Proposal to Provide

Voting Polarization Analysis Consulting Services for Redistricting

for

Los Angeles County
&
KH Consulting Group

May 3, 2021

maroonsociety
research strategy solutions

1614 Greenfield Ave. Los Angeles, CA 90025   (310) 694-8075 • fax (310) 694-8075

I. EXECUTIVE OVERVIEW

May 3, 2021

Gayla Kraetsch Hartsough, Ph.D., Executive Director
Los Angeles County Citizens Redistricting Commission
VIA ELECTRONIC MAIL:
ghartsough@crc.lacounty.gov

Re: Proposal on Voting Polarization Analysis

Dear Dr. Hartsough:

Maroon Society, Inc. is pleased to present our proposal and qualifications to provide Voting Polarization Analysis in conjunction the Demographic and Mapping Consulting Services for Redistricting. Maroon Society is a Los Angeles based research organization that provides strategic planning, comprehensive evaluations of government programs, and operations for over fifteen years. Our team is comprised of political scientists, demographers, and sociologists. During the past 5 years, we have conducted studies similar in size and scope to the current project including: Title VI of Civil Rights Act study for City of Santa Monica, Detroit Area Study, and various studies on voter cohesion and voter polarization for the National Politics Study.

These projects include conducting analysis of demographic data provided by the U.S. Census, and assessing voter attitudes and behaviors. In addition, we understand the 3-prongs used to test for racially polarized voting, and how to analyze voting results to determine whether, where and when racially polarized voting occurs, as defined by Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. In addition to possessing the subject matter expertise, our team also has practical experience working on the front lines of redistricting projects. Dr. Ronald Brown does pro-bono work with Citizen Detroit, a nonprofit organization that engages in *Dinner & Dialogue* with Detroit citizens about elections, importance of the Census, reapportionment, and the redistricting process.

Our team includes Dr. Aaron Celious, a widely cited statistician and demographer, Dr. Ronald Brown, political scientist, and principal investigator on the National Politics Study, and Dr. Khari Brown, a sociologist with a focus on race and politics. Our team has more than 20 years of collaboration on projects similar in size and scope. In addition to the aforementioned, Maroon Society has unique experiences conducting in-person surveys and outreach across Los Angeles County. Over the past five years,

we have conducted over 100,000 intercept surveys, 400 interviews, 125 focus groups, 30 community forums, and outreach to over 750,000 LA County residents.

In addition to understanding the 3-prongs used to test for racial polarization, we are also familiar with the five key legal considerations used for redistricting the County:

1. United States Constitution mandate to equalize the population among the supervisorial districts, which is echoed by California Elections Code section 21500

2. California Constitution;

3. Voting Rights Act, which prohibits any action that impairs the ability of minority voters to elect candidates of their choice on an equal basis with other voters;

4. County Charter for 5 supervisorial districts, redistricting not impact incumbency of supervisor in office;

5. California Elections Code that considers: topography, geography, cohesiveness, contiguity, integrity, compactness of territory, and community of interests.

We are well equipped to fulfill all tasks and deliverables on time and budget. As members of national scientific communities, we have a proven track record of impartiality in our analysis and work products, which will be applied to this study. All of our work is inclusive of the diverse populations found in LA County, including by race/ethnicity, nation of original, language spoken, and sexual and gender identity. The combination of our skills, technical expertise, and experience with local government, make us a great fit for this project.

Aaron Celious, Ph.D. is the Project Director and corporate officer authorized to contractually obligate Maroon Society. I can be reached at (310) 694-8075 (ext: 310), celious@maroonsociety.com for clarifications. Maroon Society also submitted a proposal for the Demographic and Mapping Services RFP.

We appreciate the opportunity to support the County of Los Angeles in your efforts to provide representative districts and, as a result, representative democracy to residents.

Sincerely,

Aaron Celious, Ph.D.
Director of Research & Strategy

Table of Contents

II. OBJECTIVES AND TASKS TO BE PERFORMED

Objectives

Every ten years, Los Angeles County is charged with redistricting its supervisorial districts. By statute, redistricting must adhere to critical considerations: ensuring populations are equal, drawn in compliance with the Voting Rights Act (VRA) to avoid diluting votes of racial minorities, contain at least five (5) supervisorial districts (without impacting an incumbent supervisor in office), and observe California Elections Code, which considers topography, geography, cohesiveness, contiguity, integrity, compactness of territory and community of interests. The redistricting process is comprehensive and technical. It requires adherence to strict laws related to planning, review, delivery and acceptance of final maps.

This process is being coordinated and administered under the leadership of Dr. Gayla Kraetsch Hartsough, Executive Director of the County of Los Angeles Citizens Redistricting Commission (CRC). This includes public outreach, the creation and review of numerous versions of re-drawn supervisorial district maps by experts and the public. The process to arrive at final maps is lengthy. It requires collaboration with community stakeholders, CRC, legal consultants, technical consultants, and software developers. The CRC would like a consulting firm to provide analysis of voter patterns and demographic shifts to inform the redistricting of supervisor districts.

Approach

To achieve the goals of this project, Maroon Society will conduct four (4) broad tasks:

1. Analyze Los Angeles County voting results and related data from prior elections;
2. Analyze whether, where, and when there was racially polarized voting in the County of Los Angeles, including analysis of multi-ethnic potential voting blocs;
3. Analyze whether and where there is voter cohesion among major communities of interest identified by the Commission; and,
4. Present analyses, including assessment of strength and persistence of racially polarized voting, to the LA County CRC.

Our approach includes: (1) review goals and objectives with the Executive Director; (2) specify data to be collected for analysis; (3) develop analytic model used to evaluate voting results for racial cohesion and racially polarized voting; and (4) prepare analysis for presentation, including review and revisions, as needed.

(1) Review goals and objectives with Executive Director

Upon receiving notice to proceed, we will conduct an initial kick-off meeting with the Executive Director and relevant CRC and KH Consulting Group staff. During this meeting, we will refine the goals, objectives, and timeline for the analysis plan. After the meeting, we will revise the project goals and objectives, as needed, to be disseminated to the Executive Director and staff.

(2) Specify data to be collected and schedule of delivery

We will meet with the Project Partners (LA County Internal Services Department (ISD), Thai V. Leto, and the designated ESRI representative (if available, or needed) to discuss the data anticipated for use in the analysis. In addition to the election data provided, we will utilize American Community Survey data as the basis for population counts. This data source is proposed instead of the 2020 Census because the date to complete the current analysis is July 2021, and the Census data may not be available until September 2021.

Figure 1: Los Angeles County Supervisor Districts
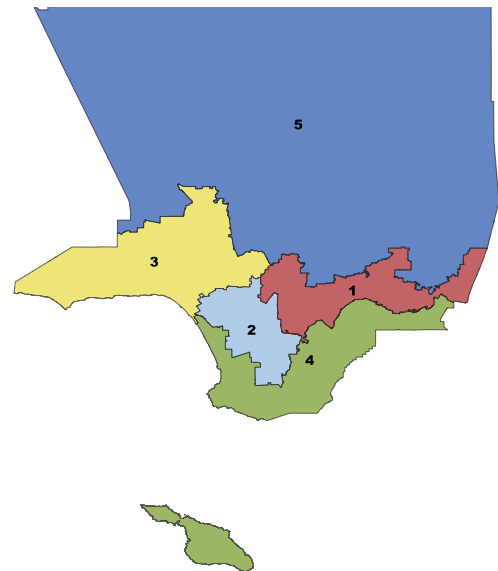
(3) Develop analytic model used to evaluate racial cohesion and voter polarization

Our proposed approach to conduct the analysis includes two phases:

Phase I.

(1) Identify race and age demography of voter precincts within existing supervisor districts, or the smallest geographic unit of analysis relevant for CRC's goals;

(2) Determine what geographic areas within supervisor districts have minority groups that are sufficiently large and geographically compact to constitute a majority (i.e., prong 1 of the 3-prong test of racially polarized voting per § 2 of Voting Rights Act.

Phase II.

(1) Test for prong 2 (political cohesion) among geographic areas meeting prong 1;

(2) Test for prong 3 (white majority vote sufficient to defeat the minority group's preferred candidate) in geographic areas that meet the first prong.

(4) Prepare analysis for presentation

We will present analysis demonstrating the extent to which racial polarization has occurred in Los Angeles County elections over the past decade. This will include recommendations for geographic areas within districts that may benefit from shifting from one district to another to avoid racial polarization. Table 1 shows, in 2011, Supervisor Districts #1 and #2, the majority of Voting Age Citizens were racial minorities. The remaining districts had White majorities where, if they vote as a cohesive bloc, they would defeat any competing vote from racial minority voters. In the proposed study, District 4 will be an important location for redistricting analysis. We believe the proportion of Hispanic voting age citizens has grown over the past decade, and will be large enough to form a majority. The extent to which Hispanics are sufficiently geographically compact and demonstrate political cohesion, will be one of the topics explored in the analysis.

