

Where do we go from here?
The 2016 election and our future
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On January 20, 2017, Hillary Rodham Clinton will take the oath of office as our nation's forty-fifth president. The former First Lady, Secretary of State, and US Senator won yesterday's election in one of the most contentious and expensive political campaigns in American history.¹

What does the 2016 election mean for the future of our country? What does God's word say about the challenges and opportunities we face?

What the election means for America

The Brookings Institute labeled the 2016 presidential race "the most important election since 1932." They cited health care, Social Security, the environment, and the courts as issues at stake.² Christians would add other issues to the list, including abortion, religious liberty, and immigration.

Abortion

Previous pro-choice presidents and candidates defended the right to an abortion while regretting its necessity. For instance, Bill Clinton made famous the assertion that abortion should "not only be safe and legal, it should be rare."³ Al Gore declared in 1992, "Bill Clinton and I support the right of a woman to choose. That doesn't mean we're pro-abortion; in fact, we believe there are way too many abortions in this country." President Obama has also focused on the need to reduce "unintended pregnancies" and minimize "the need for abortion."⁴

However, Mrs. Clinton's position on this issue could lead to an unprecedented new level of abortions.

The Democratic Party's platform is clear: "We believe unequivocally . . . that every woman should have access to quality reproductive health care services, including safe and legal abortion." As a result, "We will continue to oppose—and seek to overturn—federal and state laws and policies that impede a woman's access to abortion, including by repealing the Hyde Amendment."⁵ The platform also supports repeal of the Helms Amendment.

The Hyde Amendment was enacted in 1976 to bar use of federal funds to pay for abortion unless the pregnancy resulted from incest, rape, or to save the life of the mother. Previously, the federal government paid for 300,000 abortions with taxpayer funds every year from 1973 until the Amendment was enacted.

It is estimated that the Hyde Amendment has saved the lives of approximately two million children who would otherwise have been aborted. It routinely saves more than 60,000 lives every

year in the US. More than 258,000 babies in Texas, more than 171,000 babies in Florida, and more than 100,000 babies in Illinois, Ohio, and Pennsylvania have been saved.⁶

The Helms Amendment, adopted in 1973, limits the use of US foreign assistance for abortion. If it is repealed, taxpayers (regardless of their position on abortion) will help fund abortions in other countries.

Hillary Clinton has repeatedly stated her support for repealing the Hyde Amendment, claiming that it makes it more difficult for low-income women to obtain an abortion.⁷ (Vice-president elect Tim Kaine continues to support the Amendment, despite reports to the contrary.⁸) Mrs. Clinton has also stated her opposition to the Helms Amendment, citing the use of rape by terrorist groups overseas.⁹

In August 2015, Mrs. Clinton compared those who oppose abortion to "some of the terrorist groups" and "people who don't want to live in the modern world."¹⁰ It seems plausible that she will support ongoing efforts to force medical providers to refer patients for abortions. For example, an Illinois law set to take effect January 2017 requires providers to help patients seeking abortions by referring or transferring them to such providers or by furnishing written information about such providers. The ACLU unsuccessfully sought to force a Catholic healthcare group not just to refer patients for abortions, but to perform them. Mrs. Clinton has affirmed her belief that all employers must pay for contraceptives and abortifacients, no matter their religious objections.¹¹

Through executive actions and Supreme Court nominations, the president-elect can be expected to advance access to abortion to new levels in America. In addition, we are likely to see abortions escalate in coming years as genetic testing reveals more information about unborn children than ever before.

Parents can already know the gender of their unborn child as well as data on a wide spectrum of heritable diseases. In the future, parents may be able to learn about their unborn child's aptitudes as well. Intelligence, athletic capacities, body type, and other characteristics are likely to be more knowable through such testing.

So long as abortion remains legal in America, the lives of unborn children will be at risk. During the incoming Clinton administration, abortion will probably escalate in frequency and availability.

The Supreme Court

Mrs. Clinton could nominate as many as four justices to the Supreme Court.

The late Antonin Scalia's seat will be the first to be filled. If Mrs. Clinton nominates and the Senate confirms a liberal justice, he or she will join Sonia Sotomayor, Elena Kagan, Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen Breyer to form a five-vote majority. This would be the first liberal majority since the 1960s.

