The Senate, the South, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965

Gabriella Hesse, Florida Southern College

Do Southern Senators speak differently from Non-Southern Senators? This question aims to target an under-researched area in the field of Southern politics. This thesis is a content analysis of relevant speeches made in the US Senate surrounding the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and will serve as a stepping stone for a longitudinal study that will contribute to the debate on current Southern exceptionalism.

Literature Review

Research by Parker and Goodman found evidence that constituents perceive the representational activities of legislators in a meaningful fashion (2009). Speeches are a form of representational activity, and are commonly used on the floor of the House and the Senate to express their viewpoints, along with their constituents' perspectives, and communicate with their fellow congresspersons. It is a form of communication and expression of a congressperson's positions and beliefs that has often been overlooked by scholars. It has been suggested that speeches help supporters and opponents communicate with one another, win additional votes, delay further debate in order to bargain and gain advantages, and establish a record for future use (Lehnen, 1967).

Legislative debate contains discussions of a particular bills on the floor that will soon be voted on. Non-legislative debate is the communication taking place on the floor of the House and the Senate outside of the usual give and take of over a particular bill (Rocca, 2007). In this paper, I will be examining non-legislative debate because this type of speech tends to have representational or symbolic aspects to it, as generally congresspersons are allowed to speak on whatever issues they wish. Additionally, speeches in non-legislative debate need not be germane

or related to the bills appearing on the floor that day in the Senate. I chose to analyze speeches within the Senate because there are many more restrictive rules in the House regarding speech on the floor, including specific time limits and requirements for germaneness of speech. In the Senate, no such restrictions exist for germaneness, and time limits are not as constraining as for House members. Senators also represent their entire state, whereas House Members are representing constituents in a particular geographical district.

The South is defined by Key as the region of the United States consisting of the states that seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy before and during the American Civil War. In his 1949 seminal work *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, V.O. Key discusses his definition of the South:

Much labor could be extended on a definition of the South. Indices of illiteracy, maps of the distribution of cotton production, averages of per-capita income, and scores of other statistical measures could be used to delimit the region. Some writers have tried to delimit the South in terms of psychological attitude and have spoken of 'the mind' and 'the spirit' of the South. For the immediate purpose no better delimitation can be devised than one based on political behavior. And it can be contended, of course, that the regional cast of political attitude has a reality and a being over and beyond all the underlying social and economic characteristics that can be pictured in endless tabulations, correlations, and graphic representations. Incidentally - and not without importance - it may be noted that the eleven states that meet the test of partisan consistency also are the eleven states that seceded to form the Confederacy. (pg. 11)

Since V.O. Key defined the South as those 11 states, most data and findings in the field have been centered around them. The eleven states that seceded from the United States are South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina.

Exceptionalism is the theory or belief that something does not conform to a pattern or norm, especially regions apart from the main culture of the nation. In the case of the South, exceptionalism is defined in terms of its different political structure from the rest of the United

States. It is not just the geography of the South that makes it so distinctive. Following the Civil War, the South had a unique political structure, thoroughly researched and documented by V.O. Key in his *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (1949). Key's main argument is that there is a failure of democracy in the South, which he explains can be traced to the absence of party competition, along with the consequent failure of an organized two-party system to emerge (Aldrich, 2000). This absence of party competition is due to the issue and politics of race. The politics of the South were mainly politics of race back in the Reconstruction era. Key explains, "the frequency and intensity with which the race issue is raised varies roughly from state to state with the proportions of Negro (sic) population" (1949, pg. 233). Because Southern states had such a high percentage of African Americans, race was a heavily discussed topic. Politicians played on the white demographic's fear of granting African Americans rights, and that allowing any crack in white supremacy might lead to creating an African American majority that would exert pressure on whites. Dominant one-party factions are present in states that have a high percentage of African Americans. The Democratic party was the only one that truly existed in the South, and had many political machines running the government in states, from Huey Long in Louisiana to Ed Crump in Tennessee. All of these factors came together to make the South exceptional from the rest of the country.

Legislation during this time period of the 1960s and 1970s cannot be usefully examined through political party identification. After World War II, a shift in Southern political allegiance from Democrat to Republican began to occur (Johnston & Shafer, 2009). Scholars in the field of Southern politics explain that it was spurred by white backlash to the Civil Rights revolution. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is a piece of landmark legislation that kicked off the party switch starting with Senator Strom Thurmond. As African Americans were granted the right to vote by

the Voting Rights Act signed in 1965 by President Lyndon B. Johnson, they joined the Democratic party, because it was the people within that party that granted them their rights. Both of these pieces of legislation prompted Southern Democratic white voters to begin shifting to the increasingly conservative Republican party, which over time created a nationwide party move that we know today: Republicans are generally conservative and Democrats are generally liberal. Voting on issues during this time is very difficult to measure through party affiliation due to the transformation of party politics.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is uniquely pertinent to Southern identity. The Civil Rights march from Selma to Montgomery led by Martin Luther King Jr. was the push that gave birth to the legislation. On March 7th, 1965, the day that became known as "Bloody Sunday", the peaceful protest escalated into a horrific display of police brutality, hospitalizing 17 marchers and injuring 50 more. The culmination of all of these events put immense pressure on the Johnson administration, and when Bloody Sunday happens, it becomes the straw that breaks the camel's back. He gives a speech urging Congress to pass a Voting Rights Act, and two days later, the Senate completes their draft.

