

Religion and the Politics of Race:
Descriptive Representation and African American Interests in the Senate**

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While descriptive representation has been separately studied with regard to race and religion, very little research explores the connections between the two. This paper examines the relationship between U.S. senators' personal religious affiliations and their representation of African American interests since the 1960s. With very few non-white members historically, the descriptive representation of African American interests in the Senate is largely a story of variation among white senators. The findings show that evangelical Protestants and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are significantly less supportive of African American interests than their peers. This implies that the present-day entrenchment of white evangelical Protestants in the Republican Party is not merely a function of longstanding conservative Christian goals on issues such as abortion, but is also highly compatible with political opposition to African American interests. Our results therefore suggest that the respective partisan realignments of recent decades along racial and religious cleavages are closely related. We interpret our findings by building a theory rooted in theological, cultural, institutional, and partisan dynamics.

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Chapter 8: The Representation of African American Interests

“I think it is one of the tragedies of our nation, one of the shameful tragedies, that 11 o’clock on Sunday morning is one of the most segregated hours, if not the most segregated hour, in Christian America.”

– Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., appearing on Meet the Press, April 17, 1960.

As the American party system entered the twenty-first century, the relationships between religion, partisan politics, and culture war issues such as abortion and the politics of LGBT rights were well established. The alignment of religion and cultural ideology, along with the sorting of cultural and economic ideologies within each of the parties’ coalitions, reshaped American politics and firmly entrenched a polarized two-party system along religious lines of division. Voters, party activists, and as we have shown in this book, elected officials themselves, have all brought their religious identities, partisan allegiances, and policy preferences together.

While issues like abortion riled the two parties and polarized adherents of different religions, American politics also saw realignment along racial lines of cleavage. The so-called ‘Solid South’—once solidly Democratic—flipped to become a region more electorally viable for the Republican Party in the wake of the African American civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The politics of race, and anti-black racism in particular, became entangled with ideological fights over the role of government, taxes, and welfare (Edsall and Edsall 1992; Gilens 1996) and remade the parties’ electoral coalitions (Carmines and Stimson 1989). The relationships between race, attitudes about racial minorities, and American politics seem to have intensified as the country elected Barack Obama as the first black president and then saw Donald Trump succeed him in the White House (Tesler 2016; Abramowitz 2018).

One aspect of Donald Trump's rise to power that has puzzled some observers is the level of support he holds from white evangelical Protestants despite his apparent lack of personal religiosity. According to a Public Religion Research Institute poll from the summer of 2018, President Trump enjoyed a favorable view from only one major religious tradition, white evangelical Protestants, 72 percent of whom viewed the president favorably.¹ In an unmistakable nod to Trump's "Make America Great Again" campaign slogan, another survey from 2016 showed white evangelical Protestants, at 74 percent, to be significantly more likely than any other religious group to answer, "Mostly changed for the worse" to the question, "Since 1950s, do you think American culture and way of life has mostly changed for the better, or mostly changed for the worse?" (Jones 2016). To be sure, President Trump's record of appointing conservative judges to the federal bench and the Supreme Court has something to do with the devotion he enjoys from white evangelical Protestants for whom overturning *Roe v. Wade* is a longstanding and salient political priority. Furthermore, one might explain the close bond between evangelical Protestants and the Republican president as a function of partisanship given the overwhelming Republican advantage in party identification among white evangelical Protestants.

Still, the co-occurrence of long-term polarization along both religious and racial lines in recent decades raises another potential answer to the puzzle. Perhaps Donald Trump's base of support among white evangelical Protestants has its roots in the nation's longstanding history of racial tension, discrimination, and segregation, including segregation of its religious communities, as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. famously noted

¹ <https://www.prii.org/research/abortion-reproductive-health-midterms-trump-kavanaugh/>

in the epigraph of this chapter. With Donald Trump’s particular embrace of the politics of white ethnocentrism and racial resentment (Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck 2018),² is it possible that his support among white evangelical Protestants is driven by the politics of race as much as it is driven by the politics of religion and the culture wars? Can the two—race and religion—even be separated? What exactly about the 1950s causes so much nostalgia, was it the traditional gender roles, the likelihood of hearing “Merry Christmas” when entering a store in the month of December, the rigid racial hierarchy, or some mix of all of the above? To put the question in more general terms, what is the relationship between religion and the politics of race, and to what extent are elected officials from different religious backgrounds substantive representatives of their religious tradition’s racial politics? Has the impact of the descriptive representation of religion on the culture wars also extended to the politics of race in reorienting the American party system since the 1960s?

In this chapter, we investigate the nexus between religion and racial politics through the lens of roll call votes affecting African American interests taken in the U.S. Senate from 1969 through 2012. We extend our analysis of religion’s impact on partisan politics from previous chapters, but here we take the novel approach of exploring the impact of descriptive representation in a setting with virtually no descriptive representatives of the “target population” (Schneider and Ingram 1993) in question. With

² See also: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/01/15/white-racial-resentment-has-been-gaining-political-power-for-decades/?utm_term=.ea3ca63ca265; https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/02/28/what-differentiates-trump-supporters-from-other-republicans-ethnocentrism/?utm_term=.8985ef205c6f

only four African Americans serving in the Senate during the years under analysis,³ we shed light on how variation in mostly white senators' support for African American interests varies as a function of their religious identities, while also accounting for the effects of party, region, and sex. We find that evangelical Protestants and adherents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints have the lowest support for policies aimed at advancing the interests of African Americans. We explain these results as rooted in historical, theological, institutional, social, and political dynamics.

The Nexus of Religion, Race, and Politics in the United State Senate

Do senators who are members of different religious traditions vary in their support for African American interests? What might cause an evangelical Protestant senator, all else equal, to vote less often in favor of African American interests than a mainline Protestant senator or a Jewish senator? Why should we expect religion to be relevant to the politics of race in the first place?

On the one hand, religion is probably relevant to the politics of race in the United States for the simple reason that the institutions and communities within many religions are divided by race. Within that context, and for a host of theological and historical reasons, American Protestantism in particular has long been rife with debate about the role of African Americans in American society. These divisions extend from the history of slavery through the civil rights movements of the twentieth century and have often been accompanied by institutional breaks and the splintering of churches into different

³ Those four are Edward Brooke (R-MA, 1967-1979), Carol Moseley Braun (D-IL, 1993-1999), Barack Obama (D-IL, 2005-2008), and Roland Burris (D-IL, 2009-2010). Four additional African Americans have served in the Senate since the end of our data set's time series: Tim Scott (R-SC), Mo Cowan (D-MA), Cory Booker (D-NJ), and Kamala Harris (D-CA).

sects, not unlike more recent fractures over the role of women in church leadership or approaches to the issue of same-sex marriage. These fractures have themselves often proceeded along regional lines that closely overlap with the regional divisions that have long divided the former Confederate states with the rest of the country. Likewise, such theological debate has often become tied up with broader socio-political currents relating to how religious communities should deal with modernism, whether that's to accommodate modernism or fight back against it. Racial integration became one of many discrete issues, such as the teaching of evolution, that were framed by some religious thought leaders as a symptom of a larger modernism that must be confronted and opposed.

This mixing of theology and ideology in a religious and political stew speaks as well to the general ideological conservatism of some religions versus others and the extent to which they view the government as having a more or less legitimate role in intervening in society. The ideological opposition to government exerting a strong role in society can also be tied to very specific institutional threats posed by government, such as President Jimmy Carter's attempt in the late 1970s to remove religious tax exemption status from all-white private schools. By Randall Balmer's account, this development initially led to the formation of the Christian Right, not opposition to abortion or the ERA. That the Christian Right movement was sparked into action by federal policy that would have threatened both the religious and racial demographics of schools, particularly those in the South, suggests a clear racial motivation on the part of the mostly evangelical-led political movement that came to assume such a prominent role in the modern Republican Party.

