Seventh Biennial Symposium on Religion and Public Life

The Henry Institute
Calvin College

April 25-27, 2013

Program Schedule

All events take place at the Prince Conference Center
Thursday, April 25

Panel 1A: Religion and American Voting Behavior

Location: Oak
Chair: Peter Wielhouwer, Western Michigan University, peter.wielhouwer@wmich.edu

The Electoral Significance of Public Opinion on Church and State
Jeremiah Castle, Notre Dame University
jcastle1@nd.edu

Evangelicals and Support for Female Candidates
Amy Stringer, University of Florida
astringer@ufl.edu

Religious Traditionalism, Inequality and Vote Choice in Presidential Elections
Benjamin Toll, Indiana University-Bloomington
btoll@indiana.edu

Discussant: LaTasha Chaffin, Western Michigan University, latasha.y.chaffin@wmich.edu

Panel 1B: Christian Theology and the Nature of Politics

Location: Blue Spruce
Chair: Bryan McGraw, Wheaton College, btmcgraw@gmail.com

Christian Fortitude and the ‘Purification of Political Means’
Paul Cornish, Grand Valley State University
cornishp@gvsu.edu

Authority, Office and the Image of God
David T. Koyzis, Redeemer University College
dkoyzis@redeemer.ca

Presuppositions and the Tension of Standards: Augustine and the Limit of Politics
Matthew D. Kuchem, Indiana University
mkuchem@indiana.edu

Discussant: Bryan McGraw, Wheaton College, btmcgraw@gmail.com
Panel 1C: Religion in Post-Communist States

Location: Elm
Chair: Rebecca McBride, Vanderbilt University, rebecca.a.mcbride@vanderbilt.edu

The Social Dynamics of Desecularization in Russia, Ukraine, and Beyond
Vyacheslav Karpov, Western Michigan University
v.karpov@wmich.edu

Religious Education in Russian State Schools
Elena Lisovskaya, Western Michigan University
elena.lisovskaya@wmich.edu

Understanding the Russian Desecularizing Regime
Rachel Schroeder, Western Michigan University
rachel.l.schroeder@wmich.edu

Render Unto God What is God’s: Property, Politics and the Church in Post-communist Czech and Slovak Republics
Leah Seppanen Anderson, Wheaton College
leah.anderson@wheaton.edu

Discussant: Rebecca McBride, Vanderbilt University, rebecca.a.mcbride@vanderbilt.edu

Thursday, April 25
3:45 p.m. – 4:15 p.m.
Refreshment Break
Location: Fireside Room

Thursday, April 25
4:15 p.m. – 5:45 p.m.
Panel 2A: The Role of Religious Groups in American Politics
Location: Oak
Chair: Lisa DeLorenzo, University of Missouri-St. Louis, ldelorenzo@stlcc.edu

Captured or Captor? Partisan Mobilization and the Religious Right
A. Diana Forster, University of Florida
adforster@ufl.edu

Religious Groups as a Force in Party Politics
Lyman Kellstedt, Wheaton College (emeritus)
lyman.kellstedt@gmail.com

A Hard Pill to Swallow? Evangelicals’ Shifting Contraception Attitudes
Jacob Lupfer, Georgetown University
jlupfer@gmail.com

Discussant: Lisa DeLorenzo, University of Missouri-St. Louis, ldelorenzo@stlcc.edu
Panel 2B: Book Roundtable: *Abraham Kuyper: Modern Calvinist, Christian Democrat*
Location: Blue Spruce
Chair: Paul Brink, Gordon College, Paul.Brink@gordon.edu

Author
James Bratt, Calvin College
jbratt@calvin.edu

Discussants
Vincent Bacote, Wheaton College
vincent.bacote@wheaton.edu
Julia K. Stronks, Whitworth University
jstronks@whitworth.edu
Paul Brink, Gordon College
Paul.Brink@gordon.edu

Panel 2C: Evangelical Ideas in American Political History
Location: Elm
Chair: Jeff Polet, Hope College, polet@hope.edu

Evangelical Reform and the Birth of the Living Constitution
John W. Compton, Chapman University
compton@chapman.edu

