# Discourse of Heteronormativity in the U.S.:
# A Case of March for Marriage 2014 and 2015

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## Abstract

This paper explores heteronormative discourse on the issue of same sex marriage (SSM) legalization in the U.S. The aim is to investigate heteronormative ideology in anti-SSM discourse. Data are eight anti-SSM speeches delivered in the March for Marriage event, held in 2014 and 2015 in the U.S. The speeches are collected from the YouTube channel: NationForMarriage. Regarding the study of van Dijk (2004), discourse of discrimination is one kind of ideological manifestation in the form of text, talk, and communication. Thus, this proposition is adopted to find and examine the main characteristics of this heteronormative discourse. Findings reveal that homosexuality or the LGBTQI group is not explicitly mentioned in discriminatory manner. Instead the speech presents heterosexuality as the only natural form of union justified by the words of God in conformity with the natural duty of human reproduction. Additionally, the discourse presented heterosexuals as victims of the legalization and pointed fingers at the authorities and media as those responsible for the threat.

## 1. Introduction

Heteronormativity is a concept asserting that heterosexuality is the norm of society (Reingardė, 2010). Heteronormativity is an ideology that recognizes only two biological sexes: male and female and that only the consummation of

love between the two sexes is considered normal among human beings (Kitzinger, 2005). This idea is the basis of societal and cultural structure, so it is connected to social institutions and also directed at the issue of marriage (Herz & Johansson, 2015). Love and marriage underpinned by this ideology considers any relationship that does not conform to this model deviant and unworthy of recognition.

In recent years, however, there have been movements to legalize same sex marriage (henceforth SSM) in many countries. According to Grupo Gay da Bahia (henceforth GGB)'s 2017 annual report, SSM is still considered unacceptable and potentially subversive. Non-heteronormative people, namely those who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersexual, known collectively as LGBTQI as well as those in support of the SSM movement face discrimination and social sanction. GGB, the association for the defense of human rights of homosexuals in Brazil, reported that 445 LGBT+ died in Brazil because of homophobia in 2017 (Mott et al., 2017). GGB also noted that such deaths are growing alarmingly: the number of homicides rose from 130 in 2000 to 260 in 2010. An additional 445 deaths were attributed to anti-LGBT violence in 2017 even though SSM has been legal in Brazil since 2013 (Mott et al., 2017). The heteronormative and the non-heteronormative discourse that co-exist contentiously in contemporary society create tension and potential clash between the two ideological groups. Seen as a minority, the discourse of LGBTQI is usually considered one that attempts to negotiate with the existing dominant heteronormative ideology that seems to exert power over the rest of society.

This study focuses on heteronormative discourse in the US. It aims to investigate discursive strategies that speakers employ to legitimize heterosexuality norms without sounding discriminatory. Drawing upon van Dijk's (2004) ideological discourse analysis, heteronormative discourse is a form of expression of ideology that instills discrimination through discourse. This study will analyze speeches given during the March for Marriage in Washington, D.C. in 2014 and 2015.

## 2. Theoretical background
### 2.1 Theoretical Concept of Ideology
The concept of ideology is defined by many thinkers. Hence it is a term with nuanced meaning. First introduced as a science of ideas by Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836), ideology has been defined by many theorists in approximately two centuries since then. However, to better reflect the research position of the present study, we would emphasize the meaning of ideology as 'false consciousness' and 'hegemony' in Marxist traditions combined with the concept of ideology as 'belief systems' proposed by van Dijk (2011).

### 2.1.1 Ideology and Concept of False Consciousness

"False consciousness" is a concept developed by socialist thinkers, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. It refers to the distortion of one's or group's perception of themselves. The distorted perception is often the work of the ruling class to divert the attention of the subordinate class from the important reality (Eyerman, 1981, p. 45; Gibbons et al., 2015, p. 1225). The distorted perception benefits the power-that-be by sustaining its status quo at the interest of the ordinary common people. The key to the success of false consciousness is to keep the nature of dominance and oppression hidden; to make it appear commonsensical. The common features of false consciousness are that the dominant class have the right to think and rule all stages of production and distribution and that it is legitimate for the dominant class to determine the conditions of a labor class (Kalekin-Fishman, 2008, p. 537; Hodder & Hutson, 2003, p. 76). Their ideas gain prominence because they have access to discourse production and discourse circulation in society. They can have their voice heard by using direct and indirect means of propaganda. False consciousness serves to satisfy the needs of the ruling class in maintaining their power and camouflages injustice in society (Hodder & Hutson, 2003, pp. 84-85). In conclusion, false consciousness is a set of ideology that is deployed by the ruling class to conceal reality and deceive people (Hodder & Hutson, 2003, p. 80).

### 2.1.2 Ideology and the Concept of Hegemony

Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) later expanded the Marxist notion of "false consciousness". Simon (2015) described Gramsci's concept of hegemony as the ability to influence the people's mind to accept the ideologies as commonsense rather than the imposition of dominant ideologies by a ruling class (p. 29). It shows that subordination is not just a passive tool of the dominant ideology. The fundamental role of ideology is to emphasize more on a political and historical role rather than only its role in sustaining classes. He identified ideology as the authoritative voice that was accepted as norms and values in society. Ideology gives rise to hegemony, another mechanism of coercion that helps sustain class domination (Crossley, 2005 p. 113), but subordination has the capacity to influence the sense of consciousness. Thus, there is a widespread resistance between the dominant and the subordinate classes because people can develop ideology within their own cultural institutions, which are called civil society (Simon, 2015, p. 30).

Gramsci emphasized the superstructure and pointed out the difference between two societies. The first is "Political society", which is the government and other governmental organizations that use the power of the state and society. The second is "Civil society", which is private or consists of other non-governmental organizations such as the Church and the school (Williams, 1960, p. 590). Williams argued that the concept of political and civil society

signify different way of power construction and power inheritance; political society uses the law to dominate and coerce while civil society uses power without force or violence by building mutual consent among the people (Williams, 1960, p. 591).   Simon (2015) supported this argument, explaining that civil society is a stage of social life that can be defined as a separate state outside the political arena. Groups and individuals involved in social, economic and cultural exchanges create a unique identity and belief that work together to build bargaining power to protect their interests.  That is, civil society will dominate the realm of economics, production, and people's way of life by hegemonizing the worldview of people with ideas, beliefs, and attitudes and that eventually become a popular culture penetrating across society.

However, hegemony formation will not completely succeed if the dominant group only aims to seize state power without instilling dominant ideology upon the society. For this reason, the hegemon who constructs the hegemony in society needs to establish alliances with different groups, among them rival groups, and calibrate their ideology in the same direction. Hegemony needs the establishment of an alliance between different groups of power or classes to create a balance between "political society" and "civil society" (Simon, 2015, pp. 26-29). This creates unity between the dominant group and the dominated group in a way that the former can take control of the feelings and thoughts of the latter. This control of idea of other people is called hegemony and it can be achieved through the combination of coercion, persuasion, and consensus without violence or physical force by means of ideological leadership (Simon, 2015, p. 24). The key to its success is when the dominated are not aware that they have been dominated by the ideology.

