
INDEX

- African American interests. *See* black interests
- African Americans: “black utility heuristic” and, 18, 106; as cohesive and consistent political subgroup, 19, 42; progress for, in some areas, 47; voters’ views of, as candidates, 93. *See also* black interests
- African American state legislators:
broadening of agendas, 62;
commonality-type, 48; dearth of scholarly literature on, 2–3;
dilemma faced by, 4–6; expansion of presence on nonblack-interest committees, 54; impact of redistricting decisions, 34; importance to constituencies and black interests, 15–16, 34; increase in numbers of, 2, 15; legislative effectiveness of, 94–95; as legislative subgroup, 49; numbers and percentages by state/year, 11 (*table*); political incorporation, 65–68, 69 (*table*), 70 (*table*), 70; as primary advocates for black interests, 27–28; as “race men/women” and “race representatives,” 4, 9, 16–17, 31, 34, 61, 108, 113; as “responsible legislators” with “balancing perspective,” 9–11, 34, 62, 106, 109, 113; “significant numbers” question, 129*n*5. *See also* descriptive representation; race as factor in peer evaluations
- American states. *See* Arkansas; Illinois; Maryland; New Jersey; North Carolina; and states
- Anderson, Elijah, 4, 7, 107
- appropriations committees, 100, 101 (*table*), 102 (*table*)
- Arkansas: African American state legislators, numbers and percentages by year, 11 (*table*);

Arkansas (*continued*)

African American state legislators' political incorporation, 69 (*table*), 70 (*table*), 70; black interest bill introductions, 28 (*table*); black interest committees in, 116 (*table*); committee assignments and influence potential, 50, 51 (*table*); constituency committees, 119 (*table*); effects of race on bill introductions, 33 (*table*); policy committees, 118 (*table*); prestige committees, 117 (*table*); saliency of committee assignments by committee type, 46 (*table*)

Arnold, R. Douglas, 25

"balancing perspective" and

"responsible legislators": and biracial or multiracial coalitions, 113; in choice of committee assignments, 49; dealing with non-race-specific issues, 34, 62; deracialization and, 9–10, 109, 122–123; described, 5–6; as reconciliation with "race representation," 10–11; tensions of "double-consciousness," 106

Barker, Lucius, 9, 112

Barnett, Margurite Ross, 43

Bennet, Lerone, 5

bill introductions: attorneys' advantage in drafting, 100; black interests as percentage, 28 (*table*); comparison by race for black interests issues, 27 (*table*); as factor in perceived legislative effectiveness, 101 (*table*), 102 (*table*); impact of race on, 28–34, 32–33 (*table*); as measure of commitment to legislative responsibilities, 99; "substantive," 123–124

bills introduced by African American

state legislators: aims of examination, 17; basis in black interests, 26; as definition of legislative alternatives, 24–25; influence on legislative agendas, 25; political incorporation and, 81;

black interests: advocacy of, 26–28; broadening of conceptualization of, 47; committee assignments, and interest representation, 41–43; committee assignments, importance to, 60, 61–62; committee assignments, saliency of, 44, 45–49, 46 (*table*), 108; ease of determining, 19–20; examples, 123–124; in health, education, and welfare issues, 75; importance of African American state legislators to, 34, 113–14; objective indicators of, 20–23; policies favored by, 24; potential for abandonment with routinization of African American politics, 112; pursuit of, by African American state legislators, 108; race and bill introductions, 32–33 (*table*); subjective indicators of, 23–24. *See also* expenditures by states on black issues; "race men/women" and "race representatives"

black legislators in American states.

