

*Third Biennial Symposium  
on Religion and Politics*

**The Henry Institute  
Calvin College**

**April 27-29, 2006**

**Program Schedule**

*All events take place at the Prince Conference Center*

*Thursday, April 27*

**Thursday, April 27, 5:00 – 6:30 p.m. – Welcome and Light Buffet**  
**Blue Spruce and Elm Rooms**

**Thursday, April 27, 6:45 – 8:00 p.m.**

**Panel A1: Religion and Civic Responsibility**

**Location:** White Pine

**Chair:** Neil Carlson, Calvin College

“Religion and Civic Responsibility”

Corwin Smidt, Calvin College, [smid@calvin.edu](mailto:smid@calvin.edu)

“Religion and the Obligations of Citizenship”

Kevin denDulk, Grand Valley State University, [dendulkk@gvsu.edu](mailto:dendulkk@gvsu.edu)

Discussant: Neil Carlson, Calvin College, [nec4@calvin.edu](mailto:nec4@calvin.edu)

**Panel B1: Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective**

**Location:** Board Room

**Chair:** Amy Patterson, Calvin College

“Religion and Democracy in Latin America: Status Questions”

Jose Alejandro Amoros, LaVos/The Community Voice,  
[amoros@amorosresearch.com](mailto:amoros@amorosresearch.com)

“Dynamic Churches in Dynamic States: An Analysis of Contemporary Church-State Relations in Sub-Saharan Africa”

Steven L. Lichty, Baylor University, [stevlichty@gmail.com](mailto:stevlichty@gmail.com)

Discussant: Amy Patterson, Calvin College, [apatters@calvin.edu](mailto:apatters@calvin.edu)

**Panel C1: Religion and Public Reasoning**

**Location:** Maple

**Chair:** Bryan McGraw, University of Notre Dame

“Rawls on Religion: Can Religion Be a Foundation for a Person’s Political Beliefs and Practices?”

Allen Gehring, Indiana University, Bloomington, [asgehrin@indiana.edu](mailto:asgehrin@indiana.edu)

“Religious Epistemology and Public Reason: A Plantingian Critique of Rawl’s Doctrine of Public Reason”

Jonathan Fuqua, Baylor University, [Jonathan\\_Fuqua@baylor.edu](mailto:Jonathan_Fuqua@baylor.edu)

Discussant: Bryan McGraw, University of Notre Dame, [bmcgraw@nd.edu](mailto:bmcgraw@nd.edu)

**Thursday, April 27, 8:15 – 9:30 p.m. – Reception**  
**Fireside Room**

*Friday, April 28*

**Friday, April 28, 8:45 a.m. – 10:30 a.m.**

**Panel A2: Religion and Political Cohesion**

**Location:** Board Room

**Chair:** Jamal Donaldson Briggs, Duke University

“A Theoretical Basis for American Civil Religion”

Darrin Hanson, University of Texas, [dhanson@gov.utexas.edu](mailto:dhanson@gov.utexas.edu)

“Faith and the Presidency”

Walter Nelson and Zbigniew Broniszewski, West Virginia University,  
[hwnelson@gmail.com](mailto:hwnelson@gmail.com)

“The Religion Gap and Presidential Approval”

Laura R. Olson and Adam L. Warber, Clemson University,  
[laurao@clemson.edu](mailto:laurao@clemson.edu) and [awarber@clemson.edu](mailto:awarber@clemson.edu)

Discussant: Jamal Donaldson Briggs, Duke University, [jamal.briggs@duke.edu](mailto:jamal.briggs@duke.edu)

**Panel B2: Religion and Politics in the Eastern European Context**

**Location:** Willow East

**Chair:** Rachel Vanderhill, Calvin College

“Orthodoxy, Islam, and Religious Intolerance in Post-Atheist Russia”

Vyacheslav Karpov and Elena Lisovskaya, Western Michigan University,  
[v.karpov@wmich.edu](mailto:v.karpov@wmich.edu)

“Religion and the Ukrainian Parliamentary Election of 2006”

Andrij Yurash, Ivan Franko Lviv National University,  
[a\\_yurash@yahoo.com](mailto:a_yurash@yahoo.com)

(**Note:** unable to attend; paper to be distributed at session)

“Struggling for the ‘Soul’ of Europe: Romanian Orthodox Church and European Integration”

Mihnea Vasilescu, University of Pittsburgh, [mvasilescu@gmail.com](mailto:mvasilescu@gmail.com)

