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Partisan Tribalism—Madisonian and Modern

by Institute Director Kevin R. den Dulk

The American founders were on to the threat of partisan tribalism long before contemporary social scientists. James Madison, the master of political psychology before it was cool, noted the tendencies in Federalist #10:

A zeal for different opinions concerning religion, concerning government, and many other points...; an attachment to different leaders ambitiously contending for pre-eminence and power; or to persons of other descriptions who have been interesting to the human passions, have, in turn, divided mankind into parties, inflamed them with mutual animosity, and rendered them much more disposed to vex and oppress each other than to co-operate for their common good. So strong is this propensity of mankind to fall into animosities that where no substantial occasion presents itself the most frivolous and fanciful distinctions have been sufficient to kindle their unfriendly passions and excite their most violent conflicts.

Polarization rooted in in-group/out-group conflict and fueled by political entrepreneurs—it's all there in Madison's diagnosis of the problem of faction, circa 1787.

So what about his cure? Madison's prescription was largely institutional. Extend the republic so that factions—i.e., the groups of intensely like-minded people—increase in not only numbers but also range of interests;

structure political access through the separation of powers and

federalism so that factions are divided and dispersed; and then force those separated institutions to share power so that factions compete and counter each other's ambitions ("checks and balances," as we often say). It was a brilliant and counterintuitive move: To protect the body politic from the thing you fear, create more of the thing you fear, and then build mechanisms to control them.

Is the Madisonian instinct for a structural fix a potential way to address today's polarization? Many politicians have their favorite proposals, from crushing the gerrymander to adopting a system of proportional representation. But return to Madison's analysis for a moment. He was clearly right that institutions matter, but he

reminded his peers that structure wouldn't be enough. To meet the threat of factions, he insisted, we would still need citizens imbued with "sufficient virtue." His message to us: Partisan tribalism will not diminish merely by tweaking our institutions. We need a civic culture that nurtures change.

What would it mean, then, to build a civic culture that pushes against the prevailing practices that generate and reinforce polarization? We should not be so naïve as to think that we can simply demand that our leaders get along. We shouldn't even have such a hope in *ourselves*. A change in civic culture requires practices that actually habituate the "virtue" Madison invokes.

We too often let our folk theories about democracy blind us to the reality of politics as formative. We sometimes talk about democracy as a "public square" where each of us brings our fully formed "conceptions of the good" or "worldviews" to deliberations with others across lines of deep difference in a "neutral" space defined by specific and durable rules of engagement. This image is common, in one form or another, not only among some of the most impressive non-Christian political theorists, but also among those Christian thinkers who

advocate pluralism as a political response to the challenge of human diversity. (And to be clear, I'm one of pluralism's advocates.) But I would simply highlight the fact

that the image can easily mislead us into thinking that the political process itself leaves no mark on the citizen.

In fact, I'd posit that one of the reasons Christians often feel little moral compunction about hurling nasty aspersions at opposed partisans is that they've internalized the assumption that they can say just about anything as long as they play "within the rules." Those rules—"freedom of speech," for example—are indispensable, to be sure, but they also don't mark the full boundaries of engagement.

We hope that, in the pages of this newsletter, you find some insights and inspirations about practices that push back against these conflicts that continue to bewilder and bedevil us. ~



Henry Institute
Director Kevin den Dulk

To protect the body politic from the thing you fear, create more of the thing you fear, and then build mechanisms to control them.

Men and women returning from prison have a range of immediate and long-term needs, from employment to housing. But where can they turn to find information about services to help with their re-entry? This kind of essential information is often fragmented and difficult to find. The Henry Institute formed a partnership with Calvin's Geography Department several years ago to begin working on the problem. This year, the research team has received support from the Michigan Department of Corrections to continue their work, as they map services at a county level in the state of Michigan.

The project began nearly three years ago as part of the Henry Institute's Civitas

Lab (see related article on page 8). So far, student researchers have gathered data on a half-dozen counties in the state of Michigan, and the map is publicly available in beta form at <http://gis.calvin.edu/rc>. Families, service providers, parole officers, government agencies, and (upon release) returning citizens are already actively using the resource. The map is the first of its kind in Michigan, and perhaps nationwide.

According to Jason Van Horn, project leader and professor in Calvin's Geology, Geography and Environmental Studies Department, "our goal is to produce a map that is indispensable to new parolees and those returning as citizens from

incarceration. We are identifying viable services and exploring service coverage gaps for populations most impacted by the need for this resource."

The project is ongoing as research and fieldwork expand the identified services to new counties in the state and use underlying data on providers to identify and explain service "deserts." They hope to cover most of the state of Michigan within a few years. ~

For a recent article on the Calvin College website featuring the project: <https://calvin.edu/news/archive/new-online-app-empowers-returning-citizens-transitioning-out-of-prison>

John Inazu Advocates for Confident Pluralism in January Series Lecture

On January 10, the Henry Institute co-sponsored *Confident Pluralism: Surviving and Thriving through Deep Differences*. Dr. John Inazu, the Sally Danforth Distinguished Professor of Law and Religion at Washington University (St. Louis), gave the lecture as part of Calvin College's renowned January Series.

Inazu examined how we might live together in spite of the deep differences that exist in America today. He asserted that rather than working toward a goal of ever-elusive unity, the possibility of confident pluralism might offer a path toward co-existence across the deeply held differences within the country. Inazu's vision of confident pluralism allows people to embrace both pluralism and individual differences because they have confidence in their own beliefs.

According to Inazu, both confidence and pluralism are required: confidence without pluralism misses the

reality of politics and ends up suppressing difference, often violently. Pluralism without confidence misses the reality of people, and ignores our differences for the sake of false unity and feigned agreement. Instead, confident pluralism allows genuine differences to coexist without minimizing or suppressing individuals' deeply held convictions. He asserts that

"We are called to be active political participants working for the good of our neighbors."

the future of our democratic experiment requires that we stay steadfast in our personal convictions while also allowing others to hold different views.

When we have confidence in our own views and beliefs, we can interact more charitably and fully with others who don't agree with our beliefs, engaging in dialogue and common existence even when (actually, especially when) we believe our beliefs are better. But to do this we are called to practice tolerance, humility and patience—practices that can facilitate bridge building. While ideological differences may not be overcome, relational differences can be bridged. We can find common ground, even when there is not necessarily agreement on what constitutes common good.

