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Being Strategic: Black Legislative Representation In The Republican-Controlled South Carolina House of Representatives

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BEING STRATEGIC: BLACK LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATION IN THE
REPUBLICAN-CONTROLLED SOUTH CAROLINA HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES

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DEDICATION

To Gertrude, my wife, who provided endless love, support and encouragement over the course of my studies. To all of my children, daddy loves you and wants each of you to “keep on keeping on”. Also, to the memory of my parents Leander James and Rosa Belle McAllister, for their enduring patience, love, and parental guidance as I traveled through this journey of life. To my siblings, -especially to my dearly departed siblings Rasheed, Carl, and Betty-

THIS ONE IS FOR ALL OF YOU!

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I would like to express my gratitude for those who accompanied me on this journey: First and foremost, I thank God because He gave me the inner strength to complete this project while enduring the trials and tribulations of both fatherhood and graduate school.

To my dissertation committee members: Dissertation Chair and Mentor Professor Kenny J. Whitby, for providing the firm guidance, words of encouragement, and very helpful critiques throughout this endeavor. To my Committee members: Dr. Laura Woliver, Dr. Todd Shaw, and Dr. Larry Watson, for your help in pushing me over the finish line.

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ABSTRACT

Under what circumstances, can descriptive representatives produce a representation, which may not be merely descriptive, but still substantive in nature? In other words, do descriptive representatives provide representation that produces salient black constituency policies, yet not be strictly black interest substantive policies? Do these black Democrats still “substantively represent” their black constituents and if so, to what extent? More importantly, what legislative actions do they undertake to represent their black constituents? Moreover, can these black Democratic legislators form strategic alliances successfully to prevent passage of policies detrimental to the interest of their black constituency? Can they form alliances to enhance passage of their strategically sponsored measures?

Some empirical studies find that black lawmakers’ descriptive representation behavior translates into meaningful, substantive representation. A few studies have disputed this claim. However, most empirical works that examine the descriptive versus substantive representation issue only look at the black legislators’ legislative bill sponsorship and bill passage count. They have neglected other important dimensions of representation where the black lawmakers’ strategic behavior may be a key explanatory factor.

This research fills this gap by presenting a new theory- A Theory of Strategic Representation. This theory posits that minority caucus members strategically engage in three distinct legislative actions to pursue interests germane to their minority constituents

when acting as representatives in a politically constrained legislative environment. Specifically, this research determines the effect of The South Carolina Legislative Black Caucus members' behavior of (1) strategic bill sponsorship; (2) strategic self-selection committee assignments; (3) and strategic coalition formations, including negative veto coalitions, on the substantive representation of their black constituents. These questions are answered by examining the legislative Black Caucus members' strategic introduction of primary and secondary measures, strategic preference for black interest committees' appointments, and strategic coalition formations during selected roll call votes. Quantitative analyses of the 109th, 110th, 114th 115th, and the 119th legislative sessions of The South Carolina House of Representatives are conducted. The findings show that strategic representation by black descriptive lawmakers yields substantive representation in a politically constrained state legislative chamber when measured by legislative activities beyond bill introduction and bill passage count.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Research on the question of whether increased black descriptive representation produces more empowerment and substantive policies for blacks remains unsettled. On the one hand, scholars who study black Americans' legislative representation have vigorously debated the issue by asking, is black substantive representation best achieved by what Hanna Pitkin (1967) called *descriptive representation*, defined as when a representative reflects the social traits of his or her constituency's race and social class? On the other hand, is the black constituency better served by *substantive representation*, defined as when a representative reflects the policy interests of his or her constituency regardless of the representative's background? Pitkin further alludes to representation as being *symbolic* in nature, which refers to the constituent's feelings of being fairly and effectively represented¹.

However, in addressing the descriptive and substantive representation questions, previous scholarly research has produced mixed answers. For example, in her study of responsiveness by members of Congress to black interests, Swain (1993) argues that while some value can be accorded to descriptive representation, it is the constituency that

¹Hanna Pitkin's (1967) theory identifies four distinct, but interconnected dimensions of representation including formal representation which refers to the institutional rules and procedures through which representatives are chosen. She also identifies the symbolic dimension of representation which refers to the constituent's feelings of being fairly and efficiently represented. This study examines only the descriptive and substantive aspects of Pitkin's theory of representation.

motivates the behavior of legislators. Similarly, Lublin (1997) argues that the creation of majority-minority districts, which have led to an increase in black representatives, may also result in losses in substantive representation. Conversely, Whitby (1997), in his study of black substantive representation, argues that both race and constituency can have a positive effect on descriptive representation.

Additional research has also shown that although minority representatives propose and support minority interest legislation to a greater extent than white representatives, they also tend to be less successful in seeing their policies eventually pass through the legislative process (Hedge, Button, and Spear 1996; Bratton and Haynie 1999; Canon 1999; Tate 2001; Hawkesworth 2003). In sum, empirical support for the impact of minority descriptive representation to positively advance black constituency interests is somewhat ambiguous.

A Theory of Strategic Representation

Perhaps descriptive representation does involve other dimensions that can further explain the level of representation blacks receive. Representation of black interest does not occur in a legislative vacuum. Legislators must consider various competing forces, such as party or constituency pressure, when they make their decision to either support or not support black interest legislation. These forces can become very problematic, particularly when black Democrat legislators seek to provide their black constituency representation in a legislative chamber controlled by Republicans. In those instances, black Democratic members must strategically decide what actions they should undertake to provide meaningful political representation to their black constituents. Under such circumstances, can descriptive representatives produce a representation, which may not

be merely descriptive, but still substantive in nature? In other words, does descriptive representatives provide representation that produces salient black constituency policies, yet not be strictly black interest substantive policies? Do these black Democrats still “substantively represent” their black constituents and if so, to what extent? More importantly, what legislative actions do they undertake to represent their black constituents? Do they negotiate with legislative committees in such a way as to trade votes and influence? Moreover, can these black Democratic legislators form strategic alliances successfully to prevent passage of policies detrimental to the interest of their black constituency? Can they form alliances to enhance passage of their strategically sponsored measures? In building their alliances, do they play one part of the Republican caucus against another? Do they pursue “strange bedfellows” approaches to creating negative vote coalitions? These are serious questions that require a thorough analysis in regards to the study of descriptive representation.

In seeking answers to these questions, this study poses a new theory- *A Theory of Strategic Representation*- as a guide to this inquiry. This theory posits that minority caucus members strategically engage in three distinct legislative actions to pursue interests germane to their minority constituents when acting as representatives within a *politically constrained legislative environment*. I define a politically constrained legislative environment as a legislative institution in which minority legislators are pursuing interests germane to a minority community, inside a majoritarian institution controlled by a different political party.

The legislative process is multi-faceted with strategic behavior amongst legislative members taking place. I argue that black descriptive representatives in

politically constrained legislative bodies engage in strategic behavior throughout the legislative process to provide favorable representational outcomes for their black constituents. These legislative actions, namely, strategic bill sponsorship, strategic self-selection committee assignments, and strategic coalition formations, including negative veto coalitions, allow black representatives to provide substantive measures of descriptive representation while serving in a majoritarian institution controlled by a different political party. Through their strategic behavior, black representatives can provide meaningful, descriptive representation despite representing their constituents within the politically constrained environment.

This project employs the strategic representation theory to examine fully, the descriptive representation offered by black representatives in those situations. It examines The South Carolina Legislative Black Caucus (SCLBC) representational behavior within the South Carolina House of Representatives to conduct this study. The South Carolina House of Representatives is currently under firm Republican Party control. All SCLBC members are black Democrats and are currently pursuing their minority constituents' legislative interest in the politically constrained legislative environment. I surmise that first, rather than attempting to engage in descriptive representation through sponsorship and perhaps, passage of strictly black interest legislation during all legislative sessions, SCLBC members will seek to sponsor more *primary legislation* strategically during legislative sessions when the Democrats control of the House of Representatives. Primary legislation as characterized by Whitby and Krause (2001) is legislation that contains "concentrated effects" or black interests, explicitly. Conversely, during a constrained legislative environment that occurs under Republican dominant legislative sessions,

SCLBC members will sponsor more *secondary legislation*. Secondary legislation is legislation that “have diffused effects for the general population” or black interest implicitly². While not strictly black interest legislation, secondary legislation may still be significant black constituency measures.

Secondly, SCLBC legislators strategically seek membership on committees that have jurisdiction over minority interest policies to help facilitate passage of their sponsored legislation. This action is extremely beneficial for SCLBC legislators since previous research indicates that committee action and informal discussions are the primary loci for legislative deliberations (Bessette, 1994; Hall 1996). The third activity involves strategic alliance formation for strategic bill passage and derailment of anti-minority measures (*negative veto*) purposes. I posit that SCLBC members will strategically seek to build inter-party alliances and intra-party alliances to move their sponsored bills further through the legislative process. They will also seek to create coalitions to block unwanted anti-minority legislation. Previous research involving descriptive representation has neglected to consider the idea that the promotion of black interests may come in the form of “blocking” unwanted or detrimental legislation. When linked together, these three legislative actions provide a depiction of the strategic behavior SCLBC members undertake to represent their constituency.

The following two models illustrate my conceptualization of political representation. Figure 1.1 details Pitkin’s Theory of Representation. Pitkin’s theory

² see Kenny J. Whitby and George A. Krause, “Race, Issue Heterogeneity and Public Policy: The Republican Revolution in the 104th US Congress and the Representation of African-American Policy Interest.” *British Journal of Political Science.*, 31(2001), 555-571, for a thorough discussion of this issue.

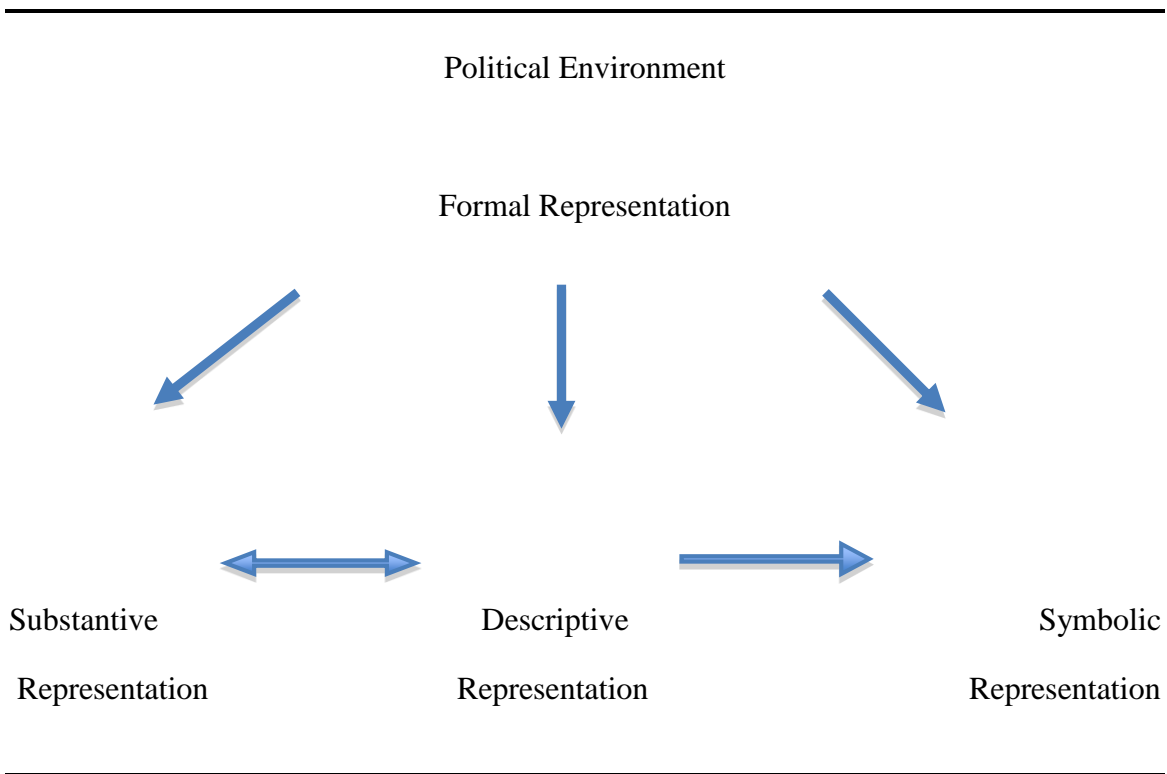


Figure: 1.1 Formal Representation in Typical Political Environment

posits that representation is a complex concept that includes four forms of representation. The four components of representation (formal, substantive, descriptive and symbolic) are linked together, and each is a part of the larger whole. However, the strategic representation theory expands Pitkin’s (1969) Theory of Representation by including the dimension of strategic representation as a viable component of both substantive and descriptive representation.

Figure 1.2 shows how strategic representation occurs when minority legislators seek to represent minority interests in a majoritarian legislature controlled by members of a different political party. For instance, the model shows that there may not be a clear-cut monotonic relationship between substantive and descriptive representation but that this relationship may, in fact, be recursive in nature. The ongoing debate in the current

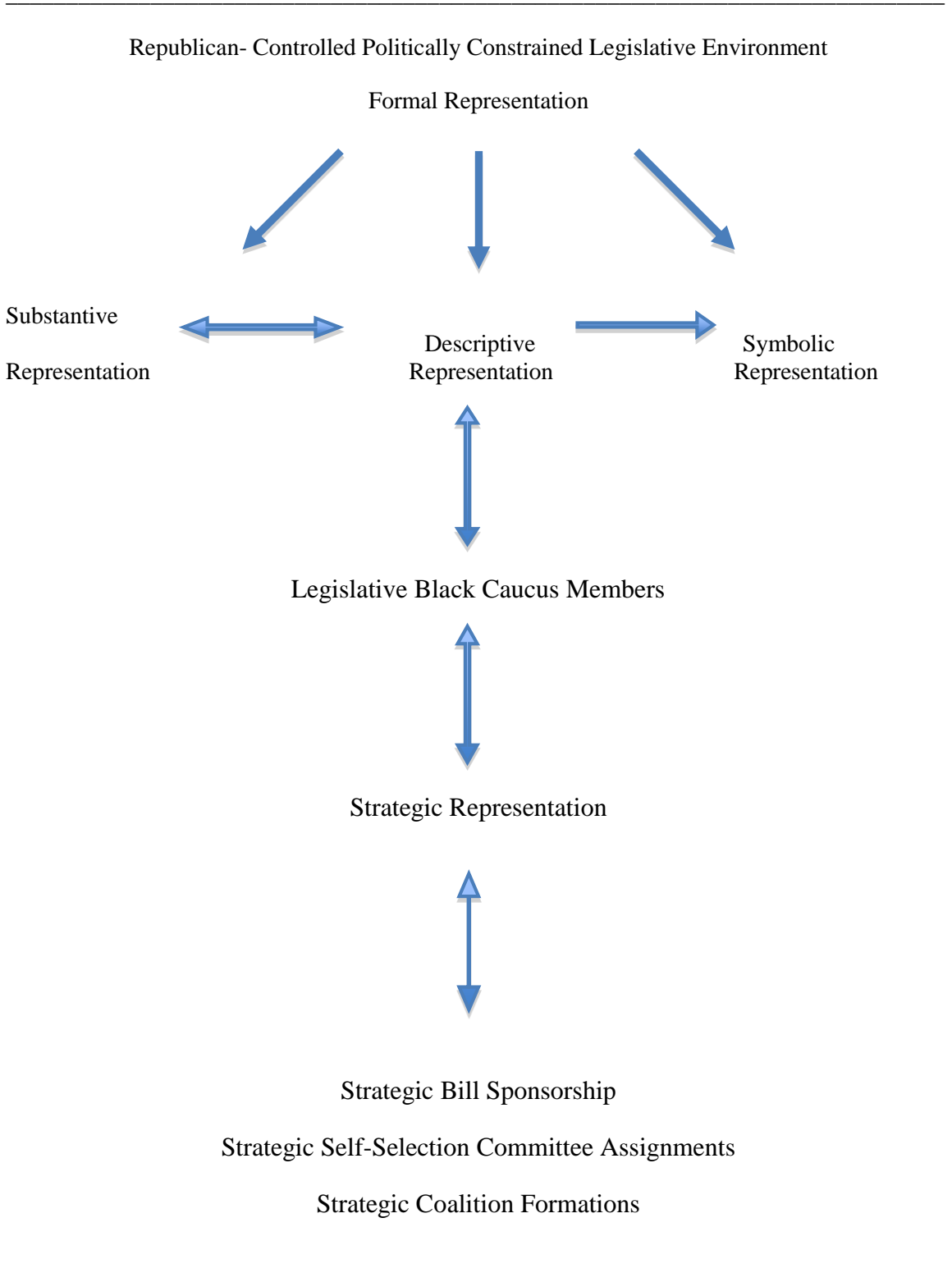


Figure: 1.2 Model of Strategic Representation

literature as to whether substantive representation can lead to descriptive representation or vice versa lends support to this point. The strategic model goes on to outline three separate actions SCLBC members undertake to provide representation for their black constituency within a politically constrained legislative environment. These actions identified as strategic committee self-selection, strategic legislation sponsorship, and strategic coalition formations, collectively form an integral part of their legislative strategy. Given the recursive nature of this collectively, they may produce some measure of descriptive representation.

This strategic representation model may be a dominant model for analyzing states' legislative environments when black Democratic legislators' representation occurs in a legislative chamber controlled by the Republican Party. As the model shows, strategic representation occurs within a wider legislative environment that may affect the entire process of representation. South Carolina is a good state to test this model. Over the last eighteen years, Democrat SCLBC members have represented their black constituents in a House of Representative dominated by Republican Legislators. Thus, my integrated model of strategic representation highlights the theory that underscores each section of this dissertation project.

The goal of this project is to test the strategic representation theory by examining the legislative activities of the South Carolina Legislative Black Caucus (SCLBC) members during selected legislative sessions of the South Carolina House of Representatives. It examines the South Carolina House of Representatives for the 109th, (1991-1992), 110th (1993-1994), 114th (2001-2002), 115th (2003-2004) and the 119th (2011-2012) legislative sessions to determine whether SCLBC House members have

pursued interest germane to their black constituents by using strategic actions. All of the legislative sessions under Republican majority control are of keen interest to this research.

In this project, I empirically test the linkages between the SCLBC members' legislative actions involving usage of strategic representation to give a much fuller picture of black representation than previously presented in the literature. I test empirically, the act that involves sponsorship of both secondary and primary legislation during periods of Democrats control and periods of Republican control of the House of Representatives. As previously mentioned, secondary legislation, while not strictly black interest legislation is nevertheless, salient to the black constituency's interest and goes directly to the question of whether black legislators provide effective descriptive representation.

I also empirically test SCLBC members' committee assignment preferences. I examine whether SCLBC members actively seek membership on committees that have jurisdiction over those core legislative policies articulated by the SCLBC. I also examine their behavior during roll call votes from two perspectives. I first analyze whether the SCLBC members strategically form inter-party and intra-party alliances to gain passage of their sponsored legislation. I then examine whether SCLBC members also build alliances for negative veto purposes, to block legislation that is detrimental to their black constituency interests. If so, how successful are they?

Contribution of the study

While other studies have examined various issues involving descriptive, substantive and symbolic representation, this study adds to the literature in meaningful ways. Even

though the literature is clear that descriptive representation does lead to symbolic representation, this project's primary focus is squarely upon the issue of whether descriptive representation within a constrained legislative environment creates strategic representation that leads to substantive representation. In doing so, this study provides another dimension of representation to help reconcile existing ambiguities between descriptive and substantive representation. Indeed, previous studies that examine issues involving descriptive, substantive and symbolic representation either reach the conclusion that black legislators adequately represent the interests of their black constituency (descriptive representation) or they do not (symbolic representation). In other words, most of these studies analyze black legislative representation in a dichotomous fashion.

However, I argue that black legislative representation does not occur in a dichotomous manner. Other dimensions of representation beyond the traditional bill sponsorship and/or bill passage analysis should be considered. Factors such as the SCLBC members' committee memberships, their strategic secondary legislation sponsorship, and their strategic negative veto-coalitions may show that their representation can still be fully descriptive even if it is not completely substantive. Collectively, these factors form the basis for strategic representation. These additional elements are the other dimensions of descriptive representation that merits consideration. The data set in this study lends itself to an analysis of these added descriptive representation components to better fit the theoretical underpinnings involving black descriptive representation in a legislative body controlled by members of the opposite political party.

Finally, most studies that have examined issues involving descriptive and

substantive representation tend to focus primarily on bill sponsorship or bill passage. I posit that blocking and/ or defeating undesirable bills are a part of a legislator's job in representing his or her constituency's interests and also deserves attention. The exclusion of the negative-veto dimension of representation is a serious oversight that needs to be corrected. In order to understand fully, the linkage between black descriptive representation and substantive representation within state legislatures, this component must be included in descriptive legislative studies. This research seeks to address that omission by including minority legislators' actions involving coalition formations as an included element of the strategic and descriptive representation examination. I argue that these alliances seek to either facilitate passage of favorable legislation or prevent passage of undesirable anti-minority legislation.

Moreover, this study seeks to bridge the existing literature by examining descriptive representation at the state level. Governments of states are fundamental to governance in the United States and directly affect everyone's daily lives. Those who understand governance at the grass-roots level have a more accurate picture of the United States than if they focus only on what happens in Congress (Rosenthal, 1981; Dresang and Gosling 2010). As indicated earlier, research on state level descriptive representation is quite limited. Given the importance of state governance in our governmental structure, state-level descriptive representation clearly warrants a more comprehensive look, particularly one that considers additional facets of representation previously ignored in previous research involving this issue.

There are numerous and compelling reasons for conducting an analysis of this issue at the state level. First, in light of the unsettled debate over descriptive

representation, this study will provide a mechanism for testing the generalizability of the findings generated by congressional research. Second, the states are a valuable venue from which to investigate the effects of minority representation. Race and ethnic population size are well established determinants of state policy (Brown 1995; Fellowes and Rowe 2004; Fording 1997; Hero 1998; Key 1949; Soss et al. 2001). Also, there are substantial variations in descriptive representation among state legislators compared to congressional representation. Consequently, state-level analysis holds an advantage over a national focus for the study of minority representation involving both descriptive and strategic questions. Overall, the state legislative setting provides an ideal environment not only to test the theory of strategic representation involving black legislators responsiveness within a constrained legislative environment, but in the process, may also help reconcile existing ambiguities in descriptive representation literature.

Rather than placing its focus upon many states, this research will look principally at one chamber of South Carolina's state legislature. South Carolina is a fascinating case study for several reasons. Throughout its legislative history, South Carolina's white legislators have shown that race has been a key determinant of the distribution of public goods and services. As Willingham (1985) notes, "South Carolina's legislature, similar to legislatures throughout the South, was a "bastion of prejudice and reactionary social policy."

Committee Self-Selection

Additionally, there is a significant gap in the literature concerning state level black representatives' involvement during committee deliberations. The overall knowledge of how black representatives affect the policy making process within the state

legislative context is limited. This is due, in part, by the lack of research on committees. Committees and subcommittees develop most of the language of bills. Committees collect information on issues through hearings and they are responsible for distributing information to legislative chambers through committee reports. Most legislative deliberation is likely to occur in committees because the committee system separates policies based upon legislation content and committees' jurisdiction. Consequently, committee assignments play a pivotal role in black legislators' abilities to influence the legislative process. Black legislators are aware of the importance of committee selection and should gravitate toward the committees with jurisdictions closest to their interests, particularly since these interests are predominantly ones that would further the member's chances of reelection (Fenno, 1973, 1978; Mayhew, 1974; Fiorina, 1989). Thus, an examination of each SCLBC member's committee assignments and their vote on policy while in committee will provide a better understanding of black legislative representation within a politically constrained legislative environment.

Coalition Formation and Negative Veto

A final dimension of representation explored in this research project involves SCLBC members' ability to create alliances to achieve passage of sponsored legislation or prevent passage of undesirable policies by the full legislative chamber (negative veto). As previously mentioned, legislative research has largely ignored the negative veto component of representation. Most research that involve legislation veto relates to legislation passed by the legislature and is subsequently vetoed by the executive branch. However, this study seeks to explore the issue of alliance formation for prevention of the initial passage of undesirable legislation rather than making an attempt to push for an

executive veto of the bill after passage. Alliance formation is central to politics and can occur almost anywhere. Indeed, a coalition defined as “the joint use of resources to determine the outcome of a decision in a mixed-motive situation” approximates what many would agree politics involves (Wiseman, 2004).

The idea that state legislators may form alliances to pass legislation they favor is also applicable to negative veto alliances. I argue that alliances can also be created to prevent passage of undesirable legislation, as well. When considered in light of personal remarks made by an SCLBC member to Professor Willie Legette, this argument is not farfetched. In his research, Legette (2000) noted SCLBC member Kay Patterson’s answer to a question concerning SCLBC members’ bill sponsorship. In his response Patterson replied:

No, I don’t introduce legislation. We already have 24 volumes...
What I do is grab a piece of legislation that is about to pass and
bring it to a ...halt! If all your legislator can do is cite you pieces
of legislation he or she introduced... then your legislator is just
about as useful to you as tits on a boar hog.
(Personal Communication, November 8, 1982; cited Legette, 2000).

Clearly, South Carolina’s SCLBC members engage in some negative veto actions. Given the relatively small number of SCLBC members, they will often have to create negative veto alliances to be successful in their negative veto efforts. However, instead of looking at the concept of bargaining between the legislative and executive branch of governments, this research will examine interparty and intraparty veto coalitions. These coalitions are created when black Democrat legislators along with their white Democrat counterparts and/or Republican colleagues join, to prevent passage of unwanted policies. Thus, to obtain a fuller understanding of SCLBC members’ representation, it becomes

necessary to examine the kinds of alliances they form, the conditions under which these alliances appear, and the number of SCLBC members' victories and defeats. Inclusion of this dimension of representation will offer a fuller picture of the relationship that exists between descriptive, substantive and strategic representation.

Conclusion

Are there instances when descriptive representation produces a representation that is not entirely substantive but is more than symbolic? This dissertation seeks to answer this question along with others raised in this chapter. It explores strategic representation involving SCLBC members and will employ a longitudinal and cross-sectional approach to test my strategic representation theory. It will examine patterns of legislative sponsorship, bill content and outcomes, committee assignments, and alliance formations among SCLBC members and Non-SCLBC members within the South Carolina House of Representatives. This study will analyze their strategic legislative behavior during the 109th, (1991-1992), 110th (1993-1994), 114th (2001-2002), 115th (2003-2004) and the 119th (2011-2012) legislative sessions. The ultimate goal of the study is to add to the overall understanding the impact black representatives may have on the representation process.

Although, this study will examine bill sponsorship by black representatives, this is only the starting point. The representation process extends beyond the single action involving bill sponsorship. Critical legislative actions occur in committees, primarily during deliberation. As such, I will explore theoretical arguments concerning the link between descriptive representation and committee membership requests while extending those arguments to strategic representation, as well.

I will also consider interparty and intraparty coalition formations for negative veto purposes in more detail. This dissertation explores these key dimensions of representation to provide a complete picture of how black representatives represent the interests of black

constituents. This exploration requires the development of a conceptual understanding of strategic representation, presentation of the necessary components inherent in this type representation, and examination of the legislative behavior that SCLBC members must undertake to garner success in their strategic legislative efforts. In doing so, this study will contribute to ongoing debates that center on the importance of black representation.

Plan of the Dissertation

This discussion has provided an overview of significant questions that undergird this project and how this research fits into current scholarship on minority representation and legislative behavior. To accomplish the objectives of this project, I analyze strategic legislative actions SCLBC members undertake to provide representation for their constituents while legislating within a politically constrained environment. Each chapter begins with an overview of the strategic legislative action under review. This procedure will provide the background that is crucial for a thorough understanding of the theoretical underpinnings associated with the strategic representation theory.

Chapter 2 analyzes the theory of strategic representation. After a brief summary of the history of the black struggle to gain access to the voting booth in general and South Carolina in particular, the discussion then turns to the theoretical literature on substantive and descriptive representation. It also discusses the linkages between substantive, descriptive and strategic representation. This chapter also provides a description of the collected data examined to test the theory of strategic representation. It also includes the expectations and hypotheses that will be tested for the examination of the theory of strategic representation. Finally, this chapter details why the data gives a fuller picture of

minority representation than has previously been provided by other scholarly research on this subject.

In Chapter 3, the following questions are addressed: Do black legislators sponsor more primary measures during the legislative sessions in which Democrats are in control? Do black legislators in the South Carolina House of Representatives strategically sponsor more secondary legislation rather than primary legislation during periods of Republican legislative dominance? This chapter contains a comparative bill content and vote analysis of black interest policies sponsored by SCLBC members during selected legislative sessions to provide answers to these questions.

Chapter 4 explores the theoretical expectations as to whether black legislators actively seek assignments to black interest committees. In other words, do they employ a self-selection process in seeking their committees' assignments? This chapter also examines the potential of the black legislators' committee assignments to influence legislative policy.

Chapter 5 analyzes how SCLBC members strategically form alliances with different groups within the legislature to gain passage of their sponsored legislation. It also examines whether SCLBC members form alliances to prevent unwanted measures from achieving final passage. In other words, do they engage in coalition formation for negative veto purposes? If so, who are the political actors in each alliance and how successful are they?

Chapter 6 is the conclusion of the dissertation. It summarizes the results of this dissertation and presents broader implications that involve minority representation,

legislative research, and democratic institutions. It will also identify new questions raised by the study that provides the basis for future scholarship.

CHAPTER 2

THEORIZING STRATEGIC REPRESENTATION

This chapter begins by providing a backdrop for discussing the shifting political nature of race and racism in South Carolina. Given the long shadow of Reconstruction in this state, it would be useful to examine how race has framed South Carolina politics. As part of that discourse, the concept “new racism” as discussed in Shaw and Black (2008) is presented. The chapter goes on to outline recent history of black enfranchisement, current rates of black voter registration and turnout to highlight the potential and current limits of an effective black vote. The discussion then turns to internal and external challenges members of the SCLBC face as they struggle to obtain positive, substantive legislative outcomes. These struggles are partly due to Republican Party dominance and partly due to Democratic Party weakness. This chapter also presents a detailed analysis of state representation scholarly literature. The final section of the chapter presents a discussion of theoretical expectations and methodological procedures for testing the theory of strategic representation.

2.1: Historical Context of Black Legislative Representation in South Carolina

Old South Carolina Politics

Has there been a significant change in black South Carolinians political empowerment in the past 50 years? It is necessary to understand precisely the implications of race in South Carolina’s political history to articulate a meaningful answer to this question.

South Carolina has a troubled racial past. Its' problematic racial history has its roots in the political and economic treatment black South Carolinians received during the Reconstruction era and arguably continues to receive today. Reconstruction in South Carolina was an era defined by violent struggles over who would determine past meanings and future directions of the political and economic power in the state. Within months of the Confederacy's defeat, South Carolina adopted a new constitution designed to limit the newly freed blacks, recently won freedom. The Constitution of 1865, passed only a few months after the Civil War ended, failed to grant blacks the right to vote. It also retained racial qualifications for the legislature. Consequently, the newly freed blacks had no power to combat the unfair laws (South Carolina-"Black Code and Jim Crow Laws"n.d. para 1)

Moreover, the 1865 Constitution was riddled with Black Codes, or what later became known as Jim Crow laws. These laws were designed to restrict the freed blacks' activity and ensure their availability as a labor force now with slavery's abolishment. South Carolina's Provisional Governor Benjamin Franklin Perry unashamedly summed-up the white politicians' position in drafting the 1865 Constitution, this way:

To extend this universal suffrage to the "freedmen" in their present ignorant and degraded condition, would be little less than folly and madness ... [because] this is a white man's government and intended for white men only (B F. Perry-,1865,; cited in Hummel, 1971)

To combat the southern states discriminatory actions, in 1867 Congress enacted the Reconstruction Act. The Act effectively divided the South into five military districts and called for the creation of new southern state governments which would grant blacks the right to vote. Only after the new governments ratified the Fourteenth Amendment would the Southern states be readmitted to the Union.

