



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

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A Global Context for Christianity and Politics

For new Henry Institute Director Kevin den Dulk, any discussions regarding Christianity and politics in the years to come must be framed within a global context.

“The most important movements in world-wide Christianity today are in Asia and the global south,” den Dulk said. “So to study how our faith intersects with politics means we have to think about Christianity outside its historical centers in Europe and North America. We hear much about business and economic growth being in a global market, but we must think about Christianity, and about the interplay between religion and public life in a global sense as well.”

A specialist in political participation and culture, den Dulk plans to bring that broader global perspective to his new work as the second director of the Paul B. Henry Institute for the Study of Christianity and Politics at Calvin. The Institute (whose name honors a former Calvin political science professor and U.S. Congressman) was created at the college in 1997, and for 15 years political science professor Corwin Smidt was its director. In September of 2012, he handed the reins to den Dulk, who plans to build on his predecessor’s foundation.

During the 2013 January Interim study, den Dulk accompanied a group of Calvin students to China. Calvin’s Asian Studies Program sponsored his trip, a precursor to teaching the new Asian Politics class during the Spring 2014 semester. The close connection between China’s political and economic development was very obvious during the trip, which primarily included students studying engineering and business.

den Dulk notes that the Asian Politics course will be daunting in its scope and complexity given the varied geography, rich cultural diversity, and profound contrast among political institutions across Asia, particularly when defining Asia as stretching from the Pacific to the Middle East. With globalization pushing Asia ever more towards the front of the world scene, it is critical for students to have a better understanding of this region of the world.

By taking a global perspective, den Dulk is quick to point out that he does not plan to move away from matters of largely local or national concern. “Far from it,” he said. “But

even ostensibly domestic interactions between faith and public life increasingly have transnational implications. Christian scholars are called to help fellow Christians and the broader community understand the importance of these dynamic and ongoing processes. I see the Henry Institute as remarkably well-positioned to support that calling.”

den Dulk also wants to see the Henry Institute connect in more intentional ways to current college students, an area he



thinks is ripe for expansion. “The Institute is not a free-floating think tank with a narrow audience,” he said. “It is situated at a Christian liberal arts institution with a supportive community that is both deep and increasingly wide.

“I see young people as an integral part of that community. And the stakes are high: levels of civic participation and civic knowledge in younger people are chronically low and arguably getting worse. 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 their conviction that their participation matters.”

As part of this conviction, den Dulk will be spearheading a civic education program which will provide high school teachers with tools and resources to more effectively challenge young people to actively participate in the political arena. The project will begin with initial planning sessions this summer.

Portions of article taken from Calvin College News and Stories article by Phil de Haan

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Study Examines Religious Schools and Civic Participation

Does religious schooling shape civic participation? In a new study, Henry Institute Director Kevin den Dulk and Calvin sociology professor Jonathan Hill suggest that it does.

Using data from the National Study of Youth and Religion, den Dulk and Hill found that a key predictor of volunteering in early adulthood was not merely public versus non-public education, but the specific religious identity of the volunteer's school. "We were curious about why teenage volunteers become adult volunteers," says den Dulk. "We suspected that school type mattered, but we were surprised by how important religious schools turned out to be."

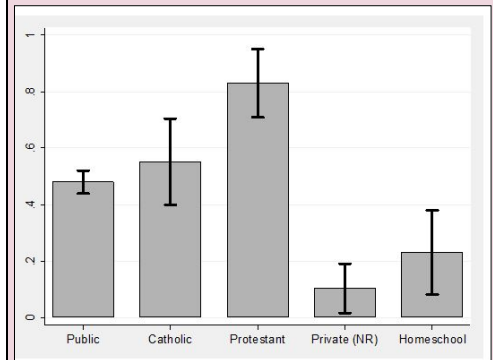
A Protestant education was the strongest predictor of whether an individual who volunteered in adolescence sustained their participation into adulthood. Catholic education had a moderately positive effect under some

circumstances, and home-schooled or private non-religious school students were less likely to volunteer as adults than were their counterparts in all categories.

The same findings held up even when den Dulk and Hill subjected their study to a host of controls, including a volunteer's educational attainment and income level, religious identity and attendance, and scope of peer groups. "We knew our results would be controversial, so we made a point of testing our findings in every way we could," noted Dr. den Dulk.

The study was, indeed, the center of a good deal of public discussion, including a story in *Christianity Today* and a feature in the popular podcast "Research on Religion." The study, titled "Religion, Volunteering, and Educational Setting: The Effect of Youth Schooling Type on Civic Engagement," appeared in the March

Probabilities of volunteering at age 18 to 23 by secondary school type



Note: When the vertical error bar for one type of schooling does not overlap with another, we can say with great confidence that the probabilities associated with both school types are significantly different than each other.

2013 edition of the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* on pages 179-197. ~

Henry Institute Research Fellows Actively Engaged

Three talented and active individuals served as Research Fellows with the Henry Institute during the 2012-13 academic year, continuing ongoing research efforts and publishing their findings through academic lectures, publications and books.

Research Fellow with the Institute since 2004, continuing his academic endeavors well past his formal retirement as a professor at Pepperdine University. Monsma is well known as both a scholar and practitioner in the field of faith and politics, particularly in areas involving religious freedom and faith-based social services. His expertise is drawn from academic study, but also from personal involvement and experience, having served in the Michigan House of Representatives and Michigan Senate and also working in administrative positions within the State of Michigan, in addition to teaching political science at both Calvin College and Pepperdine.

During the past year, Monsma published *Pluralism and Freedom* (see related article on page 8) and his earlier book, *Healing for a Broken World* (2008), was also released as an eBook. Monsma was invited by the American Enterprise Institute to participate in a panel on Evangelicals and the issue of poverty and also poke at the Coalition for the Protection of Religious Freedom, and at the Faith and Law group, comprised primarily of Capitol Hill staff members in Washington D.C.



Dr. Steve Monsma has served as a

Dr. Corwin Smidt formally retired from his positions as Henry Institute Director and professor of political science at Calvin College in the fall of 2012. However, his research and scholarly writing slowed only slightly. As a Research Fellow with the Institute, Smidt has delivered lectures at Calvin (see related articles on pages 3 and 6), spoke at the Christians in Political Science conference, for the German Political Science Association, and at four universities in Germany and Switzerland. While in Switzerland, Smidt also met with members of the Swiss Parliament.



