineman, 1998).

Morality aside, today, journalists also tend to be less religious and more politically liberal than the average American. Because they have issues with religion, they shy away from covering it (Hoover, 1998). Despite this definitive stance, there is some evidence to contradict this point. In a study of major newspapers that covered religion, the researcher found that, of the religion editors surveyed, 50 percent said they had qualifications beyond church membership for writing about religion; of those, one-third took religion courses in college, and 20 percent held a master's degree in religion (Hynds, 1987). Even so, it appears that journalists overall are more secular than is the majority of the American population.

Because many journalists do not understand the nuances of religion, they often make a point to be as objective as possible with their religious coverage; however, this has the effect of making it appear as though they are endorsing the religious message the candidate is sending. Religion reporting has been influenced by the idea that journalists feel free to ask whatever questions they choose, but they have also respected the notion of religious tolerance. Consequently, in a quest for objectivity, reporters are often nervous to probe into the topic of religion for fear they will be unable to conduct a neutral study (Hoover & Clark, 2002). For example, during the 2000 presidential election, George Bush named Jesus Christ as his favorite philosopher during a debate. The press did not know how to handle that response and did not choose to question it, so journalists just reported what Bush said; whether or not they intended to, this legitimized what Bush was saying. Even when Bush started tying religious ideas into his campaign in an

unprecedented way, journalists just took notes. They had trouble understanding what was happening and thought they were being objective by simply parroting the candidate's responses (Winston, 2007). This also occurred during Huckabee's quest for the presidency. In news articles where Huckabee's religion was addressed, the reporters, even if they offered analysis about his political platforms, used huge quotations to let Huckabee explain his religious beliefs in his own words. The journalists systematically avoided dealing with that part of his platform (Medhurst, 2009).

Need for Further Research

Despite the lack of literature about how political candidates' religious beliefs are reported, the intersection of religion, politics and the media cannot be ignored. Religion and politics are no longer separate entities (Wuthnow, 1991), and media play a role in how their relationship is understood; today, people in America think politics are determined by religion because of the way the media portray the situation (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007).

The importance of religion reporting as it relates to political candidates' religious beliefs has been and will continue to be evident. As journalists continue to tackle this complex subject, it is crucial to monitor how often they choose to use wedge issues as a frame to introduce conflict in their coverage and as a tool to summarize a candidate's religious beliefs.

Research question

To that end, this research is driven by one question: How often and to what extent did reporters use wedge issues to frame coverage of Rick Santorum's Catholicism in news articles and editorials from January through March 2012?

Method

Content Analysis

To investigate this research question, this study used a content analysis to quantitatively assess the mention of wedge issues in newspaper articles and editorials about Santorum's religion. Content analysis, which is the practice of tracking the presence or absence of specified variables in media, is a useful research tool because it is repeatable; different researchers can perform the study at different times under different conditions. Therefore, if the results prove to be consistent, the research product can be considered valid (Krippendorff, 1980).

Consequently, it is a method used frequently by communication and mass media researchers when they are studying how newspapers cover a topic or issue. For example, scholars have used content analysis to examine how China is represented in Hong Kong newspapers (Chen, 2012) and how smoking bans are presented in Swiss newspapers (Schulz, Hartung, & Fiordelli, 2012). More specifically, content analysis is routinely used when researchers are examining issues of framing in newspapers; recently, scholars have employed content analysis to study how conflict in India is framed in major national newspapers (Mishra, 2011) and how immigration law is framed in California newspapers

(Grimm & Andsager, 2011). Using content analysis for this study, then, was appropriate, because the study dealt with framing in major newspapers.

Sample Selection

To investigate this research question, news articles and editorials were pulled from two major U.S. newspapers from Jan. 1 through March 31, 2012: *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, including articles and editorials that also ran exclusively on washingtonpost.com. The news articles pulled from these newspapers were authored by the papers' staff writers. The editorials pulled from these newspapers were primarily authored by guest writers who had expertise about the subjects about which they were offering their opinion or analysis. These newspapers were selected because they have a national reach, and, consequently, both covered the presidential campaign extensively. While many newspapers ran articles that made reference to Santorum's Catholicism, articles from *The New York Times* and articles from *The Washington Post* were the only major U.S. newspapers that ran multiple stories focusing on Santorum and his religion, as evidenced by a thorough archives search. Santorum received continued coverage during the primaries in 2012, so the sample was limited to articles from January 2012, when the primaries began, through March 2012, as Santorum dropped out of the presidential race in March.

In order to pull the sample, the phrase "Rick Santorum, religion" was used as a search term to pull up relevant articles in the Factiva database of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* and washingtonpost.com archives. This search yielded 381 articles, more than half of which were duplicates. After removing identical articles, only

articles that had substantial mention of Santorum's religious beliefs — defined as having more than two paragraphs devoted to the topic — were selected. The universe of this sample was taken and consisted of 20 news articles, meaning stories written from a neutral stance, and 53 opinion and editorial articles, which were written to advance a certain point of view. The sample (see appendix) generated about 150 pages of text.

Coding Procedures

The full text of each article was read and coded by one coder after testing for intra-coder reliability. The coder conducted a pre-test using eight articles, which amounted to close to 10 percent of the sample. Because the universe was taken from *New York Times* and *Washington Post* print and online articles, the coder widened the search parameters to include all major U.S. newspapers and selected the first four news articles and the first four editorials the search returned that had substantial mention of Santorum's religious beliefs. These articles were coded twice by the coder but a week apart, in order to test intracoder reliability and the validity of the operationalization of the dependent variables — the wedge issues. Once a reliability of .9 was achieved for each coding category, the final sample was coded.

Each of the variables was operationalized with multiple coding categories, counting the number of sources referencing each wedge issue in the story and the number of sentences devoted to discussing that issue. (See appendix.) In coding, the wedge issue of abortion was defined as any text that mentioned terminating a pregnancy or a woman's right to make choices about reproduction or discussed the legality or morality of either of these actions; this included mention of the words "abortion," "abort," or "fetus." The

wedge issue of homosexuality was defined as any text that discussed the legality or morality of homosexuality; this included use of the words “homosexuality,” “gay,” “lesbian,” or “queer” and the phrases “gay marriage” or “marriage equality.” Finally, the wedge issue of evolution was defined as any text that mentioned the origins of human life or discussed classroom policy about teaching about the origins of life; this included use of the words “creation,” “creationism,” “intelligent design” or “evolution.”

Once coded, these variables were put into SPSS, a statistical analysis software program in an attempt to run chi-square goodness-of-fit tests to tell whether there were relationships among the collected variables and whether those relationships were statistically significant or due to chance. Goodness-of-fit tests are nonparametric tests that do not make assumptions about data being normally distributed. However, because of too little variation among data results, no tests were able to be completed.

Results

The data collected during the content analysis were less disparate than anticipated, with nearly all articles having fewer than five mentions of the various wedge issues throughout and only using sources that did not make reference to Santorum’s Catholicism in terms of wedge issues. The final coded data set ended up with nearly every article falling in the same category for each coding field. Consequently, all chi-square tests that could have been run had at least one cell with an expected count of less than five, rendering the researcher unable to analyze the data using nonparametric statistics.

Nonparametric statistics can only be used with categorical data and are not generalizable, meaning they cannot be extrapolated to explain other relationships among

similar variables in the population (Wimmer & Domminick, 2011). Consequently, the findings of this research would not have been used to make assumptions about framing in religion coverage even if this study had yielded results from chi-square tests.

Although goodness-of-fit tests were not run, SPSS software was still used to calculate the total number of references to each of the wedge issues in the articles coded:

Table 1: Sentences Containing References to Abortion by Newspaper

	Washington Post	WashingtonPost.com	New York Times	Total (n)
Count with fewer than 5 sentences about abortion	2	51	12	65
Percent of total articles with fewer than 5 sentences about abortion	3.1%	78.5%	18.5%	100%
Count with 5 or more sentences about abortion	3	2	3	8
Percent of total articles with 5 or more sentences about abortion	37.5%	25%	37.5%	100%

Table 2: Sentences Containing References to Homosexuality by Newspaper

	Washington Post	WashingtonPost.com	New York Times	Total (n)
Count with fewer than 5 sentences about homosexuality	5	53	13	71
Percent of total articles with fewer than 5 sentences about homosexuality	7%	74.6%	18.3%	100%
Count with 5 or more sentences about homosexuality	0	0	2	2
Percent of total articles with 5 or more sentences about homosexuality	0%	0%	100%	100%

Table 3: Sentences Containing References to Evolution by Newspaper

	Washington Post	WashingtonPost.com	New York Times	Total (n)
Count with fewer than 5 sentences about evolution	4	53	15	72
Percent of total articles with fewer than 5 sentences about evolution	5.6%	73.6%	20.8%	100%
Count with 5 or more sentences about evolution	1	0	0	1
Percent of total articles with 5 or more sentences about evolution	100%	0%	0%	100%

About 7 percent of the articles coded came from *The Washington Post*, about 73 percent came from WashingtonPost.com, and about 20 percent came from *The New York Times*. Of the 73 articles, 65 contained fewer than five sentences that mentioned abortion, and eight had more than five sentences dealing with abortion, as seen in Table 1. Concerning homosexuality, 71 of the 73 articles had fewer than five references to same-sex marriage or gay rights, as seen in Table 2. Finally, only one of the 73 articles had five or more sentences dealing with evolution; the rest of the articles had fewer than five, as seen in Table 3.

Discussion

While no nonparametric tests were run on the data, this research can still draw a few conclusions based on the nature of the articles coded; however, it is important to note that these inferences are based on a study that used a relatively small sample size. Overall, reporters did not lean on tradition wedge issues to discuss Santorum's

Catholicism but instead used his religion to assess his chances of winning primary elections and the Republican nomination for president. With the exception of a few articles, most of the coverage of Santorum's Catholicism was shallow and did not delve into the reason for his religious beliefs or the nature of those beliefs.

The articles coded in this study were most concerned with how Santorum's faith affected voting patterns. Rather than discussing the Catholic tenets he ascribed to that resonated with voters, the articles primarily focused on polling information regarding his popularity among evangelicals. Many articles centered on the fact that people assumed Santorum was an evangelical and questioned why he was not more successful with his Catholic counterparts during the primary season; the articles also debated whether Catholics truly tended to vote in a bloc, referencing the "Catholic vote." In some ways, these findings corroborate previous studies, which have found that journalists provide coverage of political candidates' religious beliefs when those beliefs are the source of a conflict or problem for a candidate, but that coverage remains relatively superficial (Heineman, 1998; Buddenbaum, 1986).

Similarly, many articles also considered the demographic makeup of the electorate, often trying to predict votes based on religious affiliation, age, gender and state of residence. The closest these articles came to referencing wedge issues was through interviews conducted with voters. Many sources said they liked Santorum because he was "very conservative" or supported "traditional family values," but the journalists did not ask the voters to specifically explain what they meant by those terms; perhaps then there would have been more explicit mention of wedge issues, such as abortion or homosexuality. While journalists wrote about Santorum's faith at length in

stories about voting patterns, his Catholicism was included in the articles to assess his chances of winning the primary, not to talk about his stance on campaign issues. This could have been the result of decisions made by reporters or made by assigning editors, who might have given their reporters a frame to work within when covering the event (Eliasoph, 1997).

Other articles centered on Santorum's rejection of separation of church and state, particularly his comments concerning Kennedy's statement about the need for an "absolute" separation. Many articles focused on Santorum's declaration that Kennedy's statement made him "throw up," either by trying to give him an opportunity to explain himself or quoting from the apology he made for phrasing his thoughts in such a colloquial manner. Other journalists took the opportunity to have experts interpret what Kennedy was trying to accomplish with his 1960 speech and used that information to draw the conclusion that Santorum did not understand the meaning of Kennedy's remarks. Earlier researchers would argue that part of the reason Santorum's comments were considered newsworthy is because they generated outrage, which is something reporters usually choose to cover (Winston, 2007). Even so, the articles did not address how Santorum's melding of his religion with his potential presidency could affect the country; the articles instead focused on why his interpretation of Kennedy's declaration was incorrect.

Other articles did address Santorum's Catholicism and underlying beliefs but not in the context of issues cited as being most common when addressing religion in news media. Some articles accused Santorum of "cafeteria Catholicism," meaning picking and choosing which of the church's beliefs he chose to accept. The journalists, however,

focused on social justice issues such as the death penalty and torture, rather than abortion or homosexuality, which are the topics religious groups tend to talk about often (Silk, 1995) and are issues that the leaders of the Catholic Church have primarily focused on. In addition, there were several articles that mentioned Santorum's aversion to birth control in the context of the Affordable Care Act and its provisions that religious institutions must provide preventive health care. These articles did not, however, focus on Santorum's views on abortion or emergency contraception.

When articles did mention wedge issues to talk about Santorum's beliefs, the authors were often referencing comments Santorum had made on the campaign trail during his speeches, not raising questions to him about his stance on wedge issues during interviews. This contrasts previous research findings that said journalists tend to frame religious coverage in terms of wedge issues as a way of introducing conflict into an article (Medhurst, 2009). Instead, journalists seemed to let Santorum set the agenda. A few articles also looked back at newspaper columns and letters to the editor Santorum had written for various national and state newspapers during the past 10 years to determine whether his views on certain issues—such as evolution and climate-change—had remained consistent. Once again, these articles let Santorum do the talking and did not make any attempt to debunk his claims or better explain them. This finding fits with previous research, which has said journalists are afraid of seeming biased when covering religion, so they rely heavily on quotations or sourced material in order to let the candidate be the authority on the religion (Hoover & Clark, 2002; Winston, 2007). By using material that was primarily written by Santorum, journalists avoided having to develop any real literacy on his beliefs.

Despite an overwhelming lack of discussion about wedge issues, journalists did occasionally reference these topics in conjunction with Santorum's Catholicism. The most common wedge issue used to talk about Santorum's beliefs was abortion, which was also the wedge issue about which Santorum was most outspoken while campaigning. A few articles detailed the relationship Santorum's wife, Karen Garver, had with an abortionist before meeting Santorum and talked about Santorum's and her conversion to a pro-life stance. This analysis, however, was limited to a small number of articles that took a meaningful look at the roots of Santorum's Catholic beliefs and chronicled his childhood and subsequent political rise.

The few articles that examined Santorum's religious journey were surprisingly thorough, which was unexpected based on previous studies; research has shown that journalists often focus on the consequences of religious beliefs rather than the tenets of those beliefs and that they avoid digging too deeply into a candidate's religion because they must maintain an objective, professional distance (Silk, 1995). One article delved into Santorum's flirtation with Opus Dei, a conservative branch of Catholicism that focuses on the fact that the believer is a child of God and encourages charity and sacrifice. In extreme cases, it is known for its devout members' ritual of wearing a spiked chain on their thighs for two hours a day to remember Jesus' pain on the cross. The article spent time explaining the tenets and practices of a relatively unknown religious lay order. Another article, an editorial, looked at Santorum's belief of the existence of Satan and made a case for a widespread belief in good and evil. On the whole, however, articles detailing what Santorum believed were few and far between; most mentions of Santorum's Catholicism were brief and linked to his chances of winning the election.

Limitations

There were several limitations to this study, with the greatest being the inability to run any nonparametric tests on the data to assess relationships among collected variables. This was most likely due to a small sample size. Ultimately, results might show a greater mention of wedge issues if the sample were widened to include articles about Santorum's faith in all major U.S. newspapers, rather than focusing just on those with a national reach. Other ideas for further research are to use key issues from the 2012 election to update the list of religious wedge issues to include items such as contraception, the death penalty and torture and then run a content analysis again. It could also be beneficial to conduct a textual analysis of articles to see whether Santorum's Catholicism in articles was most often brought up by the journalist or by him. Future researchers could use content analysis to compare the differences between how journalists covered Romney's Mormonism and Santorum's Catholicism and whether wedge issues were used more often when talking about a particular candidate. It could also be useful to study how Santorum's beliefs were portrayed in newspapers compared with how an evangelical candidate's were, using former Republican presidential hopefuls Michele Bachmann or Rick Perry. This could help assess whether the wedge issues used to discuss Catholicism seem to differ from the wedge issues used to discuss evangelical Christianity. Finally, because there were a few articles that gave an in-depth look at Santorum's Catholicism, it could be useful to conduct an analysis to see who wrote those articles compared with who authored the more superficial coverage of his religion — whether they were beginning reporters or veteran reporters and whether they typically covered politics or religion.

Conclusion

Previous scholars have found that journalists tend to shy away from covering political candidates' religious beliefs or only use those beliefs to talk about the candidates' opinions about issues such as abortion, homosexuality or evolution. While this study found journalists still do not dig deeply into candidates' religious beliefs, it also found that journalists rely on wedge issues less when they do bring up religion in articles. Mention of Santorum's Catholicism was prevalent in news and editorial coverage during primary season, but, overall, reporters only wrote how his religion was boosting or hindering his campaign. The dominant frame when writing about Santorum's religion was not wedge issues but rather a competition frame, pitting Santorum and his crusade to keep his evangelical values in the public sphere against Romney and his plans to fix the nation's economy.

Santorum's religion was not ignored in the selected news articles and editorials, but it was not discussed in terms of his opinions about abortion, homosexuality or evolution. Most articles did not venture that far into the tenets of Santorum's faith. Journalists wrote about his popularity among evangelicals or his struggle to win the votes of his fellow Catholics, but they did not explain the reasons those voters either did or did not identify with Santorum. Instead, the reporters concentrated on the "horse race" aspect of the campaign and chose to primarily focus on which candidate was winning on a particular day. Santorum's success or failure was usually attributed to his Catholic beliefs, but reporters did not bother to talk about what those beliefs were.

Overall, reporters still seem to be unsure how to cover religion in an in-depth manner and do not appear to understand the impact religion can have on a person's

political campaign, aside from its use in garnering votes from a religious electorate.

For now, it seems, religion remains a moot point in an election, except when its presence or absence is having a direct impact on how successful the candidate is.

REFERENCES

- Barbaro, M. (2012, February 27). Santorum makes case for religion in public sphere. *The New York Times*, pp. 1-3. Retrieved September 15, 2012, from the Factivia database.
- Buddenbaum, J. (1986). An analysis of religion news coverage in three major newspapers. *Journalism Quarterly*, 63(3), 600-606. Retrieved October 9, 2011, from the EBSCO Host database.
- Buddenbaum, J. M., & Mason, D. L. (Eds.). (2000). *Readings on religion as news*. Ames: Iowa State University Press.
- Cappella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. H. (1997). Framing the news. *Spiral of cynicism: the press and the public good* (pp. 39-57). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chen, W. (2012). The image of China in Hong Kong media: content analysis of the coverage in three Hong Kong newspapers. *China Media Research*, 8(3), 65-71.
- Eliasoph, N. (1997). Routines and the making of oppositional news. *Social meanings of news: a text-reader* (pp. 230-254). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Frank, D. A. (2009). The prophetic voice and the face of the other in Barack Obama's "A More Perfect Union" address, March 18, 2008. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 12(2), 167-194.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: mass media in the making & unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grimm, J., & Andsager, J. L. (2011). Framing immigration: geo-ethnic context in California newspapers. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 88(4), 771-788.
- Heineman, K. J. (1998). *God is a conservative: religion, politics, and morality in contemporary America*. New York City: New York University Press.
- Hollander, B. A. (2010). Persistence in the perception of Barack Obama as a Muslim in the 2008 presidential campaign. *Journal Of Media & Religion*, 9(2), 55-66.
- Hoover, S. M. (1998). *Religion in the news: faith and journalism in American public discourse*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Hoover, S. M. (2012). Quantity, quality, and religion in the news since 9/11. In D. Winston (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of religion and the American news media* (pp. 81-92). New York: Oxford University Press.

- Hoover, S. M., & Clark, L. S. (Eds.). (2002). *Practicing religion in the age of the media explorations in media, religion, and culture*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.
- How the faithful voted. Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life. Nov. 7, 2012.
<http://www.pewforum.org/Politics-and-Elections/How-the-Faithful-Voted-2012-Preliminary-Exit-Poll-Analysis.aspx>.
- Hunter, J. D. (1991). *Culture wars: the struggle to define America*. New York: BasicBooks.
- Hynds, E. (1987). Large daily newspapers have improved coverage of religion. *Journalism Quarterly*, 64(2), 444-448. Retrieved October 9, 2011, from the EBSCO Host database.
- Johnston, Laura C.. Lasting legacies: A framing analysis of religion news online and in legacy media. University of Missouri - Columbia, ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 2011.
- Kraus, R. (2009). Thou shall not take the name of thy god in vain: Washington offices' use of religious language to shape public and political agendas. *Journal of Media & Religion*, 8(2), 115-137. Retrieved October 12, 2011, from the EBSCO Host database.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Leege, D. C., & Kellstedt, L. A. (Eds.). (1993). *Rediscovering the religious factor in American politics*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Lou-Coleman, C. (1997). Science, technology and risk coverage of a community conflict. *Social meanings of news: a text-reader* (pp. 483-497). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Mason, D. L. (2012a). Religion news coverage between 1930 and 1960. In D. Winston (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of religion and the American news media* (pp. 65-79). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mason, D. L. (2012b). Religion news online. In D. Winston (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of religion and the American news media* (pp. 157-167). New York: Oxford University Press.

- Medhurst, M. J. (2009). Evangelical Christian faith and political action: Mike Huckabee and the 2008 republican presidential nomination. *Journal of Communication & Religion*, 32(2), 199-239. Retrieved October 12, 2011, from the EBSCO Host database.
- Mishra, N. (2011). Power to define: framing of Naxalites in the Indian media. *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition*, 6(2), 23-35.
- Punyanunt-Carter, N. M., Corrigan, M. W., Wrench, J. S., & McCroskey, J. C. (2010). A quantitative analysis of political affiliation, religiosity, and religious-based communication. *Journal of Communication & Religion*, 33(1), 1-32. Retrieved October 12, 2011, from the EBSCO Host database.
- Putnam, R. D., & Campbell, D. E. (2010). *American grace: how religion divides and unites us*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Religion in the News. (2009). The Project for Excellence in Journalism and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. <http://stateofthemedias.org/2010/special-reports-economic-attitudes/religion-in-the-news/>.
- Romano, C. What? Grisly truth about bare facts. In R. K. Manoff & M. Schudson (Eds.). (1986). *Reading the news: A Pantheon guide to popular culture* (pp. 38-78). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Scheufele, Dietram, Matthew Nisbet, & Dominique Brossard. Pathways to political participation? Religion, communication contexts, and mass media. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 15.3 (2003): 300-324. *Oxford Journals*. Web. 2 Oct. 2011.
- Schulz, P. J., Hartung, U., & Fiordelli, M. (2012). Do journalists' opinions affect news selection in a low-key conflict? Newspaper coverage of the discussion of smoking bans in Switzerland. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 89(3), 414-430.
- Silk, M. (1995). *Unsecular media: making news of religion in America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Stout, D., & Buddenbaum, J. (2003). Media, religion, and "framing". *Journal of Media & Religion*, 2(1), 1-3. Retrieved October 9, 2011, from the EBSCO Host database.
- The rapture: Barack Obama, marketing and the media. (2009). *Metro*, (160), 194-201.
- U.S. religious landscape survey. The Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. February, 2008. <http://religions.pewforum.org/affiliations>

- Wald, K., & Calhoun-Brown, A. (2007). *Religion and Politics in the United States* (Fifth ed.). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Wald, K., & Leege, D. (2009). Culture, religion and American political life. In C. Smidt, L. Kellstedt, & J. Guth (Eds.). *The Oxford handbook of religion and American politics* (pp. 126-163). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weeks, B., & Southwell, B. (2010). The symbiosis of news coverage and aggregate online search behavior: Obama, rumors, and presidential politics. *Mass Communication & Society*, 13(4), 341-360.
- Wilcox, C., & Fortelny, G. (2009). Religion and social movements. In C. Smidt, L. Kellstedt, & J. Guth (Eds.). *The Oxford handbook of religion and American politics* (pp. 266-298). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wills, G. (1990). *Under God: religion and American politics*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Wimmer, R. D., & Dominick, J. R. (2011). Basic statistical procedures. *Mass media research: an introduction* (ninth ed., pp. 304-331). Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Pub. Co.
- Winston, Diane. Back to the future: Religion, politics and the media. *American Quarterly* 59.3 (2007): 969-989. *Muse*. Web. 2 Oct. 2011.
- Wuthnow, R. (1991). Understanding religion and politics. *Daedalus*, 120(3), 1-20. Retrieved October 2, 2011, from the JSTOR database

APPENDIX

CODEBOOK AND CODE SHEET

1. Newspaper code # (Washington Post: 1, washingtonpost.com: 2, New York Times: 3)

2. Type of article code # (editorial: 1, news article: 2)

An editorial is defined as an article that invokes the author's opinion and pushes the reader to reach a certain conclusion. A news article uses multiple interviews to present various sides of an issue and does not insert the reporter's own bias into the article.

3. Headline of article

4. Month article was published (January: 1, February: 2, March: 3)

5. Count the total number of sentences in the article, not including the headline, deck or byline.

6. Count the number of sources who are cited or interviewed to corroborate the idea that Santorum's Catholicism has an impact on how he views abortion, homosexuality or evolution. This could include quotations from Santorum.
(Fewer than five: 1, Five or more: 2)

7. Count the number of sources who are cited or interviewed who talk about Santorum's Catholicism without mentioning abortion, homosexuality, or evolution.
(Fewer than five: 1, Five or more: 2)

8. Count the number of sentences referencing abortion. This is defined as any text that mentions terminating a pregnancy or a woman's right to make choices about reproduction or discusses the legality or morality of either of these actions. This could include mention of the words "abortion," "abort," or "fetus." (Fewer than five: 1, Five or more: 2)

9. Count the number of sentences referencing homosexuality. This is defined as any text that mentions homosexuality or discusses the legality or morality of homosexuality; this could include use of the words "homosexuality," "gay," "lesbian," or "queer" and the phrases "gay marriage" or "marriage equality." (Fewer than five: 1, Five or more: 2)

10. Count the number of sentences referencing evolution. This is defined as any text that mentions the origins of human life or discusses classroom policy about teaching about the origins of life; this could include use of the words "creation," "creationism," "intelligent design" or "evolution." (Fewer than five: 1, Five or more: 2)

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
2	1	How elections reduce Americans to stereotypes; Why do we talk about the "black vote" and the "youth vote"?	3	83	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Cherry-picking Rick Santorum?; For Catholics like Santorum, there is a difference between "rules and doctrines" and broad policy priorities.	3	56	0/1	4./1	1./1	1./1	0/1
2	1	Politicians giving religion a bad name; Voters reject return to the worst habits of the religious right circa 1980.	3	45	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Rick Santorum, cafeteria Catholic?	3	36	0/1	5./1	1./1	0/1	0/1
2	1	The Etch-a-Sketch incident and the art of the political gaffe; THE FIX All political gaffes aren't created equal. Here's why. THE FIX All political gaffes aren't created equal. Here's why. THE FIX All political gaffes aren't created equal. Here's why.	3	27	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
3	1	Rethinking His Religion	3	75	0/1	0/1	18/2	3./1	0/1
2	1	A vision for a secular America; Americans must not avert our eyes from rising theocracy.	3	38	0/1	0/1	0/1	1./1	2./1
2	1	Santorum's lack of religious sensibility; Doesn't he get it?	3	21	0/1	3./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Romney's challenge to sway evangelical voters; What Romney needs to do to earn religion-based votes in November	3	37	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Santorum: Peddling religious antagonisms, again; A shameful slur.	3	19	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1

2	1	The Supreme Court mulls death and life; Santorum convinced by a film; and Hillary lauds Amelia Earhart (read-this roundup); In the Loop's roundup, the high court's odd case, Santorum's video education, and Hillary talks Amelia Earhart.	3	10	1./1	1./1	3./1	0/1	0/1
3	1	Many Kinds of Catholic	3	40	0/1	0/1	3./1	2./1	0/1
3	1	Is Elvis A Mormon?	3	39	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
3	1	Forget the Money, Follow the Sacredness	3	57	1./1	0/1	2./1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Rick Santorum's evangelical appeal; Southern evangelicals see, in Santorum, a brother in arms who attends a different church on Sundays.	3	42	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Why demographics and math are a problem for Santorum; Count the Whole Foods stores and the delegates.	3	19	0/1	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	What you might have missed in the Alabama, Mississippi exit polls; A deep dive into the exit polls from the primaries on Tuesday night.	3	35	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Barack Obama is Muslim? And the Time Traveler vote.; It makes sense to me.	3	57	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	4./1
2	1	Feminism's final frontier? Religion.	3	39	0/1	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1

2	1	Santorum and Madison on church and state; Historian Kevin R.C. Gutzman compares presidential candidate Santorum's declarations on the separation of church and state with the ideas of Founding Father James Madison.	3	39	0/1	2./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	2	Evangelical voters raise Santorum to victory in Tennessee; The Tennessee electorate turned out to be the most evangelical so far in the Republican nomination fight, helping secure a victory for former Pennsylvania senator Rick Santorum.	3	18	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
3	1	Super Tuesday	3	30	0/1	0/1	1./1	1./1	0/1
2	1	A Super Tuesday reality check	3	20	0/1	0/1	1./1	1./1	0/1
1	1	JFK's message is lost on Santorum	3	50	2./1	0/1	0/1	1./1	0/1
2	1	What Rick Santorum doesn't understand about JFK; Kennedy didn't exclude faith from public life.	3	50	3./1	0/1	0/1	1./1	0/1
3	1	Santorum and the Sexual Revolution	3	61	1./1	3./1	2	2	1./1
2	1	Why doesn't the tea party like Ron Paul? (Today's Trail Mix); A funny thing happened on the campaign trail: Ron Paul lost the tea party vote, big time. TRAIL MIX A funny thing happened on the campaign trail: Ron Paul lost the tea party vote, big time.	3	31	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Romney's luck	3	57	1./1	0/1	2./1	0/1	0/1

2	1	'Electability' fuels Romney's victory, Religion and Democrats for Rick Santorum in Michigan; Mitt Romney eked out a victory in Michigan Tuesday, beating back a stiff challenge from Rick Santorum by scoring big wins among voters looking for "experience" and those prioritizing electability.	2	38	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Santorum's scrappy rhetoric a campaign staple; For all the scrutiny Rick Santorum has received for his provocative pronouncements, there's little he said recently that he had not said before.	2	34	0/1	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Santorum: Weird extremism, or shrewd politics?; How to take Santorum's over-the-top statements	2	22	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Does Rick Santorum want religion in government? Or government out of religion?; There's a difference between the two that often gets lost in the analysis of Rick Santorum's remarks.	2	36	0/1	2./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Santorum: I regret 'throw up' comment on JFK; The former senator said Tuesday he wished he could take back his comments about JFK's religion speech.	2	6	0/1	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Why does Santorum object to JFK's speech?; What is Santorum's objection to JFK's speech?	2	19	0/1	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1

2	1	What JFK really said about separating church from state; Rather than condemn Kennedy's speech, perhaps Santorum, a fellow Catholic, should say "thank you."	2	22	0/1	2./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Enough of Rick Santorum's sermons; His talk about religion and education are simply irresponsible.	2	36	0/1	1./1	1./1	1./1	0/1
2	1	Santorum's misfire on Obama, colleges and religion; FACT CHECKER Santorum says Obama wants everyone to go to college, which studies show reduces commitment to faith. Wrong on both counts. FACT CHECKER Santorum says Obama wants everyone to go to college, which studies show reduces commitment to faith. Wrong on both counts.	2	43	0/1	3./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Rick Santorum shows he's the wrong man to be president; His ginned-up false fight over religion is disqualifying.	2	22	0/1	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Angry Rick Santorum 'throws up' on JFK; President Kennedy's 1960 speech on religion made him 'throw up'? How vivid.	2	35	0/1	3./1	1./1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Rick Santorum's 'phony' Catholic theology; Santorum's rant goes against the basic principles of the founders of the Republic who strove to separate theology from politics.	2	31	1./1	1./1	2./1	0/1	0/1

2	1	It's not just Santorum who believes in Satan; Is the idea of evil now so unacceptable in our public discourse as to be dismissed as batty? Is the idea of evil now so unacceptable in our public discourse as to be dismissed as batty?	2	36	0/1	4./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	The religion and politics of division; COLUMN Christian conservatives are playing an ancient game: Using religion to divide people.COLUMN With quotes like "phony theology," Christian conservatives play old game of "us" vs. "them."	2	39	0/1	4./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
1	1	Rick Santorum , the culture warrior	2	30	0/1	0/1	2	2./1	0/1
3	1	A Revolutionary Idea	2	39	0/1	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Santorum and Romney are miscast as candidates; Romney lacks the ability to inspire and Santorum the ability to separate church and state.	2	35	0/1	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	The faux birth control debate; The Supreme Court has already decided that "any institution that can't in good faith follow [standard] rules shouldn't apply for public funding."	2	25	0/1	5./2	0/1	1./1	0/1
2	1	Santorum, Romney and religious judgments; The candidates' revealing moments	2	35	2./1	5./2	2	0/1	0/1
2	1	Santorum's Ash Wednesday test; His religious statements give Romney an opening in debate.	2	23	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1

2	1	Santorum is too strident for this 'center-right' nation; His rhetoric has gone so far to the right that even if he were to pivot towards the center he'll still be far right.	2	34	1./1	2./1	5./2	0/1	0/1
2	1	Why does Santorum despise the separation of church and state?; Religious minorities (like Catholics) often have pragmatic reasons for being wary of permitting religion to play too large a role in public life. A reminder to Sen. Santorum: Religious minorities (like Catholics!) often have pragmatic reasons for embracing secularism.	2	38	0/1	2./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Media should challenge Santorum and Gingrich's 'cafeteria Catholicism'; Moderators of upcoming debates should challenge them on their differences with papal decrees.	2	28	0/1	4./1	0/1	0/1	1./1
3	1	Severe Conservative Syndrome	2	31	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1
2	1	Santorum hits a home run at CPAC; His speech brings conservatives to their feet.	2	29	0/1	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
1	1	We're smart enough for a Darwin debate	1	39	0/1	0/1	0/1	0/1	2
3	2	Despite Shared Faith, Catholic Voters Haven't Been Thronging to Santorum	3	52	2./1	2	3./1	1./1	0/1

2	2	One word impressions of GOP candidates; Mitt Romney's campaign might take solace that "Mormon" is no longer the single most frequently mentioned one-word descriptor for former Massachusetts governor, but they may bemoan its replacements atop the list: "no" and "rich."	3	17	0/1	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
3	2	In Surprising Shift, Many Evangelical Voters Are Turning to Santorum, a Catholic	3	39	1./1	4./1	2./1	0/1	0/1
2	2	Poll watcher: More Americans spurn faith talk by politicians; Nearly four in 10 Americans now say politicians talk too much about religious faith, a sentiment that has spiked in recent years among Democrats and independents, according to a new survey by the Pew Research Center.	3	12	0/1	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
1	2	Santorum's religious journey	3	10 2	2./1	2	2	0/1	0/1
3	2	Santorum Writings Voice Strikingly Consistent Views	3	57	1./1	1./1	3./1	2	3./1
2	2	In GOP race, voters divided over religion's place in politics; Faith has emerged as a significant fault line in the Republican race for president, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News poll.	3	19	1./1	1./1	4./1	3./1	0/1

2	2	Rick Santorum's faithful value religion and politics, poll shows; A majority of Rick Santorum's supporters think politicians should rely on their religious beliefs in making policy decisions: Washington Post-ABC News poll.	3	5	1./1	1./1	1./1	1./1	0/1
3	2	Romney and Santorum Fight It Out in Ohio With Much at Stake	3	49	1./1	2./1	2./1	0/1	0/1
2	2	Super Tuesday: For Ohio voters, it's still (mostly) about the economy; Voters in the Buckeye State go to the polls today, and the economy's still foremost on their minds.	3	62	0/1	1./1	0/1	0/1	0/1
3	2	From 'Nominal Catholic' to Clarion of Faith	3	95	1	2	2	0/1	0/1
3	2	Santorum Makes Case For Religion In Public Sphere	2	43	1./1	1./1	2./1	1./1	0/1

ARTICLES CODED

Evangelical voters raise Santorum to victory in Tennessee; The Tennessee electorate turned out to be the most evangelical so far in the Republican nomination fight, helping secure a victory for former Pennsylvania senator Rick Santorum.

March 7, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Despite Shared Faith, Catholic Voters Haven't Been Thronging to Santorum

March 27, 2012, *The New York Times*

One word impressions of GOP candidates; Mitt Romney's campaign might take solace that "Mormon" is no longer the single most frequently mentioned one-word descriptor for former Massachusetts governor, but they may bemoan its replacements atop the list: "no" and "rich."

March 26, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

In Surprising Shift, Many Evangelical Voters Are Turning to Santorum, a Catholic

March 24, 2012, *The New York Times*

Poll watcher: More Americans spurn faith talk by politicians; Nearly four in 10 Americans now say politicians talk too much about religious faith, a sentiment that has spiked in recent years among Democrats and independents, according to a new survey by the Pew Research Center.

March 22, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum's religious journey

March 20, 2012, *The Washington Post*

Santorum Writings Voice Strikingly Consistent Views

March 20, 2012, *The New York Times*

In GOP race, voters divided over religion's place in politics; Faith has emerged as a significant fault line in the Republican race for president, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News poll.

March 18, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Rick Santorum's faithful value religion and politics, poll shows; A majority of Rick Santorum's supporters think politicians should rely on their religious beliefs in making policy decisions: Washington Post-ABC News poll.

March 16, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Romney and Santorum Fight It Out in Ohio With Much at Stake

March 7, 2012, *The New York Times*

Super Tuesday: For Ohio voters, it's still (mostly) about the economy; Voters in the Buckeye State go to the polls today, and the economy's still foremost on their minds.

March 6, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

From 'Nominal Catholic' to Clarion of Faith

March 4, 2012, *The New York Times*

Santorum Makes Case For Religion In Public Sphere

Feb. 27, 2012, *The New York Times*

Santorum says he 'almost threw up' after reading JFK speech on separation of church and state; Former senator on Sunday defended a past statement that he "almost threw up" when he read 1960 JFK address on role of religion in public life. GOP presidential candidate on Sunday defended a statement he made last October in which he said that he "almost threw up" when he read John F. Kennedy's 1960 House address on the role of religion in public life.

Feb. 26, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Rick Santorum's 'phony theology' criticism of Obama follows a familiar theme; Santorum's comments were a new twist on a steady theme of his candidacy: that Obama and other Democrats have a secular worldview not based on the Bible.

Feb. 24, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum: Obama 'trying to crush the traditional Judeo-Christian values of America'; The GOP presidential hopeful is not backing down from his inflammatory statements about Obama and religion.

Feb. 23, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

In weaving faith into campaign, Santorum resorts to chiding opponents

Feb. 21, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Rick Santorum says he was not questioning Obama's faith with 'phony theology' remark; Former Pennsylvania senator said he was talking about "radical environmentalists." Former Pennsylvania senator said he was talking about "radical environmentalists."

Feb. 20, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum assails Obama's health law on prenatal testing

Feb. 20, 2012, *The Washington Post*

After a Child's Death, a Religious Politician Became a Cultural Warrior

Jan. 5, 2012, *The New York Times*

How elections reduce Americans to stereotypes; Why do we talk about the "black vote" and the "youth vote"?

March 31, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Cherry-picking Rick Santorum?; For Catholics like Santorum, there is a difference between “rules and doctrines” and broad policy priorities.

March 27, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Politicians giving religion a bad name; Voters reject return to the worst habits of the religious right circa 1980.

March 27, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Rick Santorum, cafeteria Catholic?

March 25, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

The Etch-a-Sketch incident and the art of the political gaffe; THE FIX | All political gaffes aren't created equal. Here's why.

March 25, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Rethinking His Religion

March 25, 2012, *The New York Times*

A vision for a secular America; Americans must not avert our eyes from rising theocracy.

March 24, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum's lack of religious sensibility; Doesn't he get it?

March 23, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Romney's challenge to sway evangelical voters; What Romney needs to do to earn religion-based votes in November

March 22, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum: Peddling religious antagonisms, again; A shameful slur.

March 21, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

The Supreme Court mulls death and life; Santorum convinced by a film; and Hillary lauds Amelia Earhart (read-this roundup); In the Loop's roundup, the high court's odd case, Santorum's video education, and Hillary talks Amelia Earhart.

March 20, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Many Kinds of Catholic

March 20, 2012, *The New York Times*

Is Elvis A Mormon?

March 18, 2012, *The New York Times*

Forget the Money, Follow the Sacredness

March 18, 2012, *The New York Times*

Rick Santorum's evangelical appeal; Southern evangelicals see, in Santorum, a brother in arms who attends a different church on Sundays.

March 16, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Why demographics and math are a problem for Santorum; Count the Whole Foods stores and the delegates.

March 15, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

What you might have missed in the Alabama, Mississippi exit polls; A deep dive into the exit polls from the primaries on Tuesday night.

March 15, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Barack Obama is Muslim? And the Time Traveler vote.; It makes sense to me.

March 12, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Feminism's final frontier? Religion.

March 12, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum and Madison on church and state; Historian Kevin R.C. Gutzman compares presidential candidate Santorum's declarations on the separation of church and state with the ideas of Founding Father James Madison.

March 8, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Super Tuesday

March 7, 2012, *The New York Times*

A Super Tuesday reality check

March 5, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

JFK's message is lost on Santorum

March 4, 2012, *The Washington Post*

What Rick Santorum doesn't understand about JFK; Kennedy didn't exclude faith from public life.

March 3, 2012

Santorum and the Sexual Revolution

March 3, 2012, *The New York Times*

Why doesn't the tea party like Ron Paul? (Today's Trail Mix); A funny thing happened on the campaign trail: Ron Paul lost the tea party vote, big time. TRAIL MIX | A funny thing happened on the campaign trail: Ron Paul lost the tea party vote, big time.

March 2, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Romney's luck

March 2, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

'Electability' fuels Romney's victory, Religion and Democrats for Rick Santorum in Michigan; Mitt Romney eked out a victory in Michigan Tuesday, beating back a stiff challenge from Rick Santorum by scoring big wins among voters looking for "experience" and those prioritizing electability.

Feb. 29, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum's scrappy rhetoric a campaign staple; For all the scrutiny Rick Santorum has received for his provocative pronouncements, there's little he said recently that he had not said before.

Feb. 29, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum: Weird extremism, or shrewd politics?; How to take Santorum's over-the-top statements

Feb. 28, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Does Rick Santorum want religion in government? Or government out of religion?; There's a difference between the two that often gets lost in the analysis of Rick Santorum's remarks.

Feb. 28, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum: I regret 'throw up' comment on JFK; The former senator said Tuesday he wished he could take back his comments about JFK's religion speech.

Feb. 28, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Why does Santorum object to JFK's speech?; What is Santorum's objection to JFK's speech?

Feb. 28, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

What JFK really said about separating church from state; Rather than condemn Kennedy's speech, perhaps Santorum, a fellow Catholic, should say "thank you."

Feb. 28, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Enough of Rick Santorum's sermons; His talk about religion and education are simply irresponsible.

Feb. 28, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum's misfire on Obama, colleges and religion; FACT CHECKER | Santorum says Obama wants everyone to go to college, which studies show reduces commitment to faith. Wrong on both counts. FACT CHECKER | Santorum says Obama wants everyone to go to college, which studies show reduces commitment to faith. Wrong on both counts.
Feb. 28, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Rick Santorum shows he's the wrong man to be president; His ginned-up false fight over religion is disqualifying.
Feb. 28, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Angry Rick Santorum 'throws up' on JFK; President Kennedy's 1960 speech on religion made him 'throw up'? How vivid.
Feb. 27, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Rick Santorum's 'phony' Catholic theology; Santorum's rant goes against the basic principles of the founders of the Republic who strove to separate theology from politics.
Feb. 27, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

It's not just Santorum who believes in Satan; Is the idea of evil now so unacceptable in our public discourse as to be dismissed as batty?
Feb. 27, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

The religion and politics of division; COLUMN | Christian conservatives are playing an ancient game: Using religion to divide people. COLUMN | With quotes like "phony theology," Christian conservatives play old game of "us" vs. "them."
Feb. 26, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Rick Santorum , the culture warrior
Feb. 26, *The Washington Post*

A Revolutionary Idea
Feb. 25, 2012, *The New York Times*

Santorum and Romney are miscast as candidates; Romney lacks the ability to inspire and Santorum the ability to separate church and state.
Feb. 23, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

The faux birth control debate; The Supreme Court has already decided that "any institution that can't in good faith follow [standard] rules shouldn't apply for public funding."
Feb. 22, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum, Romney and religious judgments; The candidates' revealing moments
Feb. 22, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum's Ash Wednesday test; His religious statements give Romney an opening in debate.

Feb. 22, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Santorum is too strident for this 'center-right' nation; His rhetoric has gone so far to the right that even if he were to pivot towards the center he'll still be far right.

Feb. 21, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Why does Santorum despise the separation of church and state?; Religious minorities (like Catholics) often have pragmatic reasons for being wary of permitting religion to play too large a role in public life. A reminder to Sen. Santorum: Religious minorities (like Catholics!) often have pragmatic reasons for embracing secularism.

Feb. 17, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Media should challenge Santorum and Gingrich's 'cafeteria Catholicism'; Moderators of upcoming debates should challenge them on their differences with papal decrees.

Feb. 16, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

Severe Conservative Syndrome

Feb. 13, 2012, *The New York Times*

Santorum hits a home run at CPAC; His speech brings conservatives to their feet.

Feb. 10, 2012, WashingtonPost.com

We're smart enough for a Darwin debate

Jan. 19, 2012, *The Washington Post*

Evangelical voters raise Santorum to victory in Tennessee; The Tennessee electorate turned out to be the most evangelical so far in the Republican nomination fight, helping secure a victory for former Pennsylvania senator Rick Santorum.

By Jon Cohen;Peyton M. Craighill;Scott Clement;Kristina Meacham

435 words

7 March 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

The Tennessee electorate turned out to be the most evangelical so far in the Republican nomination fight, helping secure a victory for former Pennsylvania senator **Rick Santorum**.

You can dig deep into the results and sort candidates by their best and worst groups using the Post's Primary Tracker.

Evangelicals: Seventy-six percent of voters were evangelical Christians in Tennessee, edging out the group's turnout in Georgia and South Carolina, two states that went to Newt Gingrich. Over four in 10 evangelicals voted for **Santorum** while about a quarter supported Gingrich and Mitt Romney each.

Religion: More than four in 10 Tennessee voters said it matters a great deal for a candidate to share their own religious beliefs, above the numbers in Georgia or Ohio. Over half of these voters pick **Santorum**.

Conservatives: Nearly three quarters of voters identified as conservative including 41 percent saying they were "very conservative." **Santorum** won this group by 20 points or more over his competitors.

Top Attributes: Electability remains a strong suit for Romney in Tennessee. Nearly four in 10 voters said ability to beat Obama is the most important candidate attribute, and Romney beats out **Santorum** and Gingrich among these voters. But just as many voters in Tennessee said they are looking for a candidate who is a "true conservative" or someone with strong moral character. These values voters picked **Santorum** by an overwhelming margin.

Blue collar voters: **Santorum** was more competitive among Tennessee voters without a college degree and those with household income of less than \$50,000, topping Romney by double digits in both groups. Romney and **Santorum** ran about evenly among wealthier voters in Tennessee and Romney edged him out among college graduates.

Romney's conservative problem: Nearly half of voters in Tennessee said Romney is not conservative enough, and **Santorum** topped other candidates by more than 20 points among this group.

These are preliminary results among 2,728 Republican voters as they exited primary voting places in Tennessee on March 6, 2012. The poll also included telephone interviews with Tennesseans who voted early or absentee. The poll was conducted by Edison Media Research for the National Election Pool, The Washington Post and other media organizations.

National Desk; SECTA

Despite Shared Faith, Catholic Voters Haven't Been Thronging to Santorum

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE; Ashley Parker contributed reporting from Arbutus, Md.; Susan Saulny from Mandeville, La.; and Marjorie Connelly from New York.

1341 words

27 March 2012

[The New York Times](#)

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

14

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

Cathy Willauer, who is Roman Catholic and a mother of four, says that her **religion** is important to her and that she shares the same values as **Rick Santorum**.

But Mrs. Willauer, 50, who lives in Annapolis, Md., has decided to support Mitt Romney in Maryland's Republican presidential primary on April 3. She said she had more confidence that Mr. Romney, a former governor of Massachusetts, could better manage the economy.

Besides, she said, Mr. Romney, who is Mormon, appears more tolerant of people of other faiths.