On the other hand, however, issues of race have not explicitly been part of most politically mobilized white religious communities, at least not since the 1960s. The evangelical Protestant-dominated Christian Right, broadly speaking, has always emphasized a “family values” agenda focused on issues such as restricting access to abortion, generally opposing mainstream feminist movement goals, opposing LGBT rights, promoting prayer and displays of Christian symbols in schools and other public venues, opposition to pornography and the funding of so-called blasphemous art, and other such “culture war” issues. They do not overtly campaign as opponents of racial minorities’ interests in like manner; in fact, they often try to appeal to the social conservatism of racial and ethnic minorities to include them in their coalition. The Church of Latter-day Saints, though it has a recent past of excluding blacks from being eligible to serve as priests, likewise has made efforts to diversify and grow their flock beyond the white population. Some Catholics and mainline Protestant churches are and have been active proponents in general of a social justice agenda, though not in the form of a nationally potent political movement akin to the Christian Right. Religious communities on the left, including the much smaller ‘Christian Left’ or Jews, likewise support racial justice, but are so small in number or include support for racial justice alongside many other generally left-leaning political priorities that it doesn’t hold the same political potency as the the Christian Right’s well-known culturally conservative agenda. Traditional black Protestant churches, of course, do promote racial justice as a core outcome of their ministry, but are historically so under-represented in the Senate as to virtually lack descriptive representation in that chamber altogether. In sum, there is

good reason to suspect that religion bears a less direct effect on the politics of race than on the other issues explored in this book.

Given this brief theoretical overview, how might we expect senators who are members of specific religious denominations to approach their roll call voting on matters particularly relevant to African American interests if they are indeed substantively representing their descriptive religious identities?

Evangelical Protestants Versus Mainline Protestants

The first step in developing hypotheses about how senators from different religious backgrounds will approach roll call voting on African American interests is to distinguish between the approach of evangelical and mainline Protestants to the changing racial politics of the middle of the twentieth century. Attitudes about racial hierarchy divided white-majority Protestant denominations historically, theologically, and institutionally. Historically, racial progressives and moderates were either drummed out of or voluntarily abandoned evangelical churches during the height of the African American civil rights movement of the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s over their support for greater racial integration and the dismantling of the Jim Crow South (Harvey 2005). These fractures proceeded in part according to theological disagreements. Biblical modernists approvingly cited passages of the Bible, such as Acts 17:26, that seemed to call for a dismantling of the segregation of the races (Harvey 2005). This contrasted with the fundamentalists' portrayal of integration as unchristian and counter to biblical teaching based on, for instance, the "Curse of Ham" story from the Book of Genesis that was interpreted to justify the institution of slavery and a servile race of dark-skinned people (Harvey 2005). The historian Paul Harvey also writes of a "folk theory of

segregation” which connected notions of race and sexuality into a fear of integration leading to greater sexual relations between the races, intermarriage, and the creation of a “mongrel race” (Harvey 2005, 109). In this sense, the conservatism of evangelical Protestants surrounding political issues of sexuality and gender norms is inextricably related to the greater prevalence of evangelical opposition to upending the racial hierarchy of Jim Crow.

Beyond such institutional and theological divisions, evangelical Protestants are distinct from mainline Protestants in their embrace of Christian nationalism (Whitehead, Perry, and Baker 2018) and their fear of a declining white Christian identity for the United States. White evangelical Protestants are the least likely racial and religious group to perceive that there is widespread discrimination against African Americans and other minority groups (Jones 2016), and instead tend to perceive themselves as facing discrimination and to perceive their own group as under assault from an encroaching outside culture (Wilcox and Robinson 2010; Wald and Calhoun-Brown 2018). The sense of cultural loss related to the country’s demographic change along religious and racial lines may itself tie in with a strong association between racial and ethnic minorities and the Democratic Party coalition. To support the interests of African Americans, for example, is to support the agenda of the Democratic Party and vice versa. Notions of sexual morality, race, and patriotism can thus all become mixed in with ideology, partisan identities, and negative partisanship. If, from the evangelical Protestant perspective, the federal government is hostile to evangelical culture, then it makes some sense to oppose a strong role for the federal government to advocate on behalf of another group’s interests while they simultaneously seem to be attacking their own group. Anti-government

sentiment and small government ideology in general thus feeds into Republican party identification and predicts opposition to government interventions on behalf of African Americans. Elected officials who are members of these communities would share their community's sentiments in this respect just as they would in other respects. They may even be more likely to hold these sentiments since they are politically sophisticated enough to assemble these puzzle pieces themselves and then act as opinion leaders within their communities.

While this all points to an expectation that evangelical Protestant senators might be less supportive of African American interests relative to mainline Protestant senators, there are also reasons to frame this another way and consider why mainline Protestant senators might be more supportive than evangelical Protestant senators. Though certainly not homogeneously so, there is a greater prevalence of social justice and racial justice theology that is positively espoused within mainline Protestant congregations compared to evangelical congregations. This more liberal theological approach, though perhaps more prevalent among mainline clergy than rank-and-file mainline Protestants, teaches a "social gospel" that emphasizes loving one's neighbor more than the evangelical focus on personal holiness and salvation (Wald and Calhoun-Brown 2018, 243). The mainline Protestants' relative embrace of modernism and social reform thus situates them as more likely to be receptive to claims from marginalized populations for social reform.

Finally, it is important to note regional variation in the practice of Protestant Christianity in the United States. As Putnam and Campbell (2010, 114) write, "The heartland of evangelicalism in the smaller towns of the South was also the heart of Dixie's massive resistance to racial reform." While our analysis in Chapter 2

demonstrated that a significant number of evangelical Protestant senators represent states outside of the South—and that growth in evangelical Protestant representation in the Senate since the 1970s has taken place outside of the South—it is nonetheless relevant that the theological approach of evangelical Protestantism has developed in a broader cultural context that is shaped by regional differences in race relations. The southern influence on evangelical Protestantism relative to mainline Protestantism is one more reason why we might expect greater opposition to African American interests among evangelical Protestant senators who would have been socialized in such a social, cultural, and religious milieu.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

As with evangelical Protestants, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) justified anti-black racism on the basis on the biblical story of the Curse of Ham. This foundation contributed to the LDS church maintaining a prohibition on black people from serving as priests until 1978, a full decade after the landmark achievements of the African American civil rights movement of the 1960s. In addition to this racist history within the LDS church, Putnam and Campbell (2010, 292) show that only six percent of Mormons in a 2006 survey reported attending a racially diverse congregation, which would mean only Jews, at four percent, attend less diverse places of worship. This relatively uniform whiteness within American Mormonism, alongside the historical racial exclusion, overwhelming political conservatism and Republican affiliation, suggests that Mormon senators might be less likely than their non-Mormon colleagues to support the interests of African Americans.

Catholics

Expectations for Catholics point in different directions. In some respects, Catholics ought to be more supportive of African American interests, all else equal, given the Catholic Church's liberal positions on matters relevant to racial justice, such as the death penalty and spending on social services. The traditional Catholic concern with caring for the poor might thus overlap with a concern for those who are marginalized on the basis of race, as was evident in the participation of many white Catholics in the African American civil rights movement of the 1960s. Likewise, the disproportionately Democratic tilt of American Catholicism, at least relative to Protestants, suggests that Catholic senators would be more sympathetic to African American interests than some of their other white colleagues. On the other hand, however, there was a great deal of resistance to the integration of northern and midwestern neighborhoods with significant Catholic populations during the 1970s. The movement of African Americans into northern cities and their lack of affiliation with the Catholic Church in large numbers threatened the institutional Catholic Church because Catholic white flight meant that formerly Catholic neighborhood churches and schools were hemorrhaging their flock and facing closure. It is possible, therefore, that Catholic senators would be sympathetic to white Catholic fears about the threat posed by African Americans to what had been their home turf in large urban centers (Noll 2010).

