Religion and Politics in the United States

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I dedicate this work to my dear parents who have helped me along my studies and have always been close to me with their love and encouragement, without them I would not be able to get such success and honor.

To my brothers and sister, my nephews and nieces, my soul sister “Fatima”, my fiance “Abdelmalek” and his family.

Imen BENHEDDI
I dedicate this work to my sweetheart parents who have tried their best to educate me, believe in me and have always been with me in difficult moments as well as the beautiful ones.

To my lovely sisters, my nieces and nephew, my dear friend “Imen”, my beloved husband “kadri” and his family.

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Abstract

Since America is the nation which controls the world, and much of its foreign policy is based on the interference in other countries’ systems; specially the Arab world, and seeks to spread secularism by means of separating religion from politics, thus, it is desirable to know more about this nation, mainly the relation between its religion and politics. This research paper aims at examining the relationship between religion and politics in the United States throughout history and until nowadays, chiefly because religion has always played a major part in American politics. It also seeks to check the reasons behind the founders’ desire to separate church from state, the need for freedom of conscience, and how those relations have changed over time. Besides, it tries to tackle the major religious groups in the twenty and twenty-first century alongside the major political parties and their alliances. To fulfill this task, a historical and descriptive approach has been followed; it is utilized in order to check the history and extract the needed information and events.
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DC: District of California.

GOP: Grand Old Party.

LGBT: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

USA: The United States of America.
General Introduction

Throughout human existence, religion and politics have always been the basis of world systems, mainly because of the way they regulate man’s life within societies. The issue of relating or separating them has ever been controversial, especially toward a century with more prevalent secularization. Nowadays, there is a split between people in matter of religion’s role in modern world. Some argue about its importance, since it provides the moral and ethical foundation of societies, the norms, morals and values that should be followed by them, and provides a meaning and purpose to the lives of people. While others remain skeptic, because for them, it is no longer an important side in human’s lives since science with technological discoveries has benefited and fitted humanity in various ways. In addition, the current human laws that have replaced religion’s “archaic” set of morals and ethics, in an era in which worldly matters become more essential than religious ones.

Due to America’s status as a leading nation, many questions were raised about every specific detail in its government regime, in particular, the nature of the relationship existing between its religion and politics. From all developed countries, the United States is the most religious one although it is a wholly secular nation based on its Constitution and the explicit disestablishment contained in the Bill of Rights namely the First Amendment. This conflicting situation is what caused a problematic on the level of its internal as well as external affairs.

From the birth of this nation, there existed conflicts and obstacles in the way of better accord between religion and politics, chiefly, because it has always been a religiously pluralistic society. In fact, this religiosity was generally attributed to historical events; the colonial period and the Puritans’ arrival and desire to become religiously free.

In order to avoid sectarian strife, through the Constitutional Convention held in 1787, the Founding Fathers decided to prevent the establishment of Christianity or other religion as a national religion, and a total separation between state and religion affairs; the latter was one of the major American Revolution’s requirements. The First
Amendment by its two clauses; the establishment and the free exercise clause, redefined church-state relations.

However, the separation did not necessarily mean the negligence of religion. They could not keep religion away from politics for a long period; Americans adopted freedom of religious expression and conscience and used it in electoral and political surroundings.

This research paper seeks to describe the unstable relations between religion and politics from the colonial era to the twenty-first century. It tries to provide the historical background of the American United States concerning religion and politics, and describe the changes that have occurred. This research attempts to answer the following questions:

1. How was the relation between American religion and politics throughout history?

2. Is America a sacred or a secular nation?

The present research work is divided into two chapters. The first one is devoted to talk about the issue of religious freedom from the coming of the Puritans, as well as religious and political origins of disestablishment in this nation, with explaining the constitutional laws that regulate the principle of separation. The second chapter discusses American religion and politics from the twenty century until the present, when the Republicans and the Religious Right are in heated coalitions and competition with the Democrats and the Religious Left with providing an overview about recent trends that will probably impact church-state relations for decades to come.
Chapter One  The Historical Background of American Religion and Politics

1.1 Introduction:

Religion and politics have influenced one another since the origins of what we know as America, their relation is complex and it has been interwoven together during the history of the nation from the beginning of the Colonial period till the present day.

This chapter is devoted to talk about the concepts of religion and politics in broad American Religion and Politics throughout the history in particular. It is going to tackle the meanings of both religion and politics, alongside the historical background with giving further explanations, relations and interactions between them during the Colonial and Founding eras, and from the period that extends from 1800s till 1900s.

At the end, we will discuss the turning point in the American history of religion and politics which is the First Amendment and its role in redefining the relationship between church and state, with giving an overview about the pressure caused by the establishment and free exercise clause.

1.2 Religion:

Since his creation, man has always been curious about why and how this world was created; how and why he was brought to this universe and what the secret is behind all this mystery. When he failed to get answers, he began to believe in the existence of supernatural power which marks the origin of religion.

The English word “religion” is derived from “religioun” from the French word “religion”, but originally it extracted its origins from the Latin term “religio”. Historians and theologians were ambivalent considering the exact meaning of this concept; however, the majority of them have related it with the verb "religare" which means to connect, relate and to unify.\(^1\) Jeppe Sinding Jensen points out that: «the term “religion”

comes from the Latin “religio” with two possible meanings. One is “religare”, to “chain” or “tie again”, and the other is “re-legere”, to “collect” or “read again”.²

This term is really complex and mixed up with everything in humans’ life and it changed with places and even with time in some beliefs. According to recent studies and proportions made about the world's major religious populations and religions, Christianity and Islam recorded the higher percentages.³

According to Christians, religion is a based on the life and teachings of Jesus Christ, the Bible, the Trinity, creeds and scriptures, and faith for them is based on salvation.⁴ Many definitions focus too narrowly on only few aspects of religion, this may be because every researcher or expert studies religion according to his own perspective and not as something sacred and fixed. In Robert Crawford’s book, it says: “Religion is one thing to the anthropologist, another to the sociologist, another to the psychologist (and again another to the next psychologist!)… As a result there is a great variety of religious theories of the nature of religion.”⁵

Thus, there is a big number of anthropologists, biologists, historians, philosophers, sociologists who are interested in defining the term “religion”, and each one of them gives a definition different from other definitions.

As stated by the French sociologist Emile Durkheim in his book “The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life” he said: “Religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relating to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden”.⁶ As for E.B Tylor, he defined it as faith in something beyond nature; miraculous. Malinowski defined religion as “A mode of action as well as a system of belief”.⁷ Religion is a belief in supernatural powers considered to have control of human affairs and destiny. Some

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humans’ acts are sacred and some ones are sinful, and religion is the only system that organizes human’s behaviors and practices based on moral values and faith.

As for Muslims, their definition is based on the Quran and Islamic beliefs. Religion is a divine law put by the Almighty God, it is a living system that organizes life and defines what is allowed to do and what is forbidden and how humans should worship their Creator. Religion in Islam is a belief in Allah, in the Angels, in the Revelations of Allah, in the Prophets, in the Day of Judgment and Hereafter and in the Predestination. There are five duties every Muslim has to do: the Witnesses, Prayer, Giving, Fasting, and Pilgrimage.  

Despite the clear differences between religions, they have some similarities; for example both Islam and Christianity are monotheistic religions, they include ideas about superhuman things, human destiny after death, ideas about the order of nature and the cosmos and how humans are to behave and think through rituals and worships. Religion is a way of life which concerns the humans and a belief in one supreme God which has been ever-present since the eternity.

1.3 Politics:

Politics is a science of government which had an impact on governmental policy; it is interested in imposing control over government, and holds the power by using a set of activities, actions and policies concerning the political relations between states.