Discussant: Rachel Vanderhill, Calvin College, [rjv27@calvin.edu](mailto:rjv27@calvin.edu)

**Panel C2: Theology and Political Thought**

**Location:** Willow West

**Chair:** Steven Millies, University of South Carolina Aiken

“Justification and Justice: How the Reformation Shaped Karl Barth’s Political Theology”

Todd Vincent Cioffi, Princeton Theological Seminary, [todd.cioffi@ptsem.edu](mailto:todd.cioffi@ptsem.edu)

“Christ and Politics: Augustine and Barth on the Political”

Kristen Deede Johnson, Hope College, [johnsonk@hope.edu](mailto:johnsonk@hope.edu)

“The Value of Kierkegaard to Contemporary Religion and Political Thought”

Beverly Ann Gaddy, University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg, [bag13@pitt.edu](mailto:bag13@pitt.edu)

Discussant: James K. Smith, Calvin College, [jks4@calvin.edu](mailto:jks4@calvin.edu)

**Friday, April 28, 10:30 – 11:00 a.m. – Refreshment Break  
Fireside Room**

**Friday, April 28, 11:00 a.m. – 12:45 p.m.**

**Panel A3: Judicial Interpretations of Church-State Boundaries**

**Location:** Willow East

**Chair:** Stephen Monsma, Calvin College

“Two Concepts of Liberalism in Establishment Clause Jurisprudence”

Kevin Pybas, Missouri State University, [kevinpybas@missouristate.edu](mailto:kevinpybas@missouristate.edu)

“Failing the Test for Establishment? The Use of the Lemon Test and the Endorsement Test in McCreary and Van Orden”

Rebecca McCumbers, University of Notre Dame, [mccumbe@nd.edu](mailto:mccumbe@nd.edu)

“The Continuing Viability of Pervasively Sectarian Doctrine”

Michael Rodriguez, Richard Stockton College of New Jersey,  
[Michael.Rodriguez@stockton.edu](mailto:Michael.Rodriguez@stockton.edu)

Discussant: Stephen Monsma, Calvin College, [sm24@calvin.edu](mailto:sm24@calvin.edu)

**Panel B3: Religion and Politics in European Settings**

**Location:** Board Room

**Chair:** Scott Thomas, Calvin College and the University of Bath

“Some Economic, Demographic, and Political Aspects of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland: A Rational Response to Regulation”

Scot Peterson, University of Oxford, [scot.peterson@politics.ox.ac.uk](mailto:scot.peterson@politics.ox.ac.uk)

“Protestantism and Euroscepticism in the Netherlands”

Hans Vollaard, Leiden University, [vollaard@fsw.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:vollaard@fsw.leidenuniv.nl)

Discussant: Scott Thomas, Calvin College, [smt3@calvin.edu](mailto:smt3@calvin.edu)

### **Panel C3: Religion and Political Power**

**Location:** Willow West

**Chair:** Darren Walhof, Grand Valley State University

“The Right to Govern and the Power to Govern: The Reduction of Political Authority”

David Koyzis, Redeemer University College, [dkoyzis@redeemer.on.ca](mailto:dkoyzis@redeemer.on.ca)

“Whose City? Which Freedom? Augustinian Reflections on Empire, the Market, and American Foreign Policy”

James K. Smith, Calvin College, [jks4@calvin.edu](mailto:jks4@calvin.edu)

“Thomas and Just War: Some Prudential Considerations”

Brian Dijkema, Institute for Christian Studies, [bdijkema@gmail.com](mailto:bdijkema@gmail.com)

Discussant: Darren Walhof, Grand Valley State University, [walhofd@gvsu.edu](mailto:walhofd@gvsu.edu)

### **Friday, April 28, 12:45 – 1:45 p.m. – Lunch**

**White Pine and Maple Rooms**

### **Friday, April 28, 2:00 p.m. – 3:45 p.m.**

#### **Panel A4: Religion and American Mass Politics**

**Location:** Willow East

**Chair:** Laura Olson, Clemson University

“Religious Conservatives and the Requirements of Citizenship”

Bryan McGraw, University of Notre Dame, [bmcgraw@nd.edu](mailto:bmcgraw@nd.edu)

and Kimberly H. Conger, Iowa State University, [conger@iastate.edu](mailto:conger@iastate.edu)

“The Politicalization of the American Evangelical Press, 1960- 1981: A Test of the Ideological Theory of Social Movement Mobilization”