### 2.1.3 Ideology and the concept of Belief Systems

Instead of looking at ideology as a tool for manipulation as mentioned in the previous section, van Dijk (2011)'s definition of ideology is essentially linked to human cognition, arguing that ideology serves as a common ground needed for people to make sense of discourse and communication in society.  His proposed framework focuses on the systematic analysis of expression and reproduction methods in a discourse of ideology. He highlighted the socio-cognitive nature of ideologies that function to control the social cognition, i.e. the shared mental representation that people use in the process of discourse production and discourse interpretation. Though it is undeniable that socially powerful groups may inculcate their ideologies because they have greater access to public discourse, other groups can also develop their own ideologies to defend or insist on their interests and assure the loyalty and unity of interactions of their members. Since everybody is entitled to have ideology, it may not be only used to dominate or oppress others but also to resist and struggle against domination.  Ideology can be used to express the stance of a

group and to differentiate in-group from out-group members. Van Dijk (1995) defined ideologies as belief systems which are a collection of more specific and supportive beliefs and which influence interpretation and expression of group members. He noticed that ideologies are always associated with socially shared beliefs. Group members may slowly adapt themselves to manifest both in- and out-group discourse. This process will control the actions of group members in specific social situations. Van Dijk's concept of ideology provides explanation why communication with members of an out-group is likely to lead to more difficulty and miscommunication. This is because interlocutors lack common ground ideology to build their understanding.

As mentioned above, ideology will affect other social practices and may lead to oppression and discrimination or the struggle against domination. Ideology is not usually expressed directly. There are rules and conditions that govern the expression of ideology in discourse (van Dijk, 2011, p. 387). Ideological discourse is argued to share common polarized features; it normally features positive representation of the ingroup (Us) and negative representation of the outgroup (Them). According to van Dijk's ideological square proposed as the common structure, the discourse structure emphasizes our good things and deemphasizes our bad things while emphasizing their bad things and deemphasizing their good things (van Dijk, 2011, 387). It functions as a persuasive expression and reproduction of group attitudes and ideologies under various contextual regulations in which the main purpose is to devalue the idea of others and obtain agreement among the members of society.

### 2.1.4 Operational Definition of Ideology

In this paper, the researchers will combine the definition of ideology presented by Marx and Engels, Gramsci, and van Dijk to reflect on the research position. Although the three theorists expressed different positions on ideological theory, we find that there are some links in terms of understanding how ideology works in society. At first, Marx and Engels describe the purpose of ideology as false consciousness, which means the power of a dominant group to impose their ideas onto a subordinate group. The key is reducing, devaluing, or distorting others' ideas. Secondly, Gramsci discusses the concept of hegemony in terms of persuasion, proposing that the ruling ideas are accepted society wide as the "given" of that society. van Dijk, however, offers a rather different concept of ideology. He focuses on the systematic analysis of interpretation and reproduction methods in a discourse of ideologies. The main focus of his theory of ideology is the reproduction and interpretation of ideological discourses through social cognition. In this paper, we argue that ideology is a comprehensive set of normative beliefs of a particular group intended to dominate others' ideas and to be accepted and shared by members of society. Ideology is conveyed through various discourses, either text or talk, and

ingrained in society. Such ideas become social beliefs and construct individuals' social cognitions that will also influence their interpretation and manifestation through ideological discourses.

### 2.2  Heteronormativity and Ideology

Heteronormativity is the idea that only two genders, male and female, exist in society and that only opposite-sex attraction between human beings is normal (Harris & White, 2018).  Habarth (2008) suggested that heteronormativity is an invisible power that constructs a norm of sexual conventions and social interactions. Hence, such norm is used to describe who is acceptable and unacceptable in a society based on sexuality and gender.  Herz and Johasson (2015) supported that heteronormativity frames our view of gender and identifies the acceptable societal value system, so those who do not conform to this are condemned or sanctioned. Heteronormativity is upheld by many social institutions such as religion, education, and family. These social institutions collaborate to define a notion of respectable relationship (Elia, 2003, p.  63). Thus, most people accept and consider the relationship, in this paper a heterosexual relationship, as ordinary natural practices.  The norm stating that heterosexual relationship is the only respectable relationship or heteronormativity will be studied as an ideology in this paper. We focus on heteronormative ideology as a dominant discourse of sexuality in society. This study contends that heteronormativity is made dominant ideology in societies. It is a hegemonic discourse because it assigns unequal status to gender and sexuality and sanctions relationship, which is different from the norm namely the homosexual ones. This ideology is argued to be relayed through various discourses and deeply embedded in social and cultural systems. It organizes gender classes and relations in society.

### 2.3  Discourse of Discrimination

van Dijk (2004) proposed that discriminatory and inequality discourses are constructed in society by the dominant group. A discourse of discrimination is a form of ideological expression in the form of text, talk in the process of communication. Hence it is a form of discriminatory social practice. The discrimination is often expressed by presenting that We are better than Them (others who are not group members). The discrimination discourse also confirms or legitimizes ideologies of the dominant group. The overall characteristic of this discourse is negative representation of out-group people while in-group people (We) are portrayed positively or as victims. This strategy is used to devalue the Them and value Us. As van Dijk (2004, pp. 352-353) argues, the topic of conversations or debates in a discriminatory discourse may be biased in terms of negative stereotypes, which can be clustered into three main negative topics as follows:

1) **Difference:** *Other* are different from *Us*. They are bad or inferior to us.

2) **Deviance:** *Other* are weird. They break our norms and rules. They should adapt themselves to *Us*.

3) **Threat:** *Other* are dangerous. *They* appear permanently as a minority and potentially cause menace or calamity to *Us.*

### 2.4 Previous Studies on Discriminatory Discourse

Since the March for Marriage speeches are anti same sex marriage, they can be classified as discriminatory discourse against SSM and LGBTQI, in general. This section highlights and reviews previous studies on discriminatory discourse (van Dijk, 1991; Rojas-Lizana, 2011; Peterson, 2011) relevant to the present study. The first study is the racist discourse of van Dijk (1991), from which this study adopted the analytical framework. The other study relates to a discourse of discrimination against LGBTQI.

van Dijk's study on racism and the press was one of the first studies on discourse and discrimination which was published in 1991. This study analyzed news reports and background articles about a multi-cultural society, both in the liberal and in the conservative press mainly from British and Dutch newspapers. Findings reveal that race relations are usually referred to as *"race wars"* by the conservative tabloids to highlight conflicts between the white majority and West Indian or Asian minorities or immigrants. White British people are portrayed as victim being threatened by the multicultural society of ethnic groups. Some report even describes them as the *"lost tribe"*. Additionally, van Dijk found that the moderate Commission for Racial Equality or other anti-racist groups are subject to harsh attacks because of their stance. However, in quality press with conservative stance, though denial of minority groups is visible, discrimination is never expressed directly. This shows that they at least attempt to adhere to liberal stance.

Second is an investigation into sexual discrimination conducted by Rojas-Lizana published in 2011. This study chose letters to the editor in Australian community papers as data to find discursive strategies and linguistic resources that are used to justify the writer's view of homosexuality with regards to both negation and acceptance. However, we will focus only on negation because it is consistent with our study. Rojas-Lizana's theoretical framework consists of 'commonsense arguments' and 'cognitive Linguistics'. It is found that discrimination against homosexuality is not explicitly manifested through the discourse, but is expressed in the form of justification and arguments. Four main topics are presented in the discourse of negation, namely:

1) the correlation between homosexuality and mental illness;
2) the origins of sexual orientation and possibilities for changing it;

3) homosexuality and child molestation;

4) the effects of lesbians and gays on organizational efficiency and morale.

Moreover, the study identifies that the strategies of negation are as follows:

1) **The authority of Biblical discourse** relates to the view that addresses the behavior of LGBTQI as a violation of the 'laws' of God. This notion is about obedience and rewards from God for obedience to His law. This is the way to prevent the writers from taking responsibility of their negation.

2) **Blaming the other** refers to the legitimacy claim to negate others not for personal benefit but for the common good (the community, the in-group, and/or the nation). This strategy may constitute discrimination by presenting LGBTQI as a threat. Moreover, the author found keywords used to negate homosexuality, namely, sin, disease, and crime.