In response to the federal legislation South Carolina, grudgingly developed a new constitution in 1868 that supposedly gave black South Carolinians equality before the law. Among other things, the resulting 1868 South Carolina Constitution established a balanced, three branches of government and created a detailed Declaration of Rights which mandated political equality regardless of race. The Constitution also introduced several changes that included removal of racial and property barriers for blacks to obtain the right to vote. Given the state's black population majority voting, many blacks in the Republican Party were elected to state office for the first time in South Carolina's history (Trinkley, 2009).

However, the 1868 Constitution included the requirement of South Carolina's citizen's ratification and as such, was not well received by the white citizenry. Not surprisingly, the political power that blacks gained through the 1868 Constitution quickly dissipated a few years later. By 1873, the entire country had plunged into a severe economic depression.

The national economic problem quickly diverted Congress' attention from Reconstruction issues, which in turn permitted an increase in the level of violence perpetuated by white South Carolinians towards blacks. Black South Carolinians witnessed a further erosion of their political power with the 1876 gubernatorial election of Wade Hampton, one of the state's most racist Confederate veteran. Hamptons' election as South Carolina's governor also impacted the 1876 Presidential Election.

In 1876, the two major candidates, Rutherford B. Hayes, a Republican, and Samuel J. Tilden, a Democrat were locked in a very close presidential race. Congress eventually decided the election in Rutherford B. Hayes' favor. To ensure Hayes'

presidential inauguration, political leaders of both parties struck the Bargain of 1877. Essentially the agreement required President Hayes to recognize Democratic control of the Southern states and subsequent removal of all federal troops from the South. Consequently as a result of the agreement, Reconstruction ended in South Carolina and the white Democrats, ultimately regained political power in the state.

The white legislature promptly began their dismantlement of black South Carolinians political enfranchisement after they assumed power. In 1882, South Carolina's new white legislature began to pass various disenfranchisement laws aimed at black voters. Two glaring examples are the "eight box" law which required voters to place ballots in each category of office in eight separate boxes and an 1894 law that required potential first-time voters to provide affidavits from two reputable citizens attesting to the applicant's good character are just.

The Constitution of 1895 completed the state's legislature total disenfranchisement of potential black voters by requiring them to pass a literacy test successfully and pay a poll tax six months before the election (Simkins,1966). The 1895 Constitution also created state-sanctioned segregation and swept away laws that raised taxes designed to provide benefits to blacks South Carolinians.

For example, the law allowing poll taxes to be used to fund public education was repealed, virtually eliminating public education. In sum, the rights that black South Carolinians obtained during the Reconstruction era were systematically eroded, particularly with the reinforcement of the transformed 1865 Black Codes and the new 1890's Jim Crow laws. Repeal of these disenfranchisement laws would not begin until the 1950s. In fact, some of these racially discriminatory laws remained firmly in place for

almost a century, and were only abolished with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Moreover, throughout South Carolina's political history, white politicians have used the issue of race to provide a toll for the diversion of attention from significant political matters. Early on, white politicians in South Carolina utilized the political strategy "When the going gets rough, when a glimmer of informed political self-interest begins to well up from the masses, the issue of white supremacy may be raised to whip them back into line" (Key, 1949, p. 131; cited in Shaw and Black 2008, p. 4).

Indeed one of V.O. Key's most significant observations about politics in the South has alternatively been labeled the "black threat," "racial threat" or "white backlash" hypothesis. It asserts that after the post-Civil War Reconstruction, white politicians such as Ben "Pitchfork" Tillman, Cole Blease, and "Cotton Ed" Smith were successful in stoking the fires of white supremacy and anti-black animosity because working-class whites were fearful of black South Carolinians commanding nearly 60% of the state's population by 1900. Key noted that such political leaders used race as a decoy to distract rank-and-file whites from a range of more pertinent concerns: "South Carolina's preoccupation with the Negro stifles political conflict...Mill worker and plantation owners alike want to keep the Negro in his place. (Lublin & Key, 1949, p. 131; Voss, 2000). This tactic successfully stifled black political participation for a period and consequently in the early 1960's virtually all state legislators, in the United States, were white males.

However, the Civil Rights Movement and the 1965 Voting Rights Act dismantled much of the legal foundation for Jim Crow segregation. These actions sparked the rise of

newly enfranchised and/or empowered black voters, who in turn eventually elected record numbers of blacks to public office. While only about 16% of black South Carolinians in 1960 were registered to vote, none held elective office. Approximately 50 years later at least 70.1% of black South Carolinians were registered voters. Ernest A. Finney, Jr., a former legislator, went on to served 15 years on the State Supreme Court, the last six (1994-2000) as Chief Justice. Donald W. Beatty began his tenure as an associate justice of the Supreme Court in February 2007. Civil Rights Attorney and Federal Judge Matthew J. Perry's induction into the South Carolina Hall of Fame occurred (Bositis, 2003; Botsch, 2003; Brundrett, 2007, Fleischer, 2007; Hill, 2000; Shaw and Black 2008), and more recently a federal courthouse was named in Judge Perry's honor. Currently, there are over 600 black elected officials serving in different levels of government in South Carolina (Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 2011). Thirty-seven of those elected officials serve in South Carolina's General Assembly³. Two black South Carolina elected officials, James "Jim" Clyburn and Tim Scott, respectively, serve in the United States House of Representatives and The United States Senate⁴. Approximately six years ago, the city of Columbia, the states' capital city, elected Steven Benjamin as its first black mayor.

Still, the above-cited progress may disguise existing deep political and economic inequities between blacks and whites in this state. Simply stated, the political nature of

³ In the midst of a South Carolina Senate Ethics Investigation, SCLBC member, Senator Robert Ford, resigned from the Legislature near the end of the 2013 Legislative Session

⁴ Senator Tim Scott, (a Republican US House member) was appointed by Governor Nikki Haley to fill the unexpired term of Senator Jim DeMint

the racial discrimination in the Palmetto State may now be less overt and more covert in its present form.

In other words, maybe covert racism does exist, as well. Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton argues that overt racism consists of overt acts by individuals while the second type, covert racism, originates in the operation of established and respected forces in the society (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967, p.3). Conceivably, covert racism may be at work given black South Carolinians lack of political and economic parity with the white citizens of this state. It may very well play a role in black elected officials' efforts to provide substantive representation to their black constituents.

New Racism and South Carolina Politics

To develop a fuller picture of the dilemma black elected officials' face in addressing the racial problems and concerns of the black citizenry, a brief historical account of South Carolina's protest politics is essential to understand precisely how race and racism have impacted South Carolina's politics since the 1960s. Otherwise, the lack of understanding may lead to erroneous conclusions.

Perhaps the first evidence of black South Carolinian's use of protest politics to acquire new meaningful political power in the state since Reconstruction could be traced to the opening of the first National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) chapters in Columbia and Charleston in 1917. Evidence of The NAACP work in helping black South Carolinians attain meaningful political empowerment is apparent through their assistance in providing legal representation to the black plaintiffs Harry and Eliza Briggs in *Briggs v. Elliott*, (1952). The case brought against the Clarendon County School District argued that unequal education facilities exist throughout South Carolina.

Briggs (1952), was the first desegregation case to reach the United States Supreme Court and was later consolidated in 1954 with *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* (1954) in which the Court struck down the “separate but equal” doctrine.

Nationally, by the beginning of the 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement had begun in the United States. Black communities all throughout the South rose up in protest against the segregationist policies that kept them systematically in a separate but unequal society. These discriminatory policies belied the “separate but equal” treatment promised in the 14 Amendment and articulated by the Supreme Court in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) (Warren, 1954).

Black South Carolinians played an important role in the Civil Rights Movement. Alongside many important struggles that occurred in the other Southern States, black South Carolinians actively protest for political equality here as well. One notable example includes the protest activity engaged in by The Friendship Nine (sometimes referred to as the Rock Hill Nine), a group of black Rock Hill's Friendship Junior College male students that went to jail after staging a sit-in at a segregated lunch counter in Rock Hill in 1961. The group gained nationwide attention because they followed an untried strategy called "Jail, No Bail," which lessened the huge financial burden civil rights groups were facing as the sit-in movement spread across the South. (Felder, 2012).

Another example of black South Carolinian’s protest for political and economic equality is the 1969 Charleston Hospital Workers Strike. Mary Moultrie, a nurse, became one of the leading organizers of the 113-day strike against the Charleston hospital system- the Deep South’s oldest medical school and teaching hospital. This strike became a movement that helped black nurses, and other workers receive the pay, respect

and recognition they deserved (Taylor, 2013). All of these protests, involving black South Carolinians shared a common goal; the goal of attaining meaningful black political and economic power in the state of South Carolina.

However, even with South Carolina's flagrant usurpation of the blacks' citizens political power in this state, historians such as Jack Bass and Walter DeVries assert that the racial climate in South Carolina has lessened over the years. They recite the often-quoted comparison between the racial change in South Carolina and elsewhere: "Unlike the deeper South, where even the poorest white could count his skin color as a badge of superiority, South Carolina valued stability as a higher social value than segregation and rejected extremist rhetoric. Once segregation had crumbled, the social transformation followed with little violence" (Bass & DeVries, 1995 [1976], p. 252).

Yet, two frequently cited incidents seem to contradict this view. One is the 1968 Orangeburg Massacre in which police killed three students, injured 27, and arrested others after the students attempted to desegregate a bowling alley. The other incident involves an early 1970 anti-busing violence by whites against blacks in Lamar (Beazley, 2004).

Even as late as the year 2000, many white candidates defended South Carolina as the last Deep South state officially to fly the Confederate flag (Woliver, Ledford, & Dolan, 2001). Furthermore, during the 2006 election season, Governor Mark Sanford publicly apologized for the use of the term "tar baby" during a State Budget and Control Board meeting (WLTX-TV and WCSC, 2007; cited in Shaw and Black, 2008).

In concert with these outward racist acts, perhaps, newer and more subtle forms of racism also exist within South Carolina's racial politics that continues to hinder black

South Carolinians political and economic progress. To capture a much truer picture of this state's shifting racial politics, I use Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (1999) plausible theory of racial change to support this assertion. As cited in Shaw and Black, (2008), Bonilla-Silva argues that to assess objectively whether meaningful changes in race relations has occurred, we must look to see if there has been a transformation in the racial structure of South Carolina. "Racial structure," as defined by Bonilla-Silva, is the network of "social, political, economic, and ideological [factors] that shape the life chances of different races" (1999, p. 56). Bonilla-Silva posits that there are elements that comprise the post-1960s racial structure of the United States including South Carolina. He lists the following factors to explain the United States racial structure: (1) government institutions reproduce racial inequality through the routine practices of supposed "race-neutral mechanisms"; (2) racist practices and language are more covert or at least not as overt/blatant; (3) certain racist practices language linger as vestiges of the Jim Crow period; (4) appeals to so-called "color-blind" governmental action and language increase while whites allege they are the victims of "reverse racism" and (5) public policymakers avoid considering the direct racial impact of various public policies. These five "new racism" factors, which clearly overlap, can be labeled as institutional racism: latent racism, residual Jim Crow racism; color blind/reverse racism; and racial policy impacts (Shaw and Black, 2008). In this project, I only analyze the racism factor involving institutional racism, to highlight the existing racial structure that undergirds South Carolina's political environment.

Institutional Racism

Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton (1967), articulated one of the earliest

conceptualizations of “institutional racism” when they delineated its features and consequences in their book entitled *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. Carmichael and Hamilton introduced the term ‘institutional racism’ to account for attitudes and practices that led to racist outcomes through unquestioned bureaucratic procedures. In their work, they treated individual and institutional racism as comparable to the distinction between overt and covert racism. They opined that while individual racism could be seen and heard, institutional racism was a more elusive process that could not be reduced to the acts of persons. They argued that white people collectively benefit from the process, even if individual whites did not wish to discriminate (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967). Thus, institutional racism or the maintenance of racial disparities through routine governmental practices has created conditions that hamper the progress of South Carolina’s black citizens in their quest for economic and political equality.

For example, the South Carolina General Assembly did not enact a Fair Housing Law and establish a monitoring commission until 1989-twenty- one years after the federal government’s 1968 Fair Housing Act (Washington, 2002; Shaw and Black, 2008). Similarly, within the educational arena, the state of South Carolina has for decades, severely underfunded minority-majority school districts. It has steadfastly defended such educational inequities in court and continues to assert it has met the state constitutional mandate that requires each student receive a “minimally adequate” education (Marshall Bradley & Bradley 2001 Morrison 2007; Shaw and Black, 2008).

To further illustrate this point, Table 2.1 displays the results of institutional racism as it pertains to black South Carolinians both economically and educationally. Although blacks comprise approximately 28.1% of the state’s 2010 population, most still lag

behind their white counterparts in every significant economic and social indicator, and government plays a role in this inequality (Botsch, 2003). The educational disparities between whites and blacks involving local school funding, educational quality, and college preparedness are evident from the fact that almost 16% fewer black South Carolinians receive their high school diplomas as compared to their white counterparts (approximately 65% versus 81%). Similarly, approximately 14% fewer black South Carolinians attain a college degree when compared to whites (10% versus 24%). A substandard public education combined with economic discrimination have a bearing upon black median household income. Black household income is only 60% of white household income or \$25,032 versus \$42,068. Also, approximately 29% of black South Carolinians live below the poverty line compared to about 9% of whites. Undoubtedly, institutional racism is alive and well in South Carolina⁵.

Recent History, Limits, and Potential of the Black Vote

Having analyzed the broad economic and educational status of Black South Carolinians, this discussion now gives attention to the history and health of the black vote. Much like the fight for black southern enfranchisement or re-enfranchisement after the 1940s, there were a series of devices used either to deny black South Carolinians the right to vote or to dilute their ability to cast a meaningful vote. Those devices included: whites-only party primaries; separate boxes for state and federal elections (to circumvent federal scrutiny); the eight-box law (to confuse the under-educated voter); the literacy

⁵ On November 12, 2014, The South Carolina Supreme Court issued a ruling in *Abbeville School District et.al. South Carolina et al.*(2014) that the South Carolina Legislature did not meet the constitutionally minimally adequate mandated funding level for South Carolina's rural school districts.

Table 2.1. South Carolina Comparison by Race, 2010 (Percentages Rounded)

Category	South Carolina		
	Total State	Blacks	Whites
Population	4,625,364	1,290,684	3,060,000
% White Population	-----	-----	66.2
% Black Population	-----	27.9	-----
% High School Graduate, age 25+	83.6	64.9	80.9
% Bachelor's Degree or higher Age 25+	20.2	9.9	24.2
Median Household Income	\$37,082	\$25,032	\$42,068
% Persons below Poverty	16.8	28.7	9.3
Median value of Owner Occupied Home	\$94,900	\$67,300	\$105,300
% Minority owned firms	11.8	-----	-----

Source: US Census of the Population, 2010

test; the poll tax; appointment of all state legislators by local officials; and the constant re-registration of all voters (Burton et al., 1994; Shaw and Black, 2008). More recently, in 2011, the Republican-dominated legislature passed, and Governor Nikki Haley signed the Voter ID Bill into law. The law requires voters to show a driver's license or other photo identification, passport, military identification or a voter registration card with a picture on it to vote (Act #0027, 2011). Critics have argued that implementation of this law will unduly burden and significantly suppress minority voters' participation in the electoral process.

Maneuvers such as the Voter ID law are not new in South Carolina's politics. Civil rights activist James T. McCain noted during the mid-1900's that denial of the vote by state law was so extensive it prohibited persons the right to vote based on a host of

morality crimes, among which was the racial crime of “miscegenation” (McCain, 1957, p. 360). He concluded that the chief among “several factors that are retarding [the Negro’s] progress of becoming a first class citizen politically” were “apathy and the lack of political consciousness” as conditioned by white supremacy and an “economic dependency” on whites. He further opined, “The Negro in South Carolina seems not to have learned the advantages of the ballot” (McCain, 1957, p. 360).

Despite McCain’s assertion, beginning in the 1970’s black voters in South Carolina began to utilize their vote to provide themselves with some measure of descriptive representation in increasing numbers. As a result of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, black South Carolina voters began voting in large enough numbers to elect black officials to office. Even though in 1970, the percentage of black voters still lagged behind their percentage of the state population by about ten percentage points, nonetheless, black voters were able to elect three blacks to the legislature. The three newly elected black legislators were the first blacks to serve in the South Carolina General Assembly since 1902 (SCLBC History, 2001)⁶

Table 2.2 displays the trend in black descriptive representation in the South Carolina legislature over time. It shows that the number of blacks in South Carolina’s the 1965 Voting Rights Act forced South Carolina to redraw district lines into individual districts for each legislator. The redrawing of the district lines ultimately increased the number of districts that had high percentages of Black voters. Thus, the number of Blacks elected to the House of Representatives increased from 3 to 13 in the 1974 election. At

⁶Herbert Fielding, James Felder, and I. S. Levy Johnson were elected to the S.C. House. legislature remained in single digits for the next four years. In 1974, a lawsuit filed under

Table 2.2 Trend of House Descriptive Representation 1971-2012, Selected Years

Year	Democrats	Republicans	Independents	Vacancy	SCLBC	SCLBC % ^a
1971 ^b	119	5	0	0	3	2
1973	103	21	0	0	4	3
1976	107	17	0	0	13	10
1981	107	17	0	0	15	12
1983	104	20	0	1	20	16
1984	103	20	0	1	19	15
1987	91	32	0	1	16	13
1991	79	42	0	2	14	11
1992	77	42	1	4	15	12
1994	71	52	1	0	18	15
1995^c	57	63	4	0	22	18
1996	54	65	4	1	25	20
1999^d	55	66	0	3	24	19
2000	57	67	0	0	25	20
2001	54	70	0	0	24	19
2003	50	74	0	0	24	19
2006^e	49	74	0	1	25	20
2007	51	73	0	0	27	22
2010	52	72	0	0	29	23
2012	48	76	0	0	27	22

Source: South Carolina Legislative Manuals (1970-2012)

- ^a Percentages calculation (Rounded) based upon 124 member House chamber
- ^b First legislative session black legislators served in House since Reconstruction
- ^c Legislative year (in bold type) when Republicans gained control of House
- ^d Year (in bold-type) SCLBC member Gilda-Cobb Hunter became first black House Minority Leader (1999-2001)
- ^e First year (in bold-type) SCLBC members constituted a majority of the House Democrats

that time, this represented the largest number of Blacks to serve in the General Assembly since Reconstruction. After the 1974 election, The South Carolina Legislative Black Caucus became formally established. Although operational since 1973, the S.C. Legislative Black Caucus, was formally organized in 1975. At that point in time, the SCLBC was composed of thirteen (13) black members of the South Carolina House of

Representatives. Throughout the years, the SCLBC has realized steady growth to the extent that the 2011-2013 SCLBC consisted of thirty-seven (37) members of the South Carolina General Assembly. During all those years, the SCLBC continual primary goal was “to bring together various segments of the community to inform the public of the need for governmental action to help solve the whole range of racial problems (Legette 2000, 849).

Moreover, the SCLBC views itself as the legislative voice of the black citizenry within the state. It tries to achieve this goal through the establishment and implementation of an SCLBC formal committee system based on policy areas of legislative committees to which its members are assigned. Each SCLBC committee is tasked with the charge of determining the impact of any proposed legislation upon the black community. Every black legislator has been a member of the SCLBC since its inception with one exception⁸.

The number of black representatives in the House continued to increase up to the 1980s, and then witnessed a slight decline from 20 members in 1983 to 15 in 1992. Until the mid-1990s, the South Carolina General Assembly and most statewide political offices were firmly under Democratic control. However, during the 1990s battles over redistricting, black Democrats parted ways with most of the white Democrats and aligned themselves with white Republicans to create 11 majority-black Senate Districts and 31 majority-black House Districts by 1994. As SCLBC member, Joseph Neal reasoned...

“Increasing our share of black representation in South Carolina is a goal that has been important to our people in South Carolina since the Civil War” (Scoppe, 2000, p. A6; Shaw and Black 2008)

As a result of its political alliance with Republicans, the SCLBC got what it wanted, more black legislators but this victory came with a steep price. By November 1994, white Democratic Representatives Harold Worley of Horry County and C.D.

Chamblee of Anderson County switched to the Republicans and put the GOP in control of the House for the first time since Reconstruction (Botsch, 2003)⁷. The Republicans now controlled the House and were within a few votes of controlling the Senate. Within a year, the Republican-controlled House adopted an agenda that *The State Newspaper* editorial writer Cindi Ross Scoppe described as the Black Caucus' "worst nightmare". The white Republicans agenda included efforts to eliminate affirmative action initiatives and enact welfare reform (Scoppe, 2000). All too often SCLBC members began to witness other occurrences of their unwise alliance with the Republican Party. Confronted with repeated Republican legislative actions that ran contrary to SCLBC members' legislative priorities, Representative Cobb-Hunter proclaimed:

"Five years ago, I think the House probably was made up of people who, if you made some impassioned plea based on race and doing the right thing...it might have swayed some people's opinion. That doesn't work now" (Scoppe "A cautionary tale," 2000, A6; Shaw and Black, 2008).

Despite, the legislative rancor between the SCLBC and the Republican Party, South Carolina witnessed an increase in the number of black legislators serving in the House since the parties 1990s alliance. Historically, in the 1999-2000 legislative session Gilda-Cobb Hunter, a female SCLBC member, became the first black House Minority Leader since Reconstruction.

Also, since 2006, SCLBC members became and continue to constitute a majority of the House Democrats, which is now the minority party in the state's legislature (SC

⁷Today all members of the legislature are elected from single-member districts. The General Assembly is composed of 124 House members and 46 Senate members.

Legislative Manual). Currently, the House of Representatives has 28 black Representatives as of the 2011-2012 legislative sessions and 11 black state Senators. Near the end of the 2012 legislative year, SCLBC member Todd Rutherford became the second black representative elected as House Minority Leader⁸.

By the same token, the Republican numbers and political power have also increased, but to a greater extent. As of today, the Republican Party is in complete control of South Carolina politics. Republicans currently hold a large majority in both chambers of the state legislature. They currently hold 76 seats in the House of Representatives, while the Democrats hold 48. Much like the Democratic Party in other states of the Old

Confederacy, the South Carolina Democratic Party has been unable to retain control of the states' legislature in the face of the South Carolina's Republican Party's growing strength. Interestingly enough, South Carolina's legislature has been under Republican Party control for nearly two decades, and throughout that time, all of the SCLBC members have been members of the Democrat minority, though in increasing numbers. Thus, it is crucial to understand the impact that the change, in political party control of the South Carolina House of Representatives, has made upon the legislative behavior and successes of the SCLBC throughout this time.

Although black descriptive representation within the South Carolina Legislature has increased over time, the state's current political structure constrains political opportunities for greater black political power. This study will examine how, for almost

⁸ All Democrat Legislators serving in the House have become members of the SCLBC with one exception; Mary Miles, a representative from Calhoun County initially refused to join but became a member in 1982. See Appendix A for a list of the names of all current and previous SCLBC members.

two decades, SCLBC House members were able to tread the legislative path of least resistance by strategically sponsoring certain legislation while also engaging in other forms of strategic legislative behavior in their attempts to acquire some measure of political power. They had to adopt this path because of their inability to wield meaningful, substantive influence in the Republican-dominated House of Representatives. So the question becomes are they successful in their efforts to provide meaningful strategic representation to their constituency given the political dominance of the Republican Party? We can gain an initial understanding of their efforts through an analysis of black South Carolinians' voting behavior.

Black Voters Registration and Turnout

Regardless of conventional wisdom concerning black voter turnout, in the latest national election, blacks voted at a much higher rate than other minority groups in the 2012 Presidential Election. By most measures, black voter turnout surpassed the white turnout for the first time in election history. During this election cycle blacks strongly supported President Barack Obama while many whites stayed home. The heavy black voter turnout came despite concerns about the effect of new voter-identification laws on minority voting. Apparently, the impediments imposed by the voter ID Laws were outweighed by black voters' desire to re-elect the first black president. Overall, the 2012 Election saw the emergence of black voters who all too often were disenfranchised and then effectively barred from voting until enactment of the 1965 Voting Rights Act (US Election Project, 2012).

In fact, today's black South Carolinians demonstrate steady rates of registration and turnout (Holder, 2006). Table 2.3 shows black and white South Carolinians

registered and turned out at roughly the same rates in the highly contested 2012 presidential election. It also shows that registration rates for whites and blacks in South Carolina were comparable, to their counterparts in the neighboring states of Georgia and North Carolina. In 2012, the registration rate for black South Carolinians stood at 75% percent compared to 84% of black North Carolinians, 69% of black Georgians and 56%

Table 2.3. Rates of Registration and Turnout in South Carolina and Neighboring States, 2012 Presidential Election (Rounded)

<u>State and Race</u>	<u>Percent Registered</u>	<u>Total Percent Vote</u>
Georgia		
Whites	67%	57%
Blacks	69%	62%
Hispanics	29%	23%
North Carolina		
Whites	71%	60%
Blacks	84%	79%
Hispanics	18%	15%
Florida		
Whites	62%	56%
Blacks	56%	49%
Hispanics	48%	42%
South Carolina		
Whites	70%	60%
Blacks	75%	69%

Source: *The Center for Voting and Democracy*

of black Floridians. With regards to actual turnout, black North Carolinians turned out at the highest rate, 79%, followed by black South Carolinians at 75%, and black Georgians, at 62%.

A comparative examination of white and black South Carolinians voting behavior shows that black South Carolinians registration and turnout rates were higher than whites in both instances. Blacks registration rate stood at 75% compared to whites, 70% and the

and the black voters' turnout rate was 69% compared to whites turnout rate of 60%. In essence, the problem is not that a disproportion number of blacks do not vote on election day, the quandary is that white South Carolinians disproportionately vote in larger numbers and racial blocs for white candidates, most often Republicans. Thus, they usually counter and outweigh many of the preferences blacks express at the polls (Lublin & Voss, 2000; Smith, 2003, Black and Shaw, 2008).

As an illustration, observe Tables 2.4 and 2.5 in the 2010 Governor's race between Republican candidate Nikki Haley and Democrat candidate Vincent Sheheen. To conduct this analysis, I adopt the method used by Shaw and Black (2008), in an earlier study. I divided all 46 South Carolina counties into two groups. The first set includes all counties where blacks comprised at least a third of all registered voters in 2010. There are 23 of them, or exactly half of the total. The second set includes all counties where blacks were less than a third of registered voters. There are both clear differences and similarities in these tables.

Table 2.4 and Table 2.5 highlight a striking similarity. It shows that the mean registration rate for counties where blacks comprise more than one-third of the population is identical (50% versus 50%) to the mean registration rates for whites. But in the set of counties where blacks make up less than one-third of the population, whites register at a much higher rate than blacks (77% versus 23%). Essentially, black South Carolinians failed to capitalize on their impressive numbers in those counties where their numbers were more than one-third of the county's population.

Tables 2.6 and 2.7 further amplifies black South Carolinians voters' dilemma. In both sets of counties, blacks stay home at a higher rate than whites. In those counties

Table 2.4 Registration in Counties where one-third or more of the population is Black, 2010 General election

Registered Voters					
	<u>All</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>% White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>% Black</u>
County Averages	32,359	16,141	50%	16,218	50%
(n=23)					
Example Counties					
Colleton	24,403	13,031	53%	9,372	42%
Chester	19,024	11,294	59%	7,730	41%
Georgetown	33,815	22,517	67%	11,298	33%

Table 2.5 Registration in Counties where less than one-third of the population is Black, 2010 General Election

Registered Voters					
	<u>All</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>% White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>% Black</u>
County Averages	82,011	63,555	77%	8,456	23%
(n=23)					
Example Counties					
Abbeville	13,931	9,637	69%	4,294	31%
Union	16,684	11,248	67%	5,436	33%
Chesterfield	22,421	14,351	64%	8,061	36%

Source: South Carolina Vote Counts

where blacks are more than one-third of the population, their turnout rate is approximately 44% versus 58% for whites. In other words, in this set of counties black voter turnout averages is approximately 14 percentage points lower than white voters' averages. On the other hand, in those counties where blacks make up less than one-third

Table 2.6 Black and White Voter Turnout where one-third or more of the population is black- 2010 General Election

<i>Voter Turnout</i>				
	Total Vote	% Total Voting	White Voting	% Black Voting
County Averages (n=23)	17,190	29%	58%	44%
Example Counties				
Colleton	11,624	52%	60%	40%
Chester	9,636	51%	59%	41%
Georgetown	19,951	59%	53%	47%

Source: South Carolina Vote Counts

Table 2.7 Black and White Voter Turnout where less than one-third of the population is black, 2010 General Election

<i>Voter Turnout</i>				
	Total Vote	% Total Voting	% White Voting	% Black Voting
County averages (n=23)	41,878	71%	71%	29%
Example Counties				
Abbeville	7,406	53%	69%	31%
Union	9,314	56%	67%	33%
Chesterfield	11,243	50%	65%	35%

Source: South Carolina Vote Counts

of the population, the mean average white voter turnout is a whopping 71% versus a mere 29% for blacks. In sum, the black South Carolinian voter problem lies in both the area of voter turnout and voter registration.

Black voter turnout is critical in getting blacks elected to public office and cannot be under-estimated. More blacks must be registered, and more of the registered black voters must vote. However, the task of increasing the number of registered black voters may have become even harder than in times past. In a recent ruling in *Shelby County, Alabama versus Holder* (2013), the U.S. Supreme Court struck down Section 4, of The Voting Rights Act. Section 4 is the formula that Congress has used to determine which states were subject to the special preclearance requirement under Section 5 of the Act. The Court's decision to strike Section 4 of the Voters Rights Act will have a significant impact on South Carolina's voting procedure. In the absence of the federal government's preclearance oversight, South Carolina's state and local election officials are free to redraw district boundaries or move polling places without first having to obtain permission from the Department of Justice. These actions have the potential to negatively impact South Carolina's black voting age populations for decades to come.

Growing Numbers of Black Elected Officials

This study now undertakes an analysis of the effectiveness of black voters' efforts to acquire meaningful, descriptive representation. Despite their voter related problems throughout the years, black South Carolinians have managed to place a small but growing number of blacks into elective offices. Table 2.8 displays the trend in the number of black elected officials in South Carolina during selected years' between 1998-2008.