Ginsburg and Breyer are eight-three and seventy-eight years old, respectively. Assuming they retire during her administration, Mrs. Clinton could then nominate young justices to form a five-vote majority for decades to come. If Anthony Kennedy retires (he is eighty years old), she could create a lasting six-vote majority.

Of course, the president's appointee must be confirmed by the US Senate. After the November 8 election, Democrats won control of the Senate, holding fifty-one seats to the Republicans' forty-nine. As a result, Republicans cannot block Mrs. Clinton's nominations to the Supreme Court.

If Mrs. Clinton successfully nominates four liberal justices, they would join Obama nominees Elena Kagan and Sonia Sotomayor to create a six-justice majority. Chief Justice John Roberts, joined by George W. Bush nominee Samuel Alito and George H. W. Bush nominee Clarence Thomas, would compose a three-justice minority.

According to *Newsweek*, a five-vote liberal majority "will enable Clinton to remake the United States." The article notes that she could reduce free speech by restricting conservative talk radio and other conservative expression, increase the scope of content labeled as "hate" speech, and require all religious organizations to abide by the rules of federal programs. She could also reduce gun ownership by banning specific guns and instruct the attorney general to reverse previous court decisions in order to reduce or eliminate private gun ownership.¹² Of course, these conjectures are merely speculative for now.

What is certain is that as the Supreme Court hears cases regarding abortion, transgender rights, marriage, and a host of other social issues, its ideological composition is of crucial importance to the future of our nation.

In addition, Mrs. Clinton will be able to fill nearly one hundred vacancies in the federal district and circuit courts, with more to come during her term. Historian Allen Lichtman states that "she will thus have set the course of American jurisprudence for the next generation, with a major impact on matters such as civil rights and liberties, environmental and other business regulations, immigration, policing, and campaign finance."¹³

Religious liberty

Mrs. Clinton published an op-ed in the *Deseret News* on August 10, 2016 describing "what I have in common with Utah leaders." She stated that "as Americans, we hold fast to the belief that everyone has the right to worship however he or she sees fit." She adds, "I've been fighting to defend religious freedom for years. As secretary of state, I made it a cornerstone of our foreign policy to protect the rights of religious minorities around the world."¹⁴

Her party's platform also states, "We will do everything we can to protect religious minorities and the fundamental right of freedom of religion." It adds:

Democrats know that our nation, our communities, and our lives are made vastly stronger and richer by faith in many forms and the countless acts of justice, mercy, and tolerance it

inspires. We believe in lifting up and valuing the good work of people of faith and religious organizations and finding ways to support that work where possible.

However, the platform also states, "We will oppose all state efforts to discriminate against LGBT individuals, including legislation that restricts the right to access to public spaces." In this context, consider the next sentence: "We support a progressive vision of religious freedom that respects pluralism and rejects the misuse of religion to discriminate."¹⁵

The platform does not define such "misuse." However, it warns that "it is unacceptable to target, defame, or exclude anyone because of their race, ethnicity, national origin, language, religion, gender, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, or disability." The platform adds, "While freedom of expression is a fundamental constitutional principle, we must condemn hate speech that creates a fertile climate for violence." Apparently, the Democratic Party considers "defaming" someone on the basis of sexual orientation to be "hate speech."

There is reason to be concerned regarding Mrs. Clinton's approach to religious liberty. Speaking to the 2015 Women in the World Summit, she declared that "deep-seated cultural codes, religious beliefs and structural biases have to be changed." Marc Thiessen noted in *The Washington Post* that this is "perhaps the most radical statement against religious liberty every uttered by someone seeking the presidency." He added, "It is also deeply revealing. Clinton believes that, as president, it is her job not to respect to the views of religious conservatives but to force them to change their beliefs and bend to her radical agenda favoring taxpayer-funded abortion on demand."¹⁶

The US Commission on Civil Rights recently released a frightening report. It states clearly that if someone alleges discrimination relative to their sexual orientation or gender identity, their claim takes precedence over religious freedom. The Commission's chairman summarized the report: "The phrases 'religious liberty' and 'religious freedom' will stand for nothing except hypocrisy so long as they remain code words for discrimination, intolerance, racism, sexism, homophobia, Islamophobia, Christian supremacy or any form of intolerance."¹⁷

If the Commission's report becomes reality, will Christians be unable to engage in any public faith expression that someone considers intolerant? What would a same-sex couple say about my refusal to perform their wedding?