Jared A. Farley, Miami University of Ohio, [farleyja@muohio.edu](mailto:farleyja@muohio.edu)

“The Content and Electoral Purpose of Moral Values”

Erin McAdams and Anand Sokhey, Ohio State University,

[mcadams.19@osu.edu](mailto:mcadams.19@osu.edu) and [sokhey.2@polisci.osu.edu](mailto:sokhey.2@polisci.osu.edu)

Discussant: Laura Olson, Clemson University, [laurao@clemson.edu](mailto:laurao@clemson.edu)

**Panel B4: Religion and Politics in Canada**

**Location:** Willow West

**Chair:** David Koyzis, Redeemer University College

“A Review of the Relationship between the Anglican Church, the Canadian Government, and the Canadian Residential Schools in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century”  
Cheryl Gaver, University of Ottawa, [cgave103@uottawa.ca](mailto:cgave103@uottawa.ca)

“Nationalism, Religion, and Social Identity: The Case of Quebec”  
John Evans, University of Wisconsin, [jcevans@wisc.edu](mailto:jcevans@wisc.edu)

“Evangelicals and the 2006 Canadian General Election”  
Jonathan Malloy, Carleton University, [jonathan\\_malloy@carleton.ca](mailto:jonathan_malloy@carleton.ca)

Discussant: David Koyzis, Redeemer University College, [dkoyzis@redeemer.on.ca](mailto:dkoyzis@redeemer.on.ca)

**Panel C4: Religion and Liberal Political Thought**

**Location:** Blue Spruce

**Chair:** William Stevenson, Calvin College

“Locke’s *Legal* Theology and Politics”  
Joanne Tetlow, Catholic University of America, [joannetetlow@yahoo.com](mailto:joannetetlow@yahoo.com)

“Protestants and the Natural Law: Thoughts from the Public Square on its Neglect and its Necessity”  
J. Daryl Charles, Union University, [dcharles@uu.edu](mailto:dcharles@uu.edu)

“Liberalism and the Semi-Malleability of Nature: The True Origins of Consumerism”  
Murray Jardine, Auburn University, [jardimu@auburn.edu](mailto:jardimu@auburn.edu)

Discussant: William Stevenson, Calvin College, [stew@calvin.edu](mailto:stew@calvin.edu)

**Panel D4: Religion and Civic Engagement**

**Location:** Board Room

**Chair:** Jose Alejandro Amoros, LaVos/The Community Voice

“Developing Civic Skills: Does Religion Matter?”  
James Penning, Calvin College, [penn@calvin.edu](mailto:penn@calvin.edu)

Religion and Philanthropic Behavior: Building Blocks of Civic Responsibility”  
Stephen Monsma, Calvin College, [sm24@calvin.edu](mailto:sm24@calvin.edu)

Discussant: Jose Alejandro Amoros, [amoros@amorosresearch.com](mailto:amoros@amorosresearch.com)

**Friday, April 28, 3:45 – 4:15 p.m. – Refreshment Break**  
**Fireside Room**

**Friday, April 28, 4:15 p.m. – 6:00 p.m.**

**Panel A5: Religion and Politics within the African-American Context**

**Location:** Board Room

**Chair:** James Penning, Calvin College

“Explaining New ‘Conservative’ Politics within the Black Church Tradition”  
Sharon Gramby-Sobukwe, Eastern University, [sgrambys@eastern.edu](mailto:sgrambys@eastern.edu)

“Confusing God and Government: African-American Congregations and the Faith-Based Initiative”  
Jamal Donaldson Briggs, Duke University, [jamal.briggs@duke.edu](mailto:jamal.briggs@duke.edu)

“Cheap Grace: Church Responses to the Black Manifesto and its Lesson for Reparations Initiatives Today”  
Amy Kedron, University of Buffalo, [amykedron@yahoo.com](mailto:amykedron@yahoo.com)  
(**Note:** unable to attend; paper to be distributed at session)

Discussant: James Penning, Calvin College, [penn@calvin.edu](mailto:penn@calvin.edu)

**Panel B5: Religion and American Politics in Historical Perspective**

**Location:** Willow East

**Chair:** Jared Farley, Miami University of Ohio

“The Success of Political Parties and Religious Organizations during the Second Party System”  
Charles Dahan, University of California, San Diego, [cdahan@gmail.com](mailto:cdahan@gmail.com)

