



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

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Transition in Leadership for the Henry Institute

Fifteen years ago, the Paul B. Henry Institute for the Study of Christianity was launched. Over those years, Corwin Smidt has served as the director of the Institute. With his retirement in the fall of 2012 and the transition to a new director, it is appropriate to reflect briefly on what has been accomplished during the past years.

The Henry Institute was established with a two-fold mission: to advance the study of the interplay between Christianity and politics, and to educate a new generation of Christian scholars and public servants engaged in that study and practice.

Various activities have been undertaken to accomplish this mission. With regard to the first goal, the Institute has sponsored a variety of academic lectures each year on Calvin's campus, organized several scholarly conferences, hosted six symposia on religion and politics, conducted six graduate student summer workshops on the study of religion and politics, and helped to sponsor several international seminars on religion and public life.

In addition, the Henry Institute has also coordinated a number of cooperative research endeavors—including surveys of clergy across nearly 20 denominations in 2001 and 10 in 2009—and commissioned a grant-funded national survey to assess religious views and civic participation in 2008. Over the past decade, the Institute has received nearly half a million dollars in grants to engage in research on religion and civic life.

Institute staff and affiliated faculty have been invited to give lectures in China, Africa, and Europe, and have published fifteen books—including volumes authored collaboratively and individually, along with numerous book chapters, journal articles, and scholarly papers.

With regard to the second goal of educating new scholars in this field of study, the Henry Institute launched the Henry Semester in Washington D.C. Program in 2000, with 15 to 20

Calvin students participating each spring as they work in internship settings in the nation's capital. Additionally, two new courses were added to the curriculum of Calvin College's Political Science Department: Religion and Politics in Comparative Perspective and a special topics course on Religion and American Politics.

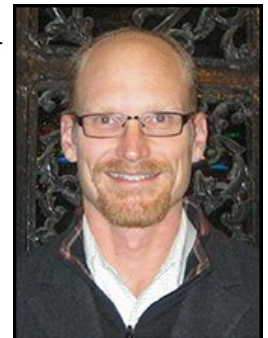
The Henry Institute has also provided funding for a number of student scholars working during the summer with Calvin faculty engaged in research related to religion and public life. Academic year research grants have been awarded to numerous Calvin professors to fund research projects, with the professors mentoring and working with students. Since the program began in 1998, more than 50 undergraduate students have benefitted from exploring the relationship between faith and public life in such varied research endeavors.

"It has been an honor and privilege for me to serve as the first Director of the Henry Institute," notes former Director Smidt. "I trust that what has been accomplished over the past decade and a half merits the confidence shown in my selection. I am certain that the new director has the vision, energy, and capacity to move the Henry Institute to engage in a variety of new and exciting endeavors—all the while building upon those programs previously launched that are worthy of the continuing efforts of the Institute."

This past fall, Kevin R. den Dulk began his tenure as the second Executive Director of the Henry Institute. den Dulk received his undergraduate degree in Philosophy from Calvin College, went on to the University of Georgia for his Masters in Political Science, and holds a PhD in Political Science from the



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Corwin Smidt*



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**Winter 2012
No. 13**

New Institute Executive Director (continued from page 1)

University of Wisconsin.

From 2001 to 2011, Dr. den Dulk taught political science at Grand Valley State University in Allendale, Michigan, acting as the Honors Faculty in Residence with the Frederik Meijer Honors College while holding a joint appointment to the GVSU Department of Political Science and serving as the Internship Director for 8 years. While at GVSU, he received numerous teaching and scholarship awards. For the 2011-12 academic year, den Dulk was appointed as Calvin College's William Spoelhof Teacher-Scholar in Residence.

Dr. den Dulk's research and professional interests are broad ranging, involving both collaboration with

numerous scholars as well as personal research in areas ranging from electoral politics to religious freedom in China. Additionally he has a strong professional commitment to a global perspective on Christianity. He has published numerous scholarly books and articles, including co-authoring *The Disappearing God Gap* and *Pews, Prayers and Participation* (with former Henry Institute Director Corwin Smidt and others) and *Religion and Politics in America*, and contributed many chapters, articles and reviews to scholarly publications.

"Corwin was able to use the Henry Institute to support top-notch research and build scholarly community," according to den Dulk. "I'm blessed to

inherit that tradition of excellent work, which has had a remarkable influence inside the academy and in the broader community. So my goal is to retain and build from the Institute's best practices. Our constituents can expect to see the hallmarks—thought provoking lectures, the Symposium on Religion and Politics, quality research by the Director and Institute Fellows, and other programs continue. But we'll also introduce some new ventures. I'm probably most excited about spearheading several new opportunities encouraging undergraduates and the community to use high-impact, innovative social research to address public problems." ~

Smidt Spends Semester at Roosevelt Study Center

During the fall of 2011, Henry Institute Executive Director Corwin Smidt was honored to be selected as the Fulbright-Dow Distinguished Research Chair at the Roosevelt Study Center in Middleburg, the Netherlands.

From September through December, Smidt was in residence at the Center, where he spent significant time on research and writing, particularly for two forthcoming books he is authoring. *American Evangelicals Today* will be published in the early spring of 2013 (see related article on page 9). The second volume will involve analysis of surveys of clergy in the United States, an area Smidt has studied over the past twenty years. Surveys of randomly selected pastors across a variety of Protestant denominations will provide comparative data to assess social, theological, and political changes among American Protestant clergy. The extent to which any changes may be interrelated will also be evaluated.

The Roosevelt Center is named after three famous Americans whose ancestors emigrated in the seventeenth century from the Netherlands to New York: President Theodore Roosevelt, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and

Eleanor Roosevelt. It is located in the twelfth-century Abbey of Middleburg, where the RSC maintains a research and conference center to foster and aid research related to American studies in the Netherlands and Europe, and to understand the history and culture of the United States and its meaning to Europe.