"While my personal values may align more closely with Senator **Santorum's**," she said, "I feel Governor Romney is more willing to tolerate different views and values, and the president of the United States has to accept and respect the right of every American to believe as they will."

Mrs. Willauer, who attended a Romney event in Arbutus, Md., last week, is part of a striking pattern that has emerged during the Republican primary season: more Catholic Republicans are favoring Mr. Romney even though Mr. **Santorum** is Catholic.

Mr. **Santorum**, a former senator from Pennsylvania, has trailed Mr. Romney among Catholics in 10 of the 12 states in which Edison Research conducted exit polls that asked about **religion**.

With two exceptions, he has lost the Catholic vote by a minimum of 7 percentage points (in Michigan, where Mr. Romney grew up) and by as much as 53 percentage points in Massachusetts, where Mr. Romney was governor. He has even lost among Catholics in the South, although he was nearly tied with Mr. Romney among Catholics in Tennessee and won decisively among Catholics in Louisiana.

In most of the primary contests, whether he has won or lost, Mr. **Santorum** has been buoyed by the support of evangelical Protestants. He has done best in states with substantial evangelical populations and they have become his most reliable base, along with some Tea Party supporters and those who call themselves very conservative.

In fact, many voters are unaware of his **religion**. A Pew survey this month found that only 42 percent of Catholic Republicans knew that Mr. **Santorum** was Catholic. At the same time, 11 percent of Catholic Republicans and 35 percent of white evangelical Republicans said they thought he was an evangelical.

"There's an intensity to his statements, and to the subjects he discusses -- the rise of secularism, the criticism of people of faith in the public square -- that's often associated with evangelicals," said John C. Green, a political scientist at the University of Akron who studies religious voting patterns.

Analysts see many reasons for Mr. **Santorum's** lagging among Catholic Republican voters, the main one being that Catholics, who make up about a quarter of the total electorate, are not monolithic and are more representative of the electorate as a whole.

"There is no Catholic vote, per se," said Catherine E. Wilson, a political scientist at Villanova University. "They mirror the general population, with progressives, moderates and conservatives. And **Santorum** is winning the conservatives."

In 1960, Catholics voted overwhelmingly for John F. Kennedy. But in 2004, when Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts became the first Catholic nominee since Kennedy, he lost the Catholic vote to President George W. Bush, a born-again Christian.

In 2008, President Obama won the Catholic vote over the Republican candidate, John McCain. This year, Dr. Green said, Catholics appear likely to be divided again, with conservatives voting for the Republican nominee, liberals voting for Mr. Obama and the moderates "up for grabs."

So far, Mr. Romney, who has emphasized the economy, has been more successful in winning Catholics over than Mr. **Santorum**, who has emphasized social, cultural and religious issues.

An important indicator of voting preference is how often someone attends church. Those who attend at least once a week tend to be more conservative than those who attend occasionally. But only about one-third of Catholics who responded to the latest New York Times/CBS News poll said they attended church weekly.

Mr. **Santorum** was asked last week by Sandy Rios, a Fox News contributor hosting a program on American Family Radio, to explain why he was not winning more Catholic voters.

He said he did not understand it himself -- "I really wish I could tell you," he said -- but he said he thought it might correlate with church attendance.

"With folks who do practice their **religion** more ardently," he said, "I tend to do well."

Joan Leon, 71, a retired nurse who voted for Mr. **Santorum** in Louisiana's primary, would certainly qualify as an ardent Catholic. She attends church every day. Her chief concern is abortion -- she strongly opposes it.

Mrs. Leon braved a raging storm, floods and a tornado watch last week to see Mr. **Santorum** when he visited Mandeville, near her home. She said he was "the most pro-

life candidate," though she also liked his experience on the Senate Armed Services Committee and his support for more oil drilling.

But most Catholics disagree with Mr. **Santorum** on various issues, according to recent New York Times/CBS News national polls. A majority have used artificial birth control and few attend weekly Mass. Most support either same-sex civil unions or marriage, and only a few would prohibit abortions altogether.

In his unsuccessful bid for re-election to the Senate in 2006, Mr. **Santorum** also lost the Catholic vote, by 18 percentage points. He was running against Robert P. Casey Jr., also a Catholic.

Mr. **Santorum's** faith-related comments have sometimes caused an uproar, as they did last month when he said he wanted to "throw up" after reading John F. Kennedy's 1960 speech asserting that the separation between church and state be absolute. Even Mr. **Santorum**, rarely one to back off a pronouncement, said he wished he had not used that language, but he stuck by his point, that people who try to express their faith in the public square are unwelcome and even persecuted. The comment may have played a role in his narrow loss in Michigan, the first state to vote after he made it.

Dr. Wilson at Villanova said that by talking about matters of faith so often, Mr. **Santorum** appeared to be "more preacher than presidential contender," which can make Catholics, among others, uncomfortable.

"People want politicians to have faith," she said, "but they don't necessarily want to be hearing about it all the time."

A Pew study last week confirmed that view, showing that more voters than ever want less religious talk from politicians. It was the first time since Pew started asking that question a decade ago that more people said there had been too much religious expression from politicians, not too little.

When he ran for president in 2008, Mr. Romney felt compelled to address fears that the Mormon Church would guide his policies. But this year, he has barely mentioned the subject. While some evangelicals remain suspicious of Mormons, Catholics like Mrs. Willauer of Annapolis say they have no problem with it.

"Because Governor Romney is Mormon, a family man, I don't take issue with his **religion**," Mrs. Willauer said. "I don't know how the pope would feel about that, but we're all modified Catholics these days anyhow."

PHOTOS: **Rick Santorum** attending a prayer service this month at an evangelical church in Puerto Rico. (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTOPHER GREGORY/GETTY IMAGES); Cathy Willauer, center, at left, is a Catholic in Maryland who says she supports Mitt Romney. Joan Leon, at right, said she voted for Mr. **Santorum** on Saturday in the Louisiana primary. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY SHANNON JENSEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; STEPHEN CROWLEY/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

CHARTS: The Catholic Vote: In presidential general elections since 1972, Catholic voters have mirrored the general population, supporting the winning candidate in every year except 2000.

One word impressions of GOP candidates; Mitt Romney's campaign might take solace that "Mormon" is no longer the single most frequently mentioned one-word descriptor for former Massachusetts governor, but they may bemoan its replacements atop the list: "no" and "rich."

By Peyton M. Craighill; Jon Cohen

402 words

26 March 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Mitt Romney's campaign might take solace in the fact that "Mormon" is no longer the single most frequently mentioned one-word descriptor for the former Massachusetts governor, but they may bemoan its replacements atop the list: "no" and "rich"

A new poll from The Washington Post and the Pew Research Center highlights quick, off-the-cuff public impressions of the four top GOP candidates. (The reported results are raw, unadjusted counts of the number of respondents using each word.)

For each of the four candidates -- Romney, **Rick Santorum**, Newt Gingrich and Ron Paul -- more people use negative than positive words, although many can be classified as neutral and sizable numbers offered no word at all.

[Click here for a full size chart](#) and [here for a chart with trend](#) on Romney and Gingrich.

Paralleling the growing number of Americans giving Gingrich unfavorable ratings, the former House speaker gets the highest proportion of negative words. His top word is scored as neutral but may be a negative to some: "old." It's followed by four more clearly negative words: "no," "idiot," "untrustworthy" and "dislike."

Since December, the percentage of Republicans offering a negative word about Gingrich doubled. More Republicans now use a negative than a positive word, 34 to 20 percent.

For Romney, the overall number of people citing money or wealth has soared since late last year, with mentions of his **religion** way down. His top five in the new poll are "no," "rich," "good," "Mormon" and "moderate."

The top five for **Santorum**: "conservative," "no," "good," "OK," and "crazy." Paul garners these top four: "no," "old," "libertarian" and "honest," followed by a tie for fifth place of "crazy," "good," "too old" and "OK."

Paul is the only one of the four to get labeled a "libertarian," but others draw mentions about ideology. The table below charts the combined view.

Note: Variants of "conservative" including "too conservative" and "ultraconservative" are included in total.

Research analyst Kimberly Hines contributed to this report.

ON RELIGION
National Desk; SECTA

In Surprising Shift, Many Evangelical Voters Are Turning to Santorum, a Catholic

By SAMUEL G. FREEDMAN

1035 words

24 March 2012

The New York Times

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

14

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

Carissa Wilson began paying attention to **Rick Santorum** last fall, when her high school class in American government was assigned to watch several of the Republican presidential debates. About three weeks ago, she attended a campaign speech that Mr. **Santorum** delivered at her school near Dayton, Ohio. The next day, March 6, Miss Wilson cast the first vote of her life, balloting for Mr. **Santorum** in the Ohio presidential primary.

It hardly mattered to Miss Wilson that she is an evangelical Protestant -- raised as a Baptist, attending a nondenominational church and in her senior year at Dayton Christian School -- and that Mr. **Santorum** is a Roman Catholic. In her thoughts and action, she typifies a cultural and religious phenomenon in the 2012 election: the unprecedented appeal of a Catholic candidate to evangelical voters.

"I was never particularly concerned with his faith," Miss Wilson said in a phone interview this week. "I was concerned with how it was manifested in his policies. I'm very on track with his views on abortion, his stance on embryonic stem cells. I love that he takes risks, that he says what he believes in."

What Miss Wilson -- who, at 17, was allowed to vote in Ohio's primary because she will be 18 by the general election -- describes in a matter-of-fact way is actually part of a seismic shift. After more than a century of widespread antipathy between Catholics and evangelical Christians, a Catholic with Italian immigrant roots from the industrial Northeast has emerged as the favored presidential candidate among evangelicals, even in states he lost over all, like Ohio and Illinois. On the eve of Louisiana's primary on

Saturday, Mr. **Santorum** had won a plurality of the evangelical vote in 9 of 16 states, according to exit polls by Edison Research.

"**Santorum** represents a game-changer," said D. Michael Lindsay, the president of Gordon College, a Christian school near Boston, and an expert in evangelical voting patterns. "His candidacy has the potential to reshape conservative political alignment, securing once and for all evangelical support for a conservative Catholic in public life."

Mr. **Santorum** has, in fact, performed far better with evangelical Christians than with Catholics, who have preferred Mitt Romney, a Mormon, in virtually every state. Through a critical reading of the data, Mr. **Santorum's** base of evangelical Protestants and conservative Catholics could be seen by cynics as a coalition of zealots, held together by intolerance. By another way of thinking, however, his candidacy offers proof of a growing tolerance on the part of evangelical Christians, a willingness to shed ancestral religious prejudices.

It is worth remembering how viciously evangelical Protestants opposed Catholics early in the 20th century on issues like immigration and Prohibition. When Al Smith became the first Catholic to run for president in 1928, he was subjected to arguably the most bigoted attacks of any presidential candidate in history, accused of harboring secret plans to ban the Bible and end democracy in obeisance to the pope.

In 1960, when John F. Kennedy became the next Catholic to seek the presidency, such prominent evangelical ministers as the Revs. Billy Graham and Norman Vincent Peale privately strategized over how to defeat him. Kennedy ultimately had to deliver a speech endorsing the separation of church and state, and by inference declaring his independence from the pope, to quell fears about his Catholicism.

While evangelical Christians' opposition to Catholicism has declined since then, virulent remnants do remain. In the 2008 campaign, Senator John McCain had to renounce the support of a megachurch pastor, the Rev. John Hagee, who had a history of disparaging Catholicism, as he did in one 2003 sermon, as "the apostate church," the "mother of harlots" and "this mother-child cult." The Lutheran synod that Representative Michele Bachmann, who ran for president this time around, belongs to states in its doctrines that "the papacy is the Antichrist."

Against this history, Mr. **Santorum** has benefited both from his personal qualities and broader demographical and theological shifts within the evangelical community. As a senator, he established a track record on issues like abortion, religious freedom and sexual trafficking that put him in frequent alliance with evangelical Christians.

The road had also been paved for Mr. **Santorum** by evangelical Protestants and conservative Catholics, who for decades had tried to define common theological and political ground. In 1994, a panel led by the evangelical activist Charles Colson and the Catholic writer Richard John Neuhaus wrote a manifesto titled "Evangelicals and Catholics Together." While acknowledging the divides in ritual and dogma, the document presented them as allies against "a widespread secularization" that "increasingly descends into a moral, intellectual and spiritual nihilism."

Such top-down efforts coincided with shifts in grass-roots religious life. "In the last 30 years, you've had a lot of breaking down of denominational lines within the evangelical community," said William Martin, a sociologist at Rice University who has specialized in evangelical Christianity. "You had the growth of megachurches that don't emphasize denomination or doctrine the way evangelicals once did. Catholics benefit from that. And the fear of modernity and relativism that has come with globalization has been a spur to fundamentalism of various sorts."

The plate tectonics of social mobility also figure into the **Santorum** surprise, note scholars like the political scientist John C. Green of the University of Akron. In the post-World War II years, many Catholics moved out of insular urban neighborhoods while many evangelicals left their rural and small-town homes for the suburbs and exurbs. In subdivisions, in office parks, in colleges, the young people of the two religions began to encounter one another as benign acquaintances rather than alien enemies.

It is no coincidence, then, that a **Santorum** voter like Carissa Wilson has grown up in the suburban sprawl between two cities with strong Catholic heritages, Dayton and Cincinnati. Like the Michigan autoworkers in 1980 who made a break with Democratic tradition to vote for Ronald Reagan, Miss Wilson just may be the embodiment of a new wave.

Poll watcher: More Americans spurn faith talk by politicians; Nearly four in 10 Americans now say politicians talk too much about religious faith, a sentiment that has spiked in recent years among Democrats and independents, according to a new survey by the Pew Research Center.

By Scott Clement

433 words

22 March 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Nearly four in 10 Americans say politicians talk too much about religious faith, a sentiment that has spiked in recent years among Democrats and independents, according to a new survey by the Pew Research Center. Republicans also are more apt to say politicians talk too much about faith than in the past, though just one in four feel that way.

In general, Americans continue to think the nation has gone too far in keeping **religion** and government separate than mixing them together (36 vs. 25 percent), according to a Washington Post-ABC News poll released last week. Those results are comparable to an NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll in 1994, though fewer expressed concern that **religion** and politics were mixing too much. Americans are more wary of **religion's** influence on politicians themselves: 63 percent continue to say political leaders should not rely on their religious beliefs in making policy decisions.

Supporters of Republican presidential hopeful **Rick Santorum** take a very different view on **religion's** role in politics in both polls. Nearly six in 10 said the country has gone too far in keeping church and state separate in the Post-ABC poll, while fewer than four in 10 of Mitt Romney's supporters or the overall public says this. And while 30 percent of all Americans and 24 percent of Romney backers say there's been "too little" talk of faith and politics in the Pew survey, that surges to 55 percent among **Santorum's** supporters.

Is Obama alienating white Catholics?

Nearly twice as many white Catholics say the Obama administration is unfriendly toward **religion** as said this two years ago, up from 17 to 31 percent and possibly a result of a

heated controversy over requiring religiously affiliated employers to cover birth control in their health plans.

Still, more white Catholics continue to say Obama is friendly than unfriendly, and Post-ABC polls find Obama's approval rating among white Catholics has changed little since the controversy gained steam.

Both the Post-ABC and Pew polls were conducted among random national samples of adults using landline and cell phones. Information about Pew's methodology can be found [here](#).

A-Section

Santorum's religious journey

Stephanie McCrummen Jerry Markon

2333 words

20 March 2012

[The Washington Post](#)

WP

FINAL

A01

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved

In January 2002, prominent Catholics from around the world gathered in Rome to celebrate the Spanish priest who founded one of the church's most conservative and devout groups, Opus Dei.

The event drew cardinals, bishops and other powerful Vatican officials. And among those invited to speak was a future presidential candidate: **Rick Santorum**, whose faith had become so essential to his politics that on federal documents he listed the trip, paid for by an Opus Dei foundation, as part of his official duties as a U.S. senator from Pennsylvania.

In a speech at the gathering, **Santorum** embraced the ideas of Opus Dei founder Josemaria Escriva, who had urged ordinary Catholics to bring an almost priestly devotion to Catholic principles in every realm of life and work.

During Senate debates about abortion, **Santorum** told the audience in Rome, he hears Escriva telling him that "it is not true that there is opposition between being a good

Catholic and serving civil society faithfully." In his public fight to uphold "absolute truths," **Santorum** said, "blessed Josemaria guides my way."

" 'As long as you are making straight for your goal, head and heart intoxicated with God, why worry . . . Š? ' " **Santorum** said, quoting Escriva, according to a transcript of the speech.

Within the story of how **Santorum** grew up and decided to run for president, there is the story of a boy who grew up to become ever more devoutly Catholic, a journey all the more relevant as **Santorum** has vigorously asserted a role for religious conviction in the realm of governance.

On Tuesday, **Santorum** will face a showdown with Mitt Romney in the Illinois Republican primary, which comes after significant wins in Alabama and Mississippi. In his victory speech last week, **Santorum** - whose wife has said her husband believes "God is calling" him to seek the presidency - said what he hears most often from voters is "I'm praying for you."

The man they are praying for was raised in the liberalizing church of the early 1970s and has since taken several turns toward the deeply conservative Catholicism that now anchors his worldview. There was his marriage to Karen Garver and the influence of her devoutly Catholic parents. There was the death of **Santorum's** infant son Gabriel in 1996. All have been part of the candidate's public narrative.

Less well known is **Santorum's** embrace of the Catholicism of Opus Dei, a relatively small yet influential group within the church that is defined by the intensity with which followers are urged to live out church doctrine - in Escriva's words, to "seek holiness" in all realms of life.

The group encourages "unity" between followers' personal and public lives as Catholics, the rigorous practice of church sacraments and, to some degree, gestures of self-denial. Its most devoted members follow a daily two-hour ritual of wearing a spiked metal chain on their thighs to recall Christ's suffering - a practice followed by Mother Teresa.

Santorum, whose campaign declined several requests for comment, is not a member of Opus Dei, according to the group, and it is not clear to what degree he adheres to its tenets.

But Opus Dei, whose name is Latin for "Work of God," has become a significant presence in his life. **Santorum** has for years attended a church with a number of Opus Dei followers and other affiliations with the group, and he has sent two of his sons to a school run by Opus Dei members. Among his family friends is the Rev. C. John McCloskey, an Opus Dei priest who is a spiritual mentor to many prominent Washington conservatives. McCloskey traveled to Rome with **Santorum**, led him on a retreat with the group and baptized one of his children.

"He was attracted to Escriva and the spirit of Opus Dei, the idea of lay Catholics . . . giving Jesus Christ a presence in the workplace," said Monsignor William Stetson, a priest with the organization who knew **Santorum** after he left the Senate in 2007.

By then, **Santorum** had come to embrace a version of Catholicism far removed from the one he knew in the early 1970s, when church rituals were relaxing, when Catholic kids were being taught to see moral complexity, and when **Santorum**, a young teenager then, developed a rapport with a freewheeling Franciscan priest who spoke of Catholicism in terms of moral shades of gray.

Shades of gray

Santorum's introduction to faith came while he was growing up in the hilly, working-class town of Butler, at a time when parishes were embracing the historic new policies of the Second Vatican Council, which sought to make the church more relevant to a changing world.

Priests who had said the Mass in Latin with their backs turned began facing the congregation and saying it in English. Folk Masses became common. Even God appeared gentler: In one Butler church, a parishioner recalled painters erasing thunderbolts alongside a portrait she understood to be the Almighty and replacing them with a blue sky and angels.

At the veterans hospital where **Santorum's** parents worked and his family lived, change came in the form of the Rev. Alex Mullaugh, a priest who was assigned to the chapel on the hospital grounds, where **Santorum** was the only altar boy. Father Alex, as he was known - a tall figure in sandals and a brown robe - made an impression, said **Santorum's** younger brother, Dan.

"He was just a younger, cooler guy," recalled Dan **Santorum**. "He'd sometimes come over to the pool. You didn't think of a priest going swimming, so it was just different."

A neighbor, Ray Stierer, said Father Alex and his childhood friend "just hit it off."

"He was always there," Stierer said, referring to **Santorum's** friendship with Mullaugh. "It just came out of nowhere."

In a recent interview, Mullaugh said he "pushed the envelope" of church tradition, roaming up and down the chapel aisles giving sermons that aimed to "stir people up."

"I remember saying that there were gray areas," recalled Mullaugh, who left the priesthood in 1975 and is now a retired computer salesman living in Pittsburgh. "I remember saying that there are a lot more letters in the alphabet than A and Z and we need to use all of them."

Santorum heard similar lessons at the Catholic school he attended until the eighth grade. In **religion** classes there and at St. Paul church, where he was confirmed, young priests, some wearing jeans and longer hair, talked about morally complex situations.

"I remember discussions about how it's not always clear what the right choice is," said Amy Pierce, a classmate of **Santorum's**.

Mullaugh said **Santorum** absorbed those ideas.

"He just seemed to be so serious," he said. "Such a serious kid."

Santorum's first turn away from the gray-area Catholicism of his youth came when he met his future wife, Garver, around 1988.

She had only recently ended a six-year relationship with an obstetrician and abortion provider 40 years her senior. Her relationship with Tom Allen - who delivered her in 1960 - had led her to drift from her devoutly Catholic family.

Santorum, a lawyer moving toward his first campaign for Congress, described himself as "a nominal Catholic" at the time.

"I didn't like the idea of abortion - I knew it was wrong, but I wasn't sure if it was the government's business to do anything about it," he wrote in his 2005 book, "It Takes a Family."

Then came a dinner at the home of Garver's parents, and a discussion about abortion, and then, recalled her mother, Betty Lee Garver, "we had them watch a tape that we had, called 'Meet the Abortion Providers.' "

In the video, people introduced as doctors and nurses who formerly performed abortions graphically described the procedures, their words accompanied by photographs of what appeared to be dismembered fetuses in trash cans.

"They just sat there crying," Betty Lee Garver said in a brief interview at her Pittsburgh home. "And they became instantly pro-life. . . . With this and when they started to have children, they started to think more about their faith. I think through the years maybe they watched us," she said, referring to herself and her husband. "And we are devout Catholics, not cafeteria Catholics."

Santorum has said that switch to being firmly opposed to abortion had to do with his reading of scientific literature, but also with his **religion**.

In the Senate, he crusaded against what some opponents call "partial-birth" abortion, saying in a 1996 floor speech that there must be "some sort of moral code in this country."

At the time, Karen **Santorum** was pregnant with the couple's fourth child and began to develop serious complications. Their son Gabriel was born prematurely and died two hours later. They took him home and buried him the next day.

Betty Lee Garver said the loss caused her son-in-law to "go deeper" in his faith. And in the years after, both he and Karen spoke of "God's purpose" in Gabriel's short life.

In Karen **Santorum's** 1998 book, "Letters to Gabriel," she includes a kind of exhortation to her husband, writing: "Your daddy needs to proclaim God's message for life with even more strength and devotion to the cause."

A 'turn away from God'

That same year, **Rick Santorum** met McCloskey, the Opus Dei priest, and began to assert his faith more publicly.

He started a prayer group in the Senate. McCloskey enlisted **Santorum's** help in converting then-Sen. Sam Brownback (R-Kan.) to Catholicism. And in 2002, **Santorum** traveled with McCloskey to Rome for the conference on Escriva.

It was there that **Santorum**, in response to a reporter's question, first publicly rejected a speech in which John F. Kennedy, speaking as a presidential candidate in 1960 to voters wary of his Catholicism, affirmed that his religious views would not dictate his public policies. **Santorum** said it had caused "much harm in America."

In his address, **Santorum** embraced Escriva's view that it is "absurd" to leave one's Catholicism aside in conducting politics. He said that "as an American, and as a public figure, I am deeply troubled by this turn away from God."

The crux of the speech was a point that **Santorum** returned to several times.

"Without a shared belief system that is held and enforced," he said, "a culture disintegrates into moral chaos."

For guidance on these matters, **Santorum** said, he turns to "blessed Josemaria."

The speech was his first public embrace of the organization Escriva founded in 1928, which now has about 90,000 members worldwide, including 3,000 in the United States.

The group has been criticized in the past by former members as "cult-like" and praised by other members and a succession of popes for its strong commitment to church teachings and loyalty to the Vatican.

About 70 percent of its members are "supernumeraries," who can marry, while about 20 percent are "numeraries," who live in celibacy. Numeraries typically wear the spiked chain and perform "the discipline," occasionally striking themselves with a braided cord as a reminder of Jesus's suffering.

Brian Finnerty, U.S. spokesman for Opus Dei, said that the group has no expectation with regard to political positions, but encourages "coherence" between religious principles and politics, especially for Catholic politicians.

"Any person who is either voting or acting in public life should base his or her actions on these fundamental principles," Finnerty said.

In 2002, the scandal over sexual abuse by priests was shaking the Catholic Church, including **Santorum's** former parish in Butler, St. Paul, where one of the young, long-haired priests of the 1970s was accused of molesting three boys, including a classmate of **Santorum's**, and placed on leave that April.

It is unclear whether **Santorum** knew that when he gave a speech in July, expressing "profound sympathy" for victims and blaming the abuse on the moral relativism he had just spoken of in Rome.

"Priests, like all of us, are affected by culture," he said. "When the culture is sick, every element in it becomes infected."

What was needed, he said, was greater fidelity to church teachings instead of "watered-down versions of our faith."

When two of **Santorum's** sons were around the age he was when he met Father Alex, he sent them to the Heights, a private liberal arts boys school in Potomac run by Opus Dei members. Its headmaster, Alvaro de Vicente, is a numerary.

When **Santorum** is home in Virginia, he attends St. Catherine of Siena in Great Falls, one of the few churches in the diocese that host a monthly Opus Dei spiritual meeting. A priest from the group comes in to hear confessions. **Santorum** often attends the noon Mass in Latin.

"We are all sinners," the Rev. Alexander R. Drummond said one recent Sunday, faulting Catholics for accepting a world in which "every possible sin [is] exalted."

In a 2008 speech at Ave Maria University in Florida, **Santorum** strongly echoed that idea.

He said that Satan has used "the great vices of pride, vanity and sensuality" to corrupt universities, politics and even most Christian churches, except one.

"You say, 'The Catholic Church?' No," **Santorum** said, explaining that Satan aimed at the country's Protestant roots. ". . . If you look at mainline Protestantism in this country, it is in shambles. It is gone from the world of Christianity."

Three years later, **Santorum** has incorporated those views into a campaign that has steadily gained momentum. On Friday, he traveled to Illinois, the next crucial state in the Republican primary battle. On a day of rallies and fundraising, he spent half an hour meeting with McCloskey, the Opus Dei priest.

McCrummen reported from Butler, Pa.; Markon reported from Washington. Research editor Alice Crites in Washington contributed to this report.

National Desk; SECTA

Santorum Writings Voice Strikingly Consistent Views

By JEREMY W. PETERS

1284 words

20 March 2012

[The New York Times](#)

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

16

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

He objected to Mitt Romney's insistence that the tenets of Mormonism are not in conflict with traditional Christianity. He said there was good reason to doubt the theory of evolution and argued that intelligent design should be taught in schools. And when critics questioned **Rick Santorum** on even the most innocuous matters, like his support for stronger federal oversight of pet stores, he fired back.

Over the last decade, Mr. **Santorum** has been a prolific writer of op-ed articles, letters to the editor and guest columns in some of the country's largest and most influential newspapers. All the while he displayed many of the traits that define him as a presidential candidate today: a deep and unwavering Catholic faith, a suspicion of secularism and a conviction that the country was on a path toward cultural ruin.

A review of his columns and letters going back 10 years reveals a striking consistency in his conservative political views and spiritual guiding principles. He could be harsh, as when he mocked President Obama's mantra of hope and change as "pathetically counterfeit." He could throw out scientific terms whenever topics like genetics were involved. "Scientists who are pushing for embryonic stem-cell research are seeking pluripotent stem cells." And there was even a brief turn as a film critic. "Any movie titled 'Knocked Up' isn't going to win any awards for decorum, and this one doesn't disappoint."

He wrote in national newspapers like USA Today, Washington-centric publications like The Hill and Roll Call, religious ones like Catholic Online, and metropolitan dailies in Pennsylvania like The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and The Philadelphia Inquirer, which paid him as a columnist for more than two years after he was voted out of office in 2006. The column had the cheeky title "The Elephant in the Room."

His writings were often sprinkled with Biblical and religious references. On global warming, he said, "Climate change's Pharisees reassure us that the global-warming science is still settled." On the reaction in Congress to his amendment on teaching evolution in schools, he wrote, "The High Priests of Darwinism went berserk."

In a few cases, Mr. **Santorum's** words foreshadow some of his more provocative comments on the campaign trail this year, as when he said that the president was a snob for advocating that all Americans have access to some form of college education.

Mr. **Santorum** displayed hostility toward academia in 2002 when he wrote a column for the Web site Catholic Online that linked the pedophilia scandal in the Catholic Church with an overall cultural corrosion. American seminaries, he wrote, "demonstrate the same brand of cultural liberalism plaguing our secular universities."

In one column in 2009 in The Inquirer he outlined his objections to requiring that Catholic institutions cover birth control as part of their health insurance plans. "The left's continuing hostility to Christianity in general and Catholicism in particular is on gaudy display today," he wrote -- a comment that is nearly verbatim to what he says today.

He has long expressed his concern that American colleges and universities have been corrupted by liberal faculties. Even Catholic institutions were not immune, he said in his

Inquirer column in 2008. "Catholic higher education has not only failed to counter the forces of cultural decay across America, but has added to the rot as well," he wrote.

As evidence, he cited a recent production of "The Vagina Monologues" at the University of Notre Dame.

He occasionally weighed in on issues of primary and secondary education as well, arguing as he did in The Washington Times in 2002 that intelligent design should be taught as an alternative theory to evolution. To not do so, he said, would deny students "a first-rate science education."

He could be highly protective of Christian teachings, as he was in 2007 when he wrote about Mitt Romney's **religion** as a divisive issue in the election. At the time, Mr. Romney had just given a speech in which he sought to assuage suspicions about his Mormon faith. Mr. **Santorum** dedicated an entire column to responding to the speech.

"He tried to address the questions by discussing Jesus, suggesting that the specific theological tenets of Mormonism are not in any important respect different from those of traditional Christianity," Mr. **Santorum** wrote. "I disagree."

In the column, which has not received much attention since it was written, Mr. **Santorum** says people should have an open mind about Mr. Romney's faith. But he also says it is perfectly reasonable to make judgments about the former Massachusetts governor based on his religious beliefs.

"His supporters say it is akin to rejecting a Barack Obama because he is black," Mr. **Santorum** wrote. "But Obama was born black; Romney is a Mormon because he accepts the beliefs of the Mormon faith. This permits us, therefore, to make inferences about his judgment and character, good or bad."

He often wrote passionately about one of his signature issues, abortion, and advocated for greater protection for the unborn. In an article for Roll Call in 2004, he used the case of Laci Peterson, the California woman who was murdered by her husband a couple of months before she was set to give birth, to argue for passage of the Unborn Victims of Violence Act.

When he wrote about pop culture, he was usually bemoaning its amorality. But in one Inquirer column in 2008, he praised movies like "Juno" and "Knocked Up" for their sympathetic portrayals of mothers who were faced with unwanted pregnancies and did not get abortions. Though he was receptive to the overall messages in those films, he was squeamish about their content.

"Juno," he wrote, was "pretty edgy." And he complained that "Knocked Up" was full of "X-rated language, sex jokes and drug abuse." (Some of the characters in the film smoked marijuana.)

Same-sex marriage was a topic he opined on regularly, usually in a critique about the family unit being in a state of decay. He seemed particularly troubled by a 2003 Supreme Court ruling, *Lawrence v. Texas*, that struck down a state law that criminalized gay sexual conduct. Writing in *USA Today* at the time that the decision opened the door for unions between gay and lesbian couples, he wrote, "The last thing we should do is destroy the special legal status of marriage."

In his Inquirer column, Mr. **Santorum** once raised the alarm about a fairy tale he said was introduced in Massachusetts public schools that featured two princes who marry. "One superintendent said the district was 'committed to teaching children about the world they live in,' " he wrote. "Interesting."

When he felt his views had been mischaracterized in an editorial or a letter to the editor, he was known to fire off letters of his own. He did so to *The Post-Gazette* frequently. One from 2005 began: "Recently, letter writer Mary Lee Snyder of Mount Lebanon criticized me for my work on the Pet Animal Welfare Statute."

When he wrote for *The Inquirer*, he was often very hard on John McCain, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee at the time, using a line of attack that will sound familiar today.

"We see a presumptive Republican nominee who has too often joined the very people who seek to destroy and replace what we fight to conserve and improve," he wrote in *The Inquirer*. Those words echo what he now says about Mr. Romney.

PHOTO: For more than two years, **Rick Santorum** wrote a column called "The Elephant in the Room" for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. (PHOTOGRAPH BY THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER)

In GOP race, voters divided over religion's place in politics; Faith has emerged as a significant fault line in the Republican race for president, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News poll.

By Sandhya Somashekhar;Peyton M. Craighill

614 words

18 March 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Faith has emerged as a significant fault line in the Republican race for president, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News poll , which shows that **Rick Santorum's** supporters seek a much stronger role for **religion** in American politics than do voters who support rival Mitt Romney.

More than half of **Santorum's** backers say political leaders should rely on their religious beliefs while making policy decisions, but two out of three Romney supporters feel the opposite — that leaders should steer clear of their faith as they set policies for the country.

While 65 percent of **Santorum's** supporters say it is important for a presidential candidate to share his or her religious beliefs, only about 40 percent of Romney's supporters feel the same. And about six in 10 **Santorum** backers generally feel that the country has gone too far in separating church and state; 37 percent of Romney's backers feel the same.

The results are consistent what has been evident in exit polls: **Santorum**, with his overtly Christian pitch, has emerged as the candidate of choice for religiously oriented Republican voters, particularly evangelical Christians, who have turned out in large numbers to support the Catholic former senator from Pennsylvania.

Romney, a Mormon who pursued moderate social policies as governor of Massachusetts, has struggled to connect with evangelical Christians, which has been a particular disadvantage for him in the South. About half of the GOP electorate thus far has identified as evangelical Christian, ranging from a low of 16 percent in Massachusetts to a high of 83 percent in Mississippi.

But Romney's base's opinions on **religion** in the public sphere, as well as their views on social issues, more closely resemble those of Americans at large. That finding reinforces the impression that Romney would have an advantage over **Santorum** in a general election.

Most Americans, some 63 percent, believe political leaders should not rely on their religious beliefs in making policy decisions, according to the new poll. About 58 percent say it does not matter if a candidate for president shares his or her religious views. Roughly one-third feel that the country has gone too far in keeping church and state separate; another third feel that the nation has struck a good balance.

While overwhelming majorities of **Santorum's** supporters believe abortion and same-sex marriage should be illegal, Romney's backers are more divided on those hot-button issues, mirroring the country at large.

Nationally, 54 percent of U.S. adults believe abortion should be legal and slightly more than half support legalizing same-sex marriage, according to the new poll. The views on abortion are largely unchanged from polls dating at least back to the 1990s. Opinions on the legalization of same-sex marriage have shifted sharply in the past decade, with a slight majority in favor of it since last year.

Though **Santorum** has gained traction among evangelical Christians, he has not had the same advantage with his fellow Catholics, whose views on social issues more closely match the national average.

While nearly 60 percent of white evangelical Protestants think the country has gone too far in separating church and state, about half as many white Catholics share that view, according to the poll.

About six in 10 white Catholics believe abortion should be legal, and a similar proportion supports same-sex marriage, despite their church's teachings to the contrary.

sandhya@washpost.com

Rick Santorum's faithful value religion and politics, poll shows; A majority of Rick Santorum's supporters think politicians should rely on their religious beliefs in making policy decisions: Washington Post-ABC News poll.

By Peyton M. Craighill

231 words

16 March 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

A majority of presidential hopeful **Rick Santorum's** supporters think politicians should rely on their religious beliefs in making policy decisions.

Those views are at odds with supporters of rival Mitt Romney and with the public more generally, according to the latest http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/politics/polls/postabcpoll_031012.html Washington Post-ABC News poll .

The Washington Post's http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/in-gop-race-voters-divided-over-religions-place-in-politics/2012/03/16/gIQADwjZGS_story.html Sandhya Somashekhar reports on the emerging fault line of faith and politics in the Republican race for president.

Read on for the poll's complete breakdowns of **Santorum** and Romney supporters.

Supporters of the two candidates take sharply different positions on two policy issues that are heavily influenced by religious identification, abortion and gay marriage.

National Desk; SECTA

Romney and Santorum Fight It Out in Ohio With Much at Stake

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE; Dalia Sussman contributed reporting from New York.

1208 words

7 March 2012

The New York Times

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

18

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

STEUBENVILLE, Ohio -- Once again Ohio lived up to its reputation as a state of deeply divided political passions.

Just a week ago, **Rick Santorum** had a comfortable lead in the polls here, but a victory by Mitt Romney in Michigan seemed to give him the momentum that turned Ohio into a neck-and-neck race heading into Super Tuesday's primary.

Throughout Tuesday night, the two candidates battled for primacy in the state, separated by only a few thousand votes in the most contested battle of the evening, and by midnight Mr. Romney was the apparent victor.

A victory here carried bragging rights suggesting that whoever won here could also prevail in a general election in what has long been considered the ultimate swing state.

Speaking to supporters at a high school gymnasium here, Mr. **Santorum** assured his supporters that he would carry on regardless of the outcome.

"When they say, 'Oh, he's finally finished,' we keep coming back," Mr. **Santorum**, a former senator from Pennsylvania, declared. "We're in this thing." He planned campaign stops Wednesday in Kansas and Mississippi.

Mr. Romney, in comments to supporters in Boston, acknowledged that the nominating campaign would be drawn out. "And so it will go, day by day, step by step, door to door, heart to heart," he said.

Trailing Mr. **Santorum** and Mr. Romney were Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker, and Representative Ron Paul of Texas.

As the race came down to the wire, **Santorum** aides and supporters who were still lingering in the gymnasium said that regardless of the outcome, Mr. **Santorum** had effectively won just by coming so close and by forcing Mr. Romney to spend so much money here.

"He's already won by surviving," Mike DeWine, the state's attorney general, who switched to the **Santorum** camp from the Romney camp, told reporters.

Still, Mr. DeWine acknowledged that over the weekend "the momentum did not feel good," because of what he said was a huge amount of negative information about Mr. **Santorum** being pushed by the Romney campaign, in automatic phone calls and television ads.

Mr. DeWine said that some people had told him, "I want to vote for **Rick**, but we need to get this race over, so I'm just going to have to kind of hold my nose and vote for Romney."

A majority of voters in Ohio said the economy was the top issue for them, according to exit polling, far outpacing the federal budget deficit, abortion or illegal immigration. Voters citing the economy were more apt to support Mr. Romney. Mr. **Santorum** won a broad majority of those who cited abortion as their top issue.

In part, the battle in Ohio was waged over blue-collar voters, broadly defined as those earning \$30,000 to \$100,000 a year, who account for a majority of the state's Republican primary electorate.

Preliminary exit polls in Ohio showed that voters in households earning \$30,000 to \$100,000 a year leaned toward Mr. **Santorum**. His economic plan, which promised to strengthen manufacturing, was a direct appeal to this group. Voters below \$30,000 are divided between Mr. **Santorum** and Mr. Romney. And Mr. **Santorum** almost never failed to mention his roots in a small steel town in western Pennsylvania -- just over the state line from this old coal-mining region in eastern Ohio, where he held his election night rally.

But Mr. Romney made a serious play for these voters, holding events at factories while emphasizing his economic plan and how he intended to stimulate growth.

His task was more difficult than Mr. **Santorum's**. His image as a man of wealth unable to relate to blue-collar workers made Ohio another test of whether Mr. Romney could expand his support significantly beyond voters who are affluent, moderate and hold college degrees.

Mr. **Santorum's** challenge was slightly different. He did not have to expand that base, per se, because many blue-collar voters in Ohio were already part of his natural constituency, made up of anti-abortion activists, evangelicals, some Tea Party supporters and people who called themselves very conservative.

Stephanie McGee, 23, a nurse who voted at the Holy Family Church here in Steubenville, said that she favored Mr. **Santorum** because "he believes in traditional family values and is not afraid to stand up for them."

The task for Mr. **Santorum** in Ohio was to hold on to these supporters and keep them enthused after his narrow loss in Michigan, Mr. Romney's native state. Polling showed that just before the Michigan vote last week, Mr. **Santorum** was leading in Ohio, having benefited from his unexpected victories in Colorado, Minnesota and Missouri.

But Mr. **Santorum's** lead in Ohio started to dissipate after his loss in Michigan.

"Michigan was the turning point for Ohio," said Peter Brown, a pollster with the Quinnipiac University Polling Institute.

John Green, a political scientist at the University of Akron, agreed. "The most important thing is that Romney won Michigan," he said, because it gave an enormous lift to his campaign.

"The news of Romney's win in Michigan was followed very quickly by a ramped-up campaign in Ohio," Mr. Green said.

Michigan polls had also showed an interesting turn of events in Mr. Romney's favor with Catholics, an important subset of voters. In Michigan, they favored Mr. Romney, who is Mormon, over Mr. **Santorum**, who is Catholic, by seven percentage points. Exit polls in Ohio showed that Catholics here favored Mr. Romney as well.

Mr. **Santorum**'s campaign failed to file a full slate of delegates. The filing deadlines were months ago, before Mr. **Santorum** was taken seriously, but the Romney campaign was able to make an issue of it in the final days here.

Mr. **Santorum** complained on Monday that Mr. Romney and his "super PAC" outspent him 12 to 1; the Kantar Media Campaign Media Analysis Group has estimated that at least in television commercials, Mr. Romney's advantage was more like 3 to 1.

One particularly effective commercial that saturated the local airwaves showed Mr. **Santorum** struggling to explain his position on birth control. Another strong ad, which stood out because it was positive, showed Mr. Romney's former business partner crediting Mr. Romney with helping to save his daughter's life.

That appealed to Myles Henry, 67, who is retired from a low-level management position at a steel mill and voted for Mr. Romney.

"He's a decent guy," said Mr. Henry, standing in the cold outside the Holy Family Church in a Pittsburgh Steelers T-shirt.

"I just didn't like **Santorum**," he added. "He's too much on the religious side. There's nothing wrong with **religion**. I just don't want to hear it all the time."

Super Tuesday: For Ohio voters, it's still (mostly) about the economy; Voters in the Buckeye State go to the polls today, and the economy's still foremost on their minds.

By Felicia Sonmez

1143 words

6 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

CANTON, Ohio — It's Super Tuesday, and Mark Wadding still hasn't made a decision.

In fact, he might not make one until eight months from now, he said.

Wadding, 35, is a roll form operator at Gregory Industries, a steel guardrail plant here in one of the swing counties of this key swing state.

Four years ago, he voted for Barack Obama in the general election. This time, he's taking a look at his options. And ahead of Mitt Romney's speech here Monday morning, Wadding — clad like other Gregory workers in a hardhat and construction vest — said he was keeping the door open for the former Massachusetts governor, although he remains unimpressed with the rest of the GOP field, including former senator **Rick Santorum** (R-Pa.).

"I'm not really supporting nobody right now," said Wadding, an independent voter from Carrollton. "I'm in between."

It's not that Obama's done a bad job, he explained.

"Well, he's kept me working," he said of Obama. "Before, I kept getting laid off. Ever since he's been in, I've been working steady."

It's just that it's too early to tell whether he'll back the president in the fall. And while the Republican primary race has taken a weeks-long detour into a debate over contraception, **religion** and social issues, Wadding said that there remains one issue that's foremost on his mind.

"I just want the economy to pick up," he said. "I've always been in steel, I've been doing this for 18 years. I just want to keep a job. I don't want to work six months out of the year, you know? I want just a steady-paced job — somewhere where I can retire from and not worry about getting laid off."

Wadding was one of only a handful of undecided voters at events for Romney and **Santorum** on Monday ahead of Tuesday's Buckeye State primary.

Most attendees interviewed at Romney's morning rally in Canton and **Santorum's** afternoon speech in Westerville were firmly behind one candidate or the other — an indication that today's contest may hinge more on the matter of enthusiasm than on last-minute deciders.

And as both candidates have delivered their closing pitches on the trail, there were signs from supporters that after weeks of upheaval in the race, the GOP hopefuls' messages are hitting home — and that ultimately, it's all about the economy.

Denise Bailey, a 41-year-old wife and mother from Delaware, Ohio, who home schools her four children, attended **Santorum's** Westerville event with her family. She decided a few months ago to support **Santorum**, although she had also briefly considered backing Romney because of his business experience.

In the end, she said, her verdict on Romney came down to this: "I'm just not sure that we can trust him."

Santorum, by contrast, is a candidate who is "standing up for the family, for jobs, for morals," Bailey said.

"I think he's not just about those social issues – which are important – he's also got a plan for the economy, for jobs," she said. "And I think all those make him a well-rounded candidate."

As Bailey made that point, her 14-year-old son ran up to her from the front of the crowd, beaming.

"I got to shake his hand!" he said of **Santorum**. "And I know he means what he says because when I shake his hand, I know he's a hard worker."

Back at Romney's event in Canton, brothers Liviu and Nick Greavu were two of the Romney backers who have been firmly in the candidate's corner from day one.

The two brothers, who have worked as maintenance technicians at Gregory Industries for two decades, are the grandchildren of Romanian immigrants who came to Canton in 1918 but returned to their home country when the Great Depression hit.

Decades later, the Greavu brothers followed in their grandparents' footsteps and left Romania in 1990 after the Communist collapse to come to the United States, which Liviu Greavu called "the best country" and "the brain of the world."

"You know, it's so important for us, the economy," said Nick Greavu, 58. "It's number one. If they bring the business here — think about China. So much business. And people look at the United States, they don't have nothing. That is not fair for us. So, I believe Romney is the only guy who can bring the business. ... It was so big, the economy in Canton, in Akron, in Cleveland, Youngstown. This area was so good. Now, it's gone."

Nick Greavu, 59, agreed and noted that Romney is appealing "because he's pretty calm, settled, he will not jump from one (thing to the other) – he has no spikes. Steady and upright."

Asked whether he agrees with some GOP contenders' criticism of Obama as a "socialist," Nick Greavu said that there's "a big difference" between Obama and actual communism.

"Pretty much, you do not experience a thing like this, you don't really understand what goes on," he said.

For some at Monday's rallies, however, the primary day decision was not just about the economy.

Joyce Anderson, a 74-year-old homemaker from Lyndhurst, was among those firmly behind Romney at his Canton rally. She described Romney as "just the right person to be president," arguing that he's the candidate who's most behind the American dream.

"(We just want) a change back to what we want America to be," she said. "A place of freedom and a place of liberty – and what he said about the creator and what the Declaration of Independence was. Just all that. ... I like the fact that he said less government making decisions."

And J. Michael Demko, a **Santorum** supporter who attended Monday's event in Westerville, echoed **Santorum's** stump-speech argument that Romney is not trustworthy. The 62-year-old retired director of public safety at Ohio State University at Newark said that it comes down to a matter of knowledge versus feeling.

"One of the things you say as a Christian is that there's 12 inches between here and here," he said, first pointing to his head, then to his heart. "But it's a loooong distance between knowing it and feeling it. And I think that Romney has that 12-inch gap between what he knows and what he feels. **Rick Santorum**, as you heard today, he knows and he feels. So that's kind of why I'm supporting him."

THE LONG RUN
National Desk; SECTA

From 'Nominal Catholic' to Clarion of Faith

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and LAURIE GOODSTEIN; Sheryl Gay Stolberg reported from Great Falls, Va., and Laurie Goodstein from New York.

2503 words

4 March 2012

The New York Times

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

1

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

GREAT FALLS, Va. -- **Rick Santorum** was, in his own words, a "nominal Catholic" when he met Karen Garver, a neonatal nurse and law student, in 1988. As they made plans to marry and he decided to enter politics, she sent him to her father for advice.

Dr. Kenneth L. Garver was a Pittsburgh pediatrician who specialized in medical genetics. The patriarch of a large Roman Catholic family, he had treated patients considering abortion but was strongly opposed to it.

"We sat across the table and the whole evening we talked about this issue," Mr. **Santorum** told an anti-abortion group last October. He left, he said, convinced "that there was only one place to be, from the standpoint of science as well as from the standpoint of faith."

For Mr. **Santorum**, a Republican candidate for president, that conversation was an early step on a path into a deeply conservative Catholic culture that has profoundly influenced his life as a husband, father and politician. Over the past two decades, he has undergone a religious transformation that is now spurring a national conversation about faith in the public sphere.