Inazu believes that American politics today is broken, but that we can't give up on political engagement. "Politics is messy, and Christians who work in politics will be working with people who aren't Christians. But there is still a need to work together to support communities and the good of all. Politics is not just dinner conversation—it is critical to address the needs of our culture and society. We are called to be active political participants working for the good of our neighbors."



Inazu closed by expressing the thought that, "as part of confident pluralism, we are called to extend this understanding and respect to our engagement with other faiths, especially in regard to religious freedom issues. Serious challenges exist to religious freedom, and we need to work diligently for appropriate legal and policy responses. We also must make our case in publicly accessible terms that appeal both to people of other faiths and also to those of no faith. We simply can't ignore the importance of religious liberty for everyone. [We must] particularly defend the importance of religious liberty and open talk and faith for all religious traditions. We need to defend their religious freedom as well as our own." ~

See the lecture: <https://youtu.be/j5z2m29gwkU>

The Paul B. Henry Institute for the Study of Christianity and Politics

The Henry Institute is a research and civic engagement center that focuses on the interplay of faith and public life. Founded at Calvin College in 1997, the Institute is dedicated to convening scholars and practitioners, encouraging high-quality research and public commentary, and fostering citizen involvement through public outreach and education.

We are inspired in our work by the life and legacy of educator and public servant Paul B. Henry, who committed his life to seeking justice through his deeply held convictions and thoughtful practice. ~

Henry Institute Sponsors Career Breakfasts for Calvin Students



Calvin students at Career Breakfast with Rod Ludema

Since 2016, the Henry Institute has sponsored Career Breakfasts, which provide an opportunity for students to learn from professionals about various career paths. Each breakfast includes about 10 students and a special guest who talks about where they are today and places they have been along the way, how they feel about their work, and more. Over the two years of the program, eighteen professionals from varying careers and job experiences have met with more than 150 students in this informal early morning setting, and the response from the students has been overwhelmingly positive.

During 2017/2018, Career Breakfasts featured:

- Michigan State Representative Winnie Brinks
- William Garvelink of the International Medical Corps
- Jonathan Bradford, former executive director of the Inner City Christian Federation
- Economist and former State Department official Rod Ludema
- Financial advisor Sarah Berg
- Melissa Rogers, who directed the Obama White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships
- FBI Special Agent (and former Michigan Assistant Attorney General) Nate Knapper
- Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies fellow David Hooker
- Muslim-American relations expert Sarrah Buagelia ~

Reviving the Civic Mission of Christian Schools

In mid-June, the Henry Institute partnered with the Kuyers Institute for Christian Teaching and Learning at Calvin to hold a week-long workshop for teachers in Christian schools. The goal of the event was to strengthen civics education through an intensive program of professional development for teachers who focus on government, history, or other civics-oriented areas. Institute Directors Kevin den Dulk (from the Henry Institute) and David Smith (from the Kuyers Institute) led the workshop, with a focus on pedagogies to meet the unique challenges of teaching and learning about civic life in the current American political and societal climate.

Twelve teachers from around the U.S. attended the workshop, and were overwhelmingly positive about the experience, with several noting that they wished the event had lasted longer. At the close of the week, den Dulk noted that “it was the highlight of my semester to meet with all of these wonderful teachers. I hope that their experience at the workshop was as fruitful as mine!” ~

“As a younger teacher with limited experience teaching Civics, the workshop was exceptionally insightful and beneficial. Seeing the data about the increased polarization of American society was eye-opening. Learning how pedagogy and teaching practice should almost be distinctly “Christian” was important too.”

David Miedema

“As a teacher at a small, independent Christian school, there are few opportunities for networking with other believers around topics such as these... These types of experiences are crucial for Christian educators, and I cannot thank those enough who generously provided funds to make this event possible.”

Eric Johnson

“This workshop changed my thinking about how to teach civics in a Christian school to students in the 21st century... Citizenship is discipleship; we need to participate in our communities, states, and nation. As Christians, we need to emphasize Biblical truth to students who live in a pluralistic democracy.”

Jim Uitermarkt

Institute Director Receives Research Award

Henry Institute Director Kevin den Dulk received the 2018 Calvin College Student-Faculty Research Award, recognizing him for an outstanding record of working with students in research and scholarship.

The Henry Institute has a long history of encouraging student research activities. In the 2000s, the Institute supported Calvin faculty research by providing Calvin Student Research Fellows. The Civitas Lab started when Dr. den Dulk became the Institute Director in 2012, as a continuing version of this academic tradition of training students in the value, rigors and requirements of high quality research (see the related article on page 8). Since 2003, the Institute has funded research positions for Calvin College students, and den Dulk continues to dedicate a significant portion of the Henry Institute’s annual funding to support research initiatives involving students through the Lab.

In addition to running the Civitas Lab, den Dulk regularly involves students in his own research efforts, working with them on projects ranging broadly from issues involving the worldwide persecution of Christians, to the politics of water, to school-choice policies. He was selected to receive the Award because of his commitment to providing opportunities for exemplary programs of research and scholarship, envisioning opportunities for students to participate as collaborators in these programs, and his active mentorship of students.

“It is really important that our students learn to be an integral part of our civic community,” noted den Dulk. “The stakes are certainly high as we see eroding levels of civic participation and civic knowledge in younger people. The Institute is well-suited to lead as a civic educator with college-aged and even younger students. But it can do so only by strengthening the conviction of young people that their participation is truly important and really does matter.” ~

As someone who has done Civitas research work for two years, [den Dulk and the program have] made a massive impact on me as a student.

Noah Schumerth,
Civitas Lab student participant

Henry Semester in Washington DC Opens Opportunities for Students

Kathryn Post, the author of *coffeedates-fromdc* blog, has given permission to share excerpts from her reflections about the Semester in Washington D.C. in this newsletter. Her blog can be found at: <https://coffeedatesfromdc.wordpress.com/>
February 13, 2018

On Friday morning I found myself on the fifth floor of a polished office building sitting among a semi-circle of religious leaders from DC and LA. There were pastors, lobbyists, founders of local non-profits, and me—an intern with three days’ experience. I was there to be the eyes and ears of my supervisor, and aside from the uncomfortable feeling of being completely underqualified, I loved being there.

