

directly to larger concerns over the meaning of election outcomes, the competence of voters, and democratic accountability. (The other important question, whether citizens vote sociotropically or out of their own personal economic well-being, is tackled, somewhat secondarily, in Chapter 6, to be discussed).

The overall thrust of his results is clear: U.S. voters do look toward the future, evaluating both the Democratic and Republican Parties' ability to provide for future economic success. More often than not, retrospective evaluations operate primarily by influencing prospective ones. While neither of these conclusions is particularly surprising given the existing literature, the sheer exhaustiveness of the author's analyses—he covers all presidential elections from 1956 to 2000 and congressional elections from 1956 to 2002—ensures that they cannot be dismissed as the result of particular eras, elections, offices, or candidates.

The organization of the book is straightforward: Each chapter investigates how retrospective and prospective evaluations influence a particular dependent variable of interest. Chapter 2 explores the bivariate relationship between retrospective and prospective evaluations. Chapter 3 investigates the effect of these evaluations on party identification. Next, Chapters 4 and 5 explore the significance of these evaluations for presidential and congressional vote choice, respectively. Chapter 6 examines the relative importance of sociotropic versus egocentric prospective evaluations. And lastly, the final empirical chapter departs from respondent-level analysis to investigate how successful prospective evaluations are, when aggregated, in predicting aggregate election outcomes.

The literature review is tight and focused, relating what the author considers to be important contexts for larger normative, positive theoretical, and methodological debates, rather than an exhaustive summary. Those looking for a complete guide to the vast, varied, and often seemingly contradictory economic voting literature, will have to turn elsewhere.

Chapters 3 and 4 are perhaps the most insightful due to Lockerbie's thoughtful efforts to confront the issue of partisan rationalization. The concerns are twofold. First, retrospective evaluations, as many other researchers have demonstrated, are influenced noticeably by respondents' partisan loyalties. Democrats just do not think that the economy has been as bad as Republicans do when a Democrat is president, and vice versa. The second is that expectations about the future may be better predictors of political behavior than retrospective evaluations only because it is easier for partisans to imagine better (or worse) scenarios about future performance of their own (or opposing) party when unconstrained by current realities or recent macroeconomic fortunes. Prospections may just be an opportunity to indulge partisan inclinations.

Lockerbie's individual-level statistical models demonstrate that such partisan rationalization plays an impor-

tant role. In 1960 and 1980, for example, these "indirect" effects of *past* party identification are equal to or greater than the total effects (indirect plus direct effects) of either retrospective or prospective evaluations themselves on *current* party identification. This is clever analysis that demonstrates the potential for evaluations to be colored by partisan rationalizations, while simultaneously showing the limitations of this explanation for an understanding of the full political importance of voters' prospections. Once partisan rationalization is accounted for, not only do these prospections influence individuals' party identifications, but their influence is also significantly greater than the retrospective evaluations so prominently noted in Morris Fiorina's *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (1981).

Chapter 6 may seem slightly out of place in investigating whether voters' prospective evaluations are egocentric or sociotropic. Its analyses convincingly demonstrate that *both* personal (or familial) judgments and sociotropic ones play a significant role in predicting a variety of electoral behaviors and attitudes—results that may be unexpected in the context of the existing literature. However, by investigating data only from the 1992 elections, this chapter fails to echo the others in their thoroughness and, therefore, generalizability. The book is not without other shortcomings. For example, the author compares the  $R^2$ s among models with different numbers of independent variables (p. 44). Also, given the significant findings of prospective evaluations for House and Senate elections, I would like to have seen comparable partisan rationalization analysis, since that proved so illuminating in the chapters on party identification and presidential vote choice.

Ultimately, though, these concerns are small compared with the great effort taken by Lockerbie to ensure that most conclusions are generalizable beyond one particular election or political era. For those unsure of the power of retrospective evaluations to explain voter behavior in the United States, this book is quite possibly the most encyclopedic attempt to document their importance in presidential, House, and Senate elections over the past half century.

**Politics in the Pews: The Political Mobilization of Black Churches.** By Eric L. McDaniel. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008. 224p. \$70.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.