On the campaign trail, he has attacked President Obama for "phony theology," warned of the "dangers of contraceptives" and rejected John F. Kennedy's call for strict separation of church and state. His bold expressions of faith could affect his support in this week's Super Tuesday nominating contests, possibly helping with conservative Christians, especially in the South, but scaring off voters uncomfortable mixing so much **religion** in politics.

Central to Mr. **Santorum**'s spiritual life is his wife, whom he calls "the rock which I stand upon." Before marrying, the couple decided to recommit themselves to their Catholic faith -- a turnabout for Karen **Santorum**, who had been romantically involved with a well-known abortion provider in Pittsburgh and had openly supported abortion rights, according to several people who knew her then.

The Santorums went on to have eight children, including a son who died two hours after birth in 1996 and a daughter, now 3, who has a life-threatening genetic disorder. Unlike Catholics who believe that church doctrine should adapt to changing times and needs, the Santorums believe in a highly traditional Catholicism that adheres fully to what scholars call "the teaching authority" of the pope and his bishops.

"He has a strong sense of that," said George Weigel, a senior fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, where Mr. **Santorum** had a fellowship after losing his bid for re-election to the Senate in 2006. "He's the first national figure of some significance who's on that side of the Catholic conversation."

The Santorums' beliefs are reflected in a succession of lifestyle decisions, including eschewing birth control, home schooling their younger children and sending the older boys to a private academy affiliated with Opus Dei, an influential Catholic movement that emphasizes spiritual holiness.

As members of St. Catherine of Siena, a parish here in the wealthy Northern Virginia suburb of Great Falls, the Santorums are immersed in a community where large families are not uncommon and many mothers leave behind careers to dedicate themselves to child-rearing, as Mrs. **Santorum** has. Mr. **Santorum** has been on the church roster as a lector, reading Scripture from the pulpit.

The parish is known for its Washington luminaries -- Justice Antonin Scalia of the Supreme Court is a member -- as well as its spiritual ardor. Mass is offered in Latin every Sunday at noon -- most parishes have Mass only in English -- and each Wednesday parishioners take turns praying nonstop for 24 hours before a consecrated communion wafer, a demanding practice known as Eucharistic adoration.

The **Santorum** campaign did not respond to interview requests about the couple's beliefs, and their pastors declined to comment. But friends say Mr. **Santorum** believes he is in a "moment of testing" and feels "a calling to be faithful," regardless of whether

he wins the nomination. One friend, Frank Schoeneman, sees Mr. **Santorum** as carrying out a vow he made to live a life that would make Gabriel, the child he lost, proud.

"**Rick** found himself in his faith, and he found himself in Karen," said Mr. Schoeneman, who has known Mr. **Santorum** for more than 20 years. "He isn't like one of these born-again people where you get hit in the head by some televangelist and you suddenly see the light. It's been an evolution. He's always been a Catholic and he's always been faithful, but he's never been at this level of faith."

The Family Fold

Church on Sunday was a way of life in Butler, the western Pennsylvania town where Mr. **Santorum** grew up. But by the time he met his future wife, sports and politics were at the center of his world. He was working in Pittsburgh at the prestigious Kirkpatrick & Lockhart law firm and recruited Ms. Garver, then a University of Pittsburgh law student, for a summer internship.

Fair-skinned and auburn-haired, she was from a Pittsburgh family of 11 children, some of whom followed their father's path into medicine. Dr. Garver was well known in Pittsburgh for a practice that included prenatal testing.

But Ms. Garver, those who knew her say, had broken with her family and her Catholic faith over her relationship with Dr. Tom Allen, who founded Pittsburgh's first abortion clinic. The two became a couple in 1982, when Ms. Garver was a nursing student in her 20s and Dr. Allen was in his 60s. An obstetrician-gynecologist, he had delivered her and knew her father professionally.

In an interview, Dr. Allen, now 92, said that Ms. Garver rented the basement apartment in the building where he lived and worked, and that they soon became romantically involved. (The Philadelphia City Paper reported on the relationship in 2005.)

"He was a pillar of the liberal community in Pittsburgh, well known for his charitable work, for the arts, and also very well known for his wine collection," said John M. Burkoff, a law professor at the University of Pittsburgh who knew the couple. While Dr. Allen was a strong personality, Mr. Burkoff said, Ms. Garver "was not in his shadow."

She joined Dr. Allen in hosting fund-raisers for liberal groups like the American Civil Liberties Union and for his clinic and expressed strong support for abortion rights, said Herbert Greenberg, a concert violinist and friend of Dr. Allen.

Mr. Greenberg's wife, Mary, a mother of three, sought counseling from Dr. Allen on whether to terminate her fourth pregnancy for health reasons. Mrs. Greenberg said Ms. Garver offered to accompany her for an abortion.

"She said, 'Don't worry, it's nothing,' " Mrs. Greenberg recalled, adding that she went alone for the procedure.

Ms. Garver and Dr. Allen spent six years together, but she left him when she met Mr. **Santorum**. Her relationship with the politically conservative, aspiring politician brought the young woman back into the family fold -- and seemed to change her political orientation.

"It's a total 180," Mr. Greenberg said. "Her change could not be more extreme."

God and the Senate

Mr. **Santorum** often says that before he and Mrs. **Santorum** married in 1990, they had long talks about the life they wanted to build: a large family and a relationship with God. One former aide likened them to "two halves of a circle coming together."

Mr. **Santorum's** religious beliefs would come to infuse every aspect of his political life -- not just his views on social issues like abortion, but also his work to overhaul the welfare system, increase financing to fight AIDS in Africa and promote religious freedom. "He is passionate about all of these issues, which all come from a deep faith," said Mike DeWine, the Ohio attorney general, who served with Mr. **Santorum** in the Senate.

But at the outset of his career, Mr. **Santorum** was not particularly guided by the tenets of the church. A former law school classmate, Charlene Bashore, recalls him saying when he ran for the House of Representatives in 1990 that while he opposed abortion, "he didn't see himself as a leader in the cause."

Mr. **Santorum** was elected to the United States Senate in 1994. He likes to say he found God there.

In the speech to the Pennsylvania Pro-Life Federation last October, he described himself as having arrived "almost exhausted, just having poured it all out to get where I thought I wanted to go." Faith, he said, "was sort of a part of me; I went to church, I could check all the boxes, but it wasn't at the center of my life."

His more spiritual path, he said, was prompted in part by a hallway encounter with Don Nickles, then a Republican senator from Oklahoma, who urged Mr. **Santorum** to attend a Bible study with fellow senators. And the Santorums moved to Northern Virginia, where they ultimately found a spiritual home at St. Catherine of Siena.

"We ended up moving into a neighborhood and joining a parish where the priest was just amazing -- an absolutely amazing pastor who just energized us and filled us with the Holy Spirit," Mr. **Santorum** told the anti-abortion group. "Over the course of that time, I just saw changes in me and changes in Karen."

The loss of the Santorums' son Gabriel, in 1996 -- just as the senator was leading the fight in Congress to ban the procedure that opponents call partial-birth abortion -- was devastating for the couple. Mrs. **Santorum** was nearly 20 weeks pregnant; doctors discovered a fetal anomaly. After a risky operation, she developed an infection and took antibiotics, which the couple knew would result in the birth of a baby who would not survive.

Critics likened it to an abortion, but in a 1997 interview with *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, Mr. **Santorum** said that was not the case. Mr. Schoeneman, the couple's friend, said the death convinced them that "God had a purpose in Gabriel's life, and they were going to live out that purpose in their lives." Both Santorums began speaking out more strongly against abortion; Mrs. **Santorum** became prominent in her own right after publishing a 1998 book, "Letters to Gabriel."

In the Senate, Mr. **Santorum** started a prayer group and would go on to help convert a fellow senator, Sam Brownback, now the governor of Kansas, to Catholicism.

After Mr. **Santorum's** re-election in 2000, the family traveled to Rome, where they had a private audience with Pope John Paul II.

"He said to the pope, 'Father, you're a great man,' " Mr. Schoeneman said, recounting the session as Mr. **Santorum** told it to him. "And the pope turned to him, because **Rick** at this point had all six children sitting there, and he said, 'No, you're a great man.'

"And it was like a message from God," Mr. Schoeneman said, "that he was living his life in the right way, that his path was correct."

'For the Sake of Our Souls'

Mr. **Santorum** made another trip to Rome in 2002, this time to speak at a centenary celebration of the birth of Saint Josemaria Escriva, the founder of Opus Dei. In a little-noticed interview there with The National Catholic Reporter, he said John F. Kennedy had caused "much harm to America" with his 1960 speech calling for strict separation of church and state.

That remark foreshadowed the candidate's recent comment -- he said the Kennedy speech "makes me throw up" -- that set off a controversy and made some Catholics wince. It grew out of Mr. **Santorum's** view that libertine culture has put America and American Catholics on a path toward moral decline.

In a 2002 essay, Mr. **Santorum** wrote that too many Catholics had been exposed to "uninspired, watered-down versions of our faith" and that it was time for more committed Catholics to reclaim religious institutions, like colleges, schools and hospitals, "for the sake of our souls."

He also blamed liberal culture for the sexual abuse scandal involving Catholic priests. "When the culture is sick, every element in it becomes infected," he wrote.

Mr. **Santorum** has been a supporter of Regnum Christi, the lay wing of a conservative, cultish order of priests known as the Legion of Christ. In 2003, he was the keynote speaker at a Regnum Christi event in Chicago that drew protesters because the group's charismatic founder, who had spent years denying that he had sexually abused seminarians, was scheduled to share the podium.

The founder, the Rev. Marcial Maciel, did not show up, but critics faulted Mr. **Santorum** for agreeing to appear at the group's forum. "He was certainly lending them legitimacy,"

said Jason Berry, a documentary filmmaker and the author of a book about Father Maciel.

Many Catholics take issue with Mr. **Santorum's** approach to their faith. Mr. **Santorum**, polls show, has lost the Catholic vote in every primary contest so far, some by wide margins.

Garry Wills, a cultural historian and professor emeritus at Northwestern University, is among many Catholics whose touchstone is the Second Vatican Council from 1962-65, which opened up Catholicism to the modern era and proclaimed that the church is its people, not just the pope and his bishops.

"**Santorum** is not a Catholic, but a papist," Mr. Wills said in an e-mail.

Mr. **Santorum's** defenders say there is nothing troubling about his approach to faith and politics. "What he is saying is something very simple: I should not shed my moral beliefs when I walk in the Oval Office," said Mr. DeWine, who is also Catholic.

To listen to Mr. **Santorum** speak to an audience of the faithful is to hear a man for whom God is at the center of everything. In his talk to the anti-abortion group last October, as his presidential campaign was just beginning to heat up, he likened himself to his special-needs daughter, Bella -- a child capable, he said, of nothing but love.

"I think, 'That's me with the Father,' " Mr. **Santorum** said then. "I am profoundly disabled in his eyes. I can do nothing for Him, except love Him."

National Desk; SECTA

Santorum Makes Case For Religion In Public Sphere

By MICHAEL BARBARO; Reporting was contributed by Viv Bernstein and Ashley Parker from Daytona Beach, Fla.; Jim Rutenberg from New York; and Katharine Q. Seelye from Marquette, Mich.

1202 words

27 February 2012

The New York Times

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

1

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

TRAVERSE CITY, Mich. -- With two days left before the high-stakes Republican primaries in Arizona and Michigan, **Rick Santorum** delivered a full-throated defense of **religion** in public life on Sunday, appealing to the social conservatives who have revived his presidential campaign.

In an escalation of the sometimes fiery language that he has used throughout the race, Mr. **Santorum** declared that colleges were no longer a "neutral setting" for people of faith and described how he had become sickened after reading John F. Kennedy's 1960 speech calling for the rigid separation of **religion** and politics.

"What kind of country do we live in that says only people of nonfaith can come into the public square and make their case?" Mr. **Santorum** said on the

ABC News program "This Week."

"That makes me throw up," he said, adding later, "I don't believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute."

His rival Mitt Romney, who has struggled to persuade conservatives of his ideological commitment, made his own, subtler case to the same constituency on Sunday. He traveled to Florida to visit the site of the Daytona 500 Nascar race, long a favorite of conservative Republican voters, after having disputed what he said was the misconception that, as a former governor of Massachusetts, "I can't be conservative."

"But, you know, if you look at my record in Massachusetts, I'm a solid conservative -- a committed conservative with the kind of principles I think America needs," Mr. Romney

said on Fox News Sunday, ticking off his record of cutting taxes, enforcing illegal immigration laws and opposing same-sex marriage.

The vigorous last-minute overtures underscored how much the focus of the contest had swung from economic issues to social concerns, even in states that have suffered during the financial crisis as much as Michigan and Arizona have.

Polls shows the candidates running roughly even in Michigan, as well as nationally, and the question for both of them is how Mr. **Santorum's** provocative and assertive outreach to the religious right will resonate with voters, both in the contests this week and in the dozen on "Super Tuesday" on March 6.

The two leading Republicans are trading increasingly caustic and personal attacks as they challenge the depth of the other's conservatism. Mr. Romney has portrayed Mr. **Santorum**, a former senator from Pennsylvania, as a creature of Washington who was willing to compromise his beliefs to vote for the federal No Child Left Behind law and to back the 2004 re-election of Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, a supporter of abortion rights.

Mr. **Santorum** has accused Mr. Romney of lacking an ideological backbone, pointing to his previous support of abortion rights and to the health care plan he enacted in Massachusetts. "I don't understand what team he's on," Mr. **Santorum** said on the NBC News program "Meet the Press" on Sunday. "It's not the same team that I'm on."

For Mr. Romney, the stakes are especially high on Tuesday. A loss in Michigan would represent a searing setback in his home state and would reinforce the sense that the party's rank and file is unwilling to come together behind him.

For Mr. **Santorum**, a defeat could threaten to sap the energy that he has built with victories over Mr. Romney in Colorado, Minnesota and Missouri. In a sign of his potential staying power, he will get Secret Service protection, starting within the next few days,

On a day when both candidates vied for the affections of conservative voters, it was Mr. **Santorum's** language that stood out.

Appearing on "This Week," Mr. **Santorum** was asked about several of his recent comments, including why he derided President Obama -- whom he called a "snob" -- for encouraging all Americans to attend college.

"There are lot of people in this country that have no desire or no aspiration to go to college, because they have a different set of skills and desires and dreams," Mr. **Santorum** said.

Mr. **Santorum** also suggested that social conservatives are under assault on college campuses. "We have some real problems at our college campuses with political correctness," he said.

In that interview, Mr. **Santorum** defended his criticism of Kennedy's famous speech about separation of church and state.

"The idea that the church can have no influence or no involvement in the operation of the state is absolutely antithetical to the objectives and vision of our country," Mr. **Santorum** said.

Kennedy, then a presidential candidate, gave the speech to quiet claims that he would answer to the Vatican because he was a Roman Catholic. Mr. **Santorum** is also a Catholic.

Mr. Romney had to defend himself against a new wave of complaints that he was out touch because of his remark in the economically depressed city of Detroit on Friday that his wife, Ann, owned a "couple of Cadillacs."

Asked about it on Fox News, Mr. Romney said simply, "I just am who I am."

"If people think that there is something wrong with being successful in America, then they better vote for the other guy," he said.

Still, his campaign seemed sensitive to the caricature of Mr. Romney as a multimillionaire who is disconnected from ordinary voters. It arranged for him to mingle for two hours with fans and drivers at the Daytona International Speedway in Florida. He recalled driving ("sometimes a little fast") up and down the streets near his home in Michigan, which he playfully likened to an illegal racetrack.

Mr. Romney's Florida trip might have seemed like an odd, if confident, detour from states that will be voting on Tuesday. But Michigan has an ample share of Nascar fans. And the campaign hoped that images of Mr. Romney at the speedway would circulate widely through the Southern states that vote on March 6.

But the crowd initially booed Mr. Romney, who occasionally struck a discordant note, as when he approached a group of fans wearing plastic ponchos. "I like those fancy raincoats you bought," he said. "Really sprung for the big bucks." And when asked if he was a fan of the sport, he mentioned that "I have some great friends who are Nascar team owners."

Although he was not in Daytona, Mr. **Santorum** will have a presence at the race, which was postponed until Monday: his campaign has sponsored car No. 26, a Ford driven by Tony Raines. Mr. **Santorum**, on "This Week," said he had spoken with Mr. Raines about a race-day strategy that seemed to mirror his own. "I'm hoping that for the first, you know, maybe 300, 400 miles," Mr. **Santorum** said, "he's sitting way, way back, letting all the other folks crash and burn, and then sneak up at the end and win this thing."

Santorum says he 'almost threw up' after reading JFK speech on separation of church and state; Former senator on Sunday defended a past statement that he "almost threw up" when he read 1960 JFK address on role of religion in public life. GOP presidential candidate on Sunday defended a statement he made last October in which he said that he "almost threw up" when he read John F. Kennedy's 1960 House address on the role of religion in public life.

By Felicia Sonmez

651 words

26 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Former senator **Rick Santorum** (R-Pa.) on Sunday defended a statement he made last October in which he said that he "almost threw up" when he read John F. Kennedy's 1960 Houston address on the role of **religion** in public life.

The statement by **Santorum** marks the GOP contender's latest defense of his long-held views on the separation of church and state, although in his Sunday appearance he doubled down on the colorful language he employed in his October speech at a New Hampshire college.

In remarks last year at the College of Saint Mary Magdalen in Warner, N.H., **Santorum** had told the crowd of J.F.K.'s famous 1960 address to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association, "Earlier in my political career, I had the opportunity to read the speech, and I almost threw up. You should read the speech."

In the speech, Kennedy addressed the concerns of Protestant ministers who doubted whether he would make decisions as president independent of his Catholic faith.

"I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute, where no Catholic prelate would tell the president (should he be Catholic) how to act, and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote; where no church or church school is granted any public funds or political preference; and where no man is denied public office merely because his **religion** differs from the president who might appoint him or the people who might elect him," Kennedy said.

On Sunday, ABC's George Stephanopoulos asked **Santorum** whether he stood by his statement last year, noting that **Santorum's** rival, former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney (R), delivered an address on **religion** during the 2008 campaign that garnered comparisons to Kennedy's address.

Santorum defended his remarks, telling Stephanopoulos that "the first line, first substantive line in the speech, says, 'I believe in America where the separation of church and state is absolute.'"

"I don't believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute," **Santorum** said. "The idea that the church can have no influence or no involvement in the operation of the state is absolutely antithetical to the objectives and vision of our country."

He went on to note that the First Amendment "says the free exercise of **religion** — that means bringing everybody, people of faith and no faith, into the public square."

"Kennedy for the first time articulated the vision saying, 'No, faith is not allowed in the public square. I will keep it separate.' Go on and read the speech. 'I will have nothing to do with faith. I won't consult with people of faith.' It was an absolutist doctrine that was abhorrent at the time of 1960."

Later in the interview, Stephanopoulos asked **Santorum**, "You think you wanted to throw up?"

"Well, yes, absolutely," **Santorum** replied. "To say that people of faith have no role in the public square? You bet that makes you throw up. What kind of country do we live that says only people of non-faith can come into the public square and make their case? That makes me throw up."

Rick Santorum's 'phony theology' criticism of Obama follows a familiar theme; Santorum's comments were a new twist on a steady theme of his candidacy: that Obama and other Democrats have a secular worldview not based on the Bible.

By Rosalind S. Helderman

1281 words

24 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

When **Rick Santorum** accused President Obama of having "some phony theology" last weekend, it was neither an isolated event nor an offhand remark.

Instead, **Santorum's** comments were a new twist on a steady theme of his Republican presidential candidacy: that Obama and other Democrats have a secular worldview not based on the Bible, one they are intent on imposing on believers.

Campaigning in Iowa in December, **Santorum** said Obama and his allies have "secular values that are antithetical to the basic principles of our country." In Des Moines a few days later, he said the same people adhere to a "**religion** of self" rather than one based on the Bible. Speaking to a group of ministers in Plano, Tex., earlier this month, **Santorum** argued that the left is "taking faith and crushing it."

In Tucson on Wednesday, **Santorum** said the president is "systematically trying to crush the traditional Judeo-Christian values of America."

Santorum has regularly argued on the campaign trail that Obama and his allies' views on abortion, same-sex marriage and the proper role of government prove they have distinctly secular values — and that the election offers a key and perhaps final chance for religious people to fend off their intrusions.

The relationship between **religion** and government has emerged as a flash point in the presidential campaign in recent days after an effort by the Obama administration to require religious institutions to include contraception in health insurance plans for employees. All of the Republican candidates objected to the effort, which the administration tweaked after a massive outcry, especially from Catholics.

But even in a nominating process heavy on Christian themes, **Santorum**, who is Catholic, stands out for his comfort in embracing **religion**. His contention that government is intruding into religious liberty predates the Obama decision.

After he made the "phony theology" remark, **Santorum** said he was discussing the president's environmental policies, not questioning his Christian faith. And Hogan Gidley, a **Santorum** spokesman, said the media are more focused on such comments than voters are. Gidley said news stories have put too much emphasis on **Santorum's** comments about **religion** and not enough on his views on job creation, improving manufacturing and slowing government growth. And, he said, they fail to properly cast them as part of **Santorum's** "overarching theme" about the role of government.

"He discusses **religion** in a broader context, that we are given rights, we are endowed by our Creator with rights, and those rights are being taken away when government grows in size," Gidley said. "People clap for that. They don't gasp. People say, 'Yes, our rights do come from God and yes, the government is taking them away.'"

During his December stop in Marshalltown, Iowa, **Santorum** made his case in typically emphatic terms. Opposition to abortion, he suggested, is the only logical conclusion of core American beliefs. He raised the promise, made in the Declaration of Independence, that all people are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights.

"Do we still believe that?" **Santorum** asked. "If everyone is endowed by God — not any god, but the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, that God, with the right to life, then there are certain things that we need to follow through and have in our law."

Santorum does not limit his emphasis on **religion** to religious settings. Last week, in a speech ostensibly focused on the economy, he said Obama's proposal to limit deductions for upper-income taxpayers, including for charitable donations, was a direct attempt to reduce the role of churches and other civic organizations in people's lives.

"We need to create a rich society with lots of places for you to go before you go to the government for help and assistance in the problems that you're dealing with. Charities, churches. It's no wonder that the president, one of his tax proposals, sought to limit charitable contributions. They get in the way of government, you know, in providing for you," **Santorum** told the Detroit Economic Club. "Families get in the way of government and your reliance on it."

It was his comments about Obama — which he said were about the president's environmentalism rather than his faith — that landed **Santorum** in the spotlight just as his candidacy was surging. He spent most of last weekend explaining his remarks.

In an interview on CBS's "Face the Nation," **Santorum** said he does not question whether Obama is a Christian. He insisted that his comment about Obama's "phony theology" was being misconstrued.

"I accept the fact that the president is a Christian," he said in the interview.

Two days later, **Santorum** blamed the media for picking the theology remark out of his "hundreds and hundreds of hours" of speeches and town halls, delivered without teleprompters. He said that voters find his unscripted speak-from-the-heart style refreshing and authentic.

"I'll defend everything I'll say — because it comes from here," he said, indicating his heart.

At the same time, Mitt Romney has made similar claims about his Obama and **religion** in the wake of the contraception controversy, arguing at a town hall in Michigan on

Tuesday that Obama associates with people with a "secular agenda" who have "fought against **religion**."

Yet **Santorum's** comments have the potential to sound extreme. Earlier this week, the Drudge Report led the day with a report of a 2008 **Santorum** speech in which he warned that Satan had set his sights on the nation.

That and other stories make some Republicans nervous about the prospect of a **Santorum** nomination, which independents could view as divisive and Democrats could use as a rallying cry.

"I think historically, **religion** has been divisive when it's gotten connected with politics," said John Danforth, who served 20 years as a Republican senator from Missouri. "I think Republicans are better if they stick with the big issues and the economic issues and the power of government and don't frame it in religious terms."

An ordained Episcopal minister, Danforth argued in a pair of 2005 New York Times columns that Republicans had become too entangled with the religious right. He has endorsed Romney but said he has not "fallen into a faint" over **Santorum's** words.

"I don't think that **Santorum** would say that people who don't agree with him are not religious people," Danforth said.

Republican pollster Whit Ayres said he does not think that **Santorum** has questioned Obama's Christianity or the sincerity of the faith of his opponents. But he urged caution.

"It is very shaky ground to even come close to the line," he said. "It tends to blow up in your face, politically."

To some, **Santorum's** language is part of his appeal, said Bob Vander Plaats, president of the Iowa-based Family Leader, whose endorsement helped **Santorum** defeat Romney in the state's caucuses.

"He's transparent, he's authentic and he's not trying to play games with his message," Vander Plaats said. "I think it goes to the core of **Rick Santorum**. I'm quite sure he believes that this is a battle of worldviews and the worldviews are simply 'God is' or 'God isn't.'"

He said **Santorum** will attract independents looking for authenticity rather than a candidate who falls in the "mushy middle."

Santorum: Obama 'trying to crush the traditional Judeo-Christian values of America'; The GOP presidential hopeful is not backing down from his inflammatory statements about Obama and religion.

By Felicia Sonmez

946 words

23 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

TUCSON, Ariz. – **Rick Santorum** on Wednesday showed no signs of backing down from his provocative statements about President Obama and **religion**, accusing the president of working to undermine the country's "Judeo-Christian values" through his implementation of health-care reform and other policies.

"Essentially, we are going to have to hold together on some set of moral codes and principles," **Santorum** said at the Sabbar Shrine in downtown Tucson, speaking before an enthusiastic tea party crowd of about 500 people ahead of an evening CNN debate.

"And we're seeing very evidently what the president's moral codes and principles are about. We see a president who is systematically trying to crush the traditional Judeo-Christian values of America. We saw it with Obamacare and the implementation of Obamacare, where his values are going to be imposed on a church's values."

The criticism of the Obama administration's policy on religious-affiliated institutions and contraception is not a new one on the GOP presidential trail – **Santorum**, former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney and former House speaker Newt Gingrich alike have struck the theme at campaign events over the past month.

But **Santorum's** rhetoric Wednesday was more explosive than that of his rivals, a move that suggests the former senator is not planning on retreating any time soon from his habit of speaking provocatively about religious issues on the stump.

Toward the end of his wide-ranging, hour-long remarks, **Santorum** – whose forehead was dusted lightly with ashes in observance of Ash Wednesday — issued a ringing defense of his focus on **religion**, noting that "this is what I know gets everybody in the secular left just bonkers about my campaign; they just go crazy."

"Keep it going, **Rick**," a woman in the crowd said.

Santorum argued that "people who have faith actually are more respectful of folks who have different faith" – a line that was met with loud applause from the mostly older crowd of Tucson tea party supporters.

"It's the statists who are intolerant," **Santorum** said. "They're the ones who want to impose their values on everybody else."

The remarks come as polls show **Santorum** is pulling into a competitive race against Romney in next Tuesday's Michigan and Arizona primaries, the two big races before Super Tuesday on March 6. A loss by Romney in either – or both – states would be viewed as a major blow to his campaign, particularly in Michigan, Romney's childhood home state.

"You're going to have a huge impact," **Santorum** told the crowd. "Everybody's focused in on Super Tuesday. Well, there are a lot of states up on Super Tuesday. But more than anything else, what happens in Michigan and Arizona next week is going to have the biggest impact on Super Tuesday and this election than any two states."

He criticized Romney several times by name, arguing that this newly-unveiled tax plan amounts to "lowering the tax rates to, well, the tax rate I proposed."

"Welcome to the party, governor," **Santorum** said to applause.

In a jab at Romney's record, **Santorum** urged voters to choose the candidate who is authentic and believable, not one who is a "well-oiled weathervane" and a "Johnny-Come-Lately to the conservative cause."

"Is it the guy reading from the teleprompter, or the guy out here on a high-wire line telling you what's in his heart and what's in his gut?" **Santorum** said of the choice facing voters – a line in keeping with his campaign's newly-ramped-up emphasis on the notion that **Santorum** is the most authentic candidate in the race.

In an e-mailed response, Romney spokesman Ryan Williams said: "It's no surprise that Senator **Santorum** would try to associate himself with Governor Romney's conservative, pro-growth plan to cut taxes and grow the economy. But there are crucial differences. First, Governor Romney's plan will not explode the deficit in the way that Senator **Santorum**'s will. Second, Senator **Santorum** takes the exact same approach to tax policy as Barack Obama — he wants government to pick winners and losers. And finally, Mitt Romney has the leadership experience necessary to actually get his pro-growth plan passed into law."

Santorum was introduced at the tea party event by Jon Justice, a popular conservative radio host, who asked the crowd how many of them had made up their minds about who to support next Tuesday. About half of those in the hall raised their hands.

As he spoke, **Santorum** – who made a point of noting at the event's outset, "I don't do tea party events without taking questions" – displayed an easy rapport with the crowd, joking and at times encouraging audience participation.

"The president yesterday, his people came out and said the reason they didn't build the Keystone pipeline? It was the Republicans' fault!" he told the crowd at one point.

"Li-ar!" one woman yelled out in a sing-song voice.

"He lies!" a man said as the crowd laughed.

"I mean, how do you – how do you do that?" **Santorum** said as the crowd continued laughing. "I mean, how stupid does he think you are? That he can go out and blame everybody for everything bad, except..." He paused.

"Himself," the crowd responded in unison.

"Is that leadership?" **Santorum** asked the crowd.

"No!" the audience boomed.

"It's arrogance," a woman said.

In weaving faith into campaign, Santorum resorts to chiding opponents

By David A. Fahrenthold; Felicia Sonmez

1040 words

21 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

As his campaign surges, **Rick Santorum** is testing an untested model for incorporating **religion** into his message. He is betting that Americans want a president who uses faith not just to inspire — but also to judge.

This weekend, **Santorum** told supporters in Ohio that President Obama's environmental views reflect "some phony theology. Not a theology based on the Bible." **Santorum** said later that he believes Obama is a Christian, but he says that the president subscribes to the idea that the Earth's needs should be put above mankind's.

"I don't believe . . . that's what we're here to do," **Santorum** said on CBS's "Face the Nation" on Sunday. "We're not here to serve the Earth. The Earth is not the objective. Man is the objective."

That argument seems to fit an older pattern in **Santorum's** rhetoric. As a columnist for the Philadelphia Inquirer, **Santorum** blasted other politicians and Catholic universities for disregarding church doctrine.

The usual rules for talking about faith on the campaign trail call for candidates to speak about their **religion** in uplifting, accessible generalities. Now, **Santorum** seems to have cast himself as a candidate bold enough to tell others where they're wrong.

"He has this internal tic, of wanting to get into what I call theological disputation. And theological disputation is a loser," said Jacques Berlinerblau, a professor at Georgetown University who has studied the use of **religion** in U.S. politics. He meant that **Santorum** seeks to tell others how to behave and even what to believe, using his own specific beliefs as an unshakable guide.

Berlinerblau said the danger, even among other Catholics, was that **Santorum** would seem gratefully familiar. "They know **Rick** Santorums. They've met **Rick** Santorums their whole life," he said. "It's just, 'Well, I know what that guy's about, and I don't want anything to do with it.'"

In an interview Sunday, a spokesman for **Santorum's** campaign said the candidate was not judging Obama's private religious beliefs. But, spokesman Hogan Gidley said, "theology" was still the right word for what Obama had wrong.

"Theology's a worldview. And Obama sees the world differently. I mean, someone who apologizes for America's greatness, and someone who thinks the government knows best on health care, I mean those are different theologies," Gidley said. "**Rick** is separating the two. One's own personal religious beliefs are different than a worldview or a theology as it relates to governing and the government."

During the campaign, **Santorum** has focused extensively on three issues where his views align with Catholic bishops. He opposes abortion and same-sex marriage, and he fought against a government mandate for religiously affiliated institutions to provide contraceptive coverage in their health insurance.

In past campaigns, many candidates have limited themselves to broad statements about their belief in God, and their confidence that He has blessed America specially. The only Catholic president, John F. Kennedy, said on the campaign trail that "I believe in an America that is officially neither Catholic, Protestant nor Jewish."

In this campaign, former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney, a Mormon, has stayed closer to the traditional model with his brief invocations of "my faith."

But in Ohio this week, one Republican delegate said **Santorum** was right to make his own **religion** — and Obama's — an issue in this campaign.

"He's stating the obvious," said Bryan Williams, 47, who works for a trade group of builders and contractors, contending that Obama "is largely a secular person."

Williams said he took Obama at his word that he is a Christian but said that it's fair game for a candidate's religious beliefs to be considered in a campaign.

"The public needs to know how you're anchored," he said.

In Michigan, which holds its primary Feb. 28, a recent Detroit News poll showed **Santorum** leading Romney, 34 percent to 30. Still, there is a potential downside to a message so confidently rooted in religious belief — and so frank about others' mistakes.

"Scolding just makes you look old. I shouldn't say old, so I'll say something else: Scolding just makes you look dour," said Anthea Butler, a professor of religious studies at the University of Pennsylvania. "You need to be a little bit more" than that, she said.

Santorum's comment about Obama's "theology" echoes themes he wrote about as a columnist for the Philadelphia Inquirer. He began writing the columns — most of which are not available online — after an 18-point electoral loss in 2006. The loss came in a Democratic year, but it was also blamed partly on **Santorum's** stances on social issues: In a 2005 book, he wrote: "For some parents, the purported need to provide things for their children simply provides a convenient rationalization for pursuing a gratifying career outside the home." And **Santorum** had compared homosexual sex acts to adultery, polygamy and incest.

In one of these columns, Santorum was critical of Catholic colleges: "You might be surprised to learn that most professors are not Catholic and that the Catholics are often nonpracticing." Even the University of Notre Dame, he said, had hosted performances of "The Vagina Monologues."

And **Santorum** wrote about two Democratic politicians — then-House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (Calif.) and then-Rep. Patrick Kennedy (R.I.) — who he said had been scolded by the church for not following Catholic teaching on abortion.

He applauded Pope Benedict XVI for taking issue with Pelosi's views in a personal meeting, and for not allowing Pelosi to be photographed with him: "Dissenting Catholic politicians who deliberately mislead others about the church's core teachings will not be given another chance to do so by having their picture taken with the vicar of Christ."

"Catholics must be true to their consciences. But that is not a free-floating guide that we can define ourselves," **Santorum** wrote in August 2008, when a Catholic bishop had called out Kennedy over abortion. "A Catholic is required to form his conscience in accordance with the church's teachings on faith and reason."

Rick Santorum says he was not questioning Obama's faith with 'phony theology' remark; Former Pennsylvania senator said he was talking about "radical environmentalists." Former Pennsylvania senator said he was talking about "radical environmentalists."

By Matt DeLong

259 words

20 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

GOP presidential candidate **Rick Santorum** said he accepts that President Obama is a Christian and was not questioning his faith when he said at an Ohio Christian Alliance luncheon on Saturday that Obama supports a "phony theology, not a theology based on the Bible."

During an interview Sunday on CBS's "Face the Nation," the former Pennsylvania senator said he was talking about "radical environmentalists" who "have a worldview that elevates the Earth above man and says that we can't take those resources, because we're going to harm the Earth by things that frankly are just not scientifically proven." He pointed to the debate over global climate change as an example.

Santorum added that "this is just all an attempt to centralize power and to give more power to the government."

He dismissed the suggestion that he was attempting to raise questions about Obama's **religion**.

"I've repeatedly said that I believe the president is a Christian. He says he is a Christian," **Santorum** said. "But I am talking about his worldview or his — the way he approaches problems in this country. And I think they're different

than how most people do in America."

Read more from PostPolitics

Santorum assails Obama's health law on prenatal testing

Matt DeLong

521 words

20 February 2012

The Washington Post

WP

FINAL

A06

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved

Republican presidential candidate **Rick Santorum** sharply criticized President Obama's health-care law again Sunday for requiring health-insurance companies to cover certain prenatal tests, because some procedures are used to identify abnormalities and "encourage abortions."

"The bottom line is that a lot of prenatal tests are done to identify deformities in utero and the customary procedure is to encourage abortions," **Santorum** said during an appearance on CBS's "Face the Nation," in which host Bob Schieffer asked him to explain comments he made Saturday at an Ohio Christian Alliance luncheon.

Santorum said he was talking specifically about some, but not all, prenatal testing, and not about prenatal care in general.

"There are all sorts of prenatal testing which should be provided free," **Santorum** said. "I have no problem with that if the insurance companies want to. I'm not for any of these things to be forced."

The former senator from Pennsylvania singled out amniocentesis, a procedure in which amniotic fluid is extracted to examine chromosomes and check for birth defects, as a form of testing that insurance companies should not be required to cover.

"Amniocentesis does, in fact, result more often than not in this country in abortions," **Santorum** said. "That is a fact."

He said that people have the right to have prenatal testing done, "but to have the government force people to provide it free, to me, is a bit loaded."

When Schieffer asked **Santorum** whether he believes Obama "looks down" on people with disabilities, **Santorum** cited Obama's support for legal late-term abortions.

"Well, the president supported partial-birth abortion, and partial-birth abortion is a procedure used almost exclusively to kill children late in pregnancy when they've been found out to be disabled," **Santorum** said.

He added: "The president has a very bad record on the issue of abortion and children who are disabled who are in the womb. I think this simply is a continuation of that idea."

Santorum also said that he accepts that Obama is a Christian and was not questioning his faith when he said Saturday that Obama supports a "phony theology, not a theology based on the Bible."

He said he was talking about "radical environmentalists" who share Obama's "worldview that elevates the Earth above man and says that we can't take those resources, because we're going to harm the Earth by things that frankly are just not scientifically proven." He pointed to the debate over global climate change as an example.

Santorum added that "this is just all an attempt to centralize power and to give more power to the government."

He dismissed the suggestion that he was attempting to raise questions about Obama's **religion**.

"I've repeatedly said that I believe the president is a Christian. He says he is a Christian," **Santorum** said. "But I am talking about his worldview or his - the way he approaches problems in this country. And I think they're different than how most people do in America."

<http://www.washingtonpost.com>

After a Child's Death, a Religious Politician Became a Cultural Warrior

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG

1513 words

5 January 2012

The New York Times

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

15

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

CORRECTION APPENDED

WASHINGTON -- As a teenager growing up in Butler, Pa., **Rick Santorum** spent Sunday mornings as an altar boy, taking wheelchair-bound veterans to Roman Catholic Mass. In the ninth grade, he announced his intention to hold elective office. "I'm going to be governor of Pennsylvania," he declared, according to his brother Dan.

Years later, as a married man and a member of Congress, Mr. **Santorum** wove these two strands of his life -- his faith and his political aspirations -- into one. Then, in 1996, when he was a freshman senator, his wife, Karen, delivered a child when she was just 20 weeks pregnant. The baby, a boy they named Gabriel, died after two hours.

"That's when I noticed a marked difference in **Rick**," said Robert Traynham, who spent 10 years as a **Santorum** aide. "He became much more philosophical, much more deeply religious. You could tell; he was walking with his faith."

That experience helped deepen Mr. **Santorum's** opposition to abortion, and he went on to become one of Washington's most outspoken cultural warriors. He prodded Congress to outlaw the procedure known as partial-birth abortion, broke with a Republican president, George W. Bush, over embryonic stem cell research and pushed for a constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage, insisting that it is "right for children to have moms and dads."

Those views helped put Mr. **Santorum** within a whisker of beating Mitt Romney in the Iowa caucuses on Tuesday night. Mr. **Santorum** has spent months waging a low-budget, shoe-leather-intensive quest for the Republican nomination; he visited all 99 counties in Iowa and moved his wife and seven children (including a disabled 3-year-old

daughter) there for three weeks before the Ames Straw Poll last summer. Now, suddenly, he is a viable candidate.

"People have asked me how I've done this, sitting back at the polls and not getting a whole lot of attention paid to us," Mr. **Santorum** told supporters in Iowa on Tuesday night. "How did you keep going out to Iowa, in 99 counties, and 381 town hall meetings and speeches?"

"Well," he went on, "every morning when I was getting up in the morning to take on that challenge, I've required a strength from another particular friendship, one that is sacred. I've survived the challenges so far by the daily grace that comes from God."

Brash and blunt at 53, Mr. **Santorum** is a what-you-see-is-what-you-get politician, unapologetic if his views offend, which they often do. He once offhandedly invoked bestiality in arguing that states should have the right to regulate homosexual acts. "That is not to pick on homosexuality," he said. "It's not, you know, man on child, man on dog." That prompted critics to create a Web site promoting a vulgar definition of his name. He is now feuding with Google, because the site comes up first on a search for him.

On the campaign trail, he makes the case that traditional marriage is one prescription for the nation's economic ills. During a swing through South Carolina this fall, he dropped in on a Christian radio station, where the host of the drive-time talk show, Tony Beam, asked Mr. **Santorum** how social issues would play in an election dominated by the economy.

Mr. **Santorum** did not miss a beat, launching into a long discourse on how single-parent homes spawn poverty and government intervention. "Government gets bigger," he argued, "when families get weaker."

Richard John **Santorum** grew up in working-class Pennsylvania, the son of an Italian immigrant father who eventually became a clinical psychologist at the Veterans Administration Hospital in Butler. Mr. **Santorum's** mother was the chief nurse there, and the Santorums -- **Rick** is the middle child of three -- lived in a small three-bedroom, one-bathroom brick house on the hospital grounds. Mr. **Santorum** bunked with his younger brother, Dan.

"Growing up, you had to be on your deathbed not to go to church," Dan **Santorum** said. "It was 200 yards from our house to walk to the church. Before Mass, my brother and I would get the patients who were not ambulatory and we wheeled them from their hospital rooms to the services. He served Mass and I would help wheel the patients up for Communion, and when it was over we would wheel them back and go home and have a family breakfast."

Dan **Santorum** said he and his friends laughed at his older brother when **Rick** declared he would be Pennsylvania's governor one day. But in college, at Pennsylvania State University, Mr. **Santorum** studied political science and eventually became state chairman of the College Republicans. He went on to earn a business degree from the University of Pittsburgh and a law degree from the Dickinson School of Law. He broke into politics working as an administrative assistant for a state senator.

Social issues were not high on Mr. **Santorum's** agenda when he first ran for Congress in 1990, said G. Terry Madonna, a political scientist at Franklin and Marshall College who has followed Mr. **Santorum** for 30 years. That year, Mr. **Santorum** narrowly defeated the Democratic incumbent, Doug Walgren, by painting Mr. Walgren as an absentee congressman who spent too much time in Washington -- a charge that would later cost Mr. **Santorum** his Senate seat in 2006.

He arrived in Washington in 1991 and promptly made a name for himself (along with John A. Boehner, now the speaker of the House) as a member of the so-called Gang of Seven, who helped expose scandal in the banking practices of the House. All seven were freshmen, all had won in a difficult year for Republicans, and they felt emboldened.

"All of them were back-benchers who felt like they had been largely abandoned by the national party and had a formula for success, which was connecting with blue-collar and nontraditional Republican voters on values and economic populism," said Ralph Reed, who at the time ran the Christian Coalition, an evangelical group. "They came into the House loaded for bear."

Mr. **Santorum** promoted school vouchers and changing the welfare system, blending his Roman Catholicism with a small-government philosophy that foreshadowed what Mr. Bush would later call his "compassionate conservative" agenda. (Mr. **Santorum** called it the "community renewal agenda.") In 1996, he was instrumental in passing the welfare

overhaul that President Bill Clinton signed into law. He was already at work on the partial-birth abortion bill when his son died; it did not pass until 2003.

In a swing state like Pennsylvania, Mr. **Santorum** was an unusual breed -- a conservative Republican who could win. In 1994, he ran for the Senate, ousting Harris Wofford, a Democrat. In 2000, after winning a second term, he became chairman of the Senate Republican Conference, a leadership post that gave him a platform. He used it.

"Conservatives liked him because he spoke their language," Professor Madonna said. "He was aggressive, and vigorous and very polarizing."

But by 2006, Mr. **Santorum** was in a tough political spot. He had championed Mr. Bush's agenda and was closely aligned with him, but the country, soured on the Iraq war, had turned against the president.

Mr. **Santorum's** finances also came under scrutiny amid disclosures that he was home-schooling his children at his family residence in Virginia while receiving money from a Pennsylvania school district to enroll them in "cyber school." He lost badly to Bob Casey, who remains in the Senate, and his political career was presumed dead.

Now Mr. **Santorum's** challenge is to position himself as a credible alternative to Mr. Romney with little money and hardly any staff. His friends say he is clear-eyed about the challenges. In New Hampshire, the next stop on the Republican primary tour, voters are far more animated by fiscal issues than the social causes that shape Mr. **Santorum's** political identity.

"We will be in New Hampshire," he told backers in Iowa on Tuesday night. "We'll leave tomorrow. We'll spend our time there. And with your help and God's grace, we'll have another fun night a week from now."

How elections reduce Americans to stereotypes; Why do we talk about the "black vote" and the "youth vote"?

1848 words

31 March 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Publicly, at least, Americans try to avoid stereotyping their fellow citizens based on race or ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation, age or **religion**. Doing so has become unacceptable, offensive to modern sensibilities, anathema to the notion that we're all individuals, not just members of one or another demographic. This attitude is codified in our laws and enforced in our workplaces, and violating it is frowned upon in polite conversation.

Two arenas are the exceptions. One is reality television, which has found a cash cow in the reductionist treatment of everyone from "little people" to "rednecks."

The other exception? Election season.

Every two years — and especially every four, when we're electing a president — individual Americans disappear, and we become subsumed into some larger group. Go to your favorite political blog, cable news channel or daily paper, and you'll learn that candidates need to do better with African Americans or Catholics or (my favorite) women. Yes, women! They're half of the population, but obviously they all share common beliefs and values.

So we learn that Mitt Romney is trying to "appeal to women" and improve his support "among evangelicals." **Rick Santorum** is going after "working-class voters" and is not doing especially well with the "Catholic vote." President Obama needs the "black vote" and "the youth vote," but of course he, too, is "wooing women." And everyone wants do better with Latinos. (I only hope these constituencies never find out about all this two-timing.)

In politics, it's entirely acceptable to wonder aloud what black people want, how Hispanics think, or whether a new policy proposal would play well with women or people who go to church on Sundays. We feel comfortable reducing people in this way because

such conclusions aren't solely stereotypes, we tell ourselves — they are backed up by polling data.

There are bad pollsters in politics, hucksters who sound off on things they don't know much about, but there are also some very good ones. I know some of them and trust their work implicitly. The best have spent years honing their craft, and the industry as a whole has gotten very good at what it does since its early days in the 1960s and 1970s. In that primitive time, you might have learned as much by doing hours of man-on-the-street interviews.

But as polling has become more sophisticated, we have come to invest it with powers it often doesn't have. Those demographic segments morph into cartoon characters that we write and talk about when we want to explain the electorate.

So we have numbers telling us that **Santorum** is struggling among Catholics; he's lost the Catholic vote in 10 of 12 states where Edison Research has done exit polls, despite the fact that he is Catholic.

And Latinos, it turns out, don't like anyone in the Republican field. They favor Obama over Romney by 70 percent to 14 percent, according to a Fox News poll, though roughly a third say they would be more likely to vote for Romney if he chose a Latino running mate.

But what do those numbers really mean? It's hard to say without cross-referencing a bunch of other indicators including things such as income and geography. Does **Santorum** have a problem with Catholics or with the electorate as a whole? And of this Latino whom Romney could add to his ticket — might it matter who that person is and what state he or she comes from? Marco Rubio might appeal to the Cuban American community in South Florida, but would he sway the votes of Latinos in Western states who might have roots in Mexico?

It's not that polls are inherently suspect. They are crucial for campaigns that use them to better tailor their messages. The media may have initially laughed at the House Republicans' "Contract With America" back in 1994, but the strategy of making that midterm election a national referendum on the president was an idea that came from polling, as did much of the language in the document itself — and it worked.

The art of polling and microtargeting has grown markedly since then. In 2008, I created e-mail accounts for 12 composite people (different ages, races, professions, incomes and communities) and registered them to receive messages from the campaigns to see how my faux folks were treated. The Obama team was quite adept at targeting messages that spoke to their imagined circumstances; the campaign of Sen. John McCain was not.

But there is no need for journalists — not to mention the public — to internalize and then parrot these generalizations. I understand the compulsion; I succumb to it myself. As director of the Jefferson Institute's Patchwork Nation project, which uses data to break the country's 3,100 counties into 12 types of places, I spend plenty of time studying voter demographics and have written about the challenges that candidates face with different groups.

We don't need to stop studying and debating voter demographics, but we should be smarter about how we do it. The way we talk about voters matters, not just because it affects campaigns and candidates, but because it shapes how we see our country and our fellow citizens — and the perceptions it fosters are often wrong.