Ronald Reagan said “Politics is supposed to be the second oldest profession I have come to realize that it bears a very close resemblance to the first”. Aristotle said «Man is

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9 Jeppe Sinding, What is Religion? 8-9, 14.
by nature a political animal “. He also said that “Politics is not a dreamt up concept, but rather an inherent feature of mankind”\textsuperscript{12}.

Policy represents different views, relationships behaviors, and tendencies in the world, and communication that relating the government and the governance. The political scientist Hannah Arendt defined Politics as “The interaction of free and equal citizens in society, it reaches into everything in the public sphere, and it involves everybody because we live in a community, that we are all political”.\textsuperscript{13}

Also, Harold Lasswell said “Politics is who gets what, when, how.” Politics should not be limited to any set of activities, but should use in a class of human behaviors, values, that have a common aim, and how the country should be governed.\textsuperscript{14}

Politics in its broadest meaning is the activity which people make, preserve and modify the general rules under which they live. It is an academic subject, thus related to the event of conflict and cooperation on the one hand, the presence of different opinions and wants, competing needs and opposing interests, guarantees about rules under which people live. Politics is defined in such different ways; as the exercise of power, the science of government, the making of collective decisions….\textsuperscript{15}

In addition, there have been several approaches which defined politics in different ways. First, politics as the art of government; this approach is the classical definition of politics which includes the original meaning of the word politics in ancient Greek Civilization; its root comes from polis whose meaning is city state. Ancient Greek consisted of independent city states each of which had its own system of government. According to J.W Garner,”……….politics science begins and ends with the

Politics is the practice of control within society by making the decisions, and to study politics, is to study government or the study of exercise of authority.17

Then, another notion of Politics which is as public affairs focuses on government to what is thought of as public life or public affairs. The origin of such a view of politics can be situated in the writings of the famous Greek philosopher Aristotle in his book “Politics”18. The traditional link between public field and private field related to the division between the state and civil society, institutions such as business, factory, trade union, university and other community groups come to be considered as public and political.19

The third meaning of politics as compromise and consensus relates to the way in which decisions are made. Politics is as a certain means of resolving conflict that is by compromise and negotiation rather than through force and violence.20 Bernard Crick in his classic study in Defense of Politics offered the following definition” Politics is the activity by which differing interests within a given unit of rule are conciliated by giving them a share in power in proportion to their importance to the welfare and survival of the whole community”21.

Finally, the specific definition of politics as power was seen as work in all social activities and every corner of human presence. Adrian Leftwich insists that political science should adopt a process definition of politics rather than focus on institutions of government.22 He said ” Politics is not a separate realm of public life and activity” Leftwich further “……..Politics is at heart of all collective social activity, formal and informal, public and private in all human groups institutions and societies”. Politics in

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17 Clare, What is Radical Politics Today?, 3.
18 Clayton, Politics, (Mar 13, 2016).
19 Clare, What is Radical Politics Today?, 5.
20 Ibid. 8.
22 Clare, What is Radical Politics? 9.
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this meaning takes place at every level of social interaction from the domestic domain to the universal stage.\textsuperscript{23}

1.4 The Colonial and Founding Eras in the United States:

This part of the research examines the links and relationships between religion and politics in the era that extended from the Colonial America to the founding of the United States, alongside the colonial facts which had a major effect on the phrasing of the Declaration of Independence and the U.S Constitution.

America long time ago was the endeavor of European nations, simply because they seek to raise their fortunes and expand their leverage over world affairs. The New World was explored and settled and became what is known now as the United States. By the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, England had set up a predominant existence on the Atlantic coast and the first territory was established under the Virginia Company at Jamestown in 1607 which became the first successfully established English colony in North America. Most European colonies on America were due to their oppression and because of that they escaped to practice their religion freely like the pilgrims, founders of Plymouth, Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{24}

Those immigrants intended to form “a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation”.\textsuperscript{25} The Mayflower Compact was a fundamental step in the development of the initial government in America.\textsuperscript{26} They left their mother country “England” in order to


\textsuperscript{24} “Colonial America (1492-1763)”. America's Library.  


\textsuperscript{26} Ibid. 55-56.
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constitute their communities more in line with their religious beliefs and they prospered later with the support of Native Americans.\(^{27}\)

In the era leading up 1500, the Catholic doctrine was the only Christian religion followed in Western Europe. However, it was in the sixteenth century that the situations flipped with the Protestant reformation by religious leaders like John Calvin and Martin Luther. In England, relations were broken with the Catholic Church and the Supremacy Act of 1534, it stated that “the King’s Majesty justly and rightly is . . . the only Supreme Head in Earth of the Church of England”. King Henry VIII formed the Anglican Church under his rule and that was what caused oppression to Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anabaptists. This outraged many of his people and from them those who wanted to purify the Church of England from the remaining elements of Catholic doctrine; the Puritans, another part of them (the Pilgrims) wanted a total separation and it was the case during the rule of James I and Charles I, they saw their religious freedom outside England away from Anglo-Catholicism. Therefore, the Puritans traveled and founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630.\(^{28}\)

Over the next decade, new settlers came and the population began to rise; it was a meeting place of cultures and a compilation of people from different social and religious groups (adventurers, artisans…). Due to Puritans’ lack of tolerance, new colonies were created like Connecticut where the first written constitution in America was created (the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut), also Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Province of Maryland, South Carolina, and Province of New York.\(^{29}\)

Each colony had its own systems, laws, churches and responsible for its decisions, but they were linked altogether by merely the same set of beliefs and practices, and were part of Britain’s properties in the New World. One obvious element in Puritans’


era was the democratic aspect based on the three forms of church organization (Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational).\(^{30}\)

John G. West Jr said: “The Puritans and their religious beliefs were key in laying the foundations of democracy in America. It is no coincidence that New England is known as the cradle of ‘town hall’ democracy”. This contribution in democracy is clear in the idea of compact which turned back to their belief that whenever they compacted with each other and with God and obey him, a church would be created. Though Puritans had various similar points with the notions of democracy as mentioned before, religious freedom was the thing that differentiates them from democracy and the other colonies like Maryland and Pennsylvania.\(^{31}\)

After many ups and downs, America became the refuge and haven of people from different backgrounds; Calvinists, Lutherans, radical Protestants, Quakers, Pietists...\(^{32}\) Religious differences in the eighteenth-century created a pluralistic community in America unlike Europe and its wars of religion. In addition to this situation and since the constraints of church had weakened, a series of religious revivals contributed to that pluralism beginning with Enlightenment with its ideas that every human could comprehend the laws of nature and use his understanding for the development and progress of mankind.\(^{33}\)

This period of intellectual activity in the thirteen American colonies i.e. Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, was influenced by the European Enlightenment; it “applied scientific reasoning to politics, science, and religion, promoted religious tolerance, and restored literature, the arts, and music as important disciplines and professions worthy of study in colleges”.\(^{34}\)

Like the Enlightenment, the Great Awakening challenged all the powers that obliged religious uniformity. The first Great Awakening started around the 1730s and


1740s, led by missionaries and preachers like Jonathan Edwards, Gilbert Tennent and George Whitefield.\textsuperscript{35} Frank Lambert stated:

“Americans claimed that God had endowed all humans with certain inalienable rights, and that no government, including that of the British, could take them away.”\textsuperscript{36} Most of them had merely the same aims; however, the division was about religious authority and because of it they called for a new nation. He added:

“In the words of the awakeners, the only thing needful was personal experience, not belief in a church creed, not acceptance of doctrine, not submission to church authority, not the teachings of learned ministers”.\textsuperscript{37}

Revivalism divided churches; Congregationalists and Presbyterians were divided into defenders and opponents, advocates of church’s traditions and ministerial authority called for learning so as to better understand the will of God. On the other hand, revivalists rejected any mediator between God and humans.\textsuperscript{38} It gave people courage and confidence to face and challenge religious authority and ecclesiastical oppression, through it they recognize that political power was in their hands rather than in the English monarch and they supported “religion of the heart” than “religion of the head”.\textsuperscript{39}