Jews

As a left-leaning, disproportionately Democratic, and historically marginalized minority group themselves, Jews seem like the group of white senators who are most likely to support African American interests in the Senate. Indeed, as Wald and Calhoun-Brown (2018, 272) explain, "When the civil rights campaign concentrated principally on

attacking legal barriers to equality, Jews were the single most ardent supporters of the movement in the white community.” This is not to say that there have not been tensions between Jews and African Americans throughout American history, especially in northern and midwestern urban centers following the great migration of many southern African Americans during the twentieth century. Still, the general political orientation of the majority of American Jews is to perceive their own fate as linked to that of other minority groups, and to consider it in their own interest to support the general expansion of civil rights protections. Furthermore, their place inside the Democratic Party alongside most African Americans means that the logic of coalitional and partisan politics ought to compel most Jewish senators to vote affirmatively when African American interests appear on the congressional agenda.

Sex

As we learned in Chapter 2, there is a correlation between religious affiliation and sex among senators during this time frame. Only two women who served in Senate from 1969 through 2012 were affiliated with evangelical Protestant churches, both of whom served briefly after succeeding their deceased husbands in office, and no women among the Senate’s Mormon population.⁴ With our expectation that these two religions will exhibit the least support for African American interests, it follows that the women in our analysis will have higher support scores than men. In addition to religious effects, women senators during this time frame are disproportionately Democratic, and as we saw in Chapter 3, further to the left in their approach to other social and cultural issues. The

⁴ The two evangelical Protestant women were Maryon Allen (D, AL, 1978) and Jean Carnahan (D-MO, 2001-2002). The Senate did not see a Republican evangelical Protestant woman until the appointment of Cindy Hyde-Smith (MS) in 2018 and the election of Marsha Blackburn (TN), who assumed office in 2019.

generally left-leaning character of the women who have served in the Senate in recent decades suggests they will also be more predisposed to support African American interests than their male colleagues.

Data & Methodology

We use scores developed by the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (LCCR) to identify roll call votes that are relevant to African American interests from the 91st Congress (1969-1970) through the 112th Congress (2011-2012).⁵ LCCR scores have been used in many studies to approximate the interests of African Americans (Avery and Fine 2012; Canon 1999; Grose 2005; Hutchings, McClerking, and Charles 2004; Kidd and Morris 2001; Whitby 1997), though we also recognize that African Americans are not a political monolith. Still, Congress has consistently taken votes that either disproportionately or uniquely affect African Americans, and the LCCR has carefully documented these votes over a long time frame to permit valid measurement. As opposed to DW-NOMINATE or Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) scores, each legislator's LCCR score is intended to measure support for civil rights in particular rather than a general ideological liberalism (Hood, Kidd, and Morris 2001).

We examine LCCR scores in three ways, focusing especially on one narrow measure of African American interests that we think most distinguishes it from a general ideological liberalism that might affect many different constituencies from roll call votes that more specifically have an impact on African Americans. The full LCCR score is based on votes across a fairly diverse set of issues, including many that are most specific

⁵ The 112th Congress contained no votes on our more narrow LCCR measure described below, so some of our results are based on votes only through the 111th Congress (2009-2010).

to African American civil rights (voting rights, Motor Voter, photo identification laws, and reauthorization of the Civil Rights Act; desegregation of schools and busing; empowering the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission; redlining; affirmative action; empowering the Civil Rights Commission; establishing a national holiday for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; sanctions on apartheid-era South Africa; hate crimes; racial discrimination in the criminal justice system; prevention of church arson). It also contains many votes that implicate African American interests but might also be considered as part of a more general ideological cleavage in American politics, while other votes might be considered more relevant to political divisions on the basis of sex, sexual orientation, or other racial and ethnic identities (budgets; social welfare programs; public housing; consumer advocacy commissions; bank regulations; labor laws and union regulations; minimum wage laws; rights for the disabled; crime bills without explicit racial content; immigration; Violence Against Women Act and Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act; LGBT rights; Washington, DC appropriations, representation, and home rule; United Nations genocide conventions; filibuster reform; judicial and cabinet-level nominations; reparations for World War 2-era Japanese Americans; regulations of lobbying). The three measures we test are 1) the entire LCCR measure including all of the votes described above, including absentee senators' non-votes treated as "nay" votes in the denominator of the score 2) the entire LCCR measure excluding absentee senators' non-votes in the denominator of the score, and 3) a narrow selection of LCCR-identified votes including only roll calls identified in the first parenthetical list above.⁶

⁶ In this measure, we exclude absentee senators' non-votes from the denominator, though it is more common in previous studies to include absentee votes. We also include one vote in the more narrow measure on a judicial nominee, Charles Pickering's 2003

We expect different and stronger results for the third measure, the more narrow measure of African American interests, because the broader measure includes so many different kinds of votes that it more closely approximates the single left-to-right ideological spectrum that we already analyzed with DW-NOMINATE scores in Chapter 3 than it does a distinct politics of African American interests. As with our analysis of a coherent and particular culture war cleavage in Chapter 3, we want to distinguish those senators who might vote against an expansive social welfare state for fiscal or ideological reasons from those senators who would both vote against an expansive social welfare state and would also oppose efforts to permit African Americans the ability to vote, or would oppose the establishment of a national holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In one case, there is the potential for a de-racialized or less racialized politics of economic and ideological conservatism. In the other, there is a more unmistakable politics of opposition to African Americans' fundamental citizenship rights.⁷

We begin our review of our findings by exploring first-order descriptive relationships between key independent variables and voting records based on LCCR scores. We focus our analysis both on how these relationships play out over the entire 1969-2012 period and how they might have changed over time. We also provide cross-sectional time-series regression models to test of the apparent bivariate relationships

nomination to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, because of how intensely this nomination focused on Pickering's past civil rights jurisprudence. The number of votes comprising the first two measures is 326. The number of votes in the third measure is 73, or 22 percent of the overall LCCR measure.

⁷ We are not the first to examine a subset of LCCR votes separately from the broader LCCR scores. For instance, Hutchings, McClerking, and Charles (2004) separately model high-profile and low-profile LCCR votes in order to account for the role of issue salience in predicting votes in favor or in opposition to African American interests.

withstand an extensive battery of control variables. For simplicity of presentation, we emphasize the results of our descriptive statistics rather than the regression analysis.

Findings: Substantive Representation of African American Interests

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 displays the mean LCCR voting scores based on party, religion, region, sex, and some interactions of these factors together. The first column of means is taken from the narrow LCCR measure described above, while the second column shows means derived from the general LCCR scores excluding absentee senators from the calculations. The LCCR scores represent a percentage of votes ranging from 0 to 100, with 100 indicating the most liberal voting direction, or the greatest level of support for African American civil rights and interests. Scores closer to zero indicate a lower percentage of votes in favor of African American civil rights and interests.