We in the media know there are big pitfalls to talking about demographic groups in the loose way that we often do. We rarely talk about "the white vote," after all. That's because we understand that white Americans are hard to define as a unit — depending on where you draw the line, they could be 72 percent of the population. The states with the largest percentages of non-Hispanic whites are Vermont, Maine, West Virginia, New Hampshire, Iowa, Wyoming, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho and Kentucky, according to the 2010 census. They are all more than 86 percent white, and they have very different voting patterns. It makes little sense to speak of them as a "white vote." Instead, we talk about "working-class whites" or "white evangelicals" or "white women" — still reductionist but a little more useful.

Such differences apply to other groups as well. For instance, surveys show that the Republican Party is facing a gender gap that could hurt its candidates badly in the fall. The latest NBC-Wall Street Journal poll shows Romney trailing Obama by 18 percentage points among women. But that's certainly not the whole story about female voters.

Consider **Santorum**. Based on his positions on contraception and abortion, you might assume he is struggling with female voters. And you'd be right — except where you are completely wrong. Among more-conservative women, for instance, he has done well, winning more votes from women in Alabama than Romney did.

The "female vote" is made up of all kinds of individual women from all walks of life; some may favor traditional household roles, some may support abortion rights, some may care about economic policy or the Afghan war more than any social issue. It depends on what filters you apply to a person's demographic label.

I look at the "female vote" so far in the GOP primary race and see a mirror of a larger fight in the party that is not about women so much as people's backgrounds, faiths and communities. When you look at the electorate more broadly, that's a fight the GOP is going to have beyond this election — and it's about more than gender.

Obama will probably do very well with African American voters again in 2012 — he won 96 percent of them in 2008 — but within that group, opinions are complicated. There are differences in the way African Americans who dropped out of high school and live in small Southern towns see the president, compared with blacks with advanced degrees living in larger cities.

The populist sentiment I have heard from black voters in Wilson, N.C., is very different than the policy-oriented discussions I have had with African American leaders and businesspeople in Philadelphia and Detroit. Down in Wilson, the concern I heard most often was that Obama has not gone far enough in standing up to the establishment and, specifically, Republicans — or that he has been obstructed from doing what he really wanted. In big cities, wealthier African Americans I speak with think Obama faces racism, but in many cases there is no desire for him to move further to the left on policy. Are they concerned enough to vote against the president? No, but the point is that those different black voters are driven by different impulses and, ultimately, want different things.

Of course, we can't break down the country person by person, so how do we generalize about voters in a way that is useful and realistic? I think it is better to focus on geographic communities rather than gender, race or **religion**; after all, it is a lot easier to understand the motives and actions of places than of races.

Communities tend to share common economic realities, common consumer and cultural experiences and, often, common faiths. People, scattered to the wind, are much more varied. Even people in the same demographic group who vote for the same person may do so for vastly different reasons.

It makes more sense to explore and compare sentiments in small-town communities with lots of service workers vs. small-town agricultural areas, for instance, than it does to explain what motivates "whites" or even "rural whites." Both such communities have lower-than-average incomes, but the votes coming out of them usually look different for economic and cultural reasons. Service-worker communities are more sensitive to national economic trends, for example; farming areas never had a housing boom but avoided the bust, too.

You can see similar differences between people who are from the same racial or religious slice of the demographic pie but who live in different places — from the wealthy in the suburbs and the cities to the elderly in college towns and retirement hubs. We should keep these differences in mind when the next poll is released.

The notion that we are far more than our gender or our faith or the color of our skin is not just an American principle or platitude — it's a reality that should inform our understanding of politics. Simplistic election-year stereotypes don't just foster misperceptions of what is going on in the campaign and the electorate. They also do a pretty poor job of explaining what most of us want to know once all the ballots are counted. Not who won — but why?

outlook@washpost.com

Dante Chinni is a journalist and director of the Patchwork Nation project at the Jefferson Institute. He is a co-author of "Our Patchwork Nation: The Surprising Truth About the 'Real' America."

Cherry-picking Rick Santorum?; For Catholics like Santorum, there is a difference between “rules and doctrines” and broad policy priorities.

By Matthew J. Franck

1241 words

27 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Here at "On Faith," the Post's Lisa Miller recently wrote that **Rick Santorum** could be called a “cafeteria Catholic,” someone who “cherry-picks” which teachings of the faith he wants to follow and which he doesn't. He might even be “not all that Catholic,” says Miller. But what are Miller's examples of **Santorum's** alleged “cherry picking,” and do they really represent deviations from “rules and doctrines” of the Catholic faith, as she puts it?

First, the death penalty. Miller cites a 2005 statement of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, arguing for an end to the death penalty in the United States. As a senator, **Santorum** did not work to end the death penalty; quite the contrary. But what does the authoritative Catechism of the Catholic Church say on the subject? “The traditional teaching of the Church does not exclude recourse to the death penalty, if this is the only possible way of effectively defending human lives against the unjust aggressor.”

While the Catechism goes on to urge public authorities to consider the need for the death penalty in many societies as “rare” if not “non-existent,” it does not impose an obligation on citizens or public officials of the Catholic faith to abolish capital punishment outright. The question of the death penalty's use is a prudential one, which Catholic teaching leaves up to the judgment of those invested with public authority—the laymen who hold office and the voters who choose them. In short, there is no Catholic “rule or doctrine” calling for the complete abolition of the death penalty. And the position staked out by the U.S. bishops does not change that fact.

Second, Miller mentions “torture.” She rightly notes the church's unequivocal position against torture, but she tendentiously asserts that **Santorum** is in favor of it. She

acknowledges—only implicitly to dismiss as obviously wrong—**Santorum's** view that our government's use of "enhanced interrogation techniques" against captured enemy terrorists was not torture. Miller's link to a news article elsewhere does not establish that she is right and **Santorum** is wrong about what constitutes torture. She has only identified a disagreement about a practice, not a "deviation" on **Santorum's** part from what his church teaches. Miller's Post colleague Marc Thiessen (also a Catholic) has written an entire book ("Courting Disaster") responsibly making the case that the Bush administration had no policy amounting to "torture." I recommend it to her.

Her third item is our policy toward Iran. Here **Santorum** is presented as ready to "threaten Iran with bombs," whereas a committee of the bishops led by Bishop Richard Pates of Des Moines recently counseled restraint. This seems to be a wholly manufactured difference between **Santorum** and leading prelates in his church. Even "preventive war" (taking steps to attack first against an imminent aggressor) is not ruled out by anything the church has ever authoritatively taught, nor even by the letter of Bishop Pates that Miller cites. As in the case of the death penalty, Catholic recognition that we live in a fallen world, where public authorities have a duty to protect innocent life, leads to the conclusion that deadly force can be morally employed, even preemptively. Also like the question of the death penalty, questions of war and peace are preeminently political judgments for the laymen invested with responsibility for the nation's defense. The church has principles to offer, not policies, much less decisions in individual cases.

Finally, Miller mentions immigration. Though she writes that "only on this issue has **Santorum** explicitly distanced himself from the church," it is perhaps her weakest example, because the church authoritatively teaches practically nothing about this subject. The U.S. bishops, Miller says, "support immigration reform that includes a way for illegal aliens to earn citizenship." True enough. But **Santorum**, she writes, "wants to build a fence between the United States and Mexico" and on his Web site, she says, he "conflates immigrants with 'drug cartels, violent criminals and terrorists.'" Score that as, respectively, a half-truth and a falsehood. **Santorum's** site says "secure the border first," but that isn't the whole of his policy .

And as for his alleged "conflation" of "immigrants" with criminals and terrorists, try to find it yourself on that Web page. You can't. What **Santorum** does say is that the Obama administration has given us an "exposed border and a nation vulnerable to drug cartels,

violent criminals, and terrorists." This is arguably so. But nowhere does **Santorum** say that "immigrants" generally or even "illegal immigrants" are part of that problem. Who's doing the conflating here?

But let's come back to **Santorum** vs. the bishops on this one. At most the bishops may be said to be speaking pastorally on this subject, but not authoritatively. Their views are worthy of respectful engagement, but they do not demand obedience. It is no test of anyone's faithful Catholicism to inquire whether they agree with the bishops about immigration.

Miller seemed moved to write this critique of **Santorum** by the fact that conservative Catholics can sometimes be heard to call their liberal brethren "cafeteria Catholics." But in the case of many (not all) liberal Catholics, there really are serious deviations from "rules and doctrines" taught by the faith. The teachings against abortion and contraception are unequivocal and authoritative. Ditto for the teachings on the priesthood of celibate men, and on the preservation of marriage as between one man and one woman. The bishops defend these doctrines as pillars of the Church's teaching, and when they speak it is the church we hear. On these questions, it is our brethren on the left who are not "all that Catholic" if they are at odds with the bishops.

But the case is different for the principles that govern the use of the death penalty, the use of military force, or policymaking on immigration. The bishops are rightly revered as the shepherds of the faith, but they know that they lack the authority to "loose and bind" the voters and public officials of the Catholic faith on these questions. Individually and collectively, the bishops' views (even the pope's view) on these matters are instances where they speak for themselves, in a great ongoing conversation among Catholics. They know they cannot, and so they do not, speak *ex cathedra* on questions as intricate as immigration policy.

Ironically, Miller's standard for **Santorum's** Catholicism is just the kind of test John F. Kennedy insisted was wrong for his fellow Americans to apply. The complaint about Kennedy in 1960, in some Protestant circles, was that he would, as president, do the bidding of Rome or of the American bishops, sacrificing his judgment (and his constitutional responsibilities as president) to religious authority. According to Miller, **Rick Santorum** can only be a completely good Catholic if he lets the bishops make

immigration policy, remake our criminal justice system, and determine whether we can attack Iran. Luckily for **Santorum**, she is wrong.

Matthew J. Franck is Director of the William E. and Carol G. Simon Center on **Religion** and the Constitution at the Witherspoon Institute in Princeton, New Jersey, Lecturer in Politics at Princeton University, and Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Radford University.

Politicians giving religion a bad name; Voters reject return to the worst habits of the religious right circa 1980.

785 words

27 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Religion in the 2012 presidential election is the topic that will launch a thousand PhD theses. The pre-Vatican II Catholic candidate, **Rick Santorum**, has risen largely on the support of evangelicals, who, before the Second Vatican Council, often regarded the pope as the Antichrist. The former Mormon bishop, Mitt Romney, won Ohio and Michigan (and thus probably the nomination) arguably because of Catholic support. Meanwhile, a significant portion of the Republican electorate regards a president who has affirmed "the resurrection of our savior Jesus Christ" as a closet Muslim.

In light of these developments, Americans have every right to be confused. But they hold one conviction about the role of **religion** in politics with increasing clarity: There is too much of it. A recent survey by the Pew Research Center found that 38 percent of Americans believe there is "too much expression of religious faith and prayer from political leaders." This is up from 29 percent in 2010.

Though I haven't noticed much aggressive public praying during this political cycle, Republican expressions of faith have been frequent and frequently crude. By every measure, the quality of evangelical social engagement has been in recent decline.

Candidates such as Michele Bachmann and **Rick Perry** have practiced a kind of identity politics, urging evangelicals to support one of their own. Then they reduced the evangelical tradition to a pathetic caricature, defined by support for school prayer or (in

Bachmann's case) conspiratorial opposition to vaccines. Their view of Christian social ethics is strangely identical to the most uncompromising anti-government ideology — involving the systematic subordination of a rich tradition of social justice to a narrow and predictable political agenda. It is difficult to imagine Bachmann or Perry in the same political universe as evangelical abolitionists and social reformers William Wilberforce and Lord Shaftesbury.

The problem is not, as some have alleged, a secret theocratic plot. It is the regression of evangelical politicians — and politicians appealing to evangelicals — to the worst habits of the religious right circa 1980. They jostle to claim a divine calling. They appear in the pulpit with pastors who talk ignorantly of America as a "Christian nation." Some, when they lose, hint darkly of anti-religious persecution. This is the behavior of Jerry Falwell on a bad day. Americans are right to find it discrediting.

But the Pew survey does not reveal a suddenly anti-clerical nation. Americans may find the return of the religious right problematic, but religious beliefs still shape American politics in various ways.

The poll, for example, found that GOP voters who believe there is too much **religion** in politics are far more likely to support Romney. Consider this a moment. At least among Republicans, Romney's Mormonism is viewed as a haven from an excessive emphasis on **religion**. Some of this is surely due to Romney's more moderate demeanor. But it is also an accurate reading of the Mormon tradition, which is self-consciously nonpartisan. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints includes not only Romney but also Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid, a Democrat. Romney's Mormonism may have limited his appeal among evangelicals in the Southern primaries. But he may get a subtle revenge. In the general election, his religious tradition may be viewed with less suspicion than would evangelicalism.

The Pew poll also serves as a reminder that the Democratic Party coalition remains diverse on religious issues. Concerns about excessive public religious expression are concentrated among Democrats. But a majority of African American Protestants still believes that churches should "express their views on day-to-day social and political questions." Given the history of the civil rights movement, this sentiment is unsurprising. But it means that the Democratic Party, at least in its current form, cannot be a secular party.

The survey demonstrates the dangers to Democrats when they veer toward secularism. President Obama's assault on the autonomy of Catholic religious institutions — part of a broader administration effort to eliminate or narrow the ministerial exception to federal laws — is beginning to take a toll. The percentage of white Catholics who believe that the Obama administration is hostile to **religion** has nearly doubled since 2009 — rising from 17 percent to 31 percent. Catholics, whatever their contraceptive practices, seem to care about the religious integrity of Catholic hospitals and charities.

So maybe the message of Americans on **religion** and politics isn't that confusing after all. They don't like sectarianism. But they also reject secularism. There is, fortunately, a distinctly American alternative: religious pluralism, humanized by tolerance.

showmichaelgerson@washpost.com

Rick Santorum, cafeteria Catholic?

By Lisa Miller

698 words

25 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

He has seven children, attends a Latin Mass and has driven issues of reproductive rights back into the center of American politics. In 2002, he traveled to Rome to express his support for the founder of the ultra-conservative Catholic lay movement called Opus Dei.

With these boxes on his religious resume checked, **Rick Santorum** has convinced Americans, even those who disagree with him, that he's the Republican candidate who most stands for orthodox religious faith. He has been called "devout," "traditionalist," and even — by the Catholic historian Garry Wills — "a papist."

So it is worth pointing out here that **Santorum** is not, in fact, all that Catholic.

Let me put that another way. Obviously, **Rick Santorum** is a Catholic. I have no doubt that his relationship with his church is genuine, profound and sustaining on a personal level.

But just like every religious believer through the millennia, **Santorum** observes the teachings of his church selectively. In this political primary race, he has advertised (or implicated) his Catholic bona fides when talking about abortion and contraception, and he has invoked his faith more broadly on issues such as pornography and family values. But on the following issues, **Santorum's** position diverges — sometimes a lot — from that of his church.

1. The death penalty: "Ending the death penalty would be one important step away from a culture of death and toward building a culture of life," wrote the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops in 2005. Both Benedict XVI and John Paul II opposed the death penalty and praised foreign leaders who abolished it.

Santorum supports it. In the 1990s, he voted against replacing the death penalty with life imprisonment and for a motion that would limit inmates' appeals in death-penalty cases. Recently, though, the former senator seems to be suffering pricks of conscience. "If there is not certainty, under the law, the death penalty should not be used," he told Piers Morgan this year.

2. Torture: The catechism of the Catholic Church clearly opposes it: "Torture, which uses physical or moral violence to extract confessions, punish the guilty, frighten opponents, or satisfy hatred is contrary to respect for the person and for human dignity."

Santorum endorses it. He doesn't call it torture, though. He calls it "enhanced interrogation techniques."

3. Nuclear Iran: On what is perhaps the most pressing foreign policy issue of the day, the Catholic Church urges restraint. "In Catholic teaching, use of force must always be a last resort," wrote Bishop Richard E. Pates in a recent letter from the bishops' conference. "Discussing or promoting military options at this time is unwise and may be counterproductive."

Santorum believes that America should threaten Iran with bombs. "I would be saying to the Iranians, you either open up those facilities . . . or we will degrade those facilities through airstrikes," he said on "Meet the Press."

4. Immigration: Only on this issue has **Santorum** explicitly distanced himself from the church he loves so much. The Catholic bishops support immigration reform that includes

a way for illegal aliens to earn citizenship. **Santorum** wants to build a fence between the United States and Mexico. On his Web site, he conflates immigrants with "drug cartels, violent criminals and terrorists." Following the bishops' recommendations, said **Santorum** in December, "would be creating a huge magnet for people to come in and break the law some more."

At issue here is not **Santorum's** inconsistency. He is running for president, not for pope, and in any case, the best religious teaching sets high standards for behavior and action in the world; it does not demand blind obeisance. At issue is the myth, perpetuated by religionists on the right (including **Santorum** himself), that the selective and self-serving observance of religious rules and doctrines is a sin committed exclusively by the left. The practice is known as "cherry picking." Both sides do it.

"We do well among people who take their faith seriously," **Santorum** told Fox News last week. That's true only if what **Santorum** means by "faith" is a set of politically motivated conservative beliefs, which don't have very much to do with **religion** at all.

The Etch-a-Sketch incident and the art of the political gaffe; THE FIX | All political gaffes aren't created equal. Here's why.

By Chris Cillizza

727 words

25 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

All political gaffes are not created equal.

Some come to define campaigns, others disappear in a single news cycle (or sometimes less).

So what differentiates the gaffes that enter campaign folklore from those that even the most committed political junkies struggle to recall even a few weeks after they happen?

It's actually a relatively simple answer: Gaffes that matter are those that speak to a larger narrative about a candidate or a doubt/worry that voters already have about that particular candidate.

Take the gaffe du jour — Mitt Romney aide Erik Fehrstrom's reference to an Etch-a-Sketch when asked whether the former Massachusetts governor's move to the ideological right in the primary would hurt him with general election voters.

The Etch-a-Sketch incident is likely to linger in the electorate because it speaks to a broader storyline already bouncing around the political world: That Romney lacks any core convictions and that he will say and do whatever it takes to win. (It IS worth noting that Romney didn't say the Etch-a-Sketch line — making it less powerful and perhaps less long lasting.)

Romney is also not helped by the fact that the Etch-a-Sketch is such a fun — and cheap! — campaign prop. Already both former House Speaker Newt Gingrich and former Pennsylvania senator **Rick Santorum** have been seen sporting Etch-a-Sketches on the trail. And you can bet Democrats are buying the children's toy in bulk today for future use. (Not surprisingly, Etch-a-Sketch stock has soared over the past 24 hours.)

To that point, the Democratic National Committee released their second Etch-a-Sketch web video in as many days:

Contrast Fehrstrom's gaffe with President Obama's slip-up in May 2008 when he told a crowd in Oregon: "Over the last 15 months, we've traveled to every corner of the United States. I've now been in 57 states?"

Conservatives insisted that the reason that gaffe didn't get enough attention was because of the media's favoritism directed toward Obama. But, the truth is that the "57 states" comment didn't become a defining moment in the 2008 campaign because there was no "Obama isn't smart enough to be president" narrative out there. Democrats, independents and even many Republicans agreed that Obama had the intellectual goods to be president although there was considerable disagreement about whether his policies were the right fit for the country.

While Obama's "57 states" gaffe never caught on, his comments about rural voters "clinging" to their **religion** and their guns — made at a fundraising event in California —

became a huge problem for his campaign. Why? Because there was an "Obama as elitist" narrative already in the political bloodstream that his "cling" comments played directly into.

Recent (and even not-so-recent) political campaigns are filled with gaffes that prove our point.

* Massachusetts Sen John Kerry's order of swiss cheese on his cheesesteak mattered because he was already fighting against the idea that he was out of touch with average Americans.

* **Rick Perry's** "oops" moment mattered because from the second the Texas governor announced his 2012 candidacy for president there were questions about whether or not he was up to the task.

* George H.W. Bush looking at his watch during a presidential debate in the 1992 campaign mattered because there was already a sense in the electorate that the incumbent president was aloof and uncaring.

* Edmund Muskie's tearing up in New Hampshire during the 1972 presidential campaign mattered because it reinforced the idea kicking around in political circles that he was emotionally unstable and prone to burst of temper. (The one and only David Broder wrote extensively about the Muskie crying episode in his book "Behind the Front Page".)

Playing to type — or even appearing to play to type — is the kiss of death when it comes to political gaffes. Given that political reality, Fernstrom's Etch-a-Sketch gaffe looks likely to hound Romney for the foreseeable future.

OP-ED COLUMNIST
Editorial Desk; SECTSR

Rethinking His Religion

By FRANK BRUNI

1434 words

25 March 2012

The New York Times

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

3

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

I MOVED into my freshman-year dorm at the University of North Carolina after many of the other men on the hall. One had already begun decorating. I spotted the poster above his desk right away. It showed a loaf of bread and a chalice of red wine, with these words: "Jesus invites you to a banquet in his honor."

This man attended Catholic services every Sunday in a jacket and tie, feeling that church deserved such respect. I kept a certain distance from him. I'd arrived at college determined to be honest about my sexual orientation and steer clear of people who might make that uncomfortable or worse. I figured him for one of them.

About two years ago, out of nowhere, he found me. His life, he wanted me to know, had taken interesting turns. He'd gone into medicine, just as he'd always planned. He'd married and had kids. But he'd also strayed from his onetime script. As a doctor, he has spent a part of his time providing abortions.

For some readers his journey will be proof positive of **Rick Santorum's** assertion last month that college is too often godless and corrupting. For others, it will be a resounding affirmation of education's purpose.

I'm struck more than anything else by how much searching and asking and reflecting he's done, this man I'd so quickly discounted, who pledged a fraternity when he was still on my radar and then, when he wasn't, quit in protest over how it had blackballed a Korean pledge candidate and a gay one.

Because we never really talked after freshman year, I didn't know that, nor did I know that after graduation he ventured to a desperately poor part of Africa to teach for a year.

College, he recently told me, had not only given him a glimpse of how large the world was but also shamed him about how little of it he knew.

In his 30s he read all 11 volumes of "The Story of Civilization," then tackled Erasmus, whose mention in those books intrigued him. When he told me this I was floored: I knew him freshman year as a gym rat more than a bookworm and extrapolated his personality and future from there.

During our recent correspondence, he said he was sorry for any impression he might have given me in college that he wasn't open to the candid discussions we have now. I corrected him: I owed the apology -- for misjudging him.

He grew up in the South, in a setting so homogenous and a family so untroubled that, he said, he had no cause to question his parents' religious convictions, which became his. He said that college gave him cause, starting with me. Sometime during freshman year, he figured out that I was gay, and yet I didn't conform to his prior belief that homosexuals were "deserving of pity for their mental illness." I seemed to him sane and sound.

He said that we talked about this once -- I only half recall it -- and that the exchange was partly why he remembered me two decades later.

Questioning his church's position on homosexuality made him question more. He read the Bible "front to back and took notes of everything I liked and didn't like," he said.

"There's a lot of wisdom there," he added, "but it's a real mistake not to think about it critically."

He also read books on church history and, he said, "was appalled at the behavior of the church while it presumed to teach all of us moral behavior." How often had it pushed back at important science? Vilified important thinkers?

Even so, he added to his teaching duties in Africa a weekly, extracurricular Bible study for the schoolchildren. But the miseries he witnessed made him second-guess the point of that, partly because they made him second-guess any god who permitted them.

He saw cruelties born of the kind of bigotry that **religion** and false righteousness sometimes abet. A teenage girl he met was dying of sepsis from a female circumcision performed with a kitchen knife. He asked the male medical worker attending to her why

such crude mutilation was condoned, and was told that women otherwise were overly sexual and "prone to prostitution."

"Isn't it just possible," he pushed back, "that women are prone to poverty, and men are prone to prostitution?"

He has thought a lot about how customs, laws and **religion** do and don't jibe with women's actions and autonomy.

"In all centuries, through all history, women have ended pregnancies somehow," he said. "They feel so strongly about this that they will attempt abortion even when it's illegal, unsafe and often lethal."

In decades past, many American women died from botched abortions. But with abortion's legalization, "those deaths virtually vanished."

"If doctors and nurses do not step up and provide these services or if so many obstacles and restrictions are put into place that women cannot access the services, then the stream of women seeking abortions tends to flow toward the illegal and dangerous methods," he said.

He had researched and reflected on much of this by the time he graduated from medical school, and so he decided to devote a bit of each week to helping out in an abortion clinic. Over years to come, in various settings, he continued this work, often braving protesters, sometimes wearing a bulletproof vest.

He knew George Tiller, the Kansas abortion provider shot dead in 2009 by an abortion foe.

THAT happened in a church, he noted. He hasn't belonged to one since college. "**Religion** too often demands belief in physical absurdities and anachronistic traditions despite all scientific evidence and moral progress," he said.

And in too many religious people he sees inconsistencies. They speak of life's preciousness when railing against abortion but fail to acknowledge how they let other values override that concern when they support war, the death penalty or governments that do nothing for people in perilous need.

He has not raised his young children in any church, or told them that God exists, because he no longer believes that. But he wants them to have the community-minded values and altruism that he indeed credits many religions with fostering. He wants them to be soulful, philosophical.

So he rounded up favorite quotations from Emerson, Thoreau, Confucius, Siddhartha, Gandhi, Marcus Aurelius, Martin Luther King and more. From the New Testament, too. He put each on a strip of paper, then filled a salad bowl with the strips. At dinner he asks his kids to fish one out so they can discuss it.

He takes his kids outside to gaze at stars, which speak to the wonder of creation and the humility he wants them to feel about their place in it.

He's big on humility, asking, who are we to go to the barricades for human embryos and then treat animals and their habitats with such contempt? Or to make such unforgiving judgments about people who err, including women who get pregnant without meaning to, unequipped for the awesome responsibility of a child?

As a physician, he said, you're privy to patients' secrets -- to their truths -- and understand that few people live up to their own stated ideals. He has treated a philandering pastor, a drug-abusing financier. "I see life as it really is," he told me, "not how we wish it were."

He shared a story about one of the loudest abortion foes he ever encountered, a woman who stood year in and year out on a ladder, so that her head would be above other protesters' as she shouted "murderer" at him and other doctors and "whore" at every woman who walked into the clinic.

One day she was missing. "I thought, 'I hope she's O.K.,'" he recalled. He walked into an examining room to find her there. She needed an abortion and had come to him because, she explained, he was a familiar face. After the procedure, she assured him she wasn't like all those other women: loose, unprincipled.

She told him: "I don't have the money for a baby right now. And my relationship isn't where it should be."

"Nothing like life," he responded, "to teach you a little more."

A week later, she was back on her ladder.

A vision for a secular America; Americans must not avert our eyes from rising theocracy.

By Sean Faircloth

866 words

24 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

The Reason Rally is necessary because secular Americans want to restore the values of our nation's founders. As one of the speakers at the Reason Rally, I offer a specific vision and plan for a secular America.

In 2012 the Religious Right has veto power over one of two major political parties in the most powerful nation on earth. To win the Republican nomination all candidates must pledge allegiance to One Nation Under a Religious Right God. Yet Mr. Conservative, Barry Goldwater, said, "I don't have any respect for the Religious Right."

Why the change?

Shortly after the 1980 Republican convention, Ronald Reagan, stood before evangelical ministers in Dallas, declaring, "I know that you cannot endorse me" but "I endorse you." This pivotal declaration, the culmination of effective organizing by the Religious Right, led to our current unprecedented moment in history.

Often unnoticed by the media, theocratic laws, as I document in my book, have already been passed in Congress and legislatures throughout America.

In the 1970s the Religious Right got organized, winning seats on school boards, city councils, and in legislatures. Religious bias in government is widespread:

- theocratic laws endangering children (religious bias in faith-healing, vaccination, corporal punishment)
- Stem cell research still thwarted by **religion**
- "Faith based initiatives" discriminating with tax money
- Vouchers funding schools discriminating with tax money
- Government money for Scouts discriminating against gay people and the non-religious. (Girl Scouts don't discriminate.)
- Religious bias in land use planning
- Religious bias in schools and textbooks
- Student loans funneling tax money to creationist colleges
- Religious bias impeding end of life autonomy

These laws harm thousands of people, religious and non-religious. Due to a federal loophole, there's a separate legal standard in over 35 states for the misnamed "faith-healing" of children. Hundreds of children every year experience horrible suffering in the name of faith.

While secular activists shake their fist at a Home Depot manger with a plastic baby Jesus in the town square at Christmas time, there remain ignored many examples of human harm caused by religious bias in government.

We must restore Jeffersonian values. We must work toward a ten point vision of a secular America:

1. Our military shall serve all Americans, religious and nonreligious, with no hint of bias or fundamentalist extremism.
2. Healthcare professionals shall fulfill their sworn professional oath to provide service to patients with no religious bias - or they must find another job.

3. Any federal- or state-funded program, whether offering services domestic or foreign, relating to reproductive health shall be based on public health, not religious bias or the denigration of women or sexual minorities.
4. There shall be no religious bias in employment, environmental or land-use law.
5. While marriage can be defined by a **religion** as that denomination chooses within internal ceremonies, government shall never impose a religious bias on the definition of marriage.
6. When facing end of life choices, Americans shall be guaranteed control over our own bodies, not thwarted by religious bias.
7. America's youth shall never be subjected to religious bias in education. If there's one penny of government funds, there must not be one iota of religious propaganda.
8. There shall be no political bias against secular candidates for public office.
9. There shall be one consistent standard for the health and welfare of children, no matter the **religion** of a child's parents, school, or child-care center. Religious extremists can do whatever they choose with their own bodies, but children shall be treated as human beings, not pawns to be sacrificed in the name of **religion**.
10. Medical, technical, and scientific innovation shall be dedicated to the health and advancement of our fellow citizens and must never be impeded by religious bias.

Is America still the Enlightenment nation, the nation that brought our species to the moon? Secular Americans are patriotic Americans. Jefferson coined the phrase "separation of church and state." Thanks to **Rick Santorum's** indigestion, we've all been reminded of John Kennedy's clarion call: "I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute ...where no religious body seeks to impose its will directly or indirectly upon the general populace or the public acts of its officials." The problem goes far beyond **Rick Santorum's** stomach -- pervading our legislatures and Congress.

Americans must not avert our eyes from rising theocracy. Secular Americans -- people like Brad Pitt, Warren Buffett, Gloria Steinem, Bill Gates and George Clooney -- know our great nation will move forward when we proceed based on Jeffersonian ideals. This ten point vision is a positive vision. A secular America is America at its best.

Sean Faircloth is author of the new book "Attack of the Theocrats, How the Religious Right Harms Us All and What We Can Do About It." Faircloth is Director of Strategy & Policy for the Richard Dawkins Foundation for Reason & Science US. An attorney, Faircloth served ten years in the Maine legislature and is one of the invited speakers to the March 24 Reason Rally.

The New York Times Company

Santorum's lack of religious sensibility; Doesn't he get it?

By Jennifer Rubin

477 words

23 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Ironically, **Rick Santorum** and **religion** don't mix — at least in the context of a presidential campaign. In extolling his own personal religiosity he repeatedly insults and demeans others. Certain mainline Christian churches aren't Christian at all, he said. His followers are those who take **religion** "seriously." He is lacking in respect and restraint when it comes to matters of faith, in part because he insists on telling everyone his views on everything from contraception to Satan's contribution to the downfall of America.

Politico reports on another religious flap: "In 2010, **Rick Santorum** was paid to speak to a controversial religious group unpopular with some Jewish leaders because it seeks to convince Jews to accept Jesus. The Messianic Jewish Alliance of America paid **Santorum** \$6,000 to speak at its 2010 annual conference, according to a filing released Wednesday showing a total of nearly \$95,000 in speaking fees that **Santorum** previously failed to disclose."

But some of the people who do take their **religion** seriously, Jews in this case, were understandably offended:

Some Jewish leaders have denounced Messianic Judaism as "religious fraud" intended to convert Jews to Christianity.

Abe Foxman, head of the Anti-Defamation League, which was created to fight anti-Semitism, condemned the group in 2008. He had harsh words Thursday for **Santorum's** appearance.

"Political figures are free to raise money from whomever they want, so long as they disclose it, but considering the role **Rick Santorum** sees for **religion** in public life, it is very distressing that he would appear on the platform of a group that teaches that Jews should convert to Christianity," Foxman said. "His decision to appear before a group of Messianic Jews was insensitive and offensive."

At the time of the speech **Santorum** was not (to my knowledge) running for president. In a sense, this makes the speech even more revealing, for it suggests his true predisposition toward the group and his lack of comprehension regarding the long and sordid history of Christian conversion of Jews. Frankly, it is possible he agrees that Christians should convert Jews. His willingness to speak to that group certainly raises that issue.

In short, once again we see that **Santorum** may be devout in his own faith but indifferent or dismissive of others' religious sensibilities — or lack of religiosity.

In this **Santorum** lives up to his reputation as an aggressively divisive figure who either enjoys creating hot-button issues and incidents or can't help himself from creating a firestorm. That's fine for pep rallies for the base and book sales, I suppose. But running for president and being president require a largeness of spirit and a level of personal restraint **Santorum** doesn't have. Moreover, it's not something one learns late in life.

Washington Post
E.J. Dionne Jr.

Romney's challenge to sway evangelical voters; What Romney needs to do to earn religion-based votes in November

799 words

22 March 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

MOSCOW, Idaho

The Republican presidential primaries this year have turned into a religious census. There is little precedent in modern politics for the extent to which a state's choice for a nominee has coincided so closely with how many of its ballots were cast by white evangelical voters.

Where evangelicals cast a minority of the ballots, Mitt Romney has won. Where evangelical voters predominated, Romney has lost, in most cases to **Rick Santorum**.

Romney's victory Tuesday in Illinois fit snugly within this pattern. The result pointed to a continuing problem for **Santorum**: He has yet to break through in places where evangelicals were not the principal force.

While the exit polls did not question voters directly about their attitudes toward the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, there is indirect evidence that Romney's faith may be holding down his vote among non-Mormons for whom a candidate's **religion** matters.

But it's also true that Romney's Mormonism has had a positive electoral side. Solidarity among Mormon voters, eager to break a historical barrier, helped Romney win Arizona, Nevada and Idaho. Romney won 96 percent among self-identified Mormons in Arizona and 88 percent in Nevada. In Idaho, Romney carried counties in the southern part of this state where the bulk of its Mormon population resides, even as he lost most of the state's northern counties to **Santorum** or Ron Paul.

But outside of Mormon strongholds, voters most concerned about a candidate's religious views are rejecting Romney. In 10 states that had voted before Illinois, exit pollsters asked voters how important it was for a candidate to share their religious beliefs.

On average, Romney received only 23 percent from voters who said a candidate's religious views mattered a "great deal" to them. If one excludes Virginia (where Romney faced only Paul) and Arizona (with its substantial Mormon population), Romney's average among these voters drops to 17 percent. By contrast, **Santorum** averaged 46 percent among voters who said a candidate's religious views mattered a great deal.

The religious factor is also obvious in the role played by evangelicals. In 16 of the states that had voted before Illinois, exit pollsters asked whether voters were white evangelical or born-again Christians. In the states that went for **Santorum**, evangelicals averaged 71 percent of the electorate. In the states Romney won, they averaged only 33 percent of the electorate (and only 31 percent if Virginia is excluded). In both states Newt Gingrich carried, evangelicals made up 64 percent of the vote.

Illinois may thus have been a turning point for Romney. Evangelicals, who made up 42 percent of the Illinois electorate, again went for **Santorum**, but relatively narrowly, by 46 percent to 39 percent. And voters who said a candidate's religious beliefs mattered a great deal gave Romney 31 percent, well above his average in the earlier primaries.

And there is this irony: **Santorum**, a devout and conservative Roman Catholic, has become the evangelical choice even as he has regularly lost the Catholic vote to Romney. **Santorum's** weakness among Catholics hurt him particularly in the key states of Michigan and Ohio, and again on Tuesday in Illinois.

This is less surprising than it seems. Catholics tend to be a moderating force in both political parties, and **Santorum** stands well to the right of the political and theological Catholic spectrum. **Santorum's** failure to rally the Catholic vote might give pause to conservative Catholic bishops whose public pronouncements often overlap with **Santorum's**.

Would Romney's difficulties in connecting with evangelicals hurt him in a contest with President Obama? Richard Land, president of the Southern Baptist Ethics and Religious Liberty Commission, says that Romney's Mormon faith is unlikely to be a central concern

for evangelicals, including Baptists, given the strong opposition to the president among religious conservatives.

Only in those states with large Mormon populations — Utah, along with Idaho, Nevada and Arizona — has Land noticed particularly strong feelings among Baptists against Mormons. In heavily Mormon areas, he said, members of his denomination often see themselves as "a discriminated-against minority." But Land still thinks that Romney could usefully rally evangelicals who have resisted him so far by naming a running mate who would appeal to them. **Santorum** was at the top of his list.

And this may be Romney's political dilemma: His continuing need to reassure non-Mormon religious conservatives could complicate his efforts to move toward the political center. Winning against the wishes of a substantial part of the Republican base would thus be a real but also problematic achievement.

showejdionne@washpost.com

Santorum: Peddling religious antagonisms, again; A shameful slur.

By Jennifer Rubin

420 words

21 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

On a day in which the media intentionally played dumb (they were playing, right?) concerning Eric Fehrstrom's remark about the reset that occurs in a general election (Mitt Romney explained for the deliberately dim that the general election is a whole new race, but he'll be running on the same positions he's espoused in the primaries), there was a truly appalling comment by a Republican presidential candidate.

The Post reports on the latest **Rick Santorum** utterance: "The bottom line is that we do well among people who take their faith seriously, and as you know, just like some Protestants are not churchgoing, they are folks who identify with a particular **religion** but

don't necessarily practice that from the standpoint of going to church and the like." What?!

I am not sure I have heard a more arrogant or bizarre assertion about the religious views of Americans. To call those who don't support him nonbelievers is truly beyond the pale. This is the new religious test: **Santorum's** crowd are really the God-believing; all the rest be damned (so to speak). The assertion that opponents are not truly devout (What test does he use? What about Orthodox Jews? Is he saying Mormons are not religious?) personifies both the tone-deafness and the lack of understanding by **Santorum** that his job is (or was) not to divide Americans by **religion** but to appeal to common values and ideals. If everyone who doesn't side with you is a nonbeliever, we might as well go back to the religious wars of Europe.

He's also wrong as a factual matter. In Illinois, **Santorum** lost those who attend weekly religious services and even Catholics who attend weekly services. He might think of his critics as deluded nonbelievers, but it is the case that many people who take their faith "seriously" oppose him.

In **Santorum's** eyes, the 4 million Republicans who have voted for Mitt Romney and the over two million who have voted for Newt Gingrich are religious slouches. The effort to (excuse the expression) demonize those who vote for others on religious grounds is shameful. He should apologize.

What's worse is that this is an obvious attempt to exculpate himself from responsibility for his failure to gain the nomination. Better to insult the voters and hurl excuses based on faith than admit that he's simply not the guy to win the GOP nod.

The Supreme Court mulls death and life; Santorum convinced by a film; and Hillary lauds Amelia Earhart (read this roundup); In the Loop's roundup, the high court's odd case, Santorum's video education, and Hillary talks Amelia Earhart.

By Emily Heil

441 words

20 March 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Something akin to science fiction—or maybe a particularly twisted plot for a "Law and Order" spin-off—is unfolding at the Supreme Court. We've got two takes on the wacky case of a woman trying to get survivor benefits for her twins—who were conceived after their father's death (there's a sperm bank involved). Our colleague http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/complications-beset-posthumous-conception-case/2012/03/19/gIQAR5i0NS_story.html Robert Barnes breaks down the legal arguments in the case, while http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/supreme-court-conceives-of-life-after-death/2012/03/19/gIQAxtJ5NS_story.html Dana Milbank points up the absurdities at hand ("The justices pretty much had to wing it," he writes.)

He's Visual Learner — If you need to convince Sen. **Rick Santorum** of something, try showing him some film. In an http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/rick-santorums-journey-to-devout-catholicism-view-of-religion-in-governance/2012/03/16/gIQAj4NzNS_story_2.html in-depth story today about the GOP candidate's Catholic faith journey, his mother-in-law says she once showed **Santorum** and her daughter a video of people graphically describing abortions. "They just sat there crying," Betty Lee Garver said. "And they became instantly pro-life."

In Plane Sight — And in other science fiction-esque developments, a team of scientists searching for the remains of Amelia Earhart's plane in remote Pacific waters are http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/hillary-clinton-offers-support-for-amelia-earhart-detectives-ahead-of-new-search-for-plane/2012/03/20/gIQApbdWOS_story.html?tid=pm_politics_pop getting a boost from Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. She'll meet with the team in an event that will

"underscore America's spirit of adventure and courage, as embodied by Amelia Earhart, and our commitment to seizing new opportunities for cooperation with Pacific neighbors founded on the United States' long history of engagement in the Asia-Pacific region," the State department says.

Senatorial Standup — "In **Santorum's** case, I think it's the first time he's actually ever used protection." --Sen. Scott Brown (R-Mass., http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/election-2012/post/sen-scott-brown-pokes-fun-at-santorum-romney-at-south-boston-roast/2012/03/19/gIQAHabDNS_blog.html cracking wise about the news that the GOP candidates are now getting Secret Service protection.

OP-ED COLUMNIST
Editorial Desk; SECTA

Many Kinds of Catholic

By FRANK BRUNI

844 words

20 March 2012

The New York Times

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

27

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

If Catholicism is measured by obeisance to the pope, his cardinals and the letter of Vatican law, then **Rick Santorum** is the best Catholic to ever get this far in presidential politics.

He doesn't just oppose abortion as a private matter of personal conscience. He has made that position a defining crusade.

He hasn't just been fruitful and multiplied. He has promulgated the church's formal prohibition against artificial birth control, yanking this issue, too, into the public square.

On homosexuality, premarital sex, pornography and more, he doesn't just take his cues from church dictums. He trumpets that alignment as a testament to the steadfastness of his devotion, the integrity of his faith.

And for this he has been rewarded with a truly noteworthy level of Catholic support.

Noteworthy because it's so underwhelming.

Exit polling suggests that he lost the Catholic vote to Mitt Romney, a Mormon, by 7 percentage points in Michigan and by 13 in Ohio. These weren't isolated cases. In primary after primary, more Catholics have gravitated to Romney than to **Santorum** (or, for that matter, to Newt Gingrich, a Catholic-come-lately who collaborated with his third wife to make a worshipful documentary about Pope John Paul II).

This is a hurdle that **Santorum** must overcome to win the primary in Illinois, whose population is about 30 percent Catholic. And it's yet more proof of most American Catholics' estrangement from an out-of-touch, self-consumed church hierarchy and its musty orthodoxies.

For months now the adjective Catholic has been affixed to the country's strange contraception debate, which began when many Catholic leaders took offense at a federal mandate that Catholic institutions provide insurance coverage for artificial birth control.

But most American Catholics don't share their appointed leaders' qualms with the pill, condoms and such. These leaders have found traction largely among people -- Catholic and otherwise -- concerned about government overreach. And the whole discussion has opened the door to complaints about morality from evangelicals, who warm to **Santorum** more than Catholics do.

American Catholics have been merrily ignoring the church's official position on contraception for many years, often with the blessing of lower-level clerics. When my mother dutifully mentioned her I.U.D. during confession back in the 1970s, the parish priest told her that she really needn't apologize or bring it up again. Which was a good thing, since she had no intention of doing away with it. Four kids were joy and aggravation enough.

Despite church condemnation of abortion and same-sex marriage, American Catholics' views on both don't diverge that much from those of Americans in general. These Catholics look to the church not for exacting rules, but for a locus for their spirituality, with rituals and an iconography that feel familiar and thus comfortable. In matters religious, as in "The Wizard of Oz," there's no place like home, and Catholicism is as much ethnicity as dogma: something in the blood, and something in the bones.

The Catholic hierarchy, meanwhile, keeps giving American Catholics fresh reasons for rebellion. As The Times's Laurie Goodstein reported last week, lawyers for the church in Missouri have begun a campaign of intimidation against a support group for victims of sexually abusive priests: they're trying to compel the group to release decades of internal documents.

This may be cunning legal strategy, but it's lousy public relations and worse pastoral care. Which isn't any surprise.

I've been monitoring and occasionally writing about the church's child sex-abuse crisis since 1992, and most of church leaders' apologies and instances of constructive outreach have come about reluctantly, belatedly or with a palpable sense from many bishops and cardinals that they were the aggrieved, victimized ones.

As they complained about excessive media attention, they frequently lost sight of its heinous root: a great many priests molested a great many children, who were especially vulnerable to them -- and especially damaged by them -- because they called themselves men of God. And for a great many years, church leaders actively concealed these crimes, which continued.

For the church ever to grouse that critics make too much of this, let alone to retaliate against victims and accusers, is galling. But it helps explain the breach between the hierarchy -- invested in its own survival, resistant to serious discussions about the celibate culture's role in child sexual abuse -- and everyday Catholics. They're left to wonder where they fit into their church and how it fits into the modern world.

They don't really constitute a voting bloc, because their political allegiances reflect income and education as much as creed. That's a big part of their resistance to **Santorum**.

But it's also true that his particular Catholicism isn't theirs. It's the hierarchy's. And his poor performance among Catholics should cause cardinals, bishops and the candidate himself to rethink the way they approach their **religion**.

OP-ED COLUMNIST
Editorial Desk; SECTSR

Is Elvis A Mormon?

By MAUREEN DOWD

881 words

18 March 2012

[The New York Times](#)

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

11

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

TRUST Mitt Romney to be on top of the latest trend of the superrich: the trophy basement.

On Friday, The Wall Street Journal reported on the new fashion to look low-key on the outside while digging deep for opulence -- carving out subterranean spaces for Turkish baths, Italianate spas, movie theaters, skateboarding ramps, squash courts, discos and golf-simulation centers.

The Journal reported that Romney has filed an application to replace his single-story 3,000-square-foot beach house in La Jolla, Calif., with a 7,400-square-foot home featuring an additional 3,600 square feet of finished underground space.

It's a metaphor alert, reinforcing the two image problems Romney has: that he's an out-of-touch plutocrat and that his true nature is buried where we can't see it.

His two-year missionary stint in France taught Mitt to steel himself against rejection. Still, he must feel awful heading into Illinois (where Joseph Smith, the Mormon Church founder, was running for president when he was killed by a mob), spending so much money to buy so little affection.

There's a certain pathos to Romney. His manner is so inauthentic, you can't find him anywhere. Is he the guy he was on Wednesday or the guy he was on Thursday?

He has the same problem that diminished the equally animatronic Al Gore. Gore kept mum on the one thing that made him come alive, the environment, fearing he'd be cast, as W. liked to say, as "a green, green lima bean."

Romney also feels he must hide an essential part of who he is: a pillar of the Mormon Church. He fears he would turn off voters by talking too much about a faith that many evangelicals dismiss as a cult and not a true Christian **religion**.

Rick Santorum is drawn to the extreme and ascetic Opus Dei and sometimes sounds more Catholic than the pope -- like his promise on his Web site to banish hard-core porn if he's elected president. Yet he has successfully crowded Romney with a fraction of his money by wearing his **religion** and his immigrant, blue-collar roots on his sleeve.

Mitt works overtime pretending he's a Nascar, cheesy-grits guy and masking his pride in his bank account and faith.

When he talked about his beliefs in his last presidential run, it sometimes provoked confusion, like this explanation to an Iowa radio host about the second coming of Christ: that Jesus would first appear in Jerusalem and then, "over the thousand years that follow, the millennium, he will reign from two places, the law will come from Missouri, and the other will be from Jerusalem."

Just as Romney did not step up immediately after Rush Limbaugh called Sandra Fluke "a slut," he has yet to step up as the cases have mounted of Jews posthumously and coercively baptized by Mormons, including hundreds of thousands of Holocaust victims; the parents of the death camp survivor and Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal; and Daniel Pearl, the Jewish Wall Street Journal reporter murdered by Al Qaeda in Pakistan. (His widow, Mariane, told CNN she was "shocked.")

Believing that only Mormons can get into the highest level of heaven, the Celestial Kingdom, and that others will be limited to the Terrestrial and Telestial Kingdoms, they have baptized anyone and everyone, including Anne Frank, Gandhi, Hitler, Marilyn Monroe, Charlie Chaplin and Elvis.

Asked by Newsweek in 2007 if he had done baptisms for the dead, which involve white garb and immersion in water, a startled Romney replied, "I have in my life, but I haven't recently."

Mormon feminists got upset this winter when they found that young women in some temples had not been allowed to do proxy baptisms while they were menstruating.

