



HENRY INSTITUTE
FOR THE STUDY OF CHRISTIANITY AND POLITICS

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**Tenth Biennial
Symposium on
Religion and Public Life**

April 25-27, 2019

Tenth Biennial Symposium on Religion and Public Life

Sponsored by the Paul B. Henry Institute

Thursday, April 25, 2019

- 11:00-noon Abraham Kuyper Prize for Excellence in Reformed
Theology and Public Life
*Awarded to Dr. John Perkins, Founder and President Emeritus
of John and Vera Mae Perkins Foundation; co-founder of
Christian Community Development Association*
- 12:00 pm Symposium Registration open
- 1:30-3:00 pm Paper Sessions
- 3:00-3:30 pm Refreshment Break
- 3:30-5:00 pm Paper Sessions
- 7:00-8:30 pm Kuyper Lecture
*Fairness for All: Does Supporting Religious Freedom
Require Opposition to LGBT Civil Rights?*
- 8:30-9:30 pm Reception

Friday, April 26, 2019

- 7:15am Registration open
- 8:30-10:00 am Paper Sessions
- 10:00-10:30 am Refreshment Break
- 10:30-Noon Paper Sessions
- Noon-1:00 pm Lunch
- 1:00-2:30 pm Paper Sessions
- 2:30-3:00 pm Refreshment Break
- 3:00-4:30 pm Paper Sessions
- 6:00-7:00 pm Dinner
- 7:00-8:30 pm Henry Roundtable
Faith, Democracy, and the Media
- 8:30-9:30 pm Reception

Saturday, April 27, 2019

- 7:45 am Registration open
- 8:30-10:00 am Paper Sessions
- 10:00-10:30 am Refreshment Break
- 10:30-Noon Paper Sessions
- Noon-1:00 pm Lunch

The Symposium on Religion and Public Life

Thursday, April 25, 2019

Thursday Sessions

[2019 Abraham Kuyper Prize for Excellence in Reformed Theology and Public Life](#)

Location: Willow Room

11:00 a.m. — 12:00 p.m.

2019 Award presented to:

Dr. John Perkins



The Kuyper Prize, named after Dutch theologian Abraham Kuyper, is awarded each year to a scholar or community leader whose outstanding contribution to their chosen sphere reflects the ideas and values characteristic of the Neo-Calvinist vision of religious engagement in matters of social, political, and cultural significance in one or more of the 'spheres' of society.

The 2019 prize winner, Dr. John Perkins, is one of the leading evangelical voices to come out of the Civil Rights Movement. He is an internationally known speaker, author, and teacher on issues related to racial reconciliation and Christian community development. Perkins is the Founder and President Emeritus of the John and Vera Mae Perkins Foundation, dedicated to advancing the principles of Christian community development and reconciliation throughout the world. He is also the co-founder of the Christian Community Development Association (CCDA)—a network of Christians committed to living in underserved neighborhoods to build relationships and see communities and people holistically restored.

To watch video the video of this session, go to:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EmUmikYiqWA&feature=youtu.be>

Thursday, April 25, 2019

1:30 p.m. — 3:00 p.m.

Panel 1A: *Disestablishment in the New American States, 1776-1833*

Location: White Pine

Carl H. Esbeck, University of Missouri, esbeckc@missouri.edu

Jonathan Den Hartog, University of Northwestern (St. Paul, MN),
jdenhartog@unwsp.edu

Brian R. Franklin, Southern Methodist University,
brfranklin@mail.smu.edu

Kyle Bulthuis, University of Southern Utah, kyle.bulthuis@usu.edu

Thursday, April 25, 2019

1:30 p.m. — 3:00 p.m.

Panel 1B: *Trends in Evangelical Politics*

Location: Hickory Room

Chair/Discussant: James Guth, Furman University, jim.guth@furman.edu

Shifting Styles of Cultural Engagement Among Evangelical Clergy

John W. Hawthorne, Spring Arbor University,
john.hawthorne@arbor.edu

Rust Belt Religion: Faith and Politics in Central Wisconsin

Mark T. Mulder, Calvin College, mmulder@calvin.edu

Eleanor Vander Ark, Calvin College, esv8@students.calvin.edu

The Heart of the Nation: Protestant Congregations in the Rural Midwest during the Cold War

David Zwart, Grand Valley State University, zwartdav@gvsu.edu

Refreshment Break

3:00 p.m. — 3:30 p.m.