During his four month stay, the Roosevelt Center took full advantage of Smidt's expertise and teaching skills. He participated in numerous discussions regarding research being conducted by Dutch graduate students in American Studies courses, and also conducted classes about the American Constitution for American history students at the Roosevelt Academy. Additionally, Smidt delivered lectures on comparisons between the 2008 and 2012 American presidential elections and on understanding religion in the American political framework. ~



The Roosevelt Study Center in the Netherlands

Visualizing Public Life

The Visualizing Public Life project was initiated by the Henry Institute and the Center for Social Research, to provide unique opportunities for students to explore ways of representing information about the communities around us. Professionals who are able to represent information in innovative and edifying ways are increasingly in demand in the workforce, and the project will allow students to develop professional skills and gain understanding about the moral implications of representing information about public life. Student participants are creating graphic visualizations which will be entered into a juried competition and displayed publicly at the Institute's Symposium on Religion and Politics in April, 2013 (see

The 16th annual Henry Lecture was delivered by Beth Bandstra Decker, campaign manager and special assistant to Congressman Paul Henry. From 1983 through 1986, she served on the Kent County Commission for the 20th District, representing citizens of Michigan. Bandstra Decker worked with Congressman Henry on his 1992 campaign for the United States House of Representatives, and became the media spokesperson for the campaign, office and family throughout Henry's illness, until his untimely death in July of 1993. A summary of her comments on March 28, 2012 follows.



My interaction with Paul Henry began in 1974. I was 27 years old—a full-time homemaker with two small children. I met Vern Ehlers at the church we both attended, and he asked me to work on his campaign for the Kent County Commission. Through that campaign, I came to know Karen Henry, and later, Paul.

Paul was then a professor of Political Science at Calvin College and also serving as chair of the Kent County Republican Party. This was the year of Watergate, and it seemed like the chairpersons of Republican headquarters around the country were closing doors and not answering phones—but Paul opened the doors and welcomed the media to discuss what was happening. I was very impressed with his honesty and openness.

A few years later, in 1978, I volunteered to work on Paul's campaign for election to the Michigan State House of Representatives. Having grown up in Chicago, my knowledge of politics there was greatly contrasted with the experience of working on Vern Ehlers' and Paul Henry's

campaigns. These experiences made me realize that someday, I too wanted to run for office, and I promised myself that should that transpire, I would follow their examples.

In 1982, I decided to run for the Kent County Commission. That year, Paul was running for the Michigan State Senate, and Vern for Paul's House seat. I was honored simply to be in their company, win or lose. My campaign was grueling, and by election night I was exhausted and nervous. Paul called me when the polls closed. It was his election night too, and his goal was much more important than mine—but he took time to tell me he was thinking about me, that I ran a good campaign and had done all I could, but now it was in God's hands. His words put me at peace. I won the election by 33 votes.

Paul often acted like a big brother to me and gave me great advice. My main focus after being elected was to spearhead a new major project, the Kent County Waste to Energy Facility. Paul was uncertain about the project, and he asked if I thought it was a good political decision. This was the most expensive project ever undertaken in the county, and it was controversial. I told him that one of the most important things I had learned from him was not to think politically, but to do what was best for the community and the common good. I was convinced this project would address the solid waste problems



impacting Kent County. Paul listened and wished me all the best.

Paul won his State Senate seat that year, and after serving two years decided to run for the open seat in the U.S. Congress. He contacted me to co-chair that first congressional campaign. We had a wonderful candidate—Paul believed in political engagement, not political competition, and his campaign was one of humility, civility and servant leadership.

In 1991, Paul asked me to become his campaign manager and special assistant. He added that whatever we did in the upcoming 1992 campaign might position him to run for the U.S. Senate in the future. To work for Paul



then, with the idea of even bigger things in the future, was very exciting. We didn't anticipate a difficult re-election campaign, since he had won handily the last time. Little did I know how that year and the next would end.

For years I had been a keen observer of Paul and his leadership. I was so impressed with how he had been able to let his faith guide him and yet not come across as using religion and his beliefs to sway voters. Paul's faith was an integral part of who he was, but he coupled it with humility, idealism and civility that was never lost on anyone he interacted with. Paul believed that how we act out our faith always matters, because others are watching, and that while Christians bring a unique perspective to politics, they do not bring the one right answer.

Life and Service of Paul B. Henry (continued from page 3)

Paul once wrote to a constituent, “When I vote on a piece of legislation, I am guided by more than what is politically correct. I take into consideration the following criteria as a basis for my voting patterns: my conscience, my country, my district and my party. There are times when those criteria have been at odds, and it is especially in those occasions that I need and covet your prayers. I ask that you pray not only that I have the wisdom to know what is right but the courage to do it.”

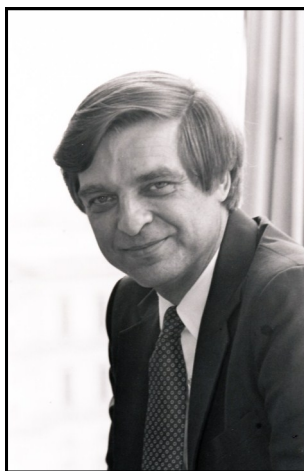
Always a teacher at heart, Paul explained issues and educated his constituents—helping people understand the complexities of topics, and never patronizing them. He believed in the importance of Christians being in politics, being in the world effecting change, but he was uncomfortable joining in on the “high powers” that Washington provided. He once told me, “It’s easy to establish a reputation for flamboyance. It takes much more time to develop a reputation for effectiveness.”

Congressman David Bonior spoke about how Paul worked to find the right answer to a problem instead of simply following the party line. “Politically Paul was a deeply patriotic man who spoke out against flag burning, a fiscal conservative who voted in favor of extending unemployment benefits, a defense supporter who said no to both the MX missile and the Nicaraguan Contras. Paul was not so concerned with the right or left as he was the right or wrong. He followed what we all strive to follow in our own public life, and hopefully in our personal life—an inner compass. He worked hard to make this country a better place to live.”