Section 2 is the major part of the legislation, stating that discrimination on the basis of race, color, or previous condition of servitude is not allowed. However, it goes beyond this. Sections 5 sets guidelines for specific counties and states in which Jim Crow laws and other discriminatory voting laws have been passed, allowing Congress to grant oversight to their state voting legislation. This oversight comes in the form of preclearance for voting laws and statutes, meaning that before the state or county can change any part of the electoral rules, including changes in district lines, it must be approved by the Department of Justice. Section 4 specifies the states and counties to which Section 5 applies through the creation of a formula: whether a

state used a "test or device" to restrict the right to vote, or " if the Director of the Census determined that less than 50 percent of persons of voting age were registered to vote on November 1, 1964, or that less than 50 percent of persons of voting age voted in the presidential election of November 1964" (US Department of Justice, 2020). This resulted in the following states becoming, in their entirety, "covered jurisdictions": Alabama, Alaska, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia. In addition, certain political subdivisions (usually counties) in four other states (Arizona, Hawaii, Idaho, and North Carolina) were covered (US Department of Justice, 2020).

Rhetorical devices have long been used in persuasive speech as tools for the speaker to get their message across most effectively. Aristotle was the first scholar on the subject, claiming that, "most arguments derive their power of persuasion from a fusion of ethos, pathos and logos" (Braet, 1992). Braet breaks down each category into simple definitions. The 'ethical proof' is formed by the character or personality of the speaker, and successful ethical proof requires that the speech be given in such a way that the speaker sounds credible. The 'pathetic proof' depends upon "putting the hearer into a certain frame of mind" through the speech. Its influence rests on the fact that the emotions into which the judge is plunged, such as anger or pity, influence his judgment. The 'logical proof' is to prove or to attempt to prove the veracity of the argument, and often "demands the competent use of syllogisms" (Braet, 1992). These ancient tools are at the foundation of persuasive speech, yet have been seldom applied to the study of governmental proceedings in which legislators are trying to persuade and influence other legislators. Another component of speech that contributes to its persuasiveness is the call to action. A speech is often not considered persuasive if the speaker does not make a request for action taken by the audience.

Hypotheses

I predict that there will be notable differences in the speech of Non-Southern Senators and Southern Senators. Namely, I predict Southern Senators, because they have more reason to feel strongly on the issue, will use more emotional appeals in speech (Pathos), and will speak more on the topic on the floor and speak for longer than their Non-Southern counterparts.

Null: There will be no difference in the speech patterns of Non-Southern Senators and Southern Senators.

H1: Southern Senators will give more speeches and have longer speeches than Non-Southern Senators.

H2: Southern Senators will use more Pathos arguments and more Emotion-Provoking Words than Non-Southern Senators.

Data

I collected this data through gathering, recording and analyzing the online Congressional record of speeches given on the Senate floor through the HeinOnline database. The range of dates I searched for speeches pertaining to the Voting Rights Act is March 15, 1965 to May 26, 1965. This ranges from the date President Lyndon Johnson gave his speech to both chambers urging them to pass voting rights legislation, to the date the Senate voted on the passage of the bill. This is the 89th session of Congress. I searched every date in this range that the Senate was in session, and did not employ any skip interval measures in order to gather a complete sample of speeches on the Act. While video or audio recordings may be preferable for analyzing and studying such characteristics of speech as emotionality, such technology was not readily available in 1965 that allowed it to be accessed in the current year. Therefore, all speeches were

analyzed from the transcripts of the Congressional Record. For senator data, such as state, seniority status, and party, I used congress.gov's historical database. For word count and alphabetical list of words and number of mentions in the speech, I used a Simple Word Counter application. For the roll call vote, I used www.govtrack.us to gather that data.

All Southern senators who gave a speech voted "nay" for the bill, and all Non-Southern senators who gave a speech voted "yea" for the speech. This is an interesting finding due to its absoluteness. Of the 11 Southern senators that gave speeches, 2 are Republican, and 9 are Democrat. Of the 15 Non-Southern senators that gave speeches, 4 are Republican, and 11 are Democrat. These findings show that the voting for this bill in particular was not able to be defined by party, but could be defined exactly by whether the senator comes from a state that is Southern or not.

Methods

To get into the methodology of coding speeches, we must first determine what constitutes a speech. A speech is anything spoken on the floor of the Senate that is longer than one sentence. For this thesis, only speeches given during the morning business of the Senate were coded. While debate on the Voting Rights Act is especially pertinent and valuable, the structure is different than the open speechmaking forum of morning business. For this reason, debate is not included, though it would be encouraged for future iterations of the research.

In order to extract usable data for the analysis of these hypotheses, I limited my attention to speeches which dealt directly with the legislation of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and its implications. I employed a keyword search of "voting rights" to draw up the number of mentions in the legislative day of the Congressional Record. From there, I analyzed the context of the

situation each time the word was mentioned, and excluded all mentions in bills, sponsorships and co-sponsorships of bills, mentions not actually spoken, such as an article inserted into the record, and mentions used as a part of a list or supporting evidence shorter than a sentence in a nongermane speech. Additionally, I only counted mentions in the morning hour of the Senate, and excluded mentions during the debate time. These mentions were excluded from this research as they do not fit with the intention of this research, which is to analyze speech and spoken word on the Senate floor. Mentions longer than one sentence used as supporting evidence in a nongermane speech were included but coded as nongermane. After excluding and qualifying those mentions, I was left with speeches that had a main focus on the Voting Rights Act in the morning business of the Senate.

Once the speeches were identified, I went back and looked individually at every speech. First, I noted factors of the speech such as date, senator, state, southern or not, party, seniority status, and page in the Congressional Record. Then, I read the speech in its totality to determine factors such as position and call to action. Position is coded as either "for", "against", or "Not Applicable". "Not Applicable" does not mean an absence of a position, but rather is used if a speech is nongermane and a senator's position wouldn't apply to a position on the Voting Rights Act. "For" speeches support the legislation and want it to pass; "Against" speeches are against the legislation and do not want it to pass. This measure is critical because party during this time period can be a misleading indicator of position on an issue.