...[This] was not the first time this week I had come face to face with my own ignorance...; living in an entirely new environment, you begin to realize just how much you don’t know about basically

everything...Living in a city with so much more diversity than I’m used to has definitely exposed my cultural incompetency. As someone who is all about celebrating diversity, it’s been pretty discouraging to realize how little I know about people from other places, their languages, their customs. I’ve made some really ignorant mistakes, but I guess that’s part of the whole learning thing. Meanwhile, at my internship, I’ve been doing lots of reading about government agencies and public policy and non-government-organizations and religious freedom, and [realize] I know nothing. I’m excited to be in a place where I’m forced to recognize how little I know and am able to grow from it.

March 15, 2018

A lot has happened in recent weeks, from finally getting to see *Hamlet* performed live to seeing an oral argument at the Supreme Court to joining the

worship team at a local church. I absolutely love my internship and am just getting to sink my teeth into research on equitable hiring practices, in addition to doing some writing and editing... Slowly but surely, I’m learning the art of networking. I’m forming new friendships and acquaintances mostly because I like people, but also so that if I end up braving D.C. on my own after graduation I’ll have a support system.

April 16, 2018

Time moves oddly in D.C.

I swear, it was just yesterday that I was unpacking my wrinkled, second-hand business clothes and struggling to figure out the metro.

At the same time, I feel like an entirely new person, even after only two and a half months.

Here are some of the tips and lessons learned during one of the most fast-paced
(continued on page 4)

2018 Semester Participants

Tim An

Senior, Social Work major, from South Korea
Community Family Life Services

Demi Bandolik

Senior, Social Work major, from Illinois
Collaborative Solutions for Communities

Jesse Brink

Junior, Political Science & History major, from Massachusetts
Senator Debbie Stabenow

Selvi Bunce

Junior, International Relations & Chinese major, from Minnesota
International Center for Religion and Diplomacy

Blair Coats

Senior, Theater & English Literature major, from Illinois
Folger Shakespeare Library

Emily Diepstra

Senior, Social Work major, from Michigan
District of Columbia Metropolitan Police Department

Shayna French

Senior, Social Work major, from New York
Healthy Babies Project

Cory Greeno

Junior, History major, from Michigan
Library of Congress

Sarah Hoff

Senior, Political Science major, from Illinois
U.S. Council of Catholic Bishops

Ken Horjus

Junior, History & Political Science major, from Michigan
Congressman Bill Huizenga

Araceli Jaimes

Senior, Social Work major, from Illinois
CARECEN

Joanna Jaimes

Senior, Social Work & Political Science major, from Illinois
UN High Commissioner for Refugees (Caribbean Protection Unit)

Zeke Kooyer

Senior, Political Science & French major, from Michigan
Opportunity@Work

Sam Mann

Junior, Public Health major, from Michigan
Senator Gary Peters

Danah Montgomery

Senior, Social Work major, from Michigan
Save the Children

Boluwatife Olayemi

Junior, Information Systems major, from Nigeria
Brookings Institute

Kathryn Post

Senior, Political Science & English Writing major, from New Jersey
Center for Public Justice

Christian Rodriguez

Junior, International Relations and Strategic Communications
major, from Florida
Department of Justice

Nate Ross

Senior, International Relations major, from California
Congressman Alan Lowenthal

Garrett Serstad

Senior, International Relations & Chinese major, from Indiana
Congressman Jim Banks

Henry Institute Scholarships for D.C. Semester Students

Each year, through generous donations from Karen Henry Stokes and the Ron and Ann Kunnen family, the Henry Institute provides scholarships and travel assistance grants to Washington D.C. Semester students. Joanna Jaimes and Kathryn Post each won \$2,000 scholarships for the 2018 D.C. Semester. The application asks students to respond to a quote from Paul Henry: "Politics is the organized struggle for the ascendancy of one's own self-interest over that of another. Justice, on the other hand, is the giving to every man his proper due."

Jaimes, a Social Work and Political Science major, interned at the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Her application essay response noted: "I think politics and the pursuit of justice are not two distinct realities. Rather, I believe that they go hand in hand... "...I believe God calls



Joanna Jaimes

all of us to pursue social justice, and he calls some towards careers in politics. This is one space where Christians can promote policy that seeks long-term justice, restorative criminal justice policy, for example... I think the state must be responsible for making and enforcing policies that are just. Christians have a role to play in this space...

"In a world that has limited resources and where the state is the agent that settles disputes... how can I, as someone who cares about marginalized groups, better help to promote their lives? If the state has authority and legitimacy, then I must find myself in a space where I can be active in promoting justice."

Jaimes will be pursuing her MSW at the University of Michigan in the fall, and plans to specialize in Social Policy and Evaluation. She will also be interning at the Human Trafficking and Social Justice Institute at the University of Toledo.

Kathryn Post, a Political Science and English Writing major at Calvin, worked

at the Center for Public Justice during her time in Washington. She is the author of the blog excerpts included in the accompanying article. Kathryn returned to Washington after graduation in May and is writing for CPJ and Sojourners.



Kathryn Post

Three additional students received \$500 travel assistance grants for the Semester: Selvi Bunce, Blair Coats and Christian Rodriquez. ~

I have an even greater appreciation for D.C. after witnessing the richness of its neighborhoods... I made an effort to take the learning from my political science classes and apply them to the real world, or the public square... by engaging in service-learning and finding ways to explore how communities make decisions.

Joanna Jaimes

Semester in Washington D.C. (continued from page 4)

transformative, unpredictable, and introspective seasons of my life...

- Heels and briefcases are overrated. Walking a mile to work with both will give you awful blisters and an achy back, so even though you will feel far less professional with your sneakers and backpack, your shoulders and feet will thank you later.
- Just because you do more things by yourself doesn't mean you have to feel alone. In fact, you may find that you're stronger and more independent than you gave yourself credit for.
- Go get a library card at the Library of Congress. It's free, and even though you have to go through security and pretend

you are a scholar doing *very important research,* you'll be able to go behind the plexiglass and into the main reading room. Once there, you will look up and stare stupidly at the incredible artwork on the ceiling and every person there will know you're an imposter. But that will just be part of the fun.