Paul had a wonderful sense of humor. He was always willing to laugh at himself, to tell stories and pull practical jokes. Everyone who worked and lived with Paul can tell stories about laughter or quick witted exchanges with him.

Life changed for all of us on October 19, 1992. Paul had not been feeling well, and that Monday night, he was sent to the hospital by his family doctor. Paul had surgery to remove a tumor on his brain on October 21, and within several days, it was discovered to be malignant. One week later, he was re-elected by 68% of the vote, as the community showed Paul how much he was loved.

The day after the election, syndicated columnist David Broder wrote “I’ve been thinking of another politician named Paul Henry...Two weeks before election day, Henry underwent surgery...He is now at home recuperating in preparation for further treatment...Henry represents the other side, the unpublicized side of politics and Congress. When people express their scorn for politicians and legislators, it tells me that we in the media have not done our job in depicting what the honorable men and women in those fields contribute in their service...Like every other Republican in the House, he chafed under the frustrations of seemingly permanent minority status, but he never became cynical...[Henry] has been a voice of sanity and conscience in party councils at home and in Washington. He is not alone, there are many more such people for whom this phrase “public service” is a motivating force—both for grassroots political activity and holding office.”



Two days after his funeral, the Grand Rapids Press wrote, “A measure of the community’s affection and respect for him was the

support given throughout his illness. This wasn’t a partisan matter. Democrats and Republicans and others of no party affiliation were willing to wait with him through this time. His years of service earned him that patience and the fervent prayers that went with it.”

I shared a poignant moment with Paul near Christmas in 1992. Paul

was sitting at home with a hymnbook open to *Hark the Herald Angels Sing*. He brought the words of the song to my attention, with joy in his voice: “risen with healing in his wings.” Even then, Paul’s faith was his comfort and his strength.

Death for Paul came too soon. On July 31, 1993, his battle with cancer ended. The nation, state and community had lost a leader at a time not unlike today, when we desperately need men and women like him. The words of his press secretary Steven Ward were moving to all of us who knew and loved Paul Henry: “The examples he set through family life, his dedication to his constituents and his style as a lawmaker stand as a great legacy for our leaders to come.”

~

The full recording of the lecture can be heard online at www.calvin.edu/henry/schedule/index as part of the entry for the March 28, 2012 lecture.

2013 Annual Paul B. Henry Lecture

The Henry Institute has annually sponsored the Paul B. Henry Lecture since 1997. The upcoming 2013 event will feature former Henry Institute Director Corwin Smidt at the Prince Conference Center, on the Calvin College campus, on April 26. Smidt will discuss his lengthy research into issues surrounding religious beliefs and involvement in civic life.

(More information: <http://www.calvin.edu/henry/schedule>)

Calvin Students Spend Semester in Washington D.C.

Fourteen Calvin College students lived and worked in Washington D.C. during the spring of 2011 as participants in the Paul Henry Semester, working at internship positions and taking two classes taught by Calvin College History Professor Doug Howard, 2011 director of the off-campus program.

The students spent the fall semester learning to compose resumes and

"My internship exceeded my expectations greatly, and I would love to go back and work there again one day. Being on Capitol Hill, in the heart of politics, I was able to learn so much. Each day was

write cover letters, as they applied for internship positions at companies, organiza-

tions and offices which they selected based upon their field of study and

2012 Semester in D.C. Site Visits

U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom
Library of Congress
Holocaust Memorial Museum
White House
U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops
Pentagon
Islamic Center and Mosque
American Israel Public Affairs Committee
U.S. Capitol
Americans United for Separation of Church & State
National Cathedral
Congressman Justin Amash
Senator Carl Levin
Council of Christian Colleges and Universities
Center for Public Justice
Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life
National Mall
Arlington Cemetery
U.S. Supreme Court
Faith in Public Life
Mennonite Central Committee
Family Research Council
Sojourners
Ethics and Public Policy Center
Mercy Corps
PLO Delegation Ambassador
Bread for the World
World Bank
National Labor Relations Board

future career plans. The work sites varied greatly, from non-profit organizations and Congressional offices to theaters and think tanks.

"My experience as director of the program was very positive. I enjoyed being with the students and teaching in this environment. Living and working in Washington D.C. for several months gave me the opportunity to learn about issues of national interest and expanded my awareness of issues in my own academic field of Middle East Studies.

One day of each week was devoted to exploring prominent sites around the city as a group and visiting various non-profit organizations. During the visits, the group discussed the organization's vision of the interplay between faith and public policy and their impact on political policy.

The Semester in Washington D.C. was created by the Henry Institute in 2000 to encourage young people to consider issues surrounding religion and public life, and to provide opportunities for students to be exposed to the nation's capitol city and its cultural, education and employment options. Additionally, the semester provides

"I am VERY enthusiastic about Calvin's program! Our Calvin intern was terrific and it was a great experience! I'd be happy to host one or more interns again in the future."

excellent preparation for testing career options, learning about applying for jobs, and obtaining real life work experience. Since the beginning of the program, more than 245 students have participated in the Semester in Washington D.C. ~

2012 Semester in Washington Participants (left to right in photo)

Edward Long
Middle East Institute

Jordan Davis
Middle East Institute

Samantha Olson
Thrive DC

Brad Wassink
American Enterprise Institute

Hannah Hazlett (front)
Congressman Aaron Schock

Joshua Boerman
Ford's Theatre

Michigan Senator Carl Levin

Glenn Bulthuis
Congressman Justin Amash

Jesse Sun
Berkley Center

Anna Flynn
Heritage Foundation

Eric Doornbos
Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. State Department

Sonja Ringlever
ONE

Roslynd Bandstra
Isaiah House

Ashley Post
Refugees International

Calvin College Professor
Doug Howard

Phanuelle Duchatelier (not pictured)
Center for Public Justice



Funding for Undergraduate Research Provided by Institute

The mission statement of the Henry Institute calls for “a study of Christianity and politics by providing research for scholarship...as well as motivating and training future scholars and practitioners to engage in these areas.” As part of this quest to engage students in the exploration of the interplay between faith and public life, the Institute provides funding for undergraduate research endeavors.

