AFRICAN AMERICAN LEGISLATORS IN THE AMERICAN STATES

Power, Conflict, and Democracy: American Politics Into the 21st Century Robert Y. Shapiro, Editor Power, Conflict, and Democracy: American Politics Into the Twenty-first Century Robert Y. Shapiro, Editor

This series focuses on how the will of the people and the public interest are promoted, encouraged, or thwarted. It aims to question not only the direction American politics will take as it enters the twenty-first century but also the direction American politics has already taken.

The series addresses the role of interest groups and social and political movements; openness in American politics; important developments in institutions such as the executive, legislative, and judicial branches at all levels of government as well as the bureaucracies thus created; the changing behavior of politicians and political parties; the role of public opinion; and the functioning of mass media. Because problems drive politics, the series also examines important policy issues in both domestic and foreign affairs.

The series welcomes all theoretical perspectives, methodologies, and types of evidence that answer important questions about trends in American politics.

AFRICAN AMERICAN LEGISLATORS IN THE AMERICAN STATES

Kerry L. Haynie



COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS NEW YORK

Columbia University Press
Publishers Since 1893
New York Chichester, West Sussex

Copyright © 2001 Columbia University Press All rights reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Haynie, Kerry Lee.

African American legislators in the American states / Kerry L. Haynie.

p. cm. — (Power, conflict, and democracy)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0-231-10644-0 (cloth: alk. paper) — ISBN 0-231-10645-9

(pbk.: alk. paper)

African American state legislators.
 Legislators—United States—States.
 Political planning—United States—States.
 Title II. Series.

JK2488 .H39 2001 328. 73'092'396073—dc21

00-069379



Casebound editions of Columbia University Press books are printed on permanent and durable acid-free paper.

Printed in the United States of America

c 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

p 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

To my parents Joe and Nettie, and to my siblings Melvin, Scott, Tony, and Lisa

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments ix

- 1. Introduction:
 - Race Representatives or "Responsible Legislators"?
- 2. Agenda-Setting and the Representation of Black Interests 15
- 3. Race, Representation, and Committee Assignments 39
- 4. African American Political Incorporation:
 - A View from the States 63
- Race and Peer Evaluations of African American Legislators:
 A Case Study 93
- 6. Conclusion 105

Appendix: Appendix to Chapter 3 115

Notes 121

Bibliography 131

Index 143

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am indebted to a number of friends and colleagues who helped make this book possible. George Rabinowitz deserves special recognition for the direction, advice, and encouragement that he provided from the beginning to the end of this project. Thad Beyle, William Keech, Stuart Elaine MacDonald, and Michael Munger gave me valuable comments and suggestions at the very early stages of my research. I thank Kathleen Bratton for her advice, support, and friendship. Kathleen and I collaborated in creating a state legislative database from which much of the data used in this book is taken. I benefited enormously from numerous conversations and debates with my friend Carol M. Swain. Ross Baker, Rick Lau, Jack Nagel, Leonard Ray, and Mina Silberberg commented on various portions of the manuscript and provided me with sound scholarly advice. I am grateful to Thomas Callaghy for recommending the manuscript to Columbia University Press.

I thank Mina, Katie G. Cannon, Dwayne Lee Pinkney, and Ufo Uzodike for listening to my frustrations and offering me their friendship, encouragement, and support over the years. They truly helped me finish this project. Debts of gratitude are also due to my dear friends Reid and Vickie Hilton for opening their home, lake, and blueberry patch to me. Their generosity allowed me to "escape" and to maintain a "real world" perspective.

I received generous financial support for this project from the Graduate

X ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

School and the Department of Political Science at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, as well as from the Political Science Department at the University of Pennsylvania. More recently, I have benefited from a very supportive work environment at Rutgers University.

I thank John Michel and Robert Y. Shapiro, my editors at Columbia University Press, for their patience and guidance. John provided the ideal amount of hand-holding and tactful prodding. I also thank Roy Thomas for making sure that what I have written stands a chance of making sense to those who dare to read it. However, I alone take full responsibility for the book's content.

AFRICAN AMERICAN LEGISLATORS IN THE AMERICAN STATES