Despite the fact that the colonists did not have the same beliefs, by 1775 and after the changes brought through the great awakening, they did agree on the necessity of freedom from British tyranny and exploitation. Consequently, the American War of Independence or simply the American Revolution was declared. It was an armed fight in North America between Britain and its thirteen colonies because of their resistance to taxes were imposed by Britain which closed the port of Boston as a reaction to boycotts, also their need to become self-governed. They created a Continental Congress and

\textsuperscript{36} Lambert, Religion in American Politics. 20.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.,21.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
nominated General George Washington to control militia units with the support of French army. 40

Frank Lambert said: “This revolution of American religion created a popular theology that blurred the boundaries between sacred and secular. In what historian Nathan Hatch calls “odd mixtures,” the crucible of this new American Christianity was a blend of “renewed supernaturalism and Enlightenment rationalism, of mystical experiences and biblical literalism, of evangelical and Jeffersonian rhetoric.”41

Although the war lasted eight years and ended in 1783, it was on July 4, 1776 that the Continental Congress and the Founding Fathers voted and published the Declaration of Independence that stated the nation’s self-government and formed the United States of America. In 1783, in accordance with the Treaty of Paris It had been officially announced American independence from England.42 In the 1787, the delegates met in Philadelphia to reform the federal government and separate its powers into three sections: executive, legislative and judicial with checks and balances to avoid excesses, reduce abuses of power and to grant equality. After its ratification, in 1789 the United States Constitution entered into force and presented 10 amendments called The Bill of Rights which ensured individuals protection and rights like the freedom of speech and religion.43

Religion and politics during the Colonial and Founding eras gradually changed from organized religion, the existence of theocracy, and religious conformity. Then, The Toleration Act was passed and gave the dissenters the right to practice their religions freely. 44 Toward the end of the Colonial era and during the American

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Revolution the relationships between religion and politics were explicit. The period of the religious revival rejected clerical authority and the right of civil authority to interfere in issues of religion, but at the same time the role of church in achieving good citizens through its political task of making better morality, different principles advocated the separation of church and state. The issue of paying taxes to churches to supply clergy salaries messed up the relations between church and state.\(^{45}\)

In the period which came after the revolution, religious liberty was a fundamental demand because of sects’ multiplicity and pluralism. The Founding era witnessed debates of the delegates of the Constitutional Congress, influenced by the Enlightenment, over the role of religious faith and freedom in life because it was something threatening for the union they were aiming to establish. Thus, the United States became the first modern nation that prevented any union between church and state and guaranteed religious freedom through its Constitution. «To Madison, "the separation between Religion and Government in the Constitution of the United States" was the surest guarantee of "the sacred principle of religious liberty".\(^{46}\)

1.5 American Religion and Politics in the Nineteenth Century:

Throughout the history of United States, Religion and Politics have been related with each other from the very beginning of the colonial period, politics and religion in the US provide a general view of the way in which they have interacted with each other.\(^{47}\)

During 1800s the American citizens were ready to change. Under Washington and Adams, the Federalists had established a strong government, but the American government was accepted the requirement of the people. Moreover, Religion in the

\(^{45}\) Schultz, Jeffrey D, et al, Religion in American Politics, xvi – XVII.
United States is noticeable in its high obligation level comparing to other countries, at that time, it is much more a part of public life of Americans.\textsuperscript{48}

The US became a continental nation with the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803, in this period, the Religion was the main part of American Politics; therefore, presidents had concentrated on the religious themes, whether addressing foreign policy, economic and social issues, or their own convictions.\textsuperscript{49}

The United States has been a democracy for more than 200 years. Cases that were essentials in its early 19th century were; the big government against small government, individual rights against group rights, free markets against controlled trade, and connection with the world against focusing on internal affairs. The U.S. tries to be equal throughout adjustment and change, and the country has developed, managed, and made improvement toward its ideals.\textsuperscript{50} The big majority of Americans in the 1800s were of a Protestant background. Then, religion was a strong factor which affects their personal identity.\textsuperscript{51}

Many Americans claimed traditional Christian beliefs, by the end of the 18th century. Throughout the secularism of the age, a religious renaissance spread westward in the first half of the 19th century. This “Second Great Awakening” depends on the different type of activity, distinguished by expression of religious commitment.\textsuperscript{52} The Second Great Awakening (evangelical movement that began around nineteenth century), this modern feature in religion emerged against the Enlightenment and called “age of reason” that had the idea of thinkers such as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine.\textsuperscript{53}


\textsuperscript{52} « Save U.S History ». The Science News, 26 Mar 2016.

The American clergy prefer public business. Then in the American religion Clergymen considered as the superior and their categories were active in party fight from the beginning of American party politics. In 1830 Alexis de Tocqueville analysis religion and American politics and he supposed that religion may have been the primary American political establishment. During the conflict between federalist and Jeffersonian republicans, religion became a major matter that federalists given the election as an absolute choice between “god and religious president” and “Jefferson and no god”.  

An important feature that characterized the American political system is the two main parties - the Democratic Party in 1824 and the Republican Party in 1854- which work with a system of primaries to found who will be their candidate in the general election. In United States religion is the major part of public life, there are various reasons for this, one is that evangelical Christians under the slogan of the moral majority which made a specific motivation to impact political leaders and shoot religion in the political discussions. 

During 19th century in the American society, religion was a factor in politics in western democracies; in addition, the Candidates declared their trust which would be considered as foreign, the Christian Coalition of America provided an important political influence which would be regarded as inappropriate in the most European Countries. Before Civil War, the strong political activity by churches, was not without debate critics that accused the Christians and their reform organization and gave a threat to freedom in their view, this Christian party in politics make a way to unit church and state and forces its religious beliefs by law.

The Confederate Forces, opened fire on Sumter in 1860, after that, the majority of Northern Religious Organizations confirming the war for the Union. Of these groups, Protestants imposed an important numerical and cultural control in the 1860s, Catholics and Jews provided support for the war; but Protestants, give their numbers and position in

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American life, and take a part in religious justifications of the war that had a social and political influence.\textsuperscript{59}

The American Civil War began in 1861, after that the South given the right to leave the United States, also it called the Union, and formed its own Confederacy. The President Lincoln led the Northern states and he was resolving to stop the revolt and save the country united \textsuperscript{60}. During the civil war Churches in the North supported the war efforts of their competent government, and worked to organize educational institutions in the south.\textsuperscript{61}

### 1.6 Religion and the First Amendment:

English common law was one of the basics that helped in founding the United States. Due to this, some people had always thought it was founded on Christian principles while others denied it. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Abraham Lincoln were the key founders of The Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.\textsuperscript{62} The latter had been drafted without any reference to any specific religion, but through pluralism, it permits any group to make an impact on others. Though some framers of the Constitution were believers and the others value religion, they knew the harm of organized religion and that it would violate individualism and unalienable human rights, hence they preferred theistic rationalism, individualism and secularism. The First Amendment is a testimony on all what was said above and a revolution on the relationship between religion and government.\textsuperscript{63}

\textsuperscript{60} «U.S.A. History in Brief ».37. Mar 28, 2016.
In 1789, Madison, after having been persuaded by his friend Thomas Jefferson, proposed to the Congress of the United States amendments, and the First Amendment was among them. After long series of modifications and discussions about the language that should be used in order to adopt a suitable form, the House and Senate adopted and ratified the final version of the First Amendment by the end of 1791.\textsuperscript{64}

The first of these amendments is that:

“Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”\textsuperscript{65}

This two-faced statement expressed many Americans’ needs and wishes in the period prior to the Founding of their nation.\textsuperscript{66} All Americans could be in accord with the prohibition of preference and discrimination between sects, preservation of rights of conscience and prevention from obliging “articles of faith” or government support to a certain belief by its laws.\textsuperscript{67}