Smidt's most recent book, *American Evangelicals Today* (see related article on page 8), was published in the spring of 2013, and he is currently working on a volume involving analysis of surveys of clergy in the United States, continuing his studies over the past two decades as he examines data to assess social, theological, and political changes among American Protestant clergy.

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Annual Henry Lecture: What Does the Lord Require?

Dr. Corwin E. Smidt delivered the 17th annual Paul B. Henry Lecture on April 26, 2013, speaking on “What Does the Lord Require? The Grounds for Christian Civility in Politics.” In the fall of 2012, Smidt retired from his position as the Executive Director of the Henry Institute and from his faculty position in the Political Science Department at Calvin College, where he had taught for 28 years. Smidt served as the Institute Director since its inception in 1997. A summary of his remarks follows.

Over the past several decades, American political life has become far more polarized along ideological lines. To a certain extent, this is the result of both major political parties becoming more ideologically homogeneous. The words “conservative” and “Republican,” or conversely, “liberal” and “Democrat,” are far more synonymous today.

Though ideologies can help us by providing important interpretive frameworks for analysis and assessment, they are human creations designed to make “sense of the political world.” As Christians, we should reflect deeply about our basic political perspectives, and be cautious about assuming the correctness of our ideological convictions when making political decisions. When Christians engage in political life, they must do so humbly and with civility. At times, however, Christians seem inclined to make idols out of their ideologies, bowing to certain perspectives as if they reflected eternal truths and then proceeding to evaluate one’s fellow Christians by the political positions they adopt, rather than as brothers and sisters in Christ.

God’s revelation in scripture is considered a primary basis by which to measure and test human claims—including those related to political life, but there are at least three complications in applying the Bible to politics. These difficulties mandate that a certain level of theological humility be exhibited when seeking to discuss politics from a perspective that endeavors to be faithful to biblical teachings.

First, the Bible does not provide any substantial, systematic discussion

of politics. The opportunities for Old Testament Israelites to engage in politics were quite limited—if not nonexistent; nor was political activity an option for the early Christian community, leaving little reason for biblical authors to discuss the matter. Overall, it is probably accurate to state that those limited biblical texts that



directly address politics and may serve as guides for Christian political action are relatively few in number, fairly general in the nature of their

discussion, and in need of some level of interpretation with regard to how they apply to contemporary political life.

Christians have long held that government is an institution authorized by God and mandated to pursue justice and seek common good, but we are far from united on what the government should be doing to fulfill its divine mandate.

For those who view government as arising solely because of the fall, the political sphere has largely a negative justification: to restrain sin, preserve order, and engage in corrective justice. This viewpoint diminishes expectations related to what governments are able to achieve.

Other interpretations hold that even in a sinless world there would be a need for some kind of authority which would establish and enforce rules, thus enabling individuals to accomplish more than they could simply on their own. This view allows wider conceptions of the scope of common good and justice, legitimizing more government intervention than would the corrective perspective.

Personal assessments and interpretations—such as constitutional powers, realities of American life, and anticipated consequences of government action—also shape the anticipated role of government.

perspectives, and empirical assessments, it is not surprising that individuals can easily come to different views related to the role and function of government, the particular political priorities or issues to be addressed, the specific public policies that should be pursued, and the political party most likely to pursue and implement such policies.

Thus, for the most part, Christian perspectives on politics (whether they are conservative or liberal) are not drawn directly from biblical passages, but rather are primarily inferred from biblical texts.

Christians living in different places and times, as well as Christians living within the same political system at the same point in time, have interpreted biblical texts differently. This may be because sin can shape our biblical interpretations, or that differences in political judgments can come into play when seeking to apply these biblical texts to particular political conditions and circumstances.

Regardless of the reason, Christians must constantly exercise a certain level of theological humility when discussing Christian perspectives related to politics.

The second basis for practicing civility in politics is the moral ambiguity associated with politics and policy-making. This ambiguity arises from the complexity of politics, the limited adequacy of information related to political issues under consideration, and our inability to predict with certainty the outcomes of legislative policies.

While conflict stemming from self-interest lies at the heart of politics, so too does achieving some consensus by reaching a political compromise. Arriving at political compromise reflects an ability to move beyond pure self interest, and compromise is necessary because the political desires of human beings never fully transcend their personal self-interests.

This emphasis on compromise does not imply that all political values or interests are necessarily of equal merit. There are frequently differences about the relative good or value of particular policies and priorities. In the final analysis, politics is usually a struggle between competing conceptions of the good—and hardly ever

What Does the Lord Require? (continued from page 3)

simply a matter of choosing between good and evil.

Christians have frequently been unwilling to engage in the practice of debate and compromise within political life. Rather than constructing and pursuing a realistic agenda of incremental progress toward achieving policy goals, many Christians have expected too much too fast. In working to pass public policy to achieve public justice, the perfect should never become the enemy of the good—in other words, one should not view taking incremental steps toward a desired policy goal as somehow constituting unprincipled action.

A second characteristic of politics that contributes to its moral ambiguity relates to the complexity of problems with which politics must deal. This complexity results in decisions which must be forged on the basis of incomplete, inadequate, and/or ambiguous information. Hence, there is always a cloud of uncertainty surrounding any piece of proposed legislation, with different people coming to different assessments as to whether and how some piece of proposed legislation might actually accomplish its intended purposes when enacted.

Third, even if there were universal agreement about the action to be taken, there could still be different assessments about possible outcomes of the policy proposal. Political decisions have both intended and unintended consequences that cannot be predicted.

The third basis for the exercise of political civility in politics is the need, based on biblical commands, for

Christians to exercise greater charity to one's political opponents.

With its competing values, policy priorities, and social and economic assessments related to policy-making, politics always entails the presence of disagreement. But, one of the most important decisions we as Christians can make related to politics is how we choose to treat those with whom we disagree. The American system of government, with its sets of checks and

balances, assumes conflicting interests and spirited debate. But, our current state of affairs is such that our political life is undermined by a culture of bitterness and contempt that makes it difficult to achieve any common purpose.

There is clearly a need for greater civility and charity in contemporary American political life. But why should we choose to exercise such civility toward those with whom we adamantly and fundamentally disagree? Quite practically, persuasion and compromise is more likely to occur when one demonstrates a reasonable and judicious—rather than an abusive and aggressive—manner.