Call to Action is also a categorical measure divided into four categories: "Not Applicable", "Examine the bill", "Vote for/against the bill", or "Action for/against the bill". "Not Applicable" is used when the aforementioned situation applies – a speech is nongermane. "Examine the bill" is used when a senator is attempting to persuade other senators to look closely

at the bill or consider a particular aspect of it. "Vote for/against the bill" is used when a senator explicitly states that they are voting for or against the bill and urges other senators to do the same. This category can include phrases such as examine the bill more closely, but ultimately is conveying what their stance is by expressing their voting intentions explicitly. "Action for/against the bill" is used when a senator submits an amendment or otherwise is taking some form of action more than voting, or is trying to persuade other senators to take some form of action more than voting. The majority of observations in this category are amendments, because rarely are senators asking for more action beyond voting from other senators than themselves.

Next, I coded for the rhetorical devices of ethos, pathos, and logos. These are dichotomous variables that measure the presence of these different persuasive devices. They are not mutually exclusive; a speech can have none, all, or any combination of the presence of these devices in their speech. Ethos is defined as an appeal to authority; presence of this variable was coded when a senator mentioned their position in the Senate such as seniority status, membership on a committee, or otherwise viewed themselves as an authority. It was also coded as present when a senator quoted a different authority than himself, such as an academic or the President, or reads an opinion article stating another person's perspective into the Congressional Record to substitute as his own. An example of ethos is present in Senator Talmadge's speech on April 9, 1965:

"Mr. President, David Lawrence, the distinguished editor of U.S. News & World Report, has been forthright in his criticism of the administration's so-called voting rights bill. As do many Members of the Senate and many legal authorities throughout the, Nation, he recognizes this proposed bill as totally unnecessary and blatantly unconstitutional, and he does not hesitate to say so."

This speech shows a clear appeal to the authority of David Lawrence, and uses this evidence to substitute as his own opinion and position on the voting rights issue. Often, ethos is

seen as a speaker's appeal to their own authority; however, associating their opinion on an issue

with another respectable figure is directly an appeal to authority and should be treated as a

separate rhetorical device than logos.

Pathos is defined as an appeal to emotion; presence of this variable was coded when an

argument was built with a persuasive series of statements, analogies, similes, rhetorical

questions, or other tools to evoke a particular feeling in the other senators. Coding for emotion

proves rather tricky when analyzing through text only, and not having access to hear how the

speech was delivered. An example coded as presence of pathos is from Senator Eastland of

Mississippi on March 25, 1965 starting off his speech with,

"I have been listening to and reading with a sense of shocked incredulity the explanation by the
Attorney General of the United States to the President's proposed Voting Rights Act of 1965.
Not since the time of the enactment of the Force Acts in Reconstruction Days has such a heinous
and oppressive measure been advanced in the Congress of the United States, directed solely and
alone against certain Southern States. [Southern States] are to be tried, convicted, and sentenced
by the administration, through the instrumentality of the Attorney General, with the consent of
Congress."

This introduction was coded as a presence of pathos because of the colorful illustration and

association of the Voting Rights Act with the criminal justice system. It is not an appeal to

authority or logic, but makes its point and proves persuasive, making it an appeal to emotion.

Logos is defined as an appeal to logic; presence of this variable was coded when an

argument was built logically and included evidence from a variety of sources. Evidence coded as

logos does not include articles or resolutions read into the record, but rather raw data and

analysis. Articles and resolutions are representative of another's ideas, and mentioning them in

speech is appealing to their authority. Inserting percentages, studies, or other analysis of data to

build an argument is logos. Senator Ervin builds his case against the bill with an intensely logical

argument on April 6, 1965, stating,

"In Lassiter v. Northampton County Election Board, 360 U.S. 45 (1959), the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously held that my own State's literacy test, which is simple and objective in nature, and applicable to all races alike, does not violate any provision of the Constitution of the United States. In short, the Supreme Court held that, as part of its policy, a State is entitled to require of the electorate some minimum standard of education and may, therefore, prescribe a literacy test as a prerequisite to the exercise of the franchise. The constitutional power of the States to establish literacy tests and other qualifications for voting in both Federal and State elections is admittedly subject to the limitation, prescribed in the 15th amendment, that no State may deny or abridge the right of a citizen to vote on account of race or color. Section 2 of the 15th amendment provides that Congress may enforce the prohibition by appropriate legislation."

This example of logos connects the Supreme Court case to the argued unconstitutionality of the bill, using the evidence as a persuasive tool.

After coding for those variables, I then copied the speech and pasted it into a simple word counter, an application designed to give me a word count as well as a list of all words used in the speech and their frequencies. This allows me to discern the variables of Length, Emotion-Provoking Words, and the use of "Negro" and "Colored" in speech. The length variable is a continuous measure of the number of words used; even though we do not have an actual time measure, it can serve a similar purpose. Mentions of the words Negro and Colored was also measured in preparation for a longitudinal study of the Voting Rights Act and its recertifications. While mention of either of these words is not considered, at least by the white population, as particularly offensive or derogatory in this time period, as time progresses it becomes much more so, making it worth notating if it is spoken on the floor of the Senate.

Emotion-Provoking Words is a continuous measure of the number of words used in a speech that are considered emotional. This measure is not directly related to the measure of pathos, because that considers the whole argument as either emotion-provoking or not, while this measure is looking at the emotionality of each individual word. This is a subjective measure but one that will hopefully add additional insight. I did not work from a predefined list of words, but made it an additive measure as more data was gathered. Once a word was coded as emotion-

provoking, it must be coded as such in future data collection. Examples of adjectives coded

include cruel, laudable, irrefutable, tragic, discriminatory, drastic, deplorable, repulsive,

cumbersome, and evil. Examples of nouns coded include apathy, champion, prejudice, violation,

mockery, agitators, threat, criminal, terrorism, tyranny, and vigilantes. Examples of verbs coded

include lynch, discriminate, deprive, escape, admonish, empower, impress, violate, superimpose,

impede, and neglect. A complete list of coded words by speech as well as their number of

mentions is included in the codebook for reference.