[Table 1. about here]

As expected, there is a clear partisan split, with Democrats registering a 85.4 mean on the narrow LCCR score compared to a 31.6 mean for Republicans. Moving down the table to examine religious differences, it seems clear that partisanship does not by itself account for variation in senators' support for African American interests. Evangelical Protestant senators and Mormon senators occupy the right flank of the spectrum when it comes to supporting African American interests, with evangelical Protestants averaging support scores of just under 35 and Mormons averaging just under 33 across the entire four decade sample of roll call votes on the narrow LCCR measure. The results for the broader LCCR measure in the last column of the table tell nearly an identical tale. In contrast, Jewish senators have a mean score in the mid-80s on both

measures of support for African American interests, while Catholics (scores of 70.72 and 60.60) and mainline Protestants (scores of 57.79 and 53.70) round out the left side of the distribution. The evidence suggests that the descriptive representation of religion for white Americans extends to substantive representation with regard to how senators, almost all of whom are white, vote on public policy that affects African Americans.

Of course, there is good reason to expect that religion is not alone in explaining variation in senators' support for African American interests. As we look further down Table 1, it is apparent that both region and sex are relevant predictors of senators' LCCR scores as well. On the narrow LCCR measure, southern senators register a mean score of 38.47 compared to 65.74 for senators outside of the South. Meanwhile, women senators are nearly twenty points higher in their support for African American interests relative to men (77.43 versus 58.67).

We also explore the extent to which some of these factors interact with each other to predict voting on African American interests. Chief among standard explanations of how the politics of race has transformed American politics since the 1960s is that the South moved from a Democratic stronghold to a more Republican-leaning region. As expected, the group of senators least supportive of African American interests are southern Republicans (11.97) while the most supportive are non-southern Democrats (92.22), with non-southern Republicans (36.81) and southern Democrats falling in between (61.78).

Because such regional divisions between the South and the non-South have been so central to the politics of race in American history, Table 1 also shows how region interacts with religion. Due to their distinctly low levels of support for African American

interests and their greater numbers in the Senate compared to Mormons, the only other religion with similarly low scores, we limit our presentation simply to the interaction of evangelical Protestant affiliation and region. Here, we see that evangelical Protestants from the South are far less supportive of African American interests than evangelical Protestants from outside the South, but also that evangelical Protestants from outside the South have far lower LCCR scores than non-evangelical Protestants from outside the South, and at roughly the same magnitude. The effect of being from the South and of being an evangelical Protestant both appears to lower support for African American interests. In fact, an evangelical Protestant senator from outside the South, on average, has just about an identical LCCR score (45.02 and 42.09, respectively) as a non-evangelical Protestant from within the South (scores of 44.87 and 40.88, respectively). By this evidence, the only senators who average support scores closer to 100 than to 0 are those who are both non-evangelical and non-southern.

Finally, Table 1 shows the interaction of party, region, and religion. These results indicate that the senators who are least supportive of African American interests are evangelical Protestant Republicans from the South (9.35), though they are not appreciably distinct relative to their non-evangelical southern Republican peers (13.61). Outside of the South, evangelical Protestant Republicans are less supportive of African American interests (26.85) than non-evangelical Protestant Republicans (38.24). These patterns are also apparent on the Democratic side, where evangelical Protestants from the South have lower scores (42.09) than non-evangelical Protestants from the South (66.68) and evangelical Protestant Democrats from outside of the South (76.11) have lower scores than non-evangelical Protestants from outside the South (93.41).

Explaining Representation of African American Interests Over Time

To evaluate whether the relationships highlighted in Table 1 changed over time, we present Figures 1 through 4, which show trends in voting for African American interests on the basis of party, religion, region, and sex. Figure 1 displays the voting record over time by party. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Democrats were more supportive of African American interests than Republicans, but the margin separating the parties was fairly modest. During the 91st Congress (1969-1970), Democrats averaged a score of 65.54 compared to 53.11 for Republicans. The difference between the parties steadily grew until Democratic Party scores doubled or tripled Republican Party scores through the 1980s, with Democratic scores typically in the 80s and 90s and Republican scores in the 30s and 40s. By the time we reach the 2000s, Democrats are nearly unanimous in their voting on behalf of African American interests while Republican support craters. From 2003 through 2010, Democrats average support scores of 98 to 100 whereas Republicans average scores between 7 and 15.

[Figure 1 about here]

To explain the change in the parties' respective approaches to African American interests, we turn to Figures 2 through 5. Figure 2 indicates that some of the religious differences evident in Table 1 can help explain the polarization of the parties we observe in Figure 1. Evangelical Protestants and Mormons are consistently on lower end of the figure, indicating less support for African American interests than senators from other religions. The top of the figure consistently includes Jews and Catholics, indicating greater support for African American interests, with mainline Protestants falling towards the middle-upper end of the spectrum. Though religious effects on African American

civil rights have been mostly consistent, the relationship between religion and party has not. Recalling Chapter 2, we know that evangelical Protestants departed the Democratic party and sorted into the Republican Party throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The removal of the religious group that is least supportive of African American rights from the Democratic Party and their addition to the Republican Party likely helped to solidify the respective party brands on African American interests. On the other side of the spectrum, the increase of Jews in the Democratic caucus in larger numbers in the 1990s and 2000s aided the entrenchment of the Democratic Party brand as more favorable to African Americans.

[Figure 2 about here]

Of course, there are other explanations beyond religious sorting that contribute to our understanding of the polarization of the two parties on African American interests over time. For one, there is the addition of women in significant numbers to the Senate after the 1992 “Year of the Woman” elections. Figure 3 shows that, since the early 1990s, women senators have been more supportive of African American interests than their male peers. Prior to 1993, the very small number of women did not differ from men in their LCCR scores. From 1993 through 2010, however, women averaged scores of 80.19 compared to men’s average of 54.42. Coupled with the results from Figure 2, we can hypothesize that the Democratic Party’s loss of evangelical Protestants coinciding with its addition of Jews and women contributed to its growth in support for African American interests. The mirror image is true for the Republican Party, with its addition of evangelical Protestants and its relative lack of women and Jews in its caucus.

[Figure 3 about here]

Of course, racial politics and national partisan politics are inextricable from regional politics, especially when we are talking about changes in the party system that date to the late 1960s. Figure 4 thus presents trends over time by both party and region. Here we see that non-southern Democrats occupy the more supportive end of the distribution throughout the time frame, only dipping as low as 77 in one Congress and otherwise holding between 80 and 100. Southern Democrats, on the other hand, change dramatically over time, starting out virtually indistinguishable from southern Republicans through the 1970s until falling in line with their non-southern co-partisans once we reach the mid-1980s. On the Republican side of the aisle, southern members of the caucus consistently rank as the least supportive of African American interests while non-southern Republicans grow much less supportive over time. In fact, it isn't until the second half of the 1980s that non-southern Republicans average lower support scores for African American interests than southern Democrats.

[Figure 4 about here]

Regression Analysis

Thus far, we have presented evidence suggesting a mix of explanations for the parties' divergent paths in terms of representing African American interests. The results hint at a multi-determined outcome, with party, region, religion, and sex all coinciding and interacting with one another to explain individual senators' roll call behavior over time. The logical next step in our analysis is to construct a regression model that might reveal which variables are the strongest predictors of support for African American interests, both in sum and broken down into smaller models across time.

The results from Table 1 and Figures 1 through 4 are largely confirmed by our cross-sectional time-series model, which includes a number of individual-level and constituency-level control variables.⁸ Table 2 shows that over the entire 1969-2010 time frame, evangelical Protestants are significantly less supportive of African American interests, compared to mainline Protestants, as measured by our narrow LCCR score. The effect of being an evangelical Protestant decreases support for African American interests by about 11 relative to mainline Protestants and controlling for a bevy of other individual- and constituency-level variables. The same general story is true of Catholic senators, though at about half of the magnitude of the effect for evangelical Protestants. None of the other religious affiliations differ significantly from the excluded group, mainline Protestants. Turning to some of the other significant findings in this model, it is apparent that women senators are more supportive of African American interests than men senators, and that there is a strong and significant negative effect on supporting African American interests if a senator represents a state in the South.⁹

[Table 2. about here]

⁸ The models include measures of senators' religions, party, race and ethnicity, gender, whether they represent the South, time, and the percentages of their state's population that are evangelical Protestant, mainline Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Mormon, Black, liberal, and college educated, respectively. Models broken down by party and models of the two broader LCCR measures are in an appendix.