But there are important religious reasons also. We must treat those with whom we disagree politically with respect because they are image-bearers of God and thereby possess inherent dignity and right of conscience. When we treat our political opponents with disdain, we publicly dishonor God.

The fact that all individuals are image-bearers of God and that we are commanded to love our neighbors should be sufficient reason to treat our political opponents with civility and respect—regardless of who they are, the particular policies they propose, or the religion (or lack thereof) which they express. But, not only do we Christians frequently fail to do so, we all too often judge and treat our fellow brothers and sisters in Christ on the basis of the political positions they adopt.

Our religious faith should structure our political perspectives—not the converse. As Paul notes in Galatians 3:28, we are all one in Christ; there is no Jew or Greek, no male or female—and, by extension, no Democrat or Republican, no liberal or conservative. God does not judge us according to these distinctions, and neither should we judge by them, if we seek to be faithful to Him.

In conclusion, Christians are called to political engagement. God instituted government for the welfare of

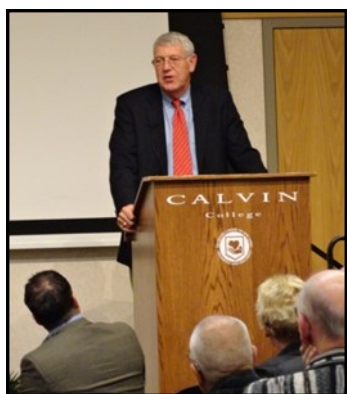
humankind. Ideological perspectives and partisan labels can be useful for thinking about public policy, to simplify complex issues, organize thoughts, and provide a starting point to address new political issues. Nevertheless, such labels are also often the means of reducing real differences to

oversimplifications and making judgments without engaging in the hard work of acquiring

knowledge, checking facts, and persuading on the merits of an argument. But all too often, these ideological labels and partisan viewpoints can quickly become impediments to loving our neighbor.

In conclusion, Christians are called to public and political engagement. But, when Christians engage in political life, we should do so with civility. The basis for this civility rests upon the limited nature of biblical guidance related to politics, the moral ambiguity related to politics, and the biblical command to love our neighbors as we love ourselves. ~

The full recording of the lecture can be found at www.calvin.edu/henry/schedule as part of the entry for the April 26, 2013 lecture, or at <http://new.livestream.com/calvin-college/events/2039295>



One of the most important decisions we as Christians can make related to politics is how we choose to treat those with whom we disagree.

The Paul Henry Institute is now on Facebook. Join us as a “friend” and find information and reminders about upcoming lectures and events. Search for “The Paul B. Henry Institute at Calvin College.”



The Institute website, located at www.calvin.edu/henry continues to provide extensive information about programs, lectures, archived material, publications, and special projects.

To receive emails with information about upcoming programs, you may also request that your email address be added to our records by contacting Ellen Hekman at elh4@calvin.edu.

Symposium on Religion and Public Life

More than 100 scholars from the United States, Canada, Europe and Africa attended the Henry Institute's 2013 Symposium on Religion and Public Life. The participants brought their research in the form of written papers, which were discussed during thirty panel forums. The Symposium was held from April 25-27 at the Prince Conference Center on the Calvin College campus.

The Symposium on Religion and Public Life is sponsored by the Henry Institute every other year, with the goal of providing an opportunity for individuals working and interested in these fields of study to present papers related to their current research. Additionally, the Symposium provides a venue for fostering personal and professional networks and facilitates future joint research endeavors.



The 2013 panels included a wide range of topics, religious perspectives, times throughout history, and geographical locations. American politics, comparative politics, international political systems and policies, political parties, and natural law were considered by the participants. Presenters explored various faith traditions, including numerous forms of Protestantism as well as Islam, and Catholicism.

Two evening lectures were held as part of the 2013 Symposium program. On April 25, Dr. Stanley Carlson-Thies gave the annual Kuyper Lecture sponsored by the Center for Public Justice. Carlson-Thies is the President and founder of the Institutional Religious Freedom Alliance, and spoke

on "Prohibiting the Free Exercise Thereof: The Affordable Care Act and Other Threats to Institutional Religious Freedom." On Friday, April 26, the annual Paul Henry Lecture was given by former Henry Institute director Corwin Smidt, speaking on "What Does the Lord Require? The Grounds for Christian Civility in Politics" (see article on page 3).

"This event provides a unique opportunity to interact with people who share my interests in a friendly academic setting," noted one of the participants. "There are many different perspectives and points of view, and the opportunity to explore ideas is really valuable." ~

See the 2013 Symposium program at: www.calvin.edu/henry/schedule

The Carlson-Thies lecture can be seen at <https://new.livestream.com/calvin-college/events/2039237>



Visualizing Public Life

In the fall of 2012, the Henry Institute and the Calvin Center for Social Research kicked off a joint project entitled "Visualizing Public Life." The year-long opportunity was envisioned to provide Calvin students with an introduction to exploring methods of representing information about public life.

"The scholarly world really hasn't caught up with the increasing interest among political practitioners, media, tech companies, other businesses (and so on) in better visualization of the massive amount of data at our disposal," noted Henry Institute Director Kevin den Dulk. "One of the key challenges of the digital age is to use advancements in computing power to produce meaningful information. We now have a range of remarkable tools to help us transform raw data into

refined interpretations, yet the use of these tools is quite often uninspiring and sometimes exploitive."

Businesses, designers, scholars, and the media are increasingly recognizing the value of representing information in innovative and edifying ways. The data visualization program offered Calvin's undergraduates a head start on developing these professional skills. "The goal of the program, however, is not merely technical and practical," said den Dulk. "We also wanted to foster serious consideration of the moral discernment which is required when considering how visualizations are produced and interpreted."

Additionally, the program was designed to provide students with the opportunity to develop a variety of professional and civic skills which are practical and useful in future life

endeavors and potential workplace responsibilities.

In the fall, three workshops were conducted by the Center for Social Research to train participants in the use of specific data visualization software, as well as in research gathering techniques and resources. Two additional open houses allowed students to work on projects and seek additional guidance about their planned visualizations from Center for Social Research Director Neil Carlson, Henry Institute Director den Dulk, and a trained Research Assistant from the Center for Social Research.