The statement is an effort to secure rights of individuals in religious freedom, because an established religion could limit their rights, however, no religion should be banned from being followed and practiced, therefore the First Amendment embodies “the wall of separation between church and state”, and provides an open political field for any group.\textsuperscript{68}

Unlike what was included in rumors, the First Amendment does not seek to the removal of religion. Alternatively, it prohibits the religious establishments of the states from being interfered by the federal government, and the latter from establishing religion

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{67} Ibid, 202.
\bibitem{68} Lormel, Joe. « \textit{A Christian Nation ?} », Apr.05, 2016 .
\end{thebibliography}
and this was needful in order to gain religious freedom.\textsuperscript{69} Rehnquist saw that it is undoubtedly that Madison aimed to solve disputes between sects through the First Amendment.\textsuperscript{70}

Owing to Americans’ past experiences with the religious establishments during the colonial and revolutionary periods, there was a need to change the situation and clarify things.\textsuperscript{71} The Establishment Clause, which was always a controversial topic, is about what the government may or may not do. In other words, it is the explicit statement which indicates the “separation of church and state”.\textsuperscript{72} It is the restriction and the prevention of the government from making laws that support a specific religion or sect.\textsuperscript{73} With this clause, every government activity that aid religion including Uniformity Acts and other related things to the established religion, become prohibited.\textsuperscript{74} Therefore, no state can establish religion or enact laws that assist one or all religions or distinguish between them.\textsuperscript{75}

Debates and discussions about this topic have created two opposite viewpoints. One view is that the Establishment Clause imposed total neutrality on government concerning matters of religious and nonreligious beliefs. The second view is that government is still allowed to give help to religion in general without favoring one sect over another. Thus, “the amendment was designed to require the government to be neutral between believers and nonbelievers”.\textsuperscript{76} Jefferson and Madison were against any combination of religion and government, and that the state has nothing to do with supporting or obliging any religious belief.\textsuperscript{77}

The Founders realized that removing religious tests for public office would be beneficial and fair because persons could not be in need to be related to a specific

\textsuperscript{71} Curry, "The First Freedoms", 209.
\textsuperscript{74} Vile, et al. “First Amendment Overview”. 3-4.
\textsuperscript{75} Curry, “The First Freedoms”, 207.
\textsuperscript{76} Tabash, “The True Meaning of the Establishment Clause”, 1-4.
\textsuperscript{77} Tabash, Ibid., 1, 4, 7-8.
religion, and even to any religious belief. This is considered as a proof of their desire to make a government fair with no preference of any religion or preference of religion over nonbelief. Their purpose was making a neutral government in dealing with religious issues.\textsuperscript{78}

“The free exercise clause prohibits penal laws”.\textsuperscript{79} It gave special protection and defense since the freedom of conscience and to believe is an inalienable human right. However, The Supreme Court has had to add limitations on the freedom to act on those beliefs so as to guarantee the same liberties given.\textsuperscript{80} It protected liberty of private and public religious matters from governmental interference,\textsuperscript{81} with the acceptance of any religious belief with its rituals and actions and even permits violation of laws for the sake of religion sometimes as preventing taxation on religious activities. The two religion clauses are in contradiction to each other, and cause an unbalanced situation to the Supreme Court. The Establishment Clause emphasized neutrality between belief and nonbelief. Otherwise, The Free Exercise Clause demands a particular treatment of religious behavior including exemption from existing laws. Therefore, granting special advantages to religion would break the concept of The Establishment Clause.\textsuperscript{82}

The American Constitution is a secularist document where there exists no mention to God or Christianity, this fact enraged many at the time because of the negligence of religion. “Self-consciously designed to be an instrument with which to structure the secular politics of individual interest and happiness, the Constitution was bitterly attacked for its failure to mention God or Christianity”\textsuperscript{83}

However, scholars saw The Bill of Rights as an effective step in American history which helped redefine the relationship between church and state namely their separation, also as an advanced step toward the achievement of liberty of conscience which preserves persons from any forcing by state or church, religious freedom which

\textsuperscript{78} Tabash, \textit{Ibid}. 9-10, 17, 23.
\textsuperscript{80} Haynes, et al. "First Amendment in Schools". 38..
\textsuperscript{81} Establishment Clause", 13 Apr. 2016.
\textsuperscript{82} "Free Exercise Clause.", LII / Legal Information Institute, Cornell University Law School, https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/free_exercise_clause. (Apr 21, 2016).
\textsuperscript{83} Tabash, “The True Meaning of the Establishment Clause”. 8,9.
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defends individuals to perform freely their religious practices, pluralism which saves multiple religious beliefs and actions instead of an established religion and doctrine, equality between sects and limitation of discrimination between religions in this country, and finally the disestablishment which prevents from following and obliging one religion and one faith.  

The updated interpretation of the Supreme Court concerning the Fourteenth Amendment in the 1940s changed the situation, the First Amendment’s Establishment Clause became concerned with the three legislative branches of government, and the Free Exercise Clause was designed for people living within the United States.

1.7 Conclusion:

The issue of religious liberty has played a notable role in the history of the United States. This returned to the colonial era, namely when the Europeans arrive in order to escape religious persecution by The Church of England and The Roman Catholic Church. That state of disruption gave the ancestors the needed motives to establish a new regime for America separated from British tyranny.

After the American Revolution had ended, the Continental Congress and the Founding Fathers issued the Declaration of Independence, and later the United States Constitution which was explicit in redefining the relationship between religion and government; namely separating them, and guaranteed the freedom of conscience and belief through the First Amendment’s establishment and free exercise clauses.

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Chapter two

Contemporary American Religion and Politics

2.1 Introduction:

This part of the research deals with religion and politics since the 20th century until the present one, and the competition between the two major parties in U.S.A; the Republicans and their coalition with the Religious Right, and the Democrats and their desire to embrace the Religious Left, and how these alliances have realized the Founders’ fears of religious-political electoral coalitions. Also, the role of Civil Right Movement which was one of the most influential religious interferences in American politics.

2.2 Religion and Politics in the Twentieth Century:

The early 1900s was an era of development; this period saw a quick social and political reform in the United States that declared in comprehensive labor laws, and progressive political leaders, such as President Theodore Roosevelt. It was also aimed to reduce political corruption and limited the monopolistic business practices, then reinforced the anti-trust laws and legislated constitutional amendments, such as the 16th and the 17th Amendment that permitted for the direct election of senators.86

In the last decades of the nineteenth century millions of Americans gained a modern evaluation for the religious wisdom. They were called American Conservatives because they felt that the time glorify facts by testing in the experiment of the human race. At the end of the century, Catholics’ Achievements had become the great Christian class in the United States; they had founded an interesting system of schools, hospitals, and helped many immigrants to regulate the American life, then protecting the faith.87

American political establishment had faced many problems, as the Civil War, and the Economic Depression. By the 1900s, the ideal of religious freedom had been sustained, and Americans still believed in religious freedom, however political power seemed to be concentrated by the corrupt officials, in response, a repair movement called

“Progressivism” had grown; its purpose included democracy and social justice, and more dynamic organization of business.\(^{88}\)

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Anglo-Protestantism was facing a collection of ideological, social, and political challenges, and the nation became religiously more different and more secular. The period after the civil war, often called the Gilded Age, it saw the birth of a group of new movements, at the same time, Roman Catholicism and Judaism provided spiritual prosperity to numerous of the nation’s immigrants.\(^{89}\)

The war and the economic depression caused many to turn to God and others to turn away from Him. Major efforts were made to spread Christianity in the pagan nations and communism developed as a force in contrast with Christianity but Church did not participate because of a legal separation from the state in politics.\(^{90}\)