**God and Government in the Ghetto: The Politics of Church-State Collaboration in Black America.**

By Michael Leo Owens. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007. 304p. \$55.00 cloth, \$22.00 paper.  
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— Yvette M. Alex-Assensoh, *Indiana University-Bloomington*

At the root of scholarship on the politics of the black church is an ongoing and salient debate about the extent to which African American churches are either opiates or catalysts. Adolph L. Reed, Jr. (1986), Gunnar Myrdal

(1962), and E. Franklin Frazier (1974) have contended that, as opiates, African American churches are antidemocratic, out of touch, and ineffective. Fred Harris (1999), Allison Calhoun Brown (1996), Katherine Tate (1993), and others have argued, to the contrary, that as catalysts, churches are a viable part of the African American civic tradition, facilitating protest movements and electoral participation. The rich theoretical and empirical contributions offered by Michael Leo Owens and Eric L. McDaniel, respectively, engage the aforementioned debate in creative ways and add clarity to our understanding of the role of African American churches in American political life.

Owens begins his analysis where much of the research on activist African American church politics typically concludes. Instead of focusing on the role of these churches in protest movements and electoral politics, he offers a deft analysis of how black clergy and their congregations who participate in activist African American churches use resources to engage politicians and political processes *after* the elections are over and elected officials have assumed their positions. In complementary fashion, McDaniel refocuses attention on the concept of “activism” in the church by offering an intriguing theoretical framework to explain why some churches are active and others are not.

In his interrogation of partnerships between churches and local governments, Owens focuses on the following questions: Why is it that activist African American churches collaborate with government rather than working apart from it? Why do African Americans tend to support partnerships with government? What is the political process by which African American churches partner with government? What are the products of their partnerships as well as the broader implications of these collaborations?

Owens shows that activist church-cum-local-government collaboration flows from a complex mixture of the career-development goals of pastors as professionals, the resources as well as desires of church congregations, and the needs of impoverished communities that have not sufficiently been transformed with the election of black politicians in metropolitan areas. The author’s analysis of the products and implications of activist African American church partnerships with government is among the study’s most important contributions. In his case study of Bedford-Stuyvesant, Harlem, Morrisania, and South Jamaica, Owens shows how churches chartered community development corporations (CDCs) in an effort to address neighborhood needs, manifest their faith, and seek public as well as private funding to support and expand social service opportunities. During the 1980s and 1990s, partnerships thus moved African American churches from the relatively outsider stances of protest and electoral mobilization tactics to the relative insider position of supporting and providing social welfare services under the city’s ten-year plan.

Owens’s analysis also uncovers the ways in which the church partnerships served as stepping stones, producing

affordable housing and commercial facilities that, in turn, fostered enterprise, employment, and youth development in some of New York’s most beleaguered black neighborhoods. The author reasons that although the church–state partnerships provide limited capacity to improve current social and economic realities, they do have the ability to affect the physical trajectory and future of black neighborhoods.

Owens also attends, however, to the costs associated with church–government partnerships, contending that they limit a sense of autonomy among African American churches. In particular, insofar as CDCs are quasi-public institutions, political engagement through them renders certain political tactics less accessible. Such limitations may pose long-term problems, especially since activist African American churches have always benefited from the use of wide-ranging tactics of political engagement in their attempts to elicit governmental responsiveness on behalf of the poor. Unfortunately, Owen misses an opportunity to engage directly the important scholarly debate regarding the civic utility of African American churches by showing how his findings strike a middle ground between those who see the church as a catalyst and those who see it as an opiate. His book nonetheless represents an important contribution. In fact, as government continues to rely on churches to facilitate the purposes of Section 104 of the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act, scholars will invariably refer to this trendsetting work.

While Owens and others readily apply the term “activist” as a crucial adjective in describing the status of African American churches, McDaniel argues that it is important to unpack the terminology and offer an explanation of why some churches are activist and others are not. He convincingly argues that church-based political activism is often treated like a constant, even though it is better understood as a contextually based process.

McDaniel argues that a church becomes politically active when four conditions are met: i) when the pastor is interested in involving his or her church in politics; ii) when the members are receptive to the idea of having a politically active church; iii) when the church itself is not restricted from having a presence in political matters; and iv) when the current political climate necessitates and allows political action. Failure to negotiate agreement among all four of the factors inhibits a church’s ability to enter into the political arena and sustain political activism over time. McDaniel provides a much more holistic analysis of the inner workings of African American church politics than previous scholarship on this topic. He effectively tests the viability of his theory by using quantitative and qualitative data that analyze political activism among black church clergy and congregants in Detroit, Michigan, and Austin, Texas. As a result, his novel approach for investigating activism sheds light on how churches, with long histories of involvement, socialize members and pastors accordingly.