The final projects were displayed as part of the Henry Institute's Symposium on Religion and Public Life in April. ~

Dr. Corwin Smidt, former director of the Paul Henry Institute and professor of Political Science at Calvin College, spoke at Calvin on April 18, 2013. The lecture drew from his recently released book American Evangelicals Today.

A number of important features of this most recently published book characterize the analysis which serves as the foundation for the volume. First, it is based on survey research; despite all the academic and journalistic writings on the topic, this is only the third book on evangelicals that is actually based on survey data. The primary data source used is the Pew Forum’s Religious Landscape Survey of 2007 (containing a sample size of over 35,000 respondents and 9,000 evangelicals), supplemented by more recent surveys.

The second distinctive characteristic of the volume is that it assesses whether evangelical Protestants are best conceptualized as a categorical group or as a social group.

Third, the study examines the nature of evangelicals today in light of characteristics exhibited by Americans affiliated with other major religious traditions, and among the religiously unaffiliated.

Fourth, the study considers the level of change that has occurred among evangelicals and other faith traditions over approximately the last 50 years.

Fifth, the study also evaluates the differences among evangelicals and the extent to which certain potentially important divisions may be evident within their ranks today.

In examining the survey data to determine potential differences arising within the evangelical group, the book considers four potential factors: first, racial/ethnic differences between white evangelicals and black and Hispanic evangelicals, socially, religiously, and politically.

Next, whether a “new generation” of evangelicals may be emerging in which millennial evangelicals exhibit substantially different beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors socially, religiously, and politically than those evident among older evangelicals.

Then, whether college-educated evangelicals exhibit substantially different beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors than their less educated co-religionists, and finally, whether traditionalist evangelicals differ substantially from more modernist evangelicals in their civic/political attitudes and behavior.

This lecture focuses on one of

these four potential divisions: the generational differences. We will also consider the so-called “new evangelicals” and the extent to which millennial evangelicals (those individuals who attained voting age after the turn of the millennium) exhibit different religious, social, and political attitudes, values, and behavior than their older co-religionists.

In the book, generational differences among evangelicals are compared to those evident in the other religious traditions. There is an assessment of similarity and differences between evangelical millennials and millennials of other faith traditions in terms of religious beliefs and behavior, social theology, and political beliefs and behavior.

Two comparisons can be made: first, the extent to which millennial evangelicals differ from older generations of evangelicals, and whether such differences are larger or smaller than those found within other religious traditions. Second, the extent to which millennial evangelicals differ from millennials within other religious traditions.

First, when evaluating religious beliefs (Tables 1-6), there are relatively “small” generational differences among evangelicals. Where there are variations, a gap of 8 to 10 percent exists between millennial evangelicals and older co-religionists. These evangelical generational differences are typically somewhat larger than those found within black Protestantism, but smaller than the variations among mainline Protestants and Catholics.

When examining the second base of comparison, however, a somewhat different perspective emerges. In terms of religious beliefs and practices, there are some generational differences among evangelicals, but there are far greater differences among millennials across religious traditions. Or, stated differently, affiliation with a particular religious tradition is far more important than generational differences in shaping one’s religious beliefs or practices.

Results regarding education demonstrate that college graduates are more religious than non-college graduates across all religious traditions, and this holds true among millennials as well as older generations. Amid millennials outside of the evangelical tradition, educational

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS		
Table 1		
Absolutely Certain of God’s Existence		
	Millennial	Non-Millennial
Evang. Prot.	88%	91%
Mainline Prot.	71%	76%
Black Prot.	90%	92%
Catholic	65%	76%
Relig. Unaffil.	49%	53%
Table 2		
Report Religion to be Highly Salient		
	Millennial	Non-Millennial
Evang. Prot.	70%	80%
Mainline Prot.	42%	53%
Black Prot.	81%	86%
Catholic	44%	56%
Relig. Unaffil.	12%	17%
Table 3		
Completely Agree that Angels and Demons are Active		
	Millennial	Non-Millennial
Evang. Prot.	54%	62%
Mainline Prot.	29%	31%
Black Prot.	65%	58%
Catholic	34%	35%
Relig. Unaffil.	17%	19%
Table 4		
Evolution is Best Explanation		
	Millennial	Non-Millennial
Evang. Prot.	27%	23%
Mainline Prot.	52%	50%
Black Prot.	47%	36%
Catholic	68%	56%
Relig. Unaffil.	73%	74%
Table 5		
Only My Religion Leads to Eternal Life		
	Millennial	Non-Millennial
Evang. Prot.	45%	37%
Mainline Prot.	18%	11%
Black Prot.	41%	34%
Catholic	18%	16%
Relig. Unaffil.	*	*
* = not asked		

attainment seemingly has a small positive effect on religious practices—while within the evangelical group, there is a more significant

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS		
Table 6		
Evangelical Millennials Only		
	Non-College	College
Certain God Exists	86%	93%
High Relig. Salience	69%	75%
Angels/Demons Active	54%	56%
Evolution Best Explanation	28%	21%
Only My Religion Earns Eternal Life	44%	56%

impact. (Data not shown.)

When we turn to religious behavior, millennial evangelicals are somewhat less likely than older generations to engage in the religious behaviors examined in the survey (Tables 7 and 8). However, once again, there are greater differences in religious behavior among millennials across religious traditions than between millennial and older evangelicals.

When we examine social theology (Tables 9-11), the first piece of evidence to suggest that a “new generation” of evangelicals may be emerging is seen in survey results showing that millennial evangelicals are more likely than older evangelicals to favor an activist government. In so

RELIGIOUS PRACTICE		
Table 7		
Weekly Church Attendance		
	Millennial	Non-Millenn.
Evang. Prot.	55%	59%
Mainline Prot.	32%	35%
Black Prot.	56%	59%
Catholic	34%	43%
Relig. Unaffil.	*	*
* = not asked		

Table 8		
Daily Personal Prayer		
	Millennial	Non-Millenn.
Evang. Prot.	73%	79%
Mainline Prot.	49%	54%
Black Prot.	71%	83%
Catholic	46%	60%
Relig. Unaffil.	18%	24%

doing, millennial evangelicals more closely mirror millennials from the other religious traditions than they do their older evangelical brethren.