While Mrs. Clinton has apparently not commented on the report, her campaign recently received a stern letter from a group of black ministers concerned about her support for religious freedom. Delivered to her campaign headquarters on October 31, 2016, the letter was signed by more than twenty-five interdenominational black bishops and pastors. They say their group is comprised only of Democrats and independents.

In their letter, they note that "there are some in your party who seek to criminalize our biblical texts as hate speech." They also reproach the Clinton's campaign's "open contempt for religious freedom" as revealed in emails published by WikiLeaks that showed top staffers deriding Catholics.¹⁸

As secretary of state, Mrs. Clinton made a speech at Georgetown University in which she used "freedom of worship" three times but "freedom of religion" not at all. Addressing senators the next month, she referred to "freedom of worship" four times and "freedom of religion" just once. The State Department later clarified that the terms "have often been used interchangeably through U.S. history." However, some observers worried that Mrs. Clinton was signaling a change in her approach to religious freedom.¹⁹

If our Constitution is interpreted to grant us "freedom of worship" but not "freedom of religion," such freedom could be limited to worship services. Pastors' free speech could be protected only when exercised during such a service. Church property not used for worship could be subject to taxation. This is an issue that bears watching over coming months and years.

Immigration

Hillary Clinton's campaign website promises that she will "introduce comprehensive immigration reform" that includes "a pathway to full and equal citizenship" within her first one hundred days in office.²⁰ She promises to "uphold the rule of law, protect our borders and national security, and bring millions of hardworking people into the formal economy." Of course, she will need to explain how a "pathway to full and equal citizenship" for illegal immigrants will "uphold the rule of law."

She will "end the three- and 10-year bars." Currently, a person in the US illegally for less than a year who voluntarily leaves is barred from being re-admitted for three years. If a person is here illegally for more than a year and leaves, he or she is barred from re-entering for ten years. These rules apply to those who married US citizens and/or have children while here illegally. However, they were enacted to discourage people from coming to the US illegally; Mrs. Clinton will need to account for a possible increase in illegal immigration as a result of her proposal.

The president-elect promises to "enforce immigration laws humanely," focusing on detaining and deporting immigrants "who pose a violent threat to public safety." She will "end family detention and close private immigration detention centers" for parents and children at our border. She intends to allow families, regardless of immigration status, to buy into Affordable Care Act exchanges. And she wants to make it easier for immigrants to become naturalized citizens.

Scripture clearly calls us to care for immigrants (see Exodus 22:21; Leviticus 19:33–34; Deuteronomy 10:18–19; 24: 19–22; Ezekiel 47:21–23; Zechariah 7:10; Malachi 3:5; Hebrews 13:2). At the same time, God's word teaches that border security and self-defense are essential (see Luke 11:21; Exodus 22:2; Proverbs 25:26; Nehemiah 4:17–18). And Scripture teaches that we must uphold and obey the laws of the land (see Romans 13:1–2; Titus 3:1; 1 Peter 2:13–14; 1 Timothy 1:8–10; Matthew 22:21).

Balancing the requirements of the law with border security and compassion for immigrants will be a great challenge for President Clinton, as it has been for previous administrations.

Other moral issues

The Democratic Party's platform supports efforts to guarantee "equal rights" regarding "public accommodations" for LGBT people. It opposes "all state efforts to discriminate against LGBT individuals, including legislation that restricts the right to access public spaces."

The Clinton campaign's website states that "lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender Americans deserve to live their lives free from discrimination."²¹ She promises to work with Congress to pass the Equality Act, legislation that would ban discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity in employment, housing, public accommodations, public education, federal funding, credit, and the jury system.