During those years, the total number of elected officials in South Carolina rose from 3,943 to 3,953, approximately a 0.3% increase while the total number of black elected officials increased from 534 to 549, approximately a 2.8% increase during this same period. These conservative estimates indicate that overall, blacks have held less

than 14% of the total number of elected offices. For example, in 1998 blacks represented 13.5% of the total elected officials and only increased their total to 13.7% for subsequent years. Although black South Carolinians still lag behind their white counter-parts in holding elected offices, these numbers still represent a substantial gain since the mere total of 102 black elected officials in 1974. Indeed, by 2001 South Carolina had 542

Table 2.8 Trend of Black Elected Officials in South Carolina, Selected Years

Year	Total Elected Officials	Total Black Elected Official	% BEO's of Total	% Black of Total Voting Age	Parity Ratio Voting Age % by % Black
1998	3943	534	13.5%	27.9%	48.4
1999	3931	538	13.7%	27.8%	49.3
2000	3943	540	13.7%	27.2%	50.4
2001	3951	542	13.7%	27.2%	50.4
2008	3953	549	13.7%	27.2%	50.4

Source: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, National Black Elected Official Roster; US Census; BEO is Black Elected Officials

black elected officials: 34 U.S. or state legislators; 333 city and county officials; 8 law enforcement officials; and 167 education officials (2001 State Statistical Abstract; South Carolina Budget and Control Board, 2001; Botsch, 2003).

The last column in Table 2.8 presents the descriptive representation number for black South Carolinians. It divides the percentage of all offices blacks held by the

percentage blacks comprised of the voting-age population (VAP), which produces a “parity ratio”. If these percentages are perfectly equal, this ratio is 100, or perfect parity. If they are perfectly unequal, the ratio is 0 or perfect disparity (Shaw and Black, 2008).

During the time frame of this study, black South Carolinians had an average parity ratio of 49.78%. In other words, blacks had less than half the number of offices we would expect if they held elected office in equal proportion to the percentage they comprised of all eligible voters. However, since 2000, the black South Carolinians average was 50.4%, which is slightly better than their average during prior years. Nevertheless, this modest increase represents only half the total number of elective offices blacks need to hold if they want to provide full descriptive representation to black South Carolinians.

Arguably, this cursory review of South Carolina’s racial politics might show that the election of many blacks to public office denotes a genuine sign of racial progress in the state and the lessening of racial, political polarization. Although descriptive representation provided by South Carolina’s black elected officials has increased over the last three decades, there is still a political structure in place that constricts the political opportunities for greater black political power to emerge within the state. So what differences, if any, have increased numbers of black elected officials made in the quality of life and manner of representation they provide to black South Carolinians? Can black elected legislators provide substantive responses to their constituency through strategic activities when the representation occurs within the politically constrained legislative environment that currently exist? I now turn to a review of relevant representational

studies as a beginning point in seeking answers to those questions. These studies examine the dynamics by which descriptive representation relates to substantive representation.

2.2: Competing Theories of Representation

There are some observations that are either implicit or explicit in most studies of descriptive and substantive representation that need to be recognized. Some scholars argue that descriptive representation is not necessary to provide blacks with meaningful, substantive representation. They reason that white representatives can be responsive to all of their constituents regardless of race (e.g., Thernstrom, 1987). Conversely, other scholars suggest that white legislators are less likely than black legislators to represent the substantive interests of the black community (Bratton and Haynie 1999; Whitby 1997; Tate 2003).

Other studies seek to explain how different factors produce substantive representation. One stream of research along this line, suggests that the representative's political party may have an effect on substantive representation, (Lublin 1997; Whitby, 1997; Cameron, Epstein, and O'Halloran 1996; Swain 1995). A few of these scholars argue that Democrats are more likely to provide blacks with substantive representation than are Republicans. For example, in her work entitled *Black Faces, Black Interests: The Representation of African Americans in Congress*, Swain contends that the best way to maximize substantive representation is to increase the number of Democrats elected to Congress (Swain, 1995). In this respect, blacks can acquire effective representation through political parties.

The second stream of research theorizes that the race of the legislator is the significant factor in substantive representation (Bratton and Haynie 1999; Guinier 1994, Mansbridge 2001, Whitby 1997; Tate 2003; Canon 1999; Grose, 2005; Minta, 2009; Peruh, 2005). For instance, Whitby maintains that the race of the representative makes a difference in substantive

representation of black interests, even when controlling for party and region variables (Whitby 1997, 110). He writes “All things being equal, black representatives are the most supportive of black interests, followed by white non-southern Democrats (Whitby 1997, 111).” Given his findings, Whitby (1997) reasoned it is misleading to conclude that race does not matter in providing blacks with substantive representation.

The third stream of research indicates that constituency factors play a pivotal role with the racial composition of the district being a key determinant of substantive representation (Sharp and Garand 2001, Lublin 1997; Herring 1990, Whitby 1985; Endersby and Menifield, 2000; McKee, 2004; Grose, 2005). The underlying assumption behind this line of reasoning is that the higher the percentage of the black population within the district, then, the more likely the black voters will elect someone who will respond to their needs.

Additionally, recent scholarly works by both Christian Grose and Michael Minta have also made outstanding contributions to the literature by looking at previously unexamined factors associated with substantive representation. Grose’s work titled *Congress in Black and White: Race and Representation in Washington and at Home* (2011), expanded the traditional definition of how substantive representation is generated by looking at constituent services as a form of representation. In this work, Grose argues that working in the “interests of black constituents” should not be limited to roll call votes as evidence for substantive representation but should also include the type of “racial electoral environment” in which the representation occurs. He examines various congressional districts and categorizes them as low black population (less than 25%); black influence (25–49%) and black majority (50%+) districts. Grose argues that representative scholars should give consideration to how the black constituency interact

with the types of representatives elected: black or white Democrats or white Republicans. He calls this interaction “racial trust” (Grose, 2011, p. 29).

Minta’s work entitled *Oversight: Representing the Interests of Blacks and Latinos in Congress* (2011), pushes the representation literature even further through his examination of legislators’ advocacy efforts in oversight hearings as a measure of representation. In general, Minta finds that black and Latino legislators devote more time to speaking out for the interests of minorities and the poor and are more likely to speak out on these issues on committees to which they have not been assigned. He also finds that although Democrats were more likely than Republicans to advocate on behalf of minorities and the poor, even after controlling for party, black and Latino members of Congress were still significantly more likely to become advocates on these issues.

Minta argues that this type of advocacy is evidence of these racial minority legislators’ true passion and conviction to represent minority concerns beyond their natural constituency. He further develops this argument through the concept he calls “strategic group uplift.” He goes on to define this concept as “the belief that, as minority legislators, they have to defend the interests of the disadvantaged nationally, as well as the interests of their constituency” (Minta, 2011). In sum, all of these works suggest that all of the previously mentioned predictors will impact substantive representation outcomes for the black constituency. Still, each work placed its focus on congressional representation at the national level rather than state-level representation. However, there are equally valuable works that examine various components of state-level descriptive and substantive representation.

State Level Representation Studies

A review of the literature reveals several full-length books that examine descriptive or substantive representation factors involving black state legislators. The early work of Hanes Walton's (1985) entitled *Invisible Politics: Black Political Behavior*, consists of a wide-ranging review of black's socialization, attitudes, voting behavior, and representation in political institutions. In the chapter on black legislative representation, he examines black state lawmakers' effectiveness in Georgia and three non-Southern states legislatures during 1969, 1971, and 1972. Walton finds that black elected officials in those legislatures often received assignments to minor or moderately influential committees rather than to the most prestigious committees. He also discovers that chairmanships follow the same pattern. He concludes that black lawmakers primarily sponsored "people-oriented legislation" (p. 216) such as health, education, welfare, consumer protection, and crime but had limited success in enacting their bills into law.

A few years later, in a work entitled *Emerging Influentials in State Legislatures: Women, Blacks, and Hispanics*, Albert Nelson (1991) examines descriptive and substantive representation in forty-five states legislative chambers in 1982, 1984, and 1986. According to Nelson, black legislators' descriptive representation presence in such leadership positions as party leaders or committee chairs declined nationally over the four-year time interval he studied. However, Nelson attributes this decrease to "an attempt to remove blacks from visible positions of power to counter the image of a black Democratic Party" (p. 98). He also notes that even when black legislators occupy party or committee leadership positions, they were unable to influence state spending on education, social services, and health care policies. In the end, he tempers his findings by

suggesting the lack of evidence to support black legislative influence may be due to the conservative area (1983-1987) he chose to study.

In a later work titled *African American Legislators in the American States*, Kerry L. Haynie (2001) examines descriptive and substantive representation in five states at ten-year intervals, from 1969 through 1989. Utilizing economic data and public opinion polls, Haynie examines black representation through both “black interest” legislation sponsored during this period and black legislators’ committee assignments. He defines “black interests” as legislation backing health, education, welfare, economic redistribution, and civil rights issues. After controlling for other significant factors, Haynie finds that black legislators were more likely to introduce bills that advanced black interests.

He notes that although black legislators were over-represented on “black interest” committees, they had also increased their representation on “prestige” committees, thereby suggesting a broadening of their influence. He also remarks that neither black representation in the legislature nor representation in a party or committee leadership position helped black lawmakers pass the bills they introduced. However, their leadership positions did appear to lead to increase state health, education, and welfare expenditures. Haynie, therefore, concludes that overall the presence and growth of black representation in the legislature did produce noticeable and meaningful policy consequences (Haynie, 2001).

Another scholarly work involves Charles Menifield and Stephen Shaffer’s book, entitled *Politics in the New South: Representation of African Americans in State Legislatures* (2005). All of the book chapters examine issues involving black state level

representation since the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Collectively, the six chapters involving Arkansas (Parry and Miller 2005), Florida (Tauber 2005), Georgia (Wielhouwer and Middlemass 2005), Mississippi (Shaffer and Menifield), and Texas (Briscoe 2005) analyzed salient black representation issues germane to each state legislature for selected years beginning in 1972. In a concluding chapter, Menifield, Shaffer and Patrick (2005) briefly examines the remaining Southern states (Alabama, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia) to see what alternatives black legislators were using to secure passage of beneficial legislation since black legislators did not constitute a majority of these states' legislatures. Overall, the scholarly works in this volume note that the increased number of blacks registering and voting in the South after the Civil Rights Movement did result in an increased number of black legislators being elected to Southern States legislatures. They ultimately questioned whether the increased number of representatives did produce effective black legislative descriptive and substantive representation in these states. In addressing that question, Menifield and Schaffer (2005) conclude that overall, the Black Legislative Caucuses' success was dependent upon their ability to become a vital part of the governing coalition on those bills that impact their constituents' quality of life.

A final work reviewed is Sullivan and Winburn's book entitled *The Louisiana Legislative Black Caucus* (2011). In this volume, Sullivan and Winburn examine how effective the Louisiana Legislative Black Caucus (LLBC) were in providing both descriptive and substantive representation to their black constituency. Sullivan and Winburn examine four sessions of the then, Democratic-controlled Louisiana Legislature. They looked at two general legislative sessions. One of the sessions occurred in 2005

before Hurricane Katrina and one in 2006 after-Hurricane Katrina. They also look at two special sessions (in-between) that were devoted to post-Katrina issues. Their analysis relied on data that consisted primarily of the bills introduced and enacted as well as the roll call votes cast during these sessions. They conclude that the LLBC was effective regarding descriptive representation but less effective concerning substantive representation (pp. 131-132). This review now turns explicitly to scholarly research articles involving state-level representation.

Scholarly Articles

Early research such as Bullock and MacManus' (1981) study of the Mississippi Legislature find that black officials support black interest legislation to a greater extent than whites. Two years later, Hamm, Harmel, and Thompson (1983) addresses the descriptive representation question by examining seniority and leadership positions in South Carolina's 1977-1978 House sessions and the 1977 Texas House session. They find that white and black legislators with seniority and held committee chairs or party leaders' positions, were more active in introducing bills or amendments. These legislators were also more successful in seeing their sponsored measures enacted into law than were those legislators lacking seniority or leadership roles. They conclude that seniority and leadership positions were more beneficial to a legislator than his or her race or party membership.

Later, Button and Hedge's 1996 study looks at the extent descriptive representation exists in the committee system. While noting black legislators' exclusion from the legislature's most powerful committees, they suggest that one way to provide effective substantive representation would be for black legislators to pursue their

legislative agenda through coalition building. They also examine the issue of self-reported ideology and find that white Democrats were essentially moderate while black Democrats were to the left of center and Republicans to the right of center. They note that the group differences suggest black Democrat legislators would have more success by joining with white Democrats rather than crossing party lines (Button and Hedge, 1996).

Cheryl Miller reaches a similar conclusion in her 1990 study. Her study examines the success of the North Carolina's Legislative Black Caucus's agenda in the 1987 North Carolina legislature by looking at what she termed "situational and political skill variables". Her characterizations of situational factors were caucus cohesion, size, members' seniority and committee chairmanships. She notes that the caucus key political skill was the ability of the black lawmakers to build successful coalitions with their white Democratic Party colleagues. She concludes that given the rise in the number of Republican lawmakers with the legislature, the caucus' success will depend upon their ability to build a winning coalition with Democratic Party leaders (Miller, 1990).

In a later study, King-Meadows and Schaller (2001) examine voting cohesion among black legislatures in North Carolina and Maryland using legislation from the 1997-1998 sessions in both states. They find that not only were black legislators the most cohesive group in both states legislatures but also used different strategies to secure legislation beneficial to their black constituency.

Further review of the literature shows various case studies that have also investigated the impact of descriptive representation. These studies primarily involve policies that were of interest to blacks. Examining the Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana state senates during the 1980 legislative session, Mary Herring (1990) finds that the

percentage of black registered voters in a district positively influence white and black lawmakers' votes on wealth redistribution, overt racial issues, civil rights, and liberties. Also, Bratton and Haynie (1991) examines six state legislatures and discover that black lawmakers differs from white lawmakers in the types of bills they introduce. Bratton and Haynie note that black legislators were more likely to introduce bills dealing with welfare and increased government spending.

Additionally, Owens (2005) examines 48 state budgets from 1971-1995, (a 24-year period) to determine if increased black descriptive representation in state legislatures has resulted in black lawmakers exerting greater influence over policy outputs. He compared changes in spending priorities within budgets during that 24-year time span. His findings demonstrate that increased black representation results in state legislatures giving higher priority to policy areas critical to black elected officials. He concludes, "When measured correctly, increased descriptive representation can result in increased substantive representation in large political institutions" (Owens, 2005).

Preuhs (2006) examines state variations involving the maximum individual AFDC benefits allowed to individuals in 47 different states. Using states-level welfare data along with survey responses from black state legislators, Preuhs finds "black descriptive representation exerts policy influence.... but that a highly racialized political context and party control conditions the nature and degree of policy influence: (Preuhs, 2006 p.597). Specifically, he finds that only in those states which the Democrat Party controlled both chambers of the legislature did increased black representation improve individual AFDC benefits. He concludes that overall black legislators held too few positions of power within the legislative bodies to influence policy direction.

In the summer of 2000, *The Journal of Black Studies* released a comprehensive analysis consisting of several articles devoted to examining the Legislative Black Caucus representation among different states. The seven articles examine Virginia (Clemons and Jones 2000), Mississippi (Orey 2000), North Carolina (Sullivan 2000), Georgia (Holmes 2000), Tennessee (Wright 2000), Missouri (Menifield 2000), and South Carolina (Legette 2000). Each article discusses issues that include the elections rates of black legislators, committee chairmanships, and state-level black caucuses' formation. Most importantly, each article also examines the caucus' role passage of legislation.

Using roll-call data from 1987-1988 for each state's legislative sessions, the authors assess the caucus members voting behavior relative to other members of the legislature. They gave particular attention to legislation proposed by black legislators. These researchers note that overall black legislators serve as the main advocate for black citizens in their respective states. Moreover, the black legislators were the most likely to pursue legislation that would have direct benefits to these citizens. Further, they note that these black legislative caucuses were extremely cohesive and much more likely to secure passage of their legislation when they had a sizable number of caucus members or caucus members in influential positions.

Legette's (2000) study and subsequent conclusion presented in the journal is of keen interest to this project. His study specifically focuses on the SCLBC responsiveness South Carolina's black constituency with "particular attention given to the legislative activities of black lawmakers during the 1987-1988" legislative year (Legette 2000, 841). Legette's examination includes an analysis of policy responsiveness by SCLBC members through bill sponsorship. Legette finds that black legislators sponsored just 3% of the

total bills introduced during the 107th General Assembly. He concludes his analysis by asserting:

Black legislators failed to successfully sponsor downward redistributive legislation to address the salient problems in the black community.... Unfortunately, it appears that black legislators have accepted the constraints of conventional politics without considering alternative strategies for influencing the legislative process... Therefore, it can be concluded that black legislators will not by their own initiative, provide legislative remedies for the entrenched problems of the black citizens in South Carolina (Legette 2000, 857).

Eight years later, Shaw and Black (2008) also analyze the SCLBC bill sponsorship patterns in the South Carolina House of Representatives during the 110th (1993-1994), 115th (2003-2004), and 116th (2005-2006) legislative sessions. These sessions include periods of both Democratic and Republican control of the chamber. Not surprisingly, their findings were similar to those obtained by Legette (2000). In their study, Shaw and Black find that SCLBC members' bill passage rate for both descriptive and substantive legislation was lower during the Republican-controlled era than during the Democratic-controlled sessions despite an increase in the number of black representatives. They also noted that SCLBC members sponsored substantially more symbolic legislation than both substantive and descriptive legislation during the Republican's control of the House. They conclude:

In sum, our examination of the content of LBC-sponsored Legislation within all legislative sessions of our study indicates by far, legislation involving symbolic responsiveness has been virtually the only LBC-sponsored legislation passed under Republican rule. Being forced to assume the path of least resistance in its Legislative behavior has not gotten the LBC or Black South Carolina politics very far at all (Shaw and Black, 2008, p. 38).

Overall, both studies involving the South Carolina legislature show that black legislators were not as successful as white legislators in achieving passage of their sponsored

descriptive or substantive legislation or otherwise providing effective representation for their black constituency.

Even though the literature reveals various scholarly research regarding state-level black representation effectiveness, there is a clear need for additional studies. Moreover, it is evident that existing state-level representation research has yielded conflicting images involving the adequacy of black interest representation in the American political system. Although all of the previously mentioned studies examine black representatives' behavior and influence in shaping the legislative agenda on racial issues, collectively, they have produced considerable variations in their conclusions. For example, Walton (1985), Nelson (1991) and Legette (2000) are doubtful in regards to black legislative influence. They cite the black legislators limited committee assignments, little advances in enacting the bills they introduce, modest changes or improvements in civil rights bills, diminishing leadership positions and their inability to influence public policy. On the other hand, Haynie (2001) and Menifield (2005) offer a more optimistic view of black legislators' influence. They cited black lawmakers' accession into committee chairmanships, successful coalition building with white Democrats, and the increasing number of black legislators' assignments to prestige committees as supporting evidence. This study seeks to reconcile those divergent views by not only undertaking a joint analysis of black legislators' bill sponsorship patterns, committee assignments, and coalition formation as in these previous studies but also broaden the coalition formation analysis to include an examination of coalition formation for negative veto purposes. In doing so, this study will provide both substantive and theoretical contributions to black state-level representation research.

2.3: Expectations and Explanations: Bill Sponsorship, Committee Assignments, and Coalitions Formations

At the outset, some basic observations involving black state legislators and descriptive representation needs to be discussed. Conventional wisdom holds that Black legislators tend to support a distinctive agenda and tend to work as a distinctive group to advance that agenda (Perry, 1976; Hamm, Harmel, and Thompson, 1983; Miller, 1990; Nelson, 1991; Button and Hedge, 1993; Swain, 1993; Hedge, Button and Spear, 1996; Harmel, and Thompson, 1983). Furthermore, evidence suggests that SCLBC members have a commitment not only to represent their own constituents, but all blacks within the state. The underlying philosophy of the SCLBC is that its members represented a state-wide black constituency. Ernest Finney, the first chairman of the SCLBC, stated his commitment to this broader conceptualization of their representation. At the Black Caucus Inaugural dinner held July 19, 1975, Chairman Earnest A. Finney, Jr., wrote:

Individually, and as an organization, we endeavor to raise the consciousness of our people through avenues already open while seeking out new and untapped vehicles through which every man's hopes, dreams and aspirations may be realized (South Carolina Legislative Black Caucus, 2011).

This type commitment is not surprising inasmuch as previous research has also shown that the shared history of political marginalization, racial discrimination, and the struggle for equality creates a sense of linked fate among Black Americans (Dawson 1994; Williams 1998). All SCLBC members share the experience of being a member of this historically marginalized group. Individual black legislators will often use the group's interests as a surrogate for their own individual interests because of these shared occurrences and the obvious social, political and economic differences between themselves and white legislators. Arguably this shared history makes it more probable

that black legislators will be interested in policy areas that affect the black community.

Accordingly, these observations lead to several expectations involving SCLBC members' methods of representation. The underlying expectations of this study are that SCLBC members exhibit different dimensions of representation while providing descriptive representation. The agenda-setting behavior of these legislators manifests itself in their committee assignments, strategic bill sponsorship activities, along with strategic coalition formations. First, I expect that SCLBC members will exhibit distinctive policy preferences from non-members and that their agenda-setting behavior will be evident in the strategic types of legislation they introduce. I expect that SCLBC members will be more likely than white legislators to introduce legislation pertaining to equity in education, affirmative action, health care and Medicaid issues. These are the SCLBC's core legislative priorities. Legislations involving equity in education, affirmative action, health care and Medicaid issues are primary legislation. Therefore, I expect that SCLBC members will introduce primary legislation more often during periods of the Democrat's control of the legislative chamber than during periods of Republican control. The fact that equity in education, health care, affirmative action and Medicaid issues have traditionally been of lower priority for white Republican legislators, supports this expectation.

In addition, I expect that SCLBC members will introduce more secondary legislation during periods of Republican legislative dominance. Legislation involving economic development, predatory lending, minimum wage increase and taxation are examples of secondary legislation. Presumably SCLBC members will adopt the strategy of deracialization of their legislative agendas in order to appeal to Republican legislators.

The strategy of "deracialization" or deemphasizing race, should make it easier for House consideration and eventual passage of the SCLBC sponsored deracialized legislation (Baker and McCrory, 1976).

Regarding passage rates, I expect that SCLBC members will be less likely than non-LBC members to achieve passage of their sponsored legislation (Shaw and Black, 2008; Orey and Adams, 2000; Bratton and Haynie, 1999). Specifically, I expect that SCLBC members will experience a lower passage rate for the primary legislation they sponsor as compared to their sponsored secondary legislation. Prior research supports this expectation. Research on this issue has shown that there is a disinclination on the part of white legislators, to support black interest legislation introduced by black lawmakers. White legislators' lack of support in these instances can be linked to their social and cultural differences. One difference involves the concept of "social distance" (Guinier, 1994). This difference involves "feelings of unwillingness among members of a group to accept or approve a given degree of intimacy in interaction with members of an out-group" (Bratton and Haynie, 1999, Guinier 1994, Bogardus, 1954).

Additionally, I expect that SCLBC members will actively seek and hold assignments on House standing committees whose jurisdiction includes black interest policy areas. Therefore, I expect to find black legislators more significantly represented on committees whose jurisdiction includes education, affirmative action, health care and Medicaid issues. Previous scholarly research supports this expectation. Prior research has shown that because of a shared cultural background and common heritage, the black constituency is one of the most stable and consistent groups in terms of public policy questions and political ideology (Dawson 1994, Gurin, Hatchett, and Jackson 1985). As

such, it is possible to identify salient black constituency interests within South Carolina, and indeed the SCLBC has done so with the list of their legislative priorities. Thus, the SCLBC members' desire to represent all black constituency interests within the state will govern their committee assignment requests and subsequent committee appointments.

Finally, I expect that SCLBC members' will strategically attempt to form negative veto coalitions. Their success in forming negative veto coalitions in the House chamber will vary according to the legislative environment in which they participate. I expect that SCLBC members will be more successful in their negative veto coalition efforts, during periods of Democratic legislative control than during periods of Republican Party dominance. Prior research shows that participation in a dominant coalition produces more substantive policy changes for minority groups than does descriptive representation alone (Haynie, 2001, Browning, Marshall and Tabb 1986; Nelson, 1991; Sonenshein 1993). As such, the SCLBC members build strategic dominant coalitions to produce meaningful policy changes for their minority constituents. Given the Democratic Party legislative history towards black legislation, SCLBC members should be successful more often in their coalition formations attempts with Democratic legislative control of the House than during Republican-controlled legislative sessions.

Strategic Representation Hypotheses

The principal objective of this work is to provide insight into the nature and consequences of SCLBC members' efforts to provide strategic representation in the South Carolina House of Representatives. Expressed below are the hypotheses that form the basis for this study. In the succeeding chapters, I construct models to test the effects of the theoretical determinants involving SCLBC members' strategic responsive

behavior.

Bill Sponsorship and Passage

Presumably, any member of the South Carolina House of Representatives is free to sponsor any bill he or she desires. However, prior research has consistently shown significant differences in the sponsorship behavior of legislative minorities such as black legislators, and women. (Bratton, 2006; Bratton, 2005; Haynie, 2000; Swers, 2002).

Black lawmakers' bill sponsorship patterns offer a number of insights for research involving black representation. For example, the black lawmakers sponsorship patterns illustrate their efforts to address the problems and concerns of distinct constituencies that establish and maintain their "electoral connections" with constituents based on policy responsiveness (Mayhew, 1974).

Sponsorship patterns also indicate levels of interest or intensity with which representatives pursue certain issues (Swers, 2002; 32–33). Sponsorship efforts also reveal information about legislative priorities (Hall, 1996; Whitby, 2002). Thus, these arguments support the notion that SCLBC members' patterns of bill sponsorship related to black issues and interests highlight their efforts to effectively represent the black constituency. Therefore, I pose the following hypotheses:

- H₁: SCLBC members will be as likely as white Democrats and white Republicans members to sponsor legislation in equal proportion to their membership within the House during each legislative session.*
- H₂: SCLBC members will be more likely to sponsor more primary black interest legislation as opposed to secondary legislation during periods of Democratic control*
- H₃: SCLBC members will be more likely to sponsor more secondary legislation as opposed to primary black interest legislation during periods of Republican control.*

In addition, because I expect differences in the passage rates between black interest legislation and non-black interest legislation, I test the following hypothesis:

H4: SCLBC members will have a higher probability of getting their secondary sponsored legislation passed compared to primary black interest legislation, regardless of party control of the House.

Committee Assignments

Previous studies also shows that given minority legislators tendency to sponsor black interest legislation, this propensity may also be reflected in their committee assignments requests (Haynie, 2001). Thus, it is reasonable to expect that SCLBC members will seek committee assignments to those committees which handle issues specifically relevant to their black constituency. I pose the following hypothesis to test this expectation:

H5: SCLBC members will be more likely to seek membership on committees that handle black interest legislation rather than non-black interest committees.

Negative Veto Coalition

A unique dimension of the strategic representation theory involves SCLBC members' negative veto coalition formation behavior. Although some work has been done on the legislative success of different types of coalition formation, the literature is lacking in studies involving negative veto coalition formations by black legislators. I test the following hypotheses to begin addressing this oversight.

H6: SCLBC members will be more likely to form a winning coalition to defeat anti-black legislation during periods of Democrat control of the legislature.

H7: SCLBC members will be less likely to form a winning coalition to defeat anti-black legislation during periods of Republican control.

Data Overview

Empirical analyses and tests of all hypotheses involve the use of data pertaining to the South Carolina House of Representatives. The data were collected from the South Carolina State Legislature Internet portal, [www. scstatehouse.gov](http://www.scstatehouse.gov), administered by the Carolina Legislative Information Service (2011). From this database, information for all bills introduced in the House of Representatives during these sessions, along with complete bill histories, bill summaries, amendments, roll call votes and committee assignments were gathered.

Data used to identify individual district characteristics for each House member were obtained from the United States Census Bureau Internet portal, <http://www.census.gov> and the South Carolina Office of Research and Statistics Internet portal, <http://rfa.sc.gov/demo>. House members' personal demographics and committee assignments information were obtained from the South Carolina Legislative Manuals published for each legislative session involved in this study. Additional data involving SCLBC members were retrieved from the South Carolina Legislative Black Caucus' files.

The data were used to examine patterns of legislative behavior of the House of Representatives members for the 109th, (1991-1992), 110th (1993-1994), 114th (2001-2002), 115th (2003-2004) and the 119th (2011-2012) legislative sessions. The 109th Session gives the status of things during the last legislative session when Democrats were in full control of the House. The 110th Session gives the status of things when Republicans first gained control of the House of Representatives. The 114th and 115th Sessions provide a basis for understanding SCLBC members' legislative behavior leading

up to and including a decade of Republican rule. The 119th Session provides, even more, insight into SCLBC members' strategy of strategic representation as they enter into the early years of the second decade of Republican rule.

Table 2.9 displays an overview of the number of bills sponsored and passed by the South Carolina House of Representatives during the 109th, 110th, 114th, 115th and the 119th legislative sessions⁹. Only general bills (measures designed to become a permanent law or act) were counted as bill introduction. Concurrent Resolutions and

Table 2.9 Categorized Number of Bills Sponsored and Passed in the SC House for Selected Sessions

Session	Republicans	White Democrats	SCLBC	Total Bills Passed
109 th (n=1218)	385	795	38	284
110 th (n=1502)	548	833	121	275
114 th (n=1186)	862	196	128	236
115 th (n=1231)	839	244	148	183
119 th (n=1103)	764	127	212	154

Source: South Carolina Legislative Sponsor Report for session 109 (1991-1992), session 110 (1993-1994), session 114 (2001-2002), session 115 (2003-2004), and session 119 (2011-2012).

⁹See Appendix B for overall bill sponsorship and bill passed data by legislative session and party.

Non-binding Resolutions were excluded from this analysis. In the 109th Session, there were a total of 1218 bills introduced and 284 passed into law. Of the total bills

introduced, 385 were sponsored by Republicans, 795 by white Democrats and 38 by SCLBC members. In the 110th Session, there were a total of 1502 measures introduced and 275 passed into law.

Of the total measures introduced, 548 were sponsored by Republicans, 833 by white Democrats and 121 by SCLBC members. In the 114th Session, there were a total of 1186 bills introduced and 236 passed into law. Of the total bills introduced, 862 were introduced by Republicans, 196 by white Democrats and 128 by SCLBC members. In the 115th Session, there were a total of 1231 measures introduced and 183 passed into law. Of the total bills introduced, 839 were introduced by Republicans, 244 by white Democrats and 148 by SCLBC members. Finally, in the 119th Session, there were a total of 1103 bills introduced and 154 passed into law. Of the total bills introduction, 764 were introduced by Republicans, 127 by white Democrats and 212 by SCLBC members. Collectively, these bills represent the data source for this study. Each succeeding chapter will outline the method used to test the applicable data.

Conclusion

This project analyzes the SCLBC members' efforts and the internal legislative methods they utilize to secure some form of strategic legislative outcomes beneficial to their minority constituents, particularly during the era of Republican dominance. To this end, the project addresses three research questions. Do SCLBC members seek to sponsor more secondary legislation rather than primary legislation during periods of Republican legislative control of the House? Do SCLBC members strategically make self-selection committee assignment requests? Do SCLBC members engage in strategic coalition formations for passage of favorable legislation and defeat of undesirable anti-minority

legislation? Essentially, this work will use data collected by the South Carolina's Legislative Information Services (2011), The South Carolina Legislative Manual and other official records to investigate the SCLBC's strategic representational behavior. The investigation will focus on three different legislative activities that SCLBC members undertake to represent their black constituency's interests. The overall premise underlying this research is that SCLBC members will engage in strategic representation when their descriptive representation occurs within a politically constrained legislative environment. Their strategic behavior may prompt SCLBC members to sponsor more secondary rather than primary legislation during periods of Republican legislature dominance. Also, the black lawmakers may actively seek membership on black interest legislative committees so as to influence the legislative outcome or win passage of black interest legislation they sponsor.