**Table 1: Voting Age Citizen by DOJ Race/Ethnicity Categories
from the American Community Survey (2011)**

District	Voting Age Citizen Count	Hispanic %	White %	Black %	Asian %	Amer. Indian %	Pacif. Island %	Other Race %	Other Multi Races %	Total %
1	946,606	59.7	16.5	3.8	19.0	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.4	100
2	962,806	34.0	17.5	36.0	10.4	0.3	0.5	0.3	1	100
3	1,184,603	23.8	59.5	5	10.2	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.5	100
4	1,206,066	32.8	40.9	7.6	16.7	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.6	100
5	1,251,551	23.7	51.8	6.9	16.1	0.5	0.2	0.3	0.5	100
Total	**5,551,632**	**33.6**	**39.1**	**11.2**	**14.5**	**0.4**	**0.3**	**0.2**	**0.6**	**100**

Revised from the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors Staff Report A3 Amended - Voting Rights Act Compliant Amended A3; August 16, 2011.

III. TIMELINE

Table 2: Timeline of Tasks

Deliverables	May	Jun	July
1 Analyze Los Angeles County voting results and related data from prior elections;	▓		
2 Analyze whether, where, and when there was racially polarized voting in the County of Los Angeles, including analysis of multi-ethnic potential voting blocs;	▓	▓	
3 Analyze whether and where there is voter cohesion among major communities of interest identified by the Commission; and,	▓	▓	▓
4 Present analyses, including assessment of strength and persistence of racially polarized voting, to the LA County CRC.			▓ 7/31

IV. PROPOSED TEAM

Maroon Society is excited about the possibility of supporting KH and the CRC in this important analysis to support redistricting Los Angeles Couinty. We have a deep appreciation for the diverse demographics and geography of the County of Los Angeles, and years of experience conducting political research that is the basis of racial polarization analysis – demographic profiles of communities, racial cohesion, and voting behavior. As an organization, our focus is primarily on projects that promote equal access to public resources. This includes emergency services, transit, public health, and social services. These services are the result of representative democracy, in that funding and program decisions are guided by the County Supervisors making decisions that impact the lives of approximately 10 million residents. We help local government identify opportunities to serve the public better by evaluating program performance, and offering strategic plans to guide public policy.

Our work always includes collaboration with government policy makers, external experts, community leaders, and other stakeholders to develop, refine, and finalize analysis, maps and reports. This includes evaluating how LAPD responds to 911 calls for domestic violence services, developing and evaluating the City of West Hollywood HIV Zero Initiative, Measuring the efficacy of LA County's Mental Health Promoter Program (Promotoras de Salud Mental), evaluating for the Los Angeles Office of the City Attorney collaborates with LAPD to conduct decoy operations to enforce tobacco sales to adolescents (PC308), and countless studies for LA Metro and LA Metro's MUNI, Big Blue Bus, for whom we just completed a study of compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. These projects included analysis, report development and, in most cases, GIS (mapping) analysis and map development.

Our team reflects the diversity of Los Angeles County. We are a team of Ph.D.s with experience delivering results on time and budget with the rigor of academic research. We regularly present at academic conferences, publish in peer-reviewed journals and, next month, a new book by Drs Khari and Ronald Brown on Politics-Race and Religion will be released by the University of Michigan press. These experiences demonstrate our subject matter expertise, and technical expertise conducting studies similar in size and scope. These experiences, combined with our commitment to representative democracy make us especially well equipped to execute this study.

Team Structure

Our team includes a Project Manger (Dr. Celious), Senior Consultant (Dr. K. Brown) and Senior Consultant (Dr. R. Brown). We possesses all of the subject matter expertise to

conduct this study and analysis, technical expertise to analyze voting results for Racial Polarization, Racial Cohesion and Vote blocking. Additionally, we possess knowledge of the legal requirements of redistricting to ensure the process and final results are defensible. We are local, and have over 15 years experience serving the Los Angeles County community. Moreover, our working relationship started over twenty years ago during our doctoral studies at the University of Michigan. Drs. Celious and K. Brown have been collaborating on studies similar to the current project for two decades.

Aaron Celious, Ph.D., is Director of Research & Strategy for Maroon Society. Dr. Celious will serve as Project Manger, primary point of contact for KH and the CRC, and will be active in all phases of the study. Dr. Celious is a demographer and statistician known for developing and implementing innovative approaches to conducting program evaluations and strategic consulting for government agencies. Over the past fifteen years, Dr. Celious has lead over 60 studies with a focus on public safety, public health, and equity. These include criminal justice-related evaluations for the City of Los Angeles Mayor's Office, City of Los Angeles Department on Disability, Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority, City of Los Angeles Gang Reduction & Youth Development, Los Angeles County Department of Mental Health, Children's Hospital Los Angeles, the City of West Hollywood, and Detroit Health Department.

Khari Brown, Ph.D., is a Senior Consultant for Maroon Society and professor of sociology. Dr. K. Brown will participate in developing the methodology for the study, analyzing data and development of the reports and recommendations. Dr. K. Brown has over 15 years of experience conducting studies on diverse populations and the factors that drive their civic engagement and political participation. Dr. K. Brown has a dual Ph.D. in Sociology and Social Work from the University of Michigan. Dr. Brown is also a Senior Consultant for the nationally recognized Pew Research Center.

Ronald Brown, Ph.D., is a Senior Consultant for Maroon Society and professor of political science. Dr. R. Brown will participate in developing the methodology for the analysis, analyzing data, and preparing draft reports. Dr. Brown is a political scientist and who developed and manages the National Politics Study, one of the nation's largest surveys of voter attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. In addition to consulting for Maroon Society, Dr. Brown is a professor of Political Science at Wayne Statue University, and teaches courses related to redistricting, African-American Politics, Parties and Elections, Public Opinion, and American Politics.

V. PROJECT COSTS AND HOURLY RATES

Table 3 lists the fully burdened rate for each labor category, and an estimate of hours and total costs associated with each project task.

Table 3: Cost Schedule

	Proj. Manager	Senr. Consult		
	$225	$175	Hours	Cost
Task 1 – Analyze Los Angeles County voting results	26	20	46	$9,350
Task 2 – Analyze racially polarized voting in County	22	20	42	$8,450
Task 3 – Analyze existence of voter cohesion	22	20	42	$8,450
Task 4 – Present analyses	12	5	17	$3,575
Total	82	65	147	$29,825

APPENDIX

A. FIRM QUALIFICATIONS

Project Case Studies

The Maroon Society team has successfully completed the studies summarized below. These projects are similar to the Voter Polarization Analysis in the following ways: (1) analyze results from elections, determine the extent to which elements of racial polarization exist on a ballot measure, determine when voter cohesion is found among an electorate, and prepare analysis and findings to policy makers. Table 4 summarizes projects described in this section

### Table 4: Projects Demonstrating Strategic Consulting Experience

No.	Date	Project
1	2020	Detroit Area Study: During COVID-19
2	2021	Faith without Works is Dead: Race & Sermons Impact on Politics
3	2004-2020	National Politics Study: Racial differences and Voting Behavior
4	2019-2020	Decreasing Adolescent Tobacco Access: Program Evaluation

(1). Title: Detroit Area Study: During COVID-19

Description: Wayne County Michigan is one of the most racially segregated counties in the United States. Its population is nearly equivalent to one Los Angeles County supervisorial district (N=1.82 million). Fifty percent (52.3%) of residents are White, 40.5% Black, 5.2% LatinX, and 2.5% Asian. This heightens the possibility of gerrymandering, and the critical need to analyze elections and election results for possible voter polarization. This study explores political attitudes and voter intentions in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. To what extent is there evidence of voter polarization across Wayne county and other adjacent Southern Michigan counties? This includes voter cohesion by race; specifically, to what extent do differences emerge between Whites and African Americans – the majority voting bloc and largest racial minority group? The results are being analyzed to shape policy decisions at the county level.

(2). Title: Faith without Works is Dead → Race & Sermons Impact on Politics
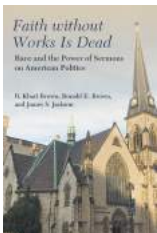
 Description: As partisanship across the country grows, the manner in which political boundaries becomes increasingly important. The rise in partisanship over the past five years has made it more difficult for moderate ballot issues, benefiting democrats and republicans, to get passed. This is

attributable to the growing number of party extremists clustered within voting districts to the determinant of the numerical minority. In this study, and forthcoming book, we explore racial polarization. This includes the mediating role that exposure to civil rights, human rights, and social equality sermons have on voting intentions and behaviors. Ballot issues include the Affordable Care Act, bilingual voting ballots, and a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. The study reveals the connection between exposure to sermons about redistributive social welfare policies and increased voter turnout. This analysis is similar to the County of Los Angeles VPA, which will address the extent to which racial polarization exists with existing supervisorial districts over the past decade. Racial polarization can be found by using the three-prong test. In addition, our findings suggest that turning out the vote, or not, may be a complementary variable to consider when considering the second prong – political cohesion.

(3). Title: National Politics Study: Racial differences and Voting Behavior

Description: The National Politics Study (NPS) is the first multi-racial and multi-ethnic national study of political and racial attitudes. This study has taken place every two years since 2004. Over the course of 17 years, NPS has chartered racial attitudes and measured racial polarization in regions across the country. This includes analyzing political participation, and voter turnout from different racial and ethnic groups. Ballot measures examined include presidential elections, military action, immigration reform, health care, and other relevant political issues of the time. Analysis from the 2008 survey, found *lack of citizenship* is the primary barrier to voting. This is especially relevant to Los Angeles County where an estimated 8.8% (880,000)[1] of residents are undocumented immigrants. President Biden's 1/21/2021 Executive Order requires "the reapportionment of Representatives following the decennial census, include all persons…regardless of their immigration status." As LA County redistricts supervisorial districts, our analysis will be responsive to the new Executive Order, expanding traditional VPA to include all residents, regardless of their immigration status or voting rights.