However, religious liberty expert Ryan Anderson believes that the Act threatens small business owners and endangers religious liberty and freedom of speech. He worries that the Act and similar laws "imperil religious liberty, privacy, economic freedom and child welfare, creating more problems than they aim to solve."²²

Mrs. Clinton's campaign website also promises that she will "end so-called 'conversion therapy' for minors." Religious liberty defenders worry that such a promise could infringe on the First Amendment rights of parents and pastors. As one advocate noted, "We cannot permit the government to dictate parents' rights to guide their family by the values that they see fit."²³

The Clinton campaign also makes clear its support for "marriage equality," the federal right to same-sex marriage. However, the Supreme Court language used to legalize this "right" can just as easily be used to legitimize polygamy and other marriage arrangements. Numerous groups are now promoting polygamy, pedophilia, and "zoophilia" (sexual relations between humans and animals).

How Christians should respond

Jesus gave us the foundational metaphor for our engagement with our culture when he told his followers,

You are the salt of the earth, but if salt has lost its taste, how shall its saltiness be restored? It is no longer good for anything except to be thrown out and trampled under people's feet. You are the light of the world. A city set on a hill cannot be hidden. Nor do people light a lamp and put it under a basket, but on a stand, and it gives light to all in the house. In the same way, let your light shine before others, so that they may see your good works and give glory to your Father who is in heaven (Matthew 5:13–16; all citations from ESV).

"You" is plural in the Greek, indicating that our Lord meant his metaphors for all believers, not just the "clergy" or his original apostles. "Are" is a present-tense statement, showing that we are at this moment what he claims us to be. "The" shows that we are the *only* salt and light of the world. "Salt" preserved, purified, and gave flavor. "Light" is the only antidote to the darkness of our culture.

Both salt and light are obvious when they are made public. Salt affects all it touches; light defeats darkness wherever it is displayed. The question is not whether we are the only salt and light of the culture. The question is whether we will fulfill our calling effectively.

So be encouraged. A little light or salt can change everything. Contact your world—salt and light are no good unless they are unleashed. And seek to glorify God, knowing he will use your good works to lead others to himself.

How can we be salt and light over the next four years?

Learning from Scripture

Trust the sovereignty of God

The 2016 election is America's latest expression of our long-running belief that citizens are capable of choosing their best leaders. But human freedom must be viewed in the context of divine sovereignty. Scripture is clear: "The heart of man plans his way, but the LORD establishes his steps" (Proverbs 16:9). As wise King Solomon noted, "The king's heart is a stream of water in the hand of the LORD; he turns it wherever he will" (Proverbs 21:1).

Furthermore, when people choose against the will of God, the Lord can redeem even their failures for his glory and our good: "Many are the plans in the mind of a man, but it is the purpose of the LORD that will stand" (Proverbs 19:21).

If we look to the government for salvation, we commit idolatry. The greatest needs of the human heart cannot be met by human means. No elected official can forgive sin or save souls. No government on earth can guarantee eternity in heaven.

God rules even over the darkest night and hardest day. He was in control on September 12, 2001 and he is on November 9, 2016. So know that your Father still rules on the throne of the universe. The question is, Does he rule on the throne of your heart?

Serve and pray for your leaders

The Apostle Paul was clear: "Let every person be subject to the governing authorities" (Romans 13:1). Peter agreed: "Be subject for the Lord's sake to every human institution, whether it be to the emperor as supreme, or to governors as sent by him to punish those who do evil and to praise those who do good" (1 Peter 2:13–14).

We are called to intercede for our leaders as well: "I urge that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all people, for kings and all who are in high positions . . ." (1 Timothy 2:1–2a). Such intercession is vital to our personal well-being: ". . . that we may lead a peaceful and quiet life, godly and dignified in every way" (v. 2b). And it is vital to our relationship with our Lord: "This is good, and it is pleasing in the sight of God our Savior, who desires all people to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth" (vv. 3–4).

The leader when Paul and Peter recorded these words was the Emperor Nero, one of the cruelest, most corrupt rulers in history. If early Christians could support and pray for him, we can most certainly support and pray for our elected leaders today, whoever they are.

Obey your highest authority

There's more to the story, however. Paul and Peter were both executed by Nero because they would not submit to his authority when the Empire demanded that they stop preaching the gospel. In the same way, when Peter and John were ordered by the religious authorities to stop preaching in the name of Jesus, they responded: "We cannot but speak of what we have seen and heard" (Acts 4:20). When arrested again, the apostles made a similar response: "We must obey God rather than men" (Acts 5:29).