A further supposition is that as part of their strategic activities, SCLBC members will seek to form strategic coalitions to engender passage of their sponsored measures or seek to prevent passage of policies detrimental to the interest of their minority constituents. In building strategic intraparty (unholy) coalitions with Republicans, SCLBC members will engage in some form of "strange bedfellows" approaches to form successful negative vote coalitions. Conversely, there may be a need for SCLBC members to form inter-party (party) coalitions with fellow Democrat party members to veto anti-minority legislation.

All of the premises as mentioned earlier are grounded in prior scholarly research. Prior research indicates that minority groups have different areas of legislation concentration than do white legislators. As such, they are prone to introduce more

minority interest policies. There is also evidence in the literature that the race of the legislator has an effect on the success of the sponsored legislation. However, existing literature also holds that once minority groups achieve a viable level of presence in the legislative body they behave in a cohesive manner, and this unity enhances the minority groups' success level. By analyzing the body of SCLBC members' sponsored legislation, the number of SCLBC sponsored legislation enacted, standing committee assignments, and coalition formation behavior, this research tests each of those conclusions.

CHAPTER 3

BILL SPONSORSHIP BEHAVIOR: A MEASURE OF STRATEGIC REPRESENTATION

“They go to the little meetings, get the little legislative template, come back to South Carolina-boom!-It passes. I really am so concern with the effect and impact of that organization.”
(Rep. Cobb-Hunter quoted in *Free Times* April 2012)

The above cited quote by Rep. Cobb-Hunter expresses her concern that both Republican and Democratic legislators had delegated their legislation drafting authority to a national corporate interest group, The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC). Although only elected legislators, (not interest groups) can introduce a bill in the South Carolina General Assembly, a reading of Representative Cobb-Hunter’s assertion appears to negate long-held beliefs that any member of a legislative body is free to sponsor any bill he or she desires. The belief that individual legislators can and will freely sponsor their desired legislation undergirds any in-depth legislative bill sponsorship analysis. Bill sponsorship is a significant legislative activity because a policy is first proposed and then legislatively enacted (Haynie, 2006).

Clearly, decisions concerning bill introduction and bill content are of particular importance in the representation process. Accordingly, this research theoretically posits that SCLBC members engage in strategic bill sponsorship and bill content selection as part of their overall desire to provide strategic representation to their black constituents. This research also makes the theoretical assertion that SCLBC members’ bill introduction

behavior, bill content choice, and bill passage success are dependent upon partisan legislative control. Simply put, I review SCLBC lawmakers' bill introduction patterns and their bill passage success for categorized legislation introduced during all legislative sessions involved in this study.

This chapter examines SCLBC members' strategic agenda-setting behavior to test these assertions and consists of five sections. The first section explains and justifies bill sponsorship and bill passage as a measure of strategic representation. The second section explicitly restates the first four hypotheses outlined in Chapter 2 regarding: (1) the overall bill sponsorship efforts of SCLBC members versus Non-SCLBC members, (2) SCLBC members strategic bill sponsorship choices as being dependent upon partisan legislative chamber control (3) bill passage success of SCLBC legislators' strategically sponsored legislation.

The third part of the chapter presents the data and methods used to test the hypotheses involving bill sponsorship, and the overall bill passage success of all SCLBC lawmakers' sponsored legislation. This section also contains all of the models used to analyze SCLBC members' strategic bill sponsorship behavior and bill passage outcomes. In the fourth section, both the results and the relative importance of the hypothesized factors are discussed. The fifth section concludes the chapter by providing an explanation of how these results are an integral part of SCLBC members' strategic representation behavior.

Bill Sponsorship Behavior and Strategic Descriptive Representation

Early empirical research shows that expectations of voter reactions in the electoral arena drives bill sponsorship and, therefore, reflects position taking behavior

(Mayhew 1974). Alternatively, a legislator may sponsor a bill and seek to achieve the bill's passage, perhaps to acquire better committee assignments (Wawro 2000). On the other hand, some legislators may pursue multiple goals by simultaneously pursuing both electoral and legislative rewards (Fenno 1973; Hall 1996) even though these objectives might conflict (Denzau, Riker, and Shepsle 1985; Rothenberg and Sanders (2000a, 2000b). Perhaps, it may be simply because the legislator is policy motivated. In either case, it implies that strategic calculation occurs when the legislator decides which goal to emphasize over others. Whether or not those bills help to accomplish the legislators' goals depends on the future decisions of others, either inside or outside the legislature (Woon, 2008).

Scholars such as Adams (2003), Bratton & Haynie (1999), Bratton (2002), Haynie (2001), and Canon (1999), have debated the link between bill introduction and descriptive representation. For example, Bratton and Haynie's (1999) analysis of bill sponsorship in six states during the 1979 and 1989 legislative sessions, indicates that black lawmakers are more likely than white legislators to introduce legislation focusing on black and women issues. Later, based on an analysis of five state legislatures, Haynie (2001) finds that black legislators disproportionately introduce more black interest bills than white lawmakers. Adams' (2003) multi-state study on the bill sponsorship patterns of state legislators also indicates that black legislators are substantially more likely to introduce minority-interest legislation than white legislators.

Likewise, Orey et al. (2006) analysis of bill introductions within the Mississippi House of Representatives finds that black state legislators are more inclined to introduce progressive legislation germane to their black constituency interests. These findings

suggest that black legislators propose measures that reflect their group interests.

Similarly, other studies have used bill sponsorship as a means to measure minority representation (Rocca and Sanchez 2008; Whitby 2002).

The scholarly literature on other minority groups' bill introduction behavior provides comparable findings. Existing research indicates that Latino legislators represent Latinos substantively through their bill sponsorship behavior (Grose 2005; Preuhs and Hero 2009; Minta 2009, Wilson, 2010). In other words, ethnic minority representatives propose more policies involving social issues and minority interest more often than their white counterparts (Button and Hedge 1999; Rocca et al. 2008). Clearly the literature suggests that decisions concerning bill sponsorship are a strategic legislative choice. Following existing literature, this research utilizes SCLBC members' bill introduction patterns and bill passage success as a measure of one part of their strategic representation behavior.

3.1: Hypotheses: Strategic Bill Sponsorship and Effect of Party Control on Sponsorship and Passage

Four hypotheses related to strategic representation were presented in Chapter 2. The first hypothesis involves a comparison of bill sponsorship behavior between SCLBC members and Non-SCLBC members. It postulates

(H₁) SCLBC Sponsorship Hypothesis: SCLBC members will be less likely than white Democrats and white Republicans to sponsor legislation in equal proportion to their membership within the House during each legislative session

Existing literature shows that the electorate's interests and behavior of the legislator will converge particularly on representing significant constituency issues (Erikson, 1978; Miller and Stokes, 1963; Stone, 1979). Simply put, a legislator provides representation by

actively sponsoring bills tailored to address those constituency issues. It is reasonable to expect each legislator to sponsor as many bills as is necessary to address his or her voters' concerns. With that in mind, the black lawmakers should be just as active in the bill sponsorship arena as the other legislators. Thus, hypothesis 1, involving all legislators' bill sponsorship activity is tested as the first step in this study's strategic bill sponsorship examination.

Hypothesis 2 and hypothesis 3 address two related statements that deal with party control upon the SCLBC members strategic bill sponsorship behavior. Hypothesis 2 propose that SCLBC members will engage in strategic representation behavior by introducing more salient black interest legislation as opposed to non-black interest bills during periods of Democratic legislative control. Hypothesis 3 examines party control effects on SCLBC members' bill sponsorship behavior as it relates to the Republican Party legislative dominance:

(H₂) Effect of Party Control and Black Interest legislation Hypothesis: SCLBC members will be more likely to sponsor more primary black interest legislation as opposed to secondary legislation during periods of Democratic control than under Republican control

(H₃) Effect of Party Control and Secondary Legislation Hypothesis: SCLBC members will be more likely to sponsor more secondary legislation as opposed to primary black interest legislation during periods of Republican control than under Democratic control

Party control of the legislative chamber has been shown to have an impact on the overall bill sponsorship behavior of black legislators. Some scholars have argued that at the congressional level, Democratic- controlled Congresses encourage minorities' bill sponsorship, and Republican-controlled Congresses depresses it (Rocca and Sanchez,

2008). Thus, both hypotheses 2 and 3 are tested to determine the effect that a party's control of the House has on SCLBC member's strategic bill choice.

Additionally, previous studies have shown that blacks identify overwhelmingly as Democrats with liberal socioeconomic preferences (Tate 1994). Moreover, that in addition to being liberal on a variety of domestic policy issues, "blacks have strong preferences on discrimination and class related issues" (Dawson 1994; Dawson 2001). However, where racial cleavages do dominate the political context Southern Democratic Parties historically have not represented black interests well (Preuhs, 2006). Not surprisingly, Grose, 2011 study finds that at the congressional level, "Republican members of Congress tend not to vote in the interests of African Americans" (Grose, 2011, 79).

Presumably, SCLBC members are aware of the disinclination and reluctance of Non-Black Legislators of both parties in the House to propose or overwhelmingly support black interest legislation. Nevertheless, much like other lawmakers, SCLBC members' primary goals are to seek passage of their sponsored legislation (Franzitch 1979). It would, therefore, be reasonable for them to craft and introduce legislation that has some chance of achieving passage depending upon which party is in control of the legislative chamber. Hence, the fourth hypothesis is tested to determine the effect of party control upon strategic representation through bill passage:

(H₄) Effect of Party Control and Bill Passage Hypothesis: SCLBC members will have a higher probability of getting their secondary sponsored legislation passed than their primary black interest legislation, regardless of party control of the House.

Data, Methods, Measurements and Models

The overall argument in this chapter is that one dimension of the strategic

representation theory is measured by SCLBC members' strategic bill introduction choices and bill passage efforts. An overview of all data used in this study was presented in the previous chapter. The data that are used to test hypotheses 1, 2, 3 (bill sponsorship hypotheses) and hypothesis 4 (the bill passage hypothesis) consist of various general bills introduced in the House of Representatives during the 109th, 110th, 114th, 115th, and 119th legislative sessions.

Specifically, the data used to test hypothesis 1 consisted of the general population of bills collected for all House legislative sessions involved in this study. The data used to test hypotheses 2 and 3 consisted of all bills identified as having the characteristic of being a primary or secondary bill gleaned from the population of sponsored bills. The data used to test hypothesis 4 consisted of all bills introduced and passed during the legislative sessions involved in this study.

All of the above-referenced data was obtained by electronic means from the South Carolina Legislative Internet Portal, <http://www.scstatehouse.gov>, and various South Carolina legislative manuals published for each legislative year of this study. Information was also gathered from these sources regarding each bill sponsors' race, gender, party, committee membership, and the number of bills introduced. These sources also provided information for each bill's characteristic such as the type of legislation and final legislative disposition. Information involving each House member's district characteristics, (percentage for black, median income) was gathered from data housed in the US Census Bureau Internet portal, <http://www.census.gov>, and the South Carolina Office of Research and Statistics Internet portal, <http://rfa.sc.gov/demo>¹⁰.

¹⁰The South Carolina General Assembly adopted and the Governor approved Act 121 of 2014 which restructured the offices of the Budget and Control Board. Effective *July 1, 2014* The Office of Research and Statistics became part of an independent agency operating as the Revenue and Fiscal Affairs Office (RFA).

Various models are used to test SCLBC members' agenda -setting behavior predicted by hypotheses 1, 2, 3 and 4. The initial test of hypothesis 1 involves the use of percentages. Percentages are calculated for membership within each sponsorship category to compare the legislative behavior of the SCLBC group versus the Non-SCLBC groups.

Although an analysis that involves the use of percentages is not an extremely sophisticated measure to determine agenda-setting legislative behavior, it does provide certain useful information. Percentages convey an easily understood calculation of how the legislative interests of these two groups vary. Thus, each group's calculated percentage should provide some insight into SCLBC members' strategic descriptive representation versus the substantive representation patterns of other House of Representative members.

To get the SCLBC and Non-SCLBC groups House membership percentages, first, the number of legislators in each group were counted. Each group's total was then divided by 124, the total number of South Carolina House of Representatives members. This procedure yielded the legislative membership percentages for each group. Percentages for group bill sponsorship were calculated in a similar fashion. All bills sponsored by each legislator within each group were added together to obtain the groups bill introduction total. Each group bill introduction total was then divided by the total number of bills introduced by all legislators in the House during that particular legislative session. This procedure yielded the legislation sponsorship percentages for each group. Both of the procedures outlined above were conducted for each legislative session involved in this study. This measure defines one aspect of each group's legislative behavior during each legislative session of interest.

Hypothesis 1 is further tested using negative binomial regression. Negative binomial regression can be used for modeling count variables, usually for over-dispersed (skewed) count outcome variables. King, 1998, noted, "An event count model is appropriate where the dependent variable is a count and the likelihood of an additional event happening decreases as the number of event increases. It is also appropriate when the probability of a single event happening is not independent of the likelihood of another event happening" (King, 1988).

Also, prior research involving bill sponsorship has shown that legislators tend to specialize in certain areas of policy sponsorship. As Bratton (2005), notes "a legislator who is likely to introduce a measure in a particular subject category is more likely than other legislators to introduce additional measures in that category" (Bratton, 2005). The SCLBC members' bill sponsorship behavior produces over-dispersion of the data. Thus, negative binomial regression analysis is appropriate for this examination since the dependent variable in this analysis is a count, and the data is over-dispersed.

In the negative binomial review, the unit of analysis is the legislator. The number of bills sponsored by the legislators during each legislative session is the dependent variable. I do not differentiate between racial and non-racial bills in this analysis. Rather, this study is interested in SCLBC members' legislation sponsorship activity as an indicator of their participation in the overall agenda setting process. All general bills introduced in each legislative session were used to test Hypothesis 1. Each bill was identified by its primary sponsor and coded based on one of three sponsorship categories: (1) SCLBC General Bills (SCLBC), which are general bills introduced by members of the South Carolina Legislative Black Caucus; (2) White Democrats General Bills

(W/Dems), identified as general bills introduced by white Democrats¹¹; (3) Republican General Bills (Rep. GB) classified as general bills introduced by Republican legislative members. These three categories capture all of the bills introduced in the House during each legislative session of interest. Once identified, each bill was placed in the in the appropriate legislation sponsorship category.

Several legislator and district-level factors are included in this model. The model includes the racial composition of the legislator's district, measured as the percentage black in the district (logged). To determine the effect of race, I use a dummy variable coded 1 if the legislator is black (SCLBC member), 0 if a non-black legislator. The inclusion of these variables underscores the descriptive representation nature of this model (Haynie, 2006). Individual institutional level controls that could influence sponsorship behavior is also included. Partisanship has been shown to affect the likelihood that a legislator will focus on particular issues (Bratton, 2002; Bratton, 2006 Swers, 2002). Control for party affiliation is, therefore, included. The party affiliation variable is coded 1 if the legislator is a Democrat, 0 if the legislator is a Republican. Since all SCLBC members are Democrats, my models also account for the fact that the House overall legislative agenda may not be supportive of minority interests during Republican-controlled sessions and may suppress SCLBC members' bill sponsorship behavior and bill passage success.

Adopting Rocca and Sanchez, (2014) methods, I interact my key independent

¹¹ The White Democrat category contains only white legislators. According to the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials' directory, there were no Latinos serving in the South Carolina House of Representatives during the legislative years involved in this study.

variable, SCLBC member, with a variable to control for Republican majority sessions (1=Republican majority, 0 otherwise). This procedure allows the model to capture the effects of the three Republican-controlled House sessions (114th, 115th, and 119th) in my dataset. I also account for the legislator's gender coded 0 = female and 1= male, since previous research has shown that women tend to introduce both black interest and social and economic-based legislation. Finally, because seniority has been shown to enhance a representative's expertise, in particular policy areas (Hibbing, 1991, 1993, Bratton and Haynie, 1999), this variable is also controlled in the model. Seniority is measured as the number of consecutive years a legislator served in the House.

Strategic Bill Choice Model

Examination of SCLBC members representation behavior also extends to their strategic bill sponsorship during each legislative session involved in this study. Hypotheses 2 and 3 are interrelated since both hypotheses predict that SCLBC members' strategic decision to either introduce primary or secondary legislation is influenced by political party control of the legislative chamber. The dependent variable in both hypotheses 2 and 3 is the number of bills sponsored during each legislative session. I employ one negative binomial regression model to address the two related questions concerning SCLBC members' strategic bill sponsorship behavior stated in these two hypotheses. I construct a model to estimate the number of primary and secondary sponsored by SCLBC members during all of the legislative sessions of interest. The model includes various control variables. These control variables were previously introduced and defined in the bill sponsorship model. Additionally, I employ an institutional level dummy variable to control for which political party constitute a

majority of the House chamber for each legislative session; 1= Republican Party majority, 0=Democrat Party majority.

The bills involve in testing hypotheses 2 and 3 were selected in the following manner. First, all bills were content coded for bill categorization. Two bill categories were considered: primary bill and secondary bill. Placement of a measure within a particular group was based on a reading of the printed bill summary for that bill. Two coders independently analyzed all of the bills using the same procedures and definitions. A third coder using identical procedures and definitions was subsequently included to check for reliability. A recoding of 12 percent of the bills achieved an inter-coder reliability score of 97 percent, meaning that all coders agreed on 97 percent of the bills.

Each bill was placed in either the primary or secondary bill category based on its content. Bills that dealt with Education, Elections, Affirmative Action/Discrimination, Health and Welfare, Economic Empowerment and Development or Criminal Justice, are examples of the type bills placed in the primary legislation category. These policy areas are the SCLBC core priorities. Examples of education-related bills included measures that might decrease the education funding disparity within certain school districts, or measures that attempt to close the Achievement Gap or referred to any education-related issue. House Bill H 3312, would be an example. This bill sought to make spending priorities under the Education Finance Act more equitable.

Examples of affirmative action bills included measures designed to ensure that the states' racial or gender diversity is equitably reflected in those who occupy positions in government, increase minority representation in the judiciary, provide minorities fair and equal access to the electoral process or equitable treatment within the criminal justice

system. For instance, House Bill H 3004 was included in the affirmative action primary bill category because it sought to enhance the authority of the State Commission for Minority Affairs to provide additional services for African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics and others within the minority community.

Healthcare related bills included measures designed to provide an opportunity for blacks to obtain affordable, accessible and quality healthcare. An example is House Bill H 3310. This bill prohibited Medical and Health Care providers from issuing policies that would exclude or restrict benefits for federally approved contraceptives. A final example of measures placed in the primary bill category is a bill involving Economic Empowerment and Development measures. This category includes measures designed to provide blacks with the opportunity for economic self-sufficiency and upward economic mobility. House Bill HR 3049 is an example of the type of bill placed in this category. This bill provided an economic development tax incentive.

Bills that dealt with Business Regulations, Transportation, Taxation or Highway related matters are examples of bills placed in the secondary legislation category. For example, HR 4847 involving restrictions on the number of retail liquor stores in which a person may have an economic interest is a case of a measure placed in the secondary bill category. General Bill HR 3255, relating to wearing safety yellow reflective vests while operating a moped is an example of a transportation-related legislation placed in the secondary bill category. Each bill was identified by the principle sponsor and coded based upon one of the three sponsorship category namely, SCLBC members, White Democrats, and Republicans. Each measure within the appropriate sponsorship group was further identified for placement within one of two issue sub-category (i.e., primary or

secondary). Each bill was subsequently placed in the assigned category and sub-category. For example, an SCLBC sponsored bill that dealt with affirmative action would be coded as an SCLBC primary measure. All previously discussed control variables used to test the overall bill introduction hypothesis were utilized to test both the primary and secondary bill introduction hypotheses.

SCLBC Bill Passage Model

To test SCLBC members' bill passage success outlined in hypothesis 4, a set of 5 logistic regression analyses (one for each legislative session) are conducted. Logistic regression models are frequently used to determine the association between a set of explanatory variables and a binary or dichotomous outcome variable. I use logistic regression in this analysis, as the dichotomous nature of the dependent variables renders ordinary least squares regression inappropriate. Because I am interested in the likelihood that a particular bill will be passed (primary, secondary), the unit of analysis is the bill. The dependent variable takes on a value of 1 if the policy area of interest passed during a legislative session and 0 otherwise. White Republicans is the referent group. The model also controls for other factors related to the dynamics of a particular session's effect on the bills' passage into law. In addition to factors involving the race and gender of the bill's sponsor, I control for some other likely influences on bill passage. Previous studies show that bills sponsored by majority party legislators are almost certain to enjoy more favorable consideration than other measures. I control for whether the sponsor of the measure was in the majority party.

Moreover, Harmel, Hamm, and Thompson (1983) conclude that legislators who hold positions of leadership tend to be more active in the legislative process.

Therefore, committee chairs are included in the model because they are perceived by their peers as having legislative influence (Meyer 1980; Best 1971; Bell and Price 1975). Indeed, they introduce more legislation and are more likely to see that measure pass (Frantzich 1979; 1980). Committee chair takes on a value of 1 if the legislator served as a committee chair during the legislative session of interest and 0 otherwise. Also, control for whether the bill's sponsor is in a leadership position is included in each model since legislation sponsored by members in leadership positions are relatively likely to have a positive outcome (Bratton, 2006). Legislative leadership takes on a value of 1 if the legislator served in a leadership position during the legislative session of interest and 0 otherwise.

3.2: Results: SCLBC Strategic Representation through Bill Sponsorship, Strategic Bill Choice and Bill Passage Success

SCLBC Overall Bill Sponsorship

The analysis results of the bill sponsorship model provide partial support for what we might expect based on previous research. Table 3.1 displays bill sponsorship data (in percent) for each legislative session under examination. It shows that for each legislative session involved in this study, SCLBC members sponsored fewer bills than their percentages in the legislature. During the 109th Legislative Session, SCLBC membership within the House comprised over 14%, yet they sponsored less than 4% of all general bills. Also, during the 114th Session, SCLBC members sponsored 12% of all general bills during that session but comprised over 19% of the House membership.

The pattern of SCLBC members, low sponsorship percentages versus House membership percentages, continued throughout the other years of this study. The pattern culminates with a close approximation of both percentages occurring during the 115th

Table. 3.1 Percentage for Bill Sponsorship Activity in the House for Selected Sessions

Session	White Republicans % Sponsored	White Republicans % in House	White Democrats % Sponsored	White Democrats % in House	SCLBC Members % Sponsored	SCLBC Members % in House
(n=1218)	31.6	32.1	65.3	51.4	3.1	14.5
110 ^{th**} (n=1502)	36.5	41.1	55.4	43.5	8.1	13.7
114 th (n=1186)	72.7	56.5	16.5	24.2	10.8	19.4
115 th (n=1231)	68.2	58.8	19.8	21.8	12.9	19.4
119 th (n=1103)	69.3	61.3	11.5	16.1	19.2	22.6

Source: South Carolina Legislative Sponsor Report for session 109 (1991-1992), session 110 (1993-1994), session 114 (2001-2002), session 115 (2003-2004), session 119 (2011-2012)

N=Total Number of bills sponsored during the particular session

* Percentages for membership in 109th Session does not equal 100% because 1 Independent and vacancy not included

**Percentages for membership in 110 Session does not equal 100% because 1 Independent is not included

Legislative Session (22.6% membership versus 19.2% sponsorship). Most noticeably, however, the majority party of each legislative session (whether Democrat or Republican) sponsored legislation at a higher percentage than their House membership percentage. Also, during the Republican-controlled 119th Session, SCLBC legislators' sponsorship percentage was greater than white Democrats percentage, even though both failed to introduce their proportional share of legislation.

Table 3.2 displays the negative binomial regression results obtained for overall bill sponsorship during each legislative session. In hypothesis 1, I predicted that SCLBC legislators would be less likely to introduce legislation as white Democrats and Republican legislators during each legislative session of interest. This result partially supports the hypothesis since SCLBC legislators did introduce significantly less legislation proportionally than did the other two groups of legislators during the 115th legislative session. It is also important to note that the negative signs for SCLBC bill sponsorship coefficients for the 109th, 110th, 114th, and 115th House sessions are contrary to expectations.

One possible explanation for this finding is that initially SCLBC members lacked a level of seniority within the House chambers during the early legislative sessions of this study. Prior studies show that seniority plays a significant role in a legislator's sponsorship behavior and that seniority is likely to contribute to and enhance expertise in particular policy areas. More experienced lawmakers file more bills than non-experienced lawmakers. The lack of seniority undoubtedly initially led SCLBC members to delegate the primary task of black interest legislation sponsorship to white Democrats.

Table 3.2 Negative Binominal Regression Analysis of Number of Bills Sponsored During Selected Sessions

	109th Session	110th Session	114th Session	115th Session	119th Session
SCLBC Member	-0.266 (0.314)	-0.461 (0.257)	-0.378 (0.263)	-0.719*** (0.214)	0.252 (0.581)
White Democrat	0.630*** (0.020)	-0.578 (0.015)	-0.629 (0.211)	-0.444 (0.200)	-0.293 (0.547)
Female Legislator	-0.242 (0.263)	-0.418 (0.124)	(0.153) (0.230)	(0.455) (0.138)	(0.264) (0.065)
Percent Black in District	-0.008 (0.012)	-0.008 (0.012)	-0.006 (0.015)	-0.004 (0.012)	-0.008 (0.010)
Average income in district	-0.002 (0.004)	0.001 (0.006)	0.002 (0.010)	0.006 (0.010)	0.004 (0.009)
Seniority	0.056** (0.019)	0.051** (0.015)	0.059** (0.016)	0.066* (0.019)	0.032** (0.015)
Majority Party Member	0.466*** (0.080)	0.458*** (0.098)	0.434*** (0.086)	0.368*** (0.083)	0.333*** (0.112)
Constant	0.517*** (0.313)	2.201*** (0.205)	.892*** (0.331)	1.749** (0.225)	1.774*** (0.790)

Inapha	0.006 (0.143)	-0.529 (0.139)	-2.467 (0.308)	-0.473 (0.149)	-0.283 (0.150)
alpha	1.006 (0.144)	0.589 (0.082)	0.085 (0.026)	0.623 (0.093)	0.753 (0.113)
Wald Chi-square (12)	792.77	730.05	683.20	506.17	456.73
Probability > chi-square	0	0	0	0	0
Log-pseudo- likelihood	-400.255	-425.647	-405.291	-397.984	-394.372
Bills Sponsored (N)	1218	1502	1186	1231	1103

*p < 0.10, one-tailed test; **p < 0.05, one-tailed test; ***p < 0.01, one-tailed test. (Robust standard Errors in parentheses).

Republican is omitted category

Support for this argument becomes more apparent when we consider that 119th legislative session is the only session whereby the SCLBC members have a positive bill introduction coefficient result. Put simply, if SCLBC members were merely more active bill sponsors across earlier legislative sessions, then the positive effect found in the 119th legislative session would have been observed. Even though the SCLBC members expected bill counts coefficients were negative for four of the five House sessions, they were not significant, thereby indicating that the SCLBC legislators' overall lack of proportional bill introductions had a minimal effect.

More importantly, though, is to look at the magnitude of the impact of partisanship in regards to the overall bill sponsorship process. Majority party effects on bill sponsorship are statistically significant across all legislative sessions. The pattern of significance across the majority partisan parameter estimates suggest that being a member of the majority party plays a vital role in a legislator's bill sponsorship behavior. During all House legislative sessions, all else equal, members of the majority party filed more bills than the minority party members.

Also, the political party variable effect clearly has an impact on the question of whether the legislator's race or party affiliation is a better predictor of descriptive representation as measured by black interest sponsored legislation. In this model, effects of the black SCLBC members' bill introduction variable is overshadowed by the impact of the majority party variable. The conventional portrayal found in existing partisanship and bill introduction literature is that majority party members within a legislative chamber introduce more legislation than the chambers' minority party members. Previous research also shows that Democrats are more likely than Republican to sponsor black

interest bills and that overall, black legislators sponsor more minority interest legislation than their white colleagues.

However, the majority party variable's dominance in this model may be the result of several underlying factors. First since the 2006 House Session, SCLBC members have constituted a majority of the House Democratic Party, the minority party in the Republican- controlled House chamber. In this study, the black SCLBC members sponsor the bulk of the minority interest legislation while being, the majority of the minority Democratic Party House membership. Also, their white Democratic colleagues did introduce a minimal amount black interest bills during each session. Collectively, the presence of these two factors leads to a weakening of the overall effect of SCLBC members' black interest bill introduction efforts.

Moreover, the Republican legislators did introduce a large number of non-black interest bills during each legislative session under their control. All of these factors combine to minimize the effect of the SCLBC black interest bill sponsorship efforts. The aggregate implications of this analysis are that when legislative bill introduction occurs within a politically constrained context, there are stages in the representation process when the descriptive characteristics of the legislator become less of a factor than partisanship.

Also, as expected, the seniority variable in this model has a significant impact on the number of bills House members introduced throughout all legislative sessions. This effect may help explain why SCLBC members' bill sponsorship activity did increase as they gradually acquired more seniority in addition to their majority status among House

Democrats. By contrast, the district’s racial and median income variables do not have a statistically significant impact on SCLBC members’ bill sponsorship activity

Table 3.3 presents the bill sponsorship incidence rate ratios. The estimated rate ratio for SCLBC sponsored bills during the 109th Session shows that if the bill introduction variable increases by one bill, their overall bill introduction rate would be expected to decrease by a factor of 0.965 while holding all other variables in the model constant. However, white Democratic Representatives bill introduction rates would be expected to increase by a factor of 1.310 units for a one unit change in the bill introduction variable. Also during the 110th Session (the last Democratic Party-controlled session), and the 114th and 115th sessions (Republican Party-controlled), the SCLBC bill introduction incidence ratios were expected to decrease by a factor of 0.220,

Table 3.3 Incidence Rate Ratios of Bill Sponsored

	Sessions				
	109 th	110 th	114 th	115 th	119 th
SCLBC Members	0.965 (0.777)	0.220 (0.067)	0.423 (0.096)	0.488 (0.105)	1.288 (0.747)
White Democrats	1.310 (1.019)	1.155 (0.225)	0.517 (0.109)	0.642 (0.128)	0.746 (0.408)

Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses

0.423 and 0.488 units, respectively, for a one bill increase in the bill sponsorship variable.

The SCLBC members’ introduction incidence rate ratio for the 119th House Session shows that if the bill introduction variable changes by one unit, SCLBC members

overall bill introduction rate would be expected to increase by a factor of 1.288 units while holding all other variables in the model constant. These incidence rate ratio results underscore the negative binomial regression findings.

Strategic Bill Choice Selection

The analysis of SCLBC members' strategic representational behavior now turns to their bill introduction choice. Hypotheses 2 and 3 predict that SCLBC members' bill selection is dependent upon party control of the House chamber. Specifically, hypothesis 2 states that SCLBC members would introduce more black interest legislation during periods of Democratic Party control of the House, and hypothesis 3 states SCLBC members would introduce more secondary legislation during Republican -controlled House sessions. Table 3.4 depicts the results of the negative binomial regression analysis of SCLBC member's strategic bill introduction choices during both Democratic and Republican control of the House chamber. Based on expectations that SCLBC members' primary and secondary bill introduction are positively related to party control of the House, coefficients for these variables are presented using a one-tailed significance test. The Democratic Party controlled the House during the 109th, and 110th Legislative Sessions and the Republican Party controlled the House during the remaining three sessions of this study, namely, the 114th, 115th, and 119th Legislative Sessions. The first two columns of the table show the results of SCLBC members' primary bill introduction versus their secondary bill introduction efforts during the 109th and 110th sessions. Hypothesis 2 predicts that the Black Caucus members' primary bill introduction activity would be higher than their secondary bill introduction activity during both legislative sessions. That hypothesis is partially supported.