Location: Fireside Room

Thursday, April 25, 2019

3:30 p.m. — 5:00 p.m.

Panel 2A: *Intersections of Religion and Public Policy I*

Location: Hickory

Chair/Discussant: Katie Thompson, Center for Public Justice,
kthompson@cpjustice.org

Religious Tradition and Returning Citizens Services

Annalane Miller, Calvin College, asm9@calvin.edu

Reframing the Safety Net: College Students and Food Insecurity

Shannon Que, Abilene Christian University, sbq14a@acu.edu

Reframing the Safety Net: Returning Citizens and Access to Public Housing

Abigail Stevens, Eastern University, astevens3@eastern.edu

Panel 2B: New Perspectives on Christian Rights Advocacy

Location: White Pine

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

Framing Free Exercise: How Conservative Legal Groups Understand Religious Liberty

Daniel Bennett, John Brown University, DBennett@jbu.edu

Reciprocity and the Politics of Religious Liberty in the U.S.: Challenges and Opportunities

Andrew Lewis, University of Cincinnati, andrew.lewis@uc.edu

Negotiating Religious Rights: Christian Minorities in India and Malaysia and their use of Transnational Advocacy Networks

Kristina Teater, University of Cincinnati, teaterkm@mail.uc.edu

A Form of Godliness? The Structure and Substance of the Christian Legal Worldview

Jason Whitehead, California State University Long Beach,
Jason.Whitehead@CSULB.edu

The Annual Kuyper Lecture

sponsored by Center for Public Justice

Location: Great Hall East

7:00 p.m. — 8:30 p.m.

Fairness for All:

***Does Supporting Religious Freedom Require
Opposition to LGBT Civil Rights?***

featuring:

Shapri LoMaglio

Council of Christian Colleges and Universities



Christians promote rather than just tolerate religious freedom as a political principle rooted in convictions about the fallibility of human nature and the limited competence of any government, as well as an affirmation of human dignity. Yet in supporting religious freedom, Christians are effectively supporting the rights of individuals and organizations to live and act consistently with different—and even offensive—beliefs (within limits). LoMaglio asserts that *Fairness for All* presents a model to protect all citizens and organizations in light of diverse convictions about sexuality and marriage, providing a legal framework that allows those with progressive views on sexuality as well as those committed to historical Christian views to engage in dialogue and live as good neighbors as we peaceably consider our disputes and differences.

Post-Lecture Dessert Reception

8:30 p.m. — 9:30 p.m.

Friday, April 26, 2019

8:30 a.m. — 10:00 a.m.

Panel 3A: *Political Theology and the Challenge of Pluralism*

Location: Hickory

Chair/Discussant: Bryan T. McGraw, Wheaton College,
bryan.mcgraw@wheaton.edu

The War of All Against One: Rene Girard and the Populist Theo-Logic of Scapegoating

Justin Hawkins, Yale University, justin.hawkins@yale.edu

Anti-Judaism in a World of God's Common Grace: When Theology Jeopardizes our Public Engagement

Nicholas Scott-Blakely, Fuller Theological Seminary,
nickscottblakely@fuller.edu

Transforming 'the World'? Universalism and Diversity in Smith's Appraisal of Kuyperian Politics

Mariëtta van der Tol, University of Cambridge, mdcv2@cam.ac.uk

Panel 3B: [Evangelicals: Populists or Internationalists? I](#)

Location: Board Room

Chair/Discussant: Kristin Du Mez, Calvin College, kkd3@calvin.edu

A Just and Durable Peace: American Evangelicals and the Quest for Peace after WWII

Robert J. Joustra, Redeemer University College, rjoustra@redeemer.ca

Populist Internationalism: Religious Freedom and the Politics of Persecution

Melani McAlister, George Washington University, mmc@gwu.edu

The Global – and Globalist – Roots of Evangelical Action

Paul S. Rowe, Trinity Western University, Paul.Rowe@twu.ca

To watch the video of this session, go to

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xJaHE5nWXs&feature=youtu.be>