Church leaders have lately stepped up efforts to stop such baptisms, reminding church members that their "pre-eminent obligation" is not to celebrities and Holocaust victims but to their own ancestors. (Ann Romney's Welsh dad, who disdained organized **religion**, was baptized.)

Matthew Bowman, who wrote "The Mormon People," says Mormons "have a hard time understanding why people from other religions find this so offensive. Mormons don't think of these people as being made Mormon unless their spirit accepts the Gospel. They just think they've given them an opportunity. Mormonism is wildly optimistic."

Mormons had designated Elie Wiesel, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and Holocaust survivor, as "ready" for a posthumous proxy burial, even though he is very much alive at 83 and still teaching at Boston University and in Florida.

Wiesel calls "the whole process very strange," and faults Romney, a Mormon stake president: "After all, Romney is not simply a Mormon. He's been a bishop of the Mormon Church. He could have called and told me he wanted me to know that he spoke to the elders and told them to stop it. Silence doesn't help truth."

He added: "They have baptized over 600,000 Holocaust victims. There is nothing positive in what they are doing. It's an insult. You cannot ask the dead their opinion.

"Poor Anne Frank. As if she didn't suffer enough."

CAMPAIGN STOPS

Sunday Review Desk; SECTSR

Forget the Money, Follow the Sacredness

By JONATHAN HAIDT

1310 words

18 March 2012

[The New York Times](#)

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

12

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

In the film version of "All the President's Men," when Robert Redford, playing the journalist Bob Woodward, is struggling to unravel the Watergate conspiracy, an

anonymous source advises him to "follow the money." It's a good rule of thumb for understanding the behavior of politicians. But following the money leads you astray if you're trying to understand voters.

Self-interest, political scientists have found, is a surprisingly weak predictor of people's views on specific issues. Parents of children in public school are not more supportive of government aid to schools than other citizens. People without health insurance are not more likely to favor government-provided health insurance than are people who are fully insured.

Despite what you might have learned in Economics 101, people aren't always selfish. In politics, they're more often groupish. When people feel that a group they value -- be it racial, religious, regional or ideological -- is under attack, they rally to its defense, even at some cost to themselves. We evolved to be tribal, and politics is a competition among coalitions of tribes.

The key to understanding tribal behavior is not money, it's sacredness. The great trick that humans developed at some point in the last few hundred thousand years is the ability to circle around a tree, rock, ancestor, flag, book or god, and then treat that thing as sacred. People who worship the same idol can trust one another, work as a team and prevail over less cohesive groups. So if you want to understand politics, and especially our divisive culture wars, you must follow the sacredness.

A good way to follow the sacredness is to listen to the stories that each tribe tells about itself and the larger nation. The Notre Dame sociologist Christian Smith once summarized the moral narrative told by the American left like this: "Once upon a time, the vast majority" of people suffered in societies that were "unjust, unhealthy, repressive and oppressive." These societies were "reprehensible because of their deep-rooted inequality, exploitation and irrational traditionalism -- all of which made life very unfair, unpleasant and short. But the noble human aspiration for autonomy, equality and prosperity struggled mightily against the forces of misery and oppression and eventually succeeded in establishing modern, liberal, democratic, capitalist, welfare societies." Despite our progress, "there is much work to be done to dismantle the powerful vestiges of inequality, exploitation and repression." This struggle, as Smith put it, "is the one mission truly worth dedicating one's life to achieving."

This is a heroic liberation narrative. For the American left, African-Americans, women and other victimized groups are the sacred objects at the center of the story. As liberals circle around these groups, they bond together and gain a sense of righteous common purpose.

Contrast that narrative with one that Ronald Reagan developed in the 1970s and '80s for conservatism. The clinical psychologist Drew Westen summarized the Reagan narrative like this: "Once upon a time, America was a shining beacon. Then liberals came along and erected an enormous federal bureaucracy that handcuffed the invisible hand of the free market. They subverted our traditional American values and opposed God and faith at every step of the way." For example, "instead of requiring that people work for a living, they siphoned money from hard-working Americans and gave it to Cadillac-driving drug addicts and welfare queens." Instead of the "traditional American values of family, fidelity and personal responsibility, they preached promiscuity, premarital sex and the gay lifestyle" and instead of "projecting strength to those who would do evil around the world, they cut military budgets, disrespected our soldiers in uniform and burned our flag." In response, "Americans decided to take their country back from those who sought to undermine it."

This, too, is a heroic narrative, but it's a heroism of defense. In this narrative it's God and country that are sacred -- hence the importance in conservative iconography of the Bible, the flag, the military and the founding fathers. But the subtext in this narrative is about moral order. For social conservatives, **religion** and the traditional family are so important in part because they foster self-control, create moral order and fend off chaos. (Think of **Rick Santorum's** comment that birth control is bad because it's "a license to do things in the sexual realm that is counter to how things are supposed to be.") Liberals are the devil in this narrative because they want to destroy or subvert all sources of moral order.

Actually, there's a second subtext in the Reagan narrative in which liberty is the sacred object. Circling around liberty would seem, on its face, to be more consistent with liberalism and its many liberation movements than with social conservatism. But here's where narrative analysis really helps. Part of Reagan's political genius was that he told a single story about America that rallied libertarians and social conservatives, who are otherwise strange bedfellows. He did this by presenting liberal activist government as

the single devil that is eternally bent on destroying two different sets of sacred values -- economic liberty and moral order. Only if all nonliberals unite into a coalition of tribes can this devil be defeated.

If you follow the sacredness, you can understand some of the weirdness of the last few months in politics. In January, the Obama administration announced that religiously affiliated hospitals and other institutions must offer health plans that provide free contraception to their members. It's one thing for the government to insist that people have a right to buy a product that their employer abhors. But it's a rather direct act of sacrilege (for many Christians) for the government to force religious institutions to pay for that product. The outraged reaction galvanized the Christian right and gave a lift to **Rick Santorum's** campaign.

AROUND this time, bills were making their way through state legislatures requiring that women undergo a medically unnecessary ultrasound before they can have an abortion. It's one thing for a state government to make abortions harder to get (as with a waiting period). But it's a rather direct act of sacrilege (for nearly all liberals as well as libertarians) for a state to force a doctor to insert a probe into a woman's vagina. The outraged reaction galvanized the secular left and gave a lift to President Obama.

This is why we've seen the sudden re-emergence of the older culture war -- the one between the religious right and the secular left that raged for so many years before the financial crisis and the rise of the Tea Party. When sacred objects are threatened, we can expect a ferocious tribal response. The right perceives a "war on Christianity" and gears up for a holy war. The left perceives a "war on women" and gears up for, well, a holy war.

The timing could hardly be worse. America faces multiple threats and challenges, many of which will require each side to accept a "grand bargain" that imposes, at the very least, painful compromises on core economic values. But when your opponent is the devil, bargaining and compromise are themselves forms of sacrilege.

PHOTOS: Groups circle around a flag, an idea, a leader or a cause and treat it as sacred. (PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIC THAYER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; DANIEL BORRIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES; JOE RAEDLE/GETTY IMAGES)

Jonathan Haidt is a professor of psychology at the University of Virginia and a visiting professor of business ethics at N.Y.U.'s Stern School of Business. Parts of this essay were excerpted from "The Righteous Mind: Why Good People Are Divided by Politics and Religion," which was just released.

Rick Santorum's evangelical appeal; Southern evangelicals see, in Santorum, a brother in arms who attends a different church on Sundays.

By Matthew J. Franck

1099 words

16 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

As a political scientist who taught for many years in the Appalachian region of southwestern Virginia, I've encountered my fair share of evangelical Protestants. As a conservative Catholic who's living again in the mid-Atlantic where I was born, I know a thing or two about the religious appeal of **Rick Santorum** to people in the pews in places like Philadelphia. And as a resident of the American melting pot with ancestors, family and in-laws ranging from Presbyterians to Catholics to Quakers to Mormons to evangelicals, I'll go ahead and claim some interfaith street cred.

So what's up with the victories of **Rick Santorum**, a western Pennsylvania Italian Catholic, in two states, Alabama and Mississippi, where upwards of four in five voters described themselves in exit polls as evangelical or "born-again" Christians? Although the New York Times' Bill Keller famously misidentified **Santorum** last year as an evangelical, these voters know better. They knew going to the polls Tuesday that they could choose the LDS Mitt Romney, the Lutheran-turned-Baptist-turned-Catholic Newt Gingrich, or the lifelong Catholic **Rick Santorum**.

Oh yes, and the Baptist Ron Paul, and therein lies a tale. For the kinds of conservative evangelicals who might once have done well in these states—Tim Pawlenty, Michele Bachmann, Herman Cain, **Rick Perry**—were no longer in the race at all. And while Ron Paul may be a Baptist, he is an isolationist libertarian, and there turn out to be precious few of those among southern conservatives, as revealed by Paul's low single-digit results in Alabama and Mississippi.

The first observation to make about the role of **religion** in these two deep-south states, then, is that three non-evangelical candidates all did respectably well in a heavily evangelical (and conservative) electorate. Each of the candidates topped 30 percent of the vote. Just a half century ago, John F. Kennedy had to go to Houston to make a case to Baptist ministers that a Catholic deserved a shot at the presidency. (Some Catholics, then and now, think JFK surrendered too much of his faith to mollify his critics.) Only four years ago Mitt Romney felt similarly compelled to reassure voters that a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints deserved a fair chance as well. Now in 2012, we seem past all that.

Yes, there may be an element of anti-Mormon feeling among some evangelical voters. (Such feeling is considerably stronger among the secular liberals of the Democratic Party, for very different reasons.) Exit polls showed that voters who highly prized a candidate who shared their own "religious values" picked **Santorum** over Romney. But it would be largely speculative to say that this really measured negative sentiment about Romney's Mormonism. For better or worse, **Santorum** is widely known as the "social issues" conservative in this race, the consistent defender of life, of marriage and family, and (as he himself put it last night) of the "centrality of faith" in many Americans' lives. Look at how strongly he did among voters who think a candidate's "moral character" matters most, and you get the picture.

Romney, by contrast, came well into his middle age—and his governorship of Massachusetts—before adopting an unequivocally pro-life position. Justly or unjustly, suspicions linger that Romney is (in Newt Gingrich's words) a "Massachusetts moderate," and not just because of "Romneycare." In today's GOP, "moderate" is not a term of praise. And, again for better or worse, no one thinks of that word where **Santorum** is concerned. Southern evangelicals see, in **Santorum**, a brother in arms who attends a different church on Sundays. They seem perfectly capable of seeing a Mormon candidate that way. It's just not clear that they yet see Romney that way.

There are lots of other tantalizing data points in recent exit polls—in Ohio and Michigan as well as Alabama and Mississippi. **Santorum's** strength among younger voters, the less well-educated, and the less affluent, for instance—just the sectors of the electorate whose turnout needs encouraging—while Romney polls well with the Republicans who are older, better educated, and wealthier, whose reliable turnout is virtually guaranteed

for any GOP nominee . . . including **Santorum**. While all of that is worth exploring, I'll mention just two other things related to **religion** here.

First, some people are scratching their heads over the fact that Romney has polled better among Catholics than **Santorum** has. Why can't **Santorum** do better among his own co-religionists? I suspect we'd get our answer if the exit polls drilled deeper into people's churchgoing habits. To be "Catholic" in America often means little more than that one took the sacraments long ago, and reflexively identifies with the Church when asked by a pollster, or perhaps falls into the "Christmas and Easter" gang that crowds the pews the rest of us are in every Sunday. I'd be willing to bet that **Santorum** is handily winning those Catholics who attend Mass at least weekly, remember to eat no meat on Lenten Fridays, comfortably say "consubstantiation" now, and mark the holy days of obligation on their calendars.

Second, **Santorum** beat Romney handily among women voters, especially married women, in Mississippi and Alabama. So much for the fabled "war on women" of the Republicans (and the Catholic bishops). As the party's most conspicuous faith-and-family conservative, and the most cogent critic of Obamacare on behalf of every family's freedom to control its own health care choices, **Santorum** has probably benefited from President Obama's egregious over-reaching in this field. And although he hasn't talked about it a great deal (and should start doing so), **Santorum** is probably the candidate preferred by many voters upset by the Obama administration's assault on religious liberty in its HHS contraception mandate. The issue fits him like a glove, and voters can see that it does. The fact that many Southern Baptists have chosen to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Catholic bishops on this issue is no small help to the most "evangelical" of the remaining candidates.

Matthew J. Franck is Director of the William E. and Carol G. Simon Center on **Religion** and the Constitution at the Witherspoon Institute in Princeton, New Jersey, Visiting Lecturer in Politics at Princeton University, and Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Radford University.

Why demographics and math are a problem for Santorum; Count the Whole Foods stores and the delegates.

By Jennifer Rubin

387 words

15 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Rick Santorum plainly has a problem. He may win in Alabama or Mississippi, but he's losing ground in the GOP primary. His ability to make up lost ground becomes more compelling as the race heads to states with large metropolitan centers (e.g., New Jersey, New York, Illinois).

David Wasserman of the Cook Political Report agrees that the race "plays out poorly in states where metro areas dominate the statewide GOP vote." Within the base, **Santorum** is still losing votes to Newt Gingrich, allowing Romney to win with fewer than 50 percent of the vote.

Wasserman doesn't think **religion** is the key to the race. He argues, "**Religion** is the wrong spectrum through which to view this race; it's culture and education." Looking at the divide between upscale and downscale counties, he tells me: "Romney's crushing in Whole Foods precincts, **Santorum** is sweeping Cracker Barrel counties. Higher-educated, high-income Republicans in metro areas (more of whom just happen to be Catholic) are Romney; lower-educated, downscale Republicans in small towns and rural areas (more of whom just happen to be evangelical) are **Santorum**."

It is not as if this is a unique phenomenon or that it is a function of Romney's shortcomings as a candidate. Wasserman says, "It's exactly the same story as the Dem race in 2008, when [Barack] Obama had Whole Foods and Clinton had Cracker Barrel. Momentum didn't matter and Hillary was winning primaries into June while clearly losing the race."

Moreover, since **Santorum's** strategy (although he said otherwise in his victory speech on Tuesday night) is to get to the convention, Newt Gingrich has every reason to stay in the race. Heck, if there is going to be a big ol' fight in Tampa, why in the world would he cash in his chip now?

So on the race goes. Obama wrapped up the race on June 3, 2008. On June 5, 2012, the GOP has races in New Jersey, California, South Dakota, Montana and New Mexico. If he hasn't already, Romney is very likely to go over the 1,144 delegate number on that date. Sometimes math and demographics really do control.

Washington Post

What you might have missed in the Alabama, Mississippi exit polls; A deep dive into the exit polls from the primaries on Tuesday night.

By Chris Cillizza

829 words

15 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

The Fix loves exit polls. Like, a lot.

But, once primary day/night passes, the political world rapidly moves on to the next Tuesday, the next state that is, or so we say, really going to matter. And the poor exits poll get lost in the shuffle.

Not this time! Here are five observations from the exit polls Tuesday night that tell us something important about the race going forward. Want to sift through them on your own? The Washington Post polling unit has a terrific sortable interactive exit poll tool. It's fun — and educational!

1. Seniors like Romney: The only age group that former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney carried over former Pennsylvania senator **Rick Santorum** in Alabama and Mississippi were those over 65 years old. In Alabama, Romney won senior citizens by 10 points over **Santorum** while he won them in Mississippi by 11. **Santorum** walloped Romney among young (18-29) and middle age (30-44) voters. If Romney winds up as the Republican presidential nominee, his strength among seniors could matter; not only are older voters the most reliable of all voters but they also have strong presences in a number of potential swing states including Florida, Ohio and Arizona.

(Random fact: Maine is the oldest state — by age — in the country.)

2. **Santorum** is the conservative choice: Whether or not former House Speaker Newt Gingrich knows it, Alabama and Mississippi voters made clear that **Santorum** is their guy. Among those who said that a candidate being a "true conservative" was the most important trait in making up their minds, **Santorum** beat Gingrich 52 percent to 34 percent in Mississippi and 51 percent to 34 percent in Alabama. Among those who said a "strong moral character" was the most important factor in choosing their candidate, **Santorum** beat Gingrich by 57 points in Mississippi and by 55 points in Alabama. Gingrich can stay in the race as long as he likes but if he wasn't the conservative choice in Mississippi and Alabama where will he be?

3. Romney should talk experience: Assuming Gingrich is out of the race or at least marginalized in a major way, then Romney's best message going forward may well be to focus on how his experience in the private (and public) sector is the best fit to be president. Gingrich won voters who prized experience convincingly over Romney in Alabama and Mississippi but even more noticeable was the gap between Romney and **Santorum** on the question. Twenty nine percent of Mississippi voters who prized experience over all other candidate traits went for Romney as compared to just eight percent who went for **Santorum**. In Alabama, Romney got 33 percent among "experience" voters as compared to just six percent who went for **Santorum**. If Romney can change the debate between he and **Santorum** from one about who is the true conservative candidate to one about who has the right experience to be president, that's an argument he can win.

4. Electability isn't enough: Roughly half of all voters in Alabama (46 percent) and Mississippi (49 percent) said that Romney was the candidate best able to beat President Obama. And yet, in Alabama Romney won only 66 percent of those voters while in Mississippi he won just 59 percent. Put simply: Romney lost more than third of voters in both states who believe he represents the party's best chance of beating President Obama. And that's in an electorate where beating Obama has long been the most important candidate attribute cited by voters in the early days of the primary process. Going forward, it's clear that Romney can't rely on electability alone to clinch the nomination; he needs to give voters another reason — beyond the fact they think he is going to win — to close the deal.

5. The Mormon issue: Romney's Mormonism has been a back burner topic throughout the race. (Alabama Gov. Robert Bentley said before the primary vote this week that "I think that's a very subtle issue that probably may be a problem in many states – not just in Alabama."). But, Romney lost voters who said it was very important for a candidate to share their religious beliefs by wide margins. **Santorum** took 48 percent to Romney's 16 percent among those voters in Alabama and 43 percent to 26 percent among them in Mississippi. While **Santorum** is a Catholic and most voters in Alabama and Mississippi are southern Baptists, they clearly identify themselves more closely with **Santorum's religion** than Romney's **religion**. (It's no secret that among some evangelical Christians, Mormonism is viewed very skeptically.) Romney's positioning as the moderate in the field clearly hurt his chances in Mississippi and Alabama but his Mormon faith didn't help matters either.

Washington Post

Barack Obama is Muslim? And the Time Traveler vote.; It makes sense to me.

By Alexandra Petri

875 words

12 March 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Keeping in mind that there are three kinds of untruths — lies, damned lies and statistics — some rather rummy numbers emerged from Public Policy Polling's poll of 1,256 likely Republican primary voters in Alabama and Mississippi.

Only 26 percent of the likely voters polled in Alabama believed in evolution — 60 percent did not. In Mississippi it was 66 disbelieving to 22 percent who believed, a still starker gap. It's about ten percent higher than the American population at large.

And 52 percent of Mississippi voters — and 45 percent of Alabama voters — think President Obama is Muslim. Are you kidding me? Where have they been for the past four years?

The answer may be simpler than I thought.

They were in the 1920s.

Unless you take time travel into account, many of the numbers this election season don't make much sense.

I don't know why it didn't strike me sooner. So many of the issues at stake this year are Issues I Thought We Resolved Several Decades Ago. This is 2012, with lots of economic distress and voter unrest to go around. Why are we suddenly prioritizing Taking Back Control Of Women's Bodies For The State?

But if you consider the Time Traveling Vote, it all makes sense.

I am not sure how big the vote is. But if the recent actions of many state legislatures are to be taken into account, it is surely substantial.

To visitors from the past, these issues are still pressing and vital. They don't care about jobs! Once the election's over, they're headed back to 1926, where the economy is still roaring and everyone is flapping and doing the Charleston.

It certainly makes more sense than the assumption that they've simply been ignoring all the headlines, most of the textbooks, the entire women's rights movement and the scientific consensus for decades.

No, logic dictates that these voters arrived from 1925, specially, just so they could vote in this election. When Newt Gingrich says that this is the most important election of our lifetimes, he is in no way exaggerating. It's the most important election of our grandfathers' lifetimes too. These Time-Traveling Voters are making a big splash this season, when they aren't being startled by all the improvements to horseless carriages. No wonder many support **Rick Santorum**. His attire no doubt makes them feel at home.

All this time we worried that yelling wild, unhinged things into the electoral winds was damaging the candidates and ruining the process! It seems we were wrong. If I had any advice for voters in this truly landmark year, it would be, "Try to sound more like William Jennings Bryan."

This also explains Ron Paul's popularity. Himself a time traveler (from 1935, anyway) he has been delivering a variant of a Bryan stump speech — "Let's Be Crucified on a Cross of Gold Again" — for decades now.

Still, the Time Traveler vote is very much up for grabs. Mitt Romney doesn't poll well with them — perhaps Joseph Smith is a recent and unpleasant memory — but everyone else has a shot. Of the comparatively minuscule percentage who believe interracial marriage should be illegal — just 29 percent in Mississippi — Newt Gingrich is winning by a significant margin. But for voters who Don't Believe In Evolution and Think President Obama is Muslim (probably they just hopped out of the time machine and glimpsed his name) it's still anyone's game. **Santorum** leads No Evolution For Us, Thanks, voters by only a single percentage point, less than the poll's margin of error.

Sane, temperate remarks do little with this critical demographic. They remember back when exorcism was a routine medical procedure. Who needs health care? Leeches are still cheap. What's the military doing in Afghanistan? That's not even a country.

Next election cycle, their colleagues from the 18th century will be arriving and we'll be banning ultrasounds — too much technology! — and just hiring Jonathan Edwards to deliver an hour-long speech to anyone seeking any kind of medical procedure at all. ("What are you doing outside the house, woman?" the speech will begin.)

Scoff if you like, but it explains a lot.

The one thing it doesn't explain is the people on Twitter who believe the same thing.

Soon after the poll numbers hit the presses, "Obama is Muslim" turned into something of a trending topic on Twitter. Perhaps a broad and general indifference to fact is not the special prerogative of those 600-odd visitors from the past. "Obama is Muslim," read one of the top tweets. "So? I like Nutella. Where's my trend?" "How does your **religion** determine your potential to be a good leader and have good judgement Obama is Muslim... So What!"

Er...

Look, I'm all for tolerance. But there comes a point — preferably before you break out the Congratulations On Your **Religion** cake and related tweets — when you ought to at least, you know, Google it.

Unless those voters are Time Travelers too. If so, they're oddly proficient at Twitter.

Feminism's final frontier? Religion.

814 words

12 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

The battle of the sexes, waged this election season with fulsome fury in the public space, is being fought in a much more painful, private sphere as well. In churches (and synagogues and mosques) across the land, women are still treated as second-class citizens. And because women of faith are increasingly breadwinners, single moms and heads of households, that diminished status is beginning to rankle.

There are churches in America in which women aren't allowed to speak out loud unless they get permission from a man first.

There are churches (many of them) in which women aren't permitted to preach from the pulpit.

There are churches in America where a 13-year-old boy has more authority than his mother.

"At church I had to hide my thoughts, questions and life choices," says Susan, a woman who works as a therapist in Seattle and, after a lifetime of following Jesus, left Christianity. "I didn't think I could do anything by myself, because as a Christian woman I'd learned that I needed a man to get places."

Susan's story was published in January by a small Christian publishing house in the book "The Resignation of Eve ." In its pages, the author, an evangelical minister named Jim Henderson, argues that unless the male leaders of conservative Christian churches do some serious soul-searching — pronto — the women who have always sustained

those churches with their time, sweat and cash will leave. In droves. And they won't come back. Their children, traditionally brought to church by their mothers, will thus join the growing numbers of Americans who call themselves "un-churched."

Nevermind that the Bible talks about women submitting to men and sitting silently in church, Henderson declaims. That's ancient history. "Until those with power (men) decide to give it away to those who lack it (women), I believe we will continue to misrepresent Jesus' heart and mar the beauty of his Kingdom," Henderson writes.

Henderson bolsters his argument with data from the Barna Research Group. Between 1991 and 2011, the number of adult women attending church weekly has declined 20 percent. The number of women going to Sunday school has dropped by about a third, as has the number of women who volunteer at church.

And although the Barna data have been disputed by other researchers, Henderson goes further. Even those women who go to church regularly, he says, are really only half there: Their discontent keeps them from engaging fully with the project of being Christian. He calls this malaise among women "a spiritual brain drain."

I think of these faithful conservative females in this political season, struggling to make ends meet and keep their eyes on God as the men of the right, also known as "the patriarchy," disrespect and insult them.

It is not only Rush Limbaugh who demeans all women by calling one a "slut" and a "prostitute." It's **Rick Santorum** — that man of faith — who has stopped just short of calling working mothers selfish and who lumps all single moms together as his opposition, as he did in an interview with Tony Perkins of the Family Research Council last year.

"They look to the government for help and therefore they're going to vote," **Santorum** said. "So if you want to reduce the Democratic advantage, what you want to do is build two-parent families." It is every single policy that puts so-called "small government" ahead of the health, welfare and education of children.

I think of the bloggers on Feminist Mormon Housewives who insist on their devotion to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints while sensibly rebelling against teachings that make women inferior to men. I think of the women at the Jewish Orthodox

Feminist Alliance, who, barred from leadership roles in synagogue, are starting small prayer groups of their own, where they can perform Jewish life-cycle rituals together.

I think of Kelly, a subject in Henderson's book who, after making a case for women in ministry at her church, got the silent treatment from her pastor for months. Kelly left that church and started a group that met in people's living rooms. There, she is a leader. "This is my church, and I love it," she says. "It's a community I cultivate and pastor."

The political analogies are clear. According to a new NBC/Wall Street Journal poll, President Obama wins in any matchup against Mitt Romney, **Santorum** or Newt Gingrich. Among women, though, his gains are huge: 18 points, 24 points and 27 points, respectively. Unless the strident, authoritarian social conservatives loosen their stranglehold on American women, American women will abandon the Republican Party (as they're quitting church) and look for their candidates elsewhere.

To read Lisa Miller's previous columns, go to show.washingtonpost.com/onfaith.

Santorum and Madison on church and state; Historian Kevin R.C. Gutzman compares presidential candidate Santorum's declarations on the separation of church and state with the ideas of Founding Father James Madison.

By Kevin R. C. Gutzman

902 words

8 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

About this blog: James Madison was a Founding Father of great complexity and many contradictions who had a profound influence on the ideas that created America. In his book, "James Madison and the Making of America," released last month by St. Martin's Press, Kevin R. C. Gutzman provides a multi-layered portrait of Madison, with particular emphasis on his ideas about church and state. Here, Gutzman, a professor of history at Western Connecticut State University, looks at presidential candidate **Rick Santorum's** recent comments on church and state in relation to what this Founding Father had to say about the issue.

Some controversies never die. Among them, seemingly, is the one over the proper relationship between government and **religion** — between church and state.

Former Sen. **Rick Santorum** of Pennsylvania hopes to become the second Roman Catholic president of the United States and, not unnaturally, he has taken the opportunity to consider the example of the first, John F. Kennedy.

Creating something of stir recently, **Santorum** said Kennedy's famous 1960 speech endorsing an "absolute" separation between church and state made him want to "throw up." Why?

When the question was put to him by George Stephanopoulos (son of a very prominent Orthodox priest), **Santorum** replied: "I don't believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute. The idea that the church can have no influence or no involvement in the operation of the state is absolutely antithetical to the objectives and vision of our country."

One wishes that Stephanopoulos had asked **Santorum** how he knew that. Where does **Santorum** get his idea of "the objectives and vision of our country?" Certainly not from study of James Madison.

The chief craftsman of America's tradition of church-state separation, Madison, disagreed with **Santorum**. He developed at great length over more than 50 years his belief in religious freedom. Never again in America should Virginia whip Baptists or Massachusetts hang Quakers. The church should form no part of the state.

With that in mind, Madison at the tender age of 25 coined the phrase "free exercise of **religion**" for the Virginia Declaration of Rights — America's first such declaration. He pushed the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom to passage, officially separating church from state in the Old Dominion.

Madison also played the lead role in drafting the U.S. Constitution, whose Article VI bans religious tests for office-holding. He led the way in drafting the First Amendment, which

paired "free exercise" with a ban on congressional legislation "respecting an establishment of **religion**."

Madison's point was not to exclude believers from politics. That would have been impossible in Madison's day, when virtually every American believed in God, just as a huge majority of us do now.

Santorum says that, "Unfortunately on that day President Kennedy chose not to dispel fear. In fact, what he chose to do was expel faith."

This is simply inaccurate. Kennedy invoked Madison in explaining that presidents should neither impose **religion** nor be accountable to religious figures — in Kennedy's case, the pope.

For Madison, the separation of church and state was simply that: not that John Jay, Patrick Henry, Sam Adams, or any of the other devout politicians of the Revolutionary era must abandon politics, but that they must not impose their **religion** on others through the instrumentality of the state.

Santorum's confusion on this score came out in his recent statement that he looked forward to an opportunity as president to lecture Americans on the dangers of contraception. One simply cannot imagine James Madison taking what is so transparently a position dictated by **Santorum's religion**, stripping it of its theological foundation, and hectoring his fellow citizens about it.

Santorum seems to think that the president is our official bishop, rabbi, or imam, and that his election would amount to a secular ordination.

"The idea of strict or absolute separation of church and state," **Santorum** said, "is not and never was the American model." What does he mean by that?

Madison explained in his "Memorial and Remonstrance: Against Religious Assessments" (1785) that laws establishing state churches had harmed both government and **religion**. Profoundly revolutionary in his day, this idea has gained ground since. In our own time, the Roman Catholic Church has banned priests from political service, forcing some to quit Congress.

In retirement, deep consideration of his principle led Madison to conclude that neither Congress nor the U.S. military should have chaplains. He apparently decided that it had been an error for him as president to encourage Americans to pray for victory in the War of 1812, because such blandishments, "seem to imply and certainly nourish the erroneous [sic] idea of a national **religion**." The government, he thought, should neither tax people to pay a minister nor set out particular religious observance that Americans ought to follow.

Nothing that John Kennedy said in 1960 indicated that he must cease to be Catholic if he became president. It did indicate, however, that Kennedy had given the underpinnings of American religious freedom serious thought.

One hopes that **Santorum** will do the same, and soon.

EDITORIAL

Editorial Desk; SECTA

Super Tuesday

625 words

7 March 2012

The New York Times

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

26

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

Long before Super Tuesday, the Republican Party had cemented itself on the distant right of American politics, with a primary campaign that has been relentlessly nasty, divisive and vapid. Barbara Bush, the former first lady, was so repelled that on Tuesday she called it the worst she'd ever seen. We feel the same way.

This country has serious economic problems and profound national security challenges. But the Republican candidates are so deep in the trenches of cultural and religious warfare that they aren't offering any solutions.

The results Tuesday night did not settle the race. Republican voters will have to go on for some time choosing between a candidate, Mitt Romney, who stands for nothing except country-club capitalism, and a candidate, **Rick Santorum**, so blinkered by his

ideology that it's hard to imagine him considering any alternative ideas or listening to any dissenting voice.

There are differences. Mr. **Santorum** is usually more extreme in his statements than Mr. Romney, especially in his intolerance of gay and lesbian Americans and his belief that **religion** -- his **religion** -- should define policy and politics. Mr. **Santorum's** remark about wanting to vomit when he reread John F. Kennedy's remarkable speech in 1960 about the separation of church and state is one of the lowest points of modern-day electoral politics.

Mr. Romney has been slightly more temperate. But, in his desperation to prove himself to the ultraright, he has joined in the attacks on same-sex marriage, abortion and even birth control. He has never called Mr. **Santorum** on his more bigoted rants. Neither politician is offering hard-hit American workers anything beyond long discredited trickle-down economics, more tax cuts for the rich, a weakening of the social safety net and more of the deregulation that nearly crashed the system in 2008.

There is also no space between Mr. Romney and Mr. **Santorum** in the way they distort reality to attack Mr. Obama for everything he says, no matter how sensible, and oppose everything he wants, no matter how necessary. Rising gas prices? Blame the president's sound environmental policies. Never mind that oil prices are set on world markets and driven up by soaring demand in China and Middle East unrest.

They also have peddled the canard that the president is weak on foreign policy. Mr. Romney on Tuesday called President Obama "America's most feckless president since Carter." Never mind that Mr. Obama ordered the successful raid to kill Osama bin Laden and has pummeled Taliban and Al Qaeda leaders, all without the Republicans' noxious dead-or-alive swagger. Now, for the sake of scoring political points, Mr. Romney, Mr. **Santorum** and Newt Gingrich, who is hanging on only thanks to one backer's millions, seem determined to push Israel toward a reckless attack on Iran.

Republican politicians have pursued their assault on Mr. Obama, the left and any American who disagrees with them for years now. There are finally signs that they may pay a price for the casual cruelty with which they attack whole segments of society. Senator Lisa Murkowski, a Republican of Alaska, said on Tuesday that the Republicans have left people thinking they are at war with women. Women are right to think that.

A new Pew Research poll shows that 3 in 10 voters say their opinion of the Republicans has worsened during the primaries. Among Democrats, 49 percent said watching the primaries have made them more likely to vote for Mr. Obama. That is up from 36 percent in December, which shows that Mr. Obama has risen as the Republicans have fallen.

But the president, who can be frustratingly inert at times, still has a long way to go.

Washington Post

A Super Tuesday reality check

By Ed Rogers

388 words

5 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Tomorrow's Super Tuesday primaries will offer a good reality check of where the Republican Party really stands on social issues vs. economic issues in 2012.

I believe **Rick Santorum's** outbursts on snobs in college, JFK and **religion** and contraceptives made the difference in his narrow loss in Michigan. Since then, nothing has happened to help him present a focused economic message — even if he wanted to.

According to a Gallup survey from mid-February, the economy took first place on the list of what American voters care about. 92 percent ranked the economy as extremely important or very important and "social issues such as gay marriage and abortion" were last with 38 percent. (The numbers shifted slightly, to 94 percent and 46 percent respectively, among Republicans.) So, deciding what to talk about should not be hard. Whether it is **religion**, sex or race, when Republicans go there, we enter a minefield. National GOP candidates and party leaders are pushing their luck, and we are doing what our opponents want us to do. The slightest misstep, or even just bad luck, can spring the trap.

Even if **Santorum** was trying to shift his message and walk away from the scene of the crash, Rush Limbaugh threw a hand grenade into the GOP race. By crudely insulting a student activist, Limbaugh reminded everyone of what they are supposed to fear about Republicans, especially **Santorum**. News of Limbaugh's comments swamped every other campaign story and suddenly everyone was talking about Rush. The entire 2012 Republican campaign has been off-message for days. It is too bad that the Republican race to challenge President Obama can be so easily detoured by the radio talk show host and side-show issues.

We can whine about it, or we can deal with the world the way it is. For Republicans, social issues are like a fire. Too close and you get burned; too far away and you are out in the cold. Our 2012 candidate has got to be good enough to keep the balance, without losing independent voters who are desperate for renewed economic growth. Whether or not the GOP gets it and how badly we want to win in 2012 will be clearer on Wednesday morning after the votes are counted.

Washington Post

Outlook

JFK's message is lost on Santorum

Kathleen Kennedy Townsend

1183 words

4 March 2012

[The Washington Post](#)

WP

FINAL

B02

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved

Kathleen Kennedy Townsend says the candidate doesn't understand the meaning of religious liberty

America's only Catholic president referred to God three times in his inaugural address. He invoked the Bible's command to care for the poor and the sick. Later in his presidency, he said, unequivocally, about civil rights: "We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution."

Yet, last Sunday, Republican presidential candidate **Rick Santorum**, who is also Catholic, told ABC News that John F. Kennedy's classic 1960 campaign speech in Houston about religious liberty was so offensive to people of faith that it made him want to vomit.

"To say that people of faith have no role in the public square? You bet that makes you throw up," **Santorum** said. "What kind of country do we live [in] that says only people of non-faith can come into the public square and make their case?"

Either **Santorum** doesn't know his American history or he is purposefully rewriting it. How can he seriously imagine that Kennedy, a person who got down on his knees each night to pray, who gave his time and money to win tough primaries in states with strong anti-Catholic traditions, who challenged us to live our Christianity by ending racial hatred, somehow lacked the courage of faith or tried to exclude people of faith from government and politics?

In his presidential campaign, Kennedy faced fierce anti-Catholic prejudice. He appeared before the Greater Houston Ministerial Association because he feared that his faith was being used unfairly against him. Norman Vincent Peale, along with 150 other ministers, had issued a letter urging citizens to vote against Kennedy because, should he win, he would be controlled by the Vatican. Peale's group called itself the National Conference of Citizens for Religious Freedom. How ironic that the term "religious freedom" would be used as double-speak for religious hypocrisy - but it certainly was not the first or last time.

Anti-Catholic prejudice has a long history in America. Construction of the Washington Monument was halted partly because an anti-Catholic controversy erupted in 1854, when the pope gave us a stone from Rome for the project. (You can see a change in color partway up the monument between the initial structure and the rest, finished nearly 30 years later.) Catholic students at public schools who didn't want to recite the Protestant version of the Lord's Prayer were sometimes expelled. As late as 1928, voters rejected Catholic presidential candidate Al Smith, calling the Democrats the party of "rum, Romanism and rebellion."

Kennedy, my uncle, hoped to make it clear that the pope would not control him. The government would not regulate church doctrine, and no minister would determine government policy. As he put it:

"I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute; where no Catholic prelate would tell the president - should he be Catholic - how to act, and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote; where no church or church school is granted any public funds or political preference; and where no man is denied public office merely because his **religion** differs from the president who might appoint him or the people who might elect him."

He specifically referred to birth control, too, saying he would follow his conscience in accordance with what he believed to be in the national interest and not cave in to "religious pressures or dictates."

Santorum is more like Kennedy than he may realize - he follows his conscience. It's true that on some issues, such as contraception, where the bishops are at odds with many other Catholics, he sides with the bishops. (I'm tempted to recall my father Robert Kennedy's observation that priests are Republican and nuns Democratic.) But **Santorum** has also taken positions at odds with the Catholic hierarchy. He has opposed the church's pro-immigrant policies. He has attacked President Obama's "phony theology," which he says involves caring for the Earth - no matter Pope Benedict's pronouncements on protecting the environment.

Nor in his recent Wall Street Journal op-ed did **Santorum** cite papal views on the financial crisis. On Feb. 15, in an address at Rome's Major Seminary, the pope said that "the world of finance, while necessary, no longer represents an instrument that favors our well-being or the life of mankind; instead it has become an oppressive power that almost demands our adoration." Somehow **Santorum** missed that.

Can he be so ignorant of what Kennedy actually said and what the pope has actually preached? Or is he using his faith for political purposes?

Santorum has since expressed regret for his choice of words about Kennedy, but his words cannot be forgotten. The challenge is not **Santorum** - it is the 28 percent of Americans who think the separation of church and state should be abolished.

Santorum is encouraging division and intolerance. The subtext of his remarks is that America should be a conservative religious nation - and that Kennedy was denying it. Well, he was. Here are his words to the ministers in Houston:

"I believe in an America where religious intolerance will someday end; where all men and all churches are treated as equal; where every man has the same right to attend or not attend the church of his choice; where there is no Catholic vote, no anti-Catholic vote, no bloc voting of any kind; and where Catholics, Protestants and Jews, at both the lay and the pastoral level, will refrain from those attitudes of disdain and division which have so often marred their works in the past, and promote instead the American ideal of brotherhood."

Perhaps **Santorum** should recall the Gospel's teachings, which might direct us to positions different from those he advocates. Jesus told his followers that they would be judged on how they clothed the naked, fed the hungry and welcomed the stranger. His directive to love God and our neighbor leads many faithful Americans to support same-sex marriage and to see that marriage itself can be strengthened when couples make love without fear of an unplanned pregnancy. Each of these positions can be made in a secular setting, but they also have a moral argument, grounded in faith.

In 2012, people of many faiths are running for office - Barack Obama, Mitt Romney, my own godson, Joseph Kennedy - and one can disagree with their policies while respecting their religious views. Bishops, priests, nuns, ministers, rabbis and imams lobby Congress and state legislatures on various issues. They have a voice. They just don't always win every election or argument. Welcome to democracy.

Kathleen Kennedy Townsend is the former lieutenant governor of Maryland and the author of "Failing America's Faithful: How Today's Churches Are Mixing God With Politics and Losing Their Way." She is on the board of Catholic Democrats.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com>

What Rick Santorum doesn't understand about JFK; Kennedy didn't exclude faith from public life.

1205 words

3 March 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

America's only Catholic president referred to God three times in his inaugural address. He invoked the Bible's command to care for the poor and the sick. Later in his presidency, he said, unequivocally, about civil rights: "We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution."

Yet, last Sunday, Republican presidential candidate **Rick Santorum**, who is also Catholic, told ABC News that John F. Kennedy's classic 1960 campaign speech in Houston about religious liberty was so offensive to people of faith that it made him want to vomit.

"To say that people of faith have no role in the public square? You bet that makes you throw up," **Santorum** said. "What kind of country do we live [in] that says only people of non-faith can come into the public square and make their case?"

Either **Santorum** doesn't know his American history or he is purposefully rewriting it. How can he seriously imagine that Kennedy, a person who got down on his knees each night to pray, who gave his time and money to win tough primaries in states with strong anti-Catholic traditions, who challenged us to live our Christianity by ending racial hatred, somehow lacked the courage of faith or tried to exclude people of faith from government and politics?

In his presidential campaign, Kennedy faced fierce anti-Catholic prejudice. He appeared before the Greater Houston Ministerial Association because he feared that his faith was being used unfairly against him. Norman Vincent Peale, along with 150 other ministers, had issued a letter urging citizens to vote against Kennedy because, should he win, he would be controlled by the Vatican. Peale's group called itself the National Conference of Citizens for Religious Freedom. How ironic that the term "religious freedom" would be

used as double-speak for religious hypocrisy — but it certainly was not the first or last time.

Anti-Catholic prejudice has a long history in America. Construction of the Washington Monument was halted partly because an anti-Catholic controversy erupted in 1854, when the pope gave us a stone from Rome for the project. (You can see a change in color partway up the monument between the initial structure and the rest, finished nearly 30 years later.) Catholic students at public schools who didn't want to recite the Protestant version of the Lord's Prayer were sometimes expelled. As late as 1928, voters rejected Catholic presidential candidate Al Smith, calling the Democrats the party of "rum, Romanism and rebellion."

Kennedy, my uncle, hoped to make it clear that the pope would not control him. The government would not regulate church doctrine, and no minister would determine government policy. As he put it:

"I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute; where no Catholic prelate would tell the president — should he be Catholic — how to act, and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote; where no church or church school is granted any public funds or political preference; and where no man is denied public office merely because his **religion** differs from the president who might appoint him or the people who might elect him."

He specifically referred to birth control, too, saying he would follow his conscience in accordance with what he believed to be in the national interest and not cave in to "religious pressures or dictates."

Santorum is more like Kennedy than he may realize — he follows his conscience. It's true that on some issues, such as contraception, where the bishops are at odds with many other Catholics, he sides with the bishops. (I'm tempted to recall my father Robert Kennedy's observation that priests are Republican and nuns Democratic.) But **Santorum** has also taken positions at odds with the Catholic hierarchy. He has opposed the church's pro-immigrant policies. He has attacked President Obama's "phony theology," which he says involves caring for the Earth — no matter Pope Benedict's pronouncements on protecting the environment.

Nor in his recent Wall Street Journal op-ed did **Santorum** cite papal views on the financial crisis. On Feb. 15, in an address at Rome's Major Seminary, the pope said that "the world of finance, while necessary, no longer represents an instrument that favors our well-being or the life of mankind; instead it has become an oppressive power that almost demands our adoration." Somehow **Santorum** missed that.

Can he be so ignorant of what Kennedy actually said and what the pope has actually preached? Or is he using his faith for political purposes?

Santorum has since expressed regret for his choice of words about Kennedy, but his words cannot be forgotten. The challenge is not **Santorum** — it is the 28percent of Americans who think the separation of church and state should be abolished.

Santorum is encouraging division and intolerance. The subtext of his remarks is that America should be a conservative religious nation — and that Kennedy was denying it. Well, he was. Here are his words to the ministers in Houston:

"I believe in an America where religious intolerance will someday end; where all men and all churches are treated as equal; where every man has the same right to attend or not attend the church of his choice; where there is no Catholic vote, no anti-Catholic vote, no bloc voting of any kind; and where Catholics, Protestants and Jews, at both the lay and the pastoral level, will refrain from those attitudes of disdain and division which have so often marred their works in the past, and promote instead the American ideal of brotherhood."

Perhaps **Santorum** should recall the Gospel's teachings, which might direct us to positions different from those he advocates. Jesus told his followers that they would be judged on how they clothed the naked, fed the hungry and welcomed the stranger. His directive to love God and our neighbor leads many faithful Americans to support same-sex marriage and to see that marriage itself can be strengthened when couples make love without fear of an unplanned pregnancy. Each of these positions can be made in a secular setting, but they also have a moral argument, grounded in faith.

In 2012, people of many faiths are running for office — Barack Obama, Mitt Romney, my own godson, Joseph Kennedy — and one can disagree with their policies while respecting their religious views. Bishops, priests, nuns, ministers, rabbis and imams

lobby Congress and state legislatures on various issues. They have a voice. They just don't always win every election or argument. Welcome to democracy.

kathleen.kennedy.townsend1@gmail.com

Kathleen Kennedy Townsend is the former lieutenant governor of Maryland and the author of "Failing America's Faithful: How Today's Churches Are Mixing God With Politics and Losing Their Way." She is on the board of Catholic Democrats.

OP-ED COLUMNIST
Editorial Desk; SECTA

Santorum and the Sexual Revolution

By CHARLES M. BLOW

1107 words

3 March 2012

[The New York Times](#)

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

19

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

Rick Santorum wants to bring sexy back ... to the 1950s, when he was born.

That is because **Santorum** seems to have an unhealthy fixation with, and passionate disdain for, the 1960s and the sexual freedoms that followed.

To fully understand **Santorum's** strident rejection of the 1960s, it's instructive to recall a speech and question-and-answer session he gave in 2008 to a course on **religion** and politics at the Oxford Center for **Religion** and Public Life in Washington.

The speech was interesting, but the answers he gave to the questions that followed were truly illuminating.

In response to a question about the kinds of words he had heard "attached to **religion** and politics" during his years in the Senate, **Santorum** ventured off onto sex:

"It comes down to sex. That's what it's all about. It comes down to freedom, and it comes down to sex. If you have anything to do with any of the sexual issues, and if you are on the wrong side of being able to do all of the sexual freedoms you want, you are a bad

guy. And you're dangerous because you are going to limit my freedom in an area that's the most central to me. And that's the way it's looked at."

Next a commenter falsely claimed that my colleague Maureen Dowd "said that the Republican Party is trying to repeal Woodstock." It was a misrepresentation of a 1998 column she had written about the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal. What she actually wrote was:

"Since Watergate, there has been a pendulum of partisan revenge. And, right now, Republicans want their payback for Watergate, for Bork, for Iran-contra, even for Woodstock. Like Kenneth Starr, the Republicans are attempting to repeal the 1960s."

But let's not let facts slow us down. **Santorum**, predictably, deflected back to sex:

"Woodstock is the great American orgy. This is who the Democratic Party has become. They have become the party of Woodstock. They prey upon our most basic primal lusts, and that's sex. And the whole abortion culture, it's not about life. It's about sexual freedom. That's what it's about. Homosexuality. It's about sexual freedom. All of the things are about sexual freedom, and they hate to be called on them. They try to somehow or other tie this to the founding fathers' vision of liberty, which is bizarre. It's ridiculous. That's at the core of why you are attacked."

The next question was: "Do you see any possibility for a party of Christian reform, or an influx of Christian ideas into this [Democratic] party?"

Santorum's answer included what? That's right: Sex!

While explaining what he saw as a shift in the Democratic Party away from "blue-collar working-class folks with traditional values" **Santorum** said:

"What changed was the '60s. What changed was sex. What changed was the social and cultural issues that have huge amounts of money because if you look -- I haven't seen numbers on this, but I'm sure it's true -- if you go socioeconomic scale, the higher the income, the more socially liberal you are. The more you know you can buy your way out of the problems that sexual libertinism causes you. You have an abortion, well, I have the money to take care of it. If I want to live an extravagant life and get diseases, I can.

... You can always take care of everything. If you have money, you can get away with things that if you're poor you can't."

The questions finally got around to asking about sex directly, much to **Santorum's** delight, I'm sure. To one of those questions **Santorum** answered in part:

"Sex is a means. Evolution is a means. And the aim is a secular world. It's a, in my opinion, a hedonistic, self-focused world that is, in my opinion, anti-American."