Politically (Tables 12-15), millennial

evangelicals are sometimes more like their peers within the other religious traditions and, at other times, much more like their older co-religionists. However, there continues to be a substantial gap politically between millennial evangelicals, and their counterparts in other religious traditions.

SOCIAL THEOLOGY		
Table 9		
Govt. Should Do More To Help Needy		
	Millennial	Non-Millenn.
Evang. Prot.	65%	56%
Mainline Prot.	63%	57%
Black Prot.	76%	80%
Catholic	69%	61%
Relig. Unaffil.	67%	67%

Table 10		
Prefer Govt. With Fewer Services		
	Millennial	Non-Millenn.
Evang. Prot.	28%	52%
Mainline Prot.	30%	54%
Black Prot.	14%	19%
Catholic	22%	43%
Relig. Unaffil.	29%	45%

Table 11		
Govt. Should Do More To Protect Morality		
	Millennial	Non-Millenn.
Evang. Prot.	55%	49%
Mainline Prot.	45%	32%
Black Prot.	54%	47%
Catholic	49%	42%
Relig. Unaffil.	33%	25%

In the book, I examine attitudes about abortion, homosexuality, voting turnout, vote choice, ideology, and partisan identification as separate dependent variables. I further assess how the four potential divisions among evangelicals impacted these opinions. Depending on which attitude was examined, race/ethnicity and religious traditionalism generally ranked highest in explaining the variations. Generational differences ranked first only in level of voting turnout—with older evangelicals voting at higher rates than the younger evangelicals.

In conclusion, it appears that the extent to which one wishes to emphasize the emergence of a new generation of evangelicals depends upon how one wishes to examine the data. Certainly,

POLITICAL LIFE		
Table 12		
Abortion Should be Illegal in Most/ All Cases		
	Millennial	Non-Millenn.
Evang. Prot.	68%	64%
Mainline Prot.	42%	33%
Black Prot.	52%	49%
Catholic	51%	47%
Relig. Unaffil.	33%	23%

Table 13		
Homosexuality Should be Accepted by Society		
	Millennial	Non-Millenn.
Evang. Prot.	41%	26%
Mainline Prot.	70%	57%
Black Prot.	57%	40%
Catholic	79%	60%
Relig. Unaffil.	81%	73%

Table 14		
Partisan Identification: Republican		
	Millennial	Non-Millenn.
Evang. Prot.	41%	43%
Mainline Prot.	32%	35%
Black Prot.	8%	8%
Catholic	24%	28%
Relig. Unaffil.	12%	16%

Table 15					
Percent Voting for Bush in 2004					
	Evang. Prot.	Main. Prot.	Black Prot.	Catholic	Relig. Unaff.
Millennial	74%	51%	11%	45%	25%
Gen.-X	78%	60%	15%	53%	34%
Boomers	75%	61%	17%	58%	38%
Greatest	74%	64%	26%	57%	37%

millennial evangelicals do express somewhat different attitudes and behavior than older evangelicals.

However, in most instances, millennial evangelicals are far closer in their attitudes and behavior to those exhibited by older evangelicals than they are to the attitudes and behavior of believers of their generation within other religious traditions. ~

Source for all Tables: Pew Forum Religious Landscape Survey, 2007.

The full powerpoint version of this lecture can be found as part of the entry for the April 18, 2013 event at www.calvin.edu/henry/schedule.

Henry Institute Sponsors “2012 Election Conversations”

During the fall of 2012, in cooperation with a number of outside community groups, the Henry Institute co-sponsored “Election Conversations,” a series of lectures and panel discussions. While the events coincided with the Presidential election, they were not intended to profile the strengths and weaknesses of candidates. Instead, the fall presentations were intended to present different perspectives on important policy issues and concerns that were relevant to the fall elections.

On September 9, 2012, “**Religion and Political Division: How Should We Respond?**” featured Henry Institute Director Kevin den Dulk. The lecture was part of the First Presbyterian Church in Grand Haven’s Speaker Series.

The Kent County **Candidate Forum on Criminal Justice Issues** on September 26, 2012, featured ten candidates for local offices who were invited to discuss a broad range of issues relative to criminal justice. Dr. den Dulk served as the moderator for

the discussion, which was co-sponsored with Grand Valley State University, the Micah Center, and the Restorative Justice Coalition.

On October 23, the Henry Institute co-sponsored a general discussion of **the 2012 election** with the Grand Rapids Lions Club.

The Institute again teamed with Grand Valley University on October 29 for **Election 2012: A Watershed in American History**, considering the two clearly different choices in direction for the future of the country, based upon the outcome of the Presidential election.

November 9’s **post-election recap** examined what the upcoming four years may look like. Doug Koopman (Executive Associate to the Calvin College President) and Scott Vander Linde (Calvin College Economics Professor) presented their views and encouraged participation and opinions from the audience comprised of Calvin students, faculty and staff. The panel was moderated by Calvin College junior Grant Alphaenaar.



“We were pleased to be able to work with a number of different groups and organizations in the area to encourage West Michigan citizens to actively consider important political and civic life issues, as well as to participate in fall voting,” noted Dr. den Dulk. “In the current political environment of divisiveness and rancor, it is refreshing to see citizens seriously addressing issues and seeking information as they prepare to vote.” ~

New Books Published by Smidt and Monsma

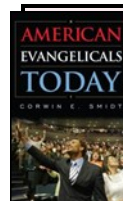
The considerable list of books produced by Henry Institute scholars grew by two over the past year. Corwin Smidt and Steve Monsma—both research fellows with the Institute—published volumes which continued their involvement and input into their areas of their study.

In *American Evangelicals Today*, Smidt explores different approaches to identifying evangelicals, assessing their size within American society and also examining their social characteristics, religious beliefs and practices, the nature of their engagement in civil society and political attitudes and behavior. He then goes on to compare the characteristics of evangelicals with other religious groups in American society and assesses how the characteristics of these groups have changed over time. Smidt evaluates divisions among evangelicals based on race, generation, level of education, and traditional versus modernist attitudes and behavior. (See related article on page 6.)

