

CONTENTS

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page</i>	x
Introduction		1
PART I The Comparative Approach		9
1 The past and present of comparative constitutional studies		11
1 Historical roots and renewed interest		12
2 Supreme Court controversy		18
3 The academic debate		27
3.1 In favor of comparative constitutional law		28
3.2 Against comparative constitutional law		32
2 The culture wars, American exceptionalism, and a comparative analysis of religion–state relations		40
1 The “culture wars”		42
1.1 Key issues		47
1.2 Judicial activism		50
2 Exceptionalism discourse		53
2.1 Exceptionalism in history, politics, and law		54
2.2 The split identity of exceptionalism		60
3 Situating a comparative analysis of religion–state relations		62
3 Employing a comparative approach		64
1 Issue selection		65
2 Unit of comparison		68

3	Distinguishing outcome and process	71
3.1	Outcome	72
3.2	Process	73
PART II Religion-State Relations and the Role of Neutrality 77		
4	Toward neutrality	79
1	Religion in the classroom	81
1.1	School prayer	82
1.2	Religious symbols	88
1.3	Religious clothing	95
2	Religion in the public square	103
2.1	Religious symbols in courthouses	104
2.2	Prayer and symbols in legislative meetings	109
5	The role of history	113
1	History in German constitutional interpretation	113
2	History in US constitutional interpretation	117
2.1	A brief history of the uses of history	117
2.2	Avoiding “bad history” and providing context	128
6	The roots of neutrality	134
1	Founding discourses	134
1.1	Origins of the US Constitution’s Establishment Clause	136
1.2	Origins of the Basic Law provisions on church and state	143
2	Political and social developments	153
2.1	In the United States	153
2.2	Subsequent political and social developments under the Basic Law	159
7	Delineating neutrality	167
1	Concepts of neutrality	168
1.1	Neutrality as nonconsideration	171
1.2	Substantive or positive neutrality	175
2	Neutrality and separation	178
3	Neutrality and equality	182

CONTENTS

ix

3.1	Equality among religious groups	184	
3.2	Equality between religion and nonreligion	187	
4	Neutrality, civil religion, and ceremonial deism		189
5	Neutrality as an interpretive guide	199	
Conclusion	The future of neutrality in comparative perspective	202	
<i>Index</i>		205	