Analysis

(For tables and figures, refer to the Appendix)

Of the 44 speeches coded, 25 were given by Southern Senators, and 19 were given by

non-Southern Senators. Looking at the position variable, Non-Southern Senators gave 16 "for"

speeches and only one "against" speech. Southern Senators gave one "for" speech and 22

"against" speeches. The one Southern "for" speech was given by Tower from Texas in regards to

a resolution that a county labor council passed about voting rights. The speech reads,

 "Mr. President, the McLennan County, Tex., Central Labor Council recently passed a most
succinct and thoughtful resolution concerning the protection of voting rights. I support the
council's determination that no American be denied the right to vote because of discrimination,
and I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed at this point in the RECORD so that
other Senators may review it."

The resolution was supporting the "quick passage of the legislation". However, Tower himself

six days later states that the bill is "seriously deficient at best, unconstitutional at worst."

For the Call to Action variable, the major difference between the South and Non-South is

in the "Action for/against the bill" category. "Examine an aspect of the bill" has a difference of

only one speech (11 Non-South, 12 South), while "Vote for/against the bill" had no difference in

the number of speeches given by Southern and Non-Southern senators (5 each). The "Action for/against the bill" category saw the biggest difference between the South and Non-South, with only one Non-Southern Senator proposing an amendment, and seven Southern Senators calling for or taking action against the bill. This so-called "temperature measure" is a Likert scale, in which intensity ranged from lowest "Examine an aspect of a bill" to most intense "Action for/against the bill". Generally, the stronger a senator feels about a bill, we expect him to have a more intense call to action concerning the bill. In this instance, the addition of seven unfriendly amendments by Southern Senators who were opposed to the bill were an attempt to slow down the voting process and allow their own stipulations into the bill.

29 of the speeches utilized the rhetorical device "Ethos", with 16 of these speeches given by Southern Senators and 13 by Non-Southern Senators. Only 11 speeches were coded for the presence of "Pathos", 7 speeches given by Southern Senators and 4 by Non-Southern Senators. Most noticeably, 18 speeches used "Logos", with 14 of them given by Southern Senators and only 4 by Non-Southern Senators. This is surprising given that we expect the more passionate a person feels on a topic, the more likely they would be to express emotion or to utilize this powerful appeal. However, Southern Senators used more logical appeals to make their arguments, even more so than those for whom the bill does not directly affect. It is expected that we see more speeches by Southern Senators in all categories of the presence of rhetorical tools, because all speeches used at least one rhetorical tool, and we see more observations of speeches given by Southern Senators than Non-Southern Senators.

One explanation for why we see more logos arguments in Southern Senator speeches is that the majority of the arguments against the bill were based in its constitutionality. Claiming the unconstitutionality of the bill may have been a tactic to attract the attention of the courts in

the hopes that they would strike this bill down. Additionally, by focusing primarily on the logical arguments, Southern Senators were able to avoid more emotional arguments that would undoubtedly rely on some vehicle of racism.

The number of emotional words used in speeches varied significantly. Non-Southern Senators on average used roughly 7 Emotion-Provoking Words per speech, while Southern Senators on average used 20 words per speech. However, Southern Senators also spoke longer on average, around 670 words per speech, with Non-Southern Senators only using around 260 words per speech. While Southern Senators spoke longer and used more Emotion Provoking Words on average in findings that were statistically significant when contrasted with Non-Southern Senators, Figure 8 shows the notable finding that this may be misleading. I created a new variable of Length by Emotion, dividing the number of words in the speech by the number of Emotional Words used. This aims to test whether or not Southern Senators are just appearing to be more emotional because they are talking for longer amounts of time. Charting this comparatively between the South and Non-South, you can see that there is very little difference between the two, and it is not statistically significant. This is one of the most interesting findings of the study, because it does not support the claim that there are significant differences in speech patterns.

Finally, we find that party does not play a factor in the position of the speech. Democrats during that era were split – with Southern Democrats opposing the bill, and Non-Southern Democrats attempting to pass the bill. We see the same thing in the Republican party, but not as dramatically. The two Republican Senators from the South had just switched to the Republican party, not long before 1964. Party, today seen as a defining variable when looking at position and voting record, was very split during the Civil Rights Movement.

Conclusion

While this research provides an interesting and unforeseen look into senator's speeches on the floor, we can't draw major conclusions for the field of Southern politics. A more comprehensive study involving more speeches would need to take place. Expanding the study is necessary for this topic specifically because this is a piece of landmark legislation which dramatically impacted Southern states and their identity as defined by V.O. Key.

We knew that the bill was uniquely pertinent to the South from the beginning, but what we don't know is if Southern Senators speak differently just because they're Southern, or if it is a function of their position on the bill they are discussing. This is perhaps the most critical idea taken from this case study; if someone has a reason to care more about something, will that affect how they fight for it? Anecdotally, this is what we assume. In order to truly measure if Southern Senators have different speech patterns, we should be looking at a wide range of topics that may or may not directly affect their region.

For future research employing content analysis of senator speeches, I am generally looking in two directions: a longitudinal study across Voting Rights Act recertifications and analyzing debate speech in conjunction with morning business speech. Both ways increase the size, scope, and magnitude of the project and will allow more conclusive results to be drawn. The Voting Rights Act has had five recertifications to date; the years are 1970, 1975, 1982, 1992, and 2006. Looking at a stable piece of legislation and how it is handled over a period of 41 years is a unique opportunity to track changes in the data. This is especially pertinent when attempting to contribute to the research and debate around Southern exceptionalism and its wavering significance in recent years. While each recertification has different elements that attempt to

keep it up to date and relevant during each time period, the general purpose and intent surrounding the bill is the same.