*Christianity Today*, Race, and the Neo-Evangelical Quest for Respectability
Aaron Griffith, Duke University Divinity School
aaron.l.griffith@gmail.com

Jonathan Edwards and the Foundations of ‘Affectionate’ Politics
Coyle Neal, University of Wyoming
coyle.neal@gmail.com

Discussant: Jeff Polet, Hope College, polet@hope.edu

Thursday, April 23
7:30 p.m. – 9:00 p.m.
Annual Center for Public Justice Kuyper Lecture

*Prohibiting the Free Exercise Thereof: The Affordable Care Act and Other Threats to Institutional Religious Freedom*
Dr. Stanley Carlson-Thies, Founder and President of the Institutional Religious Freedom Alliance
Location: Oak

Reception immediately following the lecture
8:45 p.m. – 10:00 p.m.
Location: Fireside Room
Location: White Pine
Chair: Kurt Pyle, Michigan State University, pylekurt@msu.edu

Beyond Ideology: Belief Constraint and Moderation in Contemporary American Religious Groups
Pär Jason Engle, University of Wisconsin-Madison
pjengle@wisc.edu

Muslim Labeling, Holy Words, and Objectives: Unraveling the Determinants of American Mistrust and Fear of Islamic Political Actors
Mujtaba Isani, Ohio State University
isani.1@buckeyemail.osu.edu
Joshua Su-Ya Wu, Ohio State University
wu.639@osu.edu

Peter Wielhouwer, Western Michigan University
peter.wielhouwer@wmich.edu

Discussant: Kurt Pyle, Michigan State University, pylekurt@msu.edu

Panel 3B: Perspectives on Natural Law and Religion
Location: Maple
Chair: Micah Watson, Union University, mwatson@uu.edu

Impractical Reason: The Problem of Moral Absolutes in the New Natural Law
Nathanael Blake, Catholic University of America
38Blake@cardinalmail.cua.edu

The Divine Command and the Natural Law: Lewis’ Critique of Calvin and Barth
Justin Dyer, University of Missouri
dyerjb@missouri.edu

Discussant: Micah Watson, Union University, mwatson@uu.edu
Panel 3C: Religion, Riots and Rules: Power Politics in Gujarat, India
Location: Blue Spruce
Chair: Pushpa Iyer, Monterey Institute of International Studies, piyer@miis.edu

The Politics of Religious Conversions in Gujarat
Raymond Aycock, Monterey Institute of International Studies
raycock@miis.edu

The Politics of Justice in Gujarat
Pushpa Iyer, Monterey Institute of International Studies
piyer@miis.edu

The Politics of Ideology in Gujarat
Kirill Prudnikov, Monterey Institute of International Studies
kprudnikov@miis.edu

The Politics of Natural Disaster Relief in Gujarat
Omar Salem, Monterey Institute of International Studies
osalem@miis.edu

Discussant: Pushpa Iyer, Monterey Institute of International Studies, piyer@miis.edu

Panel 3D: Religion, International Affairs, and Domestic Politics
Location: Elm
Chair: Rob Joustra, Redeemer University College, rjoustra@redeemer.ca

Religion, State, and Terrorism
Nilay Saiya, University of Notre Dame
nsaiya@nd.edu
Michael Kavanaugh, University of Notre Dame
mkavanag@nd.edu

The Heart and Hands of International Adoption: The Theology of Adoption and Christian Mobilization for Orphan Protection
Rebecca McBride, Vanderbilt University
rebecca.a.mcbride@vanderbilt.edu

Bringing Religious Freedom Home: Lessons for American Civil Society from International Relations Theory
Jason Pudlo, University of Oklahoma
jpudlo@ou.edu

Discussant: Rob Joustra, Redeemer University College, rjoustra@redeemer.ca

Friday, April 26

10:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.
Refreshment Break
Location: Fireside Room
Friday, April 26