If you must choose between obeying secular authority and obeying Jesus, always obey Jesus. But do all you can to obey earthly leaders while serving your Lord.

Learning from history

The Jerusalem Post called the 2016 election "the most vicious presidential race in modern history."²⁴ It's easy to believe that our nation has been so roiled by this election that we will never find unity again. Indeed, there are clear and deep divisions between significant people groups and policy positions in our country.

But we've been here before.

The 1800 election threatened to undo the new Republic. President John Adams ran for reelection against Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The latter two tied in the Electoral College; Alexander Hamilton threw his support to Jefferson, ensuring his election.

The 1824 election yielded no majority of electoral votes, so the House of Representatives had to decide the winner. John Quincy Adams was selected, though Andrew Jackson received more electoral votes. Adams then chose Henry Clay, the man who controlled the House, as his Secretary of State; Jackson called this a "corrupt bargain." The legitimacy of the presidency was questioned by many.

The 1860 election of Abraham Lincoln led to the Civil War. The 1876 election yielded no winner in the Electoral College; a fifteen-member commission decided the election for Rutherford Hayes, whose opponent won 250,000 more ballots in the popular vote and nineteen more electoral votes. In 1912, Theodore Roosevelt created a third party to run against his chosen successor, William Howard Taft; they split the vote, leading to Woodrow Wilson's election. The 2000 contest was decided five weeks after the election when the Supreme Court ruled by a narrow majority to stop recounts in Florida.

The Church has faced much greater persecution than we face in America today. I've traveled to Cuba eight times and can report first-hand on the courage exhibited by countless believers in the

face of enormous pressure. I've met Christians in China who risk much to worship Jesus. I've befriended former Muslims whose Christian commitment threatens their lives and families.

Ralph Waldo Emerson was right: "All I have seen teaches me to trust the Creator for all I have not seen."

Engaging culture

Seek transformation

In 1951, Richard Niebuhr published *Christ and Culture*.²⁵ It was my seminary textbook in biblical ethics; it is still considered fundamental and foundational to the discipline today. Niebuhr sketches the five ways Christians can relate their faith to their society and culture.

One: Christ against culture.

This model argues that we must have as little engagement with the fallen culture and its issues as possible. However, the Incarnation seems to contradict this approach. If the physical world is inherently fallen, how could Jesus have remained sinless while inhabiting flesh?

Two: Christ of culture.

This model attempts to integrate the culture and the Christian faith. It blurs the distinction between the two and adopts the prevailing culture as the way to understand the faith. However, the Great Commission gives the lie to this approach. Why "go and make disciples of all nations" if the nations do not need to be evangelized and discipled?

Three: Christ above culture.

This approach teaches that we live in two worlds, the spiritual and the secular, and we must give each its due. The great problem with this approach is the sinfulness of humanity. This model does not do enough to transform the culture it seeks to help.

Four: Christ and culture in paradox.

This approach rejects the third model by arguing that culture is so inherently sinful as to be beyond saving. Yet it contradicts the first approach by arguing that we must try. We must preach grace to law, the gospel to the lost. We respond to the issues of our culture by preaching the gospel of salvation, for only when souls change can the world change. The problem with this approach is that it does not speak to non-salvation issues the Bible itself addresses, such as the treatment of the poor.

Five: Christ transforming culture.

This model seeks to bring the biblical worldview to bear on every dimension of society for the purpose of redeeming the culture for the Kingdom. Unlike the first model, it does not ignore the

culture; unlike the second, it does not adopt it; unlike the third, it does not separate the two realms; unlike the fourth, it seeks the salvation of souls but also the transformation of society. It seeks to apply biblical truth to cultural issues for the sake of advancing the Kingdom of God on earth.

As salt and light, we are called to make a transforming difference in our culture. It is not enough to engage the issues we face—we must be used by the Holy Spirit to change lives and society. God wants to see the hungry fed, the naked clothed, the imprisoned visited, the lost saved. He wants to see divorce and abortion rates plummet, drug abuse end, pornography and prostitution abolished.