- It's okay to make mistakes, to have regrets, to waste time and to not have a Life Plan. You and your life are not perfect, and never will be. The imperative thing is to surround yourself with people who remind you of what's truly important to you and who you really are. Breathe in. Breathe out. Receive God's grace and stop trying so hard.

I honestly can't believe that in less than two weeks our D.C. semester will be over. I'm so grateful for my time here, and for every person that took the time to talk on the phone or catch up over skype or meet me over coffee to give me much-needed guidance... I know God has a lot more to teach me here in D.C. I'll be coming back here in June to continue working at the Center for Public Justice, and then I'll be starting a year-long position at Sojourners in August...

May 11, 2018

...God used my time at Calvin to transform my values, goals, self-perception, theology, and—yes—my worldview. [And now some thoughts] (almost) post-Calvin:

- My understanding of doing justice is that it requires surrendering to God's will, being aligned to God's purpose, and being used by God to restore what is broken—broken spirits, broken relationships, broken ideologies, broken institutions, broken governments, broken systems.
- I've studied political science and loved it, not because I want to be a politician, but because I believe Christians have a particular responsibility to be informed and active citizens, and because I care about people and the institutions, societies, governments, and laws that shape them.
- My views no longer fit nicely into one political camp or the other. Rather, I have a vision of civil society that involves the innovative contributions of local institutions combined with a positive but limited vision of government, a vision that has all sorts of implications for how we understand political issues. ~

Our thanks to Kathryn for sharing her reflections and allowing us to publish them.



Henry Institute Sponsors Constitution Series at Calvin

During the 2017-18 academic year, the Henry Institute sponsored a series of debates considering viewpoints from the left and right on contemporary Constitutional issues.

The first debate, “Is DACA Constitutional? Constitutional Structures and the Limits of Presidential Authority,” considered the constitutionality of President Obama’s original DACA order and the rationale of the administrative order, as well as the constitutionality of the range of options President Trump has at his disposal to respond on the issue.

“Political Polarization: Is the Constitution to Blame?” addressed the deep divisions in U.S. political culture today and considered possible sources of that division, from simply differing opinions to the possibility that political structures established by the Constitution foster—or at least fail to mediate—

our polarization.

The final debate examined “The Constitution and Free Speech: Is It Worth the Cost?” The asserted positions started with the foundation that American political tradition has always valued free speech, and moved on to where the boundaries should

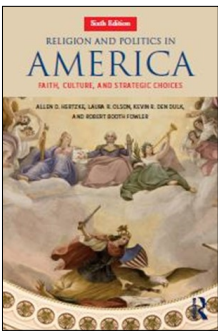
be set, considering whether free speech includes hate speech, who decides where the boundaries are set, and what the Constitution says about the matter. ~

See the debates at: <https://calvin.edu/centers-institutes/henry-institute/projects/the-constitution-series/>



The Political Polarization panelists: Mikael Pelz, Matt Seafield, Kennedy Genzink, and Kevin den Dulk

New Publications by Institute Affiliates



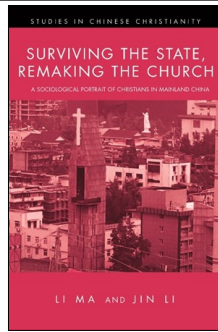
Religion and Politics in America: Faith, Culture and Strategic Choices

(Sixth Edition)

Allen D. Hertzke, Laura R. Olson, Kevin R. den Dulk, Robert Booth Fowler
Religion and politics are

never far from today’s headlines, but their relationship in the American arena remains complex and confusing. This book explores contexts that motivate religious political engagement and assesses political realities faced by religious organizations and people. The authors examine the evolving politics of Catholics, evangelical and mainline Protestants, Jews, Muslims, other religious minorities, and religious “nones”; African Americans, Latinos, recent immigrants, and other conventional and not-so-conventional American religious movements.

This 6th edition of the volume has been revised to include the 2016 election; an assessment of religion’s role in Obama’s second term; and an updated and expanded look at religion and its relationship to gender and sexuality, race/ethnicity, and class. The book also foregrounds theories of religion, culture and politics to contextualize the discussions. In-depth coverage of core topics, contemporary examples, useful feature boxes, and new discussion questions provide a real understanding of the interplay between religion



Surviving the State, Remaking the Church: A Sociological Portrait of Christians in Mainland China

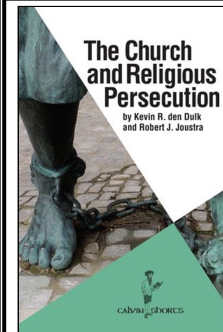
Li Ma and Jin Li

In a sociological portrait, the book examines how Chinese Christians have coped with life under hostile regimes over

historical periods, and how Christian churches have been reshaped by ripples of social change. China’s movement from a centrally planned economy to a market economy, and from agrarian to urbanized society, are significant phenomena worthy of scholarly attention. But real changes center around values and beliefs giving rise to social structures over time. The growth of Christianity has become interwoven with the disintegration or emergence of Chinese cultural beliefs, political ideologies, and commercial values.

Relying mainly on an oral history method to collect data, the book allows the narratives of Chinese Christians to speak for themselves. Identifying the formative cultural elements, a sociohistorical analysis also lays out a coherent understanding of the complexity of religious experiences for these Christians. This book also encourages broader scholarly discussions on habits of the heart as the condition that helps form identities and nurture social morality, whether individuals engage in private or public affairs.

From Pickwick Publications.



The Church and Religious Persecution

Kevin R. den Dulk and Robert J. Joustra

Originally published in 2015, this new edition of the book discusses the rise in religious persecution around the world. Daily news stories and social science research chronicle the suffering of Christians and those of other faiths at the hands of both governments and private citizens. And yet, with few exceptions, the North American church has been largely absent from serious action to address this global problem. *The Church and Religious Persecution* examines the nature and scope of religious persecution worldwide, explores the response of the church and proposes steps church leaders and members can take to stand up for religious freedom and build a faith-based movement against persecution.