From 1998-2007, students served as Undergraduate Fellows for the Henry Institute, doing research and working with the Director on various projects and assignments. In 2008, Undergraduate Research Awards were started, and Calvin College professors were encouraged to apply for the grants. The awards were designed to assist professors in continuing current research projects by



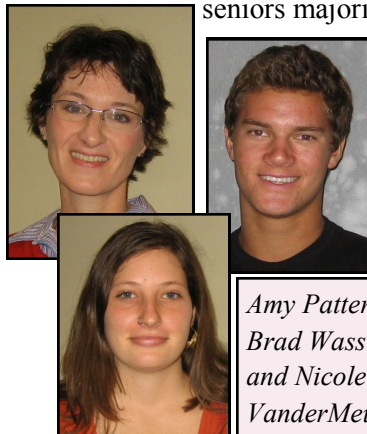
Gail Zandee (3rd from right) and Andrea Lima (2nd from left) receive award for their research presentation.

providing funding, but were also significantly intended to provide an opportunity for encouraging research efforts by students under the mentoring supervision of a faculty member.

Professor Gail Zandee of the Calvin College Nursing Program received a

grant in both the 2009/10 and 2010/11 academic years, for her active work in community based nursing projects. In 2012, the earlier research efforts continued to receive recognition as Zandee and one of the students she mentored, Andrea Lima, were awarded the Community/Academic Partnership First Place Award for their presentation at the University of Michigan Institute for Clinical and Health Research Conference. Additionally, in April they displayed their findings at both the Michigan Institute for Clinical and Health Research Community Engagement Symposium in Ann Arbor, and at the Sigma Theta Tau Kappa Epsilon Chapter at Large Scholarship Celebration in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

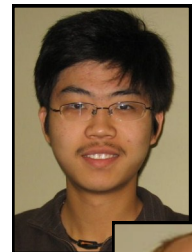
Two Calvin College professors received research grants to fund work with students during the 2011-2012 academic year. Dr. Amy Patterson (Political Science Department) worked with Nicole Vander Meulen and Brad Wassink (both seniors majoring in



Amy Patterson, Brad Wassink, and Nicole VanderMeulen

Political Science) to move forward on her most recent research regarding HIV and AIDS in Africa. According to Patterson, “The Student Research Grant allowed me to hire two students to transcribe many of the interviews I had conducted in Zambia during my Fulbright grant. This advanced my research significantly, but also allowed the students to note the intricacies of qualitative research, particularly in poor urban communities in Africa. They also learned a considerable amount about the complexities of addressing HIV and AIDS in Africa as they heard my interviews with political and religious leaders.”

Dr. Kevin den Dulk (William Spoelhof Teacher-Scholar in Residence during 2011-12 and now Henry Institute Director) selected Jesse (Zexi) Sun, a Calvin senior majoring in International Relations, Religion and Greek to assist him. “A primary portion of Jesse’s time was spent on a project about religious freedom in China. Jesse was a perfect fit: he is very bright, knows the topic well since he is from China, and has plans to continue to graduate school after finishing at Calvin.”



Jesse Sun and Kevin den



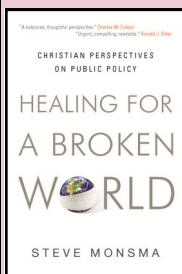
Since 1998, more than fifty students have benefitted from the Institute’s focus on preparing and engaging students in the exploration of faith and public life through the Undergraduate Fellow and Undergraduate Research Grant programs. Many of them have gone on to examine the interplay of the two more closely through academic paths as well as careers in public service and political arenas. ~

Studies in Christian Citizenship

Written by Henry Institute Research Fellow Steve Monsma, *Healing for a Broken World* guides believers in their efforts to be good Christian citizens. The book examines biblical principles that are relevant to Christian citizenship and then highlights crucial global issues and how to apply these foundational principles to them. A DVD with ten minute introductions to each of the book chapters, and a Study Guide with discussion questions are also available.

For book or e-book format, with DVD and study guide: <http://www.crossway.org/search/?=healing+for+a+broken+world&sa=>

Available now in i-book format: <https://itunes.apple.com/us/book/healing-for-broken-world-expanded/id562129796?mt=11&ign-mpt=uo=4>



Calvin College Political Science Department Professor Douglas Koopman received his Bachelors Degree in Mathematics from Hope College, his Masters and PhD from the Catholic University of America in American Politics, and a Masters in Theological Studies from Wesley Theological Seminary. Koopman worked in Washington D.C. for fourteen years, including time on the staff of House Majority Leader Richard Arney, the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, for Representative Pete Hoekstra and numerous other members of and candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives. He has taught political science at Catholic University of America, Marymount University, Hope College and Calvin. Since delivering this lecture, Koopman has moved to the President's Office at Calvin, serving as Executive Associate for Communications and Planning.



Koopman began his October 26, 2011 lecture noting that the question underlying the faith-based initiative is really what entity sanctions—or gives permission to—the other entity. To some extent, this is a conflict between how President Bush envisioned the Faith-Based Initiative and how President Obama sees it. Is government the prior authority which gives permission to faith-based organizations, or vice versa?

The Faith-Based Initiative is the general label for a series of actions by the federal government requiring administrators of federal programs to allow participation by religious service providing organizations on the same basis as non-religious organizations, and to provide groups with the resources needed to compete on a level playing field.