As the body of Christ (1 Corinthians 12:27), we are called to join Jesus in his transforming work today.

Get involved

I'm convinced that God is calling more Christians into public service than are answering his call. Just as the Lord calls people to be pastors and missionaries, he calls us to be businesspeople, attorneys, teachers, and politicians. And he calls those who are not politicians to engage in the political process however we can.

Know the challenges we are facing as believers in America. Pray for the Spirit to show you how you can use your influence to make a difference, whether the issue relates to abortion, religious liberty, marriage, or any other question. Get involved in your local community, whether through the school board, your city council, or personal relationships with civic leaders. Use your influence to express and defend biblical truth.

Jesus did not found a political party, a business, or a nation. He founded the church. He wants his church to attack the gates of hell, with the promise that when we do, the gospel always prevails (Matthew 16:18).

But the church is much more than a building or a worship service—it is the community of faith, the body of Christ, working holistically to bring God's purpose to pass in every dimension of life. Jesus taught us to pray, "Your kingdom come, your will be done, on earth as it is in heaven" (Matthew 6:10). Make this your prayer for your community and country. Then ask God how he wants you to be the answer to your prayer.

Stay united

Timothy Keller, senior pastor of Redeemer Presbyterian Church in New York City, recently warned Christians not to allow politics to divide us. Before you're anything else, he noted, "you're Christian first." His reminder was prophetic:

All across the world there is a lot of political fragmentation . . . there is more and more political fragmentation in so many countries, and unfortunately Christians might be tempted to be fragmented right along. We might start getting divided politically instead

of remembering that you're Christian first and you're white, black, Asian, Hispanic, second. You're a Christian first and you're American, or you're British and you're African second.²⁶

It is vital that we heed his warning. When we choose what unites us over what divides us, Jesus promises that "all people will know that you are my disciples" (John 13:35).

Conclusion

God redeems all he allows. He wants to redeem the 2016 election in at least three ways:

One: God is calling his people to be more engaged in cultural transformation than ever before (Acts 4:32–36).

As the moral direction of our nation continues downward, it becomes even more imperative that Christians stand courageously for truth. God's principles for living were given to us because they are best for us. We don't break God's word—we break our lives against its truth. The person who jumps from a tenth-story building doesn't break the law of gravity—he illustrates it.

As the consequences of immorality continue to spread and worsen over coming years, it will be even more urgent that Christians bring salt and light to a world desperate for both. Culture-changing Christianity is the order of the day.

Two: God is calling us to speak the truth in love (Ephesians 4:15).

While it is vital that we stand strongly for truth, it is also vital that we do so in grace. A superior attitude is counter to the servant spirit of Jesus. We are no better than anyone else—we are all saved by grace through faith (Ephesians 2:8–9). None of us deserves what all of us can experience—the transforming love of a Father who forgives every sin we confess and heals every heart that trusts in him. We are beggars telling beggars where we found bread.

Three: God is calling us to renew our focus on Jesus (Hebrews 12:1–2).

The vitriol and divisiveness of the 2016 election didn't create a new reality—it exposed what was already true. Humans are fallen beings. We are weak, egotistical, fearful, critical, and deceitful. The election proved once again that humans cannot solve the greatest problems humans face.

Like other Americans, Christians have spent much time in recent weeks discussing, debating, and worrying over the election. Now it's time to "run with endurance the race that is set before us, looking to Jesus, the founder and perfecter of our faith" (Hebrews 12:1–2). We are called to know him and make him known, to seek the lost, comfort the needy, encourage the hurting, and serve the Lord.

The next person you meet will live forever, either with God or separated from him in hell. Therefore, the next person you meet is more important than any election or country. The good news you offer that person is the greatest news in all eternity. Nothing that happened in the

election changes the fact that God is love (1 John 4:8). Sharing his love is the most amazing privilege on earth.