(4). Title: Decreasing Adolescent Tobacco Access: Program Evaluation

Description: In Los Angeles, 65,869 youth use tobacco products. The majority use e-cigarettes, and 74% of youth acquire e-cigarettes from retail locations. The health risks of tobacco smoke are well documented; and, there is growing evidence linking tobacco smoke to lethal consequences

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[1] Migration Policy Institute. Profile of the Unauthorized Population: Los Angeles County, CA. Accessed from https://www.migrationpolicy.org/data/unauthorized-immigrant-population/county/6037 on April 29, 2021.

from acute respiratory syndromes like COVID-19. The City Attorney developed a partnership with LAPD to identify retailers who sell tobacco products to under age youth, and bring them into compliance with divergence programs. To optimize this multi-agency effort, the City contracted with Maroon Society to evaluate their allocation of police resources, and offer strategic guidance to improve operations. We assessed existing police deployments, and created an equity framework based on population of youth and concentration of tobacco retailers to define community need for police services. **This analysis combined primary data from City Attorney and Police decoy operations and paired it with U.S. Census data and local Los Angeles Unified School District data to prepare and disseminate numerous maps to the City of Los Angeles Office of the City Attorney.**

B. TEAM RESUMES

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

NAME Aaron K. Celious, Ph.D.	Director of Research & Strategy, Maroon Society, Inc.		
EDUCATION/TRAINING			
INSTITUTION AND LOCATION	DEGREE	MM/YY	FIELD OF STUDY
Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ	BA	05/98	Sociology
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI	MA	12/99	Sociology
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI	Ph.D.	12/02	Sociology

A. Personal Statement:

My research is focused on how to best introduce organizational and large-scale public policies related to public health, equity, and criminal justice. This includes understanding how end users (consumers, patients, transit users) interact with, are repelled and engaged by policies impacting public health and behavior. I have extensive experience and expertise evaluating government programs that serve racially and linguistically diverse communities in Los Angeles County. My work has a research and policy agenda in the development and application of public programs focused on improving program outcomes. Recent studies include (a) evaluating police response to Domestic Abuse requests to LAPD (b) studying the police allocation of resources to implement California's tobacco law PC308 for LAPD, (c) evaluating the efficacy of mental health promoter programs to improve mental health outcomes (d) evaluating the HIV/AIDS strategic plan for the City of Los Angeles, and drafting new short-term and long-term metrics for treatment and prevention, (e) evaluating the potential of urban greening to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and better manage rainwater in Los Angeles County, (f) regional planning for the rapidly aging population in Southern California, and (g) developing the strategic goals and metrics for the City of West Hollywood HIV Zero Initiative Strategy.

B. Positions and honors.

2005-present Director of Research & Strategy, Maroon Society, Inc., Los Angeles, CA

2009-2012 Research Consultant, Children's Hospital-Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA

2003-2004 Senior Project Director, Lieberman Research Worldwide, Los Angeles, CA

2002-2002 Market Research Professional Practicum, United International Pictures, Madrid, Spain

2000-2002 Associate Editor, African American Research Perspectives, Program for Research on Black Americans, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan

2000-2002 Research Director, UROP, University of Michigan

1999-2001 Research Associate, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan

1997-1997 Instructor, Human Anatomy, Arizona State University

1996-1998 Director, Promise of Progress Education Training & Mentoring, Arizona State University

HONORS

1998	B.A. awarded Summa Cum Laude, Arizona State University
1998 – 02	Rackham Merit Fellowship for Ph.D. graduate students, University of Michigan
1998 – 02	Graduate Research Fellowship, National Science Foundation
1999 – 01	Graduate Student Research Assistant Grant (Supplemental grant to NIMH RO1: MH57495 Pathways for Youth: Risk and Resilience)
2000	Arts of Citizenship grant. *Radical ART-iculation of People (RAP)" in collaboration with the Ann* Arbor Neutral Zone, University of Michigan (with Gregory Markus & Ruth Brown)
2002	Faculty Recognition Award for Outstanding Mentorship, University of Michigan

C. Selected peer-reviewed publications (in chronological order).

1. Friedman, J., Kim, D., Schneberk, T., Bourgois, P., Shin, M., **Celious, A.,** Schriger, D. (2019). Assessment of Racial/Ethnic and Income Disparities in the Prescription of Opioids and Other Controlled Medications in California. JAMA Intern Med. doi:10.1001/jamainternmed.2018.6721

2. Iverson, E., **Celious, A.**, Kennedy, C., Shehane, E., Eastman, A., Warren, V., Bolcic-Jankovic, D., Clarridge, B., Freeman, B. (2012). Real-Time Perspectives of Surrogate Decision Makers Regarding Critical Illness Research - Findings of Focus Group Participants. *Chest. Jun 7.* RO1: GM080591

3. Iverson, E., **Celious, A**., Kennedy, C., Shehane, E., Eastman, A., Warren, V., Freeman B. (2012). Perspectives of surrogate decision makers for critically ill patients regarding gene variation research. *Genetics in Medicine, Nov 15. doi: 10.* RO1: GM080591

4. Freeman, B., Kennedy, C., Bolcic-Jankovic, D., Eastman, A., Iverson, E., Shehane, E., **Celious, A.**, Barillas, J., Clarridge, B. (2012). Considerations in the construction of an instrument to assess attitudes regarding critical illness gene variation research. *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics. 7(1),* 58-70. RO1: GM080591

5. Freeman, B., Kennedy, C., Frankel, H., Clarridge, B., Bolcic-Jankovic, D., Iverson, E., Shehane, E., **Celious, A.**, Zehnbauer, B., Buchman, T. (2009). Ethical considerations in the collection of genetic data from critically ill patients: what do published studies reveal about potential directions for empirical ethics research? *Pharmacogenomics.10(2),* 77-85. RO1: GM080591

6. Freeman, B., Kennedy, C., Frankel, H., Clarridge, B., Bolcic-Jankovic, D., Iverson, E., Shehane, E., **Celious, A**., Zenbauer, B. and Buchmn, T. (2009). Ethical considerations in the collection of genetic data from critically ill patients: What do published studies reveal about potential directions for empirical ethics research? *The Pharmacogenics Journal,10,* 77-85. RO1: GM080591

7. Oyserman, D., Brickman, D., Bybee, D. and **Celious, A**. (2006). Fitting in Matters: Markers of In-Group Belonging and Academic Outcomes*, African American Research Perspectives 17,* 854-861. RO1: MH57495

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

NAME R. Khari Brown, Ph.D.	Senior Consultant, Maroon Society		

EDUCATION/TRAINING

INSTITUTION AND LOCATION	DEGREE	MM/YY	FIELD OF STUDY
Wayne State University, Detroit, MI	BA	05/98	Sociology
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI	MA	12/01	Social Work
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI	Ph.D.	12/04	Sociology
University of Chicago, Chicago, IL	Post Doc	05/05	Social Service Admin.

A. Personal Statement:

Ronald Brown is Senior Consultant with Maroon Society, an Associate Professor in the department of Sociology at Wayne State University, and Adjunct Research Scientist at the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. His work focuses on measuring attitudes, beliefs, and behavior in response to government programs. This includes understanding the relationship between policies and behavior for various groups according to race, religion, and social-political affiliation. Dr. Brown has been instrumental in evaluations and allocation studies for the City of Los Angeles Mayor's Office, City of Los Angeles Department on Disability, Los Angeles Office of the City Attorney, and Equity Metrics Data Initiative for the Department of Water and Power. His work appears in peer-reviewed academic journals and, recently, in a blog site sponsored by the London School of Economics.

B. Positions and honors.

2005-present   Associate Professor, Depart. Sociology, Wayne State U., Detroit, MI

2006-present   Senior Consultant, Maroon Society, Inc., Los Angeles, CA

2012-present   Research Scientist, Research Center for Group Dynamics, University of Michigan 2003-2004   Policy Analyst, Annie E. Casey Foundation, Baltimore, MD

HONORS

1998	Summa Cum Laude, Wayne State University
1998	Rackham Merit Fellowship, University of Michigan
2014	Mid-Career Excellence in Research Award at the Program for Research on Black Americans (PRBA): Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan
2015	The University of Michigan ICPSR Summer Sabbatical to develop online ICPSR Teaching Module on the National Politics Study.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

NAME	Associate Professor,
Ronald E. Brown, Ph.D.	Wayne State University

EDUCATION/TRAINING

INSTITUTION AND LOCATION	DEGREE	MM/YY	FIELD OF STUDY
Southern Illinois, Carbondale, IL	BA	1974	Political Science
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI	Ph.D.	1984	Political Science
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI	Post Doc.	1985	Political Science

A. Personal Statement:

Professor Brown teaches classes in African-American Politics, Parties and Elections, Public Opinion and in American Politics. His publications include "The Effects of Religious Messages on Racial Identity and System Blame Among African Americans" (Journal of Politics, 1995) "Political Action" in James S. Jackson's Life in Black America (Sage, 1991), "Severity of Conditions, Racial Identification and Voting Among the Black Elderly (with R. Nacoste) in Roles and Resources of the Black Elderly , and "Racial Belief Systems, Religious Guidance, and African American Political Participation" (with Dawson and Allen) in The National Political Science Review. Professor Brown's current research is in the area of racial differences, and the influence of age and social learning on perceptions of African American political influence. Professor Brown was awarded the Probus Club Academic Achievement Award for Social Sciences and Humanities in 1994.