Stephen Monsma’s expertise and ongoing study into faith-based organizations and their interplay in the political and public spheres is

explored in his most recent publication—*Pluralism and Freedom: Faith-Based Organizations in a Democratic Society*. The book discusses faith-based organizations in the U.S. that are involved in providing social services to the public, evaluating the intense debates and legal challenges regarding the organizations’ autonomy versus the state’s right to control internal organizational decisions, particularly regarding hiring. Monsma explores models for such autonomy based in history and in the current political settings of some European countries. He advocates a framework which would ensure that religious freedom is respected (a required aspect of the United States’ system of pluralism and freedom) while providing freedom for all religious traditions, for the general public and for secular groups, with all being treated and respected equivalently. Monsma advocates a framework for attaining this equal treatment, along with practical, concrete public policy applications of his framework in practice. ~

For information about purchasing the books: www.calvin.edu/henry/publications



An expert, it is commonly said, has forgotten more about a subject than anyone else ever knew. I’d use that phrase to characterize Corwin E. Smidt, but I’m not sure he’s ever forgotten anything about

American evangelicals. His new book ... [is] a masterful summary of his long career as a pioneer in the social scientific study of evangelical Protestants, the book is a triumph.

— Kenneth D. Wald, professor of political science, University of Florida

Few scholars have thought harder or more productively than Stephen Monsma about the role of faith-based organizations in our pluralistic democracy. [The book] brilliantly reflects his years of research and philosophical probing. Many conservatives will find his ideas attractive, but I especially recommend his book to liberals who may well disagree with him, but will find themselves challenged by Monsma’s compassionate heart and searching mind.

— E J. Dionne, Jr., author and political commentator



Student Internships in the Nation's Capital

On April 17, fifteen Calvin College students were treated to a four-hour twilight tour of the nation's capitol, hosted by U.S. Representative Bill Huizenga. The students shared dinner with Huizenga, had a nearly unrestricted tour of the U.S. Capitol building, visited the floor of the House of Representatives, and looked over the city from one of the capitol balconies. The group talked candidly with Rep. Huizenga and his staff about the work of being an elected political representative, his views on Christianity and public life, and his role as a United States representative. A number of students



noted that this was a highlight of their Semester in Washington DC, but there were many more exciting opportunities and thought-provoking site visits which the students also absorbed.

Each spring semester, a group of Calvin College students spends thirteen weeks in Washington DC. Each individual works as an intern four days of the week, in a setting that helps them to explore their interests and future career options.

Preparation for the spring semester begins in the fall, as the students learn to construct a resume and cover letter and

hone their interviewing skills. Each individual selects potential internship sites which match their interests, academic work, and future goals. They then submit applications to their selected employers and walk through the entire job search process that they will face after graduating from college.

The time in Washington DC is filled with internship work and site visits to various organizations and businesses that integrate faith in their mission. In addition, a class is taught by the professor who accompanies the group. Mikael Pelz (Calvin College political science

professor) led the students for the 2013 trip, and taught a course entitled "Urban America." The focus of the class was on American cities post-1960, including issues in urban politics as well as contemporary public policy problems in city governance. "I appreciated my role as program director," noted Pelz after the conclusion of the program. "It was a pleasure to work closely with these students and help

them prepare for their professional life after graduation."

The 2013 student group lived in an old mansion which has been remodeled to accommodate intern housing. Greystone House was originally built at the turn of the century as a secretarial school; it was later converted into a magnificent home, and

most recently was purchased and renovated by an intern housing organization. The four story house provided an excellent opportunity for the students to share space and experience a distinctive community together.



After thirteen years of serving students, the Semester in Washington DC continues to provide unique opportunities for Calvin students to experience the cultural and educational opportunities of our nation's capitol, as well as explore future career paths. ~

"My internship greatly exceeded my expectations! I did real work, including a 6-week major project assigned to me directly by the CEO, which will shape how the organization defines itself in the coming years."



2013 Calvin College Student Participants

Adam Bowen

Interpol, Dept. of Justice

Josh deLacy

American Forests

Scott Genzink

Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights

Ashley Juvonen

National Low Income Housing Coalition

Taeksoo Kim

Community Family Life Services

HaEun Nam

World Service Authority

Ji Hyun Park

American Legislative Exchange Council

Betsy Quakenbush

International Rescue Center

James Randall

Office of the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Dept. of State

James Robinson

Edgewood/Brookland Family Support Collaborative

Landon Seely

MDB Communications

Scott Tipton

National Academy of Public Administration

Alexander Tyan

Center for Strategic and International Studies

Lauren Walker

Center for Public Justice

Rachel Westmaas

Center for the Study of the Presidency and the Congress

Economic Growth, the Rule of Law and the Image of God

Dr. P.J. Hill is professor emeritus of Wheaton, where he served as the Bennett Professor of Economics for 25 years. He is an economic historian and a senior fellow at the Property and Environmental Research Center in Montana. Hill is the author of numerous articles and books, including, "The Not So Wild Wild West." He was invited to give the 2013 Pruis Rule of Law Lecture on April 4 and spoke on "Economic Growth, the Rule of Law, and the Image of God."

In *Farewell to Alms*, author Gregory Clark discusses economic changes around the world over the past 3,000 years, particularly in terms of per capita income. While there is growth in some areas, for most of that 3,000 year time period, there is *no* sustained economic progress until the Industrial Revolution, when—beginning between 1750 and 1800—growth takes off. In spite of blips and some countries which did not experience this boom, overall per capita income and life expectancy have steadily increased since about 1800.

Why did this change in sustained economic growth occur? Where did it first take place? Some countries grow and have economic growth—wouldn't it be expected that this change would be replicated in all other countries? This last question is very frustrating for development economists: many different programs have tried to create economic growth, and while some have been successful, most have not.

One of the major books examining this topic in the last few years is *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity and Poverty* by Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson. They theorize that countries fail to achieve economic growth when they have "extractive" economic and political institutions, but succeed when their institutions are "inclusive." Economic and political institutions that allow some groups of people with political or economic power to extract the wealth from other people in a society are identified as "extractive" institutions. Because they are extractive, they produce *some* wealth, but due to the incentive structures in place, there is no sustained growth. For most of history, the vast majority of societies

have been ruled by extractive institutions.

For example, in the country of China between 960 and 1279 A.D. there was ongoing economic growth, and by 1500 A.D. per capita income was at least as high, if not higher, than in Western Europe. Their technology was quite advanced, including the clock, compass, gun powder, paper, paper money and blast furnaces to cast iron. The country also had extensive seafaring abilities until 1436, when the ruler of China outlawed shipbuilding and outside trade because he believed it was too threatening to the country. From that point, extractive institutions took over and stopped China from moving further forward, with economic growth stalled for centuries.