The analysis examines the ebb and flow of political activity in contemporary black churches, as they adjust to the changing internal and external environments in which they exist.

McDaniel also demonstrates how the political contexts of churches shape the activism of their congregations. Most enlightening and informative are his efforts to conceptualize the factors that lead to activism among clergy and congregation, respectively, as well as the manner in which the factors related to activism are interactive and mutually reinforcing. His efforts to unpack the assumptions often held by scholars of the black church about what constitutes activism are impressive, representing important contributions to the continued development of scholarship on the African American church.

Together, these two books go a long way to explain the factors that lead to activism at the individual and collective levels of the African American church community and the advantages and disadvantages of such activism. To the extent that any weaknesses exist in the two studies, they result from an unwarranted assumption about the racial homogeneity of African American church communities. Over the last two decades, a new literature has explored the impact of black ethnic diversity in expanding the agenda of black church politics. Neither of these books addresses this important diversity and its implications for the study of African American politics. Future analyses will be enriched by greater attention to the new literature on African American heterogeneity. At the same time, both Owens and McDaniel greatly contribute to the scholarship on African American churches and church activism as it moves forward.

**Same Sex, Different Politics: Success and Failure in the Struggles over Gay Rights.** By Gary Mucciaroni. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008. 392p. \$60.00 cloth, \$24.00 paper. doi:10.1017/S1537592709991009

— Patrick J. Egan, *New York University*

Over the past few election cycles, the attention devoted to the issue of lesbian, gay, and bisexual rights in American politics has risen to its highest level since the birth of the modern gay rights movement at the Stonewall Riots of 1969. Most of the recent attention has focused on the controversy over same-sex marriage, which has been taken up in arenas as diverse as presidential debates, Capitol Hill, and state courts, legislatures, and ballot referenda. But important movement has also taken place on other gay rights issues, including the legalization of same-sex relations; the passage of laws prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and establishing enhanced punishment for antigay hate crimes; and the quest of lesbian and gay people to adopt children and serve openly in the nation's military.

In his ambitious, engaging, and thought-provoking book *Same Sex, Different Politics*, Gary Mucciaroni is the first to detail the trajectory of debates, strategies, and policies on the full range of gay rights issues in the United States and to develop a comprehensive explanation for advocates' victories and defeats. The book identifies and tackles an important question: Why do the successes and failures of the gay rights movement in the United States fail to covary with public opinion? Americans' support (as expressed to survey researchers) for six gay rights goals can be roughly placed in the following descending order: protection from employment discrimination, hate crimes legislation, open military service, legalization of same-sex relations, the right to adopt children, and same-sex marriage. But as Mucciaroni shows, this ranking is a poor predictor of whether the movement wins or loses. Only on the issue of legalizing same-sex relations—for which the support of the American public has been tepid, at best—has victory been achieved in all 50 states (due to the Supreme Court's 2003 *Lawrence v. Texas* ruling). By contrast, a change in policy now consistently favored by a strong majority of Americans—allowing lesbians and gays to serve openly in the U.S. military—remains stalled in 2009, even as Democrats control both Congress and the presidency. The other four goals—employment protection, hate crimes legislation, adoption rights, and same-sex marriage—all remain largely in the domain of state law, and on each of these issues gay advocates fare more successfully in liberal states than in conservative ones.

To solve the puzzle, the author undertakes a careful, ecumenical examination of an impressive range of data sources, including content analyses of legislative debates and news coverage, state-level public opinion, membership figures from gay rights organizations, and judicial ideology scores. Along the way, the book rejects conclusively the prevailing notion that gay rights issues are necessarily debated and settled through the lens of "moral politics," where both sides' arguments focus primarily on the first principle of whether homosexuality is morally right or wrong. Mucciaroni shows decisively that in most debates, many additional considerations—such as the impact of openly gay service members on military readiness, or the economic consequences of employment discrimination—are invoked by gay rights opponents and advocates alike.

The book locates its explanation for the movement's varying degrees of success in an interaction between the public's opinion on an issue (which Mucciaroni calls "perceived threat") and the question of whether gay rights advocates or opponents have the upper hand with regard to the political institutions involved. Important institutional actors—such as the military's top brass with regard to open service in the armed forces—can block change that is acceptable to the broader public. Similarly, stakeholders such as child welfare experts (in the case of adoption rights) and legal reformers (in the case of sodomy