**Panel 4A: 8 Churches, 11 Rubrics, 9 Demographics: A Workshop on Visual Learning from the Healthy Church Survey**

*Location:* Oak  
*Chair:* Neil Carlson, Calvin College, nec4@calvin.edu

- Neil Carlson, Calvin Center for Social Research, nec4@calvin.edu
- Stan Koster, Christian Reformed Home Missions Healthy Church Team, stanleykoster@crcna.org
- Dan Molling, Calvin Center for Social Research, djm36@students.calvin.edu
- Rodger Rice, Christian Reformed Home Missions Healthy Church Team, ricerodger@sbcglobal.net
- Tom Sherwood, Calvin Center for Social Research, tds7@calvin.edu

---

**Panel 4B: Book Roundtable: Natural Law and Evangelical Political Thought**

*Location:* Maple  
*Chair:* Alex Tuckness, Iowa State University, tuckness@iastate.edu

- Jesse Covington, Westmont College, jcovington@westmont.edu
- Bryan McGraw, Wheaton College, btmcgraw@gmail.com
- Micah Watson, Union University, mwatson@uu.edu

- Jordan J. Ballor, Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty, jballor@acton.org
- Paul Cornish, Grand Valley State University, cornishp@gvsu.edu
- Alex Tuckness, Iowa State University, tuckness@iastate.edu

---

**Panel 4C: Religion and Political Participation: Anglo-American Comparisons**

*Location:* Blue Spruce  
*Chair:* Corwin D. Smidt, Michigan State University, smidtc@msu.edu

- “God is a Conservative”: The GOP and British Conservative Party, Failed Export or Atlantic Union?  
  Kit Kirkland, University of St. Andrews, kdk@st-andrews.ac.uk

- Voting with a Christian Conscience  
  Leah McKeen, Wilfrid Laurier University, mcke1240@mylaurier.ca

- A Framework for the Comparative Study of Evangelicals and Politics in Anglo-American Countries  
  Jonathan Malloy, Carleton University, jonathan_malloy@carleton.ca

*Discussant:* Corwin D. Smidt, Michigan State University, smidtc@msu.edu
Panel 4D: Public Theologies and Social Movements: Global Perspectives
Location: Elm
Chair: Tracy Kuperus, Calvin College, tlk5@calvin.edu

Beyond Prayer and Protection Relationship between Church and State: Uniting Reformed Church in South Africa Perspective
Leepo Modise, University of South Africa-Pretoria
modislj@unisa.ac.za

Creating a Theology of Political Advocacy: The Case for Christians in Palestine
Aaron Tolkamp, Redeemer University College
atolkamp@redeemer.ca

Black Liberation Theology as Belligerently Public Theology: Challenging the Vagueness of Public Theology in South Africa Today
Rothney Tshaka, University of South Africa
tshakrs@unisa.ac.za

The Political Role of Evangelical Leaders in Mexican Democracy from 1991 to the Present: Lessons and Scenarios
Mariano Avila, Calvin Theological Seminary
mavila@calvin.seminary.edu

Discussant: Tracy Kuperus, Calvin College, tlk5@calvin.edu

Friday, April 26
12:45 p.m. – 1:45 p.m.

Lunch
Location: Willow

Discussion Session sponsored by the Center for Public Justice
Location: White Pine

All Symposium participants are invited to this session which will consider the role, mission and activities of the Center for Public Justice. Interested individuals should pick up their lunch in the Willow room and proceed to the White Pine room for the session, which will begin at 1:00 p.m.

Friday, April 26
2:00 p.m. – 3:45 p.m.

Panel 5A: Religious Dimensions of the United States Legal System
Location: Oak
Chair: Jesse Covington, Westmont College, jcovington@westmont.edu

Judicial Federalism, Religious Liberty, and the Contraception Mandate: State Constitutions as a Line of Legal Attack
David K. Ryden, Hope College
ryden@hope.edu

Got Desert? Assessing the Importance of Religion in the Formulation of Crime and Punishment Policies
Jennifer E. Walsh, Azusa Pacific University
jwalsh@apu.edu

Discussant: Jesse Covington, Westmont College, jcovington@westmont.edu
Panel 5B: Political Theories of Religion and Modernity
Location: Maple
Chair: Joshua Bowman, Catholic University of America, 60bowman@cardinalmail.cua.edu

