



Life Matters Journal

V. 7, ISSUE 5 — NOVEMBER 2019

*"Don't look
back you're
not going
that way."*

THIS ISSUE'S THEME:

Life After Roe

LETTER FROM THE EDITOR

Dear Readers,

As autumn progresses toward winter, many Consistent Life Ethic and traditional pro-life organizations and individuals are planning not only for the various upcoming holidays but also for the March for Life in January in Washington, D.C., and other local marches around the same time. The March for Life has been happening since 1974, the year after the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court decision decriminalized abortion. Especially with recent changes to the Supreme Court and laws against abortion from several states making their way slowly into higher courts, many in the movement are hopeful that the need for the March for Life will soon come to an end, with the overturn of *Roe v. Wade*. This would indeed be a great victory, but it also raises many important questions. What will our country look like when abortion is no longer, as the saying goes, “the law of the land?” What changes will we still need to make to ensure the dignity of all human life is respected? Where should we direct the energy, resources and political power that had been going toward this great legislative effort, once it is accomplished?



Questions like these are the theme of this issue, “Life After *Roe*.” The pieces collected here explore how this possible sea change in American law would influence various life issues. Jessica Vozella explores how the prospect of *Roe* being overturned might deepen political and ideological divides, and examines ways of maintaining civility in the midst of this cultural shift. Lauren Handy details the intersectional and community-based efforts that could help change the culture along with the law. And Rehumanize International Executive Director Aimee Murphy outlines a restorative justice-based approach to illegal abortions. I hope these and other pieces in this issue can inspire you to continue in the sorts of work that will still be needed — indeed, will be needed even more urgently — in our hoped-for world without *Roe*.

Yours for life, peace, and justice,

Kelly Matula

This journal is dedicated to the aborted, the bombed, the executed, the euthanized, the abused, the raped, and all other victims of violence, whether that violence is legal or illegal.

We have been told by our society and our culture wars that those of us who oppose these acts of violence must be divided. We have been told to take a lukewarm, halfway attitude toward the victims of violence. We have been told to embrace some with love while endorsing the killing of others.

We reject that conventional attitude, whether it's called Left or Right, and instead embrace a consistent ethic of life toward all victims of violence. We are *Life Matters Journal*, and we are here because politics kills.

Disclaimer

The views presented in this journal do not necessarily represent the views of all members, contributors, or donors. We exist to present a forum for discussion within the Consistent Life Ethic, to promote discourse and present an opportunity for peer-review and dialogue.

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Supreme Court to Take Abortion Case

By Herb Geraghty

The Supreme Court recently announced that they will be taking up a case that concerns the abortion issue. The case has been brought forward by June Medical Services and deals with a 2014 Louisiana law that requires doctors performing abortions to have admitting privileges at nearby hospitals in case of medical emergency.

Representative Katrina Jackson, a Democrat, introduced the original bill in question. Jackson has said about her proposal, “If you are going to perform abortions in the state of Louisiana, you’re going to do so in a safe environment and in a safe manner that offers women the optimal protection and care of their bodies.”¹

I had the pleasure of hearing some of Rep. Jackson’s lecture at the 2019 Rehumanize Conference last month where she spoke about the importance of being pro-life for the whole life. While she was speaking about her work to expand Medicaid and enact groundbreaking criminal justice reform in her state, she also stressed the necessity of protecting both prenatal children and their mothers. About her bill that has been taken up by the court, Jackson said, “Abortion clinics were the only clinics in Louisiana that didn’t have to have admitting privileges. The Louisiana law requires all clinics where you perform any surgeries, no matter how minor, for the physicians to have admitting privileges.”² Unsurprisingly, the abortion lobby and their allies quickly mounted a campaign to oppose these health and safety regulations that could cut into their profits.

In fact the state of Louisiana is challenging the June Medical Services with a cross-petition. Several pro-life groups have already filed briefs in support of the law, including Americans United for Life. Their President, Catherine Glenn Foster, has said, “Americans United for Life welcomes the Supreme Court’s decision to review both the common sense Louisiana admitting privileges law and the legal question whether an abortionist should be able to stand in the shoes of his patients to challenge a medical requirement that is designed to protect them from him. Louisiana’s long and sordid history of dirty and dangerous abortion businesses being shuttered one by one in order to protect women from fly-by-night and dangerous abortionists should tell the Court all it needs to know, both about the legal benefits of this law and the dubious right of abortionists to sue to overturn laws designed to protect their own patients.”³

While this case is unlikely to actually overturn *Roe v. Wade* or allow for any further bans on abortion, it is still a good sign that the

Supreme Court is willing to take up this issue. If the Court allows the law to go into effect, it has the potential to shut down several abortion clinics in Louisiana who refuse to meet the state’s proposed safety regulations, and this could lead other states to attempt to close clinics through similar means.

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Discourse Distracts from Imagining A Post-*Roe* World

By Jessica Vozella

Ofentimes, just uttering the word “abortion” causes the room to tense, arm hairs to raise, and people to grow quiet. Usually that is the start, followed by a defensive and aggressive “conversation” that grows progressively louder and more personal, full of accusations and fear. When abortion is discussed, it usually hits close to home, as many people have been affected by the issue and know someone who has been faced with this decision. The subject is not easily held at a merely theoretical standpoint; instead it is firmly rooted in personal experience and values. Today, just as real and deeply believed as people’s opinions, there exists a fear that this so-called “right” will be taken away.

For some, the idea of *Roe v. Wade* being overturned, or of abortion laws being overturned or restrictions being enacted in countries outside the US, causes a feeling of relief or triumph, but for others, the idea causes panic and anger to bubble faster than for many other issues. If it is brought up, it is nearly impossible to discuss, as today’s discourse has created a conversation that is not only uncomfortable — leaving the participants feeling judged, victimized, or otherwise shaken up — but is also dangerous for the future of women’s health and society as a whole. This is especially true if the landmark abortion decision is reversed. If this subject cannot be approached from different angles on a foundation of peace, equality, and mutuality, it becomes impossible to imagine a world after *Roe v. Wade* and similar international laws, and it often feels that people are so rooted in

fear or anger that they refuse to even consider what consequences this decision would create.