Roundtable 3C: Fairness for All as a Practical and Principled Way Forward

Location: Willow

Moderator: Stephanie Summers, Center for Public Justice,
ssummers@cpjustice.org

Panelists:

Stanley Carlson-Thies, Institutional Religious Freedom Alliance,
Center for Public Justice, stanley@irfalliance.org
Alexander Dushku, Kirton McConkie, Adushku@kmclaw.com
Shapri LoMaglio, Council of Christian Colleges and Universities,
slomaglio@cccu.org
Torrey Shearer, American Unity Fund, torrey@americanunityfund.com

Refreshment Break **10:00 a.m. — 10:30 a.m.**

Location: Lobby

Friday, April 26 **10:30 a.m. — 12:00 p.m.**

Panel 4A: Intersections of Religion and Public Policy II

Location: Hickory

Chair: Mark Mulder, Calvin College, mmulder@calvin.edu

Good Work and Good Jobs: Paid Family Leave and Sacred Sector Employment

Rachel Anderson, Center for Public Justice, rachel.anderson@cpjustice.org
Chelsea Langston Bombino, Center for Public Justice,
chelsea.langston@cpjustice.org

*Stating a Claim Under the Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses: What
Trump v. Hawaii Can Teach Us*

Carl H. Esbeck, University of Missouri, esbeckc@missouri.edu

Public Health and the Mobilization of Churches

Mikael Pelz, Calvin College, mlp23@calvin.edu

*Clinging to Guns and Religion? The Role of Religious and Gun Identity in Shaping
Policy Attitudes in the U.S.*

Abigail Vegter, University of Kansas, abigailvegter@ku.edu

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

Discussant: Stanley Carlson-Thies, Institutional Religious Freedom Alliance,
Center for Public Justice, stanley@irfalliance.org

Friday, April 26

10:30 a.m. — 12:00 p.m.

Panel 4B: Classifying Religion in Politics

Location: Willow East

Chair: Daniel Bennett, John Brown University, DBennett@jbu.edu

Untangling the Effects of Alternative Religious Classifications in Models of Political Behavior

J. Tobin Grant, Southern Illinois University, grant@siu.edu

David Searcy, Southern Illinois University, searcy@siu.edu

In Defense of Reltrad: Conceptual and Measurement Issues in the Study of Religion in America

James Guth, Furman University, jim.guth@furman.edu

Lyman Kellstedt, Wheaton College, lyman.kellstedt@gmail.com

Corwin Smidt, Calvin College, smid@calvin.edu

Metaphysical and Theological Beliefs of the Nones

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

Discussant: Whitt Kilburn, Grand Valley State University,
kilburnw@gvsu.edu

Panel 4C: Liberalism, Pluralism and their Discontents

Location: Board Room

Chair/Discussant: Paul A. Brink, Gordon College, paul.brink@gordon.edu

Make Liberalism Great Again! The Feasibility of Manuel Vargas's Moral Influence Theory as Pre-Institutional Desert in Political Liberalism

Courtney A. Kane, Loyola Marymount University,
ckane11@lion.lmu.edu

Religion and the Politics of Rights: How Liberal Rights Undermine Liberty

Matthew Kuchem, Indiana University Bloomington,
mkuchem@indiana.edu

Is the End a Cure for What Ails? Eschatology and Political Theory's Ideal-Real Conundrum

Bryan T. McGraw, Wheaton College, bryan.mcgraw@wheaton.edu

Lunch 12:00 p.m. — 1:00 p.m.

Location: Great Hall East

Friday, April 26 1:00 p.m. — 2:30 p.m.