Table 3.4 Likelihood of SCLBC Primary and Secondary Bills Sponsorship during Selected Sessions

Independent Variables	109th Session	110th Session	114th Session	115th Session	119th Session
SCLBC Primary	0.125* (0.078)	0.022 (0.072)	0.075 (0.057)	0.063* (0.049)	0.172*** (0.034)
SCLBC Secondary	0.081 (0.104)	0.072 (0.064)	0.083** (0.026)	0.096*** (0.031)	0.069*** (0.011)
White Democrat Primary	0.188*** (0.041)	0.158*** (0.039)	0.155** (0.061)	0.059 (0.058)	0.101 (0.083)
White Democrat Secondary	0.057*** (0.007)	0.042*** (0.006)	0.053*** (0.008)	0.060*** (0.007)	0.089** 0.014
Republican Primary	0.012 (0.051)	0.504* (0.056)	0.088** (0.025)	0.076** (0.030)	0.073* (0.037)
Republican Secondary	0.099 (0.014)	0.060** (0.011)	0.061*** (0.005)	0.066*** (0.005)	0.077*** (0.006)
Majority Party Member	-0.041 (0.180)	-0.017 (0.171)	-0.096 (0.142)	-0.156 (0.121)	0.064 0.135
Seniority	0.016 (0.011)	0.025* (0.011)	0.003 (0.007)	-0.004 (0.007)	0.003 (0.006)

Female Legislator	0.131 (0.230)	-0.067 0.244	0.139 (0.175)	0.117 (0.157)	0.202 (0.132)
Percent Black in district	-0.003 (0.005)	-0.002 (0.005)	0.001 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.006 (0.004)
Average income in district	0.003 (0.004)	-0.005 (0.005)	0.007 (0.004)	0.005 (0.004)	0.006 (0.004)
Constant	1.004*** (0.383)	1.482*** (0.384)	0.943*** (0.329)	1.281*** (0.284)	0.946*** (0.305)
Inapha	-1.666 (0.237)	-1.502 (0.223)	-2.441 (0.318)	-3.207 (0.522)	-3.804 (0.770)
alpha	0.189 (0.045)	0.223 (0.450)	0.087 (0.028)	0.040 (0.021)	0.022 (0.017)
Wald Chi-square (11)	157.11	135.37	185.23	197.80	209.77
Probability > chi-square	0	0	0	0	0
Log likelihood	-330.515	-356.661	-325.112	-313.287	-295.666
Bills Sponsored (N)	1181	1455	1150	1498	1065

*p < 0.10, one-tailed test; **p < 0.05, one-tailed test; ***p < 0.01, one-tailed test. (Robust Standard Errors in parentheses).

It is possible to use the value and the sign of the coefficients to make inferences about the effect of party control upon SCLBC members' bill introduction behavior. Essentially, the coefficient for a bill category during a particular legislative session indicates that for a one unit change in the predictor variable, the difference in the logs of expected counts of the response variable is expected to change by the respective regression coefficient, given the other predictor variables in the model are held constant¹². The statistically significant coefficient (0.125) for the 109th Legislative Session's primary bill category is higher than that session's secondary bill category coefficient (0.081). This result indicates that the logged odds for the number of SCLBC members' primary bill introduction would be higher than the logged odds of the expected counts for their secondary bills introduction during the 109th Session. This result lends support to the second hypothesis.

However, the results contain in the 110th House session negative binomial analysis runs counter to the 109th Session results. The 110th Session results show that the logged odds associated with the primary bill category coefficient (0.022) are lower than the logged odds of the secondary bill group coefficient (0.072) even though the House was under the Democratic Party control. The statistically insignificant black lawmakers' bill sponsorship decision-making result during this session is contrary to expectations. Taken together, the overall results from both legislative sessions provide partial support for the hypothesis involving the black lawmakers' strategic bill sponsorship behavior during the Democratic-controlled House Sessions.

¹² For more detail explanation see "Annotated Stata Output: Negative Binomial Regression. (nd.) http://www.ats.ucla.edu/stata/output/stata_nbreg_output.htm

In hypothesis 3, it was predicted the black caucus members' secondary bill introduction activity would be higher than their primary bill introduction activity during the 114th, 115th, and 119th Republican-controlled House Sessions. The statistically significant coefficients for the SCLBC secondary bill category were higher than the coefficients for their primary bill type during the 114th and 115th Sessions. Arguably, SCLBC members strategically chose to introduce more secondary measures during those sessions because the likelihood of secondary bill passage were higher than the probability of primary bill passage.

However, unexpectedly, the SCLBC members' primary bill introduction activity was greater than their secondary bill introduction during the 119th Session. Going further in this analysis, the model shows that SCLBC members' strategic bill sponsorship choice for both primary and secondary legislation has a significant effect during the 119th Session. It is significant ($p < .01$) and positive for both the primary bill introduction variable and the secondary bill introduction variable when all other variables are held constant. This result may be indicative of SCLBC members' inclination to utilize their majority-minority party status to increase their strategic bill selection numbers in both categories.

Also, taken together, the results from the 114th, 115th, and 119th sessions become even more noteworthy. A comparison between the three groups primary measures introduction pattern, provides support for the SCLBC strategic bill sponsorship assertion. During the 109th, 110th, and 114th Sessions, when the SCLB lawmakers held minority membership status with the Democratic Party, they relied on the white Democrats to introduce a majority of primary legislation. However, their reliance on the white

Democratic lawmakers seems to lessen with each subsequent legislative session. For example, the 115th Session marked the last session of SCLBC minority membership within the Democratic Party. It was during this session that the SCLBC member's primary bill introduction became statistically significant within the Republican-dominated House even though it did not surpass their secondary bill introduction. Further examination of the data also shows that after having acquired and subsequently expanding their majority membership numbers within the Democratic Party, SCLBC members became, even more, aggressive in their strategic bill introduction behavior during the 119th Session.

The 119th Session is the only session involved in this study, in which the SCLBC members' bill introduction activity for both bills sponsorship categories were statistically significant ($p < 0.01$). Unexpectedly, the coefficient for primary bill introduction (0.0172) was higher than the secondary bill group coefficient (0.069) during this Republican-led House Session. Nevertheless, it appears that after assuming the majority members status within the House Democratic Party, the black lawmakers began to sponsor the majority of the black interest legislation in the House strategically. Not surprisingly, in no legislative session did the Republican House members introduce more primary legislation than the SCLBC members. Finally, the effect of seniority is significant in regards primary bills introduction but only for the 110th Session.

Strategic Bill Passage Success

At the beginning of this chapter, I cited a quote uttered by SCLBC Representative Cobb-Hunter. Did she have a valid concern regarding the South Carolina House of Representatives members' bill passage practices? If so, what is the level of bill passage

success enjoyed by SCLBC members as a result of their strategic bill sponsorship efforts?

It was predicted in hypothesis 4 that SCLBC members would have a higher probability of getting their sponsored secondary bills passed than they would have to get their primary bills passed. That hypothesis is partially supported.

The logistic passage analysis presented in Table 3.5 indicates that the SCLBC members' bill passage success varies significantly across the sessions studied. The SCLBC members' secondary measures were significantly more likely to pass during both the 109th and 110th sessions but were significantly less likely to pass during the 119th session. Conversely, SCLBC sponsored bills were significantly less likely to pass during 115th Republican Party- controlled session. No significant difference emerged in SCLBC members' primary bill passage rate across any legislative sessions.

However, their primary measure coefficients for the 115th (-0.346) and 119th (-0.410) Sessions were negative. These coefficients indicate that for a one unit increase in the bill passage variable, there would be a (-0.346) and (-0.410) decrease in the SCLBC primary bill passage variable during these respective sessions, holding all other categories independent variables constant. Not surprisingly, measures sponsored by white Democrats in both categories were significantly likely to pass during the 109th Session, the last House session firmly under Democratic control. Also, measures sponsored by the majority party members were significantly likely to pass during the 109th, 115th and 119th Sessions. These results lend further support for prior research that finds legislation sponsored by majority party members receives favorable outcomes.

The effect of a sponsor's seniority was significant in the bill's passage during the 109th Session. The average income of the sponsor's legislative district was significant for

**Table 3.5 Logistic Regression Analysis: Effect of Bill Type and Sponsor on Bill Passage by Session
(Bill is Unit of Analysis)**

	109 th Session	110 th Session	114 th Session	115 th Session	119 th Session
Intercept	0.318 (0.746)	0.576 (0.642)	0.128 (1.034)	-1.865** (1.158)	-1.754** (0.742)
SCLBC Primary Bill	0.232 (0.024)	0.044 (0.318)	0.022 (0.014)	-0.346 (0.296)	-0.410 (0.278)
SCLBC Secondary Bill	0.318** (0.130)	0.290* (0.158)	-0.170 (0.25)	-0.189 (0.253)	-0.828* (0.489)
Female Sponsor	-0.050 (0.240)	-0.063 (0.346)	-0.212 (0.150)	-0.312 (0.280)	-0.545 (0.210)
White Democrat Primary	1.761** (0.830)	0.464 (0.350)	-0.856 (0.846)	-1.228 (0.436)	-1.784 (0.724)
White Democrat Secondary	1.342** (0.653)	0.524* (0.238)	-0.879 (0.263)	-0.899 (0.321)	-0.435 (0.321)
Majority Party Sponsor	1.624** (0.725)	0.032 (0.354)	0.336 (0.482)	1.542** (0.725)	1.214** (0.468)
Sponsor in Leadership	0.864 (0.662)	0.084 (0.320)	0.960 (0.452)	0.878*** (0.326)	2.606*** (0.712)
Sponsor is Committee	0.178	0.059	0.484	0.212	0.452

Chair	(0.387)	(0.175)	(0.322)	(0.210)	(0.161)
Sponsor's Seniority	0.148* (0.081)	0.076 (0.069)	0.203 (0.016)	0.010 (0.006)	0.024 (0.015)
% Black in District	0.044** (0.020)	0.032* (0.018)	-0.022 (0.10)	-0.653 (0.056)	-0.037 (0.046)
Average income in District ^a	0.024** (0.010)	0.033 (0.020)	0.026 (0.009)	0.031*** (0.014)	0.023 (0.016)
Number of Bills	1181	1455	1150	1498	1065
Pseudo R ²	0.04	0.06	0.08	0.10	0.10

^a in thousands.

*p <0.10, one-tailed test; ** p<0.05, one-tailed test; ***p<0.01, -tailed test. (Robust Standard Errors in parentheses).

the 110th and 115th sessions. The percentage of blacks within a district was significant in both the 109th and 110th sessions. It should be noted that these were the last two sessions the Democrats controlled the House. The effect of leadership on bill passage varies across sessions and becomes highly significant during the 114th and 115th sessions. Perhaps this can be attributed to the Republican Party complete dominance of the House since 1995. Also, despite the fact that SCLBC members were the majority of House Democrats since 2005, until recently, all influential minority leadership positions were held by white Democrats.

This analysis now turns to the odd ratios of each variable of interest previously examined. Table 3.6 presents the odd ratio passage results for the SCLBC primary and secondary measures. An odds ratio tells you how much the odds of the dependent variable change for each unit change in the independent variable. An odds ratio of less than one says that the odds decrease as the independent variable increases (a negative relationship). An odds ratio equal to one means that the odds do not change as the independent variable increases (no relationship). Also, the odds ratio of greater 1 than means that the odds of the dependent variable increase as the independent variable increases (a positive relationship).

As Table 3.6 reflects, there is a slight difference in the odds-ratio of the passage rates for both categories of SCLBC sponsored measures during the Democratic Party–controlled 109th and 110th House Sessions. For the 109th Session, the odds-ratio passage rate results, shows that the SCLBC secondary measures were 1.374 times more likely to pass (approximately 37.4 percent), and their primary measures were 1.261 times more likely to pass (almost 26 percent) than similar Republican-sponsored measures. The

Table 3.6 Logistic Regression Analysis: Effect of Party Control on Bill Passage (Bill is Unit of Analysis)

	109 th Session	Odds Ratios 110 th Session	114 th Session	115 th Session	19 th Session
SCLBC Primary Bill	1.261	1.045	1.022	0.708	0.664
SCLBC Secondary Bill	1.374**	1.336*	0.844	0.828	0.436*
Female Sponsor	0.951	0.938	0.809	0.732	0.580
White Democrat Sponsor	5.818**	1.590	0.425	0.293	0.168
Majority Party Sponsor	5.073**	1.033	1.399	4.674**	3.367**
Sponsor in Leadership	2.373	1.088	2.612	2.406***	13.545***
Sponsor is Committee Chair	1.195	1.061	1.623	1.236	1.572
Sponsor's Seniority	1.160*	1.079	1.225	1.014	1.024
% Black in District	1.045**	1.045	0.803	0.521	0.964
Average income in District ^a	1.024**	1.034	1.026	1.032***	1.023
Number of Bills (N)	1021	1377	1265	1218	1098
Pseudo R ²					

^a in thousands *p <0.10, one-tailed test; ** p<0.05, one-tailed test; ***p<0.01, -tailed test.

110th Session produced comparable results. The SCLBC secondary measures were 1.335 times more likely to pass, and their primary measures were 1.045 times more likely to pass. The secondary bills' passage odds ratio rate were higher than the primary bills odds ratio rates and also significant for both sessions. The white Democrats odds ratio rates were higher than the SCLBC lawmakers for both sessions.

On the other hand, the three Republican-controlled sessions produce dissimilar passage rate results for the black legislators' sponsored measures. During the 114th Session (approximately five years after the Republican Party take-over) the SCLBC primary legislation odds ratio passage rate outpaced their secondary legislation odds ratio passage rate. The black lawmakers' primary sponsored measures were 1.02 times more likely than their secondary measures to pass during this session. Surprisingly, their secondary legislation results show that a one unit change in the introduction bill variable decreases the odds of their secondary bill passage rate by approximately 16 percent.

However, the 115th and 119th Sessions clearly illustrates the black lawmakers' strategic representation dilemma through calculated bill sponsorship. In both sessions, the Republican Party dominance in the agenda setting process thwarted the caucus members calculated efforts. There is a negative relationship between the independent variable and the probability of the dependent variable. The percentage change in the odds for primary bill passage is (-.30) for the 115th Session and (-.34) for the 119th Session. These decimals indicate that a one unit change in the introduction bill variable decreases the odds of SCLBC members' primary bill passage by approximately 30% and 34% for the respective session.

Their secondary measures did not fare much better. Not surprisingly, the black

lawmakers' secondary measures stood a better chance of passage than their primary measures during the 115th Session (approximately a 17% versus 30% decrease in the odds).

However, the passage of their secondary measures was considerably diminished during the 119th Session. In the 119th session, the SCLBC secondary measures showed approximately a 56% reduction in the odds for passage for a one unit change in the bill introduction variable. More importantly, this secondary bill passage result is statistically significant. In sum, during the latter Republican-controlled legislative sessions, SCLBC members were not able to achieve passage of any strategically measurable amount of either category of sponsored legislation.

Also, the majority party variable shows that being a member of the majority party increases the likelihood of favorable outcomes for sponsored legislation. The leadership variable lends itself to the same conclusion. In all sessions, being in a leadership position enhances a legislators chances of obtaining passage of sponsored legislation. This significant result is more pronounced during the Republican-dominated 119th House session. In this session, House leaders sponsored legislation were 13.55 times more likely to pass than measures sponsored by legislators, not in leadership positions.

Conclusion

Are SCLBC members strategic in the bill introduction behavior? If so, does this behavior lead to successful black interest policy implementation? My overall argument is that SCLBC members strategic representational behavior is the link between descriptive and substantive representation. One specific dimension of strategic representation lies with SCLBC members' bill introduction patterns which in turn impacts their bill passage

success. Arguably bill introduction is a strategic decision on their part. Prior research shows that because blacks and other minority legislators encounter obstacles in getting policy proposals on the agenda, they have to decide whether the cost associated with sponsorship of certain bills outweigh the benefits they receive (Rocca and Sanchez, 2008). Presumably, in most of the legislative sessions, SCLBC members' actions reflected their belief that they have the responsibility to introduce both primary and secondary bills in a strategic fashion to achieve positive outcomes.

However, the evidence presented regarding the success of their efforts is mixed. Overall these findings run counter to Hamm, Harmel, and Thompson (1983) study which found no significant differences between white and black legislators in the number of bills introduced or in success in enacting bills. But, the result of this analysis does lend support to Legette's (2000) and Shaw and Black (2008) studies which suggest that when contrasted with a white comparison group, South Carolina's black lawmakers were found to introduce fewer bills and to enjoy less success in enacting them into law. Simply put, on one hand, SCLBC members appear to have engaged in strategic bill introduction behavior but, on the contrary, their sponsored legislation mostly have not received favorable outcomes.

A look at the magnitude of the effects of partisanship along with other significant institutional level variables appears to have a negative impact on SCLBC members' bill sponsorship and bill passage success. These results underscore the black lawmakers' strategic representation dilemma. In this instance, SCLBC members' strategic representation efforts through selective bill sponsorship and eventual passage of these measures are complicated by the effects of the majority party control. All of the SCLBC

members are Democrats and have constituted the majority within the House Democratic Party since 2006, the Republican Party has maintained (and has continually strengthened) its dominance of the House since assuming control during the 1995 legislative session. Despite their majority-minority party status, SCLBC members have been disadvantaged in both their primary and secondary bill sponsorship efforts during Republican Party control of the House.

The overall findings of the bill sponsorship, and bill passage analyses highlight the SCLBC lawmakers' predicament in their agenda-setting facet involving strategic representation. Their historical status as members of the minority party in the House has certainly negatively impacted their ability to obtain meaningful success in achieving passage of their sponsored legislation. Perhaps that is about to change. Given their majority-minority status within the Democratic Party, SCLBC members should be able to gain more meaningful minority party leadership and committee chairs positions. Once this is done, they should have extra motivation and additional opportunities to achieve higher passage rates for their strategically sponsored legislation.

This analysis will now be used as the foundation for further examination of SCLBC members' strategic representational activities in the other chapters of this study. In the remaining chapters, I analyze SCLBC members' committee assignment preference to engender passage of their sponsored bills. I also analyze their coalition formation efforts to secure passage of their sponsored legislation and also for negative veto purposes. Once these examinations are done, a fuller picture of SCLBC members' strategic legislative behavior will emerge.

CHAPTER 4

HOUSE COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS: SCLBC STRATEGIC SELF-SELECTION

“If they have one Black on Ways and Means or two Blacks, they feel that is enough, they feel they have fulfilled their obligation” (Representative Julius Murray, voicing his complain about the poor committee assignments SCLBC members traditionally received.(Personal communication, November 8, 1982; cited in *The Journal of Black Studies* / JULY 2000

Chapter 3 focused on the impact that SCLBC members strategic representation behavior has on the House legislative process by examining their bill introduction choice and bill passage success. In this chapter, the focus moves to another dimension involving SCLBC members’ strategic representation. Previously, this researcher argued that an additional component of SCLBC members’ strategic representation behavior involve requesting assignments to a committee whose jurisdictions covers policy areas germane to SCLBC members’ minority constituents. Consistent with this theory, this chapter raises two important questions concerning SCLBC members’ strategic committee assignment. First, do SCLBC members make strategic requests for appointments to committees that have jurisdiction over policy areas relevant to their black constituency? Second, is SCLBC legislators’ membership on the selected committees proportionally higher than white Democrats and Republicans thereby allowing the black lawmakers to maximize their ability to influence committee deliberations? In answering these questions, the fourth hypothesis offered in Chapter 2 will be tested.

This chapter is organized as follows. First, an overview of the relevant literature involving legislative committees' requests and assignment process is discussed. Second, I put forth the hypothesis that SCLBC members strategically make committee assignment requests. Third, I give a detailed description of the data and methods used to test this hypothesis. Fourth, I present a model that measures the relative importance of SCLBC member's committee assignments and a model that measures the potential influence of those assignments. Fifth, I construct a statistical model that measures the likelihood of SCLBC members making strategic requests for committee assignments. Sixth, I explain the results focusing mainly on the importance of SCLBC members' assignment to black interest committees. Seventh, I raise further questions and discuss conclusions regarding SCLBC members' strategic committee assignments and place the committee assignment analysis within the context of the bill sponsorship and bill passage results from the previous chapter.

4.1: SCLBC Legislators Committee Assignments: Another Measure of Strategic Representation

This chapter addresses the SCLBC members' committee assignments issue. Since this research is interested in seeking answers to questions regarding SCLBC members' strategic legislative behavior, it is important to examine their committee assignments. There is no denial of committees' importance within legislative bodies. Early literature on the subject shows that all legislatures make use of a committee system as the most efficient means to discharge their legislative responsibilities. Prior research shows that an effective committee system enables an assembly to perform its role as the people's guardian, guardian of democracy and facilitates effective policymaking (Davidson and

Oleszek 2004; Fenno 1973; Ogle, 2004; Deering and Deering and Smith 1997; Francis 1989, Shepsle and Weingast 1987; Rosenthal 1974). Committees enable policymaking not only through control of a bill's substantive contents but also determine if and when a piece of legislation will reach the full legislature (Smith and Ogle, 2004). Also, committees can prevent legislation, even that which might enjoy the support of the majority of the legislature, from ever being considered. Thus, committees can substantially control the set of issues and policy initiatives debated and decided in legislatures (Hall 1987; Rosenthal 1974; Smith and Deering 1984).

Moreover, committees are not only necessary for the policy-making process but also for the career paths of legislators (Haynie, 2005). They provide a system of specialization that allows legislators to develop policy expertise and satisfy the demands of their constituencies (Shepsle 1975, 1988; Stewart 1992). Not surprisingly, legislators tend to seek membership on committees that are relevant to their districts' interests.

Such assignments allow representatives to act or appear to act in a manner that is responsive to his or her constituents needs. Relevant committee assignments, in turn, can significantly influence that legislative member's reelection chances. Because legislative committees have varying jurisdictions and unique responsibilities, legislators are better able to have their policy agendas advanced if they receive a particular committee assignments rather than others (Bratton and Haynie 1999b; Francis 1989; Rhode and Shepsle 1973; Stewart 1992). In sum, committee assignments not only enable legislators to pursue their personal and their constituents' interests, but can also help enhance a representative's position or status within the institution (Hibbing 1991; Munger 1988; Shepsle 1988).

Prior Research on Legislative Committee Request and Assignment Process

Scholars have conducted numerous studies examining committee requests, the assignment process and the behavior of individual legislators associated with it. Research at the national level finds that committee assignments are key to House members' ability to pursue their goal of reelection. Relevant committee assignments also allow the legislator to engage in sound policymaking and acquire legislative influence (Hedlund, Larson, DeLeo and Hedlund 2012; Shepsle 1978; Westerfield 1974).

For instance, David Canon's (1999) study reports that one of the Congressional Black Caucus goals was to have at least one of its members on each of the most important standing committees. Additionally, a 2004 study by Frisch and Kelly adds to the scholarly literature through their use of the Committee Distributive Theory. They use this theory to examine whether U.S. House members committee assignment requests were empirically related to district-level characteristics. The central tenant of this argument is the assertion that members will self-select committees based on constituency related concerns. While there was some support for the self-selection hypothesis, their overall finding suggests that members' requests for committee assignments were often not related to district-level characteristics (Frisch and Kelly, 2004).

Again in 2006, Frisch and Kelly present another comprehensive study on the U. S. House of Representatives Committee assignment process. They use committee request data from both Democratic and Republican members of Congress to revisit the question of whether committee requests are empirically related to district-level characteristics. They analyze a total of 2,117 committee preference listings. Their data for the Democratic Party House members covers the 86th through the 90th Congress and the

92nd through the 103rd Congress. The data for Republican members include the 86th through the 101st Congress. Frisch and Kelly then offer a committee assignment politics framework, which integrates interviews and content analysis along with other factors they felt influence the committee assignment process.

They note that earlier committee assignment models held that constituency concerns and leadership preferences are the dominant factors in legislative members' committee assignment requests. However, in this study they expand the list of influential factors to include the legislators' desire to make good public policy, accumulate internal clout among fellow members and accrual of power to their constituency interests. These additional influencing factors "differed according to a member's party affiliation. Inclusion of these additional influencing factors in their model, Frisch and Kelly conclude that both the Democrats and Republicans lawmakers exhibit noticeably distinct request strategies" (Frisch and Kelly 2006).

Other existing studies concerning committee assignments focus primarily on the legislative leaders motives for granting individual committee assignment requests. Scholars such as Shepsle and others posit an accommodation theory of committee assignments which is somewhat in line with the members' self-selection thesis. Mostly these theories primarily hold that the chamber leaders, in response to members' advertisement, strive to advance party harmony by accommodating, to the extent possible, individual member's requests (Hedlund 1989; Bullock 1985; Smith and Ray 1983; Shepsle 1987).

However, Gilligan and Krehbiel (1990) take an opposite view. They argue that the legislative chamber is sovereign. They posit that a chamber would not delegate policy

formation to a committee that systematically distorted policy from the chamber's wishes unless such distortions were in the chamber's interests. Similarly, Cox and McCubbins (1993), contend that the focus should be on the match between party contingents on committees and the party as a whole. In particular, they argue that parties may allow committee self-selection but will also pay extremely close attention to committees whose jurisdictions affect large numbers of voters before awarding committee appointments. Clearly, the congressional committee assignment process literature shows mixed results.

State Level Committee Studies

While these previously mentioned studies have made substantial contributions to the scholarship of congressional committee assignment behavior, they have limited utility in explaining the committee assignment process in state legislative settings. Hedlund (1992) notes this research limitation and outlines three areas to highlight the limited applicability of congressional committee request behavior to state legislatures. First, he notes that state legislative committee assignment processes differ from the congressional committee assignment process because committee appointment powers are more concentrated in most states legislatures. In the state's lower legislative chamber, the Speaker, the majority leader, or minority leader, have broad discretion over committee appointments.

Second, he notes that unlike within the U. S. House, formal representation by geographic area in the committee appointment process does not frequently occur at the state level. Third, he argues that seniority plays a far less official role in state legislatures when compared to Congress (Hedlund, 1992). Thus, given the limitations in the applicability of the congressional committee literature findings to state legislative

committees, it would be useful to discuss relevant studies surrounding the state-level committees' assignment process.

The early research considers state legislatures to be less independent than congressional committees because party leaders determined their compositions. Indeed, studies such as Jewell (1969) gives the impression of firm partisan control of state legislative committee and the likelihood that some committees would become "powerful lobbies" (Jewell 1969, 56). Later studies such as Francis (1985,1989), Hedlund (1989), Ham and Hedlund (1990) argue that even though state party leaders often have power over committee composition, they go to considerable lengths to accommodate members individual committee requests. Studies conducted by Adler and Lapinski (1997), Shepsle, (1978), Bullock, (1985), and Hedlund (1989, 1992) provide additional evidence for the committee assignment accommodation argument. Similarly, Francis (1989) contends:

Accommodation of members' committee interests in the assignment phase has a number of important implications. First, members can sort themselves out according to their natural diversities of interest. A second implication is that members are more likely to be in a position to promote important parts of their agenda (Francis, 1989).

Likewise, Hedlund and Patterson 1992 find that even though, a degree of variation does exist to which members acquire the committee appointments they request, legislative leaders typically grant their request. This norm of accommodation is in part a consequence party leaders attempts to achieve and maintain party unity by creating a satisfying work environment for their members (Hedlund 1989). Other scholars suggest that the lack of a strong and entrenched seniority system in state legislatures also contributes to this norm by providing party leaders and legislative officers with more

flexibility in meeting members' request (Francis 1989; Hayne 2001, Rosenthal1981,). More recently, in a previous examination of committee requests and assignment behavior in Iowa, Hedlund and Deleon (2010) find accommodation of members' preferences at "extraordinarily high rates. In one session, "members received 100% of their first choice requests" (Hedlund and Deleo 2010).

Of particular interest to this project are scholarly works that involve black interest committee assignments. Several studies show that if the committee system includes a committee explicitly charged with addressing salient minority issues, members of that minority group receive assignments to that committee and are less liable to sit on powerful committees (Haynie, 2006). Relatedly, Cheryl Miller's 1990 study involving the North Carolina Legislative Black Caucus finds that black legislators strategically use their membership and leadership on various committees to improve the chances for passage of their priority legislation. This literature suggests that there is some strategic consultation among black legislators in regards to their committee assignment requests.

Here, the examination now turns to the SCLBC members standing committee assignments to evaluate their strategic committee request behavior. If SCLBC legislators are making strategic committee assignments demands as the literature suggests, then one could expect that a significant number of their assignments would be to committees that handle black interest legislation.

Moreover, if SCLBC legislators receive assignments in sufficient numbers to black interest committees, they would have the potential to influence the legislative outcomes of black interest legislation referred to those committees. Undoubtedly, an

analysis of SCLBC members' committee assignments will provide invaluable insight into their overall strategic representation behavior.

House Committee Assignment Process

The committee assignment process differs between the two chambers of the South Carolina General Assembly. Individual rules utilized by each chamber governs conferral of committee assignments. In the Senate, Senators select their committee assignments, with seniority the determining factor in the event of a conflict. The senior member of the majority automatically becomes the committee chair.

However, the committee assignment procedure is different in the House. House Rule 1.9 sets forth the House committee assignments system. It states:

All committees shall be appointed by the Speaker unless Otherwise provided for by law, except for Senatorial and Gubernatorial appointees and ex officio members of the House. The Speaker shall name the members constituting each committee in alphabetical order, and the Chairman shall be elected by the several committees. The committee, may at its discretion elect a Vice-Chairman and such other officers as it may choose.

Traditionally, at the beginning of each legislative session, the Speaker asks new and returning members their committee preferences and makes assignments accordingly, or at his will. The Speaker then notifies each House member of his or her committee assignment(s) during the first days of the House organizational session. Since most House assignments are made in agreement with each member's request, committee assignments accorded to House SCLBC members can thus be considered a valid indicator of their stated committee preference. Simply put, if SCLBC members utilize a decision calculus in their committee assignment requests, it is reasonable to assume that they will ask for appointments to committees whose jurisdictions include policy areas related to

their legislative priorities. In other words, SCLBC legislators should have a higher proportionality on those committees when compared to their other committee assignments. Also, as members of those key committees, SCLBC members should be positioned to promote their overall legislative agenda. Therefore, an examination of SCLBC legislators standing committee assignments will provide a rich explanatory framework to aid in our understanding of their strategic representation behavior.

Committee Assignments Data and Methods

The primary objective of this chapter is to examine the standing committee assignment patterns of SCLBC members. This analysis is intended to provide further insight into SCLBC members' strategic representation behavior and to gauge the impact their behavior has upon the overall legislative process within the House. In conducting this examination, the fifth hypothesis offered in Chapter 2, which relates to the likelihood of SCLBC members seeking membership on committees that handle black interest legislation rather than non-black interest committees, will be tested. This study treats SCLBC members committee assignments as revealed preferences. As such, the use of assignments data to test this hypothesis is appropriate.