3) **Apparent denial** refers to the pattern of sentences that begin with a positive and then end with a negative such as "I love them, but…". This kind of disclaimer is used to show that writers do not want to negate but only are dedicated representatives of others.

4) **Moral blackmail** refers to (1) the silent majority and (2) the world upside down. The silent majority is used to typify the category of good people including themselves and the rest of society. Speakers present themselves as representatives of the majority to protect the right thing. The world upside down is the strategy used to present themselves as *victims* of a sick society, and that they are subjected to evil powers.

David Peterson's (2011) study on neoliberal homophobic discourse is also related to our current study. In this paper, Peterson explains how homophobic discourse is legitimized in political-economic discourse according to neoliberalist perspective. Data is the text about marriage produced by the Family Research Council (FRC), which is a conservative Christian organization in the U.S. The author pointed out that the FRC is a non-governmental organization that seeks to have a role in determining U.S. public policy to promote their conservative Christian views and values by focusing on marriage and family. The study found that FRC statements show how the family responds to the concept of neoliberalism in terms of human capital and emphasizes human reproduction. Thus, homosexuality is a threat to the development of human capital. This kind of statement transforms the family's role from "the source of love, affection, and emotional security" to the source of production of human capital (Peterson, 2011, P. 13) while also excluding Lesbians and Gays (LG) from the definition of family. Moreover, it is undeniable that FRC messages expressed an anti-queer stance, but texts are created to avoid being seen as

homophobic by using biblical rhetoric or the discourse of homosexuality as "unnatural" to delegitimize any nonbinary sexual relationship.

In light of the previous studies cited above, we can say that discrimination does not generally appear in the discourse blatantly, but can be implied via discursive strategies and justifications. Moreover, according to the two studies mentioned, heteronormative discourse avoids mentioning LGBTQI people openly to avoid bigotry. Instead of expressing their ideology explicitly, the Bible, nature, and human reproduction are used to legitimize their ideology and conceal negative attitudes. LGBTQI is indirectly portrayed as a threat and thereby there is a need to reinforce conformity to the socially accepted norm of sexuality.

## 3. Methodology

This research is conducted using qualitative techniques in order to achieve the objectives of the study. Qualitative methods are deemed appropriate in extracting ideological information from texts. The data for the present study comprises of speeches on SSM given by heterosexual Christians against SSM legalization during the March for Marriage in the United States, held in 2014 and 2015. This part also includes the analytical framework, the research approach and data collection, and the data analysis of the study.

### 3.1 Analytical Framework
#### 3.1.1 Discourse of Discrimination

For the analysis of heteronormativity, the overall approach is discourse analysis of speeches delivered during the March for Marriage 2014 and 2015 in the U. S. Our analysis focuses on classifying elements of discriminatory discourse of heteronormativity and examining the characteristics of each element featuring in the discourse. Drawing upon van Dijk (2004), we adopt the characteristics of discourse of discrimination as an analytical framework. In this framework, van Dijk identifies the way that the discourse of *Us* (in-group) and *Them* (other out-group defined as opponents) is represented in ideological discourse and can be detected as discrimination. The main strategies used in such discourse require what he called the ideological square, i. e. (1) emphasize *Our* good things, (2) emphasize *Their* bad thing, (3) de-emphasize *Our* bad things, and (4) de-emphasize *Their* good things or the manifestation of *Their* ideology in the discourse (van Dijk, 2011, p. 396). The strategies of this square are the way in which *Us* and *Them* are presented in ideological discourse. Van Dijk (2004) suggests that the discourse of *Us* is generally presented in a positive way or portrays members of the in-group as victims. However, discourse of *Them* is typically presented negatively and avoids mentioning the good features of *Them*. Moreover, he classifies the negative topic about *Them* in

discriminatory discourse into three main negative topics, which are difference, deviance and threat.

Figure 1 below illustrates characteristics of discourse of discrimination based on van Dijk (2004).
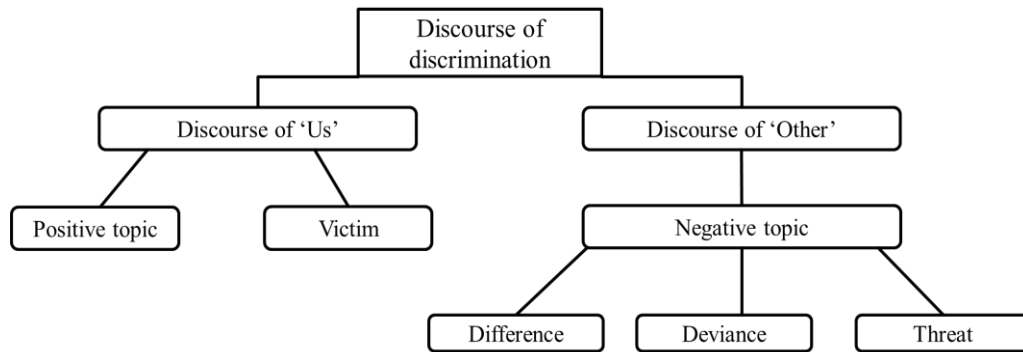


**Figure 1: The characteristics of discourse of discrimination based on van Dijk (2004)**

### 3.2  Research Approach and Data Collection
#### 3.2.1 Sampling video

This paper aims to analyze the heteronormative discourse against SSM legalization from the March for Marriage, an event organized by the non-profit National Organization for Marriage (NOM). Founded in 2007, NOM's mission is to preserve marriage as a union of a man and a woman. It has organized the March for Marriage once a year in Washington D.C. since 2013, in order to provide an arena for Americans to protest against SSM and the movement to bring the issue of SSM legalization before the Supreme Court since 2013. Although a decision by the Court made SSM legal in all states on June 26, 2015, the March for Marriage event continues to be held. It is not broadcast on television, but it is recorded by the organizers and shared through NOM's social media channels, especially YouTube, which contains a sizable corpus of data accessible to the public.

This study emphasizes anti-SSM discourse of the March for Marriage. Although this event started in 2013, the researchers collected data from the years 2014 and 2015, as we deemed this a critical period since the Supreme Court decision was imminent.  In total, 24 speeches in 2014, and 13 speeches in 2015, have been shared on a YouTube channel. However, the researchers randomly selected 8 representative videos (four from 2014 and four from 2015) for analysis. We consider these sufficient to answer the main research questions. The data was collected between October 13-20, 2017, in order of the year in which the speeches were given. Also, simple randomization was used for data selection in order to eliminate bias in the process of data

selection, which could lead to biased conclusions. We selected data by using Research Randomizer on www.randomizer.org for random sampling. We began by listing all the speakers' names in each year and gave each speaker a unique identification number in an Excel spreadsheet separated by the year of the speech. After that, the random tool on the website was used to select 4 numbers from the list for 2014 to be representatives. Then, because we found that one of the speakers (Jennifer Marshall) selected for 2014 was also on the list for 2015, we removed it from the list before using the tool for selection again. Thus, the total number of speeches in 2015 was only 12. In the end, the selected numbers were 1, 7, 13, and 17 for 2014, and 3, 4, 5, and 6 for 2015, as shown in the table below.