Panel 5A: Faith and Political Formation

Location: Board Room

Chair/Discussant: Shirley Roels, International Network for Christian Higher Education, Director@INCHE.one

Political Theology and Civic Education: The Warren Court's Contributions to 'Law-Related Education' Regarding Church-State Issues

Brett Bertucio, University of Wisconsin-Madison, bertucio@wisc.edu

The Political Theorist Turned Sunday School Teacher: Imagination and Politics in Christian Formation

Joshua Bowman, Heidelberg University, bowmanjosh@hotmail.com

Panel 5B: [Evangelicals: Populists or Internationalists? II](#)

Location: Willow East

Chair/Discussant: John Hawthorne, Spring Arbor University, john.hawthorne@arbor.edu

Missions Has Come Home: How Evangelicals' Refugee Work Complicates the Populism-Internationalism Binary

Melissa Borja, University of Michigan, mborja@umich.edu

Are Evangelicals Populists? The View from the 2016 American National Election Study

James Guth, Furman University, jim.guth@furman.edu

Populism, Evangelicalism, and the Polarized Politics of Immigration

Ruth Melkonian-Hoover, Gordon College, Ruth.Melkonian@gordon.edu

Lyman Kellstedt, Wheaton College, Lyman.Kellstedt@gmail.edu

'Rescue Sells:' Narrating Human Trafficking to Evangelical Populists

David Swartz, Asbury University, david.swartz@asbury.edu

To watch the video of this session, go to

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qXmGarFMghg&feature=youtu.be>

Friday, April 26

1:00 p.m. — 2:30 p.m.

Panel 5C: Responding to Globalization**Location:** Hickory**Chair/Discussant:** Tracy Kuperus, Calvin College, tlk5@calvin.edu*Globalization's Challenges Compounded by Christians Behaving Badly ... Again*

Fred L. Johnson III, Hope College, johnson@hope.edu

Virtual Illusion: How Populism and Social Media Combine to Erode Political Community

David T. Koyzis, St. George's Centre for Biblical and Public Theology, dtkoyzis@gmail.com

Governing Challenges in the Accordion-like Process of Globalization

James W. Skillen, Center for Public Justice, jwskillen@gmail.com

Refreshment Break

2:30 p.m. — 3:00 p.m.

Location: Fireside

Friday, April 26

3:00 p.m. — 4:30 p.m.

Panel 6A: [From Politics to the Pews: Author Meets Critics](#)**Location:** White Pine/Maple**Chair/Discussant:** Kevin R. den Dulk, Calvin College, krd33@calvin.edu**Participants:** Author Michele Margolis, University of Pennsylvania, mmargo@sas.upenn.edu

Andrew Lewis, University of Cincinnati, andrew.lewis@uc.edu

Abigail Vegter, University of Kansas, abigailvegter@ku.edu

To watch the video of this session, go to:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Hh4_KF3h7U&feature=youtu.be**Panel 6B: The History of the "Secular" in U.S. Public Life****Location:** Board Room**Chair/Discussant:** Joshua Bowman, Heidelberg University, bowmanjosh@hotmail.com*Protestant Secularism in the American Century*

Mark Edwards, Spring Arbor University, mark.edwards@arbor.edu

The Secularization of Western Universities in International Perspective: Toward a Historicist Account

Kevin N. Flatt, Redeemer University College, kflatt@redeemer.ca

The Man whose Americanism is Most Sincere and Intense: Uncovering the Progressive Era Transformation of American Identity

Kevin Walker, Vanguard University of Southern California, kmattwalker@gmail.com

Dinner

6:00 p.m. — 7:00 p.m.

Location: Willow Room

The Annual Paul B. Henry Roundtable

Location: Great Hall East

7:00 p.m. — 8:30 p.m.

Faith, Democracy, and the Media

The 21st annual Paul B. Henry Lecture will take a different track this year, with prominent national journalists of religion and politics discussing faith, democracy, and the media.

featuring:

Michael McCurry

Press Secretary in Clinton Administration



Elizabeth Dias

New York Times

Emma Green

The Atlantic



Amy Sullivan

Author of The Party Faithful

Ken Woodward

Former Newsweek Reporter

Author of Getting Religion



Post-Lecture Dessert Reception

8:30 p.m. — 9:30 p.m.

Location: Fireside Room

To watch the video of this session, go to:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pWOhiXc8BkY&feature=youtu.be>

Friday Evening Roundtable

Saturday, April 27

8:30 a.m. — 10:00 a.m.