⁹ The effect of being an evangelical Protestant does not lead to a statistically significant decrease in support for African American interests when tested on the two broader measures derived from the LCCR support scores in the full models (See Appendix Tables A3 and A4). However, it does register statistically significant effects in the 1980s models of the fuller LCCR scores. The Catholic variable remains significant regardless of which LCCR score is used in the full models, though it loses statistical significance in the fuller models in the 1980s. Effects for sex and region remain statistically significant across all three dependent variables, though the size of the coefficient for the South is stronger in the more limited LCCR measure featured in Table 2 than in the broader LCCR measures in the models shown in the appendix.

Table 2 also includes the same model broken down roughly by decade. These results should be interpreted with some caution given the small number of roll call votes when the model is separated out into smaller numbers of observations. Still, some important conclusions are apparent. For one, as we move across time, the effect of evangelical Protestant affiliation ebbs and flows with regard to its statistical significance. Evangelical Protestants are less supportive of African American interests than mainline Protestants in the 1980s and 2000s, but not in the 1970s and 1990s, controlling for other variables in the model. The negative impact of evangelical Protestant affiliation on representation of African American interests is particularly strong in the 1980s, when it matches the substantive effect of a senator representing a state in the South. This is notable in part because the 1980s is the decade during which the sorting of evangelical Protestants into the Republican caucus comes into full bloom. As evangelical Protestants entered the Republican Party, it appears they grew less supportive of African American interests than when they retained more than just a nominal presence in the Democratic Party as well. This effect, however, vanished in the 1990s before returning during the 2000s.

Another noteworthy finding in looking at the results in Table 2 over time is that party increased in its impact on the representation of African American interests as the effect of southern region waned. During the decade of the 1970s, the coefficient for Democratic Party affiliation (33.12) is only slightly larger in magnitude than the coefficient for the South (-29.04). During the 1980s, the coefficient for the Democratic Party variable increases (39.43) as the coefficient for the South halves compared to the 1970s model (-14.01 versus -29.04). The effect of party really explodes in the 1990s

(59.04) and 2000s (77.15) while the effect of representing the South becomes statistically and substantively irrelevant (coefficients of 1.47 and -3.51, respectively). Meanwhile, the reemergence of a significant effect for evangelical Protestant affiliation in the 2000s model is all the more impressive in light of the overwhelming effect of party, the coefficient for which by itself represents over three quarters of the total range of the dependent variable. The dominance of party as an explanatory variable is also reflected in the R-squared results for the models, which are steady in the .53-.58 range for the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, but then increases to .86 in the 2000s model.

Lastly, two other factors are worth highlighting from the results in Table 2. First, as women start to serve in the Senate in greater numbers, we see a gender gap emerge in the representation of African American interests. Over the entire time frame and within each decade except for the 1970s, women are significantly more supportive of African American interests than men, controlling for a wide array of other factors. Along with the statistically significant negative relationship of evangelical Protestant affiliation, the statistically significant and positive coefficient for women during the 2000s, when there is little room for anything other than party to explain roll call voting behavior, is quite impressive. Secondly, our theory predicting greater support for African American interests among Jewish members receives little support in the full models, but as with evangelical Protestant affiliation and sex, it manages to register a significant effect in the 2000s model. Our understanding of Jewish senators is that they moved to the left in reaction to the culturally conservative and overtly Christian shift in the G.O.P. during the 1980s and 1990s. Therefore, we would have expected a significant effect for Jewish affiliation as early as the 1990s, but instead we see it shine through in the 2000s. We take

this finding to confirm our general theory of Jewish descriptive representation and legislative behavior.

Discussion

While descriptive representation has been separately studied with regard to race and religion, very little research explores the connections between the two. This chapter examined the relationship between U.S. senators' personal religious affiliations and their representation of African American interests since the 1960s. With very few non-white members historically, the descriptive representation of African American interests in the Senate is largely a story of variation among white senators. The findings show that evangelical Protestants and members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are significantly less supportive of African American interests than their peers. This implies that the present-day entrenchment of white evangelical Protestants and Mormons in the Republican Party is not merely a function of longstanding goals on issues such as abortion, but is also highly compatible with political opposition to African American interests. Our results therefore suggest that the respective partisan realignments of recent decades along racial and religious cleavages are closely related.

While it is difficult to separate out race and religion, given the high levels of racial segregation of American religious communities, it is nonetheless also true that the representation of African American interests differs somewhat from other religiously inflected issues, such as abortion, women's rights, or LGBT rights. The regression analysis in this chapter revealed somewhat less consistent and less direct effects of senators' religions on their roll call voting on African American interests. This implies that the politics of gender and sexuality, though closely related to the politics of race, is a

distinct issue dimension in American politics. Representation of issues dealing with gender and sexuality complements representation of issues dealing with race. The two are compatible, but not identical.

Politically, this means that a Republican Party made in the image of and led by white evangelical Protestants and Mormons and Democratic Party made in the image of and led by Jews and professional women conflicts on issues such as abortion and LGBT rights in a similar fashion to how they conflict on issues related to protecting the civil rights of African Americans. It is no surprise, then, that the Republican Party of the nascent Christian Right, Jesse Helms, and Ronald Reagan has given way to the Republican Party of Donald Trump. And it is no surprise that the Democratic Party that embraced the feminist movement in the 1970s has given way to a Democratic Party with leaders such as Barack Obama, Barbara Boxer, and then assuming her California Senate seat upon her retirement, Kamala Harris. The politics of white racial resentment practiced by Donald Trump is a feature, not a bug, in his appeal to the religious constituencies who entered the party a generation prior to his rise to power. Their departure from the Democratic Party and replacement in the party's congressional caucus with non-evangelical women and greater numbers of Jews likewise facilitated its embrace of greater cultural, social, and racial liberalism across a range of issues. This was facilitated by elected officials who themselves embody these religious and racial identities. They represent their religious and racial communities by legislating in a manner consistent with those communities' opinions on matters of abortion and civil rights for women, the LGBT community, and African Americans.

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Table 1. Descriptive Statistics: Roll Call Voting on African American Interests in the U.S. Senate by Party, Religion, Region, and Sex (1969-2012)

	<u>Narrow LCCR Measure</u>	<u>All LCCR Votes</u>
Democrat (N=2150)	85.40	83.25
Republican (N=1953)	31.60	26.23
Evangelical (N=559)	34.69	36.16
Mainline (N=2041)	57.79	53.70
Catholic (N=808)	70.72	66.60
Jewish (N=328)	86.56	83.46
Mormon (N=164)	32.65	33.09
South (N=903)	38.47	34.95
Non-South (N=3227)	65.74	61.96
Man (N=3885)	58.67	54.94
Woman (N=245)	77.43	71.62
Democrat + South (N=482)	61.78	58.05
Democrat + Non-South (N=1668)	92.22	90.29
Republican + South (N=409)	11.97	10.58
Republican + Non-South (N=1544)	36.81	30.63
Evangelical + South (N=250)	21.92	20.33
Evangelical + Non-South (N=309)	45.02	42.09
Non-Evangelical + South (N=652)	44.87	40.88
Non-Evangelical + Non-South (N=2917)	67.93	64.06
Dem + Evangelical + South (N=96)	42.09	40.83
Dem + Non-Evang + South (N=386)	66.68	62.39
Dem + Evang + Non-South (N=114)	76.11	76.54
Dem + Non-Evang + Non-South (N=1554)	93.41	91.25

Repub + Evangelical + South (N=154)	9.35	8.75
Repub + Non-Evang + South (N=254)	13.61	11.79
Repub + Evang + Non-South (N=195)	26.85	23.17
Repub + Non-Evang + Non-South (N=1349)	38.24	31.76

Notes: Cell entries represent mean voting scores excluding absentee votes from calculations.
Sample sizes are in parentheses.