“Religion and Politics on the Left: Reinhold Niebuhr and the Formation of the New Deal Consensus”  
George Breckenridge, McMaster University, [breckeng@univmail.cis.mcmaster.ca](mailto:breckeng@univmail.cis.mcmaster.ca)

“Moral Victories: Foreign Policy Principles of the Ford Administration”  
Jason Marcus Waak, University of Illinois at Chicago, [unionfan@uic.edu](mailto:unionfan@uic.edu)

Discussant: Jared A. Farley, Miami University of Ohio, [farleyja@muohio.edu](mailto:farleyja@muohio.edu)



**Panel C5: Religion and Democratic Citizenship**

**Location:** Willow West

**Chair:** Kevin denDulk, Grand Valley State University

“Morality and the Constitution: Tocqueville and Publius on the Status of Morals in Public Life”

Rebecca McCumbers, University of Notre Dame, [mccumbe@nd.edu](mailto:mccumbe@nd.edu)

“Theocentric Moralism and Telling the Truth in Politics and Civic Engagement”

Jim Slack, University of Alabama at Birmingham, [jslack@uab.edu](mailto:jslack@uab.edu)

“Monasticism and Citizenship: Politics and the Resources of Contemplation”

Steven Millies and Thomas Burrus, University of South Carolina Aiken, [stevenm@usca.edu](mailto:stevenm@usca.edu) and [tbburrus@yahoo.com](mailto:tbburrus@yahoo.com)

Discussant: Kevin denDulk, Grand Valley State University, [dendulkk@gvsu.edu](mailto:dendulkk@gvsu.edu)

**Friday, April 28, 6:15 – 7:45 p.m. – Dinner**

**White Pine and Maple Rooms**

**Friday, April 28, 8:00p.m. – Lecture**

**Oak Room**

“Religion and the Rule of Law in the People’s Republic of China”

Liu Peng, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of American Studies,  
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

*Saturday, April 29*

**Saturday, April 29, 8:45 a.m. – 10:00 a.m.**

**Panel A6: The Conceptualization and Measurement of Religion**

**Location:** Board Room

**Chair:** Doug Koopman, Hope College

“Theorizing Religion in Political Science: Conceptualizing and Operationalizing a Variable”

Erika Seeler, Duke University, [eseeler@hotmail.com](mailto:eseeler@hotmail.com)

“Religious Tradition and Religious Traditionalism as Concepts and Measures in American Political Life”

Lyman Kellstedt, Wheaton College emeritus, [charandbudk@juno.com](mailto:charandbudk@juno.com)

Discussant: Doug Koopman, Hope College, [koopman@hope.edu](mailto:koopman@hope.edu)

**Panel B6: Religion and Politics in China**

**Location:** Willow East

**Chair:** Daniel Bays, Calvin College

“Religion’s Role in the Progress of Modernization in Reformed China: 1978-2004”

Zeng Chuanhui, Religious Studies Institute, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, China, [chzeng@cass.org.cn](mailto:chzeng@cass.org.cn)

“Toward a Free State and a Free Church – a Case Study on the Relationship between Church and State in China”

Yinghua Liu, Graduate Theological Union, [yhl9@hotmail.com](mailto:yhl9@hotmail.com)

Discussant: Daniel Bays, Calvin College, [dbays@calvin.edu](mailto:dbays@calvin.edu)

**Panel C6: Religion and the Public Square**

**Location:** Willow West

**Chair:** David Ryden, Hope College

“Robert Audi and the Priority of Civic Harmony: De-tuning the Political Sphere”

Ken Dam, Institute for Christian Studies, [kdam@icscanada.edu](mailto:kdam@icscanada.edu)

“An Undue Accommodation: Responding to Liberal and Centrist Inclinations Regarding Religion and the Public Square”

Gordon Babst, Chapman College, [gbabst@chapman.edu](mailto:gbabst@chapman.edu)

Discussant: David Ryden, Hope College, [ryden@hope.edu](mailto:ryden@hope.edu)

**Saturday, April 29, 10:00 – 10:30 a.m. – Refreshment Break**  
**Fireside Room**

**Saturday, April 29, 10:30 a.m. – 11:45 a.m.**

**Panel A7: Religious Response to the State of Israel**

**Location:** Board Room

**Chair:** James Guth, Furman University

“Revelations and Congressional Votes: Christian Zionism and the Case of the Christian’s Israel Public Action Campaign (CIPAC)”

Kyle M. Smith, Bowling Green University, [ksmith52@hotmail.com](mailto:ksmith52@hotmail.com)