Panel 7A: Comparative Perspectives on Religion and Politics

Location: Willow West

Chair/Discussants: Dennis Hoover, Institute for Global Engagement,
dhoover@globalengage.org

Mary Ma, Henry Institute for the Study of Christianity
and Politics, maryma9966@gmail.com

*Religious Capital in the Search for Inclusion and Empowerment in
Contexts of Violence in Peru*

Vilma “Nina” Balmaceda, Nyack College, vilma.balmaceda@nyack.edu

*Bringing Order to Chaos and Empowering the Poor: Oscar Romero’s Role
in Salvadoran Public Life*

Zachary Dehm, Duquesne University, dehzmz@duq.edu

*The Rebirth of the Russian Orthodox Church: A ‘Populist’ Union of Church
and State*

Steven E. Meyer, Daniel Morgan Graduate School of National Security,
thehouseoforange@outlook.com

The Myriad Avatars of Religion in Public Life: Evidence from India

Badrinath Rao, Kettering University, brao@kettering.edu

*Pride and Prejudice: A Preliminary Study of the Growing Anti-Christian
Sentiment in Chinese Cyberspace*

Ning Zhang, Bethel University, ningzhang04@gmail.com

Panel 7B: [Evangelicals and Politics: What Have We Learned?](#)

Location: Willow East

Kristin DuMez, Calvin College, kkd3@calvin.edu

Marie Eisenstein, Indiana University, Northwest, maeisens@iun.edu

John W. Hawthorne, Spring Arbor University, john.hawthorne@arbor.edu

Roger Olson, Baylor University, Roger_Olson@baylor.edu

To watch the video of this session, go to:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YMjPnXYSMU&feature=youtu.be>

**Panel 7C: Religion, Politics, and the Legacies of the
Mid-20th Century**

Location: Hickory

Chair/Discussant: Kevin Walker, Vanguard University of Southern
California, kmattwalker@gmail.com

*A Voice in the Wilderness: The National Association of Evangelicals and
American Politics, 1942-1960*

Emma Long, University of East Anglia, Emma.Long@uea.ac.uk

On the Lookout for Ironies: Reinhold Niebuhr and the New Nationalism

Greg Ryan, Union University, gryan@uu.edu

*The Legitimizing of the Post-World War II State, Human Rights, and the
Diplomacy of Seminary Professor O. Frederick Nolde*

Leslie F. Weber Jr., Evangelical Lutheran Church in America,
l-jweber@sbcglobal.net

Refreshment Break **10:00 a.m. — 10:30 a.m.**

Location: Fireside Room

Saturday, April 27 **10:30 a.m. — 12:00 p.m.**

Panel 8A: Religion and Political Policy Attitudes

Location: Willow East

Chair/Discussant: Doug Koopman, Calvin College, dkoopman@calvin.edu

The Politics of Church Shopping

Andre Audette, Monmouth College, aaudette@monmouthcollege.edu

*Religious Identity and the Perceived Immorality of Economic Inequality in
the United States versus Other Nations*

Andrew Franks, Central Michigan University,
andrew.franks@cmich.edu

*Perceptions of Justice and Violence and the 2016 Election: The Views of
White Conservative Protestants*

Richard Lee Rogers, Youngstown State University, rlrogers02@ysu.edu

Saturday, April 27

10:30 a.m. — 12:00 p.m.

Panel 8B: Applications of Political Theology

Location: Willow West

Chair/Discussant: Micah Watson, Calvin College, mw45@calvin.edu

*Pope Benedict's Analysis of the (Partial) Failure of Christian Theology:
Implications for Political Theory*

Murray Jardine, Auburn University, jardimu@auburn.edu

Augustinian Liberalism and the Problem of Localism and Internationalism

Paul D. Miller, Georgetown University, millerp1@georgetown.edu

*The War of the Lord: Puritan Political Theology and the Origins of
America*

Matthew J. Tuininga, Calvin Theological Seminary,
mtuininga@calvinseminary.edu

Lunch

12:00 p.m. — 1:00 p.m.