During the 1920s, religion was changed; it all began when new scientific discoveries were being made, causing more people to believe in Darwin’s Theory of evolution. Many fundamentalists found a rebirth of their faith in trying to struggle and remove evolution. Religion in the 1920s was similar to the great awakening because people had accepted religious calm and gradual reform.\(^{91}\)

Some external events had an impact on the history of the Church in 1930; millions of unemployed after losing their life savings, and one had predicted that there could be a strong return of the Church during the Great Depression. Actually, after decades of the falling of Church membership and what many saw to be a general decline in religious devotion across the country, many clergymen saw the Depression as a divine response to this expansion. In addition, many believed that the suffering population would go back into the church, and searching forgiveness for their folly. Moreover, the


modern evidence marks that religious piety among these church members may have been on the decline during this period of crisis.\textsuperscript{92}

The Second World War was a global war that continued from 1939 to 1945, and for Americans, it began in 1941, World War II was a universe war, thus all of the world's major religions were participating to changing degrees in the War, especially Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, while race was the main factor, religion had played a great role in Western life since the Christianization of the Roman Empire. For many in the 19th and 20th century the separation of church and state was a main aspect of modernizing and making a more just society.\textsuperscript{93}

The majority of religious believers supported the war, and Religion had a big influence on Franklin Roosevelt, who was an Episcopalian, and his speeches throughout his presidency repeated claims to the Christian values of social justice and charity as well as stressed the need for tolerance between religions.\textsuperscript{94}

Half of the twentieth Century was both secular and religious. Like most democracies, that it managed its daily business in active way. At the same time, most of its citizens believed that God was capable of everything and was watching over them.

In addition, many Americans saw the cold war as a conflict of both political and religious importance, in which the United States, champion of religion, faced “godless communism,” confirming that America stood up and not only for capitalism and democracy but also for religious freedom.\textsuperscript{95}

American culture can be characterized by religious rebirth in 1940 -50 and conservative family values brought on by prosperity after WWII. The United States was interested in a following growth with organized religion, especially Protestantism.\textsuperscript{96}

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America saw a case of national exhaustion, and religion-in-general, and also saw a rise in popularity. Many critical views were ignored as people accepted more beliefs, while the revival was unorganized, and the various events fueled the movement. Moreover, the difference of the oldest Protestant formed the National Council of Churches in order to improve relations with the government, and encourage interchurch connections, that association also helped to do away with the difficult behaviors and oppositions aimed at Catholicism after the war.\textsuperscript{97}

At the beginning of the 1960s, a big number of Americans considered that they were in the golden age. On January 20, 1961, the handsome and charismatic John F. Kennedy became the President of the United States, His faith that, as one historian put it, “the government possessed big answers to big problems”. However, that golden age had never materialized. On the contrary, by the end of the 1960s it seemed that the nation was falling apart.\textsuperscript{98} During the last part of the 1960s, it took the powerful political efforts on the side of liberal churches in objection to the Vietnam War. However, religious liberals renewed their voice in American politics and the acceptable field of religion in public life was presented to a collection of decisions by the U.S.\textsuperscript{99}

The 1970s saw a big change in the religious practices and involvement of people in the United States. There was a diversity of reasons for these changes including the Vietnam War, and other reasons for changes in religion caused a huge growth in the Evangelical movement. Catholics were influenced by the liberation of Vatican II and Jews. There were very few people of faith for whom the 70s was not a radical time of change.\textsuperscript{100} The 1970s were a confused time. In some ways, the decade was a continuation of the 1960s majority of Americans who joined the protest against the war in Vietnam.

In the 1990s, Americans continued to present themselves with their religious beliefs. Protestants and Catholics governed the religious landscape; Jews remained a small but effective minority growing, then still small, numbers of Americans identified


themselves as Buddhists, Muslims, or Hindus. By the mid-twentieth-century, Conservatives had become the major Jewish religious.

The era of the 1980s was a big period of restructuring for the majority of religions in the United States. The rise of religious conservatism had an effect on many of the religious and nonreligious events of the period. The political life in America during 1980s, characterized by the policies of President Ronald Reagan, often remembered for its materialism and consumerism.

Ronald Reagan won the U.S. presidency in 1980, at the end of a decade of the defeat for the American people. He used his gentle personality as a powerful political arm; Reagan helped to restore faith in the country's future and went on to transform millions of Americans to his conservative political ideology.

The religious collections were serious elements of the solid political coalitions which were interesting in routine politics. In the 1990s, each of the main parties had powerful religious constituencies. The Republican Party derived the existence from traditionalists especially among evangelicals, while the Democrats drew help from racial minorities, Jews, and Seculars. Each party was able to build successful electoral coalitions.

When Ronald Reagan left his mission in 1989, he had the highest agreement classification of any president. Then in 2000, George H.W Bush won the election and became the president of the United States. The famous role Bush's Christian faith play in his life is renewing debate about the appropriate role of religion in government in general and the presidency in particular. The United States is still connected to the values of its early days. Among these are a belief in individual freedom and democratic government and the promise of economic opportunity and progress for all people. The work for the

103 Tandy Mc Connell, “American Decades”, 470.
United States is to keep its values of freedom, democracy, and opportunity secure and vital in the 21st century.\textsuperscript{107}

### 2.3 The Civil Rights Movement:

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s was both a social and political movement, but it was also a religious one. The Civil Rights Movement was the most important reform in American history. It was the main focal realignment of American democracy since the American Civil War of the 1860s. The movement emphasized on the revival and a reinvention of black identity and black awareness as African Americans represented themselves, while also forcing a re-examination of white identity and America’s democratic values.\textsuperscript{108}

The Civil Rights Movement was a period devoted to activism for similar rights and treatment of African Americans in the United States. During this era, people crowded for social, legal, political and cultural changes to prohibit discrimination and end segregation.\textsuperscript{109}

The American civil rights movement was a broad movement that protests against racial discrimination and segregation in the southern United States that came to national occurrence during the period of mid-1950s. This movement had its origin in the centuries-of African slaves. Although American slaves were liberated as a result of the Civil War and were then granted basic civil rights through the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution, the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and ’60s broke the pattern of public facilities’ being segregated by “race” in the South and accomplished the most significant achievement in equal-rights legislation for African Americans since the Reconstruction period.\textsuperscript{110}

The Civil Rights Movement was a popular activity to save the African Americans, and gave opportunities for the basic privileges and rights of U.S. citizenship. The Civil

\textsuperscript{107} “USA History in brief”, Apr 23, 2016. 73-77.


Rights Movement centered on the American South. That was where the African American population was centered and where racial inequality in education, economic opportunity, and the political and legal approaches were most severe.\textsuperscript{111}

The Civil Rights Movement was important to the history of the United States and the world. It based on discrimination that was oppressive in the country. The efforts of the Civil Rights Movement finished segregation publicly and legally. The period redesigned the nation's social system. The efforts to help a specific group united many citizens to achieve a common goal, and people regardless of race, fought together for the just treatment of African Americans.\textsuperscript{112}

The words civil rights often reflect images of Martin Luther King Jr. who transmitted his soul-stirring “I Have a Dream” speech before the nation’s capital.\textsuperscript{113} Martin Luther King announced to the “March On Washington” during his famous speech that "1963 is not an end, but a beginning".\textsuperscript{114}

Martin Luther King, Jr, was a Baptist evangelist, and other chiefs, including Ralph Abernathy, Andrew Young, and Jesse Jackson, were ordained ministers as well. The community of the king had a special religious title: the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Civil rights congress and collections often took place in black churches, which had long shaped the one organization that blacks controlled, a community’s social and political center, he insisted, that was not only about salvation for blacks; it was for the “salvation of our nation and the salvation of mankind.” His words repeat those of America’s Founders in 1776, who supposed that the revolt against oppressive British rule was a fight for the rights of mankind. The white religious leaders called upon the nation back to its religious traditions and moral values, and the King based his call for civil rights for all Americans on his opinion of that legacy and those values. He pointed out that black Americans had been denied their “constitutional and God-given rights” like the