Historically in the United States, the primary method of social service delivery has been by proxy, with the federal government giving money to other entities who actually provide the

services, such as state governments, local governments, and non-profit groups. The Faith-Based Initiative sought to expand the list of who could serve as a proxy and raised the key question of how

far the rules of federal employment extend to employees of other groups who are accepting government funding for social service delivery.

Fundamentally, the Initiative stemmed from the idea that the proxy organizations dominating the social service delivery system weren't doing a good enough job, and that perhaps more intensely religious entities could improve the system. According to Koopman, the Faith-Based Initiative is really about the federal government getting more bang for their buck.

Both the proxy and Faith-Based Initiative concepts fit well into American cultural and religious tradition. In America, there is a history of volunteerism, healthy growth of civil society, and patterns of non-profit voluntary organizations doing much of the work which is performed by the state in other countries. Historically, local entities in the U.S. have taken on duties assumed by national governments elsewhere, with the U.S. federal government contracting out much of what it wants done rather than hiring its own employees to provide the service.

In Christian theology, particularly Kuyperian thinking, this system works well. The various spheres of authority in society include government, which, in some instances, government allows (and sometimes forces) other spheres to perform its role. Many Americans would assert that social service delivery is best done at the local level by families, churches and non-profits—rather than by the government sphere.

The history of the Faith-Based

Initiative itself dates back to the 1996 Welfare Reform legislation when President Bill Clinton inserted a small provision into the bill called “Charitable Choice.” Most in Washington were unaware of the provision, which required programs under welfare reform to open themselves up to religious groups wanting to provide social services.

In 2000, George W. Bush made the Faith-Based Initiative one of his major campaign themes. The proposal involved 1) contract reform; 2) targeted technical assistance, including recruiting competent groups into the system and encouraging them to apply to be proxy providers of social services; and 3) tax changes which would extend deductions for charitable contributions to non-itemizing tax filers, with the goal of helping faith-based groups. (This third provision was dropped early in the administration due to its “high cost to the country.”)

In spite of opposition, Bush continued trying to move the Initiative forward, forming PEPFAR (HIV/AIDs relief to Africa), the PMI (President's Malaria Initiative), MCP (Mentoring Children of Prisoners), and the PRI (Prisoner Re-entry Initiative)—all seen by the President as an excellent place for involvement by faith-based organizations.

Candidate Barack Obama in 2008 pledged to continue the faith-based program. His vision was that faith-based organizations would assist in major administration-wide policy initiatives, which would also expand and strengthen grassroots support.

The personal philosophy of the two presidents thus continued the age old debate about church/state relationships. Is the church superior to the state and therefore able to specify the state's boundaries (that is, to sanction the state)? Are church and state roughly equal, with respect for each other? Or is the state superior to

Faith-Based Initiative (continued from page 7)

the church and able to sanction it (specify its boundaries)? According to Koopman, Bush was primarily of the “roughly equal” opinion, while Obama believes the state should set church bounds.

Koopman went on to note some key similarities and differences between the two administrations in their approach to the Faith-Based Initiative (see chart). A significant issue related to the uncertainty regarding the Initiative is that it was created by Executive Order, rather than by comprehensive legislation. Since it is not defined by legislative provisions, it can change with each successive president, and will reflect each leader’s personal experience, management style and partisan patterns of religious affiliations.

In conclusion, Koopman asserted that to a great extent, the way the Faith-Based Initiative proceeds in the future rests with who is perceived to be in charge, and with “Who’s on first? Who’s on second?” That is, is the church on first and the state on second—or vice versa? ~

The full recording of this lecture can be heard online at www.calvin.edu/henry/schedule/index as part of the entry for the October 26, 2011 lecture.

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Obama</u>
<i>Faith-Based Initiative Organization and Staffing</i>	<p>~Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives was small office located in central White House, staffed by 7-8 people. Bush hired policy experts who supported the Initiative and understood substance of social policy but were not political operatives.</p> <p>~Central key advisors in Executive Office of President never saw the Initiative as way to gain votes and were not committed to its success.</p> <p>~Some satellite offices existed within federal government depts. and agencies</p>	<p>~Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships remains small office in central White House, with low number of staff. Obama hired political operatives who were weaker on substance of social policy but were committed to the political goals and objectives of President.</p> <p>~Key people in Executive Office are committed to the Initiative and to tying it in to Obama’s major policy goals and initiatives.</p> <p>~Satellite offices remain very similar to those during Bush administration.</p>
<i>Policy and Practical Matters</i>	<p>~Bush and advisors trusted faith-based organizations; gave them rules and had confidence they would comply; little follow-up, double checks, or oversight.</p> <p>~Philosophy was to get all faiths involved because it was desirable to give them freedom to be creative in resolving social issues and problems.</p> <p>~Bush believed in broad hiring freedom for faith-based organizations. While civil rights laws applied to employment, religious entities should have clear freedom to hire all staff as they pleased.</p>	<p>~Obama administration utilizes much more monitoring and oversight; makes a conscious effort to ensure faith-based organizations follow rules.</p> <p>~Philosophy is that faith-based organizations have political usefulness. Policy objectives of administration are clear and religious groups can help achieve them.</p> <p>~Obama has been most silent on hiring policies in this area, but believes extent of freedom should be decided by the courts, not by the faith-based entities themselves.</p>
<i>Personal Presidential Faith</i>	<p>~Converted into faith from troubled life involving drugs, alcohol and wild living. Bush believed conversion and faith experience was good for him and if more people could experience it, it would be good for America.</p>	<p>~Came to faith through involvement with community faith-based organizations and social justice efforts that involved grassroots experience. Obama’s faith is reliable, durable, useful and inspiring to him.</p>

Institute to hold Seventh Biennial Symposium on Religion and Politics

The Seventh Biennial Symposium on Religion and Politics is scheduled for April 25–27, 2013 at Calvin College’s Prince Conference Center. Scholars and graduate students across different fields of study are invited to participate as presenters at the event, which is designed to provide an opportunity for individuals working in the field of religion and public life with an opportunity to present papers related to their current research, to foster personal and professional



networks, to facilitate joint research endeavors, and to learn about opportunities in the field.