B. Positions and honors.

1992-present   Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Wayne State University, MI

1989-1992   Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Eastern Michigan University

1985-1988   Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Eastern Michigan University

HONORS

1999-2001	Humanities Center Resident Scholars Program, Wayne State University,
1996	Humanities Center Faculty Fellowship, Wayne State University, summer
1994	Probus Award, Academic Excellence in Humanities & Social Sciences, Wayne State U.
1992	Certificate of Award from Upward Bound Summer Camp Program, Eastern Michigan
1988	University for service to the Academic Mentor Program, Eastern Michigan University
1974	Minority Graduate Student Fellowship, University of Michigan,

C. Selected peer-reviewed publications.

1. Brown, R. K., & Brown, R. E. (2017). Race, religion, and immigration policy attitudes. Race and Social Problems, 9(1), 4-18.

2. Laura Reese, Ronald E. Brown and James D. Ivers, "Some Children See Him: Political Participation and the Black Christ", Political Behavior, 2007, 29:517-537.

3. R. Khari Brown and Ronald E. Brown, "Faith and Works: Church-based Social Capital Resources and African American Political Activism". Social Forces 82, December 2003, Pp. 617-642.

4. Ronald E. Brown, R. Khari Brown, and Aaron Blasé, "Religion and Military Policy Attitudes in America", Review of Religious Research, 2013, Volume 55, Issue 4, pages 573-595.

5. Sapir Handelman, Ronald E. Brown and Frederic S. Pearson, "A Palestinian–Israeli public assembly and the American black church: two grassroots efforts to build the foundations of a decent social order," Israel Affairs , 2012, Volume 18, Issue 1, pages 33-53.

6. R. Khari Brown and Ronald E. Brown, "The Challenge of Religious Pluralism: The Association between Interfaith Contact and Religious Pluralism," Review of Religious Research, 2012, Volume 53, Issue 3, pages 323-340.

7. Vincent L. L. Hutchings, Cara Wong, James Jackson and Ronald E. Brown, "Racial Group Threat", pages 52 -74, in Reform, Regulation of the Electoral Process: Recurring Puzzles in American Democracy," edited by Heather K. Gerken, Guy-Uriel E. Charles, and Michael S. Kang, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

C. REFERNCES

Project Title:	**Detroit Area Study: COVID-19**
Contact:	Deborah Robinson, Research Investigator
	Research Center for Group Dynamics
	Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan
Email:	drdrobin@umich.edu
Phone:	734-763-0045
Dates:	May 2020 – Present

Project Title:	**National Politics study**
Contact:	Jane Rafferty, Research Investigator,
	Research Center for Group Dynamics,
	Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan
Email:	jraffrty@umich.edu
Phone:	734-936-3255
Dates:	1990-Present (various projects)

Project Title:	**Decreasing Adolescent Tobacco Access: Evaluation**
Contact:	Celina Porras, Supervising Attorney
	Office of the Los Angeles City Attorney
Email:	celina.porras@lacity.org
Phone:	213-202-5576
Dates:	May 2019 – June 2020

D. COMPLIANCE WITH ETHICS REQUIREMENTS

Maroon Society is fully compliant with the LA County CRC and California Elections Code Ethics Requirement. We have nothing to disclose.

E. COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES CERTIFICATIONS

Maroon Society is a local certified DBE/MBE. We are certified by the Los Angeles County Metropolitan Transportation Authority as a Small Business, Minority Owned, and we are certified as a DBE/MBE by the Los Angeles Bureau of Contract Administration

F. SAMPLE ARTICLE

The attached article gives a sample of the analysis on race and voting behavior from a nationally representative survey developed and executed by our team members.

Social Forces, University of North Carolina Press

Faith and Works: Church-Based Social Capital Resources and African American Political Activism*

R. KHARI BROWN, *University of Michigan*
RONALD E. BROWN, *Wayne State University*

Abstract

This study seeks to examine the relationship between church-based social capital resources and political activism among black Americans. Our results suggest that simply attending church does not provide enough social capital resources to propel blacks into voting and nonvoting political activities. Rather, it is largely those churches that espouse a civic culture where members are exposed to political discussions and are encouraged to be activists that lead to black political engagement. In addition, involvement in church committee life is important to black civic skill development (e.g., communication, writing, and organizing skills), which increases these church activists' competence and confidence to participate in costly and risky political acts. This study also sought to investigate the class composition of such politicized church networks. It is largely the case that such networks are stratified by socioeconomic status, such that middle-class blacks disproportionately hear political messages in church and serve as church activists.

This article investigates the relationship between church-based resources and political activism among African Americans. Increasing our current level of knowledge about the degree of influence that religious resources have on black activism is important, given that churches are often the only nongovernmental institution in black communities (Billingsley 1999; Gronbjerg 1990). Moreover, religious congregations often serve as the largest organized expression of black

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communities, which enables them to set goals and to articulate the racial group's interests (Calhoun-Brown 1996; Lincoln & Mamiya 1990). Many blacks welcome and even call for their churches to tackle pressing social ills such as crime, joblessness, and police brutality. More than three-fourths of African Americans believe that churches should be involved in social change (Gallup 2001). Equally important, compared to other voluntary organizations, blacks view their churches as having the best chance of alleviating social problems that plague their communities (Gallup 2001). That approximately 70% of blacks report attending church at least once a month (Chatters, Taylor & Lincoln 1999; Taylor, Chatters & Jayakody 1996) suggests that the recruitment of volunteers for social or political action is likely to happen in their places of worship. However, frequency of attendance does not necessarily imply political influence. Rather, we posit that church attendance leads to political activism in religious congregations where individuals are provided opportunities to develop civic skills and are in communication networks that foster political activism.

A social capital model is used to explain why some African American churchgoers are more likely than their non-churchgoing peers to be political activists. Social capital resources exist in the structure of relations between and among actors (Coleman 1988). Essentially, social capital refers to the connections among individuals and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arises from them (Putnam 2001). Social capital signals that something of value has been produced for individuals who are involved in relationships with others (Putnam 2001). More specifically, being involved in social networks increases one's awareness of information and opportunities that could have a positive effect on the social well-being of the group. Formal (e.g., Sunday school) and informal networks (e.g., friendship circles) tend to foster trust and feelings of mutual obligation among individuals. At the very least, attending church regularly should increase trust and obligations insofar as individuals are in settings where they share a common worldview and religious outlook. In addition, involvement in more formal organizations such as the church choir, Sunday school, or the missionary society may boost social trust and mutual obligation because individuals are working with others to achieve a common goal or objective. To the extent that frequent and more involved church attendees are more likely to be exposed to political discussions and opportunities, they are also more likely to become involved in more collective forms of political activity. This is largely due to the development and fostering of social trust and a sense of mutual obligation that exists within churches. Such discussions and participation likely further individuals' involvement in future political activities as members grow closer and develop a deeper sense of mutual obligation.

Although church attendance may increase the chances for political action, the primary function of a religious institution is worship and fellowship (Ammerman 2000; Lincoln & Mamiya 1990). Hence, church-based social networks primarily provide individuals with spiritual uplift and social support (Taylor & Chatters 1986; Taylor, Mattis & Chatters 1999). Further, paid professional staff and college-trained clergy are essential for encouraging civic engagement and only about one-third of black churches have them (Billingsley 1999; Lincoln & Mamiya 1990). Consequently, many local congregations place low emphasis on training members to be political activists. Nonetheless, churchgoing may increase individuals' proclivity to be political activists when they attend churches with a strong civic culture in which activism is encouraged and members are provided with opportunities for political skill development.

We now turn to the literature to discuss what is known about the effect of church-based social capital on various modes of political activism. Using the 1993–94 National Black Politics Survey (NBPS), we then empirically assess the influence of church attendance, church activism, and church-based political communication on voting and nonvoting modes of political activism. Finally, we describe the social resource levels of individuals who are part of church-based political networks in order to assess the potential mobilization bias that may exist within African American communities.

Church Attendance and Political Activism

Previous work reveals that church attendance is positively related to voting (Calhoun-Brown 1996; Harris 1994). The linkage between church attendance and voting may occur if members are picking up cues from other church members that voting is expected and is in line with the church's mission. As a result, members may vote because family members and church friends may expect them to fulfill their church and civic obligation. In addition, given the historical and continued centrality of churches to black social-political life, churches may expose attendees to valuable information about candidates and electoral issues. Although most voters rely upon party or ideological cues to select candidates (Farina 1981; Markus & Converse 1979; Miller 1991), the opinions of trusted church members or clergy could further solidify blacks' vote selection and willingness to vote (Pattillo-McCoy 1998).