The issues that face society, and especially women in society, in regards to unplanned pregnancies have not gone away with the federal legalization of abortion. If that were to be true, the issue would have ceased to be such a hotly contested subject. In fact, many would agree that even a world in which abortions are “free and on demand” as some advocates desire, would not eliminate the troubles plaguing society. And that is because abortion is a (problematic) band-aid on a problem, not a solution. However, instead of acknowledging that fact and working for change, today’s discourse is hostile, rather than a peaceful discussion of similarities in concern for women’s health, choices, and dignity. Because it has

The issues that face society, and especially women in society, in regards to unplanned pregnancies have not gone away with the federal legalization of abortion.

become impossible to work on both sides of this issue, any thought that legally supported abortion could become a thing of the past, through the overturn of *Roe v. Wade* or through other legislation internationally, causes a state of confusion, fear, and panic for many. However, as we are reminded in the news, the overturning of this decision is not simply a fantasy of pro-life activists, it is a political possibility. It is essential to learn to dialogue in order to imagine a world where this violence is no longer necessary, and each person is

cared for with the same dignity and respect they deserve.

Due to the current divisive political climate, especially here in the U.S., it is important to remember that abortion is not purely a partisan issue, as many people think. Large portions of both the

Republican and Democratic Party, as well as many other political groups, disagree on the legality and morality of abortion. However, it is not often portrayed as such. In fact, politics has become a make-it-or-break-it subject amongst many people, often leading to character judgments and morality conclusions based on knowledge of someone's voting record. If people continue to write each other off based merely on their *perceived* political opinions, especially without understanding the complex backgrounds of the people forming those opinions, a gap grows and common ground is difficult to reach. In the abortion debate, the idea that legal abortion would no longer be federally guaranteed terrifies many people because there is no space to calmly talk about what other services and efforts would be in place to solve the issues abortion is thought to remedy. For example, many community organizations are already providing services in health clinics and support centers around the country, yet the staunch defense of abortion creates a rhetoric that seeks to discredit such centers, because acknowledging their good work would be perceived as some sort of retreat. A common-ground would involve meeting in the middle and acknowledging that the services provided are meeting a true need in the community and amongst women that abortion is simply not addressing in an effective or peaceful way.

This incendiary subject conceals a shared interest, which essentially is honoring a person's dignity, even if it is not evidently visible to members of the opposite camp. Proponents for abortion are concerned about the dignity and life of women who become pregnant. Those in opposition to it desire to protect both woman and children from violence. Both groups have had their share of insults, judgements, and critiques thrown about, often in nasty and unproductive ways. This type of discourse creates a divide that forgets the crucial work that can be done in the middle, in the common ground, and thus creates a hysteria that equates *Roe v. Wade's* reversal — and similar legislation that might follow if pro-life groups worldwide are inspired by that outcome — to no reproductive rights, no bodily autonomy, and no options. This perspective is easily disseminated and believed, but is harmful for those actually affected by the issue, leaving women to believe that their freedom is tied up with the legal decision.

What is not being said is that both abortion proponents and opponents want women to have options, health, and dignity. And for the most part, abortion is not the preferred option in either camp, though this idea cannot often be vocalized by abortion proponents. Therefore, comprehensive women's healthcare, one that is not driven by an industry profiting off of abortions, ought to be a mutual desire for those with a voice in the debate. Better parental work leave, childcare support, sexual education, and many other worthy efforts to keep women, couples, and families supported in times of crisis pregnancies are all common grounds that people can agree on if they can bear the uncomfortable risk to bridge the gap and put out the flames of judgement, attack, and blame. It is only then that the words "*Roe v. Wade*" and "overturned" will not strike fear in the hearts of well-meaning people in America and abroad, and we can move forward as a nation toward a less violent, thriving future.





Myths and Truths About Foster Care

By Stephanie Hauer

In theory, foster care is a great idea. It connects generous and caring families with children in need. In practice, however, it doesn't always work that way. From misconceptions about its purpose to logistic complications to shortcomings in its execution, the foster care system is riddled with pitfalls. Pro-choice advocates will use this as justification for abortion. They claim aborting a child who might end up in foster care is merciful because it prevents a child's suffering. But ending a child's life in the womb is not mercy; it is murder. No child should be killed because of the circumstances they may face later in life. Instead of ignoring the problems with foster care, we should address them. All children deserve to live in loving homes that set them up for success.

There are several pervasive myths about foster care. Here are a few of the most common ones.

Foster care children are always out-of-control, problematic, irreparably damaged, or even dangerous.

This narrative reduces all children in the foster care system to a single story. It is a stereotype, which is automatically dehumanizing. Each child in the foster care system is unique. They have their own story and their own needs. Some of them may have more behavioral issues than others. It is important to remember that children are usually placed in the foster care system because of the actions

of others, not themselves. The issues they have are usually rooted in trauma or other mental health concerns and can be addressed quite effectively. Rather than a fearful reaction, these children need a loving family that supports them with care and structure.

Children who were in foster care are unemployable and won't make anything of themselves.

While it is true that half of foster youth will be unemployed within four years of aging out of the foster care system, it's not because of any innate limitations.¹ These children typically have not had access to the stability, resources, and mentorship that can make all the difference in job placement. Thankfully, there are numerous agencies and organizations that offer those types of resources to foster youth to help get them on track.

Foster care and adoption are pretty much the same thing.

Foster care is designed to help children on a temporary basis who need to be placed with a different family for a finite length of time. This can be because of abuse, neglect, substance use or health issues in the home, or many other reasons. Foster care is meant to be temporary. In fact, the average foster placement is 20 months.²

Adoption is the permanent welcoming of a child into a new family. It means that their adoptive parents take on full legal guardianship and responsibility for the child, and it is not meant to be a temporary placement. When these two concepts are misconstrued, the parents may not be adequately prepared for the placement at hand. This increases the chances of a child getting moved around to multiple different families.

The more foster kids you take in, the more money you can mooch off the government.

When a child is placed with a foster family, the parents receive a stipend to help cover the costs incurred. However, that stipend only covers the absolute basic necessities, like food and clothing. Based on most families' spending patterns, the stipend only covers about half of the cost of raising a child.¹ While there is some financial compensation, it is not significant enough to work as a "get rich quick" scheme.

You have to be in a "traditional" relationship to foster children.

It's a common misconception that potential foster families need to be in heterosexual marriages with their own home and high incomes to be eligible for a placement. While being straight used to be a requirement for fostering or adoption, that's changed over time. There are increased legal protections in various states to prevent discrimination against potential foster parents based on their sexual orientation or gender identity.³

The system is designed in an inherently flawed way and it can never be fixed.

It is undeniable that the foster care system has problems. While it is meant to be a short term solution, it often is not. Some children get moved from placement to placement to placement. They never get to feel securely attached to any one setting, and they don't get to utilize resources consistently. Up to 70% of these frequent changes occur not because of the child's needs, but because the placement didn't fully comply with regulations and must be adjusted.⁴ Other times, children are moved because their original placements' parents couldn't provide for the child's needs. This constant shuffling inhibits the child's ability to form secure attachments, and may affect their emotional and social development.⁴

Children who age out of the system without a secure family placement often struggle. Some of them become instantly homeless. Studies have shown that young adults leaving the foster care system become prime targets for human trafficking.⁴ Clearly, our system is failing these kids. It is putting them in dangerous situations without the skills and connections needed to survive. But it doesn't have to stay this way.