The data analyzed here consists of all standing committee assignments of the South Carolina House of Representatives for the 109th, 110th, 114th, 115th, and 119th Legislative Sessions. These data were collected from the South Carolina Legislative Manual, The South Carolina Legislative Journal and the South Carolina Legislature Internet Portal for each of the legislative sessions covered in this analysis. The South Carolina House of Representatives has 11 standing committees with a range from 5 to 25 members each. This analysis includes all of the standing committees on which SCLBC

members served for all selected legislative sessions. One committee, The Operations and Management Committee was omitted from the logistic regression analysis due to lack of SCLBC membership on this committee during three of the five sessions analyzed.

I use Smith and Deering (1990, 87) committees type classification scheme along with Haynie's 2001 black interest committees classification¹³. Following their theoretical line of classification, committees were categorized as being either a Black-Interest Committee, Constituency Committee, Policy Committee, Prestige Committee or Miscellaneous Committee based upon the committee's stated policy subject matter jurisdiction. I categorized the Judiciary Committee, Education and Public Works Committee, and Medical, Military, Public and Municipal Affairs Committee as Black Interest Committees. Collectively their jurisdictions include policy areas involving education, affirmative action, Health Care and Medicaid, civil rights, public assistance, voting procedures, individual rights protection, criminal justice, and election of members of the judiciary¹⁴.

I also categorized the Labor, Commerce and Industry Committee, Ethics Committee, and Interstate Cooperation Committee as Policy Committees because their jurisdictional area is policy oriented. I classified the Rules Committee and Ways And Means Committee as Prestige Committees because these are the committees House

¹³ See Appendix C for complete listing of committees, the number of members per committee and each committee policy subject matter jurisdiction. Admittedly, given their broad policy areas some House Standing Committees could conceivably be placed in more than one category.

¹⁴ The use of Haynie's committee classification scheme for committees whose jurisdiction includes black interest policy is in keeping with the SCLBC publicly stated legislative priorities. See Appendix B for SCLBC legislative priorities.

members usually view as being influential and prestigious. I also categorized the Invitations and Memorial Resolutions Committee, and Agriculture, Natural Resources and Environmental Affairs Committee as Constituency Committees because their jurisdictional areas are constituency service oriented. The single remaining committee, the House Operations and Management Committee, was classified as a Miscellaneous Committee because of its limited jurisdictional area and thus not a very desirable committee.

To analyze the significance and importance of SCLBC committee assignments, I use Haynie's (2001) measures of *saliency* and *influence potential* to examine SCLBC committee assignments. The measure of *saliency* is operationalized as the percentage of the total number of all black legislative members committee assignments devoted to a particular committee (Haynie 2001). I computed the total number of black legislators' committee assignments by aggregating all of the committee assignments each SCLBC member held during the second year of each legislative session involved in this study¹⁵.

For example, during the 109th House Session, SCLBC members held a total of 17 committee appointments. One member was appointed to the Judiciary Committee (5.9%), four members received assignments to the Education and Public Works Committee (23.5%) and four members were assigned to the Medical, Military, Public and Municipal Affairs Committee (23.5%)¹⁴. Given their subject matter jurisdiction, these three

¹⁵ South Carolina's general Assembly have biennial legislative sessions. There were two legislative sessions where a difference in the total number of SCLBC committee membership between the first year and the second year of the legislative session. There was a decrease from 17 appointments to 16 appointments between the first and second year of the 109th Legislative Session. There was an increase from 31 appointments to 33 appointments between the first and second year of the 119th Legislative Session. In both instances the higher appointment numbers were used.

committees were considered to be black interest committees and the SCLBC membership percentages for the three committees were aggregated. Thus, based on the SCLBC committee service on these committees, the black interest committee saliency score is 52.9%. Presumably, based on their committee service, black interest issues resonated more with SCLBC members than all other matters.

The second measure used is *influence potential*. I measured influence potential as the percentage of the committee members who are black (Haynie 2001). To get a much truer picture of black legislators' influence potential on a particular committee, I also include Haynie's 2001 equity ratio measure for each committee. This measure assesses the proportionality of SCLBC members' representation on the committee and is operationalized as the percentage of SCLBC members on the committee minus the percentage of black members in the House of Representatives. An equity ratio of 0 equals "perfect proportional committee representation" (Haynie, 2001). A positive equity ratio indicates committee overrepresentation by SCLBC members and conversely a negative equity ratio indicates committee underrepresentation. For instance, if SCLBC members constituted 10 percent of the Judiciary Committee and they are 20 percent of the entire House members, then the equity ratio for the Judiciary Committee would be -10, which points to SCLBC members' underrepresentation on this committee.

Additionally, I use logistic regression analysis as a more robust means to predict SCLBC membership on an individual committee in each of these four categories. The use of logistic regression analysis to examine hypothesis 5 is appropriate because the dependent variable in the hypothesis, (appointment to a particular standing committee), is

dichotomous. The dependent variable, committee assignment, is a dichotomous indicator of whether the SCLBC member receives an appointment to a particular committee (1=yes, 0=no). The unit of analysis is the individual legislator.

In this examination, the standing committees were placed in the categories as previously discussed. I examined SCLBC membership on Prestige, Policy, Constituency and Black Interest Committees. Also, based on prior research demonstrating racial and gender differences in policy interests and committee assignments, I control for the race and gender of the legislator. Previous research also shows that a legislator's constituency can encourage him or her to seek particular committee assignments. Thus, I control for the percentage of the black population in the district and the average income in the district. I also control for majority party status and the legislator's seniority.

A final examination of SCLBC committee assignment request behavior involves the use of odds ratio to discuss the logistic regression parameters contained in the findings. In this odds ratio analysis, when the probability of a 1 (being appointed to a particular committee) is less than the probability of a 0 (not being appointed) then the odds ratio will be less than 1. When the probability of a 1 (being appointed) is greater than the probability of a 0 (not being appointed), the odds ratio will be greater than 1. When the odds ratio is precisely 1, this means that the odds of being appointed to a respective committee and the odds of not being appointed to the committee are even.

4.2: Results: Are SCLBC Legislators Making Strategic Committee Assignments Requests?

Table 4.1 provides information on how salient SCLBC members found the various types of Standing Committees in each of the house sessions included in this project. As expected, the results show that black interest committees were extremely

prominent assignments for SCLBC members, particularly during the House Sessions under the Republican Party’s rule. The SCLBC members black interest committees

Table 4.1 Saliency and SCLBC Representation on House Standing Committees by Committee Type and House Sessions

Sessions	Black Interest	Prestige	Policy	Constituency	Miscellaneous
109 th	52.9	29.4	5.9	11.8	0.0
110 th	52.0	16.0	12.0	16.0	4.0
114 th	64.2	14.4	14.3	7.1	0.0
115 th	62.2	17.2	13.7	6.9	0.0
119 th	60.5	18.2	9.1	6.1	6.1

saliency ranged from 52.9 percent during the 109th Democratic-led House session to 64.2 percent for the 114th Republican–controlled House Session. In all sessions involved in this study, SCLBC members’ black interest committees’ saliency score was over 50 percent. The saliency score suggests that the black legislators’ committee assignments requests were strategic in nature and geared to address the particular concerns of their black constituents.

Not surprisingly, SCLBC members’ assignments on black interest committees were more salient during the years the Republican Party controlled the House¹⁶. During the two sessions in which the Democrats controlled the House chamber, SCLBC members’ black interest committees’ salience hovered around 52 percent or approximately one-half of their possible committee assignments. However, during the three Republican-controlled sessions, SCLBC members’ black interest saliency scores average over 62 percent, a huge 12 percentage points higher.

Two plausible explanations for SCLBC lawmakers decision to allocate more of their committee memberships to black interest committees during the Republican era comes readily to mind. One possibility is that during the years when the Democrats controlled the House, there were fewer black legislators than during the Republican-controlled era. Given their low numbers SCLBC legislators strategically made fewer requests for appointment per committee in order for them to have broader overall committee membership participation. Also, perhaps SCLBC members' firmly believe that as members of the Democratic Party, the white Democrats would use their majority party status also to sponsor and support policies germane to minority constituents. Hence, they may have made the strategic decision to not increase their saliency on black interest committees during those sessions.

Conversely, the rise in the saliency of black interest committees during the Republican era might signal SCLBC members' adoption of an opposite position. They might have acquired a complete distrust of the Republican Party to sponsor or even support black interest policies and were compelled to take on this task themselves.

Also, only during the 110th Session and the 119th Session were SCLBC members assigned to a Miscellaneous Committee (Operations and Management Committee). The SCLBC members' 5 percent average saliency for this committee reflects the black caucus members' conscious efforts to not request an assignment to this committee. This action lends more support to the hypothesis that black legislators are strategic in the committee assignment requests.

¹⁶ A Standing Committee is not included in the analysis if no SCLBC member received an appointment to the committee

SCLBC members standing committee assignments were also compared to gauge their potential to influence black interest legislative outcomes. SCLBC legislators have served on all House standing committees at some point in time during different legislative sessions involved in the present study. However, in all sessions, the black lawmakers were represented on all existing black interest committees.

Table 4.2 displays the SCLBC influence potential through representation on various House Standing Committees during each legislative session. Interestingly enough, during the Democratic-controlled sessions, the Education and Public Works Committee, was one of the black interest committee on which SCLBC members had the most potential influence. However, during the Republican legislative controlled sessions, given their increased membership numbers, SCLBC potential influence shows a dramatic increase for the Medical, Military, Public and Municipal Affairs Committee. They also show strong potential on the Judiciary Committee. With this influence potential shift, SCLBC legislators were better positioned to have an effect on social welfare policies and judicial appointment decisions.

Moreover, the equity ratios show that during each session of this study, SCLBC representation on the Medical, Military, Public and Municipal Affairs Committee, a black interest committee, exceeded their representation in the House. Also, in every session, excluding the 119th Session, SCLBC legislators' representation on the Education and Public Works Committee exceeded their House representation as well.

Additionally, for the period studied, the Judiciary Committee, is the only black interest committee on which SCLBC members' numbers showed underrepresentation. Except for the black interest committees, SCLBC members' greatest potential for

Table 4.2 SCLBC Influence Potential on House Standing Committees by Legislative Sessions

Committee Name	109 th (N=15)		110 th (N=18)		114 th (N=24)		115 th (N=24)		119 th (N=28)	
	% Black	Equity Ratio	% Black	Equity Ratio	% Black	Equity Ratio	% Black	Equity Ratio	% Black	Equity Ratio
Ways and Means	8.0	-4.1	8.0	-6.5	12.0	-7.4	12.0	-7.4	16.0	-6.6
Judiciary	8.0	-4.1	12.0	-2.5	16.0	-3.4	24.0	4.6	20.0	-2.6
Agriculture, Natural Resources and Environmental Affairs	5.6	-6.5	11.1	-1.4	11.1	-8.3	11.1	-8.3	5.0	-17.0
Education and Public Works	27.8	15.7	27.8	13.3	22.2	2.8	22.2	2.8	16.7	-5.9
Medical, Military, Public and Municipal Affairs	1.7	4.6	27.8	13.3	55.6	36.2	44.4	25.0	72.2	49.6
Labor, Commerce and Industry	5.6	-6.5	5.6	-8.9	5.6	-13.8	5.6	-13.8	5.6	-17.0
Rules	0.0	-12.1	13.3	-1.2	6.7	-12.7	13.3	-6.1	13.3	-9.3
Interstate	0.0	-12.1	20.0	5.5	40.0	20.6	40.0	20.6	20.0	2.6

Ethics	0.0	-12.1	16.7	2.2	16.7	-2.7	16.7	-2.7	0.0	-22.6
Invitations and Memorial Resolutions	40.0	27.9	40.0	25.5	0.0	-19.4	0.0	-19.4	20.0	-2.6
Operations and Management	0.0	-12.9	14.3	-0.2	0.0	-19.4	0.0	-19.4	0.0	-22.6

influence on public policy came from the Labor, Commerce, and Industry Committee. They always were underrepresented on the Ways and Means Committee, and the Rules Committee, both traditional prestige committees.

Overall, during the Republican-led legislative sessions (114th, 115th and 119th), SCLBC members were able to maintain a significant presence on black interest committees. They also expanded the number of committees over which they had influence. An increase in the number of elected black members was an important factor driving this expanded committee influence potential.

Making a determination as to which committees resonate the most with SCLBC members and which issues or jurisdictions they have the most influence are necessary preliminary analyses involving SCLBC legislator's strategic committee assignment request behavior. Undoubtedly, SCLBC membership on an appropriate committee is a powerful influence on their strategic representation efforts. However, do SCLBC legislators express strategic representational behavior as expected in Hypothesis 5? Thus, logistic regression analysis is used to provide a more rigorous test of the committee appointment hypothesis.

Table 4.3 and Table 4.4 provide estimates of the relevant effects on the likelihood of a House member receiving an appointment to a particular committee during legislative sessions under both the Democratic Party and Republican Party control. Of specific interest to this study is the impact of the SCLBC membership variable upon black interest committee assignments.

Table 4.3 details coefficients and standard errors for the logistic regression analyses of SCLBC legislators' committee assignments during the Democratic-controlled 109th and 110th House sessions. In Table 4.3 the negative parameter estimate for the

Table 4.3 Logistic Regression Model Analysis of Appointments to Selected Committees, Democrat-Controlled 109th and 110th Sessions

	Black Interest	Prestige	Policy	Constituency
Intercept	0.475 (0.921)	-2.045 (1.136)	-0.783 (1.126)	0.333 (1.403)
Seniority	-0.073** (0.025)	0.122*** (0.080)	0.065* (0.028)	-0.001 (0.041)
SCLBC Legislator	-0.762* (0.378)	0.945* (0.474)	0.165 (0.455)	0.174 0.527
White Democrat	-0.274 (0.304)	1.037** (0.389)	0.045 (0.369)	-0.613 (0.487)
Majority Party Member	0.136 (0.426)	-0.795 (0.502)	-0.584 (0.513)	-0.621 (0.692)
Female Legislator	-0.473 (0.543)	_____	_____	2.445*** (0.614)
Percent Black ^a in District	-0.001 (0.012)	-0.008 (0.014)	-0.002 (0.014)	-0.613 (0.018)
Average	0.010	0.001	-0.009	-0.036
Income in District	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.021)
Pseudo R ²	0.042	0.101	0.043	0.113
Observations	(248)	(232)	(232)	(248)

^aIncome in thousands

*significant at the .05 level; **significant at the .01 level; ***significant at the .001 level
Robust Standard Errors in Parentheses.

Female legislator variable dropped by Stata for Prestige and Policy Committees Analysis

variable SCLBC Legislator (-0.762) shows that during the Democratic-controlled House sessions, there were significant differences between black legislators and non-black legislators appointments to the black interest committee. In other words for each appointment made to the Black Interest Committee, we could expect a 0.762 decrease in the log-odds of an SCLBC legislator receiving an appointment to this committee, while holding all of the other independent variables constant.

The magnitude of the effects of SCLBC members' appointments to other committees are positive and varies by committee. For example, the statistically significant coefficient (0.945) for the SCLBC legislator variable, shows the likelihood of SCLBC legislators being assigned to a Prestige Committee, in the absence of other influences, is very high. The likelihood of SCLBC members receiving an assignment to a black interest committee is much lower than their probability of being assigned to a prestige committee. This finding is contrary to initial expectations but strengthens the previous argument made involving SCLBC members' early strategic decision to look to their Democratic allies to help protect the minority constituents' interests.

The results of the committee assignments pattern for the 114th, 115th and 119th Republican-controlled House sessions are presented in Table 4.4. These findings show that SCLBC members are significantly more likely to receive Black Interest Committees assignments as opposed to being assigned to other committees during the 114th, 115th, and 119th legislative sessions¹⁷.

These results provide partial support for Hypothesis 5. Clearly SCLBC members

¹⁷ The Miscellaneous Committee (Operations and Management Committee) was omitted from both logistic analyses because the variable of interest was dropped by Stata.

Table 4.4 Logistic Regression Model Analysis of Appointments to Selected Committees, Republican-Controlled 114th, 115th, and 119th Sessions

	Black Interest	Prestige	Policy	Constituency
Intercept	5.326 (1.215)	- 4.392*** 1.204	-1.341 (1.534)	-3.914 1.391
Seniority	-0.140*** (.032)	0.203*** (0.341)	0.067** (0.025)	0.073* (0.035)
SCLBC Legislator	1.554*** (0.444)	-0.638 (0.431)	-0.556 (0.454)	-0.526 (0.596)
White Democrat	0.199 (0.373)	-1.475** (0.494)	-0.528 (0.413)	0.965* (0.423)
Majority Party Member	0.709 (0.077)	0.196 (0.422)	-0.482 (0.411)	0.493 (0.446)
Female Legislator	-0.009 (0.629)	0.433 (0.620)	1.148* (0.561)	0.343 0.645)
Percent Black ^a in District	-0.044** (0.014)	0.023 (0.014)	0.004 (0.014)	0.023 (0.016)
Average Income in District	-0.080*** (0.016)	0.026 (0.015)	(0.001) (0.016)	0.038* (0.017)
Pseudo R ²	0.126	0.206	0.037	0.047
Observations	(370)	(370)	(370)	(370)

^aIncome in thousands

*significant at the .05 level;**significant at the .01 level;***significant at the .001 level
Female legislator variable dropped by Stata for Prestige and Policy Committees Analysis

made wholesale strategic requests for assignment to black interest committees when compared to their requests for assignment to other committees. There is also a pattern of significance across all of the parameter estimates for the seniority variable. This pattern suggests that a legislators' years of service plays a dominant role in the House committee assignment process even when House leadership grants a members' request for assignments to black interest committees. In sum, it appears that SCLBC members did engage in strategic committee assignment preference during the latter legislative sessions of this study.

A supplementary odds ratio analysis amplifies the logistic regression finding for all legislative sessions studied. Table 4.5 and 4.6 presents the odd ratio analyses results. The findings in Table 4.5 tells us that the odds of SCLBC member receiving appointment to a Black Interest Committee during both the 109th and 110th Legislative Sessions are 0.468 to 1. In other words, the SCLBC legislators had less than a 50-50 chance of being placed on black interest committees when compared to Non-Black Caucus legislators. Now consider their assignments to other committees during this same time frame. The odds ratio SCLBC members receiving appointment to non-blacks interest committee show that they were more likely to be assigned to either a prestige or policy committee as opposed to black interest committees. In fact, the odds ratio demonstrates that the SCLBC lawmakers' assignment to prestige committees were over 2.5 times more likely to occur than an assignment to other committees.

Nonetheless, as Table 4.6 illustrates the SCLBC legislators' requests for assignment to black interest committees appears to have taken on a more strategic focus once the Republican Party gained control of the house. During the combined 114th,

Table 4.5 Odds Ratio of Appointments to Selected Committees, Democrat Controlled 109th and 110th Sessions (Robust Standard Errors in parentheses)

	Black Interest	Prestige	Policy	Constituency
Intercept	1.607 (1.481)	0.129 (0.147)	0.456 (0.515)	1.396 (1.957)
Seniority	0.930** (0.023)	1.129*** (0.032)	1.067* (0.030)	0.999 (0.042)
SCLBC Legislator	0.468* (0.176)	2.573* (1.220)	1.179 (0.537)	1.190 0.628
White Democrat	0.760 (0.231)	2.821** (1.097)	1.046 (0.386)	0.542 (0.264)
Majority Party Member	1.218 (0.499)	0.552 (0.265)	0.457 (0.221)	0.714 (0.470)
Female Legislator	0.623 (0.338)	—	—	11.534*** (7.083)
Percent Black ^a in District	0.999 (0.012)	0.999 (0.014)	0.998 (0.014)	0.979 (0.018)
Average Income In District	1.010 (0.013)	1.010 (0.016)	0.991 (0.016)	0.965 (0.020)
Pseudo R ²	0.042	0.101	0.043	0.113
Observations	(248)	(232)	(232)	(248)

^aIncome in thousands

*significant at the .05 level; **significant at the .01 level; ***significant at the .001 level
Female legislator variable dropped by Stata for Prestige and Policy Committees Analysis

Table 4.6 Odds Ratio of Appointments to Selected Committees, Republican Controlled 114th, 115th, and 119th Sessions (Robust Standard Errors in parentheses)

	Black Interest	Prestige	Policy	Constituency
Intercept	4.214 (3.583)	0.086** 0.083	0.259 (0.251)	0.197 (0.205)
Seniority	0.884*** (0.019)	1.216*** (0.030)	1.047* (0.021)	0.925* (0.025)
SCLBC Legislator	5.235*** (1.735)	0.300** (0.112)	0.330 (0.136)	0.653 (0.277)
White Democrat	1.886 (0.589)	1.255** (0.101)	0.620 (0.219)	1.814* (0.651)
Majority Party Member	1.316 (0.483)	1.205 (0.507)	0.650 (0.266)	1.099 (0.487)
Female Legislator	1.142 (0.535)	1.386 (0.710)	1.823* (0.446)	0.852 (0.501)
Percent Black ^a	0.990** (0.010)	1.008 (0.012)	1.003 (0.012)	1.012 (0.013)
Average Income In District	0.981*** (0.011)	0.999 (0.013)	1.002 (0.013)	1.005* (0.014)
Pseudo R ²	0.126	0.206	0.037	0.047
Observations	(370)	(370)	(370)	(370)

^aIncome in thousands

*significant at the .05 level; **significant at the .01 level; ***significant at the .001 level
Female legislator variable dropped by Stata for Prestige and Policy Committees Analysis.

115th, and 119 Legislative Sessions, the odds for SCLBC members receiving Black Interest Committee assignments were 5.235 times higher than their odds of appointment to other committees. Also, for the SCLBC variable all of the regression parameters for each committee assignment, excluding black interest committee assignments, are negative.

This result indicates that the corresponding odd ratios for SCLBC legislators' assignments to non-black interest committee would decrease as a function of the black interest committee variable. For example, the significant odds ratio of 0.3000 (-0.638, the corresponding regression parameter estimate), indicates that SCLBC members have approximately a 70% chance of not receiving an assignment to a Prestige committee when compared to their chances of assignment to a black interest committee. Thus, these overall findings provide partial support for the strategic committee assignment request hypothesis. It appears that the SCLBC members' strategic black interest committee assignments requests emerge primarily during the Republican House leadership era.

Conclusion: SCLBC Legislators and Black Interest Committees Requests

In conclusion, I would like to synthesize and summarize the findings as they relate to SCLBC members' strategic committee assignment requests. First, objective shows SCLBC members' overrepresentation on black interest committees, particularly during Republican-controlled sessions. The evidence seems to suggest that the black interest committee overrepresentation is the result of the strategic committee requests calculations by SCLBC members. Also, the SCLBC members' strategic committee request argument is further strengthened by their total absence of membership on The House Operations and Management Committee (a Miscellaneous Committee) during

three of the five legislative sessions involved in this study.

In the Republican-dominated House sessions, the black lawmakers seemingly pooled their committee assignment requests toward committees that had jurisdiction over policy areas that are of relative importance to the Black Caucus. Presumably, as black interest committee members, the SCLBC lawmakers could position themselves to acquire power and influence in the policy areas within the committee's jurisdiction. The SCLBC members' saliency scores and equity ratios for the 114th, 115th, and 119th House sessions provides consistent evidence of this observation. The saliency score results for these legislative sessions is consistent with Cheryl Miller's (1990) findings that "African American legislators strategically use their dispersion and leadership on committees to improve the probability of passage of their priority legislation" (Miller, 1990: 12).

Second, the most robust findings regarding committee assignment requests centered on the probability of SCLBC members committee requests during the Republican-led legislative sessions. The results obtained from the logistic regression analysis provides partial support for hypothesis 5. The evidence demonstrates that there was a broad variation regarding the probability of SCLBC members committee assignment requests based on policy area jurisdiction during the early legislative sessions when compared to the later legislative sessions. Overall, these findings reflect a willingness by SCLBC members, particularly during the Republican era, to concentrate their efforts primarily to gain seats on black interest committees.

Moreover, contrary to the hypothesized expectation, during the Democratic-led 109th and 110th sessions, the Black Caucus members appears to have not utilized strategic decision-making in making their committee assignment requests. The fact that

their overall House membership numbers were low might have been a factor in their reluctance to make strategic committee requests during these legislative sessions. They might have also expected to receive legislative support for their agenda from the Democratic Party majority. Hence, the black caucus members could have factored the Democratic support expectation, into their committee request equation. This belief would be consistent with Rocca and Sanchez, (2008) findings that Democratic-controlled legislatures provide more support for black interest legislation than Republican-led legislatures.

Finally, in this analysis, the political party variable did not appear to play a meaningful role in the committee selection process. Conversely, the seniority covariate seems to exert some influence on the House committee assignment process. The seniority variable was consistently significant for most of the legislative sessions studied, and for all type of committees involved, regardless of party control. This finding involving seniority is consistent with previous research that finds a legislator's seniority within a legislative chamber to be a very influential factor in the committee assignment process.

In sum, the evidence shows overrepresentation by SCLBC members on black interest committees, particularly during the Republican-led House sessions. This finding provides partial support for the committee self-selection hypothesis. Presumably, SCLBC members' black committees' overrepresentation was done to place themselves in strategic positions to exert sufficient influence to produce positive outcomes for some of their black interest legislation. However, given their strategic bill sponsorship behavior and bill passage results, it seems that their strategic committee self-selection behavior has only been marginally successful in their overall strategic representation efforts.

Recall from Chapter 1, I theorize that SCLBC members do behave in this manner. However, in Chapter 3, I demonstrate that while SCLBC members appear to engage in a strategic bill introduction behavior, overall, their sponsored legislation mostly have not received favorable outcomes. Although these results raise serious questions about the current effectiveness of SCLBC members' strategic representation efforts, a pattern is beginning to emerge. In contrast to the Democratic Party era, evidence shows SCLBC members' expanse in both their saliency and influence potential on black interest committees during the Republican Party control of the House.

Currently, SCLBC members, comprise two-thirds membership on the Medical Military Public and Municipal Affairs Committee, a black interest committee. Black Caucus member Representative Leon Howard, serves as Chairman of the committee, along with two other SCLBC members who serve as Second and Third Vice-Chair. The Black Caucus also shows increased membership numbers on the Judiciary Committee, a highly desirable black interest committee. Nonetheless, the Caucus members black interest committee leadership positions, along with their calculated request for black interest committee assignments, thus far, have not led to meaningful gains in the overall passage rates for their sponsored legislation. Perhaps that will change as the Caucus members acquire more influential legislative leadership positions.

In the following chapter, I turn next to an examination of SCLBC members legislative coalition efforts. How successful are they in creating voting coalitions aimed at moving their strategic measures, further along, the legislative path? What types of alliances are they successfully able to build to block advancement of anti-minority legislation? How much success have they enjoyed in forming negative veto voting

coalitions? Are they making strategic choices in each instance of voting coalition formation? As we will see, an examination of their coalition formation decisions should provide answers to these questions involving the final link of the SCLBC members' strategic representation behavior.

CHAPTER 5

STRATEGIC REPRESENTATION THROUGH COALITION FORMATION

“I vehemently object to H.3003. It suppresses the votes of the disabled, the handicapped, and those voters without transportation, making the system more complicated and confusing to cast a vote, and therefore, disfranchising many registered voters”
(Representative Robert L. Brown’s statement entered in the 2011 House Journal)

South Carolina Legislative Black Caucus member, Robert L. Brown entered the above-cited statement into the 2011 House Journal Records before casting his vote against House General Bill, H.3003 (2011), the Voter ID Law. Despite Representative Brown and the other Black Caucus members’ similar objections, the bill passed. Still, the above-cited quote highlights the continuing level of legislative frustration Black Caucus members feel while attempting to promote their pro-black agenda or in certain instances, attempt to stifle anti-minority legislation proposed by non-caucus legislators. Although Black Caucus lawmakers now constitute the majority legislative membership of the minority Democratic Party in the Republican-controlled House, they are still racial minority legislators. Given their double minority status, it is, therefore, reasonable to expect that SCLBC members will seek to form coalitions with white lawmakers to achieve some measure of legislative success. This examination now focuses on coalition formation, the final measure of SCLBC legislators’ strategic representation effectiveness.

Specifically, this project will analyze the different type of voting coalitions SCLBC members create with other House legislative voting blocs. A key question in this

analysis is how often have the SCLBC House members forged winning coalitions to advance their salient measures, or defeat anti-minority interest legislation? When examining SCLBC members' strategic behavior, the traditional expectation is that they will more readily form coalitions with white Democrats rather than with the House Republicans. This expectation should hold, particularly, since SCLBC members are serving as legislative members in a politically constrained partisan environment.

In this project, I contend that the SCLBC legislators' strategic coalition formation objectives are two-fold. First, they may seek to form voting coalitions with white Democrats and strategically coalesce with white Republicans to gain passage of favorable salient minority interest legislation. Second, the black lawmakers may seek negative veto voting coalitions with white Democrats and white Republican, to prohibit passage of undesirable anti-minority legislation. However, in the end, how successful is their overall coalition strategy? This chapter will provide answers to these questions

The chapter is organized as follows. First, I explain how coalition formation is yet another measure of strategic representation. Second, I briefly state how the two hypotheses tested in this chapter relate to the overall theory of strategic representation. Third, I present data and methods used to test these hypotheses. In this section, I focus mainly on the House roll-call votes taken on each selected measure, during the legislative process. Fourth, I point out the analyses of the effects of majoritarian party control on SCLBC members' coalition efforts and the outcomes. Finally, I conclude this chapter by offering a synthesis of the findings and conjecturing on the impact these coalition formation results have on the overall effectiveness of SCLBC members' strategic representation efforts.

5.1:Examining SCLBC Coalition Formation Strategy

At the beginning of this work, I maintained that SCLBC members overall strategic representation behavior include calculated efforts geared towards promoting their minority constituents legislative interests. However, can their strategic coalition formations efforts help attain that goal? Recall in Chapter 2, I presented evidence that the SCLBC views itself as the voice of black citizens in the state of South Carolina. In some instances, SCLBC members may be able to exert their voice by forming successful negative veto coalitions to derail anti-minority legislation. Other times, they can personify their voice by seizing those rare opportunities to be a part of winning coalitions that enact legislation beneficial to the black citizenry. The Legislative Black Caucus members might also be able to make their voice heard by exerting independent legislative leverage. Their independent leverage occurs when they, as a minority voting bloc strategically cast the deciding votes in a balance of power struggle between competing white Democrats and white Republican Party members (Walters, 1988; Shaw and Black 2008) in exchange for consideration of favorable black interest legislation advancement. In fact, in their 2008 work, Shaw and Black suggested as much by stating:

Therefore, we recommend that the LBC as well as other Black elected officials pursue (or continue to pursue) a strategy of independent leverage where they seek out and cultivate unique opportunities for policy coalitions that benefit African Americans and the poor while actively supporting a process of community policy engagement and political mobilization, (Shaw and Black, 2008).

Thus, there may be instances in which the Caucus may exert their voice on behalf of their black constituents, through strategic coalition formations geared towards passage of desired black interest legislation or legislative derailment of anti-minority measures.

Coalition Formation Literature Overview

At the heart of this analysis lies the following two questions. Can SCLBC members act as a cohesive group and form successful voting coalitions during roll call voting in the House? Is their ability to build successful coalitions dependent upon political party control of the legislative chamber?

Coalition formation among lawmakers is a central element of the decision-making process. It allows the bargaining parties to reach collective decisions. There is a vast amount of literature on the importance of coalition formation during political bargaining in legislative institutions. Implicit in coalition formation is the idea that members of the coalition will receive some form of payment in exchange for their agreement for inclusion in the coalition.