The Pruis Rule of Law Lecture is sponsored annually by the Henry Institute, featuring speakers discussing topics surrounding the rule of law in countries around the globe. This year's November 2 lecture featured Rod Ludema, who served as a Chief Economist at the U.S. State Department during the Bush administration and as Senior International Economist for the Obama White House Council of Economic Advisors. He is currently with the School of Foreign Service and the Economics Department at Georgetown University. Ludema's lecture considered the topic: *Are International Institutions Dispensable?*

According to Ludema, in today's uncertain environment, international trade is very clearly in the path of the political storm. His lecture centered around the extent to which international trade institutions that have been built up over decades are dispensable in the current economic and political situation, making the case that this would be an inappropriate time to do away with them.

"Speeches by Trump frequently use the term 'America First,' which can mean many things to many people," according to Ludema. "Sometimes it is understood as saying that leaders of countries should look after their own country—which is obvious. Trump seems to indicate it involves protecting our borders and protecting American jobs.

"I've worked in the Bush and Obama administrations," Ludema continued. "Both times, we believed in America first—in the context that American leadership was vital for the support of international institutions and order that had been built up over the years. The idea was that we worked towards building prosperity, security and freedom in other countries because doing so builds freedom, security and prosperity here at home. A symbiotic relationship exists for pursuing these things abroad as well as at home. Trump's direction is a departure from that idea."

Countries that trade extensively with each other rarely go to war. Trade builds alliances and reduces conflict.

According to Ludema, tariffs imposed on imported products since 1820 have been volatile, with the last major protectionist event in the U.S. occurring after the stock market crash of 1929. Congress tried to rescue the U.S. economy by imposing large tariffs on imported products; other countries responded in turn and an international trade war resulted. In response, in

1934, legislation was passed allowing U.S. presidents to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements with other countries and bring them to Congress for an up or down vote. The law has been used for every trade agreement signed by the U.S. since.

One critical component of global trade involves the concept of protective tariffs. Proponents of the idea argue that the tariffs will result in employment, high wages, preservation of the home market, expansion of business and thriving industry. They assert that allowing free trade would require American workers to compete with low wage foreign labor, force American farmers to face extensive imports, and depress industry and business.

On the other side, according to Ludema, economists have consistently opposed protectionism, arguing it substitutes the judgement of government for that of the market and leads to the misallocation of resources. Protecting one industry raises costs to anyone using that product and favors one group at the expense of others. Protectionism blunts natural market incentives to innovate and adopt new technologies—and countries that resort to protectionism regularly tend to fall behind technologically. The "protecting" country gets shut out of foreign markets. Further, protectionism increases uncertainty, which makes businesses unwilling to devote advance planning and investment into future growth. Pursuing international trade agreements around the world has a solid geopolitical basis: "Countries that trade extensively with each other rarely go to war," Ludema noted. "Trade builds alliances and reduces conflict."

Ludema added that new realities are facing the world economy. Technology has reduced the labor intensity of manufacturing and is increasing the demand for skill. Manufacturing in the U.S. as a share of GDP has been rock solid since 1970; it is not declining. What has declined is the share of employment that exists within manufacturing. There is more manufacturing with fewer workers, due primarily to increased technology. It no longer makes sense to protect

domestic industry from imported products in order to save manufacturing jobs. Robots are doing people's jobs, and highly skilled workers are operating the robots.

As the labor force has moved out of manufacturing, it has moved into the service sector, with 80% of people now working in services. The U.S. has a strong competitive advantage in service exports,

with a service trade surplus since 2006. Ludema believes the country should be thinking about breaking down barriers to service trade sectors, rather than trying to erect barriers to protect manufacturing.

At the time of the lecture, the Trump administration had rejected signing the Transpacific Partnership and had agreed to renegotiate NAFTA. Major tariffs had not yet been imposed under the argument of "national security exemptions." Ludema expressed his concern about that move, asserting that "invoking the national security exemption could have an extreme domino effect, creating pandemonium in the world trade markets."

Ludema's closing advice to the new Trump administration: "History has merit – so don't mess it up, or at least don't mess it up in a hurry" and, as a U.S. President, "reality comes at you pretty fast. And reality always has a way of asserting itself." ~



See the entire lecture: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qox8_0crA6l&feature=youtu.be

For a discussion on international trade and the global economy with Ludema: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sGFYIGcm9mM&feature=youtu.be>

Upcoming Pruis Rule of Law Lecture

Thursday, December 6, 2018
Covenant Fine Arts Center Recital Hall
at Calvin College

Patrick Daneen is the author of the current bestselling book on democracy, law and Christian faith, *Why Liberalism Failed*. He is a political science professor at Notre Dame and holds the David A. Potenziani Memorial College Chair of Constitutional Studies. His previous books include *The Odyssey of Political Theory*, *Democratic Faith*, and a number of edited volumes.

The Henry Institute's Civitas Lab brings together students and faculty to study intersections of faith and public life. For the 2017-2018 academic year, the Lab included 14 students who are continuing the commitment to research embraced by their more than forty predecessors in the Lab since it started in 2015.

The Civitas Lab combines funds from the Henry Institute and other sources to offer paid research assistantships to Calvin undergraduates, who explore the public role of faith under the mentorship and guidance of Calvin faculty. The students are also part of a close-knit research community, led and facilitated by Henry Institute Director Kevin den Dulk, and meet together regularly over a meal to discuss their work, share project insights and challenges, and divide labor when necessary. As part of the work, students learn various research tools and applications that will serve them not only in their near-term projects, but also in vocational pursuits after graduation.

Nine projects were part of the Lab during the 2017-2018 academic year. They are briefly highlighted on these pages.

Public Spaces in the New Urbanism: Noah Schumerth and Mark Bjelland examined a normative urban planning movement called New Urbanism, which features mixed-use buildings, sidewalks, front porches, and public squares that promote social interaction and civic engagement. The project is exploring questions of access, ownership, and management of the "public" spaces in existing New Urbanist development projects.



Noah Schumerth
Junior, majoring in Geography
minor in Architecture
from Appleton, WI



Mark Bjelland
Calvin College Geography
and Environmental Studies

Water and Justice: Jonathan Winkle and Henry Institute Director Kevin den Dulk researched the appropriate role of government in addressing problems involving the availability, stewardship and economic justice issues that surround distribution of water as a matter of public justice.