(Note: unable to attend; paper to be distributed at session)

“The Divestiture Movement: Some Perspectives on the Presbyterian Vote and the Jewish Response”

Ron Stockton, University of Michigan-Dearborn, [rstock@umich.edu](mailto:rstock@umich.edu)

Discussant: James Guth, Furman University, [jim.guth@furman.edu](mailto:jim.guth@furman.edu)

**Panel B7: Catholic Social Thought**

**Location:** Willow East

**Chair:** John Evans, University of Wisconsin

“Finding Moral Consensus: A Voegelinian Analysis of Aquinas’ Natural Law and Its Place in Contemporary Discourse”

Jeremiah H. Russell, Baylor University, [jeremiah\\_russell@baylor.edu](mailto:jeremiah_russell@baylor.edu)

“Lessons of the Holocaust Not Learned”

Frank LeVeness, St. John’s University, [levenesf@stjohns.edu](mailto:levenesf@stjohns.edu)

“At the Crossroads of Liberal and Catholic Social Thought”

Lan T. Chu, Diplomacy and World Affairs, Occidental College  
[lchu@oxy.edu](mailto:lchu@oxy.edu)

(**Note:** unable to attend; paper to be distributed at session)

Discussant: John Evans, University of Wisconsin, [jcevans@wisc.edu](mailto:jcevans@wisc.edu)

**Panel C7: Religion and Political Tolerance**

**Location:** Willow West

**Chair:** Mark Caleb Smith, Cedarville University

“The Role of Religion in Fostering Political Tolerance”

Doug Koopman, Hope College, [dkoopman@calvin.edu](mailto:dkoopman@calvin.edu)

“Race, Religion, and Political Tolerance: A Closer Look at African Americans’ Attitudes Toward Homosexuals”

Richard Ledet, University of Notre Dame, [rledet@nd.edu](mailto:rledet@nd.edu)

Discussant: Mark Smith, Cedarville University, [mcsmith@cedarville.edu](mailto:mcsmith@cedarville.edu)

**Saturday, April 29, 12:00 – 1:00 p.m. – Lunch**

**White Pine and Maple Rooms**

**Saturday, April 29, 1:15 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.**

**Panel A8: Religion and Judicial Interpretation**

**Location:** Board Room

**Chair:** Scot Peterson, University of Oxford

“Religious Freedom Unbound: Comparing Prosecution (or Lack Thereof) for Religious Motivated Child Medical Neglect in Ten States”

Scott M. Brown, Indiana University Southeast, [scmbrown@ius.edu](mailto:scmbrown@ius.edu)

“The Role of Worldview in Judicial Decision-Making”

James A. Davids, Regent University, [jameda2@regent.edu](mailto:jameda2@regent.edu)

Discussant: Scot Peterson, University of Oxford, [scot.peterson@politics.ox.ac.uk](mailto:scot.peterson@politics.ox.ac.uk)

**Panel B8: Religion and Contemporary American Politics**

**Location:** Willow East

**Chair:** Kim Conger, Iowa State University

“Religious Diversity and Partisan Competition in the American States”

Mark Caleb Smith, Gerson Moreno-Riano, and Thomas Mach, Cedarville University, [mcsmith@cedarville.edu](mailto:mcsmith@cedarville.edu)

“Religion and Public Attitudes toward International Affairs”

James Guth, Furman University, [jim.guth@furman.edu](mailto:jim.guth@furman.edu)

Discussant: Kim Conger, Iowa State University, [conger@iastate.edu](mailto:conger@iastate.edu)

**Panel C8: Religion, Political Philosophy, and American Politics**

**Location:** Willow West

**Chair:** Matt Roberts, Calvin College

“A Comparative Glimpse of the Political Theology of Luther and Calvin with Consideration of the American Political Context”

John Rush, Wheaton College, [johncrush@msn.com](mailto:johncrush@msn.com)

“The Religion and Politics of Edmund Pellegrino, Chair of President’s Council on Bioethics”

Jack Hanford, Ferris State University, [jhan1722@tucker-usa.com](mailto:jhan1722@tucker-usa.com)

Discussant: Matt Roberts, Calvin College, [mmr3@calvin.edu](mailto:mmr3@calvin.edu)

**Saturday, April 29, 2:30 – 3:00 p.m. – Closing Refreshment Break  
Fireside Room**

**Copies of papers presented at the Symposium are available in the Library of the Prince Conference Center during the Symposium.**