**Table 1: List of speakers, ID numbers, and selected numbers by Research Randomizer**

| 2014 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **ID No.** | **Speaker** | **ID No.** | **Speaker** |
| *1* | *Alison Howard* | *13* | *Jeff Bell* |
| 2 | Sam Rohrer | 14 | Frank Schubert |
| 3 | Rick Santorum | 15 | Dr Jim Garlow |
| 4 | Reverend Eugene F Rivers III | 16 | Doug Mainwaring |
| 5 | Reverend Bill Owens, Sr | 17 | *Brian Brown* |
| 6 | Reverend Ruben Diaz | 18 | Caitlin La Ruffa |
| *7* | *Jennifer Marshall* | 19 | Bishop Harry Jackson, Sr |
| 8 | Mike Huckabee | 20 | Bishop Felton M Smith, Jr |
| 9 | Ludovine de la Rochere | 21 | Austin Nimocks |
| 10 | Leanna Baumer | 22 | Archbishop Salvatore J Cordileone |
| 11 | John Eastman | 23 | Tim Huelskamp |
| 12 | Tamara Scott | 24 | Alfonso Aguilar |

**Table 1:  List of speakers, ID numbers, and selected numbers by Research Randomizer** *(cont.)*

| 2015 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| **ID No.** | **Speakers** | **ID No.** | **Speakers** |
| 1 | Reverend Brandon B. Porter | 7 | Tom Minnery |
| 2 | Archbishop Joseph Kurtz | 8 | Carlos Luis Vargas Silva |
| *3* | *Rev. Fr. Johannes (Hans) Jacobse* | 9 | Janice Crouse |
| *4* | *Mat Staver* | 10 | Rev. Jim Garlow |
| *5* | *Cathy Ruse* | 11 | Reverend and State Senator Ruben Diaz |
| *6* | *Rev. Bill Owens Sr.* | 12 | Archbishop Lori |

### 3.2.2 Transcription of the videos

The videotape recordings of the 8 speeches randomly selected by Research Radomizer were downloaded by 4K video downloader and transcribed by the automatic transcription on YouTube. In the process of transcription, all the speech transcriptions were tagged by the names of the speakers. Text accuracy and page arrangement were audited and edited manually by the researchers. We analyzed only the verbal text content of the videos. Other visual and audio cues were excluded from the analysis.

**Table 2: The approximate length of videos and word count of data**

| Year of speech | Speaker | Approx. length of speech (min.) | Approx. words (number) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2014 | Alison Howard | 3.51 | 448 |
| 2014 | Jennifer Marshall | 3.04 | 376 |
| 2014 | Jeff Bell | 1.47 | 178 |
| 2014 | Brian Brown | 4.19 | 436 |
| 2015 | Rev. Fr. Johannes (Hans) Jacobse | 5.04 | 414 |
| 2015 | Mat Staver | 5.14 | 805 |
| 2015 | Cathy Ruse | 5.16 | 246 |
| 2015 | Rev. Bill Owens Sr. | 1.32 | 244 |

## 3.3  Data Analysis
### 3.3.1  Discourse analysis

We conducted discourse analysis to answer how discrimination against same-sex marriage is enacted in heteronormative discourse and how heterosexual people justify their stance in the discourse. That led to the main characteristics of discourse that heterosexuals use to build up their view and negate SSM legalization. The analysis is based on van Dijk's discriminatory discourse together with other approaches involving the concept of ideology and heteronormativity. As part of the analysis, the study emphasized the characteristics of heteronormative discourse used to oppose SSM legalization during the March for Marriage in the United States from 2014 and 2015, to explicate how *Us* and *Them* are represented in heteronormative discourse.

### 3.3.2  Steps of Analysis

In this paper, the researchers aim to answer the research questions mentioned earlier. To do this, the discourse of discrimination (van Dijk, 2004) was applied to analyze the heteronormative discourse of anti-SSM legalization. After gathering the data, the researchers identified the main argumentation each speaker used to oppose SSM legalization. Then, the researchers grouped these as justifications that speakers raised to legitimize heteronormative values and negate SSM. After that, van Dijk's (2004) ideas

were used to analyze the discourse of this study. In this paper, heterosexual people are represented by the pronouns *We* and *Us* while those defined as opposing parties are represented as *They, Them*, and *Other*. Based on discourse and ideology theory, discriminatory discourse normally represents the negativity of *Other*, while representing the positivity or portraying the in-group as victims. Then, we can classify the characteristic of the discourse of *Other* into three main topic classes, which are *difference*, *deviance*, and *threat*. Finally, the representation of discourse of *Us* was also classified. This is a way to detect characteristics of heteronormative discourse with regards to the representation of themselves and the opposition, as well as key concepts of heteronormativity that are used to justify opposition to SSM.

## 4. Data Analysis and Findings

In this part, we will identify the characteristics of heteronormative discourse that speakers use to reinforce opposing SSM legalization and to justify their stance in opposition to SSM. Van Dijk (2004)'s approach to discriminatory discourse is applied as the analytical framework. We begin this part with the analysis of textual evidence in speeches from data collected by observing how heterosexual people manifest their ideology through the discourse in order to oppose SSM legalization. In this section, speeches are analyzed. Findings will be presented in 4 parts which are 1) summary of data, 2) discourse of justification, 3) discourse of *Other*, and 4) discourse of *Us*.

Before proceeding with data analysis and findings, we would like to give a summary of each speech and more details of the data that were collected in order to create an overview and promote understanding of the data.

**Table 3: Descriptions and summary of data**

| No. | Description of data | Summary |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | **Speake**r- Alison Howard<br>**Year of speech**- 2014<br>**Approx. length**- 3.51<br>**Approx. words**- 448 | Howard says that God's model for marriage is only between a man and a woman. She would like the media to present the fact of her group and make her voice heard in the media. She claims that redefining marriage will cause people to lose their jobs. Government and the President force religious people to deny their religious convictions. |
| 2 | **Speake**r- Jennifer Marshall<br>**Year of speech**- 2014<br>**Approx. length**- 3.04<br>**Approx. words**- 376 | Marshall says that marriage recognizes the basic biological fact that it takes a man and a woman to bring new life into the world and it recognizes that a child needs a mom and a dad. No one should be denied the freedom to speak and to act publicly according to the truth. Thus, the courts should not take away their right to debate and to decide this matter of marriage policy. |

**Table 3:  Descriptions and summary of each data** *(cont.)*

| No. | Description of data | Summary |
|---|---|---|
| 3 | **Speake**r- Jeff Bell<br>**Year of speech**- 2014<br>**Approx. length**- 1.47<br>**Approx. words**- 178 | Bell says that the nature of marriage is made up of a husband and a wife and it concerns a mother and a father. He claims that it is a self-evident truth that must be upheld and cannot be changed. |
| 4 | **Speake**r- Brian Brown<br>**Year of speech**- 2014<br>**Approx. length**- 4.19<br>**Approx. words**- 436 | Brown says that God defines marriage as the union of a man and a woman by its nature. Mothers and fathers are different and, that husbands and wives have an important role in raising their children.  However, judges and courts use their power to redefine something that is considered unacceptable. Also, his group is underrepresented in the media. |
| 5 | **Speake**r- Rev. Fr. Johannes (Hans) Jacobse<br>**Year of speech**- 2015<br>**Approx. length**- 5.04<br>**Approx. words**- 414 | Jacobse mentions the words of God that marriage is for one man and one woman to create a child. Children need both parents. Marriage is natural and the intent purpose of God.  If people oppose it, it can have bad effects.  Also.  the state will control how people live. They will lose their freedom, and the family will be weakened, and the society will crumble. |
| 6 | **Speaker-** Mat Staver<br>**Year of speech-** 2015<br>**Approx. length-** 5.14<br>**Approx. words-** 805 | Staver says that marriage is defined by God as the union of a man and a woman from which children are born in the image of God and provide the best family unit for raising children. The courts can use their power to control and force people. |
| 7 | **Speaker-** Cathy Ruse<br>**Year of speech-** 2015<br>**Approx. length-** 5.16<br>**Approx. words-** 246 | Ruse points out that Christians believe that marriage is only the union of a man and a woman.   Mother and father cannot be replaced by each other. People are affected with their living and losing jobs because of their beliefs, in contrast to Obama's assertion that no one should lose their job because of who they love. |
| 8 | **Speaker-** Rev. Bill Owens Sr.<br>**Year of speech-** 2015<br>**Approx. length-** 1.32<br>**Approx. words-** 244 | Owen says that God defines marriage as the union of one man and one woman. Mother and father are different and cannot be replaced. Authorities overlook the voice of people and use their power to change society. |

### 4.1 Discourse of Justification

Van Dijk (2004) pointed out that the discourse of discrimination often does not appear blatantly as discrimination, but takes the form of justification in order to confirm and legitimize a certain ideology through discourse. For this reason, the researchers aim to investigate the justifications of heteronormativity against SSM.