\textsuperscript{112} Roy, « Civil Rights Movement », May07, 2016.


revolutionary leaders, King called on Americans to refuse immoral laws and demand natural rights that God has given to all people.\textsuperscript{115}

Nearly one century after the Civil War, the civil rights of African Americans were restricted by state laws and discrimination. Some civil rights are the right to vote, the right to equal treatment, and the right to speak out. In 1960, African Americans held sit-ins in 54 cities. They sat at lunch counters that only served food to white people. They would not leave until they were served. In 1963, Congress was discussing a bill to finish segregation. Martin Luther King Jr. and other leaders organized a protest march in Washington, D.C., to show support for the bill. The march on Washington got Americans to pay attention to the civil rights movement. President Lyndon Johnson worked with Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It prohibits segregation in schools, at work, and in public places. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 guaranteed citizens of all races and ethnic backgrounds the right to vote. In 1968, Martin Luther King Jr. was shot. People from all backgrounds continued the struggle for civil rights.\textsuperscript{116}

In 1968, a young white man named James Earl Ray shot and killed King as he addressed a crowd gathered in Memphis, Tennessee. King’s death, combined with the increasing amount of violence, effectively ended the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.\textsuperscript{117}

2.4 Civil Religion in America:

The separation between Church and state and the first amendment which confirmed the disestablishment have not limited doubts about whether Christianity is the national religion or not, particularly taking in consideration the way of life of Americans, this with many other factors paved the way to the rise of a new concept “The American Civil Religion”.

American civil religion is a concept added to American sociology in 1967 by Robert Bellah, but originally it was Rousseau’s expression in the eighteenth century.

\textsuperscript{115} Lambert, “Religion in Politics”, 160.
\textsuperscript{116} “Summary : Civil Rights”, Chapter 3,Lesson 17, https://www.eduplace.com/ss/socsci/books/content/ilessons/5/ils_gr5a_u8_c17_l3.pdf  (May 08,2016).
Robert Bellah believed that God had played the major role in the establishment of America. He also argued that this civil religion presented a set of beliefs, public rituals, ceremonies, holy days and symbols derived from the history of the nation and the earliest epoch, however despite being similar to Christianity in many ways, but it is not involving or relating to any specific religious sect or political faith.\textsuperscript{118}

Robert Bellah said: “Behind the civil religion at every point lie biblical archetypes: Exodus, Chosen People, Promised Land, New Jerusalem, and Sacrificial Death and Rebirth. But it is also genuinely American and genuinely new. It has its own prophets and its own martyrs, its own sacred events and sacred places, its own solemn rituals and symbols”.\textsuperscript{119} American Revolution is considered as the chief source of the civil religion since it marked the rebirth of the nation. Historians have recorded that the revolution served as a source as long as it provided prophets like Thomas Jefferson, martyrs as Nathan Hale, sacred places and holidays as July 4, rituals like Boston Tea Party, as well holy documents “The Declaration of Independence, the U.S Constitution and the Bill of Rights” which have been the basis of the United States of America since then.\textsuperscript{120}

This civil religion promotes and supports an American consolidated way of life no matter how different religion is. The American Presidents have generally played the essential part in representing this concept, basically through their eloquent speeches and the emphasis on the role of religion. Alongside the political speeches, there are other included things within this civil religion such as the religious quotations by politicians, religious symbols on buildings, national legends…\textsuperscript{121}

Civil religious beliefs such as: “America is God's chosen nation today”, “A president's authority...is from God” and “God Bless America”…, are considered to have the agreement of the majority of Americans with Robert Bellah. Many scholars have

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid, May 18 ,2016, at 21:30.
endorsed Bellah’s reasoning concerning the civil religion, and lately find that Americans are influenced by it in choosing their preferable political candidates and parties.\footnote{\textit{American Civil Religion.} April 20, 2016, at 20:23.}

Nowadays, in spite of the fact that the United States is a secular nation, it is with this civil religion that it is considered more religious than other developed secularist countries, notably Europe.

\section*{2.5 The Religious Right and Left:}

Religious right is one of the most durable myths in recent history in America, the coalition of conservative evangelicals and fundamentalists, appeared as a political movement in response to the U.S. Supreme Court’s.\footnote{Randall Balmer, \textit{The Real Origins of the Religious Right}, Politico Magazine. http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2014/05/religious-right-real-origins-107133. (19 May 2016).}

In the 1960s, only a minority of conservative Protestants were ready to start a campaign against the Supreme Court. The conservative Protestant political unity that had brought evangelicals and fundamentalists into a common establishment during the presidential election of 1960 had vanished, after losing their war to protect Protestant control over the nation’s governing institutions, conservative Protestants fought to regulate to their new role as a beleaguered minority. They had no idea how to recover the political impact that they had lost with Kennedy’s election. By 1964, they were more politically divided than they had been in at least twenty years.\footnote{William Daniel K. \textit{“God’s Own Party: The Making of the Christian Right”}, (Oxford UP,2010.) ,35.}

In 1973, the Supreme Court's ruling in \textit{Roe vs. Wade} was the legalizing abortion. The anger of conservatives, who often described the ruling as a rejection of human life in favor of sexual liberation, has encouraged the movement's base for four decades. While some might have suspected from the Religious Right's power and its importance during the 1970s, none could do so after 1980 when the movement brought in four million new evangelical voters to elect President Ronald Reagan and produce the first Republican
Senate majority. Reagan loaded 49 out of 50 states in the 1984 election, as well as created the effect of the religious right over the political life.\textsuperscript{125}

Many of the Americans adopted the Reagan Revolution during the 1980 election cycle; the political participation of evangelicals has taken the awareness of scholars and journalists. For many, the story of the rise of evangelical political involvement became one of backlash. Reacting against progressive politics and loosening social traditions of the 1960s, evangelicals included a conservative political agenda in order to “save America.” In the late 1970s, this means joining the Reagan revolution in order to keep up with Jimmy Carter and his allies out of office.\textsuperscript{126}

The Religious Right is often related with trying to advocate or reintroduce government—which included the religious practices, extending from government, agreeing with school prayer to government—and collecting religious monuments..., but such policy controversies are generally seen within the Religious Right community as symbolic battles, representing center of stress in the culture war between religious supporters of family values and secular supporters.\textsuperscript{127}

The “Religious Right” is a voting bloc including religiously the motivated right-wing conservatives such as American conservative Christian voters. While in the US, the term is often used interchangeably with "the evangelical vote," many of these voters are actually Roman Catholic and not all evangelical Protestants vote with the Religious Right. The religious right supported push George W. Bush to victory in the 2000 and 2004 presidential campaigns. Beyond the support for Bush, the Religious Right continued to play a major role in the Republican Party. Many Republican politicians; have explicitly identified themselves as religious conservatives. Indeed, it could be argued that the modern Republican Party is at heart a coalition between religious and business conservatives, in equal parts.\textsuperscript{128}

\textsuperscript{127} Head, “Time Line and History.” May 19,2016.
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The religious right helped to recognize a solid re-election to George W. Bush in 2004, and it accomplished its high impact but just after that election. The Religious right witnessed its decline since 2005 and that can be traced to numerous causes: The right's widespread disappointment with the heritage of the Bush years across a range of domains; including fiscal, foreign, and social policy; the election of Barack Obama,

the rise of the Tea Party, and the passage of health care reform; and finally, a dramatic and rapid shift in the culture, especially among the young, away from politicized religion and toward the acceptance of gay marriage.129

There was a great controversy emerging between progressive religious people in American public life. This debate comes when political interests have invented an official “Religious Left” as a counterweight to the Religious Right.130