A Post-Weber Era: The Cultural Sanctification of Economic Speculation in America
    Lester Ang, University of Chicago
    lesterac@uchicago.edu

Military, Missionary and Esoteric Models of Religions and Their Politics
    Benzion Chinn, Ohio State University
    beezeenc@aol.com

The Kingdom of God and the Origins of Modern Bureaucracy in the West
    William Harvard, Auburn University
    WSH0011@auburn.edu

Discussant: Joshua Bowman, Catholic University of America, 60bowman@cardinalmail.cua.edu

Panel 5C: Religion and United States Foreign Policy
Location: Elm
Chair: Elizabeth Oldmixon, University of North Texas, oldmixon@unt.edu

Religion and American Public Attitudes on War and Peace, 2012
    James Guth, Furman University
    jim.guth@furman.edu

Attitudes about Multilateralism among American Evangelical Protestants
    Laura Olson, Clemson University
    laura0@clemson.edu
    Cigdem Kentmen, Izmir University of Economics
    cigdem.kentmen@izmirekonomi.edu
    Zeynap Taydas, Clemson University
    ztyadas@clemson.edu

If God Be For Us: The Use of Religious Rhetoric as Strategic Bargaining in Foreign Policy Crises
    Joshua Su-Ya Wu, Ohio State University
    wu.639@osu.edu

Discussant: Elizabeth Oldmixon, University of North Texas, oldmixon@unt.edu
Panel 5D: Urban Churches and the Chinese State  
Location: Blue Spruce  
Chair: Jason Pudlo, University of Oklahoma, jpudlo@ou.edu

Remaking the Civic Space: The Rise of Unregistered Protestantism and Civic Engagement in Urban China  
Li (Mary) Ma, Tongji University  
lmm46@calvin.edu

New Wine in Old Wineskins: Modes of Interaction between Unregistered Urban Churches and the Chinese State  
Jesse Sun, Stanford University  
jessesun@stanford.edu

Discussant: Jason Pudlo, University of Oklahoma, jpudlo@ou.edu

Friday, April 26  
3:45 p.m. – 4:15 p.m.  
Refreshment Break  
Location: Fireside Room

Friday, April 26  
4:15 p.m. – 5:45 p.m.  
Panel 6A: Clergy and American Politics  
Location: Maple  
Chair: Laura Olson, Clemson University, laurao@clemson.edu

Strategically Prophetic Priests: An Analysis of Competing Principal Influence on Clergy Political Action  
Brian Calfano, Missouri State University  
Brian.Calfano@missouristate.edu  
Elizabeth Oldmixon, University of North Texas  
oldmixon@unt.edu  
Mark Grey, Georgetown University

LCMS Clergy in the 21st Century: Toward a More Vocal and Active Two-Kingdom Model of Politics  
Jeff Walz, Concordia University Washington  
Jeff.Walz@cuw.edu

Anti-Apartheid Divestment, the Actions of Lutheran Clergy, and the Development of a Public Church  
Leslie Weber, ELCA Church in Society (retired)  
l-jweber@sbcglobal.net

Discussant: Laura Olson, Clemson University, laurao@clemson.edu
Panel 6B: Book Roundtable: *Pluralism and Freedom*

Location: Oak
Chair: David Ryden, Hope College, ryden@hope.edu

Author
Steve Monsma, Calvin College
sm24@calvin.edu

Discussants
David Ryden, Hope College
ryden@hope.edu
Stanley Carlson-Thies, Institutional Religious Freedom Alliance
stanley@irfalliance.org
David LaGrand, Restorative Justice Coalition
davidlagrand@hotmail.com

Panel 6C: The Uneasy Place of Religion in the Public Square

Location: Blue Spruce
Chair: Joseph E. Hartman, Georgetown University, JoeHman@comcast.net

Askesis and Political Beliefs: A Preliminary Look at the Impact of Christian Spiritual Practices on One’s Political Outlook
Amir Azarvan, Kennesaw State University
azzarvan@kennesaw.edu

Why Religious Citizens Should Support Public Reason
Jonathan Fuqua, Purdue University
fuqua0@purdue.edu