The people involved in caring for these young people's lives need more help. They need the budget allocation to be trained correctly and provide adequately for the children in their care. The social workers who are making the decisions need to make appropriate placements from the start to avoid shuffling children from family to family. The parents who are opening their homes to children

need to be fully educated on how to care for their newly placed children so that no more kids get sent away for being too challenging. If more families were encouraged to adopt, both inside and outside the foster care system, it would open up permanent homes for children who need them. This would, in turn, open up more temporary homes for foster placements.

Though injecting the system with more money would help a lot, spreading awareness and accurate expectations can also be immensely effective. If foster parents understand better what they're getting into, they can provide quality care for their children. If social workers can listen to a child's needs and learn more about their unique situation, they can place the child in a family setting that is most effective for them. And if every person involved in the care of foster children is reminded of how rewarding the work is, they can renew their sense of motivation to rehumanize the children in need and care for them as unique persons.

Lauren and Joey opened their home to their first foster children just a few months ago. When asked what fostering means to her, Lauren had the following to say:

"I think it's really rewarding. [It can be] frustrating, but it makes the milestones that much sweeter. Like when A* came to us, she wasn't defiant, or a trying [child], but she had issues with lying and manipulation. I've been awestruck with how she's changed, just in four months, how much she's grown. She feels comfortable talking to us about her feelings now and will just outright ask for something when she wants it, instead of trying to manipulate us by telling us she loves us or something."⁵

Opening one's home to a foster child comes with challenges, but with resilience and compassion, it can be a beautiful experience.

**The child's name has been changed and abbreviated to preserve full anonymity.*

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2. "Myths About Fostering You Probably Believe: 'All About Fostering' Part 3." Not the Mama Dad Blog, June 11, 2019. <https://not-the-mama.com/2019/06/04/myths-about-fostering-you-probably-believe-all-about-fostering-part-3/>.
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5. Lauren interviewed by Stephanie Hauer of Rehumanize International on September 15, 2019.



Two Narratives, One Truth: Crisis Pregnancy Centers

By Christy Yao

Centers that help women facing an unplanned pregnancy, often called “Crisis Pregnancy Centers”, seem like a pretty uncontroversial idea. Who wouldn’t want to help a woman in need and the child within her womb? Even if one thinks abortion isn’t unethical and should remain an option for women, surely the pro-choice side would want a woman to have the choice to keep her child, despite emotional or financial need. So wouldn’t even pro-choice organizations support CPCs? Not always.

NARAL Pro-Choice America has run multiple campaigns against Crisis Pregnancy Centers. In their article “The Truth About Crisis Pregnancy Centers”, NARAL states “the anti-choice movement has for years tried to restrict, control, and manipulate the information women facing unplanned pregnancies receive. To do so, they have built a national network of anti-choice organizations, some of them posing as comprehensive health-care clinics — called “crisis pregnancy centers” (CPCs)”. In the article, CPCs are then called “storefronts” that “lure” women in with misleading advertising and free pregnancy tests. NARAL then claims that women are forced to sit and watch pro-life films and “hear biased lectures”. Though NARAL does admit that some CPCs do provide support and information for people facing an unplanned pregnancy, they claim many centers share a common misleading goal and unethical practices. NARAL then tells in shocked tones about how pro-life centers won’t refer women to abortion providers. The article goes on to say that although CPCs do offer legitimate ultrasounds, they are used to shame and coerce women. Centers are criticized for calling themselves “women’s organizations” and saying they offer “options”. They complain that CPCs specifically want to help African American and Hispanic women. In particular, NARAL criticizes how Women’s Choice Network in Pittsburgh wants to help leaders in local communities to help their own members, instead of having people outside the community swoop in.¹

NARAL’s conspiracy theory about CPCs doesn’t hold up too well. One would be hard-pressed to figure out how one forces a woman to sit down and watch pro-life films or hear lectures. In a similar way, it is quite confusing how an ultrasound, in NARAL’s

own words a “diagnostic tool”¹ could be used to shame a woman. It is quite concerning how NARAL criticizes CPCs for trying to help African American and Hispanic women. NARAL’s criticism of Pittsburgh’s Women’s Choice Network is confusing and concerning, as it seems quite logical and ethical to help leaders improve their own communities, rather than tell the community how they should act and what they should do.

Care-Net, one of the largest networks of pregnancy centers in America, paints a very different picture of Crisis Pregnancy Centers, a term which they claim is outdated. Care-Net says that since not all women who are looking for assistance are necessarily in “crisis”, many centers will call themselves pregnancy resource centers, pregnancy care centers, or just pregnancy centers. Services include pregnancy decision coaching, free pregnancy tests, material resources, relationship and marriage support, and post-decision support, including parent education and post-abortive groups. Some centers offer medical services including consultations, ultrasounds, and STD testing.

Care-Net addresses many of the concerns people might have about pregnancy centers. They note the criticism that many centers, including their own, have religious affiliations. Their response is that many hospitals and nonprofits have religious affiliations as well, but no one doubts their intentions or credentials. Care-Net also replies to the criticism that they are often located around the same area as abortion clinics by saying that they are serving similar populations. This would be true even if pregnancy centers were not trying to dissuade women from having abortions. If a pizza parlor and a salad shop were around the same area, no one would accuse the salad shop of trying to dissuade people from having pizza. People would probably praise the salad shop for offering the neighborhood healthier options. In terms of the criticism that they do not specifically advertise the fact that they do not offer abortion or refer for abortion, Care-Net simply asks: where else do people advertise what they do not do? Going back to our previous example, the salad shop would not advertise they do not sell pizza. They might say they offer healthy meals, but they wouldn’t say that they specifically do not sell junk food. To address the concern of pregnancy centers not making women feel comfortable and pressuring them, Care-Net did a survey on whether women who visited their centers had a positive experience. In 2013, 98.7% said they did, as well as 97% in 2014 and 97.7% in 2015.²

Pregnancy Centers are much-needed resources for women facing a crisis pregnancy. They are something both pro-life and pro-choice people can get behind. All pregnancy centers should be held to a high standard, with an emphasis on always making themselves better for all women.

Notes

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A Just Response to Illegal Abortion

By Aimee Murphy

“Hey hey! Ho ho! *Roe v. Wade* has got to go!”

It’s probably the most common chant that a random passerby is likely to hear while walking by Constitution Ave. on January 24, 2020 — or any other instance of Marches for Life past. Nearly 47 years ago, the Supreme Court handed down one of the most unjust decisions of our nation’s history. In one fell swoop, seven men struck down state laws banning the violent homicide of abortion that has since taken the lives of more than 60 million children.