Jonathan Winkle
Sophomore, majoring in
Political Science
from Grand Rapids, MI



Kevin R. den Dulk
Calvin College
Political Science
Department;
Henry Institute
Executive Director

What is Good Food? Kaitlyn Eekhoff continued research on food and faith on an urban farm in Grand Rapids, Michigan with Roman Williams. Three years ago, Eekhoff conducted ethnographic research on the farm and during the spring of 2018, she returned to the project, moving on to interviews, data analysis, and literature review.



Kaitlyn Eekhoff
Senior, majoring in
Mathematics, Sociology and
Philosophy
from Dexter, MI



Roman Williams
Calvin College
Sociology Department

Reducing Recidivism: Mapping Applications for Returning Citizens:

Taek Soo Nam and Jason VanHorn refined the user-friendly intuitive map created earlier in this Civitas Lab project, which lays out Kent County (Michigan) facilities and organizations that provide valuable services to new parolees and those returning as citizens from incarceration. The project also explores service coverage gaps and language evaluation for populations most affected.

(Related article on page 2)

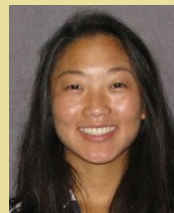


Taek Soo Nam
Senior, majoring in Data
Science and Sociology
from Gimposi,
South Korea



Jason Van Horn
Calvin College
Geology Department

Religious and Political Polarization in America: Kelly Looman, Josh Parks and Kathryn Post assisted Kristin DuMez with research on two separate, but related projects: a religious history of Hillary Clinton, set against the backdrop of the polarization of American Christianity from the 1960s to the present; and a study of evangelical constructions of militant masculinity from 1980 to the present.



Kelly Looman
Junior, majoring in International Relations
minors in Geography and History
from Newaygo, MI



Kathryn Post,
Senior, majoring in Political Science
and Writing
from Midland Park, NJ



Joshua Parks,
Senior, majoring in English Literature
and Violin Performance
from Holland, MI



Kristin DuMez
Calvin College
History Department

Measuring the Long-Term Effects of Service Learning on Calvin College Alumni: Joanna Jaimes and Jeffrey Bouman worked on a mixed-methods research project, including a survey on current civic and political behavior administered to 1,650 Calvin College alumni who graduated between 2002 and 2012. The project examined whether student participation in service-learning activities while in college influenced post-college civic and political expression.



Joanna Jaimes
Senior, majoring in Social Work
and Political Science
from Vernon Hills, IL



Jeffrey Bouman
Calvin College
Service Learning Center

Rural Consciousness and Religion in the Rustbelt: Erica Buursma and Elena Van Stee worked with **Mark Mulder** reviewing evidence on the voting behavior of rural whites and reconsidering the inter- and intra-personal practices of religiosity amidst continued changes in American religious institutions. Their research will offer scholars and public policy leaders a reconceptualization of how religion inherently structures the political orientation of rural white voters.



Elena Van Stee
Senior, majoring in Religion and Sociology
minor in French
from Western Springs, IL



Mark Mulder
Calvin College
Sociology Department



Erica Buursma
Senior, majoring in Sociology
minors in Gender Studies, Communication
and Spanish
from Grand Rapids, MI

Communicating Virtuously across Division in the Church: Karolyn DeKam and David van Dokkumburg worked with **Stacey Wieland** beginning a qualitative project considering how Christians who disagree about significant social issues can engage in productive dialogue. The project examines how dialogue might be enacted in contexts where participants share a deep commitment to core Christian beliefs, yet diverge in their understanding of the implications of those beliefs for modern social issues.



Karolyn DeKam
Freshman, majoring in Sociology
minor in Women and Gender Studies
from Muskegon, MI



Stacey Wieland
Calvin College
Communication, Arts
& Sciences Department



David van Dokkumburg
Freshman, majoring in Business and Human
Resources
from Mount Hope, Ontario

Visualizing Faith and Citizenship: Cassidy Dykstra and Claire Hinkel assisted **Roman Williams** in ongoing efforts to collect photographic images from students studying off-campus. The images are intended to convey a momentary, unique perspective about faith and public life.



Cassidy Dykstra
Senior, majoring in Social Work
minor in Congregational and
Ministry Studies
from Hamilton, MI



Roman Williams
Calvin College
Sociology Department



Claire Hinkel
Junior, majoring in Sociology
minor in German
from Mattawan, MI

Kuyper Conference Co-Sponsored by Henry Institute

The annual Kuyper Conference was held at Calvin College and sponsored, in part, by the Henry Institute in April 2018. The Conference began in 1998 at Princeton Theological Seminary and was founded to acknowledge the stream of Calvinist thought represented by Abraham Kuyper (Dutch theologian and statesman—1837-1920), and to explore the tradition he helped to form, commonly known as neocalvinism.

The Kuyperian movement, was originally associated with Dutch Calvinists in the Netherlands and North America, but is now growing globally.

This year's 21st annual Kuyper Conference focused on this international expansion, examining *The Future of African Public Theology* from April 30-May 1. Various plenary sessions and panels at the event included conversations among African public theologians from a variety of perspectives and Reformed Christian scholars from several continents considering the state of African public theology, the need for it, and the promise it holds for informing Christian thinking and practice on the African continent and beyond.

Approximately 100 individuals

participated in the conference, which featured panel discussions, roundtable sessions, paper presentations, and plenary speakers.

In 2019, the Kuyper Conference will again be sponsored by Calvin College and Calvin Theological Seminary. Details are still being confirmed; the event will be held at the Prince Conference Center in April. ~

The agenda for the 2018 conference and recordings of some sessions available at: <https://www.calvin.edu/events/kuyper-conference/>

Religion Serving as the Conscience of the State

Paul Henry, the Institute's namesake, was dedicated to connecting Christian thought to action and public life, and the annual Henry Lecture helps us remember and learn from his legacy, bringing into conversation speakers who combine thoughtful reflection with a practitioner's experience. The 21st Henry Lecture featured Melissa Rogers speaking on *The Conscience of the State: Religion's Role as an Independent Check on Government* on February 21, 2018. Rogers was the Director of the White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships during the Obama administration, and is now a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institute. The following remarks are condensed from Dr. Roger's lecture. The entire event can be viewed at <https://vimeo.com/257166846>

