

correct when he argues that claims must be examined and renegotiated over time and place. Grofman's edited volume demonstrates that race discrimination persists. My worry is that the public interest will likely continue to privilege liberty at the expense of the public good that values substantive justice.

**To Serve God and Mammon: Church-State Relations in American Politics.** By Ted G. Jelen. Boulder, CO: Westview, 2000. 176p. \$35.00 cloth, \$14.00 paper.

Paul Apostolidis, *Whitman College*

The return of the Republicans to national executive leadership would appear to bring renewed prospects for an adjustment of the contentious boundary between church and state. Ted G. Jelen's book thus arrives at an opportune moment in American political history. Teachers and scholars of religion and politics in the United States will find a great deal to recommend about this compact, accessible, and provocative assessment of recent tendencies in the ongoing battle to define the proper reach of government vis-à-vis the realm of the sacred.

Jelen's book is pitched at a level appropriate to undergraduates who are confronting issues regarding church-state separation for the first time. Its central achievement lies in rendering an impressive range of existing research available in an organized and stimulating way to such readers, rather than in supplying new research. *To Serve God and Mammon* does not offer the breadth of other texts on religion and politics in the United States that are targeted toward a similar audience, especially in regard to coverage of Left-liberal religious activism (e.g., Robert Booth Fowler and Allen D. Hertzke, *Religion and Politics in America*, 1995; Kenneth D. Wald, *Religion and Politics in the United States*, 1997). Nevertheless, Jelen's extensive and systematic analysis of church-state relations, particularly the role of court decisions and Christian Right activism in shaping this sphere of political contention, may well make the book more useful than others for courses on religion and politics.

The abiding tension between the establishment and free exercise clauses of the First Amendment forms the conceptual foundation for most of the book. Jelen makes a distinctive contribution by insisting that conflict over church-state relations cannot be adequately understood according to any simplistic liberal-conservative dichotomy or, alternatively, a facile binary between those who emphasize free exercise and those who stress the disestablishment principle. He shows instead how political struggles over these issues can be based on at least four different ways of combining interpretations of the establishment and free exercise clauses. Jelen employs his four-part typology to analyze both rhetorical and institutional features of church-state controversy.

One of the three main chapters discusses historical interpretation as an important arena for dispute over church-state relations. Jelen argues that both accommodationists and separatists (on the establishment clause) have found ample historical grounds to make their positions seem reasonable in terms of maintaining fidelity to the founders' intentions (pp. 32–42). In another chapter, Jelen offers the nuanced argument that federalism, the separation of powers, and other key institutional features generate variation in the receptiveness of public officials in different arenas of government to majoritarian demands for accommodationist and communalist (on free exercise) policies (pp. 53–75). Jelen then shifts his focus back to the rhetoric of conflict over church-state relations, contending that recent Christian Right leaders

have broken with their predecessors by emphasizing free exercise values over the establishment clause, and by favoring libertarian rather than communalist readings of the free exercise clause (pp. 86–101). The author concludes that church-state controversy not only is unlikely to abate but also is desirable to ensure governmental responsiveness to the changing religious composition of the American public and the continuing vitality of religious freedom (pp. 110–29).

Jelen anchors his discussion of the current debate in an excellent contemplation of the deliberative requirements of democracy and the value of religious institutions and faith-based truth-claims with respect to those democratic demands (pp. 80–94). But contestation over the church-state boundary is not simply a matter of reasoned deliberation; it is also a strategic, discursive struggle over the construction of national identity. Jelen does not explicitly thematize this discursive aspect of the controversy, but doing so would have enabled him to address three problems I see with the book. First, it would have allowed him to draw tighter and felicitous connections between his discussions of rhetorical and institutional aspects of these issues. Jelen might have probed, for example, how historical accounts that idealize the founders as pious men who sought to strengthen the people's piety may combine with some school boards' hospitable responses to "accommodationist public opinion" to generate a historically distinctive mode of citizenship inflected by the majority faith (pp. 32–5, 62–4).

Second, attention to the discursive aspect would have helped Jelen avoid oversimplifying the current politics of the Christian Right by taking leaders' rhetoric simply at face value, as rational propositions in a deliberative context. It is true that recently "the Christian Coalition . . . has specifically eschewed any notion of a 'Christian America' in favor of a 'place at the table' in public dialogue," but this is only one current in the wider discursive environment of the Christian Right (p. 95). In other major aspects of the complex political culture of this movement, from Focus on the Family's radio broadcasts to the Promise Keepers' mass spectacles, American national identity remains intimately bound up with evangelical Christianity (see Paul Apostolidis, *Stations of the Cross: Adorno and Christian Right Radio*, 2000; Linda Kintz, *Between Jesus and the Market: The Emotions that Matter in Right-Wing America*, 1997).

Third, exploring the rhetoric deployed in church-state contestation as identity-constituting discourse might have induced Jelen to qualify his enthusiasm for further conflict over church-state relations. To the extent that such controversy takes the form of discursive struggle rather than critical-rational debate, a robust public discourse on church-state relations may have effects of power quite other than those that Jelen foresees, disempowering those whose exclusion proves necessary for the coherent construction of national identity.

On the whole, Jelen admirably acquits himself in the core task of *To Serve God and Mammon*. He furnishes a basic text in American church-state relations that infrequently sacrifices conceptual sophistication for the sake of accessibility, that exposes the multiple valences of church-state conflicts with the main institutional dynamics of American government, and that balances historical sensibilities with a contemporary focus. Complemented by readings on religious groups' involvements in the union, civil rights, and other progressive movements, this book would serve very well as one among several main texts in a course on religion and politics in the United States. The book would also work quite nicely in courses on social movements, law and American society, or American conservatism.