In their book, Acemoglu and Robinson talk about "the inclusive order," which they envision as both political *and* economic together. The authors consider constitutions and democracy important for the inclusive order, as well as an unbiased system of law, security of property rights and contracts, ease of entry into occupations, and predictability and stability in the legal regime. Equality before the law is needed, so obviously a powerful government that can put into place and enforce contracts, the rule of law, and keep people from extracting wealth from others is critical. Yet, that government needs to be limited.

According to the authors, one of the best ways to characterize their inclusive order is to call it "the rule of law." And for Acemoglu and Robinson, this order is characterized by sustained economic growth.

The rule of law usually involves predictability—it is prospective, rather than retrospective. One knows what is going to happen. There is much academic discussion about an exact definition of the rule of law, with the so-called thin definition focused only on procedures and getting them correct. The thicker definition involves concepts of *equality* before the law, making it a moral conception—a "rights" kind of concept. There are two aspects that I would consider in terms of the rule of law: first is predictability, and second is equality before the law and treating all individuals as *moral*



equals.

Historically, we first find this inclusive order in England and the Netherlands. In 1215, England's Magna Carta puts some limitations on the power of the King—the start of asserting that the monarch cannot do anything and everything that he wishes—but does not deliver many rights to the peasants and

common people.

The English Civil War from 1642-1651 found King Charles and Oliver Cromwell battling over ideology, with both sides arguing from a rule of law basis. The King insisted that since he embodied the rule of law, his rights could not be taken from him; Cromwell asserted that the King was taking rights from Parliament, which was elected by the people, and therefore the monarch was violating the people's rights. The English Bill of Rights was passed in 1689, further formalizing the inclusive order in England.

At basically the same time, similar things are happening in the Netherlands, with the Act of Abdication in 1851, as well as various treaties and public discussion asserting that King Philip of Spain was no longer the legitimate ruler of the country. Both the Netherlands and England are seeing much institutional change as well during this time period. By 1700, the institutional environment in these two countries was quite different from other nations, with dramatic changes which enhance the inclusive order as well as fuel the beginning of modern economic growth and the fundamental reorganization of society. Their economic institutions are thriving and favoring innovation and enterprise, ensuring additional growth.

The American experience inherits many of the English institutions and innovations, but further arguments also prevail. Many colonists believe that the rule of law is being lost to them, and they actively protest. These demonstrations have an economic base, but they are also ideological arguments involving taking a stand against being deprived of the rights the law should guarantee. The colonists drafted a new Constitution and subsequent Bill of Rights.

Much of Western Europe followed

Rule of Law Lecture (continued from page 10)

the lead of England, the Netherlands, and America in terms of substantial growth and inclusive institutions, together with an ongoing development of the rule of law.

But the concept of equality before the law as a substantive aspect of the rule of law is very difficult to put into place. One of the primary issues rests upon our natural propensity as human beings to exclude. Sociologists call it

the process of “othering”—when individuals perceive someone as fundamentally different and alien from themselves. Historically, this is

proven true: we use ethnicity, race, economic class, language, religion, or any other difference, to distance ourselves from people. These distinctions make their way into our thinking, acting, mores, customs and institutions. Melding this natural desire to exclude with power, privilege, wealth, or political power makes the exclusion structure ever more insidious, deep rooted, and difficult to overcome. The distinctions become so overwhelming that it takes an extremely powerful counterforce to change the attitude.

And this is what makes the Image of God so powerful for me: it historically roots the rule of law! While it is philosophically difficult to convince individuals that everyone should be treated equally, this principle takes root in the concept of all people being created in the “Image of God.” One aspect of being created in God’s image is that all humans then have moral equality—and this view is critical to the rule of law.

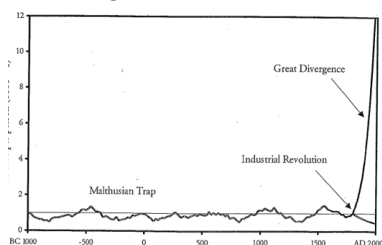
The “Image of God” as a key factor in political implications really begins in the Protestant Reformation. Prior to that time, Augustus articulates some of the concept, and Aquinas is the first to use the term “rule of law” as an alternative to the rule of man, but prior to the Reformation, the concept of the *Imago Dei* mostly works itself out in terms of caring for the poor and the marginalized in society. Until the 19th century, thoughts about the Image of God don’t seem to have a great deal of impact on the political order.

Martin Luther develops a deep

understanding of divinely constructed human dignity. He makes a biblical call for freedom, especially of worship and conscience. As in all reformers, once there is a consideration of freedom of conscience, it is not a huge step to start thinking about other freedoms. Yet, while Luther’s work has important political implications, he doesn’t really draw them out.

John Calvin picks up the where

Luther leaves off and argues further that political leaders must govern the earthly Kingdom by written political laws rather than by personal fiat, thus foreshadowing the concept of the rule of law. In later



years, the reformer begins to speak more of the common rights of all mankind—rights of common nature, equal rights, and liberties. Calvin specifically addresses property rights, rights to own land, and to enjoy and use what one possesses. He speaks of moral law, natural law, and of the testimony of the heart and inner voice.

Calvin’s theory of Christian religious conscience provides the cornerstone for upcoming concepts of liberty and political conscience. Theodore Beza, follower and protégé of Calvin, articulates many of Calvin’s ideas and talks further about the justification for resistance and the rights and duties of ordinary citizens—not just of magistrates—to resist when their rights are violated.

During the time when the Dutch were significantly chafing under the rule of the King of Spain and the country was being flooded with tracts and pamphlets, Johannes Althusius enters the turmoil as one of the foremost intellectuals and a spokesperson of political rights theories. He advocates natural law as being embedded in the heart, mind and soul of

every person because God creates humans as rights holders vested with a natural sovereignty which is rooted in each person’s identity as an image bearer of God.

The English revolution of the 1640’s and 50’s leads to a huge outpouring of personal writings. John Milton inherits the writings of Calvin and his followers, translating them to English. He argues that people are created in God’s image and each individual has the mind of God within him—it is marred by the fall, but not lost in the fall. Milton was very influential in the concept of divine image bearing.