Figure 1. Support for African American Interests by Party, U.S. Senate, 1969-2012

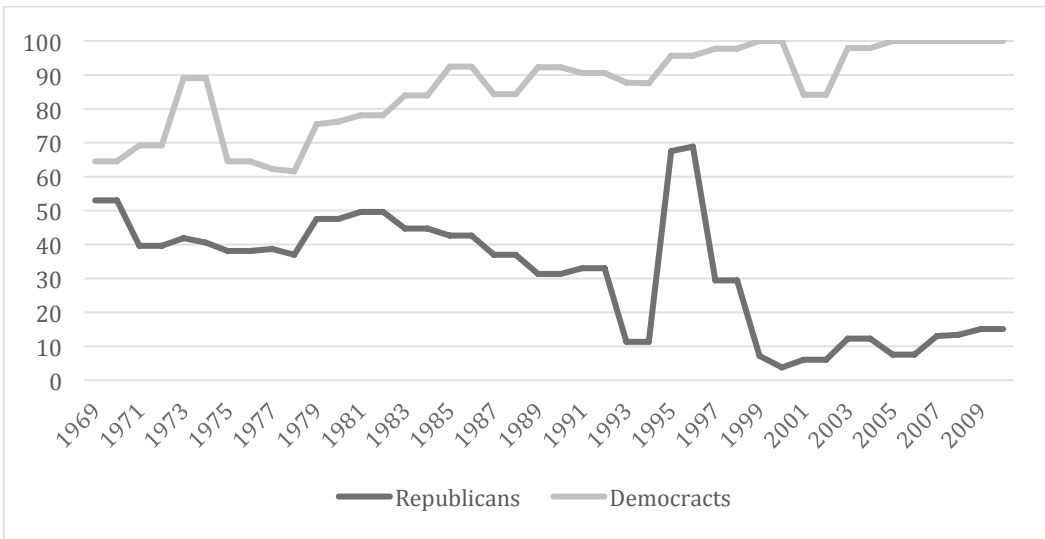


Figure 2. Support for African American Interests by Religion, U.S. Senate, 1969-2012

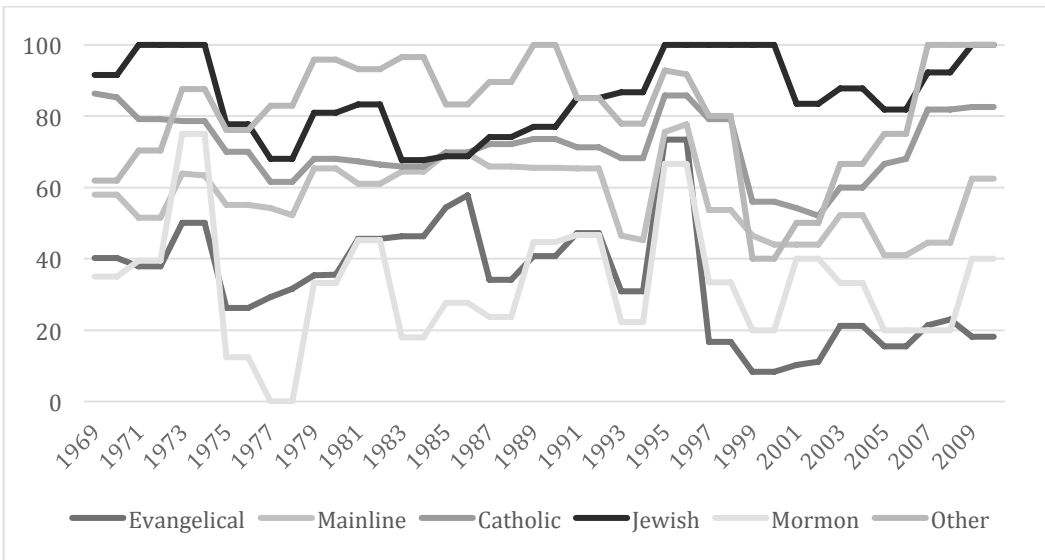


Figure 3. Support for African American Interests by Sex, U.S. Senate, 1969-2012

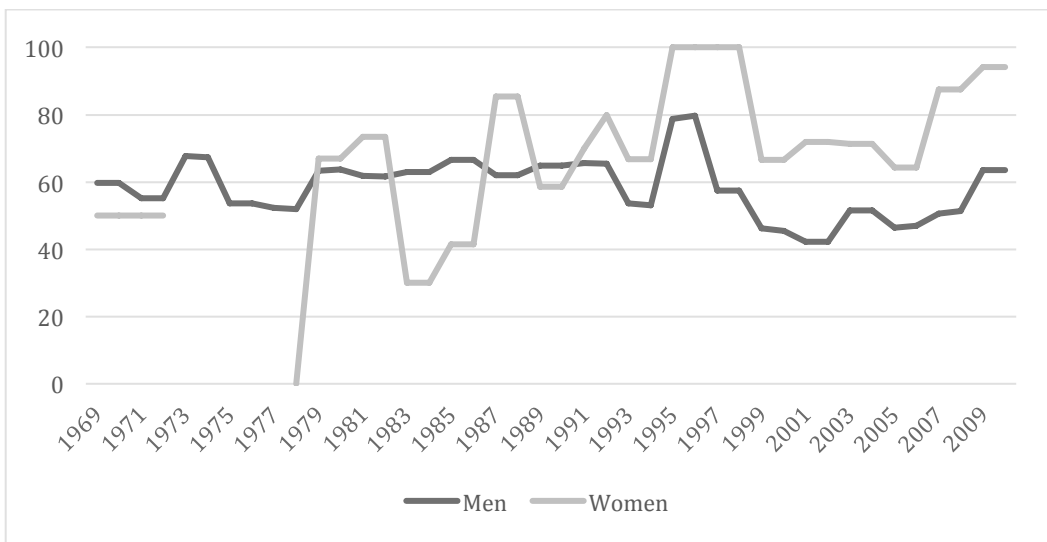


Figure 4. Support for African American Interests by Region and Party, U.S. Senate, 1969-2012

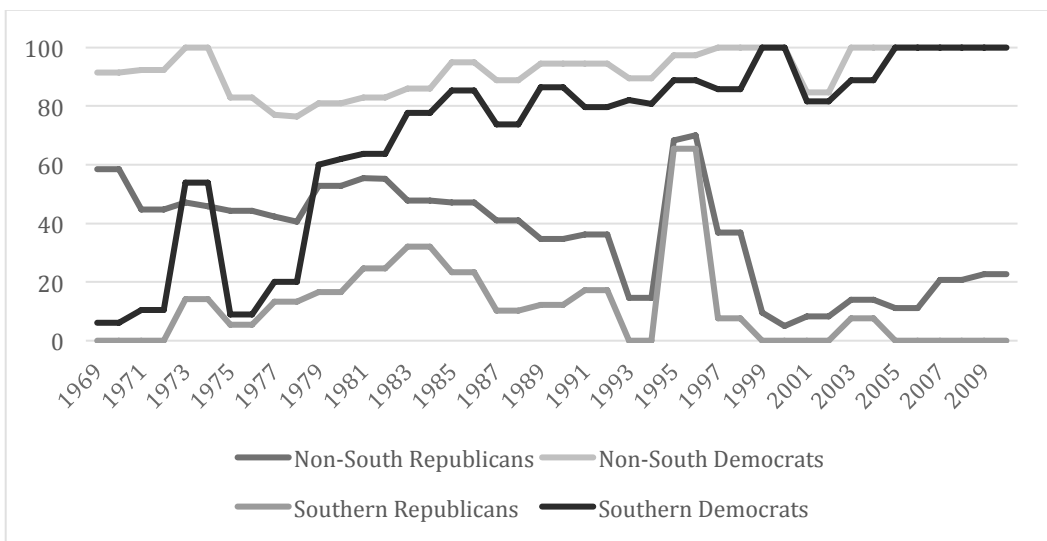


Table 2. Predictors of Roll Call Voting for African American Interests in the U.S. Senate,
Narrow LCCR Measure