Santorum may now cloak his current views in Catholic fundamentalism and Constitutional literalism, but, at their root, they are his reaction to, and revulsion for, the social-sexual liberation that began in the 1960s.

In fact, **Santorum's** distaste for the sexual revolution of the 1960s leaks over into a deep dislike of everything that the 1960s represents. **Santorum** continued in the question-and-answer session:

"You're a liberal or a conservative in America if you think the '60s were a good thing or not. If the '60s was a good thing, you're left. If you think it was a bad thing, you're right. And the confusing thing for a lot of people that gets a lot of Americans is, when they think of the '60s, they don't think of just the sexual revolution. But somehow or other -- and they've been very, very, clever at doing this -- they've been able to link, I think absolutely incorrectly, the sexual revolution with civil rights."

Maybe that's why he has such a dyspeptic reaction to the 1960 speech by John F. Kennedy, in which he said that "I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute."

Santorum said that the speech made him want to throw up because it was an "an absolutist doctrine that was abhorrent at the time of 1960."

Nothing could be more absurd. James Madison, "Father of the Constitution" and fourth president of the United States, wrote in 1822 that:

"Every new and successful example, therefore, of a perfect separation between the ecclesiastical and civil matters, is of importance; and I have no doubt that every new example will succeed, as every past one has done, in showing that **religion** and government will both exist in greater purity the less they are mixed together."

Santorum's stances are not about our Constitution, but his. He views personal freedoms as a personal affront. His thinking exists in a pre-1960s era of aspirin-between-the-knees contraception and read-between-the-lines sexuality.

The kind of conservatism that **Santorum** represents has been described as a war on women, but I would rephrase that. It's a war on sex beyond the confines of traditional marriage and strict heterosexuality in which women, particularly poor ones, and gays, particularly open ones, are likely to suffer the greatest casualties.

Why doesn't the tea party like Ron Paul? (Today's Trail Mix); A funny thing happened on the campaign trail: Ron Paul lost the tea party vote, big time. TRAIL MIX | A funny thing happened on the campaign trail: Ron Paul lost the tea party vote, big time.

By Felicia Sonmez

823 words

2 March 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

A funny thing happened on the campaign trail: Ron Paul, the 'father of the tea party movement, lost the tea party vote.

Big time.

In Tuesday's Arizona Republican primary, Paul won only 6 percent of the vote among tea party supporters. In Michigan, he took only 7 percent.

What's even more surprising is that Paul actually fares better among those who aren't tea party supporters. In Arizona, where he took 8 percent of the vote overall, he won 8 percent among those who are neutral about the tea party and 21 percent among those who oppose the movement.

A look at Ohio polling reveals a similar trend in the Buckeye State, which holds its primary five days from today on Super Tuesday.

A Quinnipiac University poll released this week showed that only 30 percent of tea party supporters likely to vote in the GOP primary have a favorable opinion of Paul. That's compared with 79 percent who view former senator **Rick Santorum** (R-Pa.) favorably, 64 percent who look favorably at former House speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and 49 percent who say the same of former Massachusetts governor Mitt Romney (R).

Some tea party supporters we've talked to on the trail over the past month also have had lukewarm feelings about Paul.

Kay Clymer, a 57-year-old retired teacher and the organizer of the 300-member Zanesville Tea Party Patriots, was among the several hundred tea party supporters who attended an early-morning **Santorum** event in Columbus, Ohio, two weeks ago (the same event where **Santorum** won loud applause from the crowd when he took aim at President Obama's "phony theology").

Clymer said in an interview that she is behind **Santorum** in the GOP race — as are the majority of Zanesville Tea Party Patriots — although a handful of members support Paul or Romney.

"Was he?" Clymer said when asked whether Paul was considered the founder of the tea-party movement. "We like some things he says about the Fed, and that kind of thing. I'm sure there's one or two in my group — I have 300 — that like Ron Paul. But no, we're much more conservative. We're much more wanting somebody who's really going to make a turnaround."

Some polls have suggested that the tea party movement may be fueled as much by views on **religion** and illegal immigration as by a push for lower spending and taxes. That was a point that Clymer touched on, noting that the tea party-backed idea of fiscal responsibility "all comes back to our Biblical roots."

"Well, we are for limited government, fiscally responsible government and marketplaces," Clymer said. "But when you go into that, all of it means life. I think it's about values. Core values. You can't be fiscally responsible if you don't have the core belief that the borrower is a slave to the lender."

That could be one reason why **Santorum**, a vocal social conservative, is picking up support among tea party supporters and why Paul, a libertarian, may be having trouble gaining traction. Another reason could be that tea party supporters, like many GOP voters more broadly, don't view Paul as viable in a general election contest against Obama.

In a statement, Jesse Benton, Paul's national campaign chairman, heralded the growth of the tea party and suggested that some of Paul's rivals in the GOP race are "phonies" that have been bending over backward in an effort to pick up support from members of the movement.

"It is wonderful that so many Republican voters are identifying with the limited government principles of the tea party, which Dr. Paul was instrumental in launching," Benton said. "These good people are being sold a bill of good[s] that a big-government phony like **Rick Santorum** represents their values, or that they have to pick a moderate like Mitt Romney in order to beat President Obama."

He added that Paul's campaign has "the support of the activists who are more deeply tuned in than the average voter and understand that Dr. Paul is the only candidate who stands for real change and can win in November."

"Dr. Paul has the organization, resources and the staying power to take this campaign to the finish liner and capture the hearts of all tea party supporters," Benton said.

What's your take? Has the tea party changed, or was it about more than just fiscal conservatism from the start? Leave us your thoughts in the comments section below, or tweet them to us at #wptrailmix.

Romney's luck

790 words

2 March 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

It's been a wild ride, but the story line of the Republican race remains remarkably simple and constant: It's Mitt Romney and the perishable pretenders.

Five have come and gone, if you count the Donald's aborted proto-candidacy. And now the sixth and most plausibly presidential challenger just had his moment — and blew it in Michigan.

It's no use arguing that **Rick Santorum** won nearly as many Michigan delegates as Romney. He lost the state. Wasn't **Santorum** claiming a great victory just three weeks ago when he shockingly swept Missouri, Minnesota and Colorado — without a single convention delegate being selected?

He was right. It was a great victory. Delegate counts were beside the point. These three wins instantly propelled him to the front of the field nationally and to a double-digit lead in Romney's Michigan back yard.

Then **Santorum** went ahead and lost it. Rather than sticking to his considerable working-class, Reagan-Democrat appeal, he kept wandering back to his austere social conservatism. Rather than placing himself in "Grandpa's hands," his moving tribute to his immigrant coal miner grandfather as representative of the America that **Santorum** pledges to restore, he insisted on launching himself into culture-war thickets: Kennedy, college and contraception.

He averred that John Kennedy's 1960 Houston speech on separation of church and state makes him "throw up." Whatever the virtues of **Santorum's** expansive view of the role of **religion**, the insulting tone toward Kennedy, who, living at a time of frank anti-Catholic bigotry, understandably offered a more attenuated view of **religion** in the public square, was jarring, intemperate and utterly unnecessary.

As was his sneering at President Obama's wanting to open college to all. **Santorum** called that snobbery and an attempt at liberal indoctrination. Sure, there's a point to be made about ideological imbalance in higher education and about the dignity of manual labor. But to do so by disdain the most important instrument of social mobility — one that millions of parents devoutly desire for their children — is simply bizarre.

Finally, the less said about contraception the better, a lesson **Santorum** refused to learn. It's a settled question. The country has no real desire for cringe-inducing admonitions from politicians about libertinism and procreative (vs. pleasurable) sex.

The result of these unforced errors was **Santorum's** Michigan slide. His post-trifecta lead vanished. He forfeited a victory that would have shattered the Romney candidacy.

Santorum knows why. He's now recanted the Kennedy statement. And remember that odd riff with which he began his Michigan concession/victory speech? About three generations of **Santorum** women — mother, wife, daughter — being professional, strong, independent, i.e., modern? That was an unsubtle attempt to update his gender-relations image by a few decades.

Too late. Among men, Michigan was essentially a dead heat. But **Santorum** lost women by five percentage points — and, with that, the race.

Social issues are what most deeply animate **Santorum**, but 2012 is not the year they most animate the electorate. In Michigan, among those for whom abortion was the most important issue, **Santorum** won by a staggering 64 points. But they made up only 14 percent of the electorate. Seventy-nine percent cared most about the economy or the deficit. Romney won them by 17.

And, of course, he won overall. But only by three points, a weak showing in Romney's native state where his (former governor) father is legend and where Romney outspent **Santorum** 2 to 1.

The result should never have been that close. Romney won by default. **Santorum** had a clear shot and simply missed his mark.

It's not over. Super Tuesday could scramble the deck. But once again, the smoke clears, and Romney remains — slow, steady, unspectacular. The tortoise in the race, dull and

methodical, with an awkward, almost endearing (note: almost) stiffness. In short, a weak front-runner in an even weaker field.

Hence the current Republican gloom, the growing Democratic cockiness. But the game is young. True, given the national mood and the state of the economy, Republicans should be far ahead. They've blown a significant lead. But the race is still 50-50.

Romney remains the presumptive nominee. His Michigan victory speech was jaunty, sharp and good. He'd advanced a serious plan for tax and entitlement reform four days earlier. Now he needs to (1) bite his tongue anytime the temptation arises to riff about class, money or cars (Cadillacs in particular), (2) ask George Bush 41 the proper way to eat pork rinds, (3) pray for yet more luck, the quality Napoleon famously valued in his generals above all others.

showletters@charleskrauthammer.com

‘Electability’ fuels Romney’s victory, Religion and Democrats for Rick Santorum in Michigan; Mitt Romney eked out a victory in Michigan Tuesday, beating back a stiff challenge from Rick Santorum by scoring big wins among voters looking for “experience” and those prioritizing electability.

By Jon Cohen; Peyton M. Craighill; Scott Clement

948 words

29 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Mitt Romney eked out a victory in Michigan Tuesday, beating back a stiff challenge from **Rick Santorum** by scoring big wins among voters looking for "experience" and those prioritizing electability.

Santorum made it close, boosted by strong backing from social and religious conservatives, and also from Democrats perhaps aiming to cause some mischief in the topsy-turvy Republican campaign.

To some extent, the outcome of this contest was determined before Tuesday: Nearly half of all voters said they made their minds up in January or even earlier, with Romney beating **Santorum** by 2 to 1 among these voters.

You can find the latest vote and exit poll results from Michigan and Arizona on the Post's Primary Tracker.

Why Romney?

Electability - He did best again among voters who want a candidate who can beat President Obama, although this is less important than in some of the other early states. He more than doubled his vote margin over **Santorum** for these voters. By 2 to 1, voters think Romney has the best chance among Republican candidates to beat Obama in November. Fewer than one in 10 picked Newt Gingrich or Ron Paul as the most electable.

Republican base - He beat **Santorum** among self-identified Republicans, ran more evenly among independents and was beaten soundly by **Santorum** among Democrats. Although Republican turnout is off a bit, Republicans are still the larger bulk of voters in the state.

Somewhat conservative - Romney did well among voters who are "somewhat conservative," comprising about three in 10 voters and equaling the number who are very conservative. Romney won somewhat conservative voters by a bigger margin (50-32) than **Santorum** won very conservative voters (36-50). Romney also did well among voters who don't identify strongly with the tea party one way or another. Combining those who are neutral, somewhat support or somewhat oppose the movement (about 60 percent of voters), they went to Romney 46 to 33 percent over **Santorum**.

Little weakness with working class - Despite **Santorum's** efforts to court working-class voters, Romney nearly tied him among voters without college degrees (37 to 39 percent) as well as those with household incomes under \$50,000 (36 to 41 percent). Romney won voters earning \$100,000 or more by a 14-point margin.

Strength of support - About half of Romney supporters in Michigan say they opted for him because they strongly back his candidacy, while fewer than four in 10 of **Santorum's** supporters said the same about their chosen candidate.

The role of **religion - Santorum**, a staunch Catholic, did 14 points better among evangelical Christians than among Catholics (two groups that can overlap). He lost Catholics to Romney by a 44 to 37 percent margin. But he beat Romney more comfortably, 51-33, among evangelicals, who are more numerous in the state. Evangelicals played a smaller role than they did in Iowa, where they accounted for nearly six in 10 caucus-goers, fueling **Santorum's** strong performance.

Romney beat **Santorum** by 28 points among those who say it's not so important for a candidate to share their **religion**.

Why **Santorum**?

Santorum beat Romney by double digits among "very conservative" voters, who have boosted their share of the electorate since 2008 and have been a trouble spot for Romney all year. **Santorum** also beat Romney comfortably among evangelical Christians and strong tea party supporters.

Democratic turnout was up slightly from 2008 and Democrats backed **Santorum** over Romney by a 3 to 1 margin. **Santorum** was the favorite of both strong tea party supporters as well as strong tea party opponents, evidence that some in the latter group were voting strategically to prolong the Republican race.

About a third of voters said beating Obama was the most important attribute - fewer than in previous states - muting a key Romney calling card. It was still the top candidate attribute, but about a quarter said they were looking for someone with "strong moral character," a group **Santorum** won by an overwhelming margin.

Santorum also benefitted from the nearly one in seven voters who said abortion was their top voting issue, among the most of any contest this cycle. He won more than three quarters of their votes, compared 13 percent for Romney.

Evidence of Democratic dirty tricks

Just 17 percent of independents and Democrats who voted for **Santorum** said they "strongly favor" him, while 45 percent said they disliked the other candidates. By comparison, 48 percent of **Santorum's** Republican supporters say they strongly support him.

Here are some other clues, with results among Democrats who voted in Michigan:

- 53 percent voted for **Santorum**
- 93 percent are moderate to liberal, 55 percent are liberal (vs. 15 for independents and 5 for Reps)
- 74 percent are NOT born again
- 69 percent are neither born again or tea party supporters
- 55 percent strongly oppose tea party

These are preliminary results from a Republican poll of 2,200 voters as they exited primary voting places in Michigan on Feb. 28, 2012. The poll was conducted by Edison Media Research for the National Election Pool, The Washington Post and other media organizations. Typical characteristics have a margin of sampling error of plus or minus four percentage points. The margin of error is higher for subgroups.

Santorum's scrappy rhetoric a campaign staple; For all the scrutiny Rick Santorum has received for his provocative pronouncements, there's little he said recently that he had not said before.

By Rosalind S. Helderman

914 words

29 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

The outcome of the Michigan primary Tuesday failed to clarify **Rick Santorum's** standing in the Republican presidential race and left open a central question:

Did his strident rhetoric on social issues light a fire among GOP voters that could boost his chances of winning the nomination, or did it expose a vulnerability that will ultimately lead Republicans to decide that Mitt Romney is the safer bet to take on President Obama in November?

Romney scored a modest -victory over **Santorum** in Michigan and easily won Arizona, which **Santorum** had essentially ceded.

Even before the polls closed, **Santorum** said his ability to run close in Michigan, where Romney was born and his father served as governor, was a sign of his opponent's fatal flaws and an indication of the enduring strength of his own candidacy.

"A month ago, they didn't know who we are. But they do now," **Santorum** told supporters in Grand Rapids, Mich., on Tuesday night. "We came into the back yard of one of my opponents, in a race that everyone said, 'Well, just ignore, you really have no chance here.' And the people of Michigan looked into the hearts of the candidates, and all I have to say is, I love you back."

Santorum focused almost exclusively in his election-night remarks on promises to cut government spending, repeal Democratic health-care reform and revive the manufacturing sector. And for the first time, he stressed the role in his life of working women, including his mother, whom he said made more money than his father, a rarity in her generation.

In the days before the election, **Santorum** faced mounting scrutiny for claiming that Obama believes in a "phony theology," for calling the president a "snob" because he urges children to go to college, and for saying John F. Kennedy's famous 1960 address on the separation of church and state made him "almost throw up."

None of the ideas were new for **Santorum**, but for the first time he got the attention devoted to a serious contender for the nomination. The results show that some Republicans may be starting to conclude that a **Santorum** candidacy is too risky for a party desperate to beat Obama among independents in November.

Exit polls indicated that more than half of Michigan voters thought Romney was the most likely candidate to defeat Obama; only a quarter said the same of **Santorum**.

"Republicans are listening for two things: they're listening for 'Do I agree with this?,' and they're listening for 'Can this person win?'" said Michael T. Heaney, a professor of political science at the University of Michigan. "If they start to hear things that make the candidate sound implausible, that starts to hurt the candidate."

Santorum has complained that the media have focused excessively on his comments about **religion** and social issues and ignored his economic message, including a plan to

eliminate taxes for manufacturers that he credited with fueling his rise among blue-collar workers in Michigan.

But he has made those issues an integral part of his argument to voters. He has repeatedly argued that a conservative who sounds like he does is exactly what Republicans should be looking for as they seek someone who can beat Obama.

"Shock the establishment," he told voters Monday in Kalamazoo, Mich. "They're all worried, 'Oh, this guy is too conservative.' . . . We need someone who is going to, as Reagan did, remind us who we are. Spur the American public to do things. And believe big thoughts themselves."

But **Santorum** signaled rare regret Tuesday for his heated rhetoric, telling conservative commentator Laura Ingraham that he wished he could take back his comment that he had wanted to vomit when he read Kennedy's speech.

That remark may have especially hurt **Santorum** with Catholic voters, more of whom backed Romney than **Santorum**, according to exit-polling data, even though **Santorum**, like Kennedy, is Catholic.

Romney has reacted gingerly to **Santorum's** more strident statements. His campaign in Michigan focused largely on painting **Santorum** as a Washington insider and a congressional big spender.

Only on Tuesday did Romney take direct aim at **Santorum's** tone, accusing him of using "incendiary," "outrageous" and "accusatory" comments to woo the party's conservative base.

Romney's caution may have come in part because the 10 states that vote next, on Super Tuesday, include Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Georgia — potentially friendly territory for **Santorum's** appeal to social conservatives and his pugnacious attitude.

Santorum spent time Tuesday in Ohio and will travel to Tennessee on Wednesday. An independent super PAC working on his behalf is already airing television ads in Ohio and will be expanding to other Super Tuesday states in the coming days, said spokesman Stuart Roy.

"He's been the front-runner, and you get an additional spotlight for better or for worse," said Roy, a spokesman for a pro-**Santorum** super PAC that invested heavily in trying to convince Michigan voters that **Santorum** was a more conservative option than Romney. "You have to show you can take a punch and keep fighting. The best way to do that is to keep winning."

heldermanr@washpost.com

Santorum: Weird extremism, or shrewd politics?; How to take Santorum's over-the-top statements

By E.J. Dionne Jr.

557 words

28 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Just when you thought that **Rick Santorum** had gone as far toward social-issue right as he possibly could, he takes several steps farther off the edge. His statement that John F. Kennedy's historic 1960 speech on religious tolerance made him want to "throw up" and his declaration that President Obama is a "snob" for wanting kids to go to college took him to places that even very conservative Republicans dare not go.

It's true that **Santorum's** criticism of Kennedy's speech echoes views common on the Catholic right. (For one of the very best and most thoughtful discussions of JFK's speech, check out the transcript of this excellent event at Fordham University's Center on **Religion** and Culture.)

But **Santorum's** rather disgusting "throw up" line was, to say the least, very un-presidential. And if **Santorum** is seeking votes in Michigan today from older Catholic Reagan Democrats — and Catholics who converted to the GOP in the Gipper's time — attacking the nation's first and only Catholic president seemed very unwise. Many of these voters were once John F. Kennedy Democrats.

The snob comment reflects a kind of snobbery itself. Most working-class voters I know want their children to go to college because they want them to have broader

opportunities — and, yes, broader knowledge. It's the worst form of elitism to assume that working-class voters disdain learning and higher education.

But here's the political question of the day: Will **Santorum's** over-the-top comments, added to all his other socially conservative pronouncements, create a wave of enthusiasm for him, particularly in the very religious precincts in western Michigan? In that case, is **Santorum** shrewder than most of the commentariat thinks?

Nobody really knows who is going to vote in Michigan today. The conventional view, which I lean toward, is that Romney's television ads attacking **Santorum**, combined with **Santorum's** extreme statements, will push enough Republican voters Romney's way to give the son of Michigan's late governor a victory tonight. If Romney does win, pay attention to the gender gap. A Romney victory would be built on the votes of women.

The alternative view, which has gained ground among political analysts over the past 24 to 36 hours, is that the energy in the state as the polls opened was with **Santorum**. This new momentum, combined with some cross-over Democratic voters who want to give Romney trouble, could be enough to give **Santorum** a victory — and throw the Republican race into chaos.

My slight lean toward a Romney win reflects an assumption that he has enough early votes in the bank to eke out what he needs. But if **Santorum** triumphs, all of us in the pundit class will have to re-examine our assumptions about what counts as "extreme" among Republican voters these days. And Republicans who already have doubts about Romney will have their anxieties confirmed: If Romney can't beat **Santorum** after all the astounding things **Santorum** has said over the past week, the off-and-on front-runner is a weaker candidate than even his critics suspected. That's why to survive, Romney simply has to win Michigan tonight.

Washington Post

Does Rick Santorum want religion in government? Or government out of religion?; There's a difference between the two that often gets lost in the analysis of Rick Santorum's remarks.

By Felicia Sonmez

778 words

28 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Rick Santorum's remarks on a Sunday news show that he does not "believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute" set up a complicated question.

Does **Santorum**, the GOP presidential contender and former Pennsylvania senator, want churches (and **religion**, more broadly) to play a more active role in government? Or does he want the government to refrain from telling churches what to do?

While **Santorum** focused on the former on ABC's "This Week," it's the latter that he's been emphasizing on the stump.

Santorum told host George Stephanopoulos that "the idea that the church can have no influence or no involvement in the operation of the state is absolutely antithetical to the objectives and vision of our country." The First Amendment, he added, "says the free exercise of **religion** — that means bringing everybody, people of faith and no faith, into the public square."

But consider what he said at a Tucson Tea Party rally last week, hours ahead of the Mesa, Ariz., CNN debate.

"Essentially, we are going to have to hold together on some set of moral codes and principles," **Santorum** told the crowd of about 500 tea party supporters in Tucson. "And we're seeing very evidently what the president's moral codes and principles are about. We see a president who is systematically trying to crush the traditional Judeo-Christian

values of America. We saw it with Obamacare and the implementation of Obamacare where his values are going to be imposed on a church's values."

That would suggest that **Santorum** is concerned about the effects of the Obama administration's policies on what churches can or cannot do rather than on how churches and religious people take part in public life.

Later on in the speech, **Santorum** struck the same note:

"America is a deeply faith-filled country, and it was from the beginning," he said. "And it's because of that – because we understand how important faith is in our lives – that we respect other people's faith. And we tolerate. And we allow it into the public square. We let people's non-faith – that's the beautiful thing – that people who have faith actually are more respectful of folks who have different faith."

The crowd gave **Santorum** a long round of applause.

"It's the statists who are intolerant," **Santorum** said. "They're the ones who want to impose their values on everybody else."

Santorum's view on keeping government from dictating how churches should function in society and how they spend their money would resonate on two fronts. It's in tune with the tea party, which stresses limited government across the board; and it also appeals to religious voters (who comprise a sizeable portion of the tea-party vote).

It's also a different message from the one that the press has been homing in on since the Sunday interview.

Interviews with attendees after **Santorum's** Tucson event suggested that voters are hearing the second argument in the candidate's speeches — that government should not intrude on the decisions of faith-based groups.

One 50-year-old tea party supporter from Tucson pointed to **Santorum's** response to the recent White House decision on whether religious-affiliated institutions should be mandated to provide contraceptive coverage to their employees.

"In context, what [**Santorum** is] saying is that government needs to stay out of **religion**," said the man, who declined to give his name. "That's all **religion**. That's as bad as the

government being in a mosque. It just so happens that right now [Obama has] got his fingers in Christianity. But it had nothing to do with the other way. From George Washington on, there was always prayer in Congress. But the government was supposed to stay out of **religion**. And that's where Obama's going."

Might **Santorum's** focus on **religion** hurt him in the race? The tea party supporter said it depends on context.

"If people are here, like today, and get to hear it in context, I think they're all straw dogs, because almost everything I've heard from the press is a twisting of what's being said," he said.

Santorum: I regret 'throw up' comment on JFK; The former senator said Tuesday he wished he could take back his comments about JFK's religion speech.

By Felicia Sonmez

237 words

28 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Regrets? **Rick Santorum's** had a few.

In a radio interview Tuesday with conservative commentator Laura Ingraham, the former Pennsylvania senator and GOP presidential contender said he wished he could take back his comment from over the weekend that John F. Kennedy's 1960 speech on **religion** made him want to "throw up."

"I wish I had that particular line back," **Santorum** told Ingraham of the "throw up" remark, according to The Hill's Daniel Strauss.

Santorum has been vocal on the campaign trail in his defense of keeping government out of **religion**, citing in recent days the Obama administration's contraception decision as evidence that the White House is "systematically trying to crush the traditional Judeo-Christian values of America."

But the "throw up" remark – which **Santorum** first made at a New Hampshire event last year but was resurrected by Sunday talk show hosts over the weekend – has led to a firestorm of criticism, with some arguing that the former senator crossed the line by doubling down on the provocative comment.

Why does Santorum object to JFK's speech?; What is Santorum's objection to JFK's speech?

By Jennifer Rubin

501 words

28 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Rick Santorum agreed today that he should not be using a phrase like "throw up" in connection with John F. Kennedy. But there has been no recognition that he distorted the meaning of Kennedy's speech, even adding a present-day catchphrase that angers Christian conservatives — **religion** should be kept out of the public square — and that Kennedy did not use. Presumably, **Santorum** still thinks there is something wrong with the 1960 address to the Protestant ministers.

There are two possibilities. The first is that **Santorum** didn't understand or fully read the speech. It seems hard to comprehend that he would object to the idea that "no Catholic prelate would tell the president, should he be Catholic, how to act, and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote, where no church or church school is granted any public funds or political preference, and where no man is denied public office merely because his **religion** differs from the president who might appoint him or the people who might elect him."

Maybe **Santorum** didn't know that Kennedy never called for religious figures or people with religious ideals to be banished from public discussion. In other words, **Santorum** may have been popping off about something about which he was uninformed.

The other possibility is that **Santorum** has a radically different idea of the First Amendment than the one under which every preceding president has operated. Maybe he really does want to see churches or church schools granted "public funds," as Kennedy said. Or perhaps, he does want churches (currently at risk of losing their tax-

exempt status) advocating for and against candidates. Maybe he doesn't agree with JFK's admonition in that speech that he believed "in an America that is officially neither Catholic, Protestant nor Jewish; where no public official either requests or accept instructions on public policy from the Pope, the National Council of Churches or any other ecclesiastical source; where no religious body seeks to impose its will directly or indirectly upon the general populace or the public acts of its officials." (Emphasis added.)

Santorum twists those highlighted phrases, suggesting that Kennedy meant that a president should never consult with religious leaders. But if **Santorum** objects to those literal words and intends to ask the Church "what is the position on X" and then implement the Church's position on X because it is the Church's position, then that really is something altogether new and quite extraordinary.

Santorum opened this can of worms, and it's an important enough topic for him to explain what he means. Either in written form or in a speech, he owes the voters an explanation. He should welcome the opportunity to dispel confusion, and we should hear him out. But we should not treat his retreat on the unfortunate and decidedly unpresidential "throw up" language as dispositive.

What JFK really said about separating church from state; Rather than condemn Kennedy's speech, perhaps Santorum, a fellow Catholic, should say "thank you."

By Charles C. Haynes

720 words

28 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

John F. Kennedy's address to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association on September 12, 1960 -- the speech that **Rick Santorum** says makes him "want to throw up" -- was a turning point in American history.

By allaying long-standing Protestant fears about the prospect of a Roman Catholic in the White House, Kennedy paved the way for future Catholic candidates like, well, **Rick**

Santorum, to run for national office. Rather than condemn Kennedy's speech, perhaps **Santorum** should say "thank you."

Consider that in 1959, the year before Kennedy was elected as the first Catholic president, 25 percent of Americans said they would not vote for a Catholic, according to a Gallup poll. By August, 1961, that number had fallen to 13 percent. And today, public opposition to the prospect of a Catholic president is a mere seven percent.

Without Kennedy's historic breakthrough, **Santorum** might well face today the kind of prejudice that still hobbles the candidacy of Mitt Romney, his chief rival for the nomination. Opposition to a Mormon president remains stubbornly high, with 22 percent of voters telling Gallup they would not support a Mormon for president- a percentage that has held steady since Gallup first measured this in 1967.

Santorum appears to be sickened by a speech that Kennedy never delivered.

When pressed by George Stephanopoulos on ABC's This Week, **Santorum** said he rejects Kennedy's argument for "absolute" separation of church and state because "to say that people of faith have no role in the public square, absolutely that makes me want to throw up."

Following **Santorum's** advice to "read the speech," I am hard pressed to find anything in Kennedy's definition of church-state separation that supports keeping people of faith out of the public square.

On the contrary, Kennedy did not back away from his Catholic faith, declaring that he would not "disavow either my views or my church in order to win this election." In the unlikely event that a conflict arose between following his conscience and following the national interest, Kennedy promised to "resign the office."

Although Kennedy believed Americans are free to bring their faith into the public square, he warned against elected officials using the engine of government to impose their **religion** on the nation. This is the absolute separation of church and state that Kennedy endorsed in his speech - a separation that ensures government neutrality toward **religion** and religious autonomy from government:

"I believe in an America that is officially neither Catholic, Protestant nor Jewish; where no public official either requests or accepts instructions on public policy from the Pope, the National Council of Churches or any other ecclesiastical source; where no religious body seeks to impose its will directly or indirectly upon the general populace or the public acts of its officials, and where religious liberty is so indivisible that an act against one church is treated as an act against all."

By taking his case directly to Protestant ministers - some of the most skeptical, if not hostile, voices challenging his candidacy - Kennedy sought to overcome the historic Protestant fear that a Catholic could never support separating church from state.

Contrary to **Santorum's** reading of the speech, Kennedy articulated a vision of America where separating the institutions of church and state is the foundation of religious liberty. By ensuring that the government does not take sides in **religion**, the First Amendment levels the playing field for people of all faiths and none.

"I believe in an America where religious intolerance will someday end," Kennedy told the ministers, "where all men and all churches are treated as equals, where every man has the same right to attend or not attend the church of his choice, where there is no Catholic vote, no anti-Catholic vote, no bloc voting of any kind..."

We are not there yet. But thanks to John Kennedy, we moved one step closer to the First Amendment vision of full religious freedom. For that, **Rick Santorum** - and all Americans - should be very grateful.

Charles C. Haynes is senior scholar at First Amendment Center and director of the [Religious Freedom Education Project at the Newseum](#)

Enough of Rick Santorum's sermons; His talk about religion and education are simply irresponsible.

791 words

28 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](#)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Mullah **Rick** has spoken.

He wants **religion** returned to "the public square," is opposed to contraception, premarital sex and abortion under any circumstances, wants children educated in what amounts to little red schoolhouses and called President Obama a "snob" for extolling college or some other kind of post-high school education. This is not a political platform. It's a fatwa.

But that's not all. On the Sunday shows he even lit into John F. Kennedy's famous 1960 speech to Protestant ministers in Houston, in which he called for the strict separation of church and state. **Santorum** said the speech sickened him.

"What kind of country do we live in that says only people of non-faith can come into the public square and make their case?" **Santorum** asked George Stephanopoulos on ABC's "This Week." "That makes me throw up."

Earlier, he said, "I don't believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute," not noticing that he was speaking from what amounts to the public square.

Kennedy's speech is actually a sad document, a necessary attempt to combat the bigoted and ignorant notion that a Catholic president might take orders from the Vatican. He told the ministers in attendance that he believed "in a president whose views on **religion** are his own private affair, neither imposed upon him by the nation, nor imposed by the nation upon him as a condition to holding that office."

Oddly, the assurances that Kennedy offered that day are ones that I would like to hear from **Santorum**. He, too, is a Catholic, although not of the Kennedy variety. **Santorum** is severe and unamusing about his faith, and that is his prerogative. But he has shoved his beliefs in our faces, leaving no doubt that his presidency would be informed by his extremely conservative Catholicism. **Santorum's** views are too conservative even for most Catholics.

This is a perilous and divisive approach. We have all of world history to warn us about what happens when **religion** takes too prominent a role. The public square gets used for beheadings and the like. While that is not likely to happen now — zoning rules and such forbid it — we do know that layering **religion** over politics is dangerous. **Santorum** cannot impose — and should not argue — that his political beliefs come from God. That closes all debate and often infuriates those who differ.

This belief that **religion** has been banished from public discussion is a conservative trope without foundation. New York City is now recovering from a frenzy of celebratory publicity regarding the elevation of Timothy Dolan to cardinal. We have applauded the feats of Tim Tebow, the so-called praying quarterback, who seems unintimidated in publicly expressing his religious convictions. And, of course, we have the prattling of Newt Gingrich, who believes in belief and believes you and I ain't got any — certainly not if we vote Democratic. As any European can attest, the American public square is soaked in **religion** or **religion**-speak.

Santorum's views on the place of **religion** and his quaint ideas about education are so anachronistic they would be laughable. But whenever I start to giggle a bit, I find that some absurd statement resonates with Republican primary voters. On the other hand, when **Rick Perry** said it was fine to help the children of undocumented immigrants go to college, he got pilloried for it. When Gingrich balked at deporting literally millions of people, he was excoriated. Every time some Republican says something sensible, the roof falls in on him.

But for nutty ideas, **Santorum** is a one-man band. His intellectually abhorrent defense of what might be called blue-collar culture — no education past high school — is a prescription for failure. What he calls their "desires and dreams" is a sucker's game: Welcome to an economy that can provide few, if any, jobs for the minimally educated. And his jibe at Obama for wanting to do something about it is not politics as usual — it's just plain irresponsible.

Rick Santorum is not, as some would have it, the Republican Party's problem. The GOP is half the political equation, and so its inability to offer candidates of sound views and judgments is everyone's problem. We have to vote for someone after all. But when I mull **Santorum's** views on contraception, the role of women, the proper place for **religion** and what he thinks about education, I think he's either running for president of the wrong country or marooned in the wrong century. The man is lost.

showcohenr@washpost.com

Santorum's misfire on Obama, colleges and religion; FACT CHECKER | Santorum says Obama wants everyone to go to college, which studies show reduces commitment to faith. Wrong on both counts. FACT CHECKER | Santorum says Obama wants everyone to go to college, which studies show reduces commitment to faith. Wrong on both counts.

By Glenn Kessler

1170 words

28 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

"President Obama said he wants everybody in America to go to college. What a snob! There are good, decent men and women who go out and work hard every day and put their skills to test that aren't taught by some liberal college professor trying to indoctrinate them. Oh I understand why he wants you to go to college. He wants to remake you in his image. I want to create jobs so people can remake their children into their image, not his."

— Former senator **Rick Santorum**, Feb. 25, 2012

"You know the statistic that at least I was familiar with from a few years ago, I don't know if it still holds true but I suspect it may even be worse, that 62 percent of kids who enter college with some sort of faith commitment leave without it."

— **Santorum**, on ABC's "This Week," Feb. 26, 2012

There are two things going on with these remarks by **Santorum** — an attack on Obama for demanding college education for everyone and then an assertion that the college experience is akin to some sort of liberal boot camp.

We always thought college was more about being liberated (from parents), but clearly in some conservative circles there has also been an undercurrent of concern about attitudes on college campuses. (Some colleges, such as Hillsdale College in Michigan, in fact market themselves as conservative alternatives.)

But let's check out **Santorum's** claims about Obama and also examine whether there is data that backs up **Santorum's** fears about college's impact on people's politics and **religion**.

The Facts

Obama's statement on college education, made in his first speech to a joint session of Congress in 2009, is easy to check. The president, noting the success of the GI Bill after World War II, said the United States should seek to once again have the highest proportion of college graduates in the world:

"And so tonight, I ask every American to commit to at least one year or more of higher education or career training. This can be community college or a four-year school; vocational training or an apprenticeship. But whatever the training may be, every American will need to get more than a high school diploma. And dropping out of high school is no longer an option. It's not just quitting on yourself, it's quitting on your country — and this country needs and values the talents of every American."

Hmm...that sounds like Obama is talking about more than just a four-year college; he simply says "one year or more" and includes community college, vocational training or an apprenticeship on his list of possibilities.

Indeed, compare Obama's 2009 quote with this one:

"There's technical schools. There's additional training, vocational training. There's skills and apprenticeships. There's all sorts of things that people can do to upgrade their skills, to be very productive and great workers here in America who provide for their families and build their community."

That actually wasn't Obama; it was **Santorum**, offering his alternative to college on "This Week with George Stephanopoulos." We have a hard time discerning much of a difference, and **Santorum's** campaign did not respond to a request for an explanation. (Update: Our colleagues at PolitiFact looked at 18 speeches in which Obama discussed education and still found little evidence to back up **Santorum's** claim.)

(Meanwhile, Talking Points Memo unearthed a 2006 campaign pledge from then-Sen. **Santorum** "ensuring the [sic] every Pennsylvanian has access to higher education,"

including providing "loans, grants, and tax incentives to make higher education more accessible and affordable." The old campaign Web site also brags about **Santorum's** vote for the No Child Left Behind law, which he has since disavowed.)

On the ABC program, **Santorum** also cited a study that "62 percent of kids who enter college with some sort of faith commitment leave without it," though he said it may be out of date. "I suspect it may even be worse," he offered.

PBS earlier this month tracked down the study **Santorum** refers to, but it actually suggests that people who have not enrolled in college are even less religious. "64 percent of those currently enrolled in a traditional four-year institution have curbed their attendance habits," said the study, published in the journal *Social Forces*. "Yet, 76 percent of those who never enrolled in college report a decline in religious service attendance."

Another study, published last year in the *Review of Religious Research*, found that for each year of education after 7th grade, seemingly contradictory trends emerge: people become more likely to attend religious services and to believe in a "higher power" but at the same time they are less likely to say the Bible is the "actual word of God" and become more open to believing there is truth in more than one **religion**.

The researcher, sociologist Philip Schwadel, concluded after analyzing data from a large national survey:

"The above results suggest that **religion** plays an important role in the lives of highly educated Americans. While education has a positive effect on switching religious affiliations, particularly to mainline denominations and 'other' religious traditions, it is unrelated to religious disaffiliation. Education also has a positive effect on religious participation, emphasizing the importance of **religion**, and supporting the rights of religious authorities to influence people's votes."

We will not delve deeply into the question of whether colleges are hotbeds of liberalism. But it may be worth noting that one of the standard research texts on this question, "How College Affects Students," found after a review of the existing research that there is only marginal support for the notion that college increases liberalism among college students as they progress from freshman to senior year. Both the number of liberals and conservatives appear to modestly increase during this period.

The Pinocchio Test

Santorum clearly mischaracterized Obama's comments on college, which actually mirror **Santorum's** own views. Obama did not say he wanted "everybody in America to go to college."

Santorum also completely misstated the results of research on the impact of college attendance on religious behavior. The relevant studies suggest that going to college actually increases religious attendance (albeit with perhaps a bit more skeptical mind).

Rick Santorum shows he's the wrong man to be president; His ginned-up false fight over religion is disqualifying.

560 words

28 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

IF **RICK SANTORUM** were right about what's going on in America, his angry lectures and reproofs would be comprehensible.

"**Rick** understands that our freedom to practice our faith is not just under attack through the redefinition of marriage, but in nearly every facet of the popular culture," his campaign Web site explains. Mr. **Santorum** "almost threw up" when he read John F. Kennedy's famous 1960 speech on the separation of church and state because, Mr. **Santorum** told ABC's "This Week," Kennedy was arguing that "faith is not allowed in the public square." He sees in the country, as he told Fox News, "a war on people of faith — particularly the Catholic faith."

But Mr. Kennedy wasn't telling people of faith to stay out of public life. He was restating the constitutional principle that has helped make America a great and resilient country: No faith should be able to dictate government policy, and government shouldn't dictate theology to any faith. From Martin Luther King Jr. to Jerry Falwell, public figures have drawn upon their religious beliefs while in the "public square," and no one has ever kept them from doing so. Churches are thriving from coast to coast: Where is the freedom to practice **religion** under attack?

The "war" on Catholics that Mr. **Santorum** imagines stems most recently from President Obama's proposal, since withdrawn, that Catholic hospitals and universities (though not churches) be required to include contraception in the health insurance plans they buy for their employees. We opposed Mr. Obama's policy, arguing that the administration should give more leeway to religious-affiliated institutions, even ones that hire many non-Catholics and operate primarily in a secular sphere. But we also acknowledged the difficulty of balancing their religious liberty against the personal liberty of hundreds of thousands of female employees who might hold different religious views.

It's that unending, challenging balancing process for which Mr. **Santorum** seems to have insufficient respect. He has said, for example, that contraception is "one of the things I will talk about that no president has talked about. . . . It's not okay. It's a license to do things in the sexual realm that is counter to how things are supposed to be."

If all he wanted to do was talk, we would say, Have at it — no matter how misguided we think he is on birth control and many other matters. But does Mr. **Santorum** really understand the difference between talking about a policy and imposing his views?

When he so misreads Mr. Kennedy, when he perceives a war that does not exist, he shows a lack of appreciation for the First Amendment. When he accuses President Obama of harboring a "phony theology" — "Not a theology based on Bible. A different theology" — it seems he does not understand the line between policy and **religion**. Mr. **Santorum** later explained that he was not questioning Mr. Obama's faith, only his environmental policy. But theology means "the study of God and of the relations between God, humankind and the universe."

That Mr. **Santorum** believes he has the standing to declaim on the rightness of Mr. Obama's faith, and whether it is sufficiently Bible-based, is in itself disqualifying.

Angry Rick Santorum 'throws up' on JFK; President Kennedy's 1960 speech on religion made him 'throw up'? How vivid.

By Jonathan Capehart

830 words

27 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

After seeing some of the comments made by **Rick Santorum** over the weekend, I can only conclude that the former senator from Pennsylvania is one angry dude. As The Post's Nia-Malika Henderson reports today, **Santorum** lashed out at the late President John F. Kennedy over **religion** and current President Barack Obama over education. Not only was what he said that of someone with his gaze permanently affixed in the rearview mirror, but his tone was also heavy on the put-downs and light on the presidential. Let's start with Kennedy and **religion**.

Santorum told ABC News's George Stephanopoulos yesterday that he was less than enamored with Kennedy's famous 1960 speech on **religion** in graphic terms.

To say that people of faith have no role in the public square? You bet that makes you throw up. What kind of country do we live that says only people of non-faith can come into the public square and make their case? That makes me throw up and it should make every American. . . . Now we're going to turn around and say we're going to impose our values from the government on people of faith, which of course is the next logical step when people of faith, at least according to John Kennedy, have no role in the public square.

Throw up? How vivid. **Santorum** has said this before. But that was when he wasn't a serious contender for the Oval Office. He has yet to learn that part of getting people to see you as president is to act and speak presidentially (read, measured).

Santorum went on to say, "I don't believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute." And then this: "The First Amendment says the free exercise of **religion**. That means bringing everybody, people of faith and no faith, into the public

square. Kennedy for the first time articulated the vision saying, no, 'faith is not allowed in the public square. I will keep it separate.'"

Joan Walsh over at Salon has a terrific deep dive on what Kennedy actually said, which is the opposite of **Santorum's** characterization. "Of course, there's no place in Kennedy's speech where he said 'people of faith are not allowed in the public square,' or anything close to that, and **Santorum's** saying it three times doesn't make it true." Courtesy of Walsh, here is what Kennedy said:

I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute, where no Catholic prelate would tell the president (should he be Catholic) how to act, and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote; where no church or church school is granted any public funds or political preference; and where no man is denied public office merely because his **religion** differs from the president who might appoint him or the people who might elect him.

I believe in an America that is officially neither Catholic, Protestant nor Jewish; where no public official either requests or accepts instructions on public policy from the Pope, the National Council of Churches or any other ecclesiastical source; where no religious body seeks to impose its will directly or indirectly upon the general populace or the public acts of its officials; and where religious liberty is so indivisible that an act against one church is treated as an act against all.

For while this year it may be a Catholic against whom the finger of suspicion is pointed, in other years it has been, and may someday be again, a Jew— or a Quaker or a Unitarian or a Baptist. It was Virginia's harassment of Baptist preachers, for example, that helped lead to Jefferson's statute of religious freedom. Today I may be the victim, but tomorrow it may be you — until the whole fabric of our harmonious society is ripped at a time of great national peril.

Santorum, of all people, should agree wholeheartedly with Kennedy. The forward-thinking president's words ought to be used by **Santorum** to protect himself against suspicions that he would seek to impose his religious and moral beliefs on the rest of us. Unfortunately, he has inflamed those suspicions with past and present comments about contraception, pre-natal testing, abortion and other social issues.

Kennedy tried to allay fears that he would take orders from the Vatican with his speech before his historic election as the nation's first Catholic president. **Santorum's** constant moralizing in the primaries might go over with conservatives. But it will have the opposite effect in the general election. Americans don't like to be told what to do by apostles from the Church of BTT — Better Than Thou. Those folks tend to be mired in anger, harsh judgments and the past.

Rick Santorum's 'phony' Catholic theology; Santorum's rant goes against the basic principles of the founders of the Republic who strove to separate theology from politics.

By Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo

753 words

27 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Republican presidential candidate **Rick Santorum** has lambasted President Barack Obama for holding a "phony theology." In the farce that politics have become, this is more than just a laughing matter. The Constitution expressly prohibits a religious test for public office and assailing the president's theology goes against American tradition. Notice that this attack on **religion** in the political arena does not come from an atheist: **Rick Santorum** is firmly rooted in a traditional Catholicism with evangelical overtones. To the shame of believers, wars have been waged over theology throughout the ages, and **Santorum's** rant goes against the basic principles of the founders of the Republic who strove to separate theology from politics.

Santorum's attack on the president for not basing his theology on the Bible has been taken to the wood-shed, so to speak, by Msgr. Lorenzo Albacete who remarks how off base Mr. **Santorum** is about the role of the bible in Catholic theology, while Huffington Post's Mike Lux takes Mr. **Santorum** to Sunday School, where the Bible is really read.

Mr. **Santorum** has tried to deflect criticism by stressing that his "phony theology" remark was directed at the president's environmental policies. Actually, Obama has used science rather than **religion** in his push towards "green energy."

But **Santorum** considers **religion** rather than science the touchstone of public policy and therefore finds fault with the "hoax" of climate warming. This finding, he says, "elevates the Earth above man," thus discouraging increased use of natural resources.

Let it be said that theology is not the same as dogma or doctrine. Dogma, as the Greek word suggests, is a "given": doctrine is "teaching" and both dogma and doctrine are products of theology. For its part, theology is a speculative science that examines biblical and revealed truth through the prism of logic and science in order to provide a better understanding of the faith.

For example, the Bible reads that Jesus took bread and said "This is my body." Through the ages, theology has explained the meaning of Jesus by relying on philosophical systems like Aristotelian logic. The explanatory term produced was "transubstantiation." That term is not a part of revelation in the scriptures, but a theological explanation produced in the 12th century when Aristotelian logic was the baseline for philosophy. Theology is duty-bound to explain the faith in terms derived from other philosophies such as Gadamer's Epistemology (Bernard Lonergan) and Heidegger's Existentialism (Karl Rahner). Thus, unlike dogma which never changes or doctrine which gives answers, theology is always changing because it is always asking questions about how best to express the faith in contemporary terms.

Theology is also called upon by the church to include scientific principles. Aquinas, for instance, upheld the sacredness of life once the soul was infused into a fetus, which is Catholic doctrine. But he adopted Aristotle's physics that delayed the formation of the fetus into a human body until after the first trimester. As science has changed with better knowledge of DNA and the genome, Catholic theology has moved away from Aquinas' time frame, although the principle remains the same.

Theology today borrows not only from the physical sciences, but also from the behavioral and social sciences. Thus, for instance, instead of treating the "consummation of marriage" as an entirely physical act, the self-giving that the sacrament requires now has a psychological component. This theology has opened up the door to more annulments, because the mental health of a partner may have impeded full commitment, even after years of physical contact.

The scope of Catholic theology is on exhibit in *Caritas in Veritate* from Pope Benedict XVI. In that encyclical, the pontiff shows that the pro-life stance of the church about

abortion includes concerns for clean water (2:27) and control of industrial pollution (4:48-52) by the collective action of governments. He writes of a "covenant between human beings and the environment, which should mirror the creative love of God, from whom we come and towards whom we are journeying. (4:50)" This sounds very different from Mr. **Santorum's** notion of dominion over nature, because, as Holy Cross alum Chris Matthews sharply noted, the pope has pointed Catholics in an opposite direction. The "phony theology" Mr. **Santorum** speaks of is Mr. **Santorum's**.