And now, it seems that the culture is at a proverbial tipping point: with a change in Supreme Court Justices and several pieces of anti-abortion legislation headed towards higher appeals, it seems more and more like abortion could be seen for the violence that it is by the highest court in the land. Whether that results in the courts simply sending the decision back to the states or declaring abortion an assault to human rights and decreeing it illegal, as pro-life people, we must be committed to more than the simple question of legality.

When we ponder the question of “how should a pro-life culture respond to illegal abortion?”, there are many aspects to consider. First and foremost, I believe that a pro-life culture must begin with a foundational premise and understanding of our shared, inherent human dignity. Indeed, why would we want to make abortion illegal except because it is a violence against a human being and an affront to their dignity? There are many things that my morality speaks to that I do not desire that people would do, but ultimately, I believe that the law’s primary purpose should be to first protect humans from aggressive violence, because our shared dignity demands it.

This dignity is something that is inalienable: we do not earn it, we cannot lose it. We don’t get it only after reaching a certain age, nor do we lose it by committing wrongs. This dignity is something inherent in us from the moment we first live, part of simply being human. Therefore, this is a dignity that the preborn child and their parents and the abortionist and the sidewalk advocate all share in

common. So when we talk about how our laws should respond to illegal abortion in a culture of life, we must begin here, at our first principles.

A necessary part of this search for a just answer to illegal abortion requires starting at square one and asking *what is justice?*

DEFINING JUSTICE

Some dictionary definitions of “justice” read simply “just behavior or treatment,” with a thesaurus list including “fairness,” “equity,” “impartiality,” “honesty,” and “righteousness.” But all of these words mean different things and don’t on an individual level cut to the heart of what justice is, though I would consider them closely related. What I’ve colloquially heard as the definition of justice is “To give one what is their due.”

I do want to mention that the specific realm of justice which we will be addressing today is not so much in the vein of social justice and distribution of goods so much as it is “criminal” justice in response to a wrong committed. The two, however, are connected inasmuch as they both relate back to the definition, “to give one what is their due.”

Let’s say that we acknowledge that the justice system has the responsibility to protect rights, to act in fairness, to act in impartiality and righteousness. I think that, in a model that values human beings for their intrinsic worth, justice and mercy are so inextricably linked that to tear them apart would be to act contrary to human dignity, and doing so would be contrary to authentic justice. But why?

Let’s look at our moral foundation — a moral and ethical foundation should be transferable to nearly any ethical situation, so in a question of criminal justice, it’s vital to go back to that solid underpinning. In the Consistent Life Ethic realm, I like to put forth a model of Personalism, which is, in brief: “To respect the inherent dignity of each and every person — human beings, as beings with rational nature, are persons — as the central value of all moral action.” When we look at justice as serving the person (and each and

every person!) then we understand that mercy must go hand in hand: when violence is off the table because we understand that each and every human being has inherent, intrinsic, immutable dignity, then mercy is indispensable.

THE RETRIBUTIVE JUSTICE MODEL IS DEHUMANIZING

Our nation has one of the most harsh and inhumane justice systems in the world. According to the U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, an estimated 6,613,500 persons were in U.S. adult correctional systems as of December 31, 2016.¹ Over 2 million of those people were incarcerated, representing about 4% of the U.S. population — and the highest known rate of incarceration in the world.² Our system and our culture often sees incarceration as an end in itself: for the sake of punishment alone. But as we have heard from those “on the inside”, prisons act like “Crime University” and (according to the Pew Center) recidivism rates are regrettably around 43%.³ The system isn’t one that seems to be either aimed at or especially successful at rehabilitation and restoration.

An especially dehumanizing aspect of the U.S. system lies in mandatory minimum sentences. These mandatory minimum sentences are regulated and set by Congress, not judges, and they require automatic minimum prison terms after convictions for certain crimes. According to the organization Families Against Mandatory Minimums, “Most mandatory minimum sentences apply to drug offenses, but Congress has also enacted them for other crimes, including certain gun, pornography, and economic offenses. As an example of a mandatory minimum sentence, under federal law, selling 28 grams of crack cocaine triggers a minimum sentence of five years in prison. And if you’re caught selling 280 grams of crack, you’ll face a minimum of 10 years behind bars even if the judge does not think you need such a long sentence.”⁴

The retributive model of justice that we have been raised with is based on a statist, impersonal model that views all crimes as essentially “breaking the King’s peace,” instead of as harms against another individual.⁵ You heard that correctly: our crimes are not treated as against other human beings, but against the state, against the phantasmagoric government. It’s the state acting as though they own us, instead of respecting our personal value. This model is inherently anti-personal, because instead of seeking to repair relationships between the offender and the offended, instead of acknowledging that one party has harmed another, the state comes in and acts like all the harm committed was done solely against them. The needs of the offended party really don’t come into the picture.

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE IS REHUMANIZING

But when we seek to find a model of justice that is based on Personalism, that is focused on the life and dignity of every person, what are we looking for? To give one what is their due in a Personalist justice system would be not to seek revenge, but to both respect the needs and dignity of the offender and the offended — to repair harms, make amends, and seek the good of all parties. So what should the goals of a justice system be, according to a Personalist model?

- 1) Recognize and acknowledge legitimate grievance.
- 2) Make amends for loss or damage whenever possible.

- 3) Reduce recidivism.
- 4) Be reasonably uniform.
- 5) Establish trust in the legal system and in the given community.

A system of justice ought to be based in the inherent dignity of the human person — the dignity of both the offender and the offended. We should seek a model that makes amends and seeks to generate positive outcomes rather than preferring to ensure a balance of harm.

COUNTERING DEHUMANIZING RHETORIC AGAINST WOMEN

I’ve talked about restorative justice and why we as people who value and uphold human dignity should pursue this model. But, you might be asking: why, in particular, is it crucial for people who want to end abortion to promote this model?

You might recall Donald Trump saying that he thinks that women who have abortions “should be punished.”⁶ Or maybe you heard the story about Bob Nonini, a candidate for lieutenant governor of Idaho, who nodded when asked if he would support the death penalty for the crime of abortion.⁷ Or perhaps you recall the news story about conservative writer Kevin Williamson, who was fired from his position at *The Atlantic* for saying, “I would totally go with treating (abortion) like any other crime up to and including hanging — which kind of, as I said, I’m kind of squishy about capital punishment in general, but I’ve got a soft spot for hanging as a form of capital punishment. I tend to think that things like lethal injection are a little too antiseptic.”⁸ Some conservative leaders are calling Williamson’s firing “chilling” and are calling his perspective “mainstream” pro-life. The pro-life movement shouldn’t be calling his perspective “mainstream pro-life.” Not only because his particular views about abortion and capital punishment aren’t widely held, but also because supporting the *death penalty* for abortion is contrary to the nonviolent principle of the pro-life movement.