One way that could make data collection of this magnitude more manageable is to look only at senators that voted on the Voting Rights Act in 1965 and see if there is consistency or change, not just in their voting record but in the content of their speeches. Over time, the number of senators will diminish as they retire or are voted out of office, but it would provide a valuable look into how the appeals of senators, particularly Southern senators, who voted against the original legislation change once the law became more widely accepted.

Delving into debate speech for the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is a monumental challenge, but one that would provide an incomparably rich dataset. I began coding debate speech in this project, but it was extremely time-consuming and laborious. I found that many Senators appeared to wait to speak until debate time on the floor, perhaps for the sense of comradery of supporting senators. This would give a more complete analysis of views on the topic, but for a coder's sanity one should strongly consider using a skip interval if attempting this continuation of the research. Methodology surrounding coding of debate speech would need to be evaluated and specified as well, such as what number of words counts as one entry, and is there a difference in how one codes a response.

This research has allowed for us to take a deeper look inside one of the most critical landmark pieces of legislation during the Civil Rights Era in US history. This content analysis of speeches made on the floor provides a rich database for discussion and a multitude of possibilities for future research. Southern exceptionalism is an important theory that contributes to how we look at our political history, and understanding its basis and continuing to analyze its prevalence in today's political landscape is crucial to moving forward.

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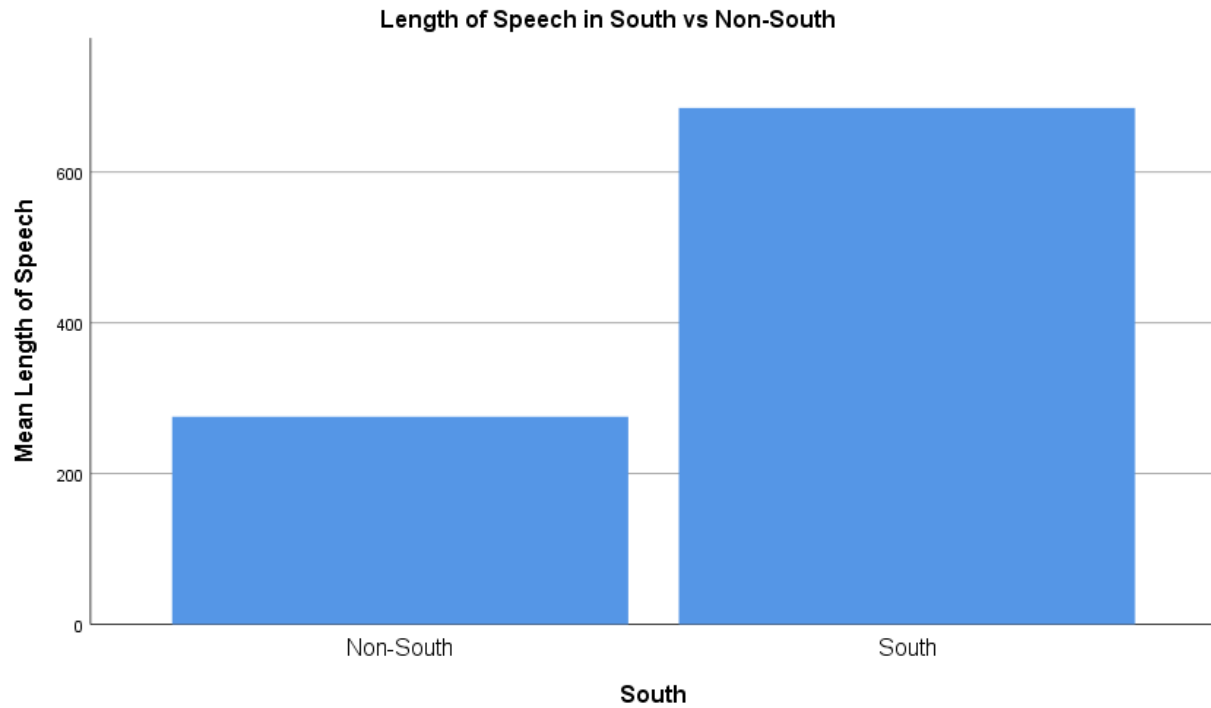U.S. Department of Justice. (2020, February 18). *Section 4 of the Voting Rights Act.*
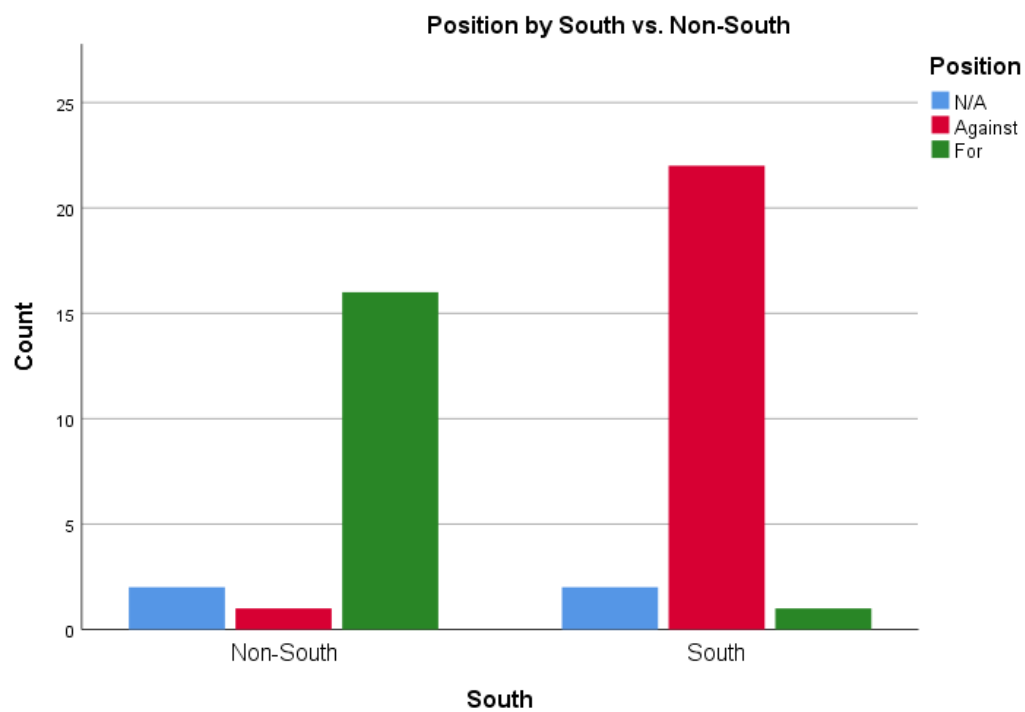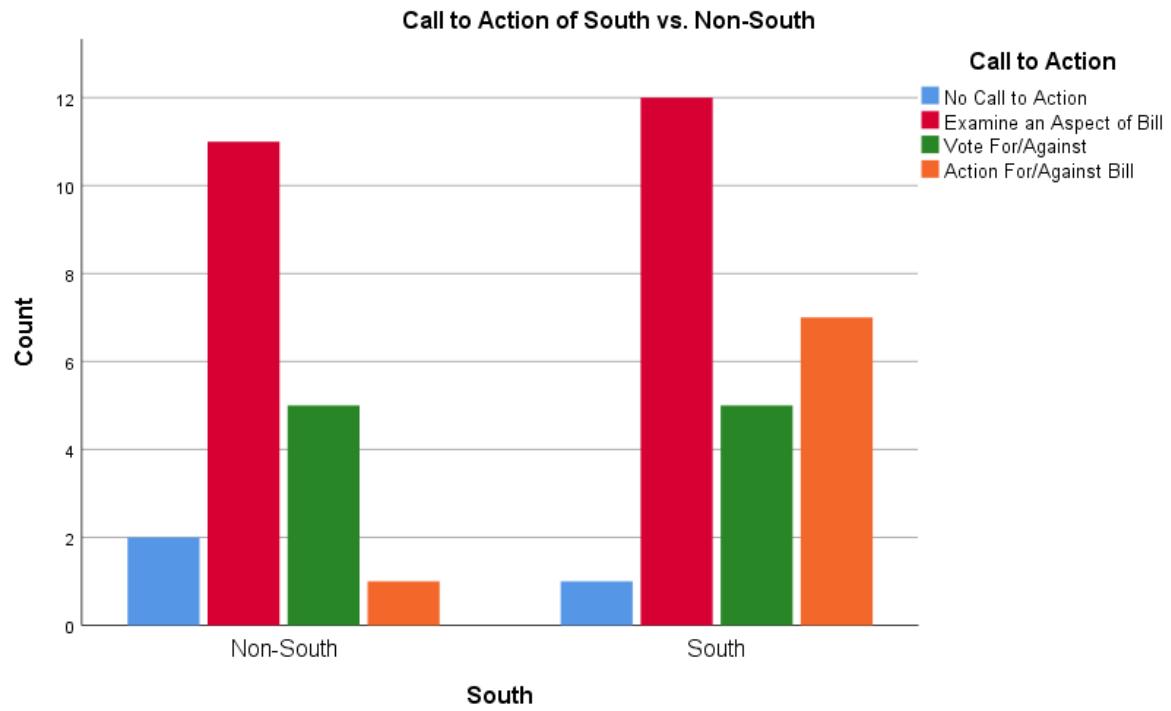
Appendix