Keith and Kristyn Getty are one of the greatest hymn-writing teams of our day. The words to their hymn, "My Worth Is Not In What I Own," have been resonating in my spirit as I've written this essay. Let's consider them as God's call to what matters most today:

*My worth is not in what I own
Not in the strength of flesh and bone
But in the costly wounds of love
At the cross.*

*My worth is not in skill or name
In win or lose, in pride or shame
But in the blood of Christ that flowed
At the cross.*

*I rejoice in my Redeemer
Greatest Treasure,
Wellspring of my soul
I will trust in Him, no other.
My soul is satisfied in Him alone.²⁷*

Your worth is not found in anything this election or this world can offer. It is found in "the costly wounds of love at the cross." The election that matters most happened there, and you won.

¹ According to *Newsweek*, the cost of the election could exceed \$6.6 billion, the most expensive in history. See Michele Gorman, "Cost of 2016 Election Could Top \$6.6 Billion," *Newsweek*, October 25, 2016 (<http://www.newsweek.com/election-cost-could-reach-66-billion-513539>, accessed 7 November 2016).

² Henry J. Aaron, "2016: The most important election since 1932," *Brookings*, December 18, 2015 (<https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2016-the-most-important-election-since-1932/>, accessed 7 November 2016).

³ "Bill Clinton," *Abortion Info* (<https://abortion.info/politics/presidents-and-abortion/bill-clinton/>, accessed 31 October 2016).

⁴ Adrienne LaFrance, "Clinton's Unapologetic Defense of Abortion Rights," *The Atlantic*, October 20, 2016 (<http://www.theatlantic.com/health/archive/2016/10/hillary-clintons-powerful-defense-of-abortion-rights/504866/>, accessed 31 October 2016).

⁵ "2016 Democratic Party Platform, July 21, 2016," *demconvention.com* (<https://www.demconvention.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Democratic-Party-Platform-7.21.16-no-lines.pdf>, accessed 1 August 2016).

⁶ Michael UJ. New, "Hyde @40: Analyzing the Impact of the Hyde Amendment," *Charlotte Lozier Institute*, September 27, 2016 (<https://lozierinstitute.org/hydeat40/>, accessed 31 October 2016).

⁷ Eesha Pandit, "Hillary Clinton's abortion game-changer: Why her call for abandoning the Hyde Amendment is so important," *Salon*, January 15, 2016

(http://www.salon.com/2016/01/15/hillary_clintons_abortion_game_changer_why_her_call_for_abandoning_the_hyde_amendment_is_so_important/), accessed 1 August 2016).

⁸ Ruby Mellen, "Kaine breaks with Clinton on abortion provision," *CNN*, August 1, 2016

(<http://www.cnn.com/2016/07/31/politics/tim-kaine-hillary-clinton-hyde-amendment-abortion/>), accessed 1 August 2016).

⁹ Dan Merica, "Clinton on rape, abortion in war zones," *CNN*, November 23, 2015

(<http://www.cnn.com/2015/11/23/politics/hillary-clinton-rape-abortion-isis/>), accessed 1 August 2016).

¹⁰ Ben Johnson, "Hillary Clinton compares pro-lifers to 'terrorist groups,'" *LifeSite News*, August 27, 2015 (<https://www.lifesitenews.com/news/hillary-clinton-likens-pro-lifers-to-terrorists-video>), accessed 31 October 2016).

¹¹ Jay Hobbs, "4 Ways Hillary Clinton Will Increase Abortion as President," *The Federalist*, October 19, 2016 (<http://thefederalist.com/2016/10/19/four-ways-hillary-will-increase-abortion/>), accessed 31 October 2016).

¹² Alvin Rabushka, "If Hillary Clinton Gets Her Way With the Supreme Court," *Newsweek*, May 24, 2016 (<http://www.newsweek.com/if-hillary-clinton-gets-way-supreme-court-463140>), accessed 1 November 2016).

¹³ Allen J. Lichtman, "How a new Clinton presidency will change American politics forever," *The Hill*, October 22, 2016 (<http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/302303-the-new-clinton-era-how-a-clinton-presidency-will-change-american-politics>), accessed 7 November 2016).

¹⁴ Hillary Clinton, "What I have in common with Utah leaders," *The Deseret News*, August 10, 2016 (<http://www.deseretnews.com/article/865659843/Exclusive-Hillary-Clinton-What-I-have-in-common-with-Utah-leaders-2-religious-freedom-and-the.html>), accessed 1 November 2016).

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