The linkage between voters and politically sophisticated black churches has long been exploited by both major parties. Black clergy were parts of political submachines in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, and New York before the civil-rights and black power eras (Katznelson 1973; Wilson 1960; Young & Wheeler 1994). Black demand politics and demographic changes that resulted in blacks becoming either a near majority or majority of eligible voters affected the

political calculus of politically sophisticated clergy in major cities. In some cases, members pressured pastors to allow their churches to become sites where volunteers could be sought and trained to work for black candidates (Colburn 2001; Reed 1984; Young & Wheeler 1994). Jesse Jackson utilized these church-based political networks to launch his 1984 presidential bid. Black pastors who supported the Jackson campaign used their status and influence to encourage members to vote, give money, and work for the Jackson campaign (Cavanagh & Foster 1984; Frady 1993; Lincoln & Mamiya 1990). Similarly, former Democratic president Bill Clinton often appeared in black churches to gain electoral support during his successful run for the presidency in both 1992 and 1996. Because black churches are often targeted to reach black voters, it stands to reason that frequent church attendance would increase blacks' awareness of elections and policy issues, as well as increase their willingness to vote.

Church involvement may also provide opportunities for more time-consuming and risky political activities. This was certainly the case in the 1950s and 1960s when some blacks used nonviolent tactics to demonstrate their discontent with the status quo. Morris's (1984) study of the civil-rights movement reveals that many southern churches served as movement centers. Church members were often recruited to participate in voter education efforts and sit-ins, marches, boycotts, and other forms of civil disobedience. In many of these places of worship, informal networks served to strengthen and encourage people who engaged in civil disobedience. Pastors of large northern churches also played a central role in directing activism before, during, and after the civil-rights era. Pastors such as Adam Clayton Powell of New York City and E.L. Franklin of Detroit fostered environments in which church members were encouraged to protest unfair treatment (Hamilton 1972; Lincoln & Mamiya 1990; Thompson 2001).

In sum, church attendance may lead to voting and nonvoting political behavior among African Americans because their churches are spaces where norms of trust and reciprocity are reinforced. To the extent that political activism is viewed as central to a church's mission, members are likely to participate in the political life of their communities when encouraged to do so.

Church Activism and Civic Skill Development

In addition to increasing the chances that individuals will be recruited to participate in political acts, frequent church attendance also increases opportunities for the development of civic skills that are critical for involvement in time-consuming and risky political behavior. Civic skills are communication and organizational capacities that are essential to political

activity (Peterson 1992; Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995; Verba et al. 1993). Activities such as attending meetings where decisions are made, planning meetings, writing letters, and making speeches or presentations are all transferable to the political realm. Such skills are useful in conducting meetings about neighborhood concerns, mobilizing others about these concerns, and even organizing protest marches or meetings to make one's concerns known to governmental officials. Although these skills are often developed in political organizations such as political parties or candidate organizations, most people develop civic skills in nonpolitical organizations, on their job, for example, or in their places of worship (Peterson 1992; Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995).

The development of communication and organizational skills within formal church networks (e.g., church committees) has always had the potential to equip blacks to participate in the political world. Frazier (1957) argued that blacks' fervent religiosity was a response to institutional racism, which made it virtually impossible for them to compete with whites for leadership positions in either public or private employment markets. African Americans seeking leadership roles largely did so in local, regional, and national church bodies. In urban and rural centers across the nation, churchgoing blacks received leadership training as deacons, chairs of the women/men's day committees, and trustees. The church environment was where these individuals learned how to deal with inter-group conflict, manage budgets, elect officials to church office, and hold their peers accountable. These church-based civic skills were essential to blacks' role in coordinating civil-rights activism (Lincoln & Mamiya 1990; McAdams 1982; Morris 1984).

Involvement in church youth committees, choirs, missionary societies, and other church auxiliaries continues to grant African Americans opportunities for civic skill development. Writing church committee reports, organizing meetings, and mobilizing members to participate in special church projects build the competency and confidence of blacks to participate in more costly political activities like letter writing campaigns, organizing voter registration drives, and mobilizing individuals for protests (Harris 1994; Peterson 1992; Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995). Moreover, because blacks are less likely than whites to be members of voluntary associations or occupy high-status jobs that would allow them to perform organizational and leadership tasks (Musick, Wilson & Bynum 2000; Oliver & Shapiro 1995; Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995), their church involvement is an important means to their civic skill development.

Politically Relevant Church Resources and Black Political Behavior

Although church attendance is a necessary first step toward political involvement, in and of itself it does not provide enough social capital to propel individuals to time-consuming and risky forms of political behavior (Calhoun-Brown 1996; Harris 1994; Wald 1987). This is understandable given that the primary function of churches is to conduct worship services and to facilitate fellowship among members (Ammerman 2001; Lincoln & Mamiya 1990). Most people select churches for nonpolitical factors such as proximity, denomination, congregational make-up, family ties, and the like (Calhoun-Brown 1996; McKenzie 2002; Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995).

Another reason that church attendance alone is not likely to lead to costly forms of political activism is that less than a quarter of African American congregations engage in civil demonstrations or in lobbying efforts that pressure public officials to pass legislation salient to African Americans ("Black Churches" 2001). By and large, the most politically astute African American clergy tend to steer their congregations toward low-cost political activism. For most politically sophisticated congregations, church-based political activism involves having candidates speak during election cycles or clergy talking about the importance of voting ("Black Churches" 2001; NCS 1998). Few congregations are involved in time-consuming political activities because few have the organizational resources to do so. Most black churches simply do not have the educated pastorate, the amount of clergy and staff, the large membership base that can serve as political volunteers, and the financial resources to commit a substantial amount of time to political affairs (Billingsley 1999). Since few individuals select churches for explicit political reasons and since most black churches are involved in low-cost political activities, it is likely that simply attending church will not increase involvement in political campaigns, disruptive politics, or lobbying efforts.

Activist black churches tend to have college-trained clergy, staff, and members who can serve as political volunteers and have ties to other political churches and civic organizations (Billingsley 1999). A prime example is Bethel A.M.E. in Baltimore, Maryland. Bethel has ties to local, national, and international civil- and human-rights organizations, a full-time staff who investigate relevant policy issues affecting black Baltimoreans, and a membership base of more than 14,500. And further, Bethel's pastor, Dr. Frank Reid, has a masters in divinity from Harvard Divinity School and a doctorate in divinity from the United Theological Seminary (Bethel A.M.E. Church 2002). Attendees of Bethel are likely to hear political messages from the pulpit delivered by clergy, laity, and even public officials (Mamiya 1994). They are also likely to be recruited by clergy and laity to vote, to participate in local, state, and federal political campaigns, and to engage in disruptive politics when necessary. However, as stated earlier, churches such as Bethel A.M.E.–Baltimore are not typical. Most black churches simply do not have Bethel's organizational

resources to commit to political affairs (Billingsley 1999). Therefore, we argue that for the average African American, simply attending church will not increase their level of involvement in costly and perhaps risky political activities. However, to the extent that individuals attend black churches where the culture encourages activism and provides opportunities for civic skill development, we expect to find higher-than-average political activism.

Hypotheses

Previous studies on church involvement and political activism have tended to use either one measure of nonvoting political behavior or have combined various dimensions of this construct into one measure (Calhoun-Brown 1996; Harris 1994). We acknowledge the importance of examining the effects of church involvement on political activities in a composite measure given that struggles for black civil rights and political incorporation have often involved multiple strategies of electoral mobilization, lobbying, campaigning, and protest politics (Andrews 2001; Browning, Marshall & Tabb 1990; Lincoln & Mamiya 1990; Mamiya 1994; Starks & Preston 1990). However, it is important to examine the effect of church resources on individual political activities because differences in political strategies yield different political outcomes (Browning, Marshall & Tabb 1990; Starks & Preston 1990). Browning, Marshall & Tabb's (1990) research on minority political incorporation in 10 California cities suggests that blacks who are part of multi-racial electoral coalitions benefit significantly. Blacks in these cities are more likely to have city councils that produce policies that are favorable to minorities; more civilian police review boards, appointments of minorities to city boards and commissions, more provisions for minority shares of city contracts, and minority employment in city government. Their research suggests that a political strategy that relies only upon demand and protest activism, in contrast, tends to lead to minority appointments to city positions but overall is a strategy that tends to be less effective in yielding policies that benefit the larger black community.

Because different political acts yield different policy outcomes, it is important to investigate the relevance of church resources to various forms of political activism. And, given that campaign activities, protest politics, and lobbying require various skills, energy, and resources to participate (Verba et al. 1993), it is also important to examine the role that church resources play in stimulating these individual activities. Furthermore, factor analyses of the political activism variables within the 1993–94 National Black Politics Study suggest that campaign activism, contacting public officials/agencies, petitioning, and protesting are all discrete forms of nonvoting political behavior. We therefore argue for the need to investigate the effect of church resources both on nonvoting activism as a single construct and on its constituent elements.

The current investigation of the effects of church attendance, church activism, and church-based political communication on various political activities are also important because previous work has not looked at the effects of church activism and church-based political communication on political activism in the same model (Calhoun-Brown 1996; Harris 1994). For this reason, it is not clear whether these church resources independently have an effect on black political behavior. In an attempt to increase our understanding of the relationship between church-based social capital and political involvement, we make the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Church attendance, church activism, and church-based political communication are positively associated with voting.