Of course, while these propositions from Nonini and Williamson are for the day in the future when abortion is made illegal, this is something that we need to be talking about *now*. Every action that we take helps build the future; so if we want to see a pro-life world, we need to be building it up bit by bit in the here and now. At Re-humanize International, we oppose the death penalty categorically, regardless of the crime of the perpetrator. We know that violence doesn’t end violence, it extends it. We know that further violence just passes on trauma and oppression — that the death penalty doesn’t “unkill” a victim, nor does it deter crime.⁹ But especially in the case of abortion, where there is often cultural, familial, social, and financial coercion and abuse, we need to be advocates not for further violence and retribution, but for restoration.

As we’ve discussed already, our current justice system seeks retribution. Our current justice system is broken: it disproportionately targets and convicts people of color, and prisons exploit incarcerated people and treat them with inhumanity. This is not a system that upholds human dignity. In a restorative model, we acknowledge that violence creates a rift between the offender and the offended, and between the offender and the community. We should not seek to further dis-integrate our human community through the continued harms against the offender of further violence, of inhumane incarceration, or of “an eye for an eye”. We should see crime as an

injustice against individuals. We do not “belong” to the state — they do not own us. We should seek instead the re-integration of the offender to the community, to make our community as whole as is possible; to respect the dignity of all.

I want to see a pro-life movement that rejects violence and retribution as a “solution.” I want to see a pro-life movement that seeks to restore community where violence has broken that bond. I want to see a pro-life movement that includes restorative justice plans in every piece of legislation that would restrict or ban abortion.

I think that if the pro-life movement embraces this restorative model after abortion, it will not only be a living testament to our foundational principles of our shared human dignity, but will also demonstrate a central, necessary compassion in the effort to abolish abortion. We should always approach those whom have had abortions with compassion, but this compassion does not prohibit us from protecting the most defenseless of all: the preborn. We can stand for the dignity of all — we don’t have to choose between a pregnant person and their preborn child. Refuse to accept a paradigm that pits certain humans against others: love them both. We can stand for justice and still stand by the central idea that every human being, by the mere fact that they are human, deserves to live free from violence.

EXAMPLES OF RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

Now, you may be wondering, where does this idea of restorative justice come from? And what does it look like? Well, it has been seen in history in bits and pieces, all the way back to 2050 BC, in the Code of Ur-Nammu, the oldest surviving law code still in existence. Models of justice based on person-to-person restitution were quite common, up until the prevailing law of the 11th century came to view citizens as primarily subjects of the King’s rule instead of worthy in and of themselves.¹⁰

There are historical representations of this restorative model, that are used even today. For example, the Catholic Church’s model of Excommunication, despite what the general public may think, is actually based on the idea of pointing out how an individual has already separated themselves from the Body of Christ through intentional, deliberate, and public sin (often additionally causing scandal). The goal is not to be punitive and vengeful, but to point out the disunity and work for reunification and reintegration of the member. This is often achieved by:

- 1) acknowledging harms through a confession of sin,
- 2) penance in an effort to make amends for the wrongs committed, and
- 3) through the grace of the Sacrament, to endeavor to sin no more (thereby working to reduce recidivism).¹¹

The process is reasonably uniform, and done properly, works to

engender confidence in the system.

Additionally, there are “peaceful parenting” models that seek to use a restorative model of justice instead of using authoritative retribution. So, instead of a child getting a spanking or being immediately sent to time-out, this parenting model seeks to help the child understand and acknowledge the harm, apologize, and make reparations.

An institutional version of the “peaceful parenting” position can be seen in various schools around the nation, including in San Francisco, where, instead of being kicked out of school or sent straight to detention, students are asked to listen to each other, write or speak apologies, and work out solutions to the offense and the potential systemic issue.¹² In one school in Baltimore they are teaching the students to practice mindfulness and meditation to cope with trauma, stress, and anger.¹³ All of these options present more restorative options that seek to restore community instead of imposing further harms upon the offender.

A current example of a partially Restorative Justice model within our modern US justice system is the Drug Courts model that has been instituted in various jurisdictions around the nation, including in Rehumanize International’s home of Pittsburgh, PA. In this model offenders of nonviolent drug crimes acknowledge the wrong they committed, acknowledge their addiction, seek to repair the addiction and harms done through community involvement and service, and work to reduce recidivism by healing addiction and building supportive communities to maintain accountability.

The process is both reasonably uniform and profoundly personal. And according to the National Association of Drug Court Professionals, 75% of graduates of the Drug Court model remain arrest-free two years after graduation, and family reunification rates are 50% higher for Drug Court participants than the normal for drug offenders.¹⁴ According to the National Institute of Justice, the drug court model is reducing recidivism anywhere

from 17 to 26 percent, and saving our system a ton of money — upwards of \$6700 per participant — because treatment of addiction is cheaper than repeat prison stays.¹⁵ This drug court model achieves the goals of justice much more effectively than the normal retributive model used for drug offenders, achieving input from all parties, restoration to family and community, and a massive reduction in recidivism.

RESTORATIVE JUSTICE AFTER ABORTION

How would applying the restorative model to the violence of abortion in particular achieve the goal of a justice system?

We are personal beings, capable of and meant to be members of community. When a harm is done, it breaks the bond of community, it causes suffering in disunity, both for the offender and the offended. The answers that we seek should work to restore harmony to the community through restoration and reintegration. If we seek

to repair harms with more harms (to the point of even cutting off the offender from all community, writing them off as “a lost cause” and declaring them past the point of potential conversion), or if we seek retribution for its own sake, we are not respecting the dignity of the person. An act of violence done (even to an offender) only continues to break the bond of community and continue the cycle of violence.

The issue in the dialogue surrounding justice and abortion stems from the fact that most pro-life people do not want to punish someone for having an abortion. We do not want to ever be “anti-woman,” because we stand for the dignity of both woman and child. So current legislation on the books that would be enacted if *Roe* were to be overturned does not really include the woman in the picture of justice: it is only the abortionist who is to be “punished.” But if we move away from a model of justice as punishment, and instead see it as restoration, we see that we must incorporate not only the abortionist but also the woman, the community, potentially also the partner, the other family members, the friends. Abortion is something that touches everyone, and so our entire culture, our entire nation, our entire global community must be committed to pursuing restoration.

There are some vital aspects to consider and include in legislation that aims to build a restorative justice model after abortion:

Community (and institutions, too): How is the community at all culpable in coercion to abortion? What about the place of business, the financial system, the academic institutions? Have they pressured the parents into thinking that bearing a child right now would lead to job loss? Losing housing? Losing the opportunity to finish college?