It's not just Santorum who believes in Satan; Is the idea of evil now so unacceptable in our public discourse as to be dismissed as batty? Is the idea of evil now so unacceptable in our public discourse as to be dismissed as batty?

By David Kuo;Patton Dodd

1069 words

27 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

For many, **Rick Santorum** is a living, breathing, head-scratching, eyebrow-raising quote machine. In just a week, he can raise the specter of

http://firstread.msnbc.msn.com/_news/2012/02/20/10460075-santorum-defends-theology-remark-hitler-inference-blames-media Hitler and

http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/rick-santorum-cries-nazi/2012/02/21/gIQAjyw4RR_story.html Nazis , question

http://www.washingtonpost.com/national/on-faith/the-religion-and-politics-of-division/2012/02/22/gIQArmLVVR_story.html President Obama's theology , and (thanks

to<http://www.rightwingwatch.org/content/santorum-satan-systematically-destroying-america> Right Wing Watch, which surfaced a 2008 **Santorum** speech) say that America is suffering from the prolonged attack of Satan.

Interestingly, it's the Satan comments, more than the attack on Obama or unfortunate World War II references, that have caused the hottest controversy. **Santorum** is being widely critiqued for having http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/the-fix/post/rick-santorum-out-of-step-with-gop-on-some-issues/2012/02/21/gIQAmy2ETR_blog.html religious views that are outside the mainstream, and the furor of the reaction is of about the same tone and incredulity as if he had declared the world flat while walking around the Creation Museum wearing a John 3:16 sign and a rainbow wig.

And **Santorum** hasn't just raised the ire of the left.

<http://www.drudgereport.com/flash3s.htm> Matt Drudge kicked off the firestorm by headlining **Santorum's** Satan comments for half a day, and other right-wing mavens, including Rush Limbaugh, have joined the chorus of ridicule.

But why? Is the idea of Satan now so unacceptable in our public discourse as to be dismissed whole cloth?

If so—and if that sounds like an asinine question—it is an intellectually and spiritually sobering acknowledgment that there is now no room in our public discourse for a core belief of billions of people for thousands of years—that there is embodied evil in the world. And that embodied evil goes by several names. And one of those names is Satan.

This view sounds pre-modern to many ears, but it is not an outlier today.

<http://www.gallup.com/poll/27877/americans-more-likely-believe-god-than-devil-heaven-more-than-hell.aspx> 2007 Gallup poll found that 70 percent of Americans believe in the Devil . Many of those pray against him regularly in a spiritual war.

Of course, Satan has ancient roots. Jesus' "Lord's Prayer" or "Our Father"—one of the most famous prayers in history, and one prayed daily by millions of Christians worldwide—is, in a sense, an exercise in spiritual war. In that prayer, Jesus calls for the kingdom of heaven to intersect with the kingdom of earth, and one facet of that intersection is that God may "deliver us from the evil one"—by which Jesus surely meant Satan. Some translations render the noun abstract—saying simply, "deliver us from evil"; both translations depend on the real existence of something called "evil" which exists and which is contrary to God's purposes.

The Christian life is one that is understood to be a continual struggle between the forces of good, the reign of life, and the forces of evil, the reign of death. This is such a central message of the Christian faith that it is one of the few doctrines that unites the various strands of Christianity, from Eastern Orthodox to Roman Catholicism to Protestantism.

The wise old Oxford sage C.S. Lewis once wrote that most people either blame the devil for everything or for nothing. Each side, he contended, was in serious error. Those who blame the devil for everything are prone to lead impotent lives of victimization.

That's easy to see.

It is the other side—the devil-deniers—that is dominating our refined modern discourse. The subject of evil is disallowed in our public imagination today.

No less a scholar than Andrew Delbanco—Columbia University's esteemed American Studies professor who just last week was awarded the National Humanities Medal by President Barack Obama—has documented the end of evil. In "<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/style/longterm/books/chap1/deathof.htm> The Death of Satan: How Americans Have Lost the Sense of Evil," Delbanco examined how American ideas of evil shifted from the time of the Puritans and gradually fell away entirely. Delbanco is not especially concerned about the loss of faith in God, but he is concerned about the loss of faith in Satan in the American imagination. The son of German Jews who fled the Nazis, Delbanco remembers his mother telling him that "Joseph Goebbels had been the devil incarnate," and he knows the explanatory power that comes with such a view—a capacity to name evil and to not underestimate its real threat to kill and destroy human lives.

When **Santorum** made his remarks about Satan's attack on America, he was engaging in widely accepted Christian rhetoric and belief.

Now, if we wanted to find fault with **Santorum's** speech and expressed theology, there would be plenty to work with. For starters, he sees Satan's influence first in "academia," a favored whipping boy of the right. He also idealizes the American past and seems to assume that the influence of Satan was somehow absent in a time when America's most pernicious evil, slavery, was the law of the land.

But his acknowledgment of embodied evil—particularly in a room filled with his fellow believers—was completely un-extraordinary. What's extraordinary is the current fainting couch response from American pundits left and right.

David Kuo was deputy director of the Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives in the George W. Bush White House and is the author of "<http://www.amazon.com/Tempting-Faith-Inside-Political-Seduction/dp/0743287126> Tempting Faith: An Inside Story of Political Seduction." Patton Dodd is managing editor of Patheos Press and the author of "<http://www.amazon.com/My-Faith-Far-Conversion-Confusion/dp/0787968595> My Faith So Far: A Story of Conversion and Confusion. "

The religion and politics of division; COLUMN | Christian conservatives are playing an ancient game: Using religion to divide people. COLUMN | With quotes like “phony theology,” Christian conservatives play old game of “us” vs. “them.”

865 words

26 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Last week, the Christianity police, in the persons of **Rick Santorum** and Franklin Graham, came forward to discredit the president's religious beliefs. First, **Santorum** called President Obama's theology "phony"; then, on "Morning Joe," Graham refused to accept Obama into his Christian band of brothers: "He has said he's a Christian, so I just have to assume that he is."

With rhetoric like this, these Christian conservatives are playing an ancient game. They are using **religion** to separate the world into "us" and "them." They are saying, "The president is not like us."

The president's Christian beliefs are hardly unusual. He was raised by a mother whom he has called "agnostic" and who today might be dubbed "spiritual but not religious." (The fastest-growing religious category in the country is "none": people who believe in God but don't affiliate with any denomination.) When Barack Obama walked for the first time into Trinity Church on the South Side of Chicago, he was 27. He had read widely in theology — Saint Augustine and Nietzsche and Reinhold Niebuhr — but he had no formal religious training.

Perhaps he was drawn to Trinity for pragmatic reasons: As a young community organizer, he needed the credibility of a church base. Perhaps he was on an identity quest and found at Trinity the African American family he never had. Perhaps in Trinity's fiery pastor, Jeremiah Wright, Obama found a guide to faith — a man of great learning, musical talent and homiletic gifts — and a friend whose friendship he would live to regret. Perhaps he found himself transported by the joyful, soulful sounds of Trinity's 300-member gospel choir.

In any case, Obama has said he found Jesus at Trinity. In the memoir "Dreams From My Father," he describes a revelatory morning in church this way: "The stories of David and Goliath, Moses and Pharaoh, the Christians in the lion's den, Ezekiel's field of dry bones. Those stories — of survival and freedom, and hope — became our story, my story; the blood that had spilled was our blood, the tears our tears." He was transported. He felt the spirit. After that morning, he was baptized in the name of Jesus.

Religion has done much good in the world, but it becomes dangerous when the "us and them" worldview grows rigid — when "we" claim moral (or theological) superiority over others. No one should know this better than **Santorum**, for Roman Catholics have been among the most persecuted groups in America. Yet for **Santorum**, history has had no modulating effect. The "phony" remark seems, at worst, calculated to remind voters of Wright and the "liberation theology" he preached, and in so doing to incite racism and fear.

One major theological disagreement between Obama and religious conservatives concerns salvation. Obama happens to be the kind of Christian who believes non-Christians, including his beloved mother, can go to heaven.

Here is what he told a colleague and me when we interviewed him for Newsweek magazine during the 2008 campaign: "It is a precept of my Christian faith that my redemption comes through Christ, but I am also a big believer in the Golden Rule, which I think is an essential pillar not only of my faith but of my values and my ideals and my experience here on Earth. I've said this before, and I know this raises questions in the minds of some evangelicals. I do not believe that my mother, who never formally embraced Christianity as far as I know . . . I do not believe she went to hell."

Most Americans are with Obama on this. According to a 2008 poll by the Pew Forum on **Religion & Public Life**, more than half of American Christians believe there are many paths to heaven. The data say it best: No matter what exclusivist doctrines pastors preach from the pulpit, Americans are more open-minded. Last year, an evangelical pastor from Michigan named Rob Bell roused the ire of his colleagues by suggesting, in a book called "Love Wins," that mostly everybody goes to heaven. It was a massive bestseller.

America was founded by people who hoped that by allowing religious diversity to flourish, they might discourage extremism from growing. Counter to the claims of so many Christian conservatives, the intent of the First Amendment is not to protect any particular brand of Christianity from government encroachments, but to allow all kinds of believers to practice freely.

"I hate polemical politics and polemical divinity," a politician once said. "My **religion** is founded on the love of God and my neighbor; on the hope of pardon for my offenses; upon contrition . . . in the duty of doing no wrong, but all the good I can, to the creation of which I am but an infinitesimal part."

It is only unfortunate that these sentiments were those of John Adams — and that they are two centuries old.

Outlook

Rick Santorum , the culture warrior

Sarah Posner

1314 words

26 February 2012

The Washington Post

WP

FINAL

B01

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved

Journalist Sarah Posner imagines how **Santorum's** values would translate into governing

Rick Santorum, the culture warrior who lost his Senate seat in 2006, is polling continues to poll ahead or at least///some polls show romney way ahead in ariz; many polls show a tight race in michigan, and some see one in ariz; see link within striking distance of Mitt Romney in Michigan and Arizona, where Republican GOP primaries will be held Tuesday. His unabashed use of his traditionalist faith in politicking and policymaking has been gaining popularity. Whatif he wins the nomination - and then the White House?

What would life look like in **Santorum's** America?

How religious would his presidency be? Here, writer Sarah Posner the author imagines what President **Santorum** would tell his key constituency - religious conservatives - as he runs for reelection four years from now.

President **Rick Santorum's** speech at the Values Voter Summit, Sept. 23, 2016

Thank you. Thank you very much for that kind introduction. As Tony mentioned, I am the only sitting president to address the Values Voter Summit, something I have done each year since I took office in 2013. I'm here today, and have been to every Values Voter Summit, because I, like you, am a values voter.

Four years ago, liberal elites said I couldn't win. They said I talked about my faith and about social issues too much. Some even called me a bigot. They said someone like me, someone whose views were so "extreme" on matters of life, marriage and family, could not win the presidency. Well, we proved them wrong.

Because of our values, we never gave up, and under my administration we have finally defunded Planned Parenthood. No longer will your tax dollars support that abortion mill or any programs that indoctrinate young girls to be sexual libertines - programs that say, "Here's a pill, go ahead, have fun, it's all about pleasure." We said no - the government cannot force us to use our tax dollars to support unnatural acts. Now that money goes to pregnancy care centers, which help mothers rather than telling them to abort their babies.

One of my first acts as president was the creation of the Presidential Commission on Religious Liberty. Since its inception in early March 2013, the commission has investigated 249 instances of infringement of Americans' religious freedom. Its quarterly public hearings, led by Chairman Maggie Gallagher and streamed live on the commission's Web site, have served to educate Americans about the daily oppression of our faith, in the name of tolerance, by government and individuals.

Because of the brave stands religious leaders took across the country, we stopped the Obama birth control and morning-after abortion pill mandate in its tracks. Gone. We drew a line in the sand and created a conscience exemption for religious business owners and institutions to opt out of Obamacare entirely, thanks be to God. It's because of our values that we came close - this close! - to repealing that abominable experiment

in government playing God altogether. You - we - stand in the gap, reminding Americans that our rights come from natural law, not from the government.

We have accomplished much, but there is still much to do. We have gathered support for the Dignity of the Preborn Person Act, which, if passed, would recognize in civil law what we know to be true as a matter of God's law: that every human life, at every stage, deserves protection. This bill ensures that each life, from the moment of conception, is entitled to the rights guaranteed by the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. When that bill becomes law, unborn persons will no longer be denied their personhood, their God-given rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

To promote families, the foundation of our society and our economy, my administration has taken several steps: We have increased funding to the Healthy Marriage Initiative and the responsible-fatherhood project

through the Department of Health and Human Services. We've reinstated funding for abstinence-education programs. We've broken down barriers left in place by my predecessor to faith-based organizations receiving funding under these programs. My Justice Department, unlike that of my predecessor, is dedicated to defending the Defense of Marriage Act in court, and my solicitor general will do so vigorously when the current challenge reaches the Supreme Court of the United States.

To unleash the innovations that make America great, we continue to push for repeal of the laws and regulations that stifle economic growth: Obamacare, Dodd-Frank financial reform, the Sarbanes-Oxley accounting rules. Lifting the yoke of all those regulations, along with securing our borders from illegal immigration, will both create and protect jobs for America's workers. We've eliminated my predecessor's boondoggles at the EPA and Department of Energy - promoting "green" energy and "green" jobs - and instead are tapping into the great natural resources we already know exist: oil, natural gas, coal and nuclear energy. We've gotten rid of wasteful, endless bureaucratic study of global warming and have placed America on the road to energy independence, freeing us from relying on sources of energy from America's enemies.

We fight many battles here at home, but there are other battles, too, against Islamic extremists who have their sights on America, on Israel and on Western civilization - Christendom itself. I rejected my predecessor's dangerous appeasement policy and

launched our air campaign against Iran's nuclear sites, which will continue until we ensure that this existential threat to Israel and America is annihilated.

These battles overseas are just one front in the fight against Islamic radicalism. Nothing short of the Judeo-Christian foundation of our nation is at risk. That's why I support the Defend the American Constitution Act, which would bar federal courts from acknowledging or relying on sharia law.

Friends, when I was first elected four years ago, the very core of what makes our nation great - our faith - was under assault. While the economy was unraveling under the weight of regulations and oppressive government mandates, that election wasn't about the economy. It was about something far more fundamental than job creation and tax rates - although those things are of course important. What changed the course of the campaign and made Barack Obama a one-term president was that voters saw through the haze of feel-good Christianity and realized that we teetered on the brink. The government of the New Deal, Great Society and Obamacare was on the verge of implementing its final offensive against our most fundamental freedoms. It had become abundantly clear that if we did not stand up for our faith, we would end up sitting in the back of the bus.

After nearly four years in office, we are going in the right direction, but there is still much work to do. We must keep the White House and the House of Representatives and, crucially, regain control of the Senate, which we won in 2012 but lost in 2014. If you want Supreme Court justices who are constitutionalists, who believe that the abomination of same-sex "marriage" must be stopped before it destroys us, who believe that the "right to privacy" and "separation of church and state" were pulled out of thin air by activist judges, we need a filibuster-proof majority in the Senate.

When you vote this November, remember you are not just voting for **Rick Santorum**, but for the Senate and House as well. You can and you must vote your faith - or risk losing America as we know it.

OP-ED COLUMNIST
Editorial Desk; SECTA

A Revolutionary Idea

By JOE NOCERA

830 words

25 February 2012

The New York Times

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

19

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

"**Rick Santorum** is John Winthrop," the historian and author John M. Barry was saying the other day.

Barry is in a unique position to make such a judgment. His most recent book, published last month, is entitled "Roger Williams and the Creation of the American Soul." To call it a biography sells it short. What it is, really, is the history of an idea -- an idea that Williams articulated before anyone else -- about the critical importance of separating church from state. So revolutionary was this idea that it caused Williams to be banished from Massachusetts and to seek refuge in nearby Rhode Island, which he founded. In doing so, Williams created the first place in the Western world where people could believe in any God they wished -- or no God at all -- without fear of retribution.

In opposition to that idea, always, were Winthrop and the other Puritans who first came to Massachusetts. Puritans fled to America in the 1600s because they were being persecuted in England for their hard-edged, Calvinist beliefs, and their rejection of the Anglican Church. Having one's ears cut off for having deviationist religious beliefs was one of the lesser punishments Puritans suffered; being locked up in the Tower of London, where death was a near certainty, was not uncommon.

Yet Winthrop and the other Puritans did not arrive on the shores of Massachusetts hungering for religious freedom. Rather, Winthrop's "city on a hill" was meant to be, in Barry's words, "an authoritative and theocentric state," no less tolerant of any deviation of Puritan theology than England had been toward the Puritans. Even before Williams's views about church and state were fully formed, he became an outcast in Massachusetts because he not only deviated from conventional Puritan theology but preached his beliefs from the pulpit -- and then did not back down when confronted by the

Massachusetts magistrates about his "errors." Just as in England, the state served to enforce the dictates of the church.

Williams and Winthrop came to America about 150 years before the Constitution was signed. They are not the country's founding fathers, but rather the founders' forefathers. Although it is unlikely that Thomas Jefferson ever read the writings of Williams when he was formalizing the separation of church and state in the Constitution, he was, nonetheless, influenced by him, as his ideas had been carried forward by other thinkers over the next century.

But Winthrop's core idea -- "that the state must enforce God's laws," as Barry puts it -- also never completely went away. Well into the 1800s, a number of states, including Massachusetts, continued to have establishment churches. For much of our history, **religion** regularly seeped into civic life. In the 1950s, Barry pointed out to me, Joe McCarthy used to rail at "godless communists," the implication being that America was a country that lived "under God." Indeed, President Eisenhower added that very phrase -- "under God" -- to the Pledge of Allegiance, with scarcely a whimper of protest.

In recent decades, the separation of church and state has been more scrupulously followed, thanks to lawsuits and court decisions, many of them controversial. That, in turn, has brought a backlash from social conservatives, who believe that the country has strayed too far from God's law. Though the separation of church and state may be one of the country's foundational doctrines, it is, nonetheless, one that many Americans do not readily accept.

In the current presidential campaign, **Rick Santorum** is clearly their standard-bearer. When he accuses President Obama of following "not a theology based on the Bible," he is calling, implicitly, for a country that would, instead, follow theological precepts. His book, "It Takes a Family," is a lamentation about the rise of individualism. Liberty, properly understood, he writes, means "lifting our eyes to the heavens."

"God gave us rights, but he also gave us laws upon which to exercise those rights, and that's what you ought to do," **Santorum** has said. "Laws cannot be neutral. There is only moral or immoral." This is precisely what Winthrop believed.

I don't doubt that if Winthrop could see America today, he would be horrified -- just as, in many ways, **Santorum** is. Americans are free to do things that **Santorum** -- and

Winthrop -- would view as deeply sinful. Individuals can believe what they want and act as they wish, without caring about what **Rick Santorum** -- or John Winthrop -- thinks.

By the time Roger Williams was an old man, Quakers had largely taken over the political structure of Rhode Island. "Roger Williams despised the Quaker **religion**," Barry writes. But he did nothing to prevent their ascent, because he believed so strongly that one's religious beliefs should not matter in the affairs of state.

Unlike Winthrop, if Williams could see the America his central idea gave us, he would likely be pleased. We should all be.

Santorum and Romney are miscast as candidates; Romney lacks the ability to inspire and Santorum the ability to separate church and state.

776 words

23 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

The Midwest begins on the western slopes of the Allegheny Mountains, around **Rick Santorum's** Pittsburgh, birthplace of the Ohio River, the original highway into the Midwest. Pittsburgh fueled the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794, an early eruption of Western resentment of the overbearing East, which taxed the whiskey that Westerners made from their grain. **Santorum** the Midwesterner, after victories in Iowa, Minnesota and Missouri, is wagering more of his political capital on the region.

Rather than wait for the congenial calendar of Super Tuesday (March 6), featuring five culturally conservative states (Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, Oklahoma, Idaho), he is contesting Michigan, which votes Tuesday, and Ohio. But instead of keeping his Rust Belt focus on his blue-collar roots and economic program for reviving manufacturing, he has opened multiple fronts in the culture wars.

By doing so — questioning much prenatal testing, disdaining Barack Obama's environmentalism as "phony theology," calling involvement of even state governments in public education "anachronistic," reiterating that abortion should be illegal even in cases

of rape and incest, explaining the proper purpose of sex (procreation) — **Santorum** has eclipsed Newt Gingrich, his rival for the support of social conservatives. But in doing so **Santorum** has made his Catholicism more central and problematic in this nomination contest than Romney's Mormonism has been.

The problem is not that the phenomena that trouble **Santorum** are unserious. The use of prenatal testing for search-and-destroy missions against Down syndrome and other handicapped babies is barbaric. Obama's stealthy pursuit of a national curriculum for kindergarten through 12th grade is ill-advised and illegal. And no domestic problem — not even the unsustainable entitlement state — is more urgent and intractable than that of family disintegration.

The entitlement state can be reformed by various known — if currently politically impossible — policy choices. But no one really knows the causes of family disintegration, so it is unclear whether those causes can be combated by government measures.

We do know the social pathologies flowing from the fact that now more than 50 percent of all babies born to women under age 30 are born to unmarried mothers. These pathologies, related to a constantly renewed cohort of adolescent males without fathers at home, include disorderly neighborhoods, schools that cannot teach, mass incarceration and the intergenerational transmission of poverty. We do not know how to address this with government policies, even though the nation has worried about it for almost 50 years.

In 1965, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, then in President Lyndon Johnson's administration, published his report on the black family's "crisis," which was that 24 percent of black children were then born to unmarried women. Today, 73 percent are. Forty-one percent of all children are now born to unmarried women.

Moynihan, a social scientist in politics, proposed various family policies but also noted this: When the medieval invention of distilling was combined with Britain's 18th-century surplus of grain, the result was cheap gin — and appalling pockets of social regression. The most effective response to which was not this or that government policy, it was John Wesley — Methodism. Which brings us back to **Santorum**.

He is an engagingly happy warrior, except when he is not. Then he is an angry prophet of a dystopian future in which, he has warned, people will be "holed up in their homes afraid to go outside at night." He has the right forebodings but might have the wrong profession. Presidential candidates do not thrive as apostles of social regeneration; they are expected to be as sunny as Ronald Reagan was as he assured voters that they were as virtuous as their government was tedious.

Today's Republican contest has become a binary choice between two similarly miscast candidates. Mitt Romney cannot convince voters that he understands the difference between business and politics, between being a CEO and the president. To bring economic rationality to an underperforming economic entity requires understanding a market segment. To bring confidence to a discouraged nation requires celebrating its history and sketching an inspiring destiny this history has presaged.

Romney is right about the futility of many current policies, but being offended by irrationality is insufficient. **Santorum** is right to be alarmed by many cultural trends but implies that **religion** must be the nexus between politics and cultural reform. Romney is not attracting people who want rationality leavened by romance. **Santorum** is repelling people who want politics unmediated by theology.

Neither Romney nor **Santorum** looks like a formidable candidate for November.

The faux birth control debate; The Supreme Court has already decided that "any institution that can't in good faith follow [standard] rules shouldn't apply for public funding."

By Becky Garrison

758 words

22 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

According to the latest New York Times/CBS News poll, while most U.S. Catholics support both the new federal directive that health insurance plans provide coverage for birth control and marriage equality, about half of those evangelicals polled appear to be

more in sync with the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB) on these topics.

A report by the Guttmacher Institute confirms that most Catholic women ignore official Catholic teaching that prohibits artificial birth control. Conservative evangelical teaching on contraception ranges from the Quiverfull movement that promotes natural family planning to the Focus on the Family's recommendations for select methods of contraception, as well as their teachings on abstinence for those not in a "traditional" marriage" between a man and a woman. (More progressive evangelical organizations like Sojourners do not view women's reproductive rights and other topics relating to human sexuality as part of their core issues. To date their voices have been largely absent from this debate.)

Just as Catholic women who use birth control ignore portions of Catholic teaching, **Rick Santorum** and Newt Gingrich appear to be functioning as Cafeteria Catholics as well. For example, their pro-life, pro-death penalty views are held by the National Association of Evangelicals but remain at odds with Catholic teaching that affirms the dignity of all people.

So when former Governor Mike Huckabee and pundit Glenn Beck proclaim, "We're all Catholics now," they don't mean that evangelical Christians, Mormons and Catholics will unite over a common theology. Rather, as noted by Richard Land and others noted on this column, these disparate groups found common ground over what they perceive to be a loss of their religious liberties. On this blog Jordan Sekulow and Matthew Clark state, "No religious institution, and no American, should be forced to choose between obeying the tenants of one's faith and obeying the law." Purpose-driven megachurch pastor **Rick Warren** summed up the sentiments of some conservative Christians when he tweeted, "I'd go to jail rather than cave in to a government mandate that violates what God commands us to do. Would you? Acts 5:29.

Rick Santorum took a more dire tone by proclaiming that President Barack Obama and other liberals are leading people of faith down a path that ends at the guillotine. Also, he joined evangelical thought leaders Chuck Colson and Eric Metaxas in taking historical analogy one step further by equating this battle against the Obama administration over contraception with the socio-political climate of Germany circa 1930.

Such hyperbole should be familiar to anyone who has followed the rise of the religious right as "family friendly" players in U.S. politics. After all, they crafted a myth that these "family values" conservative evangelicals and Pentecostals first came together when they joined forces with like-minded Catholics to defeat *Roe v. Wade*. In fact, the religious right began to coalesce as a political movement following the court case *Green v. Conolly* (1972) where the court decided that racially discriminatory private schools were not entitled to tax-exempt status. The Supreme Court of the United States referenced this case in its ruling of *Bob Jones University v. United States* (1983), where it stated that the religious clause of the First Amendment does not protect those religious institutions seeking tax-exempt status if their practices are contrary to government public policy such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Marci Hamilton, a constitutional scholar at Cardozo School of Law, offers this observation, "Courts nationwide have repeatedly ruled that religious groups must follow the same rules as everyone else when holding a government contract. Any institution that can't in good faith follow those rules shouldn't apply for public funding."

Hence Obama is not exercising "religious bigotry" or "phony theology" in forcing people of faith to choose between obeying the U.S. government versus following their particular faith tradition. Rather this administration maintains the law as upheld by the Supreme Court which clearly states that religious institutions cannot obtain federal funding and tax exemptions and then refuse to follow the law. To quote Jon Stewart from "The Daily Show," "You confused the war on your **religion** with not always getting everything you want...it's called being part of a society. Not everything goes your way."

Santorum, Romney and religious judgments; The candidates' revealing moments

By Jennifer Rubin

786 words

22 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Mitt Romney and **Rick Santorum** have an interesting history when it comes to abortion and the Catholic Church. Surprisingly, they share a common path on the former but

diverged sharply when it came to the church's egregious record on child molestation by priests.

Much has been made of Romney's change from pro-choice to pro-life. Fewer know that **Santorum** made the very same evolution, just in time to run for office, as Sam Stein reports: "Prior to entering public office, former Pennsylvania senator **Rick Santorum** was a self-admitted pro-choice Republican unwilling to dabble in the cultural conservative politics that now defines his presidential campaign, a review of old campaign documents and interviews shows." The report continues:

In a December 1995 Philadelphia Magazine article — which the Huffington Post pulled from Temple University archives — **Santorum** conceded that he "was basically pro-choice all my life, until I ran for Congress... But it had never been something I thought about." Asked why he changed his mind, he said that he "sat down and read the literature. Scientific literature," only to correct himself and note that **religion** was a part of it too.

It is remarkably similar to Romney's evolution. Some suspect that was a shift of convenience, too, but Romney has explained his conversion to his pro-life stance in conjunction with stem cell legislation.

We can be cynics and say both these men made a decision of convenience. Or we can take them at their word, look at their records post-switch and decide if they are sincere. As for me, I think most politicians are short on sincerity, but in any event I heartily encourage public, hard-to-reverse and unambiguous pandering in my direction.

In contrast to abortion, these two candidates took starkly different approaches when the molestation scandal unfolded roughly 10 years ago. This report spells out the sequence of events:

When the Catholic Church child abuse scandal began garnering major national attention in the early 2000s, **Santorum** insinuated that liberalism was to blame, speciously pointing to the fact that many instances of abuse were being reported in Massachusetts.

"While it is no excuse for this scandal, it is no surprise that Boston, a seat of academic, political and cultural liberalism in America, lies at the center of the storm," the senator wrote in July 2002.

Romney, who would become governor of Massachusetts months later, was, naturally, not pleased.

"Senator **Santorum** is a fine person, and we're all entitled to make a mistake once in a while," Eric Fehrnstrom, Romney's spokesman then and now, told local press at the time.

Julie Teer, another spokesperson for Romney, swiped a bit further. "What happened with the church sex abuse scandal was a tragedy, but it had nothing to do with geography or the culture of Boston. What we know now is that the sex abuse was occurring around the country and around the world. Boston was just the first to find out about it."

Santorum did not leave it there. In 2005 he tangled with George Stephanopoulos, reiterating his view that liberalism was at the root of the scandal. "I think what I'm saying is that the culture of liberal sexual freedom and the sexual revolution of the 1960s and '70s had a profound impact on everybody and their sexual mores. It had a profound impact on the church,"he said.

Let me begin by saying Teer was wrong: This was not a "tragedy" like a hurricane or a drought. This was an episode involving great evil (**Santorum**, of all people, should have realized this), both by those committing the heinous acts and by the church officials who turned a blind eye and worse.

It is not surprising that victims, family members and others affected by the church scandal did not take kindly to **Santorum's** bizarre accusations.

Santorum still has not walked back his comments. As late as last month he brushed off an interviewer's question about his take on the church scandal.

I don't quibble with my colleague Kathleen Parker's observation that **Santorum's** views can largely be attributed to his "his allegiance to the Catholic Church's teachings that every human life has equal value and dignity." But some things are inexplicable. One would be how a religious person — any person — could view those horrible events through the prism of left-right politics. Ironically, the Mormon governor whose social conservative bona fides are routinely questioned grasped the enormity of the events; the Pennsylvania senator entirely missed the boat. Someone should press **Santorum** to explain. It would be a teachable moment.

Santorum's Ash Wednesday test; His religious statements give Romney an opening in debate.

By E.J. Dionne

499 words

22 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

It's utterly appropriate in a campaign that of late has been saturated with **religion** that tonight's potentially decisive debate is being held on Ash Wednesday. And the Ash Wednesday debate is absolutely critical to **Rick Santorum**.

Mitt Romney's campaign has been exceptionally clever in the last week, and **Santorum** has played into Romney's hands. It's striking that conservative Web sites sympathetic to Romney have dumped out all sorts of old videos of **Santorum** waxing very right-wing on matters such as contraception and the family — and even a sermon he delivered on Satan. Having spent two years covering the Vatican (I even wrote news stories on Satan), **Santorum's** talk about the Evil One didn't surprise me. But it does sound very strange in the context of a presidential campaign.

Never one to run from a fight, **Santorum** has continued to speak out on these themes, reinforcing his standing as a social and religious conservative so staunch that he would prefer to lose an election than give up on his core beliefs. This has allowed Romney to perform some jujitsu. His fingerprints are not on any of the reports or criticisms of **Santorum's** eagerness to run toward the religious right. This has all been handled by surrogates. But Romney has subtly suggested that **Santorum** is too conservative to beat Obama with such oblique comments as his recent declaration that **Santorum** has not been "as carefully viewed by the American public" as other candidates. It's Romney's invitation to Republican primary voters to take a look at all those videos.

My sense is that **Santorum's** social issue extravaganza has put him in danger of losing the Michigan primary. There are plenty of quite conservative Republican women who may now view **Santorum** as a step too far. They could add to Romney ballots already in the bank from early voting.

Santorum has more than made his point to religious conservatives that he is one of them. Tonight, he needs the discipline to appeal to more moderate conservatives who may appreciate his blue-collar roots and find him more authentic than Romney. Yes, **Santorum** needs to show he can move to the center at least a little bit and be a reassuring presence. And he needs to find a way to put Romney on the defensive quickly.

Many Republicans doubt that **Santorum** can win the fall election, and for good reason. How **Santorum** performs against Romney in this debate will be a good test of his ability to transition from the leader of a moral crusade into a presidential campaigner. As for Romney, he has to hope that **Santorum** is asked one question after another about his religious and moral views. **Santorum** may not be able to resist the temptation (which he sees as an obligation) to defend his faith, and his vision of morality.

Santorum is too strident for this 'center-right' nation; His rhetoric has gone so far to the right that even if he were to pivot towards the center he'll still be far right.

By Jonathan Capehart

770 words

21 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Listening to the rhetorical red meat spewed by **Rick Santorum** over the weekend, I was reminded of the opening paragraph of a story by The Post's Karen Tumulty from earlier this month. "The playbook for Republican presidential contenders goes at least as far back as Richard Nixon," she wrote. "Run hard to the right in the primaries; steer back to the center for the general election." Her piece was about the trouble Mitt Romney might have were he the nominee. Now that **Santorum** is poised to become a certified frontrunner, I find myself wondering if he would have the same trouble.

What **Santorum** and Romney are doing is not a uniquely Republican strategy. Democrats do it, too. Like its far-right brethren in the GOP, the far left is the energy and lifeblood of the Democratic Party. You've got to win them over to get the nomination. But I'm convinced that **Santorum's** comments of late go so far to the right that, even if he

were to pivot back towards the center, he'd still be too far right for a nation that likes its leaders to hug the center as much as possible.

On contraception (from Jennifer Rubin at Right Turn): "One of the things I will talk about that no President has talked about before is I think the dangers of contraception in this country, the whole sexual libertine idea. Many in the Christian faith have said, 'Well, that's okay. Contraception's okay.'

It's not okay because it's a license to do things in the sexual realm that is counter to how things are supposed to be. They're supposed to be within marriage, they are supposed to be for purposes that are, yes, conjugal, but also [inaudible], but also procreative. That's the perfect way that a sexual union should happen. We take any part of that out, we diminish the act."

On Obama and **religion** (from Fox News via ThinkProgress): "What they've done here is a direct assault on the First Amendment, not only a direct assault on the freedom of **religion**, by forcing people specifically to do things that are against their religious teachings. . . . This is a president who, just recently, in this Hosanna-Tabor case was basically making the argument that Catholics had to, you know, maybe even had to go so far as to hire women priests to comply with employment discrimination issues. This is a very hostile president to people of faith. He's a hostile president, not just to people of faith, but to all freedoms."

On pre-natal testing (from CNN.com): "One of the mandates is they require free prenatal testing in every insurance policy in America," **Santorum**, a conservative Roman Catholic, told a Christian Alliance luncheon in Columbus. "Why? Because it saves money in health care. Why? Because free prenatal testing ends up in more abortions and therefore less care that has to be done, because we cull the ranks of the disabled in our society."

All this might play well with the evangelical base of the Republican Party, but I'm having a difficult time seeing how this red meat will be appealing to moderates and independents who actually decide general elections. More specifically, I cannot fathom how all this harsh talk about contraception and restricting its use is going to be a winner with women. They are 54 percent of voters nationally after all.

A well-placed Republican friend admonishes, "You're thinking like a liberal!" He went on to say about **Santorum**, "The Left (in particular) would see his candidacy as a gift, but their arrogance presumes too much about how people are reading what **Santorum** is saying; after all, America is still a center-right nation. So while the way **Rick** says stuff or hell, even the stuff he says may not 'appeal' to them, it strikes a chord in their center-right nerve that doesn't frighten them as much as one may think (or hope)."

That may be. And the counsel about liberal "arrogance" is well-taken. But if this is a center-right nation (an assertion I don't exactly buy) then it's the center that must win out. Anyone with a modicum of moderation in their political soul (read: most Americans) would not elect as strident a voice as **Santorum's** to the presidency.

Why does Santorum despise the separation of church and state?; Religious minorities (like Catholics) often have pragmatic reasons for being wary of permitting religion to play too large a role in public life. A reminder to Sen. Santorum: Religious minorities (like Catholics!) often have pragmatic reasons for embracing secularism.

By Jacques Berlinerblau

851 words

17 February 2012

Washington Post.com

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Secular-baiting has become something of an art form in high GOP circles ever since Newt Gingrich began his pioneering explorations of the genre back in the 1990s.

A milestone in the evolution of this rhetoric occurred in 2007 when Mitt Romney likened secularism to radical Jihadism in a memorable speech.

Those were impressive accomplishments, for sure. But let me say that no one, but no one, can demonize, Talibanize, or Stalinize secularism like **Rick Santorum**. On occasion he has done so, I would admit, with a fair degree of intellectual seriousness, as

in this 2010 speech. Though for the most part his pronouncements on the subject amount to rank and preposterous name-calling.

Back in 2003 he lamented: "I want to remind people of the societies that have been secular in nature. Starting with the French Revolution, moving onto the fascists, and the Nazis and the communists and the Baathists, all of those purely secularists hated **religion**, tried to crush **religion**."

Recently he claimed the Obama administration believes that "secular values should be imposed on people of faith." "Don't you see," **Santorum** sighed, "how they see you? How they look down their noses at the average Americans. These elitist snobs!"

Needless to say, **Santorum's** aversion to separation of church and state has led him to repeatedly anathematize John F. Kennedy. For it was the nation's first Catholic president who famously called in 1961 for separation. Looking back, **Santorum** was "frankly appalled" by Kennedy's "radical" stance.

Fresh off his three victories last week, **Santorum** upped the ante: "the intolerance of the secular ideology. It is a **religion** unto itself. It is just not a biblical based **religion**. And it is the most intolerant just like we saw in the days of the atheists in the Soviet Union. . .and they fear dissent why? Because the dissent comes from folks who use reason, common sense, and divine revelation and they want no part of any of those things."

So let's review, shall we? Secularism is defined by **Santorum** variously as a **religion**, intolerant of **religion**, atheist, leftist, liberal, intolerant of dissent, Gallic, Nazi, Communist, elitist and, of course, the official ideology of the Obama administration. Oddly, in a recent debate we found candidate **Santorum** praising "secular" Pakistan over a theocratic Iran, but by now the reader may realize that when it comes to public discussions of secularism logical coherence is expressly discouraged.

The truth is that for decades terms like "secular," "secular humanist," "atheist," and "liberal," have been used by the right as if all were synonyms of one another and synonyms of every form of depravity known to the species. **Santorum** is not the first conservative Christian public figure to draw these loose associations, though he is presently the most visible.

This raises the question of why the practice of disparaging secularism has continued for so long. This is a complex prompt, but I want to suggest one quick answer here. The highfalutin' rhetorical assaults on secularism permit culture warriors to avoid the real problem of how to let **religion** function in a public square teeming with diverse and often antagonistic religious actors.

It is easy, lucrative, and even pleasurable, to pulverize sinister secularism. It rallies the base, secures contributions, and helps conservative voters focus on demonic (i.e., liberal, Democratic) forces possessing our political system. It is much harder, however, to explain how citizens who base their civic thinking on **Santorum's** "divine revelation" could possibly live in peace when those revelations might lead them to completely different policy prescriptions. Anti-secular rhetoric, at its core, is a demagogic evasion.

Yet **Santorum** and others will keep baiting secularism, and evading difficult issues, until someone stops them. As I think through the future of an admittedly troubled secular movement, I note that **Santorum's** co-religionists often have a far better appreciation of the value of the secular than he does.

Writing in the magazine *America*, the Jesuit Raymond Schroth reflects on the vast discrepancy between **Santorum's** views on Kennedy and his own: "I don't know where **Santorum** was in 1960, but he was two years old. I was surrounded by Jesuit scholastics in philosophy studies. We knew the speech had been written with the advice of Catholic theologians and that Kennedy knew the proper role of conscience, as well as **religion**, in making public decisions."

It may be lost upon candidate **Santorum**, but religious minorities in America such as Catholics often have pragmatic reasons for being wary of permitting **religion** to play too large a role in public life. This truism is often lost upon anti-theist movement secularists as well. Which is unfortunate because it is precisely by reaching out to religious individuals that the secular movement can re-energize itself.

Media should challenge Santorum and Gingrich's 'cafeteria Catholicism'; Moderators of upcoming debates should challenge them on their differences with papal decrees.

By James Downie

960 words

16 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Last week, the uproar over the Obama administration's new contraception mandate earned typically strident rebukes from conservatives, especially the president's potential opponents, which include two Catholics, **Rick Santorum** and Newt Gingrich. While issues of religious liberty played a large role in their positions on this occasion, both candidates have hardly shied away from pushing an expanded role for **religion** in public policy.

Gingrich has warned that "religious belief is being challenged by a cultural elite trying to create a secularized America, in which God is driven out of public life," and has said that public schools should be required to teach "the Creator." On birth control alone, **Santorum** would repeal federal funding for contraception, and has cited church teachings to explain his position.

Problem is, when it comes to many other Catholic teachings, **Santorum**, Gingrich and other Catholic conservatives completely ignore the church. Among others, Juan Cole has compiled an excellent list of the "Top Ten Catholic Teachings **Santorum** Rejects While Obsessing about Birth Control." Conservative Catholics would be quick to point out that not all 10 teachings Cole lists are as central as the one on birth control, because the latter's authority lies in the papal encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, issued in 1968 by Pope Paul VI. But even a cursory survey of papal encyclicals finds numerous holdings that **Santorum**, Gingrich and other conservative Catholics disagree with.

On the death penalty, from John Paul II's "Evangelium Vitae" (1995):

[T]he nature and extent of the punishment must be carefully evaluated and decided upon, and ought not go to the extreme of executing the offender except in cases of absolute necessity: in other words, when it would not be possible otherwise to defend

society. Today however, as a result of steady improvements in the organization of the penal system, such cases are very rare, if not practically non-existent.

In any event, the principle set forth in the new Catechism of the Catholic Church remains valid: "If bloodless means are sufficient to defend human lives against an aggressor and to protect public order and the safety of persons, public authority must limit itself to such means, because they better correspond to the concrete conditions of the common good and are more in conformity to the dignity of the human person."

On a living wage, from John XXIII's "Mater et Magistra" (1961):

We therefore consider it Our duty to reaffirm that the remuneration of work is not something that can be left to the laws of the marketplace; nor should it be a decision left to the will of the more powerful. It must be determined in accordance with justice and equity; which means that workers must be paid a wage which allows them to live a truly human life and to fulfill their family obligations in a worthy manner.

On unions, from John Paul II's "Laborem Exercens" (1981):

All these rights, together with the need for the workers themselves to secure them, give rise to yet another right: the right of association [*italics original*], that is to form associations for the purpose of defending the vital interests of those employed in the various professions. These associations are called labour or trade unions.

On wealth redistribution, from Benedict XVI's "Caritas in Veritate" (2009):

Economic activity cannot solve all social problems through the simple application of commercial logic. This needs to be directed towards the pursuit of the common good, for which the political community in particular must also take responsibility. Therefore, it must be borne in mind that grave imbalances are produced when economic action, conceived merely as an engine for wealth creation, is detached from political action, conceived as a means for pursuing justice through redistribution. [*Italics original*]

And on health care and the "safety net," from John XXIII's "Pacem in Terris" (1963):

But first We must speak of man's rights. Man has the right to live. He has the right to bodily integrity and to the means necessary for the proper development of life, particularly food, clothing, shelter, medical care, rest, and, finally, the necessary social

services. In consequence, he has the right to be looked after in the event of ill health; disability stemming from his work; widowhood; old age; enforced unemployment; or whenever through no fault of his own he is deprived of the means of livelihood.

As Cole's list shows, American Catholic bishops have long advocated publicly for laws reflecting these values. Yet **Santorum** and Gingrich haven't been challenged very often on their version of 'cafeteria Catholicism,' picking and choosing which teachings they agree with. When an audience member asked **Santorum** about why he disagrees with the church on universal health care, **Santorum** gave a rambling response that bore little resemblance to his assuredness on many other issues.

But audience members at campaign events aren't enough; national voters should hear these questions as well. In the three debates between now and Super Tuesday, moderators should challenge **Santorum** and Gingrich on whether they agree with these church doctrines, and if not, why not. Many agreed that one of the better debate questions of the primary season came when CNN's John King quoted George Romney's words on transparency and tax returns to Mitt Romney. (Romney fumbled the answer badly and was booed by the audience.) Asking similarly probing questions of Gingrich and **Santorum** on Catholicism and American Catholics' many liberal positions would not only go some way to correcting the popular picture of what the Catholic church stands for, but also expose the inconsistency of these two candidates' moral pronouncements.

OP-ED COLUMNIST
Editorial Desk; SECTA

Severe Conservative Syndrome

By PAUL KRUGMAN

819 words

13 February 2012

[The New York Times](#)

NYTF

Late Edition - Final

23

English

Copyright 2012 The New York Times Company. All Rights Reserved.

Mitt Romney has a gift for words -- self-destructive words. On Friday he did it again, telling the Conservative Political Action Conference that he was a "severely conservative governor."

As Molly Ball of The Atlantic pointed out, Mr. Romney "described conservatism as if it were a disease." Indeed. Mark Liberman, a linguistics professor at the University of Pennsylvania, provided a list of words that most commonly follow the adverb "severely"; the top five, in frequency of use, are disabled, depressed, ill, limited and injured.

That's clearly not what Mr. Romney meant to convey. Yet if you look at the race for the G.O.P. presidential nomination, you have to wonder whether it was a Freudian slip. For something has clearly gone very wrong with modern American conservatism.

Start with **Rick Santorum**, who, according to Public Policy Polling, is the clear current favorite among usual Republican primary voters, running 15 points ahead of Mr. Romney. Anyone with an Internet connection is aware that Mr. **Santorum** is best known for 2003 remarks about homosexuality, incest and bestiality. But his strangeness runs deeper than that.

For example, last year Mr. **Santorum** made a point of defending the medieval Crusades against the "American left who hates Christendom." Historical issues aside (hey, what are a few massacres of infidels and Jews among friends?), what was this doing in a 21st-century campaign?

Nor is this only about sex and **religion**: he has also declared that climate change is a hoax, part of a "beautifully concocted scheme" on the part of "the left" to provide "an excuse for more government control of your life." You may say that such conspiracy-theorizing is hardly unique to Mr. **Santorum**, but that's the point: tinfoil hats have become a common, if not mandatory, G.O.P. fashion accessory.

Then there's Ron Paul, who came in a strong second in Maine's caucuses despite widespread publicity over such matters as the racist (and conspiracy-minded) newsletters published under his name in the 1990s and his declarations that both the Civil War and the Civil Rights Act were mistakes. Clearly, a large segment of his party's base is comfortable with views one might have thought were on the extreme fringe.

Finally, there's Mr. Romney, who will probably get the nomination despite his evident failure to make an emotional connection with, well, anyone. The truth, of course, is that he was not a "severely conservative" governor. His signature achievement was a health reform identical in all important respects to the national reform signed into law by

President Obama four years later. And in a rational political world, his campaign would be centered on that achievement.

But Mr. Romney is seeking the Republican presidential nomination, and whatever his personal beliefs may really be -- if, indeed, he believes anything other than that he should be president -- he needs to win over primary voters who really are severely conservative in both his intended and unintended senses.

So he can't run on his record in office. Nor was he trying very hard to run on his business career even before people began asking hard (and appropriate) questions about the nature of that career.

Instead, his stump speeches rely almost entirely on fantasies and fabrications designed to appeal to the delusions of the conservative base. No, President Obama isn't someone who "began his presidency by apologizing for America," as Mr. Romney declared, yet again, a week ago. But this "Four-Pinocchio Falsehood," as the Washington Post Fact Checker puts it, is at the heart of the Romney campaign.

How did American conservatism end up so detached from, indeed at odds with, facts and rationality? For it was not always thus. After all, that health reform Mr. Romney wants us to forget followed a blueprint originally laid out at the Heritage Foundation!

My short answer is that the long-running con game of economic conservatives and the wealthy supporters they serve finally went bad. For decades the G.O.P. has won elections by appealing to social and racial divisions, only to turn after each victory to deregulation and tax cuts for the wealthy -- a process that reached its epitome when George W. Bush won re-election by posing as America's defender against gay married terrorists, then announced that he had a mandate to privatize Social Security.

Over time, however, this strategy created a base that really believed in all the hokum -- and now the party elite has lost control.

The point is that today's dismal G.O.P. field -- is there anyone who doesn't consider it dismal? -- is no accident. Economic conservatives played a cynical game, and now they're facing the blowback, a party that suffers from "severe" conservatism in the worst way. And the malady may take many years to cure.

Santorum hits a home run at CPAC; His speech brings conservatives to their feet.

By Jennifer Rubin

416 words

10 February 2012

[Washington Post.com](http://WashingtonPost.com)

WPCOM

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved.