Hypothesis 2a: Church-based political communication is positively associated with nonvoting political activism.

Hypothesis 2b: Church-based political communication is positively associated with campaign activism, petitioning, contacting public officials/agencies, and protesting.

Hypothesis 3a: Church activism is positively associated with nonvoting political activism.

Hypothesis 3b: Church activism is positively associated with campaign activism, petitioning, contacting public officials, and protesting.

Methodology

SAMPLE

The data for these analyses are drawn from the 1993-94 National Black Politics Study (NBPS), a multiple-frame telephone survey of 1,206 African Americans 18 years of age or older, conducted between 4 December 1993 and 14 February 1994. The first frame used the GENESYS system to locate a national random digit dial (RDD) sample using an equal-probability-of-selection methodology. The second frame selected a random sample of households located in census blocks with 50% or more African American households. The overall response rate was 65%.

DEPENDENT VARIABLES: POLITICAL ACTIVISM

The voting measure is a dichotomous variable that asks respondents whether they voted in the last presidential election. All the nonvoting forms of activism are measured on three-point scales. A coding of 0 indicates that respondents were inactive; they reported not being involved in any nonvoting political

activities. A coding of 1 indicates that respondents were moderately active; they participated in one activity. A coding of 2 indicates that respondents were highly active; they participated in at least two nonvoting political activities.

Nonvoting political activism is a 10-item additive measure that assesses respondent involvement in campaign activities, contact with public offices, petitioning, and protest politics. Highly active respondents participated in two to ten nonvoting political activities. Campaign activism is a 3-item additive measure that asks respondents whether, in the past two years, they have attended a fundraiser for a candidate, made any financial contributions to a candidate, or handed out material for a candidate. Highly active respondents participate in two or three campaign activities. This measure has a reliability estimate of α = .634. Political contact is a three-item additive measure that asks respondents whether they have ever contacted a black public official, a white public official, or, in the past two years, contacted a public office or agency. Highly active respondents contacted two or three of the aforementioned public officials. This measure has a reliability estimate of α = .781. Petition is a 2-item additive measure that asks respondents whether, in the past two years, they have signed a petition supporting a candidate who was running for office or signed one in support of or against an issue. Highly active respondents both signed a petition supporting a candidate who was running for office and signed one in support of or against an issue. This measure has a reliability estimate of α = .522. Protest is a 2-item additive measure that asks respondents whether, in the past two years, they have engaged in a protest or whether they have participated in a neighborhood march in response to some neighborhood or community problem. Highly active respondents participated in both a neighborhood march and a protest during the past two years. This measure has a reliability estimate of α = .487.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES: CHURCH RESOURCE VARIABLES

The church attendance measure asks respondents how often they attend church. This variable is measured on a four-point scale. A coding of 0 indicates that respondents do not attend church at all and 3 indicates that they attend at least once a week. The church activism measure is a dichotomous variable that asks respondents whether they have served on a church committee, given time to a special project, or helped organize a meeting in the past year. Church political communication is a 6-item additive measure that asks respondents whether in the past year they have discussed political matters with church members or heard their clergy talk about the need for people to become involved in politics. Respondents were also asked whether a local or national leader spoke at a religious service, a member of the clergy suggested that they vote for or against certain candidates in an election, or a member of the clergy

TABLE 1: **Descriptive Characteristics of a Nationally Representative Sample of African Americans**

	Percentage Mean	Standard Deviation
Church attendance		
Never attend		2.80
Attend once or twice a year	10.70	
Attend once or twice a month	35.10	
Attend at least once a week	51.40	
Church political communication (0–6)	3.04	1.70
Church activism		54.80
(N = 1,206)		
Vote[a]		80.00
(N = 1,205)		
Nonvoting activism		
Inactive		17.70
Moderate activism		16.40
High activism		65.90
(N = 1,185)		
Campaign activism		
Inactive		56.40
Moderate activism		21.70
High activism		21.90
(N = 1,198)		
Political contact		
Inactive		55.70
Moderate activism		29.40
High activism		15.00
(N = 1,195)		
Petition		
Inactive		31.40
Moderate activism		34.70
High activism		33.90
(N = 1,199)		
Protest		
Inactive		60.70
Moderate activism		26.40
High activism		12.90
(N = 1,204)		

[a] The high level of reported voting may be indicative of social desirability effects as well as the disproportionate amount of educated and affluent blacks included in this sample compared to the 1990 census data. Telephone surveys tend to select individuals with stable addresses and higher incomes.

suggested that they take action on a political issue. Respondents who scored higher on this scale reported hearing more church-based political messages. This scale has a reliability estimate of $\alpha = .840$.[1]

Mean values were imputed for missing cases among church attendance, church activism, and church-based political communication. These imputations did not substantively alter the multivariate analyses reported below.

CONTROL VARIABLES

Age, gender, education, and family income are utilized as control variables because previous work has shown that persons who are older, more educated, and more affluent are more likely to be active in electoral politics (Verba & Nie 1972; Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995; Verba et al. 1993). Previous work has also indicated that men are more likely than women to engage in protest politics (Gurr 1970; Harris 1999). Male is the included category for the dummy variable gender. Age and education were measured as continuous variables. Family income was measured on an ordinal scale from 1 (up to $10,000 per year) to 9 ($75,000 and plus per year). Mean values were imputed for missing cases among age, education, and income. These imputations did not substantively alter the multivariate analyses reported below.

Summary statistics for the church involvement and political activism variables are reported in Table 1.

STATISTICAL METHODS

Because voting is a dichotomous dependent variable, logit regression was used to test the effect of church resources on respondent voting behavior. The rest of the dependent variables — composite nonvoting political activism, campaign, contact, petition, protest — all have ordered categories. For that reason, the effects of church resources on these measures were tested with ordered logit regression. The statistical package STATA was used to estimate these equations through maximum likelihood.

Predicted probabilities were used to more clearly assess the relationship between church-based political communication and church activism on African American political behavior. These estimates allowed us to determine the probability that respondents who have not heard any messages, those who have heard an average amount of messages, and those who have been exposed to the most political messages in church will vote and be highly active in contacting their public officials, campaigning, petitioning, and participating in protest politics. These estimates will also allow us to determine the probability that nonchurch activists and church activists are highly engaged in the afore-mentioned activities. All other independent and control variables were set at

TABLE 2: Effect of Church Resources on Voting and Nonvoting Political Behavior — Logit and Ordinal Logit Analyses (Demographic Variables Are Controlled)

	Vote		Nonvoting	
	I	II	I	II
Church attendance	.180	.035	.250**	−.045
	(.106)	(.116)	(.086)	(.099)
Church activism	—	.425*	—	.618**
		(.193)		(.160)
Church political communication	—	.116*	—	.358**
		(.047)		(.040)
Log-likelihood	−543.463	−536.727	−1005.068	−947.672
N		1,205		1,185

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed tests)

their means. The dependent variables — political activism measures — were set at their maximum values (that is, vote, high nonvoting political activism, high campaign, high contact, high petition, high protest). Therefore, for the purpose of these analyses,

Pr (activism = max| church comm.) = Pr (activism = max | church comm. k, [x])

Pr (activism = max| church activism) = Pr (activism = max | church activism k, [x])

Results

We test our hypotheses on reduced and full models of the effect of church attendance, church activism, and church-based political communication on voting and nonvoting forms of political activism. The reduced models test the effect of church attendance, while controlling for relevant demographic factors, on political activism. The full models test the effect of church attendance, church activism, and church-based political communication, while controlling for relevant demographic factors, on political activism. Testing our hypotheses in this manner will more clearly establish what it is about congregational life that leads some African Americans to be politically active. We argue that church attendance alone is not likely to lead to increased political participation. Rather, it is church-based political communication and church involvement that have positive and direct effects on political activism.

TABLE 3: Effect of Church Resources on Nonvoting Political Activism —
Ordinal Logit Analyses (Demographic Variables Are Controlled)[a]

	Campaign		Contact		Petition		Protest	
	I	II	I	II	I	II	I	II
Church attendance	.424**	.131	.246**	.008	.026	−.177	.340**	.095
	(.090)	(.101)	(.089)	(.099)	(.080)	(.091)	(.091)	(.101)
Church activism	—	.454**	—	.485**	—	.157	—	.448**
		(.156)		(.155)		(.142)	(.157)	
Church political	—	.400**	—	.223**	—	.310**	—	.277**
communication		(.039)		(.037)		(.035)		(.039)
Log-likelihood	−1144.057	−1076.396	−1093.253	−1065.433	−1283.911	−1231.535	−1086.686	−1053.92
N	1,198		1,195		1,199		1,204	

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses.

* p < .05   ** p < .01 (two-tailed tests)

EFFECT OF CHURCH RESOURCES ON VOTING AND NONVOTING POLITICAL ACTIVISM

The first model in Table 2 indicates that church attendance is not related to voting. The full model shows that church activists and those within politicized church communication networks are more likely than their counterparts to report voting. The reduced models of nonvoting political behavior indicates that the more respondents attend church, the more likely they are to participate in nonvoting political activities. However, in the full model, church attendance is no longer related to nonvoting political behavior. Rather, church activism and church-based political communication are related to the nonvoting political behavior.