From the data, we found that a number of main justifications are deployed in the speeches to support the anti-SSM legalization movement. Also, it could be detected that the main reasons mentioned in the speeches delivered by various speakers are similar, referring to religion, human reproduction, and parents' role, as indicated by examples 1-5 below:

(1) "***Marriage is by its very nature something and that thing is the union of one man and one woman.*** Now at a time where we've seen judges and courts decide that they have ***the right to redefine what God has created*** … We're here gathering for ***something so simple*** that mothers and fathers are different and unique and special, that ***husbands and wives have an important role to play in the rearing of their children***" Brian Brown (NationForMarriage, 2014b, 0:37).

(2) "***Marriage is one man and one woman*** because it takes ***one man and one woman to create a child. This is written in nature*** and if we look deeply into ***nature*** what do we discover. ***We discover intent, purpose and meaning and that meaning comes from the very mouth of God*** … ***Marriage is one man and one woman*** because ***it takes one man and one woman to create a child***, this is written in ***nature***" Rev. Fr. Johannes (Hans) Jacobse (NationFor Marriage, 2015d, 0:37).

(3) "***Children*** are born in ***the image of God*** and ***provide the best family unit for raising young boys and young girls***… union of one man and one woman for life" Mat Staver (NationForMarriage, 2015b, 0:22).

(4) "Marriage is made up of a husband and a wife. ***If that wife is fortunate enough to have a baby or if that couple is fortunate enough to adopt a baby or a child, then marriage is about a mother and a father***" Jeff Bell (NationForMarriage, 2014c, 0:15).

(5) "***I am a mother. And I know that no man can be a mother. No man can be a mother. Just as I could never be a father. And children need both.*** And that's why government is involved in marriage in the first place. ***As a mother I would never want a public school to teach my child that two fathers are the same thing as a mother and a father or that mothers are expendable***" Cathy Ruse (NationForMarriage, 2015a, 0:54).

The analysis indicates that the speakers justify their stance to oppose SSM legalization by presenting the words of God, nature, and human reproduction as support for their arguments. Referring to God serves to make their discourse appear neutral and to pass responsibility for possible

consequences to their source (van Dijk, 2011). In examples 1 and 2, the main premises are that marriage is defined by God as the union of a man and a woman, and to change that would go against natural law. The argument regarding nature also refers to the well-known Christian belief that God created nature for humans. Moreover, considering a marriage between a man and a woman as natural implies that any other form of marriage is unnatural without necessarily saying it explicitly. Additionally, they propose their notion arguing that marriage and family are associated with God given role of human and it is a step to fulfill human reproduction and parenting (see all examples above). Thus, in this situation, once reproduction is mentioned, the speakers intend to exclude LGBTQI from marriage and the family (Peterson, 2011). With regard to parents' role, the researchers see that the speakers have made their point that it is the primary role of a husband and a wife, (example 1, 4) to be a good father and mother (example 1, 4, 5). In this sense, the use of those words mentioned is related to gender, what is linked to the common perception of sexuality, and can imply that it is not the role of same-sex couples. Furthermore, in this case, the words of God and natural roles also lead to rational belief in general knowledge that coincides with heteronormative ideology. As van Dijk (2004) points out, God and human roles could be regarded as a strategy to deny or mitigate the discriminatory discourse.

### 4.2  Discourse of *Other*

According to van Dijk (2004), discourse of *Other* is an element of discriminatory discourse. He identified *Other* as represented in terms of negativity which can be classified into three main negative topics: *difference*, *deviance*, and *threat*. These topics are biased and imply negative stereotypes of the target to emphasize the bad qualities of the *Other*. This kind of presentation is intended to identify the *Other* as a problem in order to segregate them from the rest of the society. In this part of the analysis, we identify agents who are mentioned as opponents in the discourse and examine how they are portrayed according to the three negative topics of van Dijk (2004).

From the data, we found that discourse of the *Other* is mainly presented in terms of *'threat,'* and people who are mentioned as an opponent in the discourse can be categorized into 2 groups as follows:

### 4.2.1 Authority

This group refers to people in authority who are concerned with SSM legislation, namely; *judges, government agents, President Obama, courts, the U.S. Supreme Court,* and *the state*. They are identified as *Other* in the discourse and presented in terms of power to force and control people, as seen in examples (6)- (9)

(6)  "***The courts** must not take away our authority* as citizens to debate and to decide this matter of marriage policy" Jennifer Marshall (NationForMarriage, 2014d, 2:18).

(7) "All because *the heavy hand of **government** feels the need to step in and cut the debate short.* This is good your voice is needed; this conversation must continue. Please *don't allow the heavy hand of **government** to cut the debate short* … ***President Barack Obama***. Let me be clear, ***Mr. President***, when religious *people are forced to deny their deeply held religious conviction, that is not called balance; that is called tyranny* and that is not what this country stands for" Alison Howard (NationForMarriage, 2014a, 1:51).

(8)  "***The state** will be telling you how to live and you will lose your freedom,* and the family will be weakened, and the society will crumble and might even be destroyed" Rev. Fr. Johannes (Hans) Jacobse (NationForMarriage, 2015d, 1:57).

(9) "***The United States Supreme Court*** I certainly have respect for this court, but I have no respect and cannot respect *the lawless decision*. This Court has not always been right on the issue of marriage. *In the 1800 (the authority) issued the infamous Dred Scott decision in **Justice Taney** said, "Sorry, Dred, no rights for you here at this high court", because they said blacks were inferior human beings*… The famous ***Oliver Wendell Holmes** wrote the infamous words " Three generations of imbeciles are enough" saying to carry Buck. **The Commonwealth of Virginia** can forcibly sterilize you to get rid of your population* because you have low IQ. That was a racist bigoted decision" Mat Staver (NationForMarriage, 2015b, 1:36).

In the analysis, the researchers found that the authorities who are mentioned in the discourse are illustrated in terms of the power to judge, control, and subjugate people, which results in their loss of freedom. Example (7): "***Mr. President**, when religious people are forced to deny their deeply held religious conviction, that is not called balance; that is called tyranny*" shows that the speaker aims at the President ( Barack Obama)  and refers to him in terms of an authoritarian forcing people to deny their religious beliefs. Also, at that time, he was in a powerful position in the U.S. and one who worked for SSM legalization. Example (8): "***The state** will be telling you how to live and you will lose your freedom*" demonstrates that people will be controlled by the state and will not have the freedom to live their lives. Moreover, example (9) mentions a historical Supreme Court case story involving discrimination to reinforce the unjust image of the Court. These examples identify the authorities involved in the legalization process as threats to citizens.