See African American state legislators

"black utility heuristic," 18, 106

Blue, Dan, 16

Bobo, Lawrence, 64–65

Bratton, Kathleen, 61, 62

Browning, Rufus P., 64, 66, 70–71, 89, 90, 107

Bullock, Charles, 15, 34

Button, James, 15, 41

- Canon, David, 10, 34, 36, 43, 45, 48, 74, 113
- Cayton, Horace, 4, 106
- children's issues, 26, 32–33 (*table*)
- civil rights issues, 18, 26, 30–31
- civil rights movement, 15
- coalitions, 67
- committee assignments:
- accommodating members' requests for, 41; black interests, 60, 61, 108, 116 (*table*); constituency committees, 119 (*table*); data sources, 43–45; data sources, conceptualizations, and methods, 125*n*7; importance to legislators' careers and prestige, 39–40, 47–48, 67–68, 91, 100; influence potential and, 44, 49–60, 108; interest representation and, 41–43; policy committees, 118 (*table*); prestige committees, 47–48, 67–68, 91, 100, 117 (*table*); saliency of, 44, 45–49, 46 (*table*), 108; tempering of requests for, 124*n*2; value of examining, 13, 40–41; of varying relative importance, 40. *See also* standing committees
- commonality-type legislators, 48
- Congressional Black Caucus, 43, 45
- constituency committees, 119 (*table*)
- "cross-over strategies," 112
- Darden, Christopher, 7–8
- data sources, conceptualizations, and methods: bills introductions, 26; committee assignments, 43–45, 125*n*7; districts, controls for, 29; equity ratio measures for standing committees, 49; expenditures by states on black issues, 71; influence potential of committee assignments, 44; political incorporation, 13, 64, 66–68, 89; political incorporation, descriptive representation, and black interests, 82–83; race as factor in peer evaluations, 13, 95, 96–100; saliency of committee assignments, 44; standing committees and African American representation, 49–50; for study of African American state legislators, 11–12, 26
- Dawson, Michael, 18, 24, 106
- Democrats, 29, 30
- deracialization, 9–10, 109, 122*n*9&10
- descriptive representation: compared to substantive representation, 34, 35–36; as essential, 89, 113; and expenditures on education, 77 (*table*), 77–78, 78 (*table*), 85 (*table*); and expenditures on health issues, 75 (*table*), 75, 76 (*table*), 84 (*table*); and expenditures on welfare, 77–79, 79 (*table*), 80 (*table*), 87 (*table*); as mirror of constituency's social characteristics, 16; political incorporation and, 70 (*table*), 70, 71–72, 82–89, 84 (*table*), 85 (*table*), 87 (*table*), 88 (*table*), 89, 90–91, 110–11; political incorporation and rate of bill passage, 73 (*table*), 74; and redistribution programs, 78, 80 (*table*), 80, 81 (*table*), 88 (*table*)
- "difference" representatives, 125*n*10
- "double-consciousness," 106, 122*n*8
- Drake, St. Clair, 4, 106
- duality dilemma, 6–12, 105, 106
- "dual legitimacy," 121–22*n*7
- Du Bois, W. E. B., 6–7, 105
- education issues, 21, 23 (*table*), 23, 26, 30, 32–33 (*table*), 76–77, 77 (*table*), 78 (*table*)
- effectiveness of African American state