	1969-2010	1969-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999	2000-2010
Evangelical	-10.99*** (3.96)	-5.49 (7.38)	-14.70*** (5.33)	-1.80 (5.88)	-6.49** (2.65)
Catholic	-5.11* (2.82)	-3.51 (4.63)	-6.32* (3.79)	1.48 (4.11)	1.54 (3.31)
Jewish	.66 (4.78)	4.44 (12.01)	-.11 (7.94)	4.60 (4.84)	6.48* (3.83)
Mormon	-2.30 (7.70)	-22.07*** (8.55)	4.22 (8.46)	-8.52 (10.72)	8.22*** (2.94)
Other Relig.	4.77 (5.41)	.78 (7.83)	14.38* (7.57)	21.24*** (8.08)	3.77 (3.44)
Democrat	48.95*** (2.56)	33.12*** (3.96)	39.43*** (3.50)	59.04*** (3.42)	77.15*** (3.50)
Woman	9.65*** (3.76)	-5.75 (14.00)	7.18* (4.12)	11.87*** (4.30)	4.95* (3.03)
Black	11.35 (9.56)	18.66** (7.41)	--	-6.65 (4.63)	.73 (3.79)
Hispanic	10.48 (7.03)	24.27*** (5.25)	--	--	10.39 (12.47)
Southern	-21.20*** (4.86)	-29.04*** (8.61)	-14.01** (6.25)	1.47 (4.74)	-3.51 (3.06)
Evang. %	20.57** (10.23)	19.45 (33.86)	6.27 (28.43)	-33.11* (18.10)	-2.85 (11.32)
Catholic %	25.16** (12.69)	27.88 (18.84)	28.62* (16.13)	22.02 (15.43)	-15.76 (18.37)
Jewish %	68.45 (87.53)	43.68 (162.48)	-15.25 (99.54)	-66.05 (89.03)	-23.75 (89.85)
Mormon %	-38.55** (17.95)	4.86 (28.09)	-62.40** (29.40)	13.98 (22.54)	-32.44*** (7.57)
Mainline %	2.18 (20.67)	18.97 (29.53)	7.62 (24.86)	-15.27 (24.66)	-2.73 (13.89)
Black %	-8.95 (23.69)	-11.34 (44.44)	31.19 (28.96)	-13.67 (23.55)	-18.88 (12.64)
College %	6.38 (14.93)	-27.48 (57.69)	48.25 (35.52)	-22.01 (46.45)	15.86 (28.01)
Liberal %	46.01*** (6.68)	83.56*** (12.61)	27.00*** (9.22)	6.93 (15.87)	36.96*** (9.87)
Year	-.003 (.09)	.07 (.71)	.15 (.52)	.53 (.38)	.73* (.38)
N	4121	1080	996	986	1059
R-squared	.58	.53	.57	.58	.86

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10 (two-tailed tests).

Appendix

Table A1. Predictors of Roll Call Voting for African American Interests in the U.S. Senate, Only Republicans, Narrow LCCR Measure

	1969-2010	1969-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999	2000-2010
Evangelical	-6.78 (4.22)	2.86 (13.43)	-19.12*** (6.84)	2.12 (8.36)	-2.82 (2.72)
Catholic	-6.30 (4.90)	-9.31 (9.89)	-7.39 (7.48)	3.91 (7.89)	4.87 (6.01)
Jewish	10.85 (10.93)	38.73*** (13.83)	9.83 (11.25)	20.99 (15.75)	16.90 (16.52)
Mormon	1.22 (5.513)	-19.00 (14.22)	17.54** (8.70)	-19.59* (10.66)	7.82* (4.49)
Other Relig.	17.14 (11.34)	20.84 (16.46)	33.62*** (5.40)	29.70** (14.01)	1.40 (6.83)
Woman	20.43*** (6.86)	11.51 (14.18)	8.51 (6.11)	22.95*** (7.22)	14.20* (7.51)
Black	32.25*** (8.15)	21.19* (11.40)	--	--	--
Hispanic	26.59 (18.35)	--	--	--	23.72 (18.14)
Southern	-25.45*** (6.96)	-32.47** (13.52)	-24.83*** (8.41)	-4.40 (7.63)	-18.15*** (6.20)
Evang. %	22.25** (10.11)	77.53** (37.47)	-9.76 (47.24)	-24.69 (30.61)	-1.16 (12.15)
Catholic %	27.11 (23.65)	69.61* (38.28)	44.61* (26.34)	45.22 (36.33)	-19.85 (39.56)
Jewish %	154.18 (175.65)	2.76 (276.15)	-161.57 (176.61)	-83.49 (198.06)	-480.05 (398.21)
Mormon %	-38.07** (16.49)	-3.36 (33.24)	-47.27 (42.86)	36.23 (26.06)	-25.19*** (8.95)
Mainline %	5.52 (30.53)	49.46 (53.05)	11.80 (35.47)	-15.19 (61.17)	-31.69 (30.63)
Black %	57.66 (36.65)	95.42 (89.23)	106.07** (51.47)	26.72 (47.02)	36.22 (25.89)
College %	13.51 (20.96)	-54.58 (86.13)	29.08 (46.92)	55.17 (95.01)	53.51 (57.19)
Liberal %	35.86*** (10.78)	84.44*** (21.83)	47.12*** (14.39)	10.67 (36.09)	57.87*** (18.60)
Year	-.65*** (.14)	.31 (1.18)	-1.64** (.65)	-.12 (.73)	.10 (.64)
N	1947	450	500	480	517
R-squared	.34	.42	.54	.16	.33

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10 (two-tailed tests).