Abortionist (including healthcare team): How are the staff at the facility (if it is a facility), or the abortionist, or the pharmaceutical company culpable in coercion to or participation in abortion? Have they pressured the parents? Did the staff give the impression that abortion was the only way out of this difficult situation? Did they force the mother to go through with an abortion even after she had changed her mind?

Woman: How is the woman who has an abortion culpable in procuring an abortion? Did she choose abortion because she didn’t know about the humanity of the preborn child? Did she choose it out of carelessness or malice? — or (much more likely) did she choose it out of fear?

Partner: How is the partner culpable in all of this? Did they attempt to save their child, or did they pressure or coerce their partner into having an abortion?

Parents: Especially if the person who had an abortion is a teenager, we must ask how their parents are culpable in this situation. Did they try to save their grandchild’s life? Did they offer support to their daughter? Or did they threaten to remove support and coerce her into choosing abortion?

Friends: Lastly, on this surely incomplete list, it’s important to assess the influence and pressure from friends. Whether they have had abortions and are trying to justify their decision by seeing others around them make the same choice or not, friends may see abortion as the only way out of a difficult situation and pressure or coerce a woman to have an abortion. How are they culpable?

Of course, in many of these cases, restoration is also going to necessitate someone less like a punisher-judge, and more like a counselor-judge. We want to get at the root of why this violence was perpetrated, and address those social ills. And in light of the reality of Perpetration-Induced Traumatic Stress, we both want to acknowledge the harm done and also get those who were involved in the abortion the care that they need to heal from participation in such violence.¹⁶ So, perhaps we will also need to involve therapists, educators, and physicians who perform only nonviolent healthcare.

In all of this, we see that in a restorative model the goal is not punishment, but rather restoration. We understand, then, that we must involve all of these other parties to truly build a world where violence is unthinkable. Now that we have discussed who the system should involve, we should assess what the process could look like. As for what the restoration process could look like, we have a couple thoughts on that as well.

Firstly, it must be understood that what we are recommending begins with our current system as the given. Starting from today, where do we go to get to a fully restorative model? So, we propose that restorative models be included in any legislation that seeks to limit or outlaw abortion. Recommendations and considerations could and should be tailored per bill to reflect the needs of restoration in specific cases. For example, if the bill is a basic 20-week ban, the restoration process after a violation of the ban could and should include education on nonviolent alternatives to adverse fetal diagnosis (which is one of the more common reasons for abortion at that stage in the pregnancy), connecting the family of the aborted child and the abortionist and staff and anyone else who participated in the abortion to post-abortion healing where they all can acknowledge the harm done and the very real loss of a child to violence — where they can rehumanize. Perhaps the family could also be connected to community resources that can affirm life and support a woman and her family in a time of great crisis, so that recidivism would be much less likely — this is especially crucial when you consider that nearly half of all abortions are procured by women who have had an abortion before in their lifetime. And as we know from Rachel’s Vineyard’s success, people who go through post-abortion healing are much, much less likely to ever participate in abortion again. When we look at all of the good in this model, from the foundational understanding of our shared human dignity, to lowering the rate of repeat abortions, we can see how the opportunities for very real compassion and restoration are many.

These are just a few suggestions for a truly human-centered, pro-life restorative justice model that we hope will be built to honor the lives of the unborn children killed by abortion, to help heal those who are culpable for abortion, and to restore communities and families. Together with Catherine Glenn Foster of Americans United for Life, who is my friend and colleague in the movement for the protection of preborn lives and for all human dignity, I will work to present a comprehensive examination of the necessity for restorative justice after illegal abortion in a white paper that is slated to be released in January of 2020. In that white paper, we will also touch on more potential suggestions in regards to laws, and break into a necessary discussion of post-abortion healing and recovery for all impacted by this tragic violence.

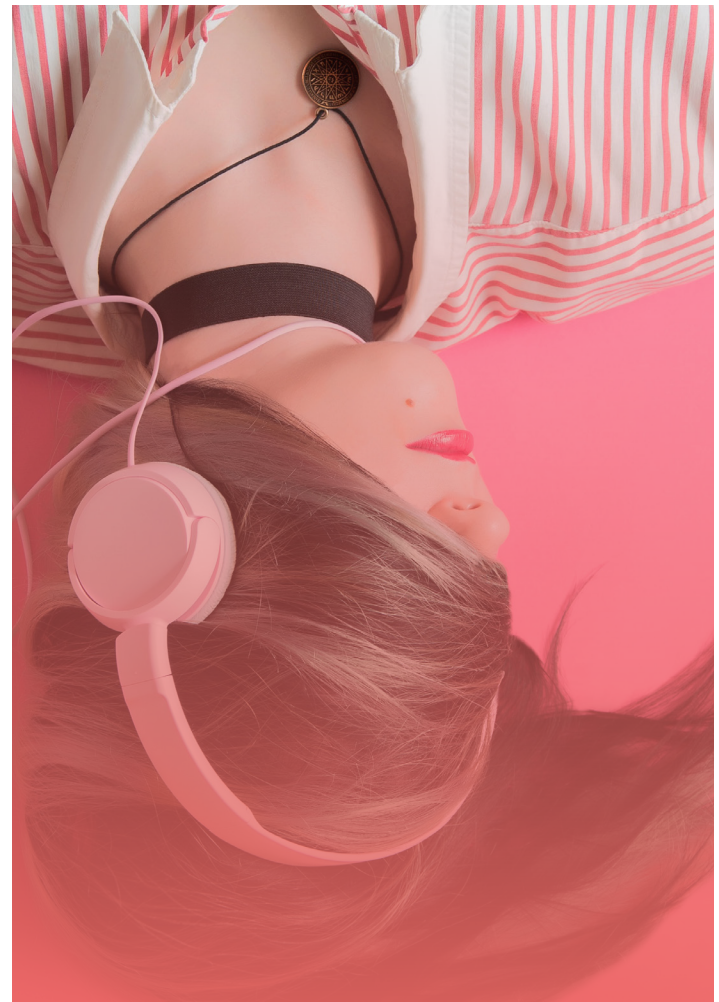
Join us in this effort to build a truly human-centered model of justice after abortion: stay updated by joining our mailing list and be one of the first to receive the white paper!

For more information, visit rehumanizeintl.org/white-papers.

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They Don't Trust Us And Neither Do I

By Lauren Handy

As a full-time sidewalk counselor of 6 years I have seen almost everything and then some, to the point I thought *I knew* how to address *all* the reasons pregnant persons seek abortion. And yet, after adopting the Consistent Life Ethic and learning more about intersectional approaches to ministry, I came to a world-upending conclusion how very wrong I was and how that “wrongness” stemmed from a place of naiveté and privilege.