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King said, "The church is not the master or the servant of the state, but rather the conscience of the state. It must be the guide and the critic of the state, and never its tool." Our American legal traditions recognize this tool—religion must have meaningful independence from the state, and when it does, then it can be authentic and vital, allowing faith communities and leaders to call the state to the "better angels of our nature" as Lincoln stated.

organizations to practice their faith, including in the nation's public life. When government is barred from promoting faith, then expressions of faith can be authentic, not rehearsed—and this is the key to religion remaining a prophetic voice in our society.



right away, but that does not mean that principled stands by the faithful are not significant. Our task is to bear witness, and bearing witness is an act of faith. My prayer is that we will protect the independence of faith and the blessing of religious freedom for all people, and that religious communities everywhere will truly seek to serve as the conscience of the state. ~

Contrary to conventional wisdom, the separation of church and state does not require religion to be removed from the public square or kept behind some closed door. Separation of church and state *does* mean that each sector retains some independence, while also allowing the sectors to come together; and this separateness makes them even more powerful when they do work together.

The third way the Constitution seeks to maintain religion's independence from government is in its protection of the free exercise of religion. It states that government cannot target religion and also protects everyone's inalienable and

Contrary to conventional wisdom, the separation of church and state does not require religion to be removed from the public square or kept behind some closed door.

active right to exercise faith. The free exercise clause protects both popular as well as less familiar religious beliefs—both individually and communally.

The Constitution seeks to separate faith and government to ensure the independence of religion in several ways: it prohibits any religious test for public office, saying that government cannot disqualify candidates based on religion or lack thereof. This "no religious test clause" makes sure that the state cannot dictate religious beliefs or hold state employees to those beliefs. Additionally, the Constitution prohibits the state from establishing any religion. The establishment clause bars government from attempting to determine theological matters and also from favoring one religion over another.

It is important to note that barring the government from establishing religion does not turn our nation into a religion free zone. Instead, it creates space and freedom for individuals and religious

We must remember that threats to religious independence from the state can also arise from within faith communities. As Christians, there is no substitute for searching one's conscience, for seeking discernment and for summoning one's courage. Religious leaders have sometimes served as lapdogs for political leaders and causes—which can be clearly seen when the same standards for morality and actions are not applied evenly across the spectrum of politicians, parties and causes. Rather than a double standard based on one's individual preferences, there should always be a single standard for what is right and wrong. The church damages our prophetic witness from the inside with these kinds of behaviors.

As I conclude, let me state that I believe that the moral arc of the universe does not bend toward justice

Upcoming Henry Institute Symposium on Religion and Public Life

The biennial Henry Symposium on Religion and Public Life provides opportunities to share current research, foster personal and professional networks, facilitate joint research projects, and learn about research opportunities across various disciplines. In addition to its scholarly side, the Symposium includes panels and presentations that cultivate rich discussion among the broader public, with a focus on timely issues and thoughtful practitioners. Attendance at the Symposium is open to anyone interested in the intersection of religion and public life.

The three-day event includes roundtables and panels on a wide variety of topics, presentations by scholars and practitioners, and special evening lectures by prominent thinkers.

April 25-27, 2019
Prince Conference Center
Calvin College



The call for papers will be available in November at <https://calvin.edu/centers-institutes/henry-institute/programs/symposium/>

The Henry Institute is in “year one” of a three-year project to explore evangelical views on international affairs. An impressive group of scholars will explore the tensions within evangelicalism between populist and nationalist views, and between “new internationalist” concerns over religious persecution around the world, humanitarian aid in developing countries, immigration as a form of hospitality, and global health.

Despite a great deal of recent scholarly and popular discussion about evangelicalism, surprisingly little is known about how populism and internationalism co-exist within the evangelical religious tradition. This lack of nuanced and fine-grained understanding generates simplistic paradigms and misleading characterizations that the research team

hopes to clarify, allowing deeper insights about evangelical international engagement. According to Institute Director Kevin den Dulk, who is one of three project leaders, “the debate about evangelicals in politics focuses primarily on domestic policy and politics while neglecting the complexity of faith in international affairs. We hope to offer a new perspective that takes seriously both the long history and the current state of evangelical international engagement.”

Along with den Dulk, the leadership team includes Dennis Hoover of the Institute for Global Engagement (IGE) and Robert Joustra of Redeemer University College in Canada. Two journals (the IGE’s *Review of Faith and International Affairs* and the Center for Public Justice’s *Public Justice Review*)

will commit entire editions in 2019 to the project. A series of presentations by political scientists, sociologists, and historians on the team will also be highlighted at the April 2019 Symposium on Religion and Public Life, sponsored by the Henry Institute.

Contributors to the project include Jim Guth (Furman University), Kristin Du Mez (Calvin College), Melani McAlister (George Washington University), Ruth Melkonian-Hoover (Gordon College), Melissa Borja (University of Michigan), and Paul Rowe (Trinity Western University).

Grants from the Council on Christian College and Universities (CCCU), and from the Calvin Center for Christian Scholarship will help to fund the project.

Institute Research Fellow Activities

The Henry Institute’s Senior Research Fellows continued their history of rich scholarly work during the 2017/2018 academic year. A brief summary of their activities follows.

Mary Ma

Publications:

Surviving the State, Remaking the Church: A Sociological Portrait of Christians in Mainland China, (with Jin Li)

Pickwick Publications, 2018

The Chinese Exodus: Migration, Urbanism and Alienation in Contemporary China, Pickwick Publications, 2018

“Divergent Paths of Protestantism and Asian Nationalism: A Comparison of Two Social Movements in Korea and China in 1919,” (with Jin Li) *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, May 29, 2018

Presentation:

“Grounding Inequality: A Comparison of Kuyper and Mao on Poverty Relief in Africa,” paper presentation at Kuyper Conference on The Future of African Public Theology, Calvin College, Grand Rapids, MI, April 30-May 1, 2018

Corwin Smidt

Publication:

“Measuring Religion in Terms of Religious Belonging, Beliefs, and

Behavior,” chapter in *Oxford Encyclopedia of Politics and Religion*, (Paul Djupe, editor) Oxford University Press, 2018

Presentations:

“Christians in Political Science: Past, Present, and Future,” address given to the 11th National Conference of Christians in Political Science, Covenant College, Lookout Mountain, GA, June 2018