Religious Left is a group of religious supporters, usually northern Christians, particularly Catholics, Jews, Buddhist and other faith whom interpret their doctrines and divine beliefs to mean that leftist ideas like unionized labor, guaranteed universal health care, civil rights for all, protecting God’s green earth, no war, are positive; and good for society.131

The heart of the religious left consists of people who are liberal in both their theology and their political outlook, a pattern commonly associated with the term “progressive.” Just like the religious right, the religious left is a coalition of several religious groups, such as, the core of religious left draws in about equal numbers from Catholics, evangelical Protestants and mainline Protestants, and has strong representation from black and Hispanic Christians. In the 20th century, the dominant form of faith-based politics was on the left, and the best known example is the civil rights movement in the

1950s and 1960s. The political advantage moved to the religious right in the 1980 election and may have changed back again to the religious left after the 2004 election.\footnote{Liu Joseph, “Assessing a More Prominent ‘Religious Lefts’”, Pew Research Centers Religion Public Life Project 05 June 2008, http://www.pewforum.org/2008/06/05/assessing-a-more-prominent-religious-left/, (May 21, 2016).}

2.6 Religion and Politics in the Twenty-First century:

In President Barack Obama’s speech to faith leaders from all over the country about his faith and the way it has leaded him in times of victory and difficulties, he said: “We know that part of living in a pluralistic society means that our personal religious beliefs alone can’t dictate our response to every challenge we face. But in my moments of prayer, I’m reminded that faith and values play an enormous role in motivating us to solve some of our most urgent problems, in keeping us going when we suffer setbacks, and opening our minds and our hearts to the needs of others.”\footnote{“Speech at the National Prayer Breakfast”, February 2, 2011. Washington, (Apr 25, 2016).}

The separation of church and state was the aim of the framers and their planning to reach a new equal and neutral nation. This issue was first proposed by Thomas Jefferson through his letter to the Danbury Baptist Association in 1802; in which he believed that building a wall of separation would be the right decision for America. However, although the nation gained that separation and became secular through its First Amendment, religion has always existed and played a notable role in the development of American culture, politics and nation as a whole since the late 16th century.\footnote{Bilous Adriane. “Religion and Politics in Contemporary America.” EP Seminar, Dealy Hall, 2014, file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/SOCI_1050_Bilous%20(2).pdf. (Apr 27, 2016).} 21st century in America brought both religion and politics toward new points of compact.\footnote{“Religion and Politics in 21st Century America.” Center for Presidential History, The John C Danforth Center on Religion and Politics, 06 Nov. 2014. http://blog.smu.edu/cph/events/religionandpolitics/. (Apr 27, 2016).}

Religion, religious principles and particularly Christianity have played an interesting role in shaping American Civilization simply because everything is related to religion in a way or another, for example there is no way to comprehend the American War of Independence without turning back to The First Great Awakening. They had always a remarkable influence on the progress of events; The Laymen’s Prayer Revival and its effect on pre-Civil War piety, the Civil Rights movement, the women’s suffrage
movement, the religious revival of the 1950s with many other movements and events derive their sources from Christianity and the Bible.¹³⁶

Nevertheless, religion in American politics is still as controversial as it was in the 1776. The twenty-first century has seen a universal renewal concerning religious issues and their increasing influence and interference on politics, whether in the nation's national or international politics and relations, this has been the case even for the United States. This fact had made it more and more difficult to decide whether the nation is sacred or secular.¹³⁷

Unlike other advanced countries, American people see religion as a very important part of their daily lives, and this led to considering it as the most religiously diverse nation with the highest percentage of Christians all over the world. A large number of Americans consider themselves as Christians; about 71%, while 6% represents the other religions (Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, Islam and others), and the rest represents the inhabitants with no religious affiliation. According to the Pew Research Center, the percentage of Christian adults has decreased about 8% in just eight years; this may be due to generational replacement which helped in the growth of the unaffiliated. Furthermore, there has been a rise among non-Christian faiths and this is concerned with Muslims and Hindus.¹³⁸

The rise of the unaffiliated led to a decrease in Protestant’s share of the population, mainly white Protestants. According to Pew Research Center surveys in 2012, they represented less than half of American adults.¹³⁹ Nowadays, there is not a basic change in religion and politics in the United States, religious sects including Evangelical Protestants and Mormons support Republican Party in most cases, while

other groups including Jews, “nones”, Hispanic Catholics., uphold Democratic Party.\textsuperscript{140} (According to the new Religious Landscape Study of 2015)

2.7 The Nones:

“The Nones” are those who are atheist, agnostic or “nothing in particular”. Bradley Wright; Sociologist of Religion who has examined the report of Pew Research Center, explained, “Many of the ‘nones’ have strong spiritual and religious beliefs; they just do not affiliate with a particular religion.”\textsuperscript{141} They do not associate with a particular group, organization, sect... The same Pew Study on Religion and Public Life found that their number is growing rapidly and it has increased about 6\% in just eight years. This group of people is less attached to traditional standards like attending religious services; however, most of them see religious organizations as helpful in societies.\textsuperscript{142}

The rise of the nones correlates with generational replacement and differences; this means that newer generations are more likely to be unaffiliated, as long as older generations passed away, they have been replaced by younger generations with less attachment to religion. In addition to this, the study made in 2009 found that the majority of the unaffiliated comes from families with less religious faith and church- attendance. Further, the emergence of the Religious Right is one of the main reasons, because they view it as only concerned with money, strict rules and politics. Liberal politics is another important reason because of its position toward issues like abortion, same sex-marriage and other issues of sexuality.\textsuperscript{143} “Religion is increasingly viewed as judgmental, homophobic, hypocritical, and too political”.\textsuperscript{144} This trend tends to more social disengagement since Americans had grown in a society more individualistic and skeptical of authority, they prefer more separate lives and less engagement in shared activities,


\textsuperscript{142} Liu, “Nones on the Rise”, May 03, 2016.

\textsuperscript{143} Ibid. May 03, 2016.

Although this is leading to several negative things on society like the decline in marriage, charity and participation in organizations.\textsuperscript{145}

This group of religiously unaffiliated is inclined to support Democrats and political liberals rather than conservatives. Their choice is generally based on social issues like abortion which they want to be legal and same-sex marriage which they support.\textsuperscript{146}

Since the Religious Right is more religious and seeks to apply the teachings of Christianity to influence politics and public policy, religious unaffiliated has become one of the prominent Democratic parts of the electorate.\textsuperscript{147} This is mainly due to Democrats’ policy which involves more social issues like civil rights for LGBT people, women’s rights and many other issues regardless of its oddness.\textsuperscript{148}

In the elections of 2000, 61\% of them voted for Al Gore against George W. Bush. In 2008, this proportion had increased very quickly to become three-quarters of religiously unaffiliated voters in favor of Barack Obama against John McCain; they were the main democratic voters as evangelical Protestants were the main republican voters. Today, they represent the largest group within the Democratic alliance with more than six-in-ten registered voters including those who lean toward Democratic Party.\textsuperscript{149}

Although the significant rising of the religiously unaffiliated and the fears from a gradual growing of an U.S. public less religious, until the present, the United States is still very religious in comparison with other advanced countries, and this is especially perceived in commitment standards in religion such as the role of religion and prayer in citizens’ lives. Yet, this is not an absolute fact since other studies proved that adults’ rate of attending religious services has declined gradually.\textsuperscript{150} The religious landscape study had shown that this trend of religiously unaffiliated is having a strong influence on the


\textsuperscript{146} Hess, “Increasing Nones”, May 05, 2016.


\textsuperscript{149} Liu,”Nones on the Rise.” May 08, 2016.

\textsuperscript{150} Ibid. May 08, 2016.
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Democratic Party; in which they represent the largest group, and even on the GOP since there is much more acceptance of homosexuality by almost all major religious groups in recent years.