Attendance is open to anyone interested in the areas of discussion. Panels will cover a broad range of topics within the general theme of religion and public life, and in past years have included scholarly work related to political philosophy, comparative politics, American politics, international political systems, and elections. Perspectives and participants’ backgrounds are drawn from various religious traditions.

The event will feature two evening lectures, each followed by a reception. On Thursday, April 25, Dr. Stanley

Carlson-Thies, President of the Institutional Religious Freedom Alliance, will deliver the Center for Public Justice’s Kuyper Lecture. The annual Henry Lecture will be Friday evening (April 26), given by Dr. Corwin Smidt, long-time director of the Henry Institute. The Symposium will also include public displays of final products in the Henry Institute-sponsored *Visualizing Public Life* program, featuring student-generated visualizations of faith in the public sphere. ~

For additional information: <http://www.calvin.edu/henry/schedule/symposium/2013.call.html> or call 616/526-6870

Evangelical Protestants Today Available in Spring

Early next year, Rowman and Littlefield will publish the most recent book written by former Henry Institute Director Corwin Smidt. *Evangelical Protestants Today* assesses different approaches to understanding and identifying evangelical respondents and the relative size of the evangelical community within American society. The book also examines their social characteristics, religious beliefs and practices, the nature of their engagement in civil society, and their political attitudes and behavior.

The analysis is conducted in terms of three distinct perspectives. First, it assesses the extent of similarity or difference in today's social, religious, and political characteristics of evangelical Protestants and the corresponding characteristics of mainline Protestants, Black Protestants, Roman Catholics, and the religiously unaffiliated.

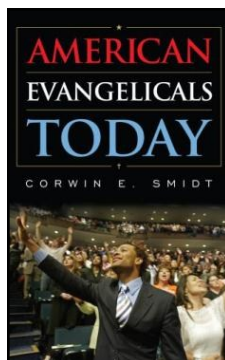
Second, the study examines changes within the evangelical tradition over the past forty years in terms of the religious beliefs and behavior of evangelicals, as well as their attitudes and practices related to engagement in public life.

Finally, the volume evaluates potentially important divisions among

evangelicals based on: racial and ethnic variations and whether black and Latino evangelicals exhibit substantially different attitudes and behavior than their white counterparts; generational disparities and whether a "new generation" of evangelicals may be emerging; educational distinctions and whether college-educated evangelicals exhibit substantially different beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors than their less educated co-religionists; and religious variances and whether traditionalist evangelicals differ substantially from their more modernist counterparts in civic and political attitudes and behavior.

The analysis is based primarily on responses from the nearly 35,000 participants of the Pew Religious Landscape Survey of 2007, and is supplemented by a number of more recent national surveys. ~

Forthcoming, available from: Rowman and Littlefield, <https://rowman.com> (800) 462-6420



Excerpt from *Evangelical Protestants Today*

Over the past three-quarters of a century, there has been considerable continuity within American evangelicalism. A number of different qualities continue to characterize American evangelicals just as they did previously: "the quest to live lives pleasing to God in line with his purposes, the firm belief that God acts in individual lives and in human history, the preference to read the Bible literally whenever possible, the ambivalence toward churches belonging to the mainline denominations, the democratic bias toward grassroots authority" (Hatch and Hamilton 1995, 401-02).

Nevertheless, evangelicalism has also undergone considerable change over the past several centuries, as the tradition has been shaped by a variety of religious movements with differing religious emphases (revivalism, fundamentalism, Pentecostalism). Thus, despite its continuities, much is different. Three quarters of a century ago, evangelicals were very much engaged in theological battles in which they sought to thwart attempts by theological modernists to alter particular historic understandings of the Christian faith. Today, however, in both theology and worship, there has been a shift away from "the theological toward the relational"—from an emphasis on the knowledge of God toward an emphasis on the experience of God (Hatch and Hamilton 1995, 402). ... These changes, of course, are open to different interpretations. Some see them as a return to an earlier, pre-fundamentalist, past, whereas others see them as a break from traditional patterns. Thus, for some evangelicals, such changes suggest a "maturing" of American evangelicals in the aftermath of their "captivity" to fundamentalism during the era of the modernist-fundamentalist divide, whereas, for others, such changes represent regression if not apostasy.

Institute Research Fellow Steve Monsma

Stephen Monsma was appointed as the Henry Institute's first Research Fellow in 2004. His credentials in the field of religion and public life made the appointment a natural fit, and he has added many initiatives, public lectures, studies and publications to the annals of the Henry Institute history.

Monsma taught political science at Calvin College before serving in the Michigan House of Representatives from 1972-1978 and state Senate from 1978-1982. He was a member of the Michigan Natural Resources Commission (1983-85) and part of the top management team in the Michigan Department of Social Services from 1985 to 1987, and then taught at Pepperdine University until his retirement.

Monsma has published numerous



books, including *The Challenge of Pluralism; When Sacred and Secular Mix; Positive Neutrality; Healing for a Broken World;* and most recently,

Freedom: Faith-Based Organizations in a Democratic Society (see page 13). He is well known and respected as both a scholar and practitioner in faith and politics, with significant expertise in faith-based initiatives.

During the past academic year, he delivered public lectures at the American Political Science Association, Pepperdine University, and Baylor University and presented a paper on "Faith-Based Organizations in Civil

Society: an American-Dutch Paradox" at the University of Amsterdam.