- effectiveness (*continued*)
 legislators, perceptions of. *See* race
 as factor in peer evaluations
 equity ratio measure for standing
 committees, 49–50
 Eulau, Heinz, 42
 expenditures by states on black issues:
 data sources, conceptualizations,
 and methods, 71; education issues,
 76–77, 77 (*table*), 78 (*table*); health
 issues, 74–76, 75 (*table*), 76 (*table*); as
 measure of policy responsiveness,
 79–81; welfare issues, 77–79, 79
 (*table*), 80 (*table*), 81 (*table*)
 “external responsiveness,” 71, 74–79, 75
 (*table*), 76 (*table*), 77 (*table*), 78
 (*table*)
 “extremity effects,” 96
- Francis, Wayne, 41–42
 Frantzich, Stephen, 95
 Friedman, Sally, 6
- gatekeepers, standing committees as,
 29–30, 39, 42, 49, 61
 gender: as variable in analysis of bill
 introductions, 29, 30, 32–33 (*table*).
See also women legislators
 Gilliam, Franklin, 64–65
 Guinier, Lani, 63
 Gurin, Patricia, 23–24
- Hatchett, Shirley, 23–24
 Haynie, Kerry L., 61, 62
 health issues, 26, 32–33 (*table*), 74–76, 75
 (*table*), 76 (*table*)
 Hedge, James, 41
 Huit, Ralph K., 9
- Illinois: African American state
 legislators, numbers and
 percentages by year, 11 (*table*);
 African American state legislators’
 political incorporation, 69 (*table*);
 black interest bill introductions, 28
 (*table*); black interest committees in,
 116 (*table*); committee assignments
 and influence potential, 50, 52–53
 (*table*), 54; constituency
 committees, 119 (*table*); effects of
 race on bill introductions, 33 (*table*);
 policy committees, 118 (*table*);
 prestige committees, 117 (*table*);
 saliency of committee assignments
 by committee type, 46 (*table*)
 income, median household, black and
 white, 21 (*table*)
 incrementalism, 5
 influence potential of committee
 assignments, 44, 108
 interest: defined, 19–20. *See also* black
 interests
 “internal responsiveness,” 71, 72–74, 73
 (*table*)
- Jackson, James, 23–24
 Jones, Mack, 9, 112
- leadership positions held by legislators,
 66, 68, 99, 101 (*table*), 102 (*table*)
 legislative agendas, expectation of race-
 based, 17–19
- McCormick, Joseph P. II, 9
 male legislators, 29, 30
 Mansbridge, Jane, 113, 114
 Marshall, Dale R., 64, 66, 70–71, 89, 90,
 107
 Maryland: African American state
 legislators, numbers and
 percentages by year, 11 (*table*);
 African American state legislators’

- political incorporation, 69 (*table*); black interest bill introductions, 28 (*table*); black interest committees in, 116 (*table*); committee assignments and influence potential, 54, 55 (*table*), 56; constituency committees, 119 (*table*); effects of race on bill introductions, 33 (*table*); policy committees, 118 (*table*); prestige committees, 117 (*table*); saliency of committee assignments by committee type, 46 (*table*)
- Masters, Nicholas, 5, 106
- methodology. *See* data sources, conceptualizations, and methods
- Meyer, Katherine, 94
- Miller, Cheryl, 43, 45
- Nelson, Albert J., 65–66, 90
- “new black politics,” 2
- New Jersey: African American state legislators, numbers and percentages by year, 11 (*table*); African American state legislators’ political incorporation, 69 (*table*), 70 (*table*), 70; black interest bill introductions, 28 (*table*); black interest committees in, 116 (*table*); committee assignments and influence potential, 56, 57 (*table*); constituency committees, 119 (*table*); effects of race on bill introductions, 33 (*table*); policy committees, 118 (*table*); prestige committees, 117 (*table*); saliency of committee assignments by committee type, 46 (*table*)
- Nonidez, Cynthia T., 94
- North Carolina: African American state legislators, numbers and percentages by year, 11 (*table*); African American state legislators’ political incorporation, 69 (*table*), 70 (*table*), 70; black interest bill introductions, 28 (*table*); black interest committees in, 116 (*table*); committee assignments and influence potential, 56, 58–59 (*table*), 60; constituency committees, 119 (*table*); effects of race on bill introductions, 33 (*table*); policy committees, 118 (*table*); prestige committees, 117 (*table*); race as factor in peer evaluations, 96–100; saliency of committee assignments by committee type, 46 (*table*)
- North Carolina Center for Public Policy Research (NCCPPR), 97
- North Carolina Legislative Black Caucus, 43, 45
- Olson, David M., 94
- party affiliation, 29, 99, 101 (*table*), 102 (*table*)
- peer evaluations. *See* race as factor in peer evaluations
- policy committees, 118 (*table*)
- political incorporation: advantages of, 64–65, 88, 89, 110; compared to descriptive representation, 82–89, 84 (*table*), 85 (*table*), 87 (*table*), 88 (*table*), 89, 90–91; data sources, conceptualizations, and methods, 13, 64, 66–68, 89; and descriptive representation, 110–11; descriptive representation and expenditures by states on black issues, 84 (*table*), 85 (*table*), 87 (*table*), 88 (*table*); external responsiveness, 71, 74–79, 75 (*table*), 76 (*table*), 77 (*table*), 78