Figure 1

Length of Speech in South vs Non-South

Figure 2

Position by South vs. Non-South

Figure 3

Call to Action of South vs. Non-South

Figure 4

Ethos of South vs. Non-South
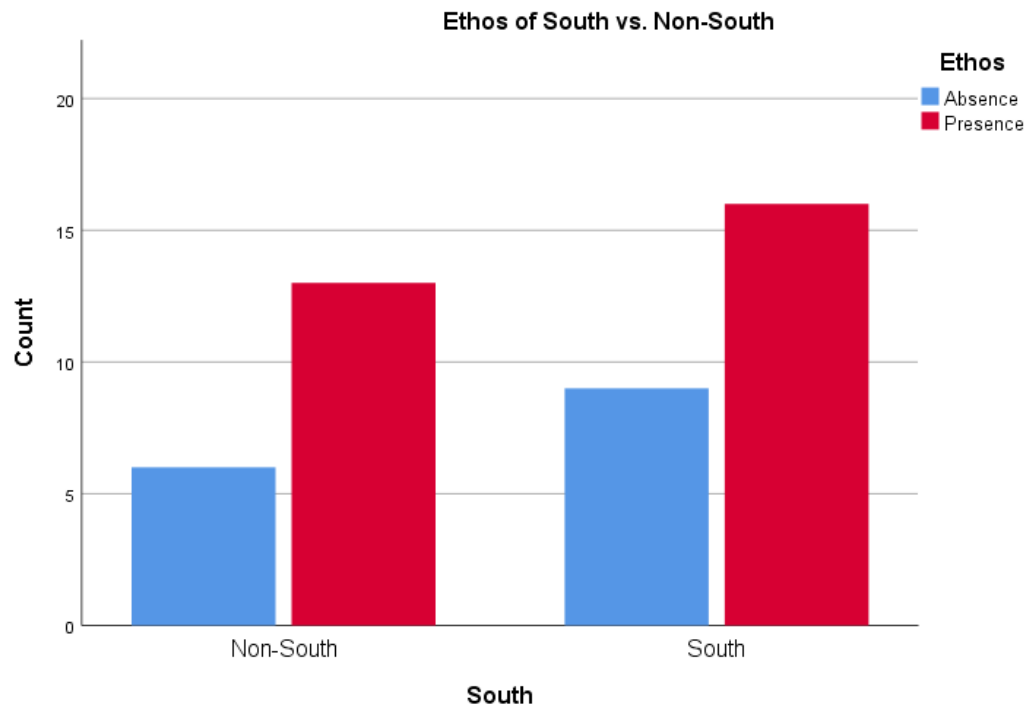
Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Emotion Provoking Words of South vs. Non-South