Monsma is continuing as an Institute Research Fellow during the current academic year. ~

Pruis Rule of Law Lecture: *Fostering Religious Freedom in China*

Kevin den Dulk, William Spoelhof Teacher-Scholar in Residence at Calvin College, and Professor of Political Science at Grand Valley State University, delivered the annual Rule of Law Lecture on March 27, 2012. Dr. den Dulk's research and professional interests are broad ranging, involving both collaboration with numerous scholars and personal research in areas including electoral politics, religious freedom in China, and a global perspective on Christianity. He has published numerous scholarly books and articles, and has contributed many chapters, articles and reviews to scholarly publications. A summary of his comments follows.

In the last decade-and-a-half, there are many examples of direct state action against various religious traditions and spiritual movements in China, ranging from local officials harassing a religious group to outright eradication efforts. Nearly every major civil liberties organization in the west has placed China near the bottom of global religious freedom rankings.

In each instance of Chinese regulation and restriction, the targeted groups have grievances, numbers, and ready-made organization—all of which are also conditions for political mobilization.

With China's greatest concern as a one-party state being effective political mobilization by oppositional groups, the party has generally tried to address this fear through co-optation, by tolerating certain religious traditions under the framework of officially sanctioned and monitored "patriotic" religious associations. When groups fall outside this legal framework—and particularly when they become large, well-organized, and aggrieved—they pose a political management problem.

The rule of law assumes that certain rules transcend the specific interests of those rulers—that "no one is above the law." The rule of persons assumes that a ruler's interests are the law, inviting arbitrary rule and tyranny.

This becomes a religious freedom problem as none of these groups can consult a set of relatively fixed, enforceable, and transparent rules that lend predictability and clarity. Their fate is tied to the rule of persons (or rule of "will") as they rely on guesses about the interests and actions of local officials or party leaders. The rule of law assumes that certain rules transcend the specific interests of those rulers—that "no one is above the law." The rule of persons assumes that a ruler's interests are the law, inviting arbitrary rule and tyranny. Thus, the religious freedom problem in China.

Many people claim that freedom suffers in China because of a lack of rule of law, and even leaders in the Chinese Communist Party have recognized the normative and practical appeal of strengthening the rule of law in their country. But the rule of law is not a monolithic concept, and its meaning is sharply contested.

Some insist that China's unique history calls for an emphasis on greater legal uniformity, consistency, and transparency without requirements for change in basic governmental structures or fundamental substantive freedoms beyond due process. Others argue that individual rights and the rule of law are inextricable: a person's ability to assert key due process and substantive rights provides a check on government and ensures that rulers are not "above the law."

Assuming that the goal ought to be this second vision, and that a broad understanding of religious freedom would be included in that vision, one political strategy may be to first enshrine some right that the Chinese Communist Party has an incentive to foster, and then hope for a radiating effect leading to stronger protections for other rights. One of the most plausible starting points is the right to property.

For the past three decades, China has been adapting to the complexities of globalization and market-based economics. During that process, the Chinese Communist Party has been under intense pressure (both at home and internationally) to toughen protections for intellectual and other types of property. China needs to develop the rule of law to reflect its new status as a major economic power.



For many human rights activists, movement toward legal reform in property rights and the rule of law may signal the possibility of greater protections for additional rights as well. Markets teach a respect for rule of law; they simply don't function properly without rules that are public, relatively clear, and enforced neutrally. It's hard to imagine gaining the productive advantages of markets without the rule of law governing matters such as contractual rights or the right to reasonable returns on an investment.

A vibrant new system of rule of law requires a dynamic, multi-faceted process that results in public recognition and protection of basic individual rights where they did not exist before. And while comparativists have demonstrated that there are systematic patterns when countries move toward rule of law, the preconditions are not necessarily always economic or market driven.

Institutions are a very important component of the rule of law, and the tendency is to think first of courts and constitutions, particularly considering the power of high courts to review the actions of other political institutions—usually to determine their constitutionality.

But an important characteristic buttresses judicial review: judicial independence. If a court has authority to review the constitutionality of the

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Rule of Law Lecture (continued from page 10)

actions of other political bodies, then presumably it ought to be independent of pressure from those other bodies. And, as it turns out, judicial independence is a good predictor of whether new rights have taken hold in countries around the world.

However, independence is not absolutely critical. Courts can be part of a system that disperses and balances power so that no single group can foist its will on others; thus, dispersion or fragmentation of power is the key. But power can be frag-

mented in various ways, and, in fact, party competition is often as effective at ensuring rights and the rule of law as independent constitutional courts. But neither the judicial nor electoral approach works without cultural support. States that protect rights are generally responding to citizens who mobilize around rights.

Legal mobilization requires that aggrieved individuals or groups perceive their circumstances to be a violation of their legal rights and use the formal legal processes at their disposal to assert that right against the government.

But more is required to move toward working standards of rule of law. Courts may exist, but they are generally passive; they are tasked with settling the disputes that come before them. Ordinary citizens, even when they perceive that their rights have been violated, may still be uncertain about how to address claims, especially when faced with complex judicial systems. Legal reform requires a bridge between institutions and the rights claims of citizens. Scholars assert that this structure is basically built by lawyers and their professional associations.

While the Chinese Constitution does

declare protections for religious belief and “normal” religious activity, no Chinese court holds constitutionally mandated authority to invalidate governmental actions. At the highest level the legislative and judicial powers are not separate, and courts are therefore not independent. Not that it particularly matters to religious freedom, because ordinary citizens have no formal avenue to petition courts over constitutional matters.

And even if there was motivation to strengthen courts to enforce property

While the Chinese Constitution does declare protections for religious belief and “normal” religious activity, no Chinese court holds constitutionally mandated authority to invalidate governmental actions. At the highest level the legislative and judicial powers are not separate, and courts are therefore not independent. Not that it particularly matters to religious freedom, because ordinary citizens have no formal avenue to petition courts over constitutional matters.

rights, there is no necessary reason to believe the court’s jurisdiction would be extended to other rights. This emphasis on the Chinese Constitution, constitutional courts, or political competition in China has been focused on centralized power in Beijing. However, China is an enormous, far-flung country and much of the work of governing happens at local and provincial levels, so reform might come from institutions at the bottom rather than the top. In fact, most religious believers who run afoul of the state find themselves in local criminal courts under the charge of “inciting subversion of state power,” which includes a host of activities viewed as a threat to the paramount Chinese value of social harmony.