As expected, simply attending church on Sunday or during the week does not place individuals in social situations that influence their willingness to vote or participate in more costly political activities. Rather, hearing political messages and gaining civic skills by participating in church projects are the important church resources that stimulate black political behavior.

PROBABILITY OF CHURCH POLITICAL COMMUNICATION LEADING TO VOTING AND
NONVOTING POLITICAL ACTIVISM

The probability estimates displayed in Figure 1 describe the association between church-based political messages and voting and heavy involvement in nonvoting political activities. These probability estimates illustrate the boost blacks receive in their propensity to vote and to be engaged in at least two nonvoting activities as they hear or are engaged in more political discussions in church. Blacks who have not heard political messages in church have a 77.2% probability of voting. Those who have heard the most of such messages

FIGURE 1:   Probability Estimates for Voting and Nonvoting Political
   Behavior by Church-Based Political Messages
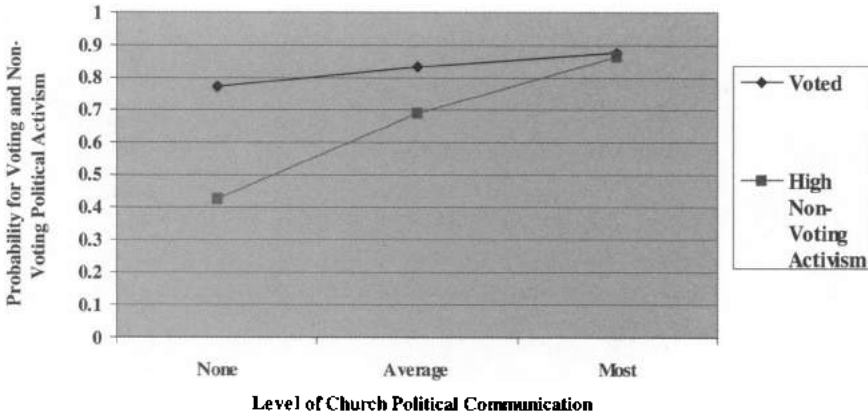
have an 87.8% probability of doing so. Similarly, blacks exposed to the most church-based political messages are two times as likely as those who are not exposed to any messages to be highly active in nonvoting political activities. Blacks who do not hear any political messages in church have a 42.5% probability of being highly involved in nonvoting political activities, compared to an 86.4% probability among blacks who have been exposed to the most political messages.

These results suggest that exposure to political messages in one's place of worship provides blacks a substantive boost in their propensity to participate in voting and nonvoting political activities.

PROBABILITY OF CHURCH ACTIVISM LEADING TO VOTING AND NONVOTING POLITICAL ACTIVISM

The probability estimates shown in Figure 2 illustrate the boost blacks receive in their voting and heightened nonvoting behavior as they become active in their churches. Blacks receive a six-point boost in the probability that they will vote (from 79.6% to 85.8%) and approximately a thirteen-point boost in the probability that they will be highly active in nonvoting activities (from 61.1% to 74.4%) as they go from being inactive to being active in their churches.

FIGURE 2:   Probability Estimates for Voting and Nonvoting Political
   Behavior by Church Activism
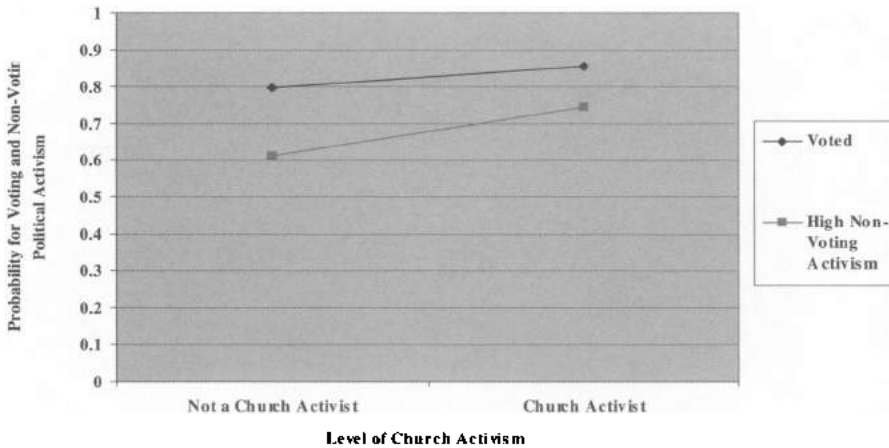
EFFECT OF CHURCH RESOURCES ON NONVOTING POLITICAL ACTIVISM

By assessing the effect of these resources on campaign involvement, contact behavior, petitioning, and protest activism, Table 3 provides a more specific analysis of the effect of church-based political resources on nonvoting political activities. The reduced models indicate that the more respondents attend church, the more likely they are to volunteer for campaign-related activities, contact public officials or agencies, and protest. However, in the full models, church attendance is no longer related to any forms of nonvoting political behavior. Rather, church-based political communication and activism are related to campaigning, contacting public officials or agencies, and protesting. Further, the more individuals are exposed to church-based political communication, the more likely they are to sign political petitions.

In sum, church attendance alone is unlikely to lead blacks to participate in costly or risky political activities. Only if church attendance is accompanied by political messages or involvement in civic skill-building activities will attendance lead to involvement in campaign activities, contacting public offices, petitioning, and protest politics. These findings support McAdam (1986) and McAdam and Paulsen's (1993) argument that the quality of one's social ties affects one's propensity to be an activist. Ties that are principally oriented toward increasing individuals' political skills and informing and encouraging them to be active are most effective in leading to activism.

FIGURE 3:   Probability Estimates for Voting and Nonvoting Political
             Behavior by Church Activism
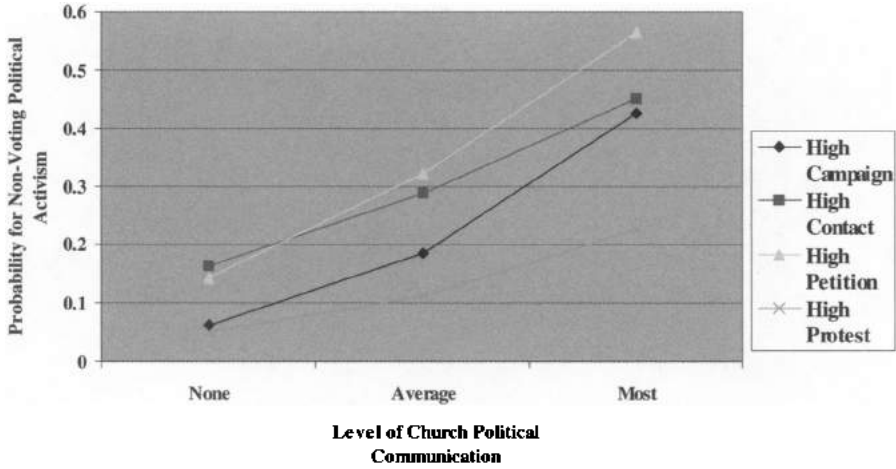

PROBABILITY OF CHURCH POLITICAL MESSAGES LEADING TO NONVOTING POLITICAL
ACTIVISM

The probability estimates displayed in Figure 3 illustrate the effects of church-
based political messages in stimulating heightened involvement in nonvoting
political activities. Blacks receive a substantial boost in their propensity to be
active in nonvoting political activities as they are exposed to and engaged in
more political discussion in their places of worship. Blacks who are exposed
to the most political messages in church are more than six times as likely as
those who are not exposed to any political messages to be highly active in
campaign activities (from 6.4% to 42.7%). They are also approximately four
times as likely to be highly active in protest politics (from 5.1% to 22.6%) and
to be highly active in petitioning (from 14.4% to 56.4%). Finally, blacks who
are exposed to the most political messages are approximately three times as
likely to be highly active in contacting public officials as those who are not
exposed to any messages (from 16.3% to 45.1%).

PROBABILITY OF CHURCH ACTIVISM LEADING TO NONVOTING POLITICAL ACTIVISM

The probability estimates in Figure 3 illustrate that blacks receive a sizable boost
in their willingness to be highly active in nonvoting activities as they become
active in their churches. Church activists are approximately ten points more

FIGURE 4: Probability Estimates for Nonvoting Political Behavior by Church Activism
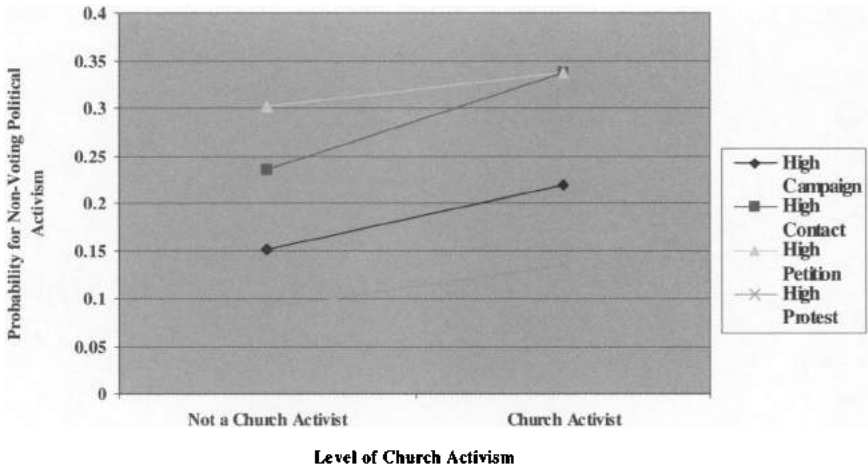
likely to be highly engaged in contacting their public officials (from 23.4% to 33.7%), seven points more likely to be highly engaged in campaign activities (from 15.1% to 21.9%), five points more likely to be highly involved in protests politics (from 8.9% to 13.5%), and four points more likely to be highly involved in petition activities than nonchurch activists (from 30.1% to 33.8%).