Rick Santorum was among friends today at CPAC. He told the crowd, "I know you. You know me. We've worked in the vineyards together." The audience ate it up, giving him multiple ovations.

With his wife and several of his children standing behind him, **Santorum** told the audience at a Washington hotel that they don't need to "apologize or compromise on the policies that made this country great." He continued, "We are not a wing of the Republican Party; we are the Republican Party."

He also touched on precisely what worries conservatives — namely that they'll be sold down the river once a Republican gets back the White House. **Santorum** assured the crowd that, in his administration, he will bring in conservative leaders.

He argued that the presidential race is not just about jobs or the debt, saying in bold tones, "It is about fundamental principles. . . . It's about what kind of country you're going to leave your kids." He told the audience what he knows well that they fervently believe: "Rights don't come from the government. They come from a much higher authority."

Santorum then sketched out wide differences between him and Mitt Romney. Calling Obamacare a "game changer" for America, he argued that only he could draw bright contrasts on the issue, whereas Romney would "give the issue away." He likewise made the case that, on global warming, he had fought against cap-and-trade while Romney "bought into" global warming.

In making an ideological argument, **Santorum** also made a case for electability, saying, "We are not going to win because the Republican candidate has the most money to beat up their candidate."

He unsurprisingly attacked the president on the HHS contraception mandate.

Santorum argued, "It's not about contraception. It's about economic liberty. It's about economic liberty. It's about freedom of **religion**. It's about freedom of **religion**. It's about government changing your lives. And it's got to stop." This brought the crowd to their feet.

Santorum did what he had to do. He bonded with his fellow conservatives. He will need them and many more like-minded Republicans if he is to beat Romney.

More on CPAC from Right Turn:

Metro

We're smart enough for a Darwin debate

Jay Mathews

681 words

19 January 2012

[The Washington Post](#)

WP

FINAL

B02

English

Copyright 2012, The Washington Post Co. All Rights Reserved

During my 20 years as a local reporter and columnist, I have noticed our schools deal with all of the big national education issues - student assessment, budget cuts, teacher quality, disabilities, misbehavior, test manipulation, instructional time and many more.

There is one exception, however. While the rest of the country struggles with how to teach evolution, our educators approach the subject without fear. Nobody threatens them for contradicting the Bible.

That is why I think my suggestion last week that high schools teach alternative theories of evolution would work here even if it might create difficulties elsewhere.

I raised the issue of challenges to Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection because Republican presidential candidate and former senator **Rick Santorum** has advocated teaching alternative theories such as intelligent design, the view that some supernatural force influenced the development of life on Earth. **Santorum** and I differ on Darwin. I say the British scientist was right, **Santorum** says no. But I think if science teachers apply

the scientific method to intelligent design, that will enliven their classes and illuminate research principles.

Many readers told me that intelligent design is just a fancy version of creationism, a pseudo-science that uses fallacious interpretations of the data to prove God created man. Intelligent design accepts the Darwinist view that humans and apes have a common ancestor but still attempts to get **religion** into science classes, those readers said. Sanctioning it for classrooms would misuse science and hurt teaching, they said.

Could that happen here? I don't think so. I asked Washington Post researcher Eddy Palanzo to search the past 30 years of Post archives for evidence of evolution becoming a major disruptive issue in our local schools. She didn't find any. In 1985, the Republican nominee for governor of Virginia made news when he supported discussing creationism in the classroom, but he lost. In 1995, The Post had a story about several candidates for the Fairfax County School Board who supported creationism. They didn't win, either.

One reason is the unusually high level of education in this region. Parents, voters and taxpayers here are more likely to know the research on evolution and see the flaws in attempts to discredit Darwin. According to the 2009 American Community Survey reported by my colleague Daniel de Vise, 47 percent of adults here hold bachelor's degrees, the highest rate among the nation's large urban areas. Six of the 10 best-educated counties by that measure are in the Washington area.

Among the many thoughtful messages I received this week on the science-teaching issue was one from evolutionary biologist Sam Scheiner. He has taught a course for secondary school teachers on how to use alternative evolutionary theories in exactly the way I suggested.

"I certainly think that this is something appropriate for freshman college students," said Scheiner, a former college professor who served on the Arlington County schools science advisory committee. "Similarly, it could be done in a select set of high school classes. Many students could deal with the issue. The key is your sentence, 'The topic can work in biology class if well taught.' The problem is not the students, but the teachers."

Scheiner cites a Newsweek survey that 16 percent of science teachers are creationists. They would preach that doctrine if allowed to. "Then there is the vast majority of biology

teachers who simply avoid teaching evolution because they do not know enough about the topic," he said.

His course was designed to bring them up to speed. The way to present the issue, he said, was: "Is intelligent design (A) not science or (B) bad science?"

That sounds good to me. Couldn't we try it? Why not start in Arlington, the most educated county in America, where 58 percent of adults have four-year degrees? They would be particularly keen to have their children learn how science works in real life.

WRITTEN PERMISSION TO USE COPYRIGHTED MATERIALS

Message received from Sam Davis, page one editor and director of administration for *The Baltimore Sun*, giving written permission to use clips in project report:

From: Davis, Sam
Sent: Tuesday, April 02, 2013 9:45 AM
To: Matas, Alison
Subject: RE: Written permission to use my clips

Alison,

You have permission. Do you need help getting the clips?

From: Matas, Alison
Sent: Tuesday, April 02, 2013 9:34 AM
To: Davis, Sam
Subject: Written permission to use my clips

Hi, Sam,

My school requires that I turn in a project report at the end of my internship, since I'm getting credit for being here and since this internship is the capstone for the completion of my master's degree. In the report, I have to include all my clips from my time at the Sun to prove I did sufficient work while I was here. The report is kept on file in the journalism school's online library after I graduate.

Since the work I've done here is copyrighted by the Sun, I need written permission to be able to include my clips in my project report. Basically, I just need a letter (or even an email) saying I'm allowed to put any work I've done at the Sun in my report.

Thanks,

Alison Matas
The Baltimore Sun
410-332-6717
amatas@baltsun.com

PROJECT PROPOSAL

Introduction

I began working toward this project when I was 13 years old.

That's the year I joined the middle school newspaper — and started contemplating becoming a journalist.

Now, 10 years later, I get to spend a semester working on the city desk at the Baltimore Sun, and I feel completely ready.

Aside from the three semesters of journalism classes I've taken at the Missouri School of Journalism — and the four years of journalism coursework I completed at Marietta College — I've also had a handful of professional newspaper experiences that have prepared me for my professional project.

I spent the summer of 2012 in Charleston, W.Va., working for the largest newspaper in the state, the Charleston Gazette, which is headquartered in the capital city. As a general assignment reporter, I wrote about government meetings, national reports, fairs and festivals. But I also trekked through forests to interview powerline workers and rode around the state with Federal Emergency Management Agency workers as they assessed storm damage. I covered tea party rallies at the Capitol, and I listened as the state's Democratic Party voted on its platform for the 2012 election. I sat in court as a medical examiner showed autopsy photos of an 11-year-old in a highway death case. There were even a few nights when I pulled the late shift and ran the city desk by myself. I walked away from my stint at the Charleston Gazette with close to 100 clips and three months of full-time reporting to add to my resume.

That wasn't my first go at professional reporting. I've worked as an enterprise reporter for the Columbia Missourian, freelanced a few stories for VOX magazine, and worked for Patch.com in Kent, Ohio. Also, I spent a summer working as a beat reporter for the Chautauquan Daily — the newspaper of Chautauqua Institution in western New York — covering the opera program and children's school.

I've had some editing experience, too. On Thursdays and Saturdays this semester, I'm holding down the fort at the Missourian, listening to the police scanner and editing reporters' copy. I also served as editor-in-chief of my undergraduate newspaper for two years, and I spent a semester working as a copy editor on the Missourian's interactive copy editing and print desks.

I feel as though going to the Baltimore Sun is the next logical step for me. I've worked at newspapers that reach small communities, and I've worked for a newspaper that reaches the entire state. It's time for me to head to a major U.S. city and learn what it's like to be a journalist at that level.

Eventually, I'd like to work at a newspaper or a nonprofit journalism organization on the East Coast where I could undertake primarily investigative and computer-assisted reporting projects. I see being in Baltimore as one of the best ways to reach that goal. The Baltimore Sun incorporates investigations into its reporting frequently and even has a "Sun Investigates" blog to explain to readers how the newspaper went about conducting its investigations. During my time at the Sun, I'll have the freedom to select and delve into a larger reporting project, which should give me a chance to do some longer-form journalism while learning from a top-notch group of investigative reporters.

Professional Skills Component

I'm on the news reporting and writing track for my master's degree, and my time at the Baltimore Sun will complement that.

I'm going to be a full-time reporter on the metro desk at the Baltimore Sun. I'll be covering crime, courts, city government and local events. My supervisor said I'll also have the freedom to undertake an enterprise project while I'm there, so my intention is to find an investigative or computer-assisted reporting story to cover in addition to my general assignment work. My general assignment reporting will be assigned, and I will work with editors if I choose to pursue a larger project idea. I'll be working 40 hours a week for 12 weeks, starting Jan. 21 and ending April 12.

To show abundant physical evidence at the completion of my project, I'll turn in my clips from the semester. I'm going to be functioning as a reporter for the paper, so I'll be writing several stories a week.

My supervisor is Andy Rosen, who is the crimes and courts editor at the Baltimore Sun. He's going to be my assigning editor and will be working when I am. He'll be editing the bulk of my stories and offering me feedback about how I'm doing. Of course, he'll also be available if I have questions or need help.

I have both academic and professional qualifications to pursue this project. In 2011, I graduated from Marietta College with a bachelor's degree in journalism. Since then, I've had three semesters at the Missouri School of Journalism to refine my skills. The coursework that's most prepared me for this project is the basic reporting class, investigative reporting and computer-assisted reporting. All taught me about different ways to report stories and find information, whether it was combing government websites

or filing open records requests. In addition, my intermediate writing class showed me how to write stronger narratives and make my writing more interesting to read. Finally, my news editing class gave me The Associated Press style and grammar basics I need to self edit before turning my work in to my editor.

My experience at professional newspapers as both a reporter and editor also has given me the chance to write feature stories and news articles and cover crime, courts, events and meetings.

During the course of the professional component of my project, I will file weekly reports with my committee members to keep them apprised of the work I am doing. These reports will detail the progress I've made on the research component of my professional project as well as my duties at the Baltimore Sun. I will also use these reports to reflect on any victories or challenges I've encountered during the week.

Analysis Component: Literature Review

Introduction

In February of 2012, Republican presidential hopeful Rick Santorum raised the ire of many when, during a television interview, he denounced former President John F. Kennedy's 1960 speech advocating a separation of religion and politics. Santorum, who, like Kennedy was, is a practicing Catholic, said the comments made him "throw up" and that he thought America should be more open to people of faith playing a substantial role in the political arena (Barbaro, 2012, p.1). Santorum's comment garnered nationwide scrutiny and set off a flurry of news articles and editorials devoted to his comment.

Both religion and media play a crucial role in informing the public's opinion about politics and political candidates, but little research has been conducted about the overlap of the two subjects. The research that does exist shows that the way journalists frame articles about religion has a direct impact on how readers interpret the issues. Their stories do not just tell people what is in the news but also dictate which information people use to form opinions about religions (Stout & Buddebbaum, 2003).

This research attempts to answer the following question: How often and to what extent did journalists use wedge issues to frame news articles and editorials about Rick Santorum's Catholicism? To do so, this study calls on previous research to discuss why religion coverage matters, looks at how religion has traditionally been covered in newspapers, examines the role of framing in journalistic writing about politics and religion, and identifies how media report on political candidates' religious beliefs.

Why Religion and Religion Coverage Matter

Although there is not much scholarly research about how journalists report on political candidates' beliefs, there is ample proof that religion has an impact on the outcome of an election (Leege & Kellstedt, 1993). Perhaps that is because most Americans are religious. Ninety-five percent believe in God, 70 percent are members of a church or synagogue (Perry, 1999), and 83 percent say they practice some type of religion (Putnam & Campbell, 2010). The 2012 electorate identified as 53 percent Protestant and 25 percent Catholic, with 28 percent of voters saying they attend religious services once a week (How the faithful voted, 2012). Although some scholars argue America should have one of the least-committed religious societies in the world because

it is economically prosperous, the country still boasts one of the most religiously committed populations (Wuthnow, 1991). Many Americans who are not affiliated with a particular religion or church still hold similar beliefs about prayer, the afterlife, and God, and, consequently, should not be deemed “secular” (Wald & Leege, 2009, pp. 133-4).

While the First Amendment guarantees freedom of religion to Americans, clashes between the largely religious population and its government are unavoidable as disagreements over social issues are dragged into the political sphere, calling religious beliefs into question (Buddenbaum & Mason, 2000). This can be observed in the way religious values drive wedge issues during a campaign (Leege & Kellstedt, 1993). Issues discussed on a national scale often strike a chord with people who are religious— topics such as abortion, homosexuality and gay marriage, stem cell research, and euthanasia all relate to religious beliefs (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007).

More broadly, religion has reinforced a two-party system in America (Leege & Kellstedt, 1993). For example, 33 percent of the electorate would consider themselves to be evangelical Christians. Now, this group is one of the strongest bases of the Republican Party. For example, in 2004, George W. Bush received 78 percent of the white evangelical vote and John McCain received 74 percent of this vote in 2008 (Medhurst, 2009); Mitt Romney received 69 percent of the white Protestant vote and 79 percent of the evangelical vote in 2012 (How the faithful voted, 2012). Today, religion has a clear tie to conservative and Republican politics (Putnam & Campbell, 2010); the Christian Right has become the most noteworthy religion-based social movement with no comparable religious-Left movement. Even so, much of the Christian political activity in recent decades has been led by people who lean Left — social movements such as the

antiwar movement and the civil rights movement were headed up by Christian Democrats (Wilcox & Fortelny, 2009). Moreover, as debates about wedge issues evolve into discussions about worldviews and moral values, people with similar religious affiliations find themselves in conflict with one another, split over whether to interpret their religious doctrines traditionally — taking the conservative viewpoint — or in line with contemporary assumptions — taking the liberal or libertarian viewpoints (Hunter, 1991). Ultimately, political culture in America is largely affected by religion (Leege & Kellstedt, 1993).

Religious beliefs not only influence how people consider campaign issues and what party they join but also whether they vote. Overall, interpersonal communication among religious people has an effect on someone's political participation. In particular, religious leaders have power over religious communities; leaders can get their followers to take political action (Wuthnow, 1991). Often, churchgoers learn about politics from church because going to church is a social activity, and there, parishioners encounter opinion leaders and are given political information. Opinions can be strong, and, consequently, it becomes difficult to deviate from them; churchgoers might even find themselves getting bullied into belief. Interestingly, the denomination a person is in also affects his or her level of political efficacy. Sometimes, if the group is committed and connected, a person will be more likely to take part in politics because of those strong association ties (Scheufele, Dietram, Nisbet, & Brossard, 2003).

Occasionally, however, this religious affiliation has the opposite effect and discourages people from participating in politics. In a study conducted during the 2000 presidential election, researchers found that people who attend church more frequently

are more likely to take place in political discussions at church. However, while these conversations had an effect on political participation, sometimes, they discouraged people from having political conversations outside of the church realm (Scheufele, Dietram, Nisbet, & Brossard, 2003).

Another reason religion plays a role in either getting people to participate or not participate in politics is because, sometimes, believers follow a strict religious doctrine that dictates their perspective of the world. Sometimes, however, this means that following religion can make people less likely to enter the realm of politics because they disagree with what is going on in the secular world outside of the church (Scheufele, Dietram, Nisbet, & Brossard, 2003).

Religion coverage matters because, just as a person's religious beliefs influence how he or she views politics, so does the way the media cover the election. In the aforementioned 2000 presidential election study, researchers also examined what caused congregations to talk about politics at church. Discussions were linked to television news about politics, and it was found that this media consumption led to increased political knowledge and participation. Researchers also discovered that newspaper reading increased political knowledge. Additionally, outside of church, conversations people had about politics had a stronger effect on political knowledge, television viewing and political participation. These discussions were also linked to newspaper reading (Scheufele, Dietram, Nisbet, & Brossard, 2003).

Moreover, the way media set the agenda for the public influences perceptions about political candidates and their campaigns. For example, a study was conducted in which researchers looked at how media covered religious beliefs of each political party

and tried to determine how accurate the portrayal was. Essentially, the researchers were curious whether Republicans actually hold more fundamentalist beliefs than Democrats do or if that was just the way media made it seem. The researchers hypothesized the stories the media are most willing to cover are those that highlight the differences between what Republicans and Democrats believe and argued this was blatant agenda setting. The study determined that Republicans do hold stricter religious views; however, both Republican and Democrats have the same level of tolerance for differing beliefs and have the same willingness to communicate their beliefs. The disparity in perception, then, could be a result of the fact that people do not often read or see much in the media about the people who fall in between the Right and Left (Punyanunt-Carter, Corrigan, Wrench, & McCroskey, 2010). Clearly, the media play a role in how people think about politics. This is especially true in times of uncertainty, such as during a presidential election. When people feel unsure, they turn to the media, politicians and religious leaders more often for assurance about what is important. This makes the media's role as an agenda setter even more pertinent during elections (Kraus, 2009).

How Religion Coverage Traditionally Appears in the Newspaper

Before examining how political candidates' religious beliefs are covered, it is helpful to have an understanding of how religion has been reported in general. Religion coverage experienced rapid growth between 1930 and 1960, with much of the reporting being about the Protestants and Catholics who shared journalists' liberal beliefs about social justice issues. As interfaith coalitions developed as a response to religious persecution, journalists also began to cover Jews. Initially, much religion coverage

focused on church happenings, such as sermon topics and meeting notices, not stories about religion. By the 1940s, some well-known newspapers boasted full-time religion reporters, but most other newspapers had only a part-time religion reporter or editor. Following World War II, religion news moved onto the front page as secular religion stories became more popular and relevant. By 1950, religion coverage in newspapers included syndicated religious news to keep up with a growing demand for religion coverage. For the most part, religious news was locally focused, with newspapers such as *The New York Times* handling national religious news. Even so, notable religious groups were missing from this expanded coverage, including African American Christians, Muslims, Buddhists and Hindus; Buddhism and Hinduism did not make many appearances in newspapers until large numbers of people holding those faiths immigrated to the United States in the 1960s (Mason, 2012b).

A study conducted in the summer of 1981 looked at religion coverage in *The New York Times*, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*. At all three newspapers, only half of the stories were concerned with local religious news, and two of the newspapers spent more time discussing national news (Buddenbaum, 1986). In contrast, a similar study conducted during the same decade found that 93 percent of newspapers surveyed covered local religion news and 65 percent covered national religious news. Of these newspapers, 55 percent had expanded coverage on a local level, and 31 percent had expanded coverage on a national level (Hynds, 1987).

Hypotheses about the reasons for the increased religion coverage included that religion reporters were using interpretive reporting and offering more analysis. The researcher also noted that political movements, such as the Religious Right, attracted

more attention to religion coverage (Hynds, 1987). However, even though 86 percent of respondents said their religious coverage had increased during the past five years and religion stories were becoming longer, more in-depth, and more issue-oriented (Buddenbaum, 1986), more than 90 percent of editors said their religious coverage still got less attention than news, sports, or lifestyles (Hynds, 1987).

Although religion coverage increased, its focus remained on how religious beliefs came into conflict with law, rather than detailing the specific doctrines of those religions. Newspapers avoided examining Protestant, Catholic or Jewish beliefs in relation to scientific knowledge or findings. Stories revolved around religious freedom or the activities of less mainstream religious groups, such as Islam or Scientology (Romano, 1986).

Religion sections were common in major newspapers until about 2000. Then, newspaper staffs shrank, and with them, religion sections became scarce. While some newspapers do have online religion sections today, most of the content in those sections comes from readers, not professionals. Moreover, it can be difficult to find the religion news on a website. Generally, major newspapers do not have a separate tab for religion; it is relegated to the news or local section. Much of today's online religion reporting can also be found on blogs. Some newsrooms are looking to blogs as the means of aggregating religious news; websites such as the Huffington Post and CNN.com have added online religion sections as their websites have started to appeal to niche audiences. There are several differences, however, between niche online religion sections and the religion sections that formerly ran in newspapers. The online sections gather most

of their content from bloggers, and they focus more on national religion news, rather than local religious events (Mason, 2012a).

Since the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in particular, religion news has had a more global outlook and dealt with diversity of religion. Islam began to be covered more heavily in newspapers following the Iranian revolution in 1979, but, following 9/11, journalists have had to make decisions about how to cover Islam as a domestic issue rather than just a foreign one. Also after 9/11, readers do not approach religious news with the expectation that the reporting will tell them whether the beliefs are true but rather to explain how those beliefs are having an impact on the news of the day (Hoover, 2012). As of 2009, religion stories accounted for less than one percent of the newshole and, and two-thirds of stories focused on religious issues in the United States (Religion in the News, 2009). Overall, religion reporting is increasing, and it appears to be covering personal stories rather than institutional stories (Hoover, 2012).

The First Political Campaigns in which Religion became Salient for Media

The first time a political candidate's religious beliefs were a major point of discussion for newspapers in America is disputed. Some say it occurred as early as the 1928 presidential election, when New York Governor Al Smith ran for president. During this campaign, people raised the concern that electing a strongly religious president was a violation of church and state. Smith addressed this question in *Atlantic* magazine; he responded through the magazine by saying he did not intend to use his religion to govern the country. At this, newspapers that supported him ran editorials proclaiming a great victory had been won for religious tolerance. However, when Smith made speeches

calling the people who thought he should not be eligible for the presidency bigots, newspapers that were not in his favor said he was using religion as a campaign tactic to get attention (Silk, 1995).

Other authors argue political religious coverage truly began during the 1960 presidential race, when John F. Kennedy ran for president. Like Smith, Kennedy had to separate himself from his Catholic beliefs in order to get votes from Protestants and win the presidency (Silk, 1995). During the 1960 election, people voted for the people who belonged to the same religious denomination they did (Putnam & Campbell, 2010). However, unlike with Smith, newspapers did not say Kennedy was using his faith to get ahead and played a role in reducing anti-Catholic sentiments (Silk, 1995).

Other scholars contend extensive coverage of political candidates' religious beliefs did not truly start until Jimmy Carter was elected to the presidency. In the 1970s, the 13 million member Southern Baptist Convention expressed interest in taking over the Baptist denomination. One way it attempted to do this was by garnering political support. In 1976, Carter, a member of the convention, was vying for and elected to the U.S. presidency (Winston, 2007). Before Carter, candidates had tried to separate themselves from religion in order to win the presidency. In contrast, Carter was open about his status as a born-again Christian (Hoover, 1998). Because of this, millions of Americans knew what it meant to be a Christian, and the media identified Carter as an evangelical (Winston, 2007). It was during this decade that media began to make national political leaders' private lives public. (Hoover, 1998).

Framing in Journalism as it Relates to Religion Stories

Journalists tend to use recurring frames when writing stories about religion and politics. At its core, the term framing means the way a story is written and the context in which it is placed (Capella & Jamieson, 1997). Fundamentally, a frame is a theory about the way something is or the way an event occurred. In media, a frame helps both readers and journalists synthesize information in a way that makes sense. Because journalists are always dealing with details that need to be organized for readers, every story has a frame (Gitlin, 1980).

Several elements contribute to the frame of a story, including the sources in an article, how much authority each source is credited, and what arguments are given in the story. Sources are especially important because they inform the tone the article has. They also, to some extent, dictate what the most important part of the news is and what will be discussed within the article and what will not be (Lou-Coleman, 1997). When a reporter crafts a story, he or she chooses facts and words that will trigger the reader's prior knowledge about the topic and inform the assumptions he or she makes about that subject. Every frame awards importance to certain elements of a story and tries to decrease the prevalence of other elements (Capella & Jamieson, 1997).

Consequently, there are multiple frames to choose from when writing and reporting a story. Sometimes, if a reporter selects a frame before doing reporting, that frame will drive the questions the reporter asks sources (Eliasoph, 1997). Occasionally, journalists select frames for stories based on the frames other reporters have previously used to cover an issue. In this way, frames can become hegemonic, as the continually

accepted frames begin to narrow the way reporters see the world. With recurring coverage, however, frames can change depending on what happens with an issue (Gitlin, 1980).

In terms of religion and framing, media tend to be more focused on the outcome of religious belief than on the tenets of major religions. When reporting, journalists must maintain a distance from religion so as not to favor a particular set of beliefs. Therefore, religion coverage continues to be more "thematic, issue-oriented, and trend-seeking" (Silk, 1995, p. 147). In recent history, the primary news from religious groups has dealt with issues seen as a threat to "traditional family values," such as abortion and homosexuality (Silk, 1995, p. 141). Media tune in to some religious values and use them in the coverage. When they write stories about religion, journalists tackle stories using the assumptions they have about religion, such as what it is concerned with and what it should be like. Consequently, journalists use different themes — or frames — depending on what the story is about (Silk, 1995).

While there is little research about how journalists cover religion as it relates to politics, many of the studies conducted about reporting practices examine how stories have been framed. Scholars have found that, historically, coverage of political candidates' religious beliefs has been relatively shallow. It deals with the problems caused or issues raised by religion, but it fails to explore the theology behind the conflict (Heineman, 1998). This disparity could be a result of the inherent goals of media and religion: Journalism seeks to expose wrongdoing and, if necessary, incite controversy. Religion attempts to do the opposite, so the two clash. (Hoover, 1998). This is evidenced by the fact that journalists tend to ignore religious groups that do not incite controversy

(Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007). Consequently, some religion reporting does not occur because reporters do not deem what has happened news; if comments do not generate conflict, they are often glossed over (Winston, 2007). The study conducted in the summer of 1981, which looked at religion coverage in *The New York Times*, the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* and the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, found the focus of all the papers' religious coverage was Protestant or Catholic news, and the bulk of the stories were framed in terms of power struggles and did not explain or address ideologies (Buddenbaum, 1986). A recent example of journalists using conflict as a frame for religion reporting is the controversy that surrounded President Barack Obama during his 2008 run for office regarding his minister, the Reverend Jeremiah Wright of the Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago. During Obama's campaign, clips surfaced of Wright giving sermons that media picked up and framed as being racist, anti-American and anti-Christian. While media covered the content of the sermons, they did not explain the theological underpinnings driving what Wright was saying (Frank, 2009). The anger that ensued following the release of the sermons became "a media-driven controversy" (The rapture, 2009, p. 199). Consequently, media also covered Obama's speech in response to the sermons, "A More Perfect Union," which highlighted the nuances of race relations in America (The rapture, 2009). Similarly, when rumors arose during the 2008 campaign that Obama was Muslim and subsequently a less wise choice for the presidency, media outlets actually perpetuated the rumor by covering the controversy (Weeks & Southwell, 2010; Hollander, 2010).

Journalists' need to create conflict can also be seen in the way reporters force religious political candidates to share their opinions on wedge issues during campaigns

and then use them to frame coverage. For example, Mike Huckabee, a Christian, announced his candidacy for presidency on *Meet the Press* in January 2007 and was asked about statements of faith he had made. He said he did not apologize for them because his faith explains him. He also spoke about faith rather broadly, citing issues such as education and the environment in conjunction with his speech about being a man of faith. It was not Huckabee but instead the moderator who brought up abortion, which is a wedge issue. A similar scenario occurred when Huckabee was being interviewed at the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life; it was the interviewer who introduced questions about evolution (Medhurst, 2009). Because journalists search for conflict, they often miss the larger picture of what religious belief is about.

Journalists also have trouble accurately reporting political candidates' religious beliefs because they are tasked with synthesizing information, while religion is changing and becoming more complicated (Hoover, 1998). The most salient example is that journalists make connections between Democrat and Republican states and religious affiliations because it is a simple way to convey information about a complex topic (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007). Consequently, people who watch television or read a newspaper are more likely to think evangelical Christians are a political party, not a religious group (Medhurst, 2009). Obviously, this overlooks detail and provides an incorrect picture (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007).

How Political Candidates' Religious Beliefs have been Covered

Reporters lack understanding about the depth of religious differences among the same types of religions (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007) and about religion's role in

political rhetoric (Winston, 2007). There are several historical examples to corroborate this point. This phenomenon was evident in 1977, when secular media did not understand the theological and ideological differences among social conservatives and consequently called Christian conservatives anti-Semites and said they were racist. Because of this, journalists had trouble analyzing what was really going on politically (Heineman, 1998). Another example of this is Pat Robertson's 1988 presidential campaign. In this campaign, Robertson made his Christian religious beliefs so overt they could not be neglected by media. Consequently, the press treated it as if it were unusual for someone to have faith that strong. A similar scenario occurred when Carter talked about being "born again" during his presidential campaign. Journalists did not understand the concept of being "born again" and subsequently wrote about it as if it were an oddity, even though about 40 percent of the population in 1989 said it was also "born again" (Wills, 1990). More recently, during the 2008 election, journalists ignored what was really going on religiously in the campaign and used prospective candidates' religions to create interesting headlines, for example, talking about Mitt Romney's "Mormon problem" (Winston, 2007).

Another reason journalists often do not know how to handle reporting on political candidates' religious beliefs is because journalists are usually different from people who are religious. Many evangelicals are less educated, and journalists often operate with an elitist mentality (Wills, 1990). It has been argued that, since the 1970s, members of the media have become more liberal because most journalists are college graduates. For example, in 1972, America had the most elite group of journalists in America's history in terms of education. At that time, 75 percent approved of homosexuality, 82 percent

approved of abortion and 50 percent did not think adultery was wrong. Similarly, it has also been argued that journalists' definition of morality is different from religious conservatives' definition; some scholars go as far as arguing that Carter made journalists uncomfortable because he was moral and they were not (Heineman, 1998).

Morality aside, today, journalists also tend to be less religious and more politically liberal than the average American. Because they have issues with religion, they shy away from covering it (Hoover, 1998). Despite this definitive stance, there is some evidence to contradict this point. In a study of major newspapers that covered religion, the researcher found that, of the religion editors surveyed, 50 percent said they had qualifications beyond church membership for writing about religion; of those, one-third took religion courses in college, and 20 percent held a master's degree in religion (Hynds, 1987). Even so, it appears that journalists overall are more secular than is the majority of the American population.

Because many journalists do not understand the nuances of religion, they often make a point to be as objective as possible with their religious coverage; however, this has the effect of making it appear as though they are endorsing the religious message the candidate is sending. Religion reporting has been influenced by the idea that journalists feel free to ask whatever questions they choose, but they have also respected the notion of religious tolerance. Consequently, in a quest for objectivity, reporters are often nervous to probe into the topic of religion for fear they will be unable to conduct a neutral study (Hoover & Clark, 2002). For example, during the 2000 presidential election, George Bush named Jesus Christ as his favorite philosopher during a debate. The press did not know how to handle that response and did not choose to question it, so journalists just

reported what Bush said; whether or not they intended to, this legitimized what Bush was saying. Even when Bush started tying religious ideas into his campaign in an unprecedented way, journalists just took notes. They had trouble understanding what was happening and thought they were being objective by simply parroting the candidate's responses (Winston, 2007). This also occurred during Huckabee's quest for the presidency. In news articles where Huckabee's religion was addressed, the reporters, even if they offered analysis about his political platforms, used huge quotations to let Huckabee explain his religious beliefs in his own words. The journalists systematically avoiding dealing with that part of his platform (Medhurst, 2009).

Need for Further Research

Despite the lack of literature about how political candidates' religious beliefs are reported, the intersection of religion, politics and the media cannot be ignored. Religion and politics are no longer separate entities (Wuthnow, 1991), and media play a role in how their relationship is understood; today, people in America think politics are determined by religion because of the way the media portray the situation (Wald & Calhoun-Brown, 2007).

The importance of religion reporting as it relates to political candidates' religious beliefs has been and will continue to be evident. As journalists continue to tackle this complex subject, it is crucial to monitor how often they choose to use wedge issues as a frame to introduce conflict in their coverage and as a tool to summarize a candidate's religious beliefs.

Analysis Component: Research Question

To that end, this research is driven by one question: How often and to what extent did reporters use wedge issues to frame coverage of Rick Santorum's Catholicism in news articles and editorials from January through March 2012?

There is a paucity of research about how journalists report on presidential candidates' religious beliefs, let alone much quantitative research. What some scholars have learned, however, is that reporters frequently shy away from talking about religion when writing political stories. And when they do cover it, they often do not understand it well, so they turn to wedge issues — such as gay marriage, abortion and evolution — because those are topics they associate as being important to religious people, and those topics are used as the frame for the story. This research is relevant because it is descriptive and will give professionals a better idea of how they are covering the overlap between politics and religion.

This research is especially timely because former Republican vice presidential candidate Paul Ryan is also Catholic, as is Vice President Joe Biden, so journalists had to make decisions about how to or whether to write about their Catholicism during the 2012 presidential election. Interestingly, one of the major historical precedents about presidential candidates and religion was John F. Kennedy, who was also Catholic, as some people worried about the separation of church and state. Examining how Catholicism is framed today as compared with then is also important.

This topic relates to my professional skills component because it deals with the framing choices reporters make when writing. I am going to be a reporter at a newspaper

that covers politicians on a statewide and national level. Although the presidential election is finished, I am sure I will deal with the intersection of religion and politics at some point during my reporting work. Moreover, every story I write will have a frame, so understanding the impact a frame can have on how an article is understood is important.

Method

Content Analysis

To investigate this research question, this study will use a content analysis to quantitatively assess the mention of wedge issues in newspaper articles and editorials about Santorum's religion. Content analysis is a useful research tool because it is repeatable; different researchers can perform the study at different times under different conditions. Therefore, if the results prove to be consistent, the research product can be considered valid (Krippendorff, 1980). Consequently, it is a method used frequently by communication and mass media researchers when they are studying how newspapers cover a topic or issue. For example, scholars have used content analysis to examine how China is represented in Hong Kong newspapers (Chen, 2012) and how smoking bans are presented in Swiss newspapers (Schulz, Hartung, & Fiordelli, 2012). More specifically, content analysis is routinely used when researchers are examining issues of framing in newspapers; recently, scholars have employed content analysis to study how conflict in India is framed in major national newspapers (Mishra, 2011) and how immigration law is framed in California newspapers (Grimm & Andsager, 2011). Using content analysis for

this study, then, is appropriate, because the study deals with framing in major newspapers.

Sample Selection

To investigate this research question, news articles and editorials will be pulled from two major U.S. newspapers from Jan. 1 through March 31, 2012: *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, including articles and editorials that only ran on washingtonpost.com, which contains extra religious content not included in the print version of the paper. The news articles pulled from these newspapers will be authored by the paper's staff writers. The editorials pulled from these newspapers will be primarily authored by guest writers who have expertise about the subject about which they are offering their opinion or analysis. These newspapers were selected because they have a national reach, and, consequently, both covered the presidential campaign extensively. While many newspapers ran articles that made reference to Santorum's Catholicism, articles from *The New York Times* and articles from both the print and online versions of *The Washington Post* were the only major U.S. newspapers that ran multiple stories focusing on Santorum and his religion, as evidenced by a thorough archives search. Santorum received continued coverage during the primaries in 2012, so the sample was limited to articles from January 2012, when the primaries began, through March 2012, as Santorum dropped out of the presidential race in March.

Coding Procedures

The full text of each article will be read and coded by one coder after testing for intra-coder reliability. The coder will conduct a pre-test using eight articles, which amounts to close to 10 percent of the sample. Because the universe will be taken from *New York Times* and *Washington Post* print and online articles, the coder will widen the search parameters to include all major U.S. newspapers and select the first eight articles the search returns. These articles will be coded twice by the coder but a week apart, in order to test intracoder reliability and the validity of the operationalization of the dependent variables — the wedge issues. Once a reliability of .9 is achieved for each coding category, the final sample will be coded.

Each of the variables will be operationalized with multiple coding categories, counting the number of sources referencing each wedge issue in the story and the number of sentences devoted to discussing that issue. In coding, the wedge issue of abortion will be defined as any text that mentions terminating a pregnancy or a woman's right to make choices about reproduction or discusses the legality or morality of either of these actions; this could include mention of the words "abortion," "abort," or "fetus." The wedge issue of homosexuality will be defined as any text that discusses the legality or morality of homosexuality; this could include use of the words "homosexuality," "gay," "lesbian," or "queer" and the phrases "gay marriage" or "marriage equality." Finally, the wedge issue of evolution will be defined as any text that mentions the origins of human life or discusses classroom policy about teaching about the origins of life; this could include use of the words "creation," "creationism," "intelligent design" or "evolution."

Once coded, these variables will be put into SPSS, a statistical analysis software program. Chi-square goodness-of-fit tests will be run to tell whether there are relationships among the collected variables and whether those relationships are statistically significant or due to chance. These are nonparametric tests that do not make assumptions about data being normally distributed. Consequently, variables that are being measured continuously rather than categorically, such as the number of references to wedge issues, will then be categorized for the purposes of this study.

Publication Possibilities

Publication possibilities for the analysis component of this professional project include the scholarly journals *Journalism Quarterly*, *Journal of Media & Religion*, *Journal of Communication & Religion*, and *Newspaper Research Journal*.

References

- Barbaro, M. (2012, February 27). Santorum makes case for religion in public sphere. *The New York Times*, pp. 1-3. Retrieved September 15, 2012, from the Factivia database.
- Buddenbaum, J. (1986). An analysis of religion news coverage in three major newspapers. *Journalism Quarterly*, 63(3), 600-606. Retrieved October 9, 2011, from the EBSCO Host database.
- Buddenbaum, J. M., & Mason, D. L. (Eds.). (2000). *Readings on religion as news*. Ames: Iowa State University Press.
- Cappella, J. N., & Jamieson, K. H. (1997). Framing the news. *Spiral of cynicism: the press and the public good* (pp. 39-57). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chen, W. (2012). The image of China in Hong Kong media: content analysis of the coverage in three Hong Kong newspapers. *China Media Research*, 8(3), 65-71.
- Eliasoph, N. (1997). Routines and the making of oppositional news. *Social meanings of news: a text-reader* (pp. 230-254). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Frank, D. A. (2009). The prophetic voice and the face of the other in Barack Obama's "A More Perfect Union" address, March 18, 2008. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 12(2), 167-194.
- Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: mass media in the making & unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Grimm, J., & Andsager, J. L. (2011). Framing immigration: geo-ethnic context in California newspapers. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 88(4), 771-788.
- Heineman, K. J. (1998). *God is a conservative: religion, politics, and morality in contemporary America*. New York City: New York University Press.
- Hollander, B. A. (2010). Persistence in the perception of Barack Obama as a Muslim in the 2008 presidential campaign. *Journal Of Media & Religion*, 9(2), 55-66.
- Hoover, S. M. (1998). *Religion in the news: faith and journalism in American public discourse*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Hoover, S. M. (2012). Quantity, quality, and religion in the news since 9/11. In D. Winston (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of religion and the American news media* (pp. 81-92). New York: Oxford University Press.

- Hoover, S. M., & Clark, L. S. (Eds.). (2002). *Practicing religion in the age of the media explorations in media, religion, and culture*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.
- How the faithful voted. Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life. Nov. 7, 2012. <http://www.pewforum.org/Politics-and-Elections/How-the-Faithful-Voted-2012-Preliminary-Exit-Poll-Analysis.aspx>.
- Hunter, J. D. (1991). *Culture wars: the struggle to define America*. New York: BasicBooks.
- Hynds, E. (1987). Large daily newspapers have improved coverage of religion. *Journalism Quarterly*, 64(2), 444-448. Retrieved October 9, 2011, from the EBSCO Host database.
- Kraus, R. (2009). Thou shall not take the name of thy god in vain: Washington offices' use of religious language to shape public and political agendas. *Journal of Media & Religion*, 8(2), 115-137. Retrieved October 12, 2011, from the EBSCO Host database.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- Leege, D. C., & Kellstedt, L. A. (Eds.). (1993). *Rediscovering the religious factor in American politics*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Lou-Coleman, C. (1997). Science, technology and risk coverage of a community conflict. *Social meanings of news: a text-reader* (pp. 483-497). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Mason, D. L. (2012a). Religion news coverage between 1930 and 1960. In D. Winston (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of religion and the American news media* (pp. 65-79). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mason, D. L. (2012b). Religion news online. In D. Winston (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of religion and the American news media* (pp. 157-167). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Medhurst, M. J. (2009). Evangelical Christian faith and political action: Mike Huckabee and the 2008 republican presidential nomination. *Journal of Communication & Religion*, 32(2), 199-239. Retrieved October 12, 2011, from the EBSCO Host database.
- Mishra, N. (2011). Power to define: framing of Naxalites in the Indian media. *Global Media Journal: Mediterranean Edition*, 6(2), 23-35.

- Perry, M. J. (1999). *Religion in politics constitutional and moral perspectives*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Punyanunt-Carter, N. M., Corrigan, M. W., Wrench, J. S., & McCroskey, J. C. (2010). A quantitative analysis of political affiliation, religiosity, and religious-based communication. *Journal of Communication & Religion*, 33(1), 1-32. Retrieved October 12, 2011, from the EBSCO Host database.
- Putnam, R. D., & Campbell, D. E. (2010). *American grace: how religion divides and unites us*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.
- Religion in the News. (2009). The Project for Excellence in Journalism and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. <http://stateofthemediamedia.org/2010/special-reports-economic-attitudes/religion-in-the-news/>.
- Romano, C. What? Grisly truth about bare facts. In R. K. Manoff & M. Schudson (Eds.). (1986). *Reading the news: A Pantheon guide to popular culture* (pp. 38-78). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Scheufele, Dietram, Matthew Nisbet, & Dominique Brossard. Pathways to political participation? Religion, communication contexts, and mass media. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 15.3 (2003): 300-324. *Oxford Journals*. Web. 2 Oct. 2011.
- Schulz, P. J., Hartung, U., & Fiordelli, M. (2012). Do journalists' opinions affect news selection in a low-key conflict? Newspaper coverage of the discussion of smoking bans in Switzerland. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 89(3), 414-430.
- Silk, M. (1995). *Unsecular media: making news of religion in America*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Stout, D., & Buddenbaum, J. (2003). Media, religion, and "framing". *Journal of Media & Religion*, 2(1), 1-3. Retrieved October 9, 2011, from the EBSCO Host database.
- The rapture: Barack Obama, marketing and the media. (2009). *Metro*, (160), 194-201.
- Wald, K., & Calhoun-Brown, A. (2007). *Religion and Politics in the United States* (Fifth ed.). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Wald, K., & Lege, D. (2009). Culture, religion and American political life. In C. Smidt, L. Kellstedt, & J. Guth (Eds.). *The Oxford handbook of religion and American politics* (pp. 126-163). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Weeks, B., & Southwell, B. (2010). The symbiosis of news coverage and aggregate online search behavior: Obama, rumors, and presidential politics. *Mass Communication & Society*, 13(4), 341-360.
- Wilcox, C., & Fortelny, G. (2009). Religion and social movements. In C. Smidt, L. Kellstedt, & J. Guth (Eds.). *The Oxford handbook of religion and American politics* (pp. 266-298). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wills, G. (1990). *Under God: religion and American politics*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Winston, Diane. Back to the future: Religion, politics and the media. *American Quarterly* 59.3 (2007): 969-989. *Muse*. Web. 2 Oct. 2011.
- Wuthnow, R. (1991). Understanding religion and politics. *Daedalus*, 120(3), 1-20. Retrieved October 2, 2011, from the JSTOR database.

Appendix

Codebook

1. Newspaper code # (Washington Post: 1, washingtonpost.com: 2, New York Times: 3)

2. Type of article code # (editorial: 1, news article: 2)

An editorial is defined as an article that invokes the author's opinion and pushes the reader to reach a certain conclusion. A news article uses multiple interviews to present various sides of an issue and does not insert the reporter's own bias into the article.

3. Headline of article

4. Month article was published (January: 1, February: 2, March: 3)

5. Count the total number of sentences in the article, not including the headline, deck or byline.

6. Count the number of sources who are cited or interviewed to corroborate the idea that Santorum's Catholicism has an impact on how he views abortion, homosexuality or evolution. This could include quotations from Santorum.

(Fewer than five: 1, Five or more: 2)

7. Count the number of sources who are cited or interviewed who talk about Santorum's Catholicism without mentioning abortion, homosexuality, or evolution.

(Fewer than five: 1, Five or more: 2)

8. Count the number of sentences referencing abortion. This is defined as any text that mentions terminating a pregnancy or a woman's right to make choices about reproduction or discusses the legality or morality of either of these actions. This could include mention of the words "abortion," "abort," or "fetus." (Fewer than five: 1, Five or more: 2)

9. Count the number of sentences referencing homosexuality. This is defined as any text that mentions homosexuality or discusses the legality or morality of homosexuality; this could include use of the words "homosexuality," "gay," "lesbian," or "queer" and the phrases "gay marriage" or "marriage equality." (Fewer than five: 1, Five or more: 2)

10. Count the number of sentences referencing evolution. This is defined as any text that mentions the origins of human life or discusses classroom policy about teaching about the origins of life; this could include use of the words "creation," "creationism," "intelligent design" or "evolution." (Fewer than five: 1, Five or more: 2)

On-site supervisor agreement and resume

Nov. 3, 2012

I agree to serve as on-site supervisor for Alison Matas while she completes her professional project at The Baltimore Sun from Jan. 21 through April 12.

While Alison is at The Baltimore Sun, she will work full time as a reporter for the newspaper on the metro desk. Her duties will include general assignment shifts and breaking news coverage on the crime and courts team. Because she will be completing her professional project, we will also focus on finding enterprise and investigative projects that will allow her to make her mark at the paper.

As her supervisor, I will edit her stories, offer feedback and be available should she have questions or need help. I also agree to remain in contact with her committee chair, Debra Mason, to keep her apprised about Alison's performance during the course of her project.

I have attached a copy of my resume.

Sincerely,
Andy Rosen
Crime & Courts Editor
The Baltimore Sun
410.332.6874

922 St. Paul Street, Apt. 3R
Baltimore, MD 21202

Andy Rosen

(443) 286-8330
andyrosen44@gmail.com

Summary

- I am a versatile newsroom contributor with editing vision, digital skills and management strength.

Relevant Experience

The Baltimore Sun

Crime & Courts Editor, 2010-present

- Managing a staff of six reporters covering criminal justice in a city that continues to be plagued by drugs and violence. I assign, edit and pitch stories, then promote them online. All staff on my desk for a full year have seen page-one bylines increase.
- Launched Sun Investigates blog, highlighting our watchdog role and sharing the results of our inquiries. It is one of our best-read local news blogs, and contributions fill a half-page on Sunday. I am also responsible for encouraging the use of public information requests around the newsroom
- Supervising the news operation on Saturdays, handling breaking news and live features for the Sunday edition. I am also the primary online editor on Saturdays, managing the homepage of baltimoresun.com, analyzing traffic and working to place breaking national stories produced by other Tribune Company properties.
- In a previous role managing coverage of the vibrant, high-readership Baltimore suburbs, I was responsible for coordination of local coverage between multiple properties owned by The Sun, and worked to prevent duplication of effort and ensure efficient, robust reporting.

WYPR (Baltimore, MD)

On-air Political Analyst, 2008-present

- Making regular appearances to discuss political issues around at Maryland's NPR news station.

MarylandReporter.com (Annapolis, MD)

Associate Editor, 2009-2010

- Hired as second in command to help launch a news site that focuses specifically on Maryland government and politics, the the first online-only publication with press credentials at the State House.
- Responsibilities included editing, reporting, content management, social media promotion and multimedia production. Responsible for most technical issues, including oversight of web development contractor, coding, page design and layout.

The Daily Record (Baltimore, MD)

Senior Business Writer, 2006-2009

- Staffed the State House bureau in Annapolis, covering state government and politics, energy, finance and real estate at this statewide business and legal paper.
- Played a leading role in developing online content, and launched the paper's first individual blog.

Brattleboro Reformer (Brattleboro, VT)

Reporter, 2005-2006

- Covered state and local politics, land use, development, education, human interest, cops, courts and business at this newspaper with the third-largest circulation in the state.

Skills

- Understanding of HTML, CSS, content management systems, online analytics and general office/production software. Experience using database and spreadsheet software to assist in reporting. Working knowledge of JavaScript and libraries. Photography and Photoshop training. Use of FOIA and state public information laws.

Education

University of Massachusetts Amherst - B.A., Journalism (2005)

University of Baltimore - Certificate, Digital Media Production (expected completion 2012)

- This program provides an understanding of front-end and interaction design. It also gives students experience developing requirements for new online products, evaluating user needs and finding areas for improvement in existing systems.