### 4.2.2 Media

This group refers to public communication channels. The media are mentioned in the discourse as underrepresenting and distorting information about NOM and its allies. Examples of this discourse are (10)-(11):

(10) "It's a little weird to see you all here. So many of you. Because I and these other speakers do media interviews and ***the media tells us that you don't exist. Well, they're here. Tell them that you exist.*** Let him hear you" Alison Howard (NationForMarriage, 2014a, 0:22).

(11) "***We hear time and time again from some in the media that the fight to protect marriage is over,*** we are here today to say NO" … Listening to the music earlier, ***I think at times our side has been caricatured in the media*** as if it's only one group, one faith, one color, one religion. This is not true" Brian Brown (NationForMarriage, 2014b, 1:19).

Here, we found that the media are another group identified as an opponent since the media are a means of distributing information that affects the perception of the majority of people. In examples 10 and 11, the speakers label the media as a threat to their group. These statements show that the media not only distorts facts about them but also overlooks and underrepresents them.

### 4.3 Discourse of *Us*

According to van Dijk (2004), the discourse of *Us* is another element in the discourse of discrimination. It represents the *positivity* of *Us* or portrays Us as *victims* who are affected by the actions of the *Other*. Showing positive self-presentation helps the speakers to exhibit their good qualities and conceal their negativity. Moreover, labeling themselves as *victims* emphasizes their weakness and amplifies the evils of the *Other*. Thus, we analyzed this discourse by investigating how the speakers present themselves and their stance in the discourse of anti-SSM.

Analysis shows that in the March for Marriage speeches, *Us* is presented as *victims*. The NOM group portray themselves as passive agents affected by the threat of SSM legalization, which would deprive them of control over their own lives. This can be seen in examples (12)-(13) below.

(12) "***People are losing their jobs because of their beliefs.*** In fact, ***some people are being forced to participate in things that they morally and religiously object to***" Alison Howard (NationForMarriage, 2014a, 1:33).

(13) "It is ***Christians who are being publicly shamed because of our beliefs. It is Christians who are losing our jobs because of our beliefs***" Cathy Ruse (NationForMarriage, 2015a, 4:20).

In these examples, the discourse of the *Other* is portrayed in terms of a threat to NOM and its supporters. The speakers identify their group as victims because of their stance. They indicate that people like them are being coerced to reject their beliefs under the threat of losing their jobs.

### 4.4  Summary of findings

According to our analysis of heteronormative discourse, we found that NOM and their supporters are discriminated against by the society in general and treated unfairly because of their beliefs, which are presented as only sacral and natural. Discrimination against SSM is enacted in the discourse by portraying the *Other* as a *threat.* Instead of presenting the group who would benefit from this bill such as LGBTQI as a threat*,* the discourse represents the authorities responsible for SSM legalization and the media as *Other*. This group is said to be the culprit enabling the deviant action of a certain individual to become a social threat. The speeches argue that the authorities and media have legal and social influence; hence they have the potential to direct social sentiment by overtly supporting SSM. Their actions tarnish the image of the NOM group as they are represented in the mainstream media as bigoted. Hence, they consider this group of *Other* as opponents who are treating *Us* unfairly. Since authorities play an important role in legitimizing SSM and the media foster social support for the movement, NOM feels that they are being marginalized and cannot get their voice heard. In other words, they are losing their freedom of speech.

In the discourse, media are targeted for posing a threat to the image of March For Marriage members; making them look bad in the eyes of the people by distorting and underrepresenting information published about *Us*. The media action makes people distrustful and fearful of the group. Thus, the speakers  are presenting themselves as underprivileged citizens who are *victims* of the authorities and media action. To conclude, speakers identify authorities and media as *Other* in the discourse and present them as a *threat* whose actions can cause negative effects.

The overall findings with regards to classifications of discriminatory discourse against SSM legalization demonstrate that LGBTQI is not directly mentioned in the discourse; instead, the authorities engaged in the legalization process and the media are mentioned in the discourse and portrayed as a *threat,* while heterosexuals are represented as *victims* who need to defend themselves and their allies from the actions of the authorities and the media. Also, words of God and natural roles are used to justify heteronormativity instead of explicit discrimination. This strategy is adopted in consideration of the speakers' desire to protect themselves from any possible consequences because they realize that they could be seen as intolerant if they explicitly deny or discriminate against the *Other* (van Dijk, 1992, p. 116).

It is worth noting that the word 'love' is not mentioned at all in the speeches under investigation even though the event is about marriage, which is widely considered as a social ritual to mark a consummation of love. The speakers mention reproduction rather than love. In contrast, LGBTQI highlights the freedom to love as the essential reason for marriage equality. A number of

familiar catchphrases focused on love, such as "love must-win" and "love is love" have been put forward by advocates for SSM legalization. For this reason, we conclude that March for Marriage speakers avoid direct confrontation with the LGBTQI group. Firstly, they did not mention this particular group in their speeches in an attempt to avoid the perception of bigotry. Secondly, they do not engage in direct confrontation with the discourse of LGBTQI and its emphasis on love. Instead of arguing about the meaning of love, they create an argument about the human duty to reproduce, which is sanctified by the words of God.

In sum, we can see that the discourse of justification, discourse of *Other*, and discourse of *Us* are the main mechanisms deployed to oppose legalization of SSM. According to the concept of the discourse of discrimination mentioned in 3.1.1, speakers show an understanding of social conditions and the consequences of actions if they directly attack or say something negative about the *Other*. Thus, in this study, the anti-SSM speakers present themselves as ordinary people needing to defend what is right by using shared social beliefs to justify their ideology. Moreover, they represent themselves as *victims* who are threatened by powerful social groups, such as the media. They portray themselves as weak to amplify the stereotypical brutality of the *Other*.

## 5. Discussion

This paper investigates discourse of heteronormativity arguing that it is a kind of hegemonic ideology and that heterosexual people generalize heteronormativity proposing that heterosexuality is the only kind of relationship worthy of the sanctity of marriage. The speakers refer to the words of God and the rule of nature to justify their argument. The findings show that heteronormative discourse is underpinned by religion, most especially Christianity. As such, religion is the main justification of heterosexual Christian to oppose SSM.

In order to put forward this argument, the speakers assume that the audience shares the same faith, that is Christianity. By highlighting the link between marriage and human reproduction, audience are led to the belief that marriage can only take place between a man and a woman. This discourse affirms the superiority of heterosexuality. The analysis suggests that those justifications are used to legitimize heteronormative values and justify the anti-SSM stance. Also, discriminatory discourse does not appear in the form of discrimination but justification. The speakers oppose SSM with assertion rather than explicit discrimination. This findings correspond with Rojas-Lizana (2011), who found that discrimination against homosexuality is not obviously manifested through discourse, but it is done in the form of justification and argument. Discrimination against SSM issues reflects the state of gender and class organization in society under heteronormativity. For these speakers, the discourse and legal regulations may help to construct and maintain heteronormative ideology. In other words, they use

discriminatory discourse in order to maintain a hierarchy of sexuality through legitimacy of law.

In addition to this, the authorities connected with the process of legalization and the media are major targets of the discourse, identified as the *Other* on the topic of *threat* while heterosexual people are presented as *victims* who must defend themselves against the authorities and the media. This kind of discourse can incite people to fight for themselves and their party. This suggests that the speakers identified authorities and the media as opponents. By presenting themselves as *victims,* the speakers emphasize the brutality of the *Other*. Arguments on the topic of *threat* may constitute the negative image of authorities and media among the public. March for Marriage speeches which are delivered in publicly on the day of the rally and are still accessible online have potential to affect a large number of people. Hence, they may be able to construct a heteronormative consensus in the society that may finally affect SSM legalization process.