Location: Great Hall East

Other Campus Services

Johnny's Café, located in the Commons (ground level)

7:30 am — 11:00 pm (weekdays) 11:00 am — 11:00 pm (Saturday)

Calvin College Ecosystem Preserve, North of Prince Conference Center

Trails and restrooms 7 am — dusk (daily)

Bunker Interpretive Center, North of De Vos Communication Center,
by the Ecosystem Preserve

9:00 am — 5:00 pm (weekdays) 10:00 am — 4:00 pm (Saturday)

Hekman Library

7:30 am — 12:00 am (Monday through Thursday)

7:30 am — 7:00 pm (Friday) 10:00 am — 2:00 pm (Saturday)

Calvin Campus Store, located in Commons (ground level)

8:00 am — 5:00 pm (weekdays, and til 7:00 pm on Thursday)

Prince Center Guest Information

Check in: 3:00 pm; ***Check out:*** noon. The hotel front desk will store bags
after check out until you leave.

Complimentary breakfast is available for Prince Center overnight guests:

Hours: 6:30 to 10 (Monday — Friday); 7:00 to 10:30 (Saturday — Sunday)

The Prince Center is a ***non-smoking facility***. Designated outdoor smoking
locations are at the east and west ends of the building.

For ***airport shuttle information***, see the hotel front desk.

Additional Symposium Participants

Jesse Covington, Center for Public Justice
KJ Drake, Redeemer University College, kdrake@redeemer.ca
Robert Hosack, Baker Academic/Brazos Press, rhosack@bakerbooks.com
Elaine Graves
John Graves, gravesjm@comcast.net
Surya Harefa, Theological University Kampen, shharefa@tukampen.nl
Jeralynne Hawthorne, Spring Arbor University,
jeralynne.hawthorne@arbor.edu
Brant Himes, Los Angeles Pacific University, bhimes@lapu.edu
Benyamin Intan, International Reformed Evangelical Seminary,
benyaminintan@yahoo.com
Jessica Joustra, Center for Public Justice, jessjoustra@gmail.com
Lydia Koning, Baker Academic & Brazos Press,
lkoning@BakerPublishingGroup.com
Randy Kroll, Center for Public Justice
Dave Larsen, Center for Public Justice
Christa Lee-Chuvala, Eastern University, christa.lee-chuvala@eastern.edu
Shayla Olson, Michigan State University, bozdechs@msu.edu
Matt Reiffer, Center for Public Justice
Gerald Schoultz, Grand Valley State University, shoultzg@gvsu.edu
Haejin Shim, Center for Public Justice
Anne Snyder Brooks, Center for Public Justice
Jane Stockton, JWStockton1@gmail.com
Ron Stockton, University of Michigan-Dearborn, Rstock@umich.edu
Michael Thomson, Wipf and Stock Publishers, mthomson@wipfandstock.com
John Tiemstra, Calvin College
John Truschel, Center for Public Justice
Ted Williams, Center for Public Justice
Dan Young, Northwestern College, young@nwcsiowa.edu



About the Institute

The Paul B. Henry Institute for the Study of Christianity and Politics was created in 1997 to continue the work advanced by its namesake, educator and public servant Paul B. Henry, to integrate Christian faith and politics.

The Institute is a research and civic engagement center that focuses on the interplay of faith and public life. The organization is dedicated to convening scholars and practitioners, fostering high-quality research and public commentary, and encouraging citizen involvement through public outreach and education.

About Paul B. Henry

Paul Henry was a leader of Christian vision and action. After earning his undergraduate degree at Wheaton College and his Ph.D. at Duke University, Henry taught political science at Calvin College from 1970 to 1978.



While at Calvin, Henry served as a member of the Michigan Board of Education. Leaving Calvin in 1978 to pursue public office full-time, Henry was elected to the Michigan State House and, later, to the State Senate. He was elected to the United States House of Representatives in November of 1984, where he served until his untimely death in 1993, at the age of 51, of brain cancer.

Henry was known as a person of conviction, credibility and courage. His book, *Politics for Evangelicals*, provided a blueprint for his own involvement in public service. His academic and political careers were characterized by a constant search for justice, providing powerful evidence that politicians can be principled and effective.

Serving the Claims of Justice: The Thoughts of Paul B. Henry (edited by Douglas Koopman) celebrates the life and work of Paul through the words of people who knew him well. A copy of the book is available at no charge to Symposium participants at the Symposium registration desk.