It came to a head when I was talking with a mom outside the Delta abortion facility in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. She responded to my plea to choose life with, “I don’t trust y’all.” I stood shock-still as the abortion escorts whisked her away. I didn’t have a genuine response or solution because in the end *I didn’t trust myself either*. This wasn’t my first time encountering mistrust, but it was the first time it was stated so bluntly.

I turned that loss of confidence into determination by taking a serious look into today’s reasons and more importantly the history of why people of color and abortion-vulnerable communities seek out ending the life of their preborn child as a go-to solution. To do this, I specifically looked up abortion rights proponents’ organizations that were led by women of color. This brought me to Reproductive Justice activists. They caught my attention because abortion access is just one of their pro-choice tenets and not a summation of their ideology concerning family planning. As defined, Reproductive Justice is “the human right to maintain personal bodily autonomy, have children, not have children, and parent the children we have in safe and sustainable communities”¹ with the focus on indigenous women, women of color, and marginalized persons’ needs.

Historically the women’s rights movement has been framed by

the interests of high-socioeconomic-status white women. This was clearly displayed during the Women’s Suffrage Movement. While trying to secure the right to vote they alienated their black sisters via political maneuvers. In the Southern States, “...typically white suffrage supporters avoided association with Black women and attempted to downplay the accusations of anti-suffrage activists that woman suffrage would increase Black women’s political influence.”² They wanted the right to vote but not at the cost of giving more political power to people of color. How does this relate to choosing life or abortion? The same way housing, job opportunities, access to water/food and healthcare have been negatively shaped by institutionalized racism, whether it be from remnants of the Reconstruction era of segregation and disenfranchisement measures or from active efforts led today.^{3|4} This recognition that the mainstream women’s rights movement could not defend the needs of indigenous women, women of color, marginalized communities and *all* pregnant persons led to a group of Black women gathering in Chicago, in June of 1994, to organize and launch a movement that called for an intersectional approach to women’s healthcare which combined reproductive rights and social justice.⁵ While there have always been those fighting for Reproductive Justice (RJ) the term, invented during that fateful meeting in 1994, unified their efforts.

The turning point in my research came after reading *Killing the Black Body* by Dorothy E. Roberts. As an RJ thought leader Roberts gave an authoritative account of the history of how American law, beginning with slavery, was used by the white mainstream to demonize and even criminalize the ability of women of color to bear and raise children with respect and dignity. Her groundbreaking book was published in 1997.⁶ Roberts’ work upended my world

again. How was I to go forward in the ministry of crisis intervention with abortion-minded families now that I finally understood where this mistrust comes from? I was completely lost at the intersection of race and reproduction.

I wanted to fully embrace the Reproductive Justice ethos and go forward with my work but the problem was they included abortion as a way to create safe and sustainable communities. The abortion industry had successfully sold the lie that RJ activists cannot achieve liberation unless abortion is “Codified, Accessible and Free”. This paradox of liberating yourself from oppression by distributing it onto others put an abrupt halt on my plans, but a Post-Roe America is quickly approaching and in some states it’s already being felt. As pro-life victories close down more and more abortion facilities and outright ban the procedure, abortion rights proponents are buckling down on their belief of “abortion will never end”. This will *and already has begun* a new generation of “back alley” abortions, but this time it consists of illegally smuggled and distributed pills that induce abortions. This underground movement is known as “Self-Managed Abortion: Safe and Supported.”

The common pro-life rebuttal is — “We will make abortion unthinkable!” but that implies and demands action-oriented solutions which intentionally create a pro-life Post-Roe America. Offense and strategic defense campaigns focused on stemming the tide of self-managed abortions will make this a reachable goal. To be successful, this needs to be done on a community level by creating safety nets tailored to the needs of pregnant persons and families in their locality. If abortion were outlawed in Louisiana tomorrow, our pro-life pregnancy and after-birth resource infrastructure would not be able to handle the influx and our promises of help would turn empty and broken.

So how do we go forward? We must take a page from RJ activists by unifying our efforts under a concise and guiding principle. Creating a pro-life version of reproductive justice is not just slapping on an adjective before RJ or inserting the word “preborn” in the definition. It is creating a balance between reproductive and social justice through respecting and protecting the bodily autonomy of both the preborn and the pregnant person, and with this we can all live a life free from aggressive violence. In summary: Pro-life Reproductive Justice is the foundational right to life, from the moment of conception, that protects the bodily autonomy of the born and preborn, to have children, not have children, and parent the children we have in safe and sustainable communities. This model can be adopted where abortion is being restricted and totally banned — where abortion rights proponents are gearing up to push sanitized “back alley” abortions.

Creating a pro-life version of reproductive justice is not just slapping on an adjective before RJ or inserting the word “preborn” in the definition.

Audre Lorde stated, “There is no such thing as a single-issue struggle because we do not live single-issue lives,”⁷ and with that

understanding pro-lifers can address the systematic issues and oppression that lead to abortion. *We can create a Pro-life, Post-Roe America through solidarity, mutual aid and community building.* We will have to dig deeper to the point where we become uncomfortable, to the point where we humble ourselves to challenge our implicit biases, to the point where diapers drives are no longer the pinnacle of our barometer of success.

They don't trust us, but I'm starting to.

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H E A L T H C A R E

Should Pro-life Advocates Support Medicare for All?

Rehumanize International (and by extension, *Life Matters Journal*) is dedicated to ending aggressive violence against human beings. There are myriad acts of aggressive violence that are addressed in this magazine because of that central principle. However, there are also issues which fall in the periphery of the causes for peace and life; on these topics, Rehumanize International does not take an official stance, but we still find them important and worthy of discussion. This section of *Life Matters Journal*, "Opposing Views," aims to highlight varying perspectives on such issues.

Affirmative

By Rachel Enders

Medicare for All, or a single-payer healthcare system, would be critical in ensuring an America that upholds the dignity of human life. In our current system of private healthcare insurance, millions live and die without health insurance to pay for the critical care they need. Furthermore, a great majority of Americans tolerate rising copays and deductibles, yet their wages remain insufficient. Single-payer insurance provides the solution.

As proponents of a Consistent Life Ethic, we are concerned with a multitude of life issues. A single-payer system will improve the position of pregnant women and unborn babies in our society by providing affordable pre and postnatal care, which will result in a decrease in abortion and maternal mortality rates. People with disabilities will be able to access treatments that currently are unaffordable. Our country will only benefit from allowing every person access to healthcare, regardless of their economic status.