The overall characteristics of anti- SSM discourse in this study can be illustrated by Figure 2 below.
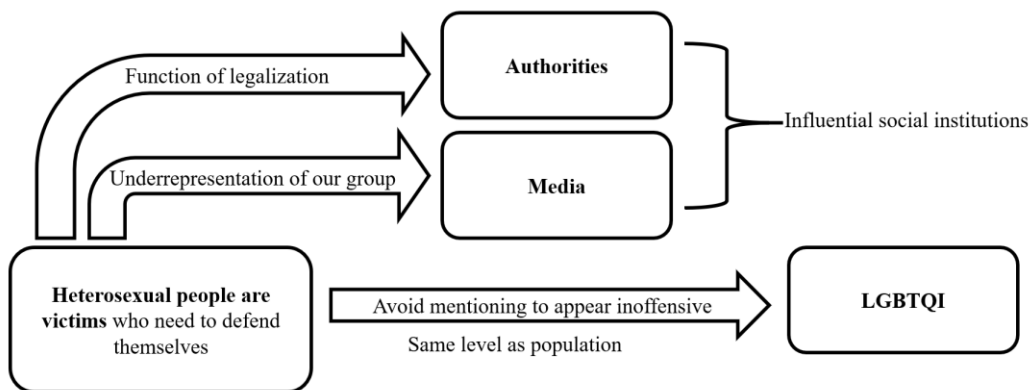


**Figure 2: The characteristics of anti- SSM discourse in this study**

## 6. Conclusion

In conclusion, heteronormativity is a hegemonic ideology and it is presented as such in heteronormative discourse against SSM. Heterosexuals seek to garner public support in resisting the legalization of SSM by presenting heteronormativity as the only natural and god given relationship, worthy of holy matrimony. Heteronormativity is understood as the idea that only two genders exist and that opposite-sex attraction is normal and natural (Harris & White, 2018). As it is generally understood, this term may be related to feelings, emotions, or expressions of negation or hatred towards LGBTQI people. However, this study demonstrates that heterosexuals do not express themselves in that way. LGBTQI is not mentioned openly and the speakers seem very

careful not to denigrate them. Instead, heterosexual people present themselves as *victims*. In order to portray themselves in this way, they avoid mentioning LGBTQI to save themselves from appearing bigoted. They justify their stance by referring to religion or nature to delegitimize LGBTQI (Peterson, 2011). Furthermore, they turn against the authorities and the media, presenting them as a threat to normal and ordinary people. The discourse leads listeners to feel that the speakers are being treated unfairly. Furthermore, heterosexuals are led to believe that their voices are overlooked, and that they are being marginalized by the authorities and the media, who (van Dijk, 1992, p. 116).

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# Appendix

**Transcriptions**

1) Alison Howard (NationForMarriage, 2014a):

"How's everybody doing out there? I am so excited to stand with you today in support for God's model for marriage. But let me be honest it's a little weird to see you all here. So many of you. Because I and these other speakers do media interviews and the media tells us that you don't exist. Well, they're here tell them that you exist. Let him hear you. Right now, marriage is at a crossroads and it is so exciting to see you all here. Let me put it this way, you may not have thought of this but if we lose this fight my generation will be the last generation to remember marriage as only between a man and a woman. Do not give up restore and reinforce marriage in your homes and show us what it looks like. It is far past the time that we reject the lie that homosexuality and redefining marriage has no consequences. In America, today, as you all know, people are losing their jobs because of their beliefs. In fact, some people are being forced to participate in things that they morally and religiously object to. That is not our country. All because the heavy hand of government feels the need to step in and cut the debate short. This is good your voice is needed; this conversation must continue. Please don't allow the heavy hand of government to cut the debate short. They did it for roe v wade, didn't they? Forty years ago, they tried to end the discussion on abortion. They stepped in and ended the debate. But 40 years later we still fight for life. And if we must in 40 years we will fight for marriage. Somethings never change, somethings can't change. Marriage has been the same for 5,000 years and we will fight to protect the truth of marriage. You know what does change through a couple politicians' position on marriage namely; President Barack Obama. Let me be clear Mr. President, when religious people are forced to deny their deeply held religious conviction that is not called balance that is called tyranny and that is not what this country stands for. Thank you, guys, for being here today. Remember this marriage does not need to be redefined, it needs to be underlined marriage is between a man and a woman. Marriage does not need to be re-examined; it needs to be reinforced in our homes in our churches in our communities. And in no way, does marriage need to be repurposed, it has a purpose. God bless you all for being here. Keep up the good fight and we stand with you. God bless."

2) Jennifer Marshall (NationForMarriage, 2014d):

"Welcome. We are so glad to see you here today. And are you ready to march? Alright, we are a few minutes to the countdown to the march. You know throughout our American history, millions of people have

come to this march, to this Capital, to stand for what is good and right and true. They have stood for Liberty and life and justice, but you know there is almost no cause more basic and foundational to who we are as a people than what we stand for here today. Marriage is one of the most basic goods human beings have ever known and today we stand to uphold that good. Marriage brings together the two halves of humanity. It recognizes the basic biological fact that it takes a man and a woman to bring new life into the world and it recognizes that a child needs a mom and a dad. We should not allow public policy to deny that reality and we should not accept silence on this subject. No one should be denied the freedom to speak and to act publicly according to the truth that marriage is the union of a man and a woman. Now we should be clear all Americans share the right to live freely but no one has the right to force us to act contrary to our beliefs. Now today we are engaged in a great debate about the most basic institution of human life. The conversation about what marriage is and why it matters has only just begun. We should not allow it to be silenced before it starts in earnest. The courts must not take away our authority as citizens to debate and to decide this matter of marriage policy. Those of you here at the March for marriage are helping to make sure the voices of millions of Americans are heard. Now more than ever we need to raise our voices to make clear why marriage matters for children, for civil society, and for America's future. Everyone who believes that marriage is the union of a man and a woman must stand up, speak out, and spread the word. Thank you for coming to Washington marriage marchers to do that today. God bless you."

3) Jeff Bell (NationForMarriage, 2014c):
"To me, the debate about marriage is very simple Marriage is made up of a husband and a wife. If that wife is fortunate enough to have a baby or if that couple is fortunate enough to adopt a baby or a child, then marriage is about a mother and a father. That is a self-evident truth our founders believed that certain truths are self-evident. They are truths that have always been are and always will be. I stand with the founders and believing that there is such a thing as self-evident truth. And to me I can't speak anyone else about this but what I said about marriage is a self-evident truth that must be uphold and lies about it cannot be accepted silently. I am glad that the organizer of this rally the national organization for marriage agrees with the founders agrees with me about the nature of marriage as a self-evident truth and I praise and admire Brian Brown and all of his colleagues for the wonderful courageous work that they are doing. Thank you."

4) Brian Brown (NationForMarriage, 2014b):
"We're here to stand for something that many of us thought we would never have to come to a march to stand for. We're here gathering for something so simple that mothers and fathers are different and unique and special, that husbands and wives have an important role to play in the rearing of their children that marriage is by its very nature something and that thing that it is, is the union of one man and one woman. Now at a time where we've seen judges and courts decide that they have the right to redefine what God has created. At a time where it seems like every day we look up and there's some bad news and, on a newscast, talking about another judge who redefined marriage. And when we hear time and time again from some in the media that the fight to protect marriage is over, we are here today to say NO. We are here today to say that no matter the circumstances, no matter how difficult it may be. We will stand in and out of season for the truth of marriage. Listening to the music earlier, I think at times our side has been caricatured in the media as if it's only one group, one faith, one colour, one religion, this is not true. Those of us that are here today come from many different traditions, many different backgrounds, many different ethnicities. We have Catholics, Orthodox, Protestant, Jewish, white black Hispanic. People who believe firmly that God has created marriage and we would have some folks that don't believe in God but know that marriage is the union of a man and a woman. What we are here today to say is that we stand for the truth about marriage. And we know that someday whether it's one year, 10 years, 20 years, or decades from now people will look back at this time and remember those of us who stood up for the truth. And as stood on the right side of truth, but we stand on the right side of history. So, in everything we do today let us lift up in love the truth about marriage. If we march if people try and interfere or if there's any unkind or hateful words, we stand for the love, the beauty, the truth about marriage. We stand for something that we will not relent on, but we stand in love. Now we have many speakers today. I know it's hard, but we have some great, great leaders who've stood who stood firmly for marriage even in difficult times."