“Reassessing the Concept and Measurement of Evangelical Christians,” paper presentation at Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Washington DC, October, 2017

“Protestant Clergy and the 2016 Presidential Election,” paper presentation at Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Washington, DC, October 2017

“Unlocking the Civic Potential of Religion: The Central and East European Context,” paper presentation at International Study of Religion in Eastern and Central Europe Association, Szeged, Hungary, May 2018

Book Reviews

“Evangelicalism in America,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 56 (September 2017), 691

“Faithful Measures: New Methods in the Measurement of Religion,” *Review of Religious Research*, 60 (June 2018), 283-284



Upcoming Conference

Faith & Democracy in America: Christianity and Liberalism Rightly Understood

December 6-7, 2018
Prince Conference Center
Calvin College

How should the connection between Christian faith and American Liberalism be understood? As a necessarily antagonistic relationship? As a fruitful partnership orchestrated by God himself? Or perhaps as a relationship in tension, bearing both good and bad fruit?

The question has existed since the beginning of the American political experiment, but the current cultural season seems especially fraught with difficulty and division regarding how to think about our most important identities, loyalties, and duties.

The *Faith and Democracy in America* conference will be coordinated by the Calvin College Political Science Department and the Henry Institute. Panels and plenary speakers from various perspectives will consider whether Christianity is compatible with American Liberalism, facilitating meaningful conversations about what it looks like in this particular season to do justice to both God and Caesar in our current surroundings.

See the Conference website for more information: <https://www.calvin.edu/go/faith-and-democracy/>

The Henry Institute is sponsoring a public discussion about the timely issues of pluralism, faith, and immigration on November 5, 2018. Shadi Hamid, Matthew Kaemingk, and Stephanie Summers will share perspectives, ideas and comments in a panel format, considering Christian faith and Muslim immigrants.

Shadi Hamid is a Senior Fellow with the Brookings Institute's Center for Middle East Policy, where he heads the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World. His most recent book, *Islamic Exceptionalism: How the Struggle over Islam is Reshaping the World* (St. Martin's Press) was shortlisted for the 2017 Lionel Gelber Prize.

Matthew Kaemingk, Assistant Professor of Christian Ethics at Fuller Theological Seminary, and associate dean of Fuller

Texas in Houston. He also serves as a fellow at the Center for Public Justice and a scholar-in-residence at the De Pree Center for Christian Leadership. He is the author of *Christian Hospitality and Muslim Immigration in an Age of Fear*.



Stephanie Summers is the Chief Executive Officer of the Center for Public Justice, an independent, non-partisan civic

education and public policy organization working to equip citizens, develop leaders, and shape policy through a variety of initiatives. Summers is the co-author of *Unleashing Opportunity: Why Escaping Poverty Requires a Shared Vision of Justice* (Falls City Press).

The event will be in the Covenant Fine Arts Center Recital Hall at Calvin College at 7pm. ~

Engaging with the World Affairs Council

The Henry Institute worked with the World Affairs Council (WAC) of Western Michigan on several events this spring, bringing experts from the U.S. and other countries to West Michigan to expand conversations about engaging thoughtfully with the world.

In conjunction with Grand Valley State University, Calvin and the WAC hosted Guillaume Lacroix, the French Consul General to the Midwest for discussions about U.S. politics.

With Warner Norcross & Judd LLP and the Wyoming Branch of the Kent District Library, the Henry Institute sponsored a series of spring lectures for the *Cultivating Community through Civil Discourse* program. Dr. David Hooker (the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame) used his expertise as a post-conflict community builder to give the audience tools for better discourse. Michigan Radio's Jack



Calvin students with Sarrah Buageila (center), who spoke for the *Cultivating Community through Civil Discourse* program

Lessenberry explored ways to gain back a former sense of community. Sarrah Buageila (Institute for Social Policy and Understanding and researcher for the Muslims for American Progress Project) shed light on Muslim Americans in Michigan, as she paired hard facts with human faces.

Hooker and Buageila also met with Calvin College students prior to their lectures, as part of the Henry Institute's Career Breakfast Program (see article on page 3). ~

Public Writings by Institute Director Kevin R. den Dulk

Over the past year, Henry Institute Director Kevin den Dulk has written a number of articles and comments on various topics, as well as a full volume on *Religion and Politics in America* (see more about the book on page 6). To read or listen, use the links below.

From the Center for Public Justice's **Public Justice Review:**
Are Principles Enough? Virtues in Public Policy—Vol. 9, Issue 3, 2018
https://cpjustice.org/index.php/public/page/content/PJR_vol8_issue2_article3_kevin_den_dulk_are_princi

Educating the Political Disciple—Vol 7, 2018
https://cpjustice.org/index.php/public/page/content/pjr_vol7_no4_kevin_den_dulk_educating_political_di

From Cardus' **Comment:**
Isolation and the Prospects for Democracy: The Challenge for the Alienated—May 24, 2108
<https://www.cardus.ca/comment/article/isolation-and-the-prospects-for-democracy/>

From **Respectful Conversations**, Topic 5 on "Party Politics and Beyond":
The Symbolic Politics of the Parties—Jan. 11, 2018
Expecting Too Much and Too Little of the Parties—Jan. 24, 2018
<http://www.respectfulconversation.net/rpd-conversation/category/5-party-politics-and-beyond>



From **Neighborly Faith Podcast:**
Should Muslims' Religious Freedom Matter to Evangelicals?—July 16, 2018
<https://play.google.com/music/listen#/ps/1l6xq3gpb7nsjckgferczscu>

In the journal, **Politics and Religion:**
Looking Within or Reaching Out? The Effects of Religion on Private School Enrollments in an Era of School Choice—Nov. 9, 2017, 11(01): 1-37

Other Henry Institute Lectures During 2017-18

Awaiting the King: The Politics of Hope in an Age of Fear by James K.A. Smith—<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JECBKHLVTRI&feature=youtu.be>

The Legacies of Arthur Vandenberg: A Conversation about Politics and Consensus by Hank Meijer—<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r23AcsDiBbc&feature=youtu.be>

Kingdom Mistakes and their Consequences by David Crump—<https://calvin.edu/centers-institutes/henry-institute/events/past-events/180313%20David%20Crump.mp3>