There are many proposals for the implementation of Medicare for All, but a dedication to providing healthcare for everyone is the critical point. We cannot continue to support a society where the weak die because healthcare is unaffordable. The current capitalist free-for-all is not working, and it only reinforces injustice. For a consistent life society, Americans should support Medicare for All.

Negative

By Anja Baker

Medicare for All, while a nice sentiment, does require the forceful taking of one's wages to afford the mandated care of others. If these garnished wages are not received by the government, state actors may fine individuals and eventually warrant for the arrest of more nonviolent criminals. A huge increase in this budget area will necessarily lead to higher levels of wages lost for middle-class workers and job producers especially. Wherever we see state-led medical care, we see abysmal quality and wait times for patients. Being pro-life means advocating for the longevity of life for all human beings. When quality suffers due to the tragedy of the commons, more lives are lost overall. In the case of Medicare for All, what is meant to elevate life, more often than not, unintentionally destroys it. Instead, a truly free medical system, unlike the one we have now which is weighed down by crony capitalism, is the only system that can intelligently correspond aid to each of our unique needs. No person, party, elected official, or bloated agency can correctly and preemptively assume the amount and scope of our needs. The equal bare minimum is not a better outcome just because it is equal. To address the needs of the unexpectedly pregnant woman, we must unleash the charitable forces of our willing communities. I have witnessed outpourings of resources and love to women from non-profits, individuals, places of worship, and clubs in a way I have never witnessed a government office offer. Thus, I think that Medicare for All is not the solution it is touted to be.



Defending Life After *Roe*: More to Do

By Kelly Matula, PhD

In the nearly 47 years since the *Roe v. Wade* decision striking down state and federal abortion restrictions was handed down, pro-lifers in the United States have seen the possibility of its repeal as a beacon of hope, a longed-for shift that would bring an end to the “culture of death” that many believe has grown, and even flourished, in the country since that time. Getting *Roe* overturned is indeed a laudable goal. And there have been many earlier steps along the road that deserve celebrating, most recently the many abortion restrictions passed by many states this year that are currently facing legal challenges and may be heard in higher courts.¹ But even if the law is eventually overturned as we hope, it will be far from the last step on the road to creating a true culture of life in this country, either legally or culturally.

Even on abortion, overturning *Roe* is unlikely to be the last legal step we will need to take. For example, New York is just one of several states that have also this year passed laws intended to protect abortion rights in the state even if *Roe* is overturned, with others including California and Oregon.² How these laws would fare in a post-*Roe* legal system is unclear, but their existence suggests that making abortion illegal throughout the country will likely require

more than the one Supreme Court decision, as important as that one would be.

However, there are many other life issues in need of both legal and cultural championing, and especially if *Roe* becomes a thing of the past as soon as some hope, these other issues will need to be addressed, which have different spreads of opinion across the political spectrum and around the country. One issue is the death penalty. Currently, half of our country’s fifty states have either bans on the death penalty or moratoria imposed by their governors.³ And the recent reinstatement of the U.S. Federal death penalty has sparked outcry from a wide array of people, including victims’ families and both Republican and Democratic judges.⁴⁵ The judges’ protesting the federal death penalty also allude to other closely-related issues also likely to have liberal support: “a reckoning on racial injustice,” particularly in the prison system.⁶ Both continuing the momentum of death penalty repeals across the remaining states and the federal government and ending racist and inhumane practices in prisons will require some of the legislative energy that *Roe* being overturned would free up among pro-life and Consistent Life Ethic activists.

Another issue that will still require sustained effort in the wake of *Roe* is physician-assisted suicide, which is currently legal in six states and the District of Columbia.⁷ Supporters of physician-assisted suicide claim that it is a means of “death with dignity” for those who are suffering terminal illnesses, intractable pain, or similar. Many who defend the dignity of the preborn already work to put an end to the warped idea of “mercy killing” as a “death with dignity”. These pro-life proponents argue rightly that just because someone is ill, suffering, or unable to carry out some task they once could does not mean that they have lost any of their inherent dignity. Furthermore, they propose, that even if illness does cause a loss of certain bodily functions, killing will not restore a sense of propriety or dignification. In a post-*Roe* world, even more activists and people will be able to devote energy to teaching this valuable lesson.

This point highlights the broader, cultural, aspect of the work that will need to continue after the legal fight to outlaw abortion is over. How contentious this issue still is, how quickly legal victories in the fight against abortion are stalled or blocked, goes some way to revealing the extent to which much of our society does not recognize the inherent dignity of all humans. This fact is further underscored by concurrent debates around the other issues I’ve mentioned here, as well as many others touching on immigrants’ and women’s rights, many different forms of violence and prejudice, and other issues. And while legislative victories like those that will hopefully soon bring an end to *Roe* are important, cultural attitudes cannot be changed just by legalizing or outlawing specific practices. We need to open people’s eyes, change their hearts and minds to value human dignity across the board, as we supporters of the Consistent Life Ethic already do. Perhaps conversely, we will have more of this work to do if *Roe* is overturned soon, because it’s glaringly clear that many in society do not share our views. But I’m excited at the prospect of being able to move on to the post-*Roe* phase of the fight for recognition of the dignity of all humans, and certain we are all up to the challenges it will bring.

Notes

1. Kelly, Caroline. “States passed a flurry of new abortion restrictions this year. Here’s where they stand” CNN. Published October 29, 2019, accessed 11/1/2019 <https://www.cnn.com/2019/10/27/politics/abortion-laws-states-roundup/index.html>
2. O’Kane, Caitlin. “New York passes law allowing abortions at any time if mother’s health is at risk.” CBS News. Published January 23, 2019, accessed 11/1/2019 <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/new-york-passes-abortion-bill-late-term-if-mothers-health-is-at-risk-today-2019-01-23/>
3. “States with and without the death penalty,” Death Penalty Information Center, Accessed November 1, 2019, <https://deathpenaltyinfo.org/states-and-without-death-penalty>.
4. “Former state and federal judges, prosecutors, and law enforcement officials and families of murder victims urge federal government to call off executions,” Death Penalty Information Center, Published November 13, 2019, accessed 11/13/2019 <https://deathpenaltyinfo.org/news/former-state-and-federal-judges-prosecutors-and-law-enforcement-officials-and-families-of-murder-victims-urge-federal-government-to-call-off-executions>
5. The letter from judges, as well as other letters, can be found via links on the bottom of the page at Death Penalty Information Center article cited in Note 4.
6. “Former state and federal judges...” Death Penalty Information Center.
7. Daniel P. Sulmasy et al, “Physician-assisted suicide: Why neutrality by organized medicine is neither neutral nor appropriate,” *The Journal of General Internal Medicine* 33, no. 8 (2018). 1394.



Interested in getting involved?

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For information about available internships and upcoming events, check out our website:

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