While I don’t intend to argue that the concepts of the rule of law and human dignity come only from the Protestant reformers, they are of enormous significance because of the time that the reformers were developing and disseminating them. Still, this thought is part of historical Christian doctrine, and instances when the concepts of moral equality and being created in the Image of God are

preached can be found throughout history in many Christian faith traditions and historical accounts.

The concept of moral authority has a natural appeal to the human mind. On one hand, it is part of our

nature to exclude, but there is also an innate feeling that those surrounding us are humans, just like we are. I am convinced that the impetus behind many of the movements labeled as “the Arab Spring”—which have not resulted in the rule of law in any cases I am aware of—has been an appeal to the common humanity found within rule of law sorts of concepts.

Still, in conclusion, as I examine history, I find that economic growth is closely related to the rule of law. And successful application of the rule of law requires the acknowledgement of equality among people—and by far the most powerful concept for moral equality among all human beings is that we are created in the Image of God. ~

The full recording of this lecture can be found as part of the entry for the April 4, 2013 event at www.calvin.edu/henry/schedule.



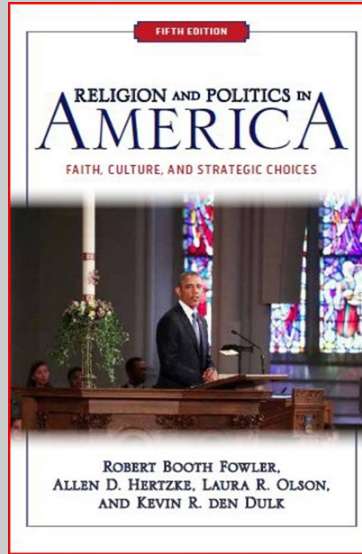
Fifth Edition of *Religion and Politics in America* to be Released in December

Religion and politics are never far from the headlines, but their relationship remains complex and often confusing. In the fifth edition of *Religion and Politics in America: Faith, Culture and Strategic Choices*, co-authors Kevin den Dulk, Robert Booth Fowler, Allen Hertzke and Laura Olson, offer a lively, accessible, and balanced treatment of the subject. They explore the historical, cultural, and legal contexts that underlie religious political engagement while also highlighting the pragmatic and strategic political realities that religious organizations and believers face.

Incorporating the best and most up-to-date scholarship, the authors assess the politics of Roman Catholics; evangelical, mainline, and African American Protestants; Jews; Muslims and other conventional and not-so-conventional American religious movements. Important subjects concerning religion and its relationship to gender, race/ethnicity, and class are also addressed. The fifth edition has been revised to include the 2012 elections, in particular Mitt Romney's candidacy and Mormonism, a fuller assessment of the role of religion in President Obama's first term, and more in-depth attention to "spiritual-but-not-religious" and non-religious individuals.

An ideal textbook for courses in political science, religion, and sociology classes, the new edition includes in-depth treatment of core topics, contemporary case studies, and useful focus-study boxes to provide students with a real understanding of how religion and politics relate in practice.

Kevin den Dulk has written numerous book chapters and articles, and is the coauthor of *A Disappearing God Gap: Religion and the 2008 Election* and of *Pews, Prayers, and Participation: Religion and Civic Responsibility*.



The Mission of the Paul Henry Institute

The Henry Institute was established in 1997 to continue educator and public servant Paul Henry's quest to promote serious reflection on the interplay between Christianity and public life.

Paul Henry was a leader of Christian vision and action who was known for his conviction, credibility and courage. He taught political science at Calvin College from 1970 to 1978, also serving as a member of the Michigan Board of Education. Leaving Calvin to pursue full-time public office, Henry was elected to the Michigan State House and then the State Senate. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in November 1984, where he served until his untimely death in 1993.

Despite the importance of Christianity and politics and the growing public discussion of their effects on each other, there is much room for serious study of

how these fields interact. The rise of religiously-based political movements in the U.S., controversy about the proper role of church and state, and the declared religious base for many international political movements show the interplay between religious faith and political practice to be increasing.

The Henry Institute fosters the study of Christianity and public life by providing resources for scholarship, structuring opportunities to disseminate scholarly work, seeking avenues to communicate and promote such efforts to the larger public, and motivating and training future scholars to engage in such study. The Institute is particularly dedicated to creating a new generation of scholars and public servants who are engaged, active and aware of the importance of the interaction between faith and public life. ~

2012-2013 Henry Institute Lectures

Religion and Political Division: How Should We Respond?

September 9, 2012, by Kevin den Dulk, Henry Institute

Criminal Justice Issues: A Kent County Candidate Forum: September 26, 2012 by Winnie Brinks, Kevin den Dulk, Brandon Dillon, Brian Downs, James Farris, Patricia Gardner, Bing Goei, G. Patrick Hillary, Steve Pestka, Nathan Sneller, and Larry Stelma

Election 2012: A Watershed in American History: October 29, 2012 by Kevin den Dulk, Paul Isely, Erika King, and Matt McLogan

Post Election Analysis: November 8, 2012 by Doug Koopman and Scott Vander Linde, Calvin College

The Russian Adoption Ban: An Uncertain Year Ahead: February 21, 2013, by Rebecca McBride, Belmont University

Faith Going Public: House Church Participants' Civic Engagement in Urban China: February 26, 2013, by Dr. Li (Mary) Ma, Henry Institute

Economic Growth, the Rule of Law, and the Image of God: the Annual Pruis Rule of Law Lecture: April 4, 2013, by P. J. Hill, Property and Environmental Research Center (see article on page 10)

Why Conservative? Why Progressive? April 15, 2013, by Michael DeWilde, Winston Elliot, Barbara Elliot, Ted McAllister, Paul Murphy, Noreen Myers

The Arab Spring Two Years Later: April 17, 2013, by Chris Alexander, Davidson College, Meeter Center Lecture Hall, 3:30 p.m.

American Evangelicals Today: An Emerging New Generation? April 18, 2013, by Corwin Smidt, Henry Institute (see article on page 6)

What Does the Lord Require? The Grounds for Christian Civility in Politics: the Annual Paul Henry Lecture: April 26, 2013, by Dr. Corwin Smidt (see article on page 3)