Table A2. Predictors of Roll Call Voting for African American Interests in the U.S. Senate, Only Democrats, Narrow LCCR Measure

	1969-2010	1969-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999	2000-2010
Evangelical	-10.17 (6.49)	-13.27 (8.28)	-7.70 (6.56)	-1.98 (5.79)	-3.86 (4.34)
Catholic	-.96 (2.77)	-4.17 (4.12)	-2.42 (4.64)	1.17 (2.67)	.13 (1.53)
Jewish	-6.05 (3.92)	-9.00 (12.15)	-6.22 (9.30)	1.38 (2.71)	1.67 (1.72)
Mormon	-20.95** (8.63)	-41.95*** (6.56)	-28.03*** (9.56)	11.01*** (3.53)	1.04 (3.10)
Other Relig.	1.82 (4.94)	-9.29 (6.27)	9.30* (5.09)	7.29* (3.79)	.58 (2.22)
Woman	.59 (3.95)	-28.25*** (6.72)	9.99* (5.85)	4.32 (2.70)	.02 (1.66)
Black	.22 (4.63)	--	--	-.45 (2.58)	.90 (2.62)
Hispanic	3.90 (5.30)	15.94*** (5.73)	--	--	-.03 (1.21)
Southern	-12.09** (6.18)	-27.23*** (10.00)	-5.57 (6.68)	-.74 (5.33)	-1.80 (2.48)
Evang. %	-7.39 (29.44)	-3.75 (43.03)	-32.60 (32.09)	-15.94 (22.19)	20.99 (16.58)
Catholic %	24.80* (15.12)	14.17 (19.63)	3.50 (14.87)	1.33 (11.24)	3.13 (8.26)
Jewish %	-12.46 (74.30)	-85.11 (134.77)	51.31 (89.28)	-68.97 (86.33)	46.37 (72.33)
Mormon %	47.31*** (16.41)	54.61*** (16.35)	1.08 (87.66)	-207.25** (88.00)	72.13 (52.11)
Mainline %	-14.70 (28.54)	-24.88 (34.35)	-37.34 (37.85)	-23.54 (16.58)	-2.05 (8.27)
Black %	.22 (4.63)	-46.11 (39.16)	-24.68 (27.15)	-20.58 (26.10)	.90 (2.62)
College %	-55.61*** (21.40)	9.19 (65.22)	-3.57 (48.43)	-4.27 (34.37)	21.37 (20.47)
Liberal %	40.45*** (7.13)	79.42*** (15.74)	-4.70 (10.11)	15.03* (8.76)	8.07** (3.98)
Year	.57*** (.10)	-.48 (.80)	1.25** (.64)	.86*** (.26)	.93*** (.23)
N	2147	621	493	506	527
R-squared	.42	.64	.23	.19	.16

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10 (two-tailed tests).

Table A3. Predictors of Roll Call Voting for African American Interests in the U.S. Senate,
Broad LCCR Measure Excluding Absentee Votes

	1969-2012	1969-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999	2000-2012
Evangelical	-3.48 (3.56)	-2.69 (6.83)	-10.40** (4.32)	-1.48 (4.03)	-1.63 (2.30)
Catholic	-5.71** (2.72)	-3.16 (3.67)	-2.97 (2.89)	-.07 (2.57)	-.07 (2.41)
Jewish	2.42 (4.11)	2.39 (9.58)	.92 (6.38)	2.60 (3.65)	7.85** (3.32)
Mormon	-.60 (6.50)	-19.07* (10.91)	1.43 (5.87)	8.12 (5.14)	5.58* (3.26)
Other Relig.	1.34 (5.07)	-.04 (7.20)	8.66* (5.26)	8.84 (5.61)	4.09 (3.58)
Democrat	52.36*** (2.67)	36.49*** (3.49)	45.39*** (2.76)	57.50*** (2.27)	76.82*** (3.16)
Woman	7.58** (3.21)	-2.13 (10.71)	6.81** (3.29)	7.90*** (2.49)	3.57 (2.42)
Black	13.57 (8.96)	25.52*** (6.66)	--	-6.02** (2.63)	2.18 (3.24)
Hispanic	1.14 (5.91)	16.14*** (4.32)	--	--	-2.14 (5.34)
Southern	-14.09*** (4.64)	-24.31*** (7.08)	-6.63 (4.74)	-.67 (3.09)	-2.26 (2.53)
Evang. %	8.57 (7.16)	-6.60 (18.98)	-25.95 (21.04)	-35.01** (13.53)	9.63 (8.07)
Catholic %	35.11*** (12.52)	4.23 (15.50)	2.47 (13.80)	17.17 (12.93)	1.16 (13.02)
Jewish %	76.59 (82.65)	104.19 (149.46)	9.18 (86.34)	26.64 (63.58)	-40.95 (53.76)
Mormon %	-34.24** (15.49)	-1.10 (26.63)	-10.69 (22.12)	6.39 (12.82)	-30.91*** (8.45)
Mainline %	-8.62 (27.03)	-15.86 (34.56)	-7.04 (18.80)	1.79 (18.36)	-22.00* (12.49)
Black %	-31.90 (23.09)	-53.33 (37.84)	10.14 (26.02)	-10.54 (14.15)	-12.69 (12.71)
College %	30.98** (13.01)	-76.41 (47.43)	1.19 (31.44)	-53.99* (30.05)	67.83*** (22.65)
Liberal %	34.55*** (5.26)	68.63*** (8.57)	46.37*** (8.06)	30.21*** (6.32)	-3.15 (5.46)
Year	-.09 (.10)	1.34** (.61)	-.57 (.47)	.64*** (.22)	-.26* (.15)
N	4383	1089	996	996	1302
R-squared	.72	.64	.71	.85	.92

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10 (two-tailed tests).

Table A4. Predictors of Roll Call Voting for African American Interests in the U.S. Senate,
Broad LCCR Measure Including Absentee Votes

	1969-2012	1969-1979	1980-1989	1990-1999	2000-2012
Evangelical	-4.17 (3.43)	-3.14 (6.06)	-9.28** (3.88)	-2.05 (3.83)	-1.40 (2.25)
Catholic	-5.59** (2.75)	-5.01 (3.91)	-2.03 (2.80)	.39 (2.55)	.25 (2.42)
Jewish	5.02 (3.96)	8.36 (8.75)	2.18 (6.18)	3.39 (3.52)	8.12** (3.40)
Mormon	.20 (6.46)	-16.93* (9.69)	1.60 (5.89)	8.42* (4.96)	6.13* (3.38)
Other Relig.	2.53 (4.90)	.46 (6.44)	8.23* (4.82)	9.55* (5.48)	5.31 (3.46)
Democrat	49.23*** (2.61)	30.82*** (3.30)	42.66*** (2.60)	56.02*** (2.18)	75.32*** (3.31)
Woman	7.81** (3.49)	-12.71 (10.47)	7.83** (3.11)	8.32*** (2.52)	4.03* (2.46)
Black	14.46 (9.28)	25.98*** (6.06)	--	-5.67** (2.67)	-1.60 (4.57)
Hispanic	3.60 (5.91)	18.98*** (4.28)	--	--	-1.46 (5.19)
Southern	-15.68*** (4.52)	-24.13*** (6.38)	-4.64 (4.15)	-1.89 (2.97)	-3.00 (2.52)
Evang. %	6.55 (7.86)	-5.26 (18.78)	-29.42 (18.79)	-37.58*** (12.98)	-9.82 (8.25)
Catholic %	28.52** (12.11)	-3.94 (13.80)	.95 (13.55)	16.06 (11.62)	3.77 (13.05)
Jewish %	83.52 (80.92)	82.74 (131.94)	-4.57 (72.68)	24.57 (61.41)	-52.44 (67.48)
Mormon %	-32.65** (15.12)	-.91 (24.78)	-2.30 (20.83)	6.72 (12.29)	-32.33*** (8.78)
Mainline %	-6.85 (26.44)	-28.46 (32.50)	3.52 (18.15)	-2.72 (17.55)	-22.46* (13.18)
Black %	-24.01 (22.28)	-54.72* (33.67)	8.38 (22.47)	-4.20 (13.45)	-11.05 (12.95)
College %	3.05 (13.55)	-108.95** (44.30)	-5.63 (32.56)	-57.47** (28.75)	63.04*** (22.77)
Liberal %	33.24*** (5.43)	69.12*** (8.31)	46.95*** (8.21)	28.48*** (6.44)	-5.53 (5.89)
Year	-.01 (.10)	1.29** (.56)	-.15 (.49)	.62*** (.21)	-.23 (.16)
N	4383	1089	996	996	1302
R-squared	.71	.62	.70	.85	.91

Notes: Robust standard errors in parentheses. ***p<.01, **p<.05, *p<.10 (two-tailed tests).