Religion’s Alter-Ego: An Analysis of the Reasons for Relegating Religion to the Private Sphere
Shannon Holzer, Baylor University
Shannon_Holzer@baylor.edu

When God Comes Into the Equation: Academic Freedom and Christian Expression at the “University of South Amherst”
James Slack, Regent University
jslack@regent.edu

Discussant: Joseph Hartman, Georgetown University, JoeHman@comcast.net
Panel 6D: Youth, Religion and Political Engagement
Location: Elm
Chair: Jamal Briggs, Union Institute and University, jamal.briggs@gmail.com

The Role of Politics and Political Party Preference in the Creation of ‘Nones’ Among Young American Voters
Lisa DeLorenzo, University of Missouri-St. Louis
ldelorenzo@stlcc.edu

Age, Period, and Cohort Effects on the Political Orientation of the Next Generation of Evangelical Christians
Christine Kim, Georgetown University
cnc3@georgetown.edu

Discussant: Jamal Briggs, Union Institute and University, jamal.briggs@gmail.com

Friday, April 26
Dinner
Location: Willow

Friday, April 26
Annual Paul B. Henry Lecture

What Does the Lord Require? The Grounds for Christian Civility in Politics
Dr. Corwin Smidt, Director Emeritus of Paul Henry Institute
Location: Oak

Reception immediately following lecture
8:45 p.m. – 10:00 p.m.
Location: Fireside Room
Panel 7A: Religious Faith of United States Presidents
Location: White Pine
Chair: Gleaves Whitney, Hauenstein Center for Presidential Studies, whitneyg@gvsu.edu

Life After the Presidency: Jimmy Carter as Sunday-School Teacher
D. Jason Berggren, Georgia Southwestern State University
david.berggren@gsw.edu

Rethinking Kennedy 50 Years after Dallas: JFK and the Irish Catholic Political Tradition
Jason K. Duncan, Aquinas College
duncajas@aquinas.edu

The Perplexing Faith of Bill Clinton
Gary Scott Smith, Grove City College
gssmith@gcc.edu

Discussant: Gleaves Whitney, Hauenstein Center for Presidential Studies, whitneyg@gvsu.edu

Panel 7B: Catholicism in European Political History
Location: Maple
Chair: Karin Maag, Calvin College, kmaag@calvin.edu

An Orange Khaki Election: Anti-Catholicism, Church Discipline, and Erastianism in Britain’s General Election of 1900
Bethany Kilcrease, Aquinas College
bmt001@aquinas.edu

Fiestas and Fervor: Religious Life and Catholic Enlightenment in the Diocese of Barcelona, 1766-1775
Andrea Smidt, Geneva College
ajsmidt@geneva.edu

Discussant: Karin Maag, Calvin College, kmaag@calvin.edu
Panel 7C: The Role of Islam in Recent Political Movements
Location: Blue Spruce
Chair: Gamal Gasim, Grand Valley State University, gasimg@gvsu.edu

Moderation and Democratization: The Role of the Youth in the Islamic Parties
Semih Patan, Sabanci University
semihpatan@sabanciuniv.edu

Religion and Politics: A Case Study of Jamaat e Islami of Kashmir
Mushtaf ul Haq Ahmad Sikandar, Independent Writer-Activist
sikandarmushtaq@gmail.com

Contextualizing Piety and Politics: Comparing Discursive and Organizational Strategies of Religious Movements in the “New” Middle East
Etga Ugur, Michigan State University
eugur@msu.edu

The Social Contract in Islam
Nicholas P. Roberts, Georgetown University
npr7@georgetown.edu

Discussant: Gamal Gasim, Grand Valley State University, gasimg@gvsu.edu

Panel 7D: Religion and Nationalism
Location: Elm
Chair: Todd Huizinga, Transatlantic Christian Council, toddhuizinga@hotmail.com

From War, Nationalism, and from Nationalism, War: Separatist Conflict and the Evolution of Religious Identity in the First and Second Chechen Wars
Dustin Gamza, University of Michigan
gamza@umich.edu

Religion is Nationalism
Mark Royce, George Mason University
mroyce@masonlive.gmu.edu