- political incorporation (*continued*)
 (table); in the five states, 68, 69
 (table), 70 (table), 70; governmental
 responsiveness and, 70–91;
 increasing, 111; in state legislatures,
 65–68; value of examining, 13
- poverty: children below poverty level,
 black and white, 22 (table); income,
 median household, black and white,
 21 (table); persons below poverty
 level, black and white, 22 (table);
 unemployment rates, black and
 nonblack, 20 (table)
- poverty rate, 82–83, 84 (table), 85
 (table), 87 (table), 88 (table)
- “prestige” committees, 47–48, 67–68, 91,
 100, 117 (table)
- proportionality, 129*n*5
- race as factor in peer evaluations:
 absence from previous studies, 95;
 data sources, conceptualizations,
 and methods, 13, 95, 96–100;
 expectations, 95–96; implications
 for color-blindness and legitimacy
 of governmental process, 94, 104;
 negative racial considerations,
 100–104, 101 (table), 102 (table), 111;
 overcoming negatives, 114;
 significance in legislative processes,
 93–94
- “race men/women” and “race
 representatives”: in committee
 assignments, 61; compatibility with
 “responsible legislator” role, 113;
 described, 4, 16–17, 31; as
 “difference” representatives, 125*n*10;
 pressures on African American state
 legislators, 106, 108; risks of, 9
- redistribution programs, 78, 80 (table),
 81 (table)
- redistricting, 34, 37
- representation: convergence of interests
 of constituencies and legislators, 18;
 descriptive (*see* descriptive
 representation); proportionality in,
 129*n*5; substantive, 16, 34, 35
- “responsible legislators.” *See* “balancing
 perspective” and “responsible
 legislators”
- responsiveness: expenditures as
 measure of, 79–81; external and
 internal, 71, 72–74, 73 (table), 74–79,
 75 (table), 76 (table), 77 (table), 78
 (table); political incorporation and,
 79–91. *See also* expenditures by
 states on black issues
- routinization of African American
 politics, 112
- rules committees, 100, 101 (table), 102
 (table)
- saliency of committee assignments, 44,
 45–49, 46 (table), 108
- Schattschneider, E. E., 25
- Scher, Richard, 15
- seniority, 29, 32–33 (table), 41, 66, 68,
 99, 101 (table), 102 (table)
- Shepsle, Kenneth, 40
- Sigelman, Carol, 96
- Social welfare. *See* welfare issues
- Sonenshein, Raphael J., 70
- standing committees: as gatekeepers
 and designers of legislation, 29–30,
 39, 42, 49, 61; membership and bill
 introductions, 33 (table); “prestige,”
 47–48, 67–68, 91, 100, 117 (table). *See also* committee assignments
- states: importance for public policy-
 making, 2. *See also* Arkansas;
 Illinois; Maryland; New Jersey;
 North Carolina

- study data. *See* data sources,
conceptualizations, and methods
- “substantive” bill introductions, 123*m*12
- substantive representation, 16, 35
- Supreme Court decisions, 34
- Swain, Carol, 35, 108
- Swinter, David H., 20
- Tabb, David H., 64, 66, 70–71, 89, 90,
107
- tax capacity, 82–83, 84 (*table*), 85
(*table*), 87 (*table*), 88 (*table*)
- Thomas, Sue, 12
- unemployment rates, black and
nonblack, 20 (*table*)
- “universal” programs, 122*m*11
- urbanness, 29, 32 (*table*)
- voter registration and turnout, 17, 47,
65, 107
- Voting Rights Act of 1965, 1, 3–4, 17, 63
- Walker, Jack L., 25
- Weissert, Carol S., 94, 98
- welfare issues, 18, 26, 30, 32–33 (*table*),
77–79, 79 (*table*), 80 (*table*), 81
(*table*)
- Whitby, Kenny J., 18–19, 36
- Wilson, William Julius, 10
- women legislators, 9, 29, 30, 32–33
(*table*), 124*m*15, 128*m*1