Classic works such as Black (1958), Riker (1962), and Buchanan and Tullock (1962), have recognized the importance of side payments in legislatures. Some early works in formal models of politics have suggested that optimal strategies of favor trading within legislatures involve minimal winning coalitions. For example, Riker's "size principle" for coalition building states that "in social situations similar to n-person, zero-sum gains with side payments, participants create coalitions as large as they believe will ensure winning and no larger" (Riker, 1962).

Additional theoretical scholarly works on bargaining have generated further insights into the dynamics of coalition formation in legislative bargaining (Aksoy, 2010; Baron and Ferejohn, 1989; Diermeir et. al. 2008; Jackson and Moselle, 2002, Norman, 2002). This theoretical literature primarily focus on how institutional features, such as proposal-making rules or voting arrangements, determine the nature of the coalition

formed by the bargaining parties. For example, Baron and Ferejohn (1989a) developed a model of the legislative process to show that in a purely distributive divide-the-dollar environment, the proposal maker forms minimal winning coalitions. Extensions of the model demonstrates how changes in different aspects of the institutional environment, such as the role of committees (Baron and Ferejohn 1989b), unlimited access to the policy agenda, (Shepsle and Weingast, 1981), and the existence of veto players (McCarty 2000; Winter 1999) can influence coalition formations.

Also, two different strands of legislative research involving coalition formation shed some light on the effect political party control has on coalition formation success. Some existing Congressional studies attempt to determine what factors guide legislators' preferences within the legislative chamber to ascertain the connection between legislators' decisions and their constituency based legislative vote. For instance, the resurgence of cohesive voting among legislators with the same party identification and the increasing division in voting between political parties (Aldrich and Rohde 2001; Snyder and Groseclose 2000) has led to a series of arguments centered around the extent to which political parties and party leaders, are the main elements structuring voting within the US House of Representatives.

On one side, Krehbiel (1998; 2000) suggests parties do not structure legislative vote conflict as measured by the division of roll call votes within a legislature. He argues that the preferences of each legislator could merely accumulate into two different coalitions in a conflict, where the sides are divided by the "pivotal" legislator who stands between the status quo and the change in policy given in the legislation. He concludes that it is hard to tell whether an agreement among members of the same party or pressure

from a political party causes what appears to be cohesion in preferences in the legislature (Krehbiel 1998; 2000).

On the other hand, Cox and Poole (2002), believe that parties do precipitate voting cohesion among members. They find that in the US House of Representatives, organizational changes in decision-making in the 1970s have led the parties to pressure members more, because these organizational changes gave the parties more influence over legislative procedure. To support this claim, they show in their model, that members vote with the party more than would be expected when the type of vote changes to a procedural vote from a “less pressure” substantive vote. They argue that as the vote proceeds along this continuum, one can see increased party pressure on certain types of votes, in that party voting coalitions become tighter. In this way, they posit, parties are “procedural cartels (489)” for the legislative organization (see also Cox and McCubbins, 1993).

In a similar vein, Aldrich and Rohde (2001) also argue that political parties are crucial in understanding members’ preferences in particular circumstances. They contend that the strength of the party’s influence on members’ preference rest on how much party members agree with each other and how far apart one political party’s beliefs are from the other party. While these notions of parties as legislative cartels or conditional political players do not see parties as necessarily playing the same roles within a legislature, both strands of scholarly work view parties as the main elements that structure’s member behavior, given situations in which the parties can thrive. The two sides of the argument about the validity of political parties as being essential to the legislative organization have at their core the idea that to understand lawmakers’ behavior in a legislature, one

must understand the larger political environment of the legislature.

Whereas these studies give some variation to developed theories of coalition voting and party organization in Congress (e.g. Askoy, 2010; Krehbiel, 1998, 2000; Finocchiaro and Rohde 2001; Cox and Poole 2002; Baron and Ferejohn, 1988)), their application to state legislatures may not be straightforward (Wright and Schaffner 2002; Aldrich and Battista 2002; Hamm and Squire 2001). In an earlier work involving the Texas State Legislature, Lutz, and Murray (1975) test Riker's coalition hypothesis by collecting data from five regular sessions of the Texas House and Senate. They find in looking at Texas legislative decisions, in terms of Riker's Coalition Theory, some were minimal coalition decisions, but many more were not. They also note that the tendency towards minimal coalition formation was most pronounced when legislators dealt with issues that feature intangible and diffuse payoffs. More importantly, they note that not much stability exist in coalition patterns from one session to the next.

Also, several comparative studies indicate that parties may not always be organizational voting coalition tools in state legislatures. For instance, Wright and Schaffner (2002) find that in the unicameral Nebraska legislature, where legislators are (logically) elected in nonpartisan elections, parties do not structure coalitions in the legislature, despite members' ideological divisions along a liberal/conservative spectrum.

However, even in some states where different political parties do exist, they do not appear to structure roll call voting patterns in the legislature. In the Idaho Legislature, the Republican Party is so dominant the roll call voting patterns indicate the large numbers of Republican representatives divide into smaller groups within their political party for voting purposes. The same voting behavior is visible in the Democratic-

controlled Rhode Island legislature.

Likewise, in Illinois the division between rural and urban areas within the state, divides the Democratic Party into three separate factions. These factions include a more conservative suburban Chicago group, a south central Chicago group, and a larger group of the remaining representatives from Chicago and the rest of the state (Wright and Osborn 2002). These findings suggest that political parties do not appear to structure roll call coalition voting in most states. This outcome is true even in those states with relatively even numbers of representatives from both parties, as several previous studies suggest will be the case (i.e. Wright and Osborn 2002; A. Rosenthal 1998; Francis 1989). Thus, these results suggest the possibility exists for SCLBC members to build successful voting coalitions with lawmakers opposite their political party.

Coalitions Formations in the SC House

In this project, I argue that a particular political party's control of the legislature, along with the substantive nature of the legislation, are the factors that influence the SCLBC members' margin of coalition formation success. Current research lends support to this contention. For example, Wielhouwer and Middlemass (2002) in-depth examination of the connection between descriptive representation and substantive representation in the Georgia Legislature from 1992 through 1999 supports this contention. Though it was not the centerpiece of their study, they did analyze the roll-call votes that occurred during their study's timeframe to determine the Georgia Legislative Black Caucus coalition formation success with white Democrats and Republicans. Their findings suggest that intra-party coalitions with white Democrats were most likely to form involving policies where there were common goals among whites and blacks, such

as economic development. On the other hand, while inter-party coalitions with the Republicans were rare, one did form around redistricting (Wielhouwer and Middlemass, 2002).

Earlier, Browning, Marshall, and Tabb (1984, 1997) demonstrate that to be effective minority representatives must coalesce with progressive white legislators. Other research shows that an inherent requirement of a successful voting coalition creation is the requirement that the appeal of the coalition proposal outweighs any predisposed opposition by potential coalition members. It also requires the coalition advocate to communicate policy intent. These requirements are of the utmost importance, particularly when members of a racial minority group seek to coalesce with white members of the legislative majority (Cox and McCubbins, 1993; Jones, 1994; Krehbiel, 1991; Arnold, 1990). In sum, collectively, these previous studies leave us with the idea that the SCLBC members' coalition formation success is dependent upon the legislative issue involved in conjunction with their ability to elicit cooperation from members of both parties despite the legislative political environment. In other words, the nature of the legislation in some instances may affect the SCLBC members' ability to structure successful voting coalitions to advance salient black interest legislations.

In this chapter, I further expand the line of coalition formation research. I not only examine the Black Caucus members' constituency responsiveness as measured through their salient minority interest legislation progression but also conduct an analysis of their negative veto coalition formation created to derail anti-minority measures. Political institutions vary in the manner that some individuals or groups are disproportionately able to block legislation. Within deliberative bodies, various leaders, and committees

may have the ability to block proposals resulting from either institutional rules or norms (Winter, 1996). Existing scholarly research shows that Latino legislators' coalesce with non-Latino lawmakers to form veto coalitions (negative veto) to block specific legislation adverse to Latino interests, such as the passage of Official English laws (Preuhs, 2005; Santoro 1999; Tatalovich,1995). These studies lend support to the assertion that legislatures often exercise some form of inter-chamber veto power to express their negative preferences.

Negative preferences are preferences against something, and it may be obvious during voting. Essentially, the avoidance of the voters' least preferred alternative is an indication of their negative preferences (Kang, 2010, Ferguson & Lowi, 2001, Poundstone 2001, Kernell 1977). Along these lines, I argue that the SCLBC members exhibit their negative preferences when they strategically form negative veto alliances to block anti-minority measures which they oppose.

In the South Carolina House of Representatives, a simple majority vote on a bill is needed to kill or prevent passage of a piece of legislation. To be successful in their negative veto alliance efforts, the SCLBC members need to form a "minimal winning coalition" of at least 63 members out of the 124 member House (see Rikers 1962). Reaching the minimal vote threshold may be problematic for the black lawmakers particularly during Republican-led legislative sessions. However, even in those instances, their legislation blocking power may be much easier to exert than their ability to successfully maneuver their sponsored proposals through the legislative process.

In conducting this analysis, I examine the SCLBC Caucus legislative responsiveness in two different ways. First I look at their coalition formation strategy for

increasing the likelihood for passage of their sponsored black interest legislation. As I demonstrate in the previous chapters, the precarious minority legislative positions of both the SCLBC and white Democrats create difficulties for either group to gain passage of their sponsored legislation during the Republican-controlled legislative sessions. Thus, to move their minority interest measures, further along the legislative path, SCLBC members would need to coalesce with both Democrats and Republicans in the House chamber.

I also examine their negative veto coalition strategy for blocking anti-minority measures. Recall in Chapter 2, I presented then-Representative Kay Patterson's colorful characterization of the important and often overlooked role that he as a legislator frequently undertook beyond bill sponsorship. He noted that "killing a bill" or otherwise stopping unwanted legislation from advancing further along the legislative path, is perhaps more important than legislation sponsorship.

Without a doubt, an examination of the Caucus effectiveness as a representative of minority interests should extend beyond measurements devoted solely to bill sponsorship, and bill passage. It also requires an analysis of their strategic negative veto coalitions' effectiveness, particularly during the Republican-led sessions. Both black interest legislation progression and legislative derailment of anti-minority interest measures are integral components of the SCLBC members overall strategic representation response on behalf of their minority constituents.

As such, assessment of their strategic coalitions created to advance black interest bills, in addition to their strategic alliances built to block anti-minority measures, will provide further insight into the SCLBC members' overall effectiveness as legislative

advocates for South Carolina's minority citizens. In other words, by connecting the results obtained from both analyses in this chapter to the conclusions reached in the earlier chapters, a fuller picture of the SCLBC members' strategic representation effectiveness will emerge.

Hypotheses: Roll Call Voting and Coalitions Formation

As detailed in the previous chapters, I am interested in testing two different hypotheses around SCLBC coalition formations as part of their overall strategic representation behavior. The two hypotheses are specified below.

H₆: SCLBC members will be more likely to form a winning coalition to advance salient minority issue legislation or utilize negative veto coalitions to defeat anti-black legislation during periods of Democratic control of the legislature.

H₇: SCLBC members will be less likely to form a winning coalition to advance salient minority issue legislation or utilize negative veto coalitions to defeat anti-black legislation during periods of Republican control.

Consistent with the theory presented in Chapter 1, I expect that the SCLBC members will strategically attempt to engage in bi-racial coalition formations with both white Democrats and Republicans, whenever necessary, as part of their overall strategic representation behavior. However, they will be less successful in creating interparty coalitions with Republicans than they would be in building intraparty coalitions with white Democrats.

Existing literature shows that as a rule Democrats and black lawmakers sponsor more favorable minority issue legislation than Republicans. Conversely, Republicans are more likely to sponsor more anti-minority legislation. Thus, given the differences in the minority legislation sponsorship behavior between the two groups, I expect that the black lawmakers and white Democrats will more likely form successful voting coalitions to

advance salient black issue measures or to defeat anti-minority sponsored legislation during Democratic- controlled House sessions. On the other hand, due to Republican lawmakers' historical unwillingness to coalesce with black lawmakers, SCLBC members will be less likely to form winning coalitions in either instance during legislative sessions under Republican control.

Data

The data used in this analysis consist of the House roll call votes on selected primary bills during the legislative years of this study. Previous scholars such as Eulau and Karpis, 1977, have questioned the validity of roll call voting data as an indicator of substantive representation. Also, the majority of roll-call analyses that examine legislators' votes on the final passage of bills usually requires a minimum of 10% variation in votes (Herring, 1990).

However, to overcome these hurdles, this analysis goes beyond merely looking at individual legislator's final roll call vote on a particular measure that meets the bill variation vote threshold. To capture the true extent of SCLBC members' strategic representation efforts, rather than to look at the individual legislators' roll call vote, I analyze the various legislative coalitions formed during the roll call vote.

Moreover, I cast my net rather broadly to include roll call votes involving both procedural and substantive votes at different points in the legislative process according to the primary bills' particular legislative path. For example, in education bills, various education groups often work with legislators and members of the House Education Committee to amend the sponsored education bill to ensure that the final measure meets their goals. Consequently, important roll call coalition votes take place before the final

vote. In that instance, I include the roll call votes that occur during the bill's amendment process within the Education Committee along with any subsequent roll call vote on the bill that takes place on the House floor. Thus, the data set for this chapter consists of 638 roll call votes on primary bills culled from a total of 1574 roll call votes taken on all measures in the House during the legislative sessions under examination.

In this analysis, I am specifically interested in SCLBC voting coalitions' formations that includes black interest measures and negative veto coalitions that involves anti-minority legislation. I augmented this examination with a pre-selection of the 113th and 121st Sessions Confederate Flag roll call votes. I preselect the 113th, and 121st Sessions flag vote for the following reason. On its face, the legislature's vote on the Confederate Flag's removal from the statehouse dome in the 113th Legislative Session (2000), and eventual banishment from the capitol grounds during the *sine die* portion of the 121st Legislative Session (2015), appears to be symbolic in nature.

However, there is also a substantive dimension to this issue as well. The Confederate Flag's statehouse presence had an adverse impact on the state's economic development sector, one of the SCLBC members' core priorities. Thus, given the SCLBC members keen interest in this issue, any coalition formed around this vote should be included in this analysis as well.

I also preselect all House legislative apportionment and redistricting roll call votes that occurred between the years of 1999-2012. Redistricting is crucial for both descriptive and strategic representation of black citizens' interests in the state's legislature. Simply put, redistricting measures lies at the heart of SCLBC members' descriptive representation existence. Given the importance of this issue and the fact that

the apportionment process occurs every ten years, the inclusion of redistricting legislation in this analysis provides invaluable insight into the SCLBC members' strategic coalition behavior during this time-frame.

Methods

Several methods used in this study represent an advancement over various methods used in prior legislative representation studies. To test the two coalition formation hypotheses, I look at roll call votes that occurs on legislation involving the following categories: Education, Elections, Affirmative Action/Discrimination, Health and Welfare, Economic Empowerment and Development and Criminal Justice. These are the same bill categories previously selected for Chapter 3's primary bill analysis and represent the substantive sub-grouping of bills used in this analysis¹⁸.

First I analyze the roll call votes on each measure within each of the selected bill categories to determine the total number of white Democrats, white Republicans, and black SCLBC members that cast a vote during each roll call vote on the bill. I also looked to see whether the individual legislator voted for or against the bill. I next created coalition formation categories to determine the different voting coalition on each measure within each of the legislation groups.

I looked to Alexander Lamis' (1990, 1999) studies along with Menifield and Schaffer (2005) coalition formation categorizations in labeling the various alliances formed during roll call votes on each of the black issue legislation.

¹⁸The bills selection and categorization criterion were outlined in Chapter 3. A second coder was used to obtain inter-coder reliability. An agreement was reached in 97% of the bills examined. Only those bills agreed upon were used in this analysis.

Adopting and building upon these studies, I classify a roll-call vote where a majority of white Democrats votes the same way as a majority of the SCLBC, with both groups in opposition to a majority of the Republican Party, as a *Democratic coalition* vote. For example, a roll call vote was taken during the 110th Legislative Session on General Bill (H 4285), a bill to create a Registration and Elections Commission for Orangeburg County. A review of the roll call vote shows that a majority of the white Democrats coalesce with the black legislators to create a Democratic coalition vote¹⁹. The coalition vote on this election measure met the condition of a Democratic coalition vote and was placed in the elections measure category under the Democratic coalition group. Thus, all measures that met this coalition's roll call vote requirement were put in the appropriate issue category under the *Democratic coalition* vote grouping.

I classify those roll-call votes in which a majority of the SCLBC members and a majority of the Republican legislators vote in the same direction, with both groups in opposition to a majority of white Democrats as an *unholy coalition* vote. For instance, H 4349 (S*059-1994) is an example of a salient issue measure placed in the unholy alliance coalition group. This bill involves the reapportionment of South Carolina's election districts after the 1991 census. Redistricting is an important issue for SCLBC members.

A review of the roll call vote on this measure reveals that a majority of black SCLBC Democrats and the House Republicans vote in the same direction in opposition to a majority of the white Democrats. The roll-call vote met the requirement of an unholy

¹⁹ Lamis (1990, 1999) and Menifield and Schaffer (2005) label this coalition as a *party coalition*. However, the Democratic Party label is more appropriate for this analysis, since this study involve a comparative analysis involving the Republican Party as well. I used Lamis' (1990, 1999) and Menifield and Schaffer (2005) classification scheme for all other coalition classifications, with the exception of the negative veto coalition.

coalition vote and placed in the elections bill category within the unholy coalition vote grouping. I classify those roll-call votes where a majority of SCLBC members, white Democrats and Republicans vote in the same direction as a *consensus coalition vote*. The 2015 Confederate Flag roll call vote (S 0897) is a classic example of a roll call vote placed in the consensus coalition vote group. A review of the roll call votes shows that a majority of all three groups-SCLBC members, white Democrats, and Republicans- voted for this measure. Since a majority of all three factions cast their votes in the same direction, the voting outcome met the requirement of a consensus coalition vote.

I further classify those roll-call votes where a majority of the white Democrats votes in the same direction as a majority of the Republicans, with both groups voting in opposition to the SCLBC members as a *race coalition vote*. I classify those roll-call votes, which produce an even split within any of these three groups, as being an *individualistic coalition vote* on the part of the legislators. Finally, I classify those roll-call votes in which a majority of the white Republicans voted in opposition to the roll call votes of a majority of white Democrats and a majority of SCLBC members as a *Republican Coalition vote*. In sum, all roll call votes that were taken to advance salient minority measures were placed in the appropriate legislation category within the applicable coalition vote grouping²⁰.

I created a coalition category (negative veto) for Non-SCLBC legislators' sponsored measures to which the SCLBC expressed their negative preferences. Generally, in their role as minority interests' representatives, the SCLBC members will express their

²⁰ The Republican Coalition vote category provides a full comparative analysis of the Republican Party's coalition voting behavior before and after their legislative dominance of the House began

negative preferences towards anti-minority sponsored measures and also express their desire to block these bills. To capture the SCLBC members' ability to effectuate their expressed negative preferences, I construct a negative veto coalition category for placement of each roll call vote taken to block any anti-minority legislation within each of the selected primary legislation category.

The roll call vote is considered a negative veto roll call vote if it met the following criteria. If during the roll call vote, at least, fifty percent of the SCLBC members cast a roll call vote against the bill in question, the vote would be deemed a negative veto roll call vote. For example, House Bill H 3003 (2011), The Voter ID Bill is an example of a measure placed in the elections legislation category within the negative veto coalition grouping. House Bill 3003(2001) requires a voter to present a photograph identification to vote. The bill is considered to be an anti-minority measure because of its adverse impact upon minority citizens' right to vote.

In addition, at least fifty percent of the SCLBC members objected to the bill. Thus, the black legislators' roll call vote on this bill is a negative veto roll call vote. Also, any non-black legislator that votes against this bill is deemed to be a member of the SCLBC members' negative veto coalition. Any bill that met the negative veto threshold requirement was placed in the appropriate legislation category within the negative veto coalition grouping.

This study's use of a negative veto coalition category is the first time black lawmakers' legislative representation behavior have been analyzed through the lens of negative veto coalition formed to prohibit enactment of objectionable anti-minority legislation. The SCLBC successful use of strategic negative veto coalitions to preclude

passage of these measures gives rise to the same outcome of affording meaningful descriptive representation to their minority constituents, even if the bill sponsors underlying motivation and substantive preferences are juxtapose to this result.

Measurement of Success

I look to the roll call vote outcome on the legislation to determine the success rate for each SCLBC coalition group. Building upon Menifield and Schaffer (2005) definition, I define success in the following manner. For the SCLBC coalitions created to advance significant minority issue legislation, success is defined as the roll call vote that pushes the measure forward. Defeat is defined as an SCLBC coalition roll call vote's failure to advance the legislation. I considered all legislators that voted "Yea" for the advancement of salient black issue legislation during roll-call voting to be members of the SCLBC roll call coalition. I consider all members that vote "Nay" during roll-call voting to be non- members of the SCLBC's coalition for minority interest legislation advancement.

For the negative veto coalition, success is defined as the SCLBC coalition's opposition to an anti-black interest bill that failed to advance or fail to pass in the chamber or their opposition to an anti-black interest bill that died. Defeat is defined as SCLBC opposition to an anti-black bill that advances or pass. I considered all legislators that vote "nay" on anti-black legislation during roll-call voting to be members of the SCLBC negative veto roll call coalition. Alternatively, I consider all members that vote "Yea" on anti-black legislation during roll-call voting to be non-members of the negative veto roll call coalition. I ignored all absences.

I computed percentages for the success rates from all roll call votes for each

legislation categories in each of the coalition formations. I also computed percentages for each coalition overall success rate. I then analyze the results to determine SCLBC members' effectiveness in their intraparty (Democratic coalition) and interparty (Unholy Coalition) efforts to advance successfully, salient measures. I also analyze the results to determine the extent of SCLBC members' successful engagement in negative veto tactics. I then analyze these findings to compare the success of SCLBC members' strategic coalitions created during the Democratic majoritarian and the Republican-controlled sessions.

I further test the Black Caucus' coalition formation success using logistic regression analysis. In the logistic analysis, I am interested in the likelihood that SCLBC members will create a successful coalition to advance salient minority legislation or build a successful coalition to defeat anti-minority measures. The unit of analysis is the coalition formation vote. The dependent variable, coalition vote success, takes on a value of 1 if the coalition's member's vote on the measure is successful and 0 otherwise. Given the dichotomous nature of my dependent variable (whether or not the coalition member roll call vote was a success), logistic regression is the most suitable method of analysis.

To test the SCLBC coalition formation success, a set of seven logistic regression analyses (one for each coalition category already identified) are conducted. Additionally, as previously discussed, prior research shows that white Democratic representatives are more likely than Republicans to coalesce with black legislators. Therefore, I control for partisanship of the coalition voting member; 1 if the voting member is Republican, 0 if Democrat. I also control for race of the legislator, 0 = black; 1 = non-black. I exclude from the analysis any legislator who abstains or otherwise fails to vote.

Results

Table 5.1 and 5.2 summarizes the coalitions' frequency results. The empirical findings displayed fit the theoretical expectations. For many issues, the Democratic coalition consisting of white Democrats and black lawmakers dominates the Republican coalition during the 109th and 110th sessions. As Table 5.1 shows, the most frequently emerging coalition under the Democratic-controlled House sessions is the Democratic coalition, which occurs on 52% of the roll-call votes. Simply put, SCLBC members and white Democrats coalesce on average over 50 percent of the time on all roll call votes involving salient minority issue legislation. Also, being part of the dominant party was a critical factor in producing the Caucus' victories. The party coalition results show the Democratic coalition was victorious 89% of the time it formed on roll call votes. As a consequence, the caucus benefited from membership in the majority Democratic Party.

The second most common coalition during the Democratic-controlled era is the consensus vote. The consensus coalition vote emerges 17% of the time during the 109th and 110th Sessions. As expected, given the definition of the consensus coalition voting pattern, the coalition position prevailed 100% of the time. Not surprisingly, the race coalitions emerges only 15% of the time. The low frequency for the race coalition variable suggests that when white Democrats were forced to choose between voting with conservative white Republicans or Legislative Black Caucus members on divisive issues, they were nearly five times as likely to stay with their party colleagues over their race affinity. Despite the differences in their racial identity with SCLBC members, white Democrats did not choose race over party loyalty. The unholy alliance between black Democrats and white Republicans emerges on only 2% of the roll-call votes.

Table 5.1 Coalitions Formation in Democratic-Controlled 109th and 110th House Sessions

Issue	Coalition Type						
	Democratic	Race	Consensus	Unholy	Individualistic	Republican	Negative Veto
All Bills	52	15	17	2	3	3	8
Education	44	22	18	3	3	2	8
Affirmative Action/ Discrimination,	58	8	14	0	2	3	15
Elections	47	20	16	5	2	2	8
Health/ Welfare	57	11	19	4	3	3	3
Economic Empowerment	49	9	27	2	4	2	7
Criminal Justice	55	20	10	0	3	5	7
Frequency of Coalition Success	88	15	100	11	22	2	38

^a Coalition formation percent average on roll-call vote for each bill category. (N=112)

A review of the data shows that the unholy alliance between black lawmakers and white Republicans occurs only during roll call votes for issues involving elections more than on any other substantive measure studied. In fact, the unholy coalition formed primarily during redistricting roll call votes. The emergence of an unholy alliance between black lawmakers and white Republicans to shape redistricting so that both groups gain members in the legislature at the expense of white Democrats has been previously observed by legislative scholars. Most noteworthy, however, is the fact that SCLBC members and white Republicans never formed an unholy alliance on affirmative action/discrimination or criminal justice issues. Presumably, the absence of an unholy alliance on these issue may be an artifact of white Republicans unwillingness to side with black lawmakers on any substantive affirmative action or discrimination measure.

Turning explicitly to coalition votes that include negative veto of an issue, overall, only 8% of the total negative veto roll call votes involve anti-minority legislation. However, 38% of the time SCLBC members successfully formed negative veto coalitions to derail the sponsored anti-minority legislation. In the affirmative action and discrimination legislation category, SCLBC members were forced to create negative veto coalitions 15% of the time to combat anti- minority measures proposed in this substantive area. Affirmative action issues constitute the highest percentage of any measures within the negative veto category.

Undoubtedly, the absence of an unholy alliance coalition and the frequency of the negative veto coalition involving affirmative action issues suggests that during the 109th and 110 House sessions, the Republican lawmakers were the legislators pushing anti-minority legislation and SCLBC members had to rely on their white Democratic

colleagues to help thwart the Republican efforts. In sum, as expected, the SCLBC members were very successful in utilizing Democratic coalition to help pass their salient black issue measures. They were also marginally successful in forming negative veto coalitions to reject the bulk of anti-minority legislation introduced during the Democratic-controlled sessions.

Table 5.2 depicts the coalition formations frequency, and the success results from the sessions under the Republican Party's control. In the coalitions analyses that emerge during the roll-call votes in the 114th, 115th, and 119th, Republican-dominated House Sessions, intriguing differences appear in the various coalitions formation frequency when compared to the Democratic majority House Sessions.

The Republican coalition frequency average of 40% is greater than the mean of any other coalition formed during all roll call votes. On the other hand, the Democratic coalition formation average is a mere 14% of all roll call votes studied. The Republican coalition is also the dominant coalition formed on each group of black interest measures that involve roll call votes. Its' frequency ranges from a low of 22% for roll call votes on affirmative action legislation to a high of 52% for education related bills. Clearly, the Republican Party's translated its legislative dominance into repeated coalition success during roll call votes. Once the Republican Party acquired a majority status in the House, the Republican coalition consistently prevailed on most legislative issues. Given their majority party status, the Republican majority coalition was victorious 86% of the time for all roll call votes taken.

Not surprisingly, SCLBC members' attempts to derail anti-minority measures resulted in an overall negative veto coalitions' frequency increase during the Republican-

Table 5.2 Coalitions Formation in Republican-Controlled 114th, 115th and 119th House Sessions

Issue	Coalition Type						
	Democratic	Race	Consensus	Unholy	Individualistic	Republican	Negative Veto
All Bills ^a	14	5	10	2	3	40	26
Education	14	3	10	0	5	52	16
Affirmative Action/Disc.	9	2	6	0	2	22	59
Elections	17	6	8	2	2	43	22
Health/Welfare	16	3	11	0	3	42	25
Economic Empowerment	15	5	15	2	4	45	14
Criminal Justice	13	7	12	0	3	41	21
Frequency of Coalition Success	28	15	100	75	22	86	13

^aCoalition formation percent average on roll-call vote for each bill category. (N=526)

led sessions. The black lawmakers' negative veto coalition alliances average on all bills saw an increase from 8% during the Democratic Party led House Sessions to 26% during the Republican majority House Sessions. The sharp rise in the black lawmakers' negative veto alliance frequency is indicative of the level of anti-minority legislation that the Republican legislators introduced. Yet, despite a three-fold increase in their negative veto coalition building frequency, the SCLBC members' overall success percentage was a mere 13%.

A look at each substantive issue group shows that it is on the potentially divisive issues of affirmative action and discrimination, elections, and health and welfare measures, where the negative veto coalition are particularly likely to form. For example, SCLBC members were forced to build strategic negative veto coalitions on 59% of all roll call votes involving affirmative action measures. They also formed negative veto coalitions 22% of the time during roll call votes on elections bills and 25% of the time on Health and Welfare measures.

However, given the Republicans' dominance in the House, these negative veto coalitions very often failed to block these anti-minority measures. Not surprisingly, the consensus coalition rate is a mere 6% on affirmative action measures. The small consensus coalition frequency in contrast to the overwhelmingly high negative veto coalition percentages clearly expresses the Republicans reluctance to advance any meaningful black interest legislation coupled with their willingness to place more anti-minority legislation on the legislative agenda.

No unholy coalitions occurred between the black lawmakers and the Republican legislators involving roll call votes to advance minority interest bills during the

Republican majority House sessions. The absence of an unholy coalition suggests that the bulk of the sponsored minority interest legislation were Republican-sponsored measures, and the black lawmakers considered those measures to be anti-minority legislation. They were thus, required more often during roll call votes to form strategically negative veto coalitions to derail these Republican sponsored minority interest measures.

In sum, overall as expected, the level of the Black Caucus success is much lower during the Republican-controlled House sessions when compared to their Democratic House success. The SCLBC members' inability to acquire the white Republican legislators' support is evidently instrumental in accounting for their Democratic coalition low success rate to advance salient black interest measures. Moreover, despite an increase in the frequency of SCLBC members' negative veto coalition formations during the Republican majority House, as compared to the Democratic-controlled House, the black lawmakers were unable to achieve a higher level of success in blocking anti-minority interest legislation.

Additionally, this research employs logistic regression analysis to test the extent that SCLBC members strategically utilize roll call voting coalitions to advance salient minority interest measures or attempt to derail anti-minority bills. A total of 14 logistic regression models were run; seven for the coalitions formed during the Democratic-led sessions and seven for the majoritarian Republican-led sessions. Table 5.3 reports the results for the logistic regression models for the 109th and 110th Democratic-led House Sessions. Table 5.4 contains the 114th, 115th, and 119th Republican majoritarian House Sessions results. Overall the logit results displayed in both tables provide partial support

for my two hypotheses. A comparative reading of the findings show that SCLBC members' coalition formations success varies significantly across the substantive issues and sessions studied. As expected, SCLBC members Democratic coalitions formed to advance significant minority legislation were highly successful during the Democratic-controlled 109th and 110th sessions but were less successful during the Republican-controlled 114th, 115th, and 119th Legislative Sessions.