Religion as a Tool for Political Manipulation in Nigeria
Damilola Agbalajobi, Obafemi Awolowo University
dtagbalajobi@oauife.edu.ng

Discussant: Todd Huizinga, Transatlantic Christian Council, toddhuizinga@hotmail.com

Saturday, April 27
10:30 a.m. – 11:00 a.m.
Refreshment Break
Location: Fireside Room
Saturday, April 27

Panel 8A: American Congregations as Political Catalysts
Location: White Pine
Chair: Brian Calfano, Missouri State University, Brian.Calfano@missouristate.edu

Bridging Church and State: The Infrastructure of Congregational Political Mobilization
Andre Audette, University of Notre Dame
aaudette@nd.edu

Is Charity a Choice? An Exploratory Look at Protestant Evangelicals and Welfare Policy
Eric Matthews, Jr., Notre Dame College
rmatthews@ndc.edu
Jennifer Lanz, Notre Dame College
jlanz@ndc.edu

Discussant: Brian Calfano, Missouri State University, Brian.Calfano@missouristate.edu

Panel 8B: Faith and Politics in mid-19th Century America
Location: Elm
Chair: Gary Scott Smith, Grove City College, gssmith@gcc.edu

“God Bless the Methodist Church”: Lincoln, the Republicans, Methodists, and the Road to Abolitionism
Douglas Montagna, Grand Valley State University
montagnd@gvsu.edu

Religion and the American Presidential Election of 1844
John Pinheiro, Aquinas College
john.pinheiro@aquinas.edu

Discussant: Gary Scott Smith, Grove City College, gssmith@gcc.edu
Panel 8C: Religion’s Influence in European Politics  
Location: Blue Spruce  
Chair: Mark Royce, George Mason University, mroyce@gmu.edu

Why Brussels is neither Washington nor Berlin: Political Catholicism in Differing Political Systems  
Antonius Liedhegener, University of Lucerne  
Antonius.Liedhegener@unilu.ch

The Influence of Religion on Voting in European Countries: Contextual and Individual Effects  
Shanna Corner, University of Notre Dame  
scorner@nd.edu  
David Sikkink, University of Notre Dame  
david.sikkink.1@nd.edu

Soft Utopia: The European Union at a Crossroads  
Todd Huizinga, Transatlantic Christian Council  
toddhuizinga@hotmail.com

Discussant: Mark Royce, George Mason University, mroyce@gmu.edu

Panel 8D: The Individual and Community in Political Theology  
Location: Hickory East  
Chair: Jonathan Fuqua, Purdue University, fuqua0@purdue.edu

Of God and Man: Friedrich Nietzsche and Reinhold Niebuhr on Philosophical Anthropology, the Will-to-Power and the Ground of Being  
Joseph Hartman, Georgetown University  
JoeHman@comcast.net

Communities of Repentance: Sins of Existence and Desire in Hegel and Augustine  
Geoffrey Holsclaw, Marquette University  
geoffrey.holsclaw@gmail.com

Eric Voegelin’s Analysis of Ideology Today: Expressive Individualism as the Last Great Gnostic Movement of the Modern Age  
Murray Jardine, Auburn University  
jardimu@auburn.edu

Discussant: Jonathan Fuqua, Purdue University, fuqua0@purdue.edu
Panel 8E: Religion and Latino Party Affiliation in the United States
Location: Maple
Chair: Kevin R. den Dulk, Calvin College, krd33@calvin.edu

Religious Influences on Latino Civic Engagement and Party Identification: Are Evangelical Catholics Different?
Nicholas Higgins, University of North Texas
Nicholas.Higgins@my.unt.edu

Political and Spiritual Migration: the Impact of Post-immigration Religious Conversion on Hispanic Partisanship
Christopher Weaver, University of Notre Dame
cweaver4@nd.edu

Discussant: Kevin R. den Dulk, Calvin College, krd33@calvin.edu

Saturday, April 27 12:45 p.m. – 1:45 p.m.
Concluding Lunch
Location: Willow
Copies of papers presented at the Symposium are available in the Library of the Prince Conference Center (located behind the Registration and Breakfast Area) throughout the Symposium.