5) Rev. Fr. Johannes (Hans) Jacobse (NationForMarriage, 2015d):
"Christ is risen. Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and then to God's the things that are gods. Marriage begins with the Lord not with the state. The codification of law in marriage is merely a recognition of that which already exists. Marriages one man and one woman because it takes one man and one woman to create a child. This is written in nature and if we look deeply into nature what do we discover. We discover

intent purpose and meaning and that meaning comes from the very mouth of God. If we do not recognize that if that consciousness grows dim than what we end up doing a seeing the state as the source and the arbiter of what makes human relationships morally licit. We can't do that because if you give to Caesar the things that are God, he never gets it back. And in the end in the end the state will be telling you how to live and you will lose your freedom, and the family will be weakened, and the Society will crumble and might even be destroyed. God created the family in the beginning, in the beginning, it was Adam and Eve and not Adam and Steve. This this this is a sacred trust bequeathed to us. And we must stand up for what is good and what is true and what is real for the generation that follows us. We must, we must children need parents. Children are not consumer items. Children do not validate lifestyles. They don't, they don't. The Orthodox Church in 2003, when this was just beginning and got together, and the bishops issued a statement. And the sum of the statement is this because marriage comes from God the Orthodox Church 2003 cannot and will not affirm anything but natural traditional marriage. Metropolitan Joseph in supporting this march with full-throated support said this is where we have to take a stand this is worth defending, much is at stake. My brothers and sisters render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are gods. But when they get mixed up and they get confused stand up make your voice heard. And do it with clarity with benevolence with deep charity of heart because God loves all. Jesus Christ died for everyone, not just the believers we forget that. But stand up stand up and then to God be all the glory honor and worship. Amen."

6) Mat Staver (NationForMarriage, 2015b):
"Thank you I'm here with my wonderful wife Anita we are now working on our 31st years of marriage. And I'm wearing this white bow and I hope everyone here in this crowd gets a white bow it's out there at the end on each side so get one if you don't have it. It symbolizes the gift of God that marriage is the union of a man and a woman from which children are born in the image of God and provide the best family unit for raising young boys and young girls. It also is white to symbolize the purity of marriage and it's a knot to symbolize that union of one man and one woman for life. In 2009 a group of individuals inspired by the late Chuck Colson got together and pinned a document called the Manhattan declaration. At the end of that document ends with some of these words "We will fully and ungrudgingly render to Caesar what is Caesar's. But under no circumstances will we render to Caesar what is God's". Recently Deacon Keith Fournier a Catholic Christian and me an evangelical

Christian crow draft of the marriage pledge. And on that marriage pledge, Orthodox Christians, Catholic Christians, evangelical Christians, Jewish individuals from around the country have signed on to this. Saying that, although we may have theological differences on certain issues here and there one thing in which we are unified is on the issue marriage and it is the union of one man and one woman. As someone who has argued before the United States Supreme Court, I certainly have respect for his court, but I have no respect and cannot respect the lawless decision. This Court has not always been right on the issue of marriage. In the 1800 issued the infamous Dred Scott decision in Justice Taney said "Sorry Dred no rights for you here at this high court", because they said blacks were inferior human beings. How racist and bigoted was that and how contrary to the natural law of God is that decision. It is no decision worth respecting today and it was no decision worth respecting then. And in 1927, the famous Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote the infamous words "Three generations of imbeciles are enough" saying to carry Buck. The Commonwealth of Virginia can forcibly sterilize you to get rid of your population because you have low IQ that was a racist bigoted decision. It flies in the face of the dignity of every person created in the image of God. No one will defend it now and no one should have defended it then. I say now as we are standing on the precipice of this major decision before the United States Supreme Court. These leaders that came together in this marriage pledged that I hope you sign on it. Defender marriage org are saying this supreme court of The United States with all due respect, we warn you do not cross this line. And as much as I'm an attorney and I respect the rule of law. I also respect the higher law. And when an earthly law collides with the higher law. We have no choice to obey the higher law. We cannot we cannot comply to Caesars demands that are in direct conflict with the higher law and that's what the doctor Martin Luther King wrote a letter from the Birmingham jail there are two kinds of laws just and unjust you have to obey the just laws. But the unjust laws are no laws at all, and we cannot obey those. Marriage as the union of a man and a woman. As a policy matter any other union says that God's design is flawed as a policy matter any other union says that boys don't need fathers and girls don't need mothers and we know that God's creation the divine architect that infused it into the natural created order knows what's best for the family children need mothers and fathers. This United States Supreme Court, nor any governmental entity does not have the authority to redefine God's natural created order of marriage. The marriage pledge ends with some of these words we stand together in defense of marriage make no mistake about our resolve. While there are many things, we can endure redefining

marriage is so fundamental to the natural order and the common good that this is the line we must draw and when we cannot and will not cross. May God bless this country may the union of a man and a woman not be redefined by some justices on this high court. But if they cross that line this is a line we cannot, and we will not cross. May God bless you and may God continue to bless the United States of America."

7) Cathy Ruse (NationForMarriage, 2015a):
" I am a Catholic Christian. And that means it's impossible for me to believe that marriage can be many different things. It is only one thing the union of a man and a woman. No judge, no government agents, no Twitter campaign, no media bullies will ever make me change that belief. I am a mother. And I know that no man can be a mother. No man can be a mother. Just as I could never be a father. And children need both. And that's why government is involved in marriage in the first place. As a mother I would never want a public school to teach my child that two fathers are the same thing as a mother and a father or that mothers are expendable. The government must never teach this to our daughters. Finally, I'm a lawyer and that means I will fight for the rights. For all people to live and work according to their beliefs. President Obama likes to say that no one should lose their job because of who they love. What if who they love is Jesus Christ? Today it is Christians who are being publicly shamed because of our beliefs. It is Christians who are losing our jobs because of our beliefs. Next week one side will ask the Supreme Court to choose winners and losers. The other side will ask the court to let the people decide for ourselves. I stand with the people. Muchas gracias."

8) Rev. Bill Owens Sr. (NationForMarriage, 2015c):
"Thank you, Brian Brown, for putting this affair together, he has done a great job let's give him a big hand. Today I want to talk about we the people. A few months ago, we celebrated the 50anniversary of the Voting Rights Act, but America voted for marriage between a man and a woman and they took it from us. What kind of America is that when they turned it over to judges and roll politicians for big money? It must stop. We stand the day for marriage between one man and one woman and the anti-idea comes from God. And I'm going to put my speech away and just tell you something. I have a little boy three-year-old and a little girl two-year-old. And when we adopted our children, people told me " Owens you're crazy" I already read six you're crazy for adopting a child. I said, "Are you crazy? Do you know how many black boys and girls in America who never have a father for one day"? They don't have

a father for one day, so I'm a loving father and I can tell you it's a difference between a mother and a father. They love me but by the way, they love their mother. And how can a man be a mother a man cannot be a mother. I could not be a mother to my children, but I can be a good father to my children. God bless America."