Discussion

These results imply that church-based social capital has a positive effect on the likelihood that blacks will be political activists. Being active in church committees and being involved in church-based political communication contribute to increasing black involvement in electoral and nonelectoral activities. This is consistent with previous work suggesting that blacks who hear more political messages in church are more likely than others to participate in electoral and nonelectoral political activities (Calhoun-Brown 1996; Harris 1994; Matthews & Prothro 1966). These findings are also consistent with work indicating that involvement in church committees may have a spillover effect in leading to African Americans being active in nonelectoral politics (Harris 1994; Peterson 1992; Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995). That is, writing committee reports, organizing church meetings, and mobilizing the support of church members for special projects are all important skills that could

enable blacks to participate in political activities like letter-writing campaigns and organizing individuals for protest.

It is important to note, however, that church attendance alone is not enough to stimulate black political behavior. When exposure to church-based political communication and church activism are taken into account, church attendance is no longer an important predictor of black political behavior. These findings lend support to McAdam's (1986)and McAdam's and Paulsen's (1993) argument that the quality of social ties matters to political behavior. Individuals who receive value reinforcement of the importance of political participation from activist friends or fellow organizational members are much more likely to participate in costly and risky political activities than individuals outside these politicized networks. It stands to reason therefore that blacks attending activist churches with people with whom they have longstanding relations would become politically active. Although trust and feelings of mutual obligation are social-capital resources that are engendered among churchgoers, it is not a given that once blacks step inside a church building they will receive value reinforcement of the importance of political activism. Rather, church involvement is likely to lead to activism only if these churches possess a civic culture where members are encouraged to be activists and to develop their political capacities by involving themselves in church committee life.

This study builds on the theoretical and empirical work examining the role of black churches in the political lives of African Americans. Before the civil-rights era, E. Franklin Frazier and Gunnar Myrdal commented on the overchurched black American (Frazier 1963; Myrdal 1944). These scholars argued that black exclusion from political life and employment opportunities meant that talented black men turned to their churches to gain respect and recognition. However, neither foresaw the politicizing role that black churches would play in American civic life. On the eve of the civil-rights era, Frazier was highly skeptical of the black church's social-political potential. He argued that black Americans' overchurching was detrimental to social change because in immersing themselves in church life, blacks ignored the social inequality and brutality that surrounded their churches and neighborhoods and directly confronted their families (Frazier 1963).

Neither Frazier nor Myrdal has the benefit of looking back at the effect that black churches had on American civic life. In retrospect, history suggests that black churches have been critical to blacks' ability to challenge the state to grant them inclusion in the American polity (Lincoln & Mamiya 1990; McAdam 1982; Morris 1984). During the civil-rights-era black churches were key spaces for movement leaders to recruit and help train lay leaders and others in movement strategies. During the black power era, church activists within politicized churches were used to help raise funds for and recruit other members to participate in mayoral campaigns for black mayors such as Coleman Young of Detroit, Harold Washington of Chicago, and Carl Stokes of

Cleveland, among others (Lincoln & Mamiya 1990; Rich 1989; Thompson 2001). A similar strategy was employed in Jesse Jackson's 1988 presidency bid. And, as our data suggests, African Americans within politicized churches continue to be informed and recruited to be active. African Americans also continue to use the skills they learn in church organizations to influence the political process.

Conclusion/Implications

This investigation suggests that church-based social capital has a positive effect on black political behavior if activism is encouraged. Church involvement leads to black political behavior if attendees are encouraged to participate and are made aware of opportunities to be politically active. Further, involvement in church committee life is important to blacks' competency in participating in various political activities.

However, the question that has yet to be addressed is, who is involved in these politicized church networks? Much of the work done on the informal social networks (e.g., friendship circles) of the black poor suggests that they tend to be segregated in resource-poor networks that do not present them with opportunities to be activists (Cohen & Dawson 1993; Kirschenman & Neckerman 1991; Rosenstone & Hansen 1993; Wilson 1996). Cohen and Dawson (1993) state that the relatively low levels of political activism among poor blacks are in part due to their high concentration in social networks with other resource-poor blacks. These informal networks mainly consist of individuals with minimal contact with public officials. Hence, being restricted to networks that consist mainly of poor people makes it extremely difficult for individuals to articulate their demands to political elites.

Because blacks of different social statuses are equally likely to hold memberships in churches, it is arguable that their churches provide spaces where the disparity in political awareness and skill development between high- and low-status blacks can be diminished (Peterson 1992; Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995). However, although blacks of different income and educational status are equally likely to hold membership in a church body, the desire to attend churches with other like-minded people plays a role in individual church selection (McKenzie 2001). And given the economic mobility of African Americans over the past 35 years, places of worship may be increasingly developing along class lines. Given the fact that higher social-economic status individuals are more likely to be activists, it is likely that members of higher-social-status churches have more opportunities for civic skill development and are made aware of more opportunities to be activists. However, the question remains, are blacks in politicized church networks where education and income matter?

TABLE 4: Effect of Education and Income on Church Leadership and Church-Based Political Communication — Ordinal Logit Analyses (Gender and Age Are Controlled)[a]

	Church Attendance	Church Activism	Church Political Communication
College graduate	.201	.426**	.329**
	(.122)	(.124)	(.116)
Income	.024	.023	.117**
	(.024)	(.024)	(.023)
Log likelihood	−1591.909	−1272.324	−2378.617
N	1,204	1,204	1,204

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses.

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed tests)

Our data suggest that there is a socioeconomic bias within politicized church networks. Table 4 indicates that neither education nor income is related to church attendance. However, middle-class blacks are more likely to be in church-based political communication networks and to be active in church committees. More specifically, college graduates are more likely to be church activists. In addition, the more affluent and the college-educated are more likely than their less affluent and non-college-educated counterparts to hear or talk about politics in church. In short, socioeconomic status stratifies politicized church networks.

That lower-status blacks are less likely to be integrated in politicized church networks curtails the amount of political information they receive. This in turn makes it more difficult for them to convey their interests to policymakers. The disparity between educated and less educated blacks in their exposure to these political resources could result in clergy and other church leaders encouraging members to take stands on issues that have more relevancy for the black middle class. Some studies suggest that the interests of middle-class and politically active blacks are indeed different from those of resource-poor and less active blacks (Durant & Sparrow 1996; Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995). Active and more affluent blacks tend to be less in favor of government policies that redistribute government funding to minorities and to the poor (Durant & Sparrow 1996; Verba, Schlozman & Brady 1995). This may, in part, be related to the political socialization that middle-class blacks are receiving in activist churches, which, as our study indicate, tend to be stratified by education and income. However, at this point, it is only speculation. Future studies should investigate the degree to which activist churches foster a sense of identity with blacks of various classes and interest in policy issues affecting poor and nonpoor blacks.

Note

1. Because of the nature of our data, we are unable to directly measure if it is actually trust and a sense of mutual obligation to church members that make attendees more receptive to political recruitment. However, as stated earlier, because fellowship is an important function of congregations and individuals tend to select churches for social-emotional reasons such as family and friends, it is assumed that congregations build social ties that may increase one's propensity to be a political activist.

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APPENDIX A: Factor Analyses for Nonelectoral Forms of Activism

	Factor Loading
Campaign activism	
In the past two years have you	
attended a fundraiser for a candidate?	.61
made a financial contributions to a candidate?	.57
handed out material for a candidate?	.51
Political contact	
Have you ever contacted a black elected official about a	
concern or problem that you have had?	.72
Have you ever contacted a white elected official about a	
concern or problem that you have had?	.67
In the past two years have you contacted a public agency?	.72
Petition	
In the last two years have you signed a petition	
in support of or against something	.49
supporting a candidate who was running for office	.49
Protest behavior	
In the last two years have you attended a	
protest meeting or demonstration?	.46
neighborhood march?	.46

APPENDIX B: Predicted Probability Estimates of Political Activism by Church-based Political Messages

	Voted	High Nonvoting	High Campaign Activism	High Contact	High Petition	High Protest
None	.7722	.4250	.0635	.1626	.1437	.0505
Average	.8319	.6872	.1862	.2876	.3209	.1121
Most	.8773	.8636	.4271	.4511	.5638	.2263

APPENDIX C: Predicted Probability Estimates of Political Activism by Church Activism

	High Voted	High Campaign Nonvoting	High Activism	High Contact	High Petition	High Protest
Not a church activist	.7956	.6105	.1513	.2344	.3013	.0894
Church activist	.8578	.7443	.2192	.3370	.3377	.1345