Gerson explained that for the reason that the “nones” remain the largest group within the Democratic coalition, and the religious conservatives are the major sect among the Republican Party, thus, the United States is directed toward having one religious party and one secular party which can cause a huge gap in public life.151

2.8 Conclusion:

Religion has long been a staple of American politics. The role of religion shifted dramatically in Central American politics during the 20th century, as the Catholic Church moved from a position as conservator of the status quo to a powerful force for reform and human rights. The century also assisted the rise, then the prosperity of Protestants. Throughout the evolution of American civil rights, the Supreme Court shaped the arguments and the policies that would be pursued by state and federal laws, Civil rights had continued to be a central issue in the United States of America and it ended the discrimination.

In the 21st century, the number of Americans who do not identify with any religion “The Nones” continued to grow at a rapid pace; they are becoming more secular over time by a variety of measures, a fact that also is pushing to make the U.S. public overall somewhat less religious.

General Conclusion

The United States of America is a federal republic constituted by 51 states. It is one of the most multiracial and multicultural countries, because of the numbers of immigrants from the arrival of Indians and Europeans until the present day have always been in increase. The First Amendment redefined the relation between religion and politics; in other words, their separation based on the prohibition of establishing a national religion, and guaranteed the free exercise of religion and freedom of conscience, all this through the establishment and free exercise clauses.

However although there is an increase in secularism and the explicit constitutional separation between church and state, Americans have always recognized the role of religion as very important in their lives. In comparison with other developed countries, the U.S.A is highly religious and religion influences politics. Immigrants from less developed countries who are more religious than the natives are a major factor; an example of this is Muslims. Moreover, politicians’ much talk and debates about controversial issues like same sex marriage or abortion and other topics generally related to religion.

Another way religion is related to politics in America is American civil religion; the theory put forward by the sociologist Robert Bellah, which included that within the U.S.A there is a faith with no relation to a specific religious sect or political group; a nonsectarian faith, with particular religious symbols, holidays, values that ensures cultural and social compatibility, and are manifested in Americans’ every day like; as example of this the Pledge of Allegiance, school rituals, “God Bless America” in every president’s speech…

In addition, due to religion and politics’ importance in American public life, the religious influences on politics are evident in the electoral coalitions between the Republicans and the Religious Right versus the Democrats with the Religious Left. Thus, despite the constitutional separation between religion and government ratified in the First amendment and the speed rising number of non-religious sects which threaten the religiosity of the nation, American religion and politics are so interwoven and blended
with each other. The United States of America is a secular nation in its constitution but in reality and till the present it is a religious nation.
Glossary A:

Biographies:

- **Aristotle**: Ancient Greek philosopher was born circa 384 B.C. died in 322 B.C.
- **Adams**: John Adams was a Founding Father, the first vice president of the United States and the second president (1735–1826).
- **Alexis de Tocqueville**: (1805–1859) was a French historian and political scientist best known for his early work on the American political system Democracy in America.
- **Abraham Lincoln**: (1809–1865) was the 16th president of the United States
- **Benjamin Franklin**: Diplomat, Scientist, Inventor, Writer (1706–1790) is best known as one of the Founding Fathers who drafted the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.
- **Charles I**: (1600–1649) was a king of England, Scotland and Ireland, his subjects led to civil war and his execution.
- **Founding Father**: A leading figure in the founding of the United States; specifically: a member of the American Constitutional Convention of 1787.
- **Franklin Roosevelt**: (1882-1945), 32nd President of the United States.
- **Gilbert Tennent**: American Presbyterian clergyman (1703-1764).
- **George Whitefield**: Sensational Evangelist of Britain and America (1714-1770).
- **General George Washington**: Was the first U.S. president, General (1732–1799).
- **J.W Garner**: James Wilford Garner (1871-1938) was an American professor of political science.
- **John Calvin**: Was an influential French theologian and pastor during the Protestant Reformation. (1509 –1564).
- **James I**: (1208–1276) James I was a Spanish king best known for fighting the Moors He is also known as James I the Conqueror and James I of Aragon.
- **Jonathan Edwards**: Theologian, Philosopher, Journalist, Educator, Scholar(1703–1758)
• **James Madison**: (1751–1836) the fourth U.S. president is known as the "Father of the Constitution."

• **James Earl Ray**: (1928-1998) is infamous for assassinating civil right leader Martin Luther King Jr in 1968.

• **Jean-Jacques Rousseau**: (1712–1778) is best known as an influential 18th century philosopher.

• **John F. Kennedy**: (1917-1963) the 35th U.S President.

• **Martin Luther**: (1929–1968) Martin Luther King Jr. was a Baptist minister and social activist.

• **Nathan Hales**: an American patriot and martyr who fought for the Continental Army during the American War of Independence.

• **Rehnquist**: American lawyer and jurist.

• **Ronald Reagan**: Ronald Wilson Reagan was born on February 6, 1911 served as the 40th U.S. president from 1981 to 1989.

• **Robert Bellah**: (1927-2013) Professor of Sociology Emeritus at the University of California at Berkley.


• **Thomas Pain**: (1737–1809) was an English American writer and pamphleteer.

• **Theodore Roosevelt**: (1858-1919) the 26th U.S president.

**Glossary B:**

**Religion:**

• **Anabaptists**: Radical movement of the Protestant Reformation and spiritual ancestor of modern Baptists.

• **Calvinists**: Religious doctrine of John Calvin, emphasizing the omnipotence of God and the salvation of the elect by God’s grace alone.

• **Catholic**: A member of a Catholic Church.

• **Episcopal**: Designating the Anglican Church or some branch of it, as the Episcopal Church in America.
• **Great Awakening**: The series of religious revivals among Protestants in the American colonies.

• **Lutherans**: Relating to the religious doctrines of Martin Luther especially the doctrine of justification by faith alone.

• **Pilgrims**: A religious devotee who journeys to a shrine or sacred place.

• **Presbyterian**: Part of the Reformed tradition within Protestantism.

• **Pietists**: A movement originating in the Lutheran Church in Germany in the Seventeenth Century that stressed personal piety over religious formality and Orthodoxy.

• **Quakers**: Are followers of a religious movement that began as an offshoot of Christianity in seventeenth-century England.

• **Radical Protestants**: Christian faction during the Protestant reformation

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**Glossary C:**

**Politics:**

• **Bill of Rights**: The first ten amendments to the U.S Constitution, added in 1791 to protect certain rights of citizens.

• **Congregational**: Adhering to a form of Protestant Church government in which each local church acts as an independent, self-governing body, while maintaining fellowship with congregations.

• **Continental Congress**: The assembly of delegates from the North American rebel colonies held during and after the War of American Independence.

• **Federalists**: Advocate of a federal union between the American colonies after the Revolution and the adoption of the United States Constitution.

• **Progressivism**: The political and economic doctrines advocated by progressives.

• **Treaty of Paris**: A treaty of 1783 between the US, Britain, France, and Spain, ending the War of American Independence.
• **The Declaration of Independence**: The proclamation made by the second American Continental Congress on July 4, 1776 which asserted the freedom and independence of the thirteen colonies from Great Britain.

• **The march on Washington**: demonstration held in Washington, D.C., in 1963 by civil rights leaders to protest racial discrimination.

• **The Toleration Act**: The statute granting religious freedom to dissenting Protestants upon meeting certain conditions.

• **The Supreme Court**: The highest federal court in the United States consisting of nine justices and having jurisdiction overall other courts in the nation.

• **The U.S. Constitution**: the fundamental or organic law of the U.S.

• **16th Amendment**: The amendment within the Constitution that gives Congress the power to collect taxes on income without apportioning it among the states.

• **17th Amendment**: An amendment to the U.S Constitution, ratified in 1913.
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