With the Chinese criminal justice system at the local and provincial levels entirely weighted

toward the government, very few robust due process rights are available

to defendants. Indeed, the litigation process, which is often adversarial, is itself a threat to harmony, and so few criminal cases are actually litigated.

These institutional obstacles are also reflected in the population’s attitudes. Citizens have little concept of “legal rights” as westerners would understand the term. To the extent it has meaning, it is perceived as individual self-interest, which is at odds with social harmony. Asserting one’s rights in a legal process hits cultural and political walls. An adversarial approach through litigation is culturally dissonant, and politically there is a well-founded belief that legal proceedings are subject to political interference.

These perceptions may be changing with economic development and some emergence of rights-based activism. Lawyers, acting within civil society, will be at the forefront if there is change, but they face key challenges.

First, there are too few attorneys: China has about 14 lawyers per 100,000 residents. During the Cultural Revolution, lawyering was effectively banned. In the 1980s Deng Xiaoping instituted economic reforms and recognized the need for lawyers to help along the process, and so China has had about 30 years to rebuild its legal profession. There has been impressive progress in several ways: China had only about 3,000 attorneys in the early years after the Revolution, and today has nearly 200,000.

Additionally, since 1996, independent firms have proliferated; most are focused on commercial activity, but a

Citizens have little concept of “legal rights” as westerners would understand the term. To the extent it has meaning, it is perceived as individual self-interest, which is at odds with social harmony.

few address religious freedom claims at the local and provincial levels.

The state presents a second challenge.

While some independent rights-advocacy groups

have emerged since 1996, the party leadership has not looked kindly on

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Pluralism and Freedom: Faith-Based Organizations in a Democratic Society

In his most recent book, Henry Institute Research Fellow Steve Monsma explores the extensive role that faith-based organizations play in providing a host of health, educational, and social services to the public. Nearly all these efforts, however, have been accompanied by intense debate and numerous legal challenges. The right of faith-based organizations to hire based on religion, the presence of religious symbols and icons in rooms where

government-subsidized services are provided, and the enforcement of gay civil rights to which some faith-based organizations object all continue to be subjects of intense debate and numerous court cases.

In *Pluralism and Freedom: Faith-Based Organizations in a Democratic Society*, Monsma explores the question of how much autonomy faith-based organizations retain when they enter the public realm. “Pluralism and freedom demand that religious freedom be respected, ideals that neither the left nor the right live up to. Actually, democratic pluralism requires a genuine, authentic—but also a limited—autonomy for faith-based organizations providing public services.”

The book explores models for such autonomy based in history and in current political settings of some European countries. Monsma also offers practical, concrete public policy applications of his advocated framework in practice. ~

Available from: Rowman and Littlefield, <https://rowman.com>
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Upcoming Henry Institute Lectures

The Russian Adoption Ban: An Uncertain Year Ahead: *February 21, 2013*, by Rebecca McBride, Belmont University, Bytwerk Theater, 3:30 p.m.

Faith Going Public: House Church Participants’ Civic Engagement in China: *February 26, 2013*, by Dr. Li (Mary) Ma, Henry Institute, Meeter Center Lecture Hall, 3:30 p.m.

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

Annual Paul Henry Lecture featuring Dr. Corwin Smidt, *April 26, 2013*, Prince Conference Center, 7:30 p.m.

Annual Pruis Rule of Law Lecture featuring P.J. Hill, *April 4, 2013*, Covenant Fine Arts Center Recital Hall, 3:30 p.m.

Rule of Law Lecture (continued from page 11)

the efforts of these groups, particularly the loosely networked lawyers who spearheaded the *weiquan* movement (literally, the rights-defending movement) in the early 2000s. The government authorized “forceful measures” against these lawyers in 2006, and many were imprisoned, disbarred, disappeared, and sometimes tortured for their work. In 2008 the Party further hindered judicial independence and placed a non-lawyer ideologue at the head of the Supreme People’s Court.

Transnational legal activism by those “activists without borders” who combine international legal norms with indigenous movements, such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, have tried to bring pressure on the Chinese government. However, the state has been resistant to their primary tactics of agenda-setting, providing information to people on the ground, or using outside powerful

institutions such as the World Trade Organization or U.S. trade policy to compel changes in Chinese policies or dictates.

In the near term, the prospects for a rights revolution in China—especially one that protects religious freedom—are mixed at best. On the one hand, party-controlled institutions are resistant, the mass public is generally not attuned to the notion of rule of law, and the legal profession is small and hampered throughout the system. But, on the other side, there is clearly more openness in the post-Mao era, with some pockets of citizens who have developed something like “rights consciousness,” and there is a growing legal profession and culture of activism.

For westerners concerned about basic rights—and particularly freedom of religion—it is tempting to seek a silver bullet. Leveraging property rights and

open markets has been a tactic in this regard. Some prominent Christian voices, for example, have insisted that the United States link “normal” trade relations to the Chinese government’s treatment of religion. Other individuals believe China’s economic co-dependence with the U.S. will inevitably lead China to embrace property rights, and other rights will, without doubt, follow.

Dr. den Dulk concluded that the path to rule of law will not be straightforward but will require a complex mix of institutional and cultural change, fostered by a robust civil society. It will call for the patient building of capacity among Chinese citizens so that they can craft their own version of a rights revolution. ~

The full recording of this lecture can be heard online at www.calvin.edu/henry/schedule/index as part of the entry for the March 27, 2012 lecture.