Figure 8

Emotion by Length of South vs. Non-South
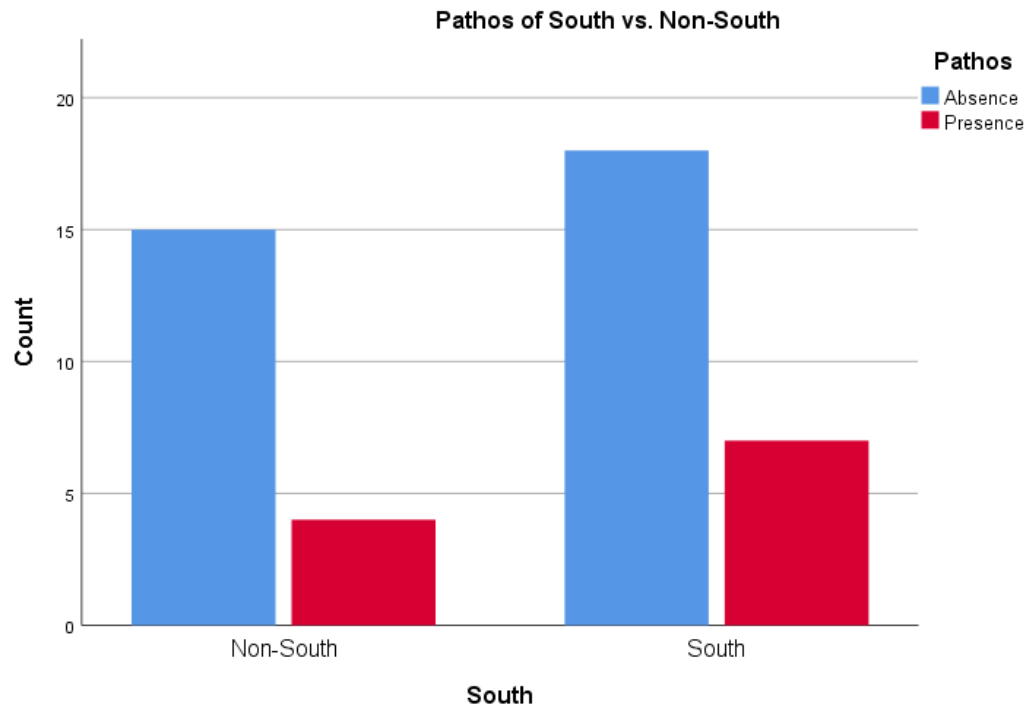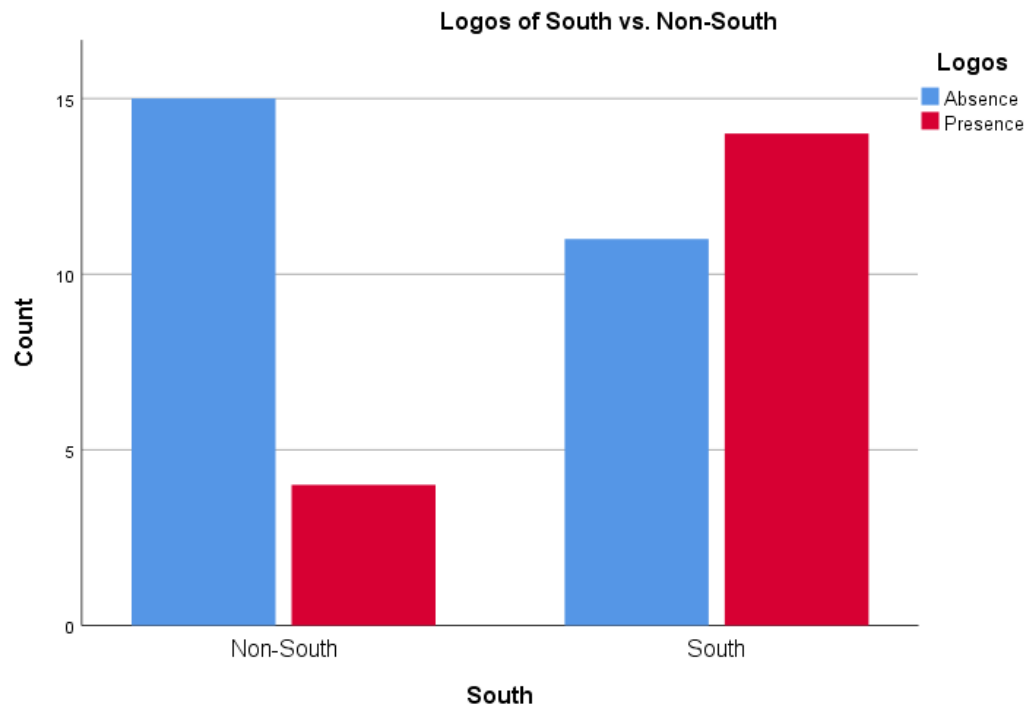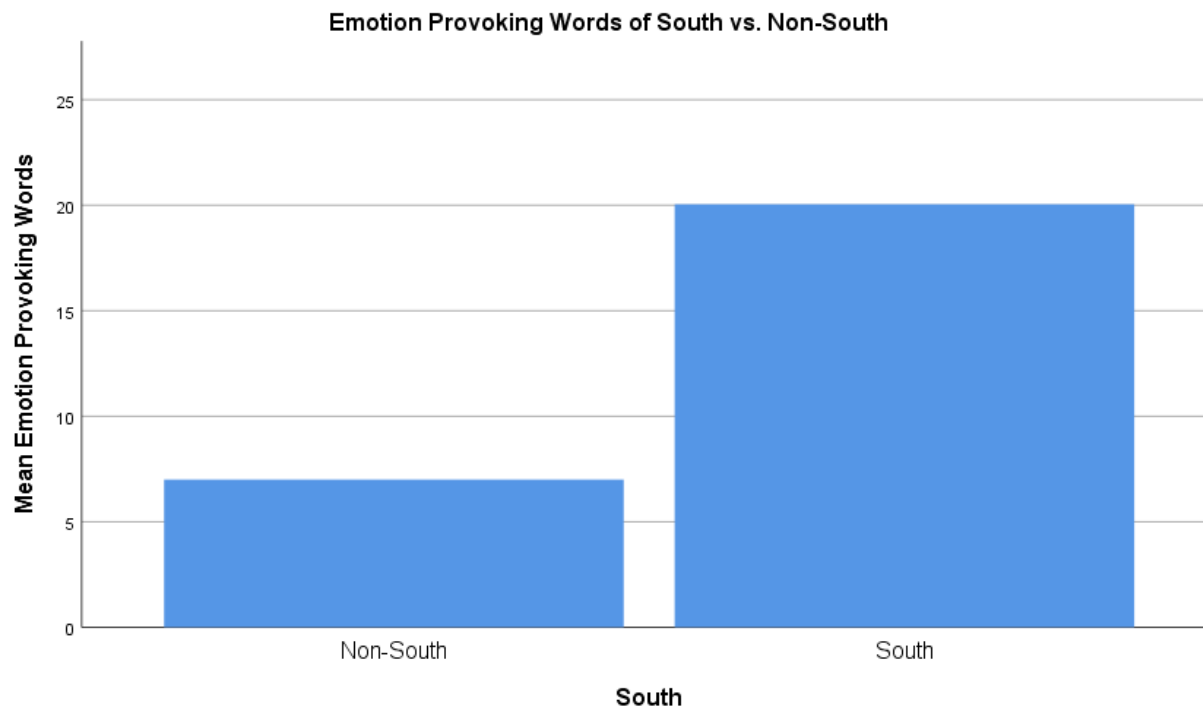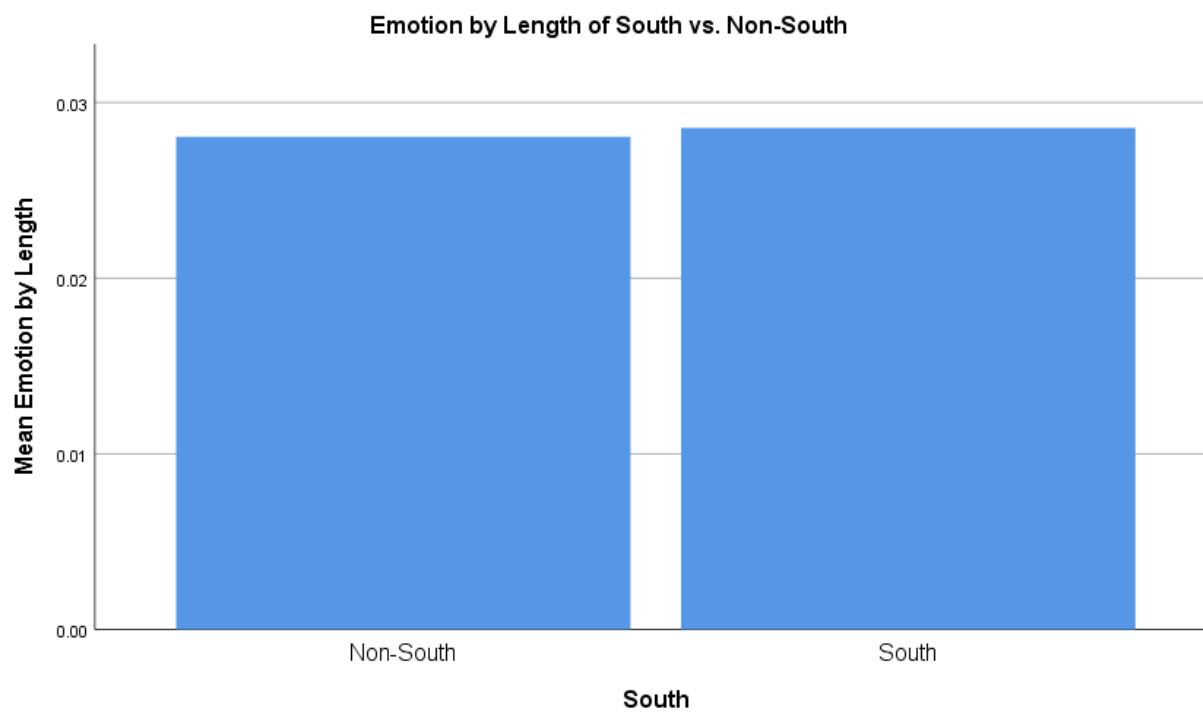
Table 1

South * Position Crosstabulation

Count

		Position			
		0	Against	For	Total
South	Non-South	2	1	16	19
	South	2	22	1	25
Total		4	23	17	44

Table 2

South * Call to Action Crosstabulation

Count

		Call to Action				
		No Call to Action	Examine an Aspect of Bill	Vote For/Against	Action For/Against Bill	Total
South	Non-South	2	11	5	1	19
	South	1	12	5	7	25
Total		3	23	10	8	44

Table 3

South * Ethos Crosstabulation

Count

		Ethos		
		Absence	Presence	Total
South	Non-South	6	13	19
	South	9	16	25
Total		15	29	44

Table 4

South * Pathos Crosstabulation

Count

		Pathos		
		Absence	Presence	Total
South	Non-South	15	4	19
	South	18	7	25
Total		33	11	44

Table 5

South * Logos Crosstabulation

Count

		Logos		
		Absence	Presence	Total
South	Non-South	15	4	19
	South	11	14	25
Total		26	18	44