For example, successful Democratic coalitions were significantly formed to advance affirmative action measures (coefficient 0.169, significant at the 0.10 alpha level) during the 109th and 110th Sessions but were less successful on these same issues (coefficient -0.297) during the Republican-dominated 114th, 115th, and 119th Sessions. Similarly, Democratic coalitions formed in roll call voting around measures involving South Carolina elections (coefficient 0.046, significant .05 alpha level) were more successful during the Democratic-controlled sessions in comparison to the same coalitions formed during the Republican-led sessions (coefficient -0.603).

Moreover, SCLBC members were minimally successful in forming unholy coalitions with Republicans involving election measures during the Democratic-controlled sessions as shown by the log odds coefficient (-2.945) but were marginally more successful in their unholy coalitions with Republicans during the Republican-led sessions (-0.695). A review of the data shows, as the literature suggests, that the unholy coalitions that occur between Republicans and the SCLBC members were on election measures that centered on redistricting issues.

Also, looking at the SCLBC members' negative veto coalition success rate during roll call voting, an expectant pattern emerges. There was only a minimal number of

Table 5.3 Logistic Regression Analysis of Coalitions Formations -Democratic-Controlled House Sessions (109th-110th) (Robust Standard Error in Parentheses) (N= 112)

	Democratic	Race	Unholy	Individualistic	Republican	Negative Veto
Constant	1.252 (0.567)	-0.693 (1.225)	-2.723 (0.471)	0.237 (0.679)	-0.223 (0.671)	1.253*** (0.402)
Education	0.827 (1.203)	0.196 (0.986)	0.118 (0.406)	0.187 (0.521)	-1.030 (0.845)	-2.639** (0.376)
Affirm/ Act. Discrim.	0.169* (0.994)	0.693 (0.897)	—	0.252 (0.368)	-0.757 (0.953)	—
Elections	0.046** (0.863)	0.559 (1.546)	-2.945 (0.697)	0.490 (0.723)	-0.470 (0.908)	-1.253 (0.844)
Health/ Welfare	0.072 (0.857)	0.289 (0.944)	-3.177 (0.532)	0.233 (0.326)	0.446 (0.449)	-2.169* (0.859)
Economic Empower	-0.154 (1.286)	0.786 (0.592)	-2.945 (0.694)	0.550 (0.047)	-0.875 (0.957)	-1.253 (0.782)
Criminal Justice	0.133 (1.252)	0.529 (0.156)	0.588 (0.655)	0.411 (0.230)	—	—
Parti-ship	0.685** (0.110)	0.277 (0.039)	-0.102 (0.064)	0.828*** (0.115)	0.545* (0.324)	0.236 (0.084)

Race	0.785 (.363)	————	-0.82 (0.210)	0.414 (0.282)	————	0.256 (0.251)
Pseudo R ²	0.109	0.032	0.117	0.225	0.044	0.143

Consensus Coalition is omitted category. *p <0.10, one-tailed test; ** p<0.05, one-tailed test; ***p<0.01, one-tailed test.

Table 5.4 Logistic Regression Analysis of Coalitions Formations-Republican-Controlled House Sessions (114th,115th, and119th) (Robust Standard Error in Parentheses) (N=526)

	Democratic	Race	Unholy	Individualistic	Republican	Negative Veto
Constant	-1.649*** (0.604)	-0.148 (0.488)	-1.248 (0.613)	-1.649*** (0.488)	1.440*** (0.370)	-0.981* (0.479)
Education	0.495* (0.749)	-1.208 (0.572)	-0.405 (0.011)	1.495* (0.740)	-1.389*** (0.490)	0.312 (0.804)
Affirm. Act. Discrim.	-0.297 (0.899)	-1.516 (0.679)	_____	-0.297 (0.899)	0.282 (0.611)	-0.088** (0.549)
Elections	-0.603 (0.879)	-2.079 (0.353)	-0.695 (0.415)	-0.602 (0.859)	0.529 (0.572)	-0.244* (0.651)
Health/ Welfare	1.699 ** (0.584)	-2.015 (0.489)	-0.511 (0.335)	1.699*** (0.584)	0.264 (0.578)	-0.337 (0.430)
Economic Empower	1.361* (0.658)	1.322 (0.732)	-1.098 (0.046)	1.361** (0.658)	-0.342 (0.551)	2.158 (0.746)
Criminal Justice	0.998 (0.604)	0.234 (0.531)	-0.286 (0.126)	0.998 (0.604)	_____	-1.540** (0.518)
Parti-ship	0.348 (0.528)	0.255 (0.489)	_____	0.524 (0.610)	0.834*** (0.578)	0.585 (0.526)

Race	.586 (0.332)	1.568** (0.352)	—————	0.445 (0.220)	—————	1.568** (0.584)
Pseudo R ²	0.0992	0.242	0.352	0.214	0.075	0.078

Consensus Coalition is omitted category. *p <0.10, one-tailed test; ** p<0.05, one-tailed test; ***p<0.01, one-tailed test

negative veto coalition success to derail affirmative action/discrimination measures during the Democratic-led 109th and 110th sessions. Perhaps the lack of measurable negative veto coalitions' created during these sessions can be attributed to the Democratic lawmakers' disinclination to place anti-minority legislation on the legislative agenda²¹.

Additionally, the logistic regression coefficient (-1.253) involving negative veto coalitions formed around election issues indicate a negative relationship between the log odds and the success of the coalition formation involving roll call vote on election issues. In other words, as the log odds of the number of roll call vote to advance election issues increase, the log odds of a successful negative veto coalition occurrence decrease. The results indicate that SCLBC members were in agreement with the substantive nature of most election measures proposed during these House sessions. The statistically significant coefficient for the negative veto coalition involving education issues -2.639, (significant at the .01, alpha level) also shows SCLBC members' strong satisfaction with most of the roll call votes on this issue category during Democratic-led sessions, hence their need to infrequently create negative veto coalitions in this issue area.

However, during the Republican-controlled sessions, SCLBC members' negative veto coalition for the affirmative action variable has a coefficient of -0.188 (significant at the .05 alpha level). In this instance, the affirmative action variable coefficient also indicates that a negative relationship exists between the Republican-led House lawmakers' attempts to advance affirmative action/discrimination measures and the success of increased strategic efforts by black lawmakers to derail these measures.

²¹ The affirmative action variable in the Negative Veto Category was dropped by Stata for analyses involving the 109th and 110th Sessions.

Overall, the coefficient shows that SCLBC members enjoyed very minimal negative veto success in this issue category.

The negative veto coalition involving the election variable during roll call voting follows a similar pattern. The logistic coefficient for elections measures (coefficient of -0.244 significant at the 0.05 alpha level) shows that as the Republicans attempt to push anti-minority legislation increased, the SCLBC members' efforts to successfully thwart these measures decrease.

Generally, the parameter estimates of the SCLBC members' negative veto coalition variable during the Republican-led sessions is a reflection of the Republican's tendency to repel the vast majority of SCLBC- led negative veto coalitions. Although the increased number of anti-minority measures forced SCLBC members to escalate their efforts to block these sponsored bills, their overall success rate is much less when compared to the Democratically-controlled sessions.

This analysis now turns to the odd ratios of each variable of interest previously examined in the logistic regression analysis. Table 5.5 and Table 5.6 presents the odds ratio results for the log odds analyses. As earlier stated in Chapter 4, an odds ratio indicates the amount the odds of the dependent variable change for each unit change in the independent variable. An odds ratio of less than one means that the odds of the dependent variable decrease as the independent variable increases (a negative relationship). An odds ratio equal to one means that the odds do not change as the independent variable increases (no relationship). Also, an odds ratio greater than 1 means that the odds of the dependent variable increase as the independent variable increases.

As Tables 5.5 and 5.6 reflect, there is a slight difference during roll call voting, in

the odds-ratio of the SCLBC members' coalition formation efforts during the Democratic– Controlled 109th and 110th House Sessions and the Republican-led 114th, 115th and 119th House Sessions. To begin with, the results in Table 5.5 shows that in the Democratic-led 109th and 110th Sessions, the Democratic coalition odds-ratio results for affirmative action, were 1.184 times significantly more likely to successfully form (approximately 18.4 percent higher) than any other coalitions formed around this issue. In other words, the odds for a successful Democratic alliance around roll call votes on affirmative action issues was 18% greater than other coalitions' odds ratios on this Subject.

The odds ratio also shows that Democratic coalitions were 1.047 times significantly more likely to be successful around election issues and approximately 2.286 times significantly more likely to be successfully formed around education matters than any other alliance formed on these subjects during roll call votes in the Democratic- led House.

However, the results in Table 5.6 show that SCLBC members Democratic coalition efforts were less successful during the Republican-led sessions. The odds of Democratic coalition success on affirmative action roll call votes during the Republican-led sessions are .743 to 1 and .547 to 1 for roll call votes on election measures. These odd ratios mean that there is only approximately a 25% chance of a Democratic coalition being successful on roll call votes involving affirmative action measures and a little less than a 50-50 chance of this coalition being successful on roll call votes comprising election measures. Conversely, the Republican coalitions are 1.326 times more likely to succeed on affirmative action measures and approximately 1.70 times more likely to be

Table 5.5 Odds Ratio Analysis of Coalition Type Formation Success: (N= 112)

	Democratic-Controlled House Sessions (109 th -110 th)					
	Democratic	Race	Unholy	Individualistic	Republican	Negative Veto
Constant	3.497	0.500	0.066	1.267	0.800	3.500
Education	2.286	1.217	1.125	1.206	0.357	0.071**
Affirm Act./ Discrim.	1.184*	0.797	_____	1.287	0.468	_____
Elections	0.047**	1.75	0.053	1.632	0.625	0.286
Health/ Welf.	1.075	1.335	0.042	1.264	1.563	0.114*
Economic Empower	0.857	2.195	-2.945	1.733	0.416	0.286
Crim./Just.	1.142	1.697	1.800	1.508	_____	_____
Partisanship	1.984**	1.319	0.903	2.289***	1.725*	1.266
Coalition Member ³	2.192	_____	0.440	1.513	_____	1.292
Race Pseudo R ²	0.109	0.032	0.117	0.225	0.044	0.143

Consensus Coalition is omitted category. . *p <0.10, one-tailed test; ** p<0.05, one-tailed test; ***p<0.01, one-tailed test.

Table 5.6 Odds ratio Analysis of Coalition Type Formation Success (N=526)

	Republican-Controlled House Sessions (114 th , 115 th and 119 th)					
	Democratic	Race	Unholy	Individualistic	Republican	Negative Veto
Constant	0.192***	0.862	0.287	0.192***	4.222***	0.375*
Education	4.457*	0.298	0.667	4.457*	0.249***	1.366
Affirm. Act./ Discrim..	0.743	0.220	—	0.743	1.326	0.828**
Elections	0.547	0.125	0.499	0.547	1.697	0.783*
Health/Welf.	5.474**	0.133	0.601	5.473***	1.303	0.713
Economic Empower.	3.901*	3.750	0.333	3.900**	0.711	8.667
Crim. Just.	2.713	1.264	0.751	2.713	—	0.214**
Partisanship	1.416	1.291	—	1.689	2.303***	1.795
Coalition Member's Race	1.797	4.797**	—	1.561	—	4.797
Pseudo R ²	0.0992	0.242	0.352	0.214	0.075	0.078

Consensus Coalition is omitted category. . *p <0.10, one-tailed test; ** p<0.05, one-tailed test; ***p<0.01, one-tailed test

successful on roll call votes on elections bills.

But, surprisingly, the Democratic coalition during roll call voting, were also 4.45 times more likely to develop successfully around education issues and approximately 5.50 times more likely on Health and Welfare issues. These results may be artifacts of SCLBC members constituting the majority numbers within the chamber's minority Democratic Party coupled with their strategically planned majority membership numbers on the House Education and Public Works Committee. It may also be the result of their large membership numbers on the Health and Welfare Committee as well.

It is important to keep in mind that a negative veto coalition odds ratio result shows the success ratio of SCLBC members' efforts to derail anti-minority legislation sponsored in that substantive area. In Table 5.5 the odds ratio results show that overall approximately 71.4% of the time, SCLBC members formed a successful negative veto coalition to derail anti-minority election measures during the Democratic-led House sessions. On the other hand, the results in Table 5.6 indicate that they were significantly successful only 21.7% of the time to form negative veto coalitions to block anti-minority related bills in the same substantive area during roll call votes in the Republican-led sessions.

Also, approximately only 17.2% of the time were SCLBC members more likely to build a successful negative veto coalition to derail anti-affirmative action bills. Their overall negative veto efforts were slightly higher in regards to education-related bills where they were more likely to be successful 1.366 of the time to negatively veto measures involving education issues. Clearly, their negative veto coalition efforts were markedly less successful during the Republican-led House sessions than they were during

the period under Democratic control. In sum, the overall logistic and odds ratio results, lend support to both coalition hypotheses.

Conclusion

Recall that in Chapter 2, I articulated the theory that SCLBC members will seek strategic coalitions to either advance significant minority issue legislation or attempt to derail anti-minority bills. The analysis conducted in this chapter presents much evidence to address my theoretical expectations. First, the findings show that which political party controls the House clearly affects SCLBC members' coalition success efforts. In most instances, during the Republican majoritarian control sessions, the white Republicans did not frequently coalesce with black lawmakers to either help pass pro-minority legislation or block anti-minority bills, as measured by unholy alliances or negative veto coalition success results.

Contrary to Swain and other scholars that view white legislators as working to provide meaningful representation to black constituents at a comparable level as black lawmakers, the evidence suggests otherwise. In fact, the evidence suggests that white Republican legislators were continually working to diminish the black lawmakers' legislative efforts to provide meaningful representation through successful coalitions created to push salient black interest legislation forward or to derail anti-minority measures. As a consequence of the white Republican's reluctance or unwillingness to coalesce, SCLBC members were less effective in their alliance formation efforts to represent their black constituents' interests during the politically constrained Republican majoritarian legislative environment than they were during the partisan Democratic led sessions.

Second, consistent with existing literature, the black lawmakers, and white Republicans were only able to coalesce successfully around redistricting issues. As detailed earlier, these two legislative groups agreed to form negative veto coalitions during the 110th Legislative Session to thwart the white Democrats efforts to maintain their legislative majority. This unholy coalition subsequently led to an increase in the number of black-majority districts, along with the Republican Party assuming eventual control of the South Carolina General Assembly.

Perhaps, once the white Republicans became the majority party in the House, they no longer felt the need to coalesce with the black lawmakers. The Republicans' behavior in this instance confirms the minimum winning coalition idea because they primarily form instrumental alliances with the SCLBC until a Republican Party majority gained control of the House. Once the Republicans achieve majoritarian party status, there is no more evidence of unholy coalition formations between the two groups. Also, the lack of unholy coalition formations during Republican majoritarian is in keeping with extant research on coalition formation which indicates that a significant factor in the decision of whether or not to form an alliance is the extent of the groups' identity differences (Bell and Delaney 2001).

Finally, there was a variation regarding the coalition success frequency. This variation can be attributed to the substantive issue of the legislation involved in the roll call vote. The black lawmakers were more successful in organizing successful coalitions on non-controversial matters of substance such as education and economic empowerment, but less successful in forming alliances on affirmative action and elections issues.

Also, consensus coalitions, whereby the majority members of all three factions vote in the same direction, were formed at a much higher rate during the Democratically-controlled House as opposed to those legislative sessions led by the Republican Party. In sum, the objective evidence shows that although the SCLBC members' coalition success results varies during both the Democratically-controlled and Republican-controlled House, their chances of success for either advancement of meaningful black interest legislation or derailment of anti-minority legislation is markedly less during the Republican majoritarian sessions.

In the concluding chapter, I would like to synthesize and summarize the overall findings presented in this project. In addition to the summary, I would also like to suggest a few implications related to the SCLBC members' strategic representation behavior that are somewhat more subjective than the objective evidence presented throughout the previous chapters.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter summarizes the finding and explores the implications of the findings contained in this work. Essentially, this research was initiated to determine whether SCLBC members provide effective descriptive representation in a politically constrained legislative environment by strategically engaging in three specific legislative activities. At the outset of this research, questions were raised regarding the existence of strategic representation among SCLBC members as they carry out their legislative agenda in the South Carolina House of Representatives. This research sought to explore three specific questions. First do SCLBC members engage in strategic sponsorship of black interest legislation? Second, do SCLBC members make strategic requests for committee assignments? Third, do SCLBC members strategically form coalitions to advance salient black issue measures or block anti-minority legislation?

To seek answers to these questions, I first examine the black lawmakers' strategic bill introduction choice and subsequent passage of those measures in Chapter 3. I also examine their strategic committee assignment requests in Chapter 4 and next analyze their strategic coalition formations and negative veto alliances in Chapter 5.

In this chapter, I briefly summarize the results of this dissertation, focusing on the three legislative activities that were hypothesized to impact the black lawmaker's strategic representation efforts in the House, namely, strategic bill introductions and

passage, strategic committee assignments requests, and strategic coalition formations. Overall, the findings show that black lawmakers do engage in strategic representation in the South Carolina House of Representatives. Also, in some instances, their strategic representation behavior does lead to substantive legislative outcomes favoring their black constituents' interests.

Chapter 3's findings involving SCLBC members' bill introductions and subsequent passage of those measures show that the black lawmakers overall bill introduction effort is only occasionally significant. It was statistically significant only during the 115th, Republican-led session. This chapter also discussed the results obtained in the examination involving SCLBC member's strategic bill introduction choice. I find that the racial background of the black lawmakers is a significant predictor of bill introduction involving primary (black interest) legislation regardless of party control. This finding is consistent with existing scholarly black legislative representation research. As the literature suggest (Swain1991; Whitby, 1997), all things being equal, black lawmakers are more likely to introduce more pro-black legislation than white lawmakers. However, only when non-minority based legislation (secondary measures) is involved, the caucus member's race is a robust significant predictor of bill sponsorship but only during the Republican-led sessions.

With regards to the bill passage models, this examination finds that the black legislator's race alone is not a significant predictor for passage of SCLBC sponsored black interest measures irrespective of which political party controls the legislative chamber. But, the SCLBC bill passage model involving the 109th and 110th Sessions shows that being a member of the majority party during these Democratic- controlled

House sessions is a significant predictor of passage for SCLBC sponsored non-black measures.

The instances in which strategic representation occurs, though are not restricted to bill sponsorship and bill passage, the typical legislative activities examined by empirical scholars of black descriptive legislative representation. The outcomes involving SCLBC members' committee appointment requests and coalition formations show that both legislative activities sometimes provide the opportunity for SCLBC members to engage in effective strategic descriptive representation for their black constituents.

In Chapter 4, I find that SCLBC members are strategic in their committee assignment requests as measured by their black interest committee appointments. There is consistent evidence that the black lawmakers' committee appointments to black interest committees were statistically significant irrespective of which political party controlled the House chamber. The evidence further suggests that SCLBC members were also strategic in their requests for appointments to prestige committees as well. These robust findings involving SCLBC members' appointments clearly indicate that they did engage in some form of strategic consultation involving their committee preferences. What is less clear, however, is whether their strategic committee assignments efforts had a positive effect upon their black interest bills overall passage rate previously discussed in Chapter 3.

In Chapter 5, I utilized House roll call votes to examine the question of whether SCLBC members strategically form alliances to advance black interest measures and negative veto coalitions to block anti-minority legislation. With regards to coalitions created to advance salient black interest measures, I find that partisanship and the

substantive content of the measure on which the roll call vote occurs has an impact.

Also, in every model that examines alliance formations, the political party control variable always has a significant effect for the creation of both Democratic and Republican coalitions. The model examining Democratic coalitions formed during Democratic-control sessions show that this coalition was significantly more likely to occur around advancement of salient black interest bills involving affirmative action and elections more often than the Republican-led coalition for these same measures. In this instance, the black lawmakers' membership in the majoritarian political party that controlled the legislative chamber at that time, more than likely produces this result. The measures' substantive content also have an impact on coalition formations during some Republican-led sessions.

However, the caucus members' strategic coalition efforts can be more readily seen in their negative veto coalition created to block anti-minority measures. These findings are unique for the following reason. Heretofore the measure involving negative veto of unwanted anti-minority legislation has been previously overlooked in studies involving black descriptive state level representation. Substantively, this work moves black legislative representation research forward. As I have previously argued, black legislative representation occurs beyond counting the number of bills black legislators propose or the number of bills passed. It involves other dimensions of representation. Thus, by examining the SCLBC members' negative veto activities, we can expand the existing legislative representation dimensions and thus learn more about the actual impact of state-level black descriptive representation.

On the legislative activity involving negative veto coalitions, I find that political

party control of the legislative chamber clearly has an impact on the SCLBC members' negative veto coalition success rate. As with the coalition created for black interest measures advancement, the negative veto coalitions' success is also both partisan and issue dependent. For affirmative action and election measures, there is evidence that the SCLBC members were more likely to build strategic negative veto coalitions to block anti-minority measures during Republican-led sessions than during Democratic-controlled sessions. But these coalitions were statistically more likely to fail during the Republican majoritarian sessions as opposed to the Democratic-led sessions. This finding is significant across both the Democrat-controlled as well as Republican-controlled House sessions. This finding is also robust when considering the likelihood of other successful coalition formations around the same substantive measures.

In sum, the strategic representation results of this study are unique for a variety of reasons. This is the only study that measures black legislative representation in so many different ways while also including the usual representation dimension involving bill sponsorship and bill passage variables. I also measure the data involving committee appointments. This measures involves black lawmakers' strategic committee preference requests. In addition I measure selected roll call votes on black interest legislation. Unlike past scholars that examines the descriptive versus substantive representation link strictly through an individual legislator's roll call vote, I measure their representation behavior through coalition formations. Moreover, I look at their proactive coalition formation behavior geared towards exhibiting their negative preferences involving detrimental anti-minority legislation. Unmistakably, though, I have found strategic representation to be a link between descriptive and substantive representation.

Despite, the findings presented in this research, other questions and implications involving black legislative representation remains. In the remainder of this chapter, I will detail how this research fits specifically into the larger body of major empirical works involving descriptive legislative representation mentioned in the previous chapters. Second, I will consider implications of these findings involving the three additional dimensions to descriptive legislative representation, namely strategic bill sponsorship, strategic committee assignments requests, and strategic coalition formations.

6.1 Overview: Strategic Representation in a Politically Constrained Legislative Environment

This project expands the study of legislative descriptive representation. Within the vast body of work examining descriptive representation, some scholars argue that descriptive representation produces better policy outcomes for blacks (Whitby1997; Haynie, 2001; Tate 2003; Hutchings, McClerking, and Charles 2004; Owens, 2005). Other scholars argue that descriptive representation may not be only unnecessary for salient black interest measures implementation (Swain 1993) but may actually lead to poorer policy outcomes for the black constituency (Lublin 1997). This project provides support for the first contention raised.

I find that by utilizing various strategic legislative activities, the South Carolina Legislative Black Caucus, have positively affected the substantive outcomes for their black constituents. These findings concur with the finding of other scholars (Nelson 1991; Whitby, 1997; Haynie 2001; Tate, 2003; Owens 2005). It is true I also find that in some instances, the black lawmakers' strategic legislative representational behavior also produces adverse substantive representation outcomes as others have argued (Swain, 1993; Lublin, 1997). However these adverse outcomes occur mainly during certain

politically constrained legislative sessions associated with the Republican Party control of the legislative chamber. Even though Swain argues that white legislators may be as good at representing black constituency interests as black legislators, despite some of this projects' findings that appear to support this contention, I still disagree with her overall conclusion.

In fact, I find that white Republican lawmakers in the House continually work to diminish the black legislators' efforts to provide meaningful, substantive representation to their black constituency. Moreover, I find that the Republican Party cohesion is race-based and, during the Republican-controlled legislative sessions, rather than using their legislative majority to produce beneficial minority based policies, the white Republicans took the opposite approach and *sponsored more anti-minority interest legislation* instead.

On the vast majority of the measures examined during the Republican-led sessions, (even when controlling for the percentage of the black population in the district) I find the SCLBC members representing their constituency interest in the Republican-led politically constrained legislative environment, do provide better substantive representation for black interests than the white Republican lawmakers.

Also, during some Republican-led legislative sessions, the black legislators' strategic legislative representation efforts at times produce certain positive, substantive representation as well. Thus, overall the strategic representation findings in most of the dissertation concur more than rebut the literature that descriptive representation produces positive substantive outcomes. I find that through utilization of strategic legislative behavior, black descriptive representatives in a politically constrained legislative environment, can provide effective substantive representation, for their minority

constituency interests. However, unlike where most of the studies find a positive link between descriptive and substantive representation through examinations of cumulative bill sponsorship and bill passage results, I see black legislators in this study using additional strategic legislative activities as added means to provide substantive representation. I see strategic bill sponsorship, strategic committee assignments requests, and strategic coalition formations generally and negative veto coalitions in particular, as strategic legislative measures that produce positive substantive legislative outcomes as well.

6.2: Implications

The findings of this study have several implications for black descriptive representation research. Given the recent rise of the Republican Party majorities in most Southern States legislative chambers, and with lingering questions about the effectiveness of the minority legislators' ability to substantively represent minority constituents' interests, it is important to assess black lawmakers' representation behavior as it occurs in a politically constrained legislative environment.

This study reveals that additional dimensions of representations, should also be included in any comprehensive study that involves minority lawmakers' descriptive representation effectiveness particularly when that representation occurs in a politically constrained environment. This work recognizes that descriptive representation also occurs through other legislative activities that expands the dimensions of legislative representation. This project demonstrates that black lawmakers also represent their particular constituency's interests through strategic expressions of their committee assignment preferences, creation of strategic alliances to increase the likelihood for

passage of salient black interest legislation or conversely, construct strategic coalitions to derail anti-minority legislation.

The hope is that incorporating these strategic representation dimensions into the descriptive representation discussion will compel scholars to reassess the state of the field. Inclusion of the above-cited dimensions of representation is critical to analyze thoroughly the black lawmakers' effectiveness, particularly, when they serve as representatives of racial minority interests in a state-level legislative chamber controlled by members of the opposite political party.

There are also implications for the study of the legislative black caucus as a group. To date, state-level legislative black caucuses have been sparsely studied by scholars. This research shows that black caucus members can engage in group strategic legislative behavior that leads to positive descriptive representation outcomes. In some instances, when the SCLBC members make strategic bill selections, they may also increase the likelihood of having more positive outcomes for their sponsored measures.

However, as important as it is for the SCLBC lawmakers to create and acquire eventual passage of black interest substantive policies, it is equally, if not more important, for them to prevent passage of anti-minority policies proposed by non-black caucus members. Positive outcomes in either instance lead to the black constituency interest being substantively represented. Thus, it is imperative that in future black descriptive representation studies, scholars incorporate and measure all of the dimensions of representation discussed in this project as additional aspects of Black Caucus members' descriptive representation.

Conclusion

This dissertation adds to the existing literature on legislative description representation. The findings involving the SCLBC members' strategic representation in the South Carolina House of Representatives along with various implications were presented in this research. As the analyses in this project demonstrate, when we look at dimensions of black descriptive representation involving selective bill sponsorship, committee assignments preferences and alliances formations, being strategic in these legislative undertakings is likely to show that overall black lawmakers are effective in providing substantive representation.

More importantly, their impact on substantive representation of the black constituency interests in a Republican-controlled legislative chamber may be more pronounced than we would otherwise believe. But, for black lawmakers to maintain the level of efficient descriptive representation that will ultimately lead to consistent substantive representation, they must continue to strategically engage in the different legislative activities outlined in this research.

In reality, while the black lawmakers are representing their constituency interests in the politically constrained legislative environment, they must increase the amount of strategically selected bills they sponsor to increase the likelihood that more of their selected bills will pass through the legislative chamber. They must also continue to make strategic committee assignments preferences so they can acquire more influence on black interest committees. Moreover, they must find a way to increase the success rate of their working coalitions to advance salient black issue measures or derail anti-minority legislations.

In essence, to consistently override the problematic status quo within the Republican-led House requires tremendous positive legislative power that the Black Caucus does not currently have. They must, therefore, be strategic in their legislative undertakings as they strive to provide effective substantive representation for their black constituency interests. All of the strategic legislative activities discussed in this project demonstrate how the representation behavior the Legislative Black Caucus members utilize, suggests that their strategic behavior can positively impact the overall substantive representation they provide.

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APPENDIX A –LIST OF CURRENT AND FORMER LEGISLATIVE
BLACK CAUCUS MEMBERS

CURRENT CAUCUS MEMBERS (2013-2015)

REPRESENTATIVES

Carl Anderson, Chairman

John R. King, Chairman-Elect

Harold Mitchell, Jr. Immediate Past Chairman

Terry Alexander, Chaplin

Justin Bamberg, Parliamentarian

Robert L. Brown

William ‘Bill’ Clyburn

Gilda Cobb-Hunter

Chandra Dillard

Wendell Gilliard

Jerry N. Govan, Jr

Christopher Hart

Patricia M.Hennegan

Kenneth Hodges

Lonnie Hosey

Leon Howard

Joseph H. Jefferson, Jr.

David J. Mack, III

Joseph McEachern

Mia S. McLeod

Cezar McKnight, Secretary

Joseph H. Neal

J. Anne Parks

Leola Robinson-Simpson

J. Todd Rutherford, House Minority leader

J. David Weeks

J. Seth Whipper

Robert Williams

SENATORS

Karl B. Anderson

Darrell Jackson

Kevin Johnson, Treasurer

Marlon E. Kimpson

Gerald Malloy

John W. Matthews, Jr.

Floyd Nicholson

Clementa C. Pinckney (Died: 2015)

Ronnie A. Sabb

John L. Scott, Jr.

Kent Williams

PREVIOUS CAUCUS MEMBERS

REPRESENTATIVES	SERVED
Alma Byrd, Richland	1991- 1998
Amos L. Gourdine, Berkeley	1996-2004
Anton Gunn, Richland	2008-2010
* Benjamin. J. Gordon, Williamsburg-Berkeley	1973-1991 (Died: 1997)
Bessie Moody-Lawrence, York	1992 - 2008
Brenda Lee, Spartanburg	1995-2005
Curtis Inabinett, Charleston-Colleton	1991-2000
Donald W. Beatty, Spartanburg	1990-1995
Earl Middleton, Orangeburg	1975-1984 (Died 2007)
Ennis Fant, Greenville	1989-1991
Ernest A. Finney, Jr., Sumter	1972-1975
Floyd Breeland, Charleston	1992 – 2008
Frank McBride, Richland	1984-1991
Herbert L. Mitchell, Orangeburg	1984-1986
* Hudson Barksdale, Spartanburg	1975-1981 (Died: 1986)
I. S. Leevy Johnson, Richland	1971-72; 75-82
Isaac C. Joe, Lee-Sumter	1981-1984
James Faber, Richland	1984-1991
James Felder	1984-1991
Jesse E. Hines, Florence-Darlington	1992-2006
Joe E. Brown, Richland	1986-2006
Joseph R. Murray, Charleston	1975-1982

* Juanita Goggins, York	1974-1978 (Died: 2010)
* Juanita White, Jasper-Beaufort	1980-1996 (Died: 2011)
Julius Murray, Richland	1979-1984
Kenneth Bailey, Orangeburg	1985-1992
Kenneth Kennedy, Williamsburg	1991-2010
Larry Blanding, Sumter	1977-1991
Levola Taylor, Richland	1991-1992
Lucille Whipper, Charleston	1986-1996
* Luther Taylor, Richland	1983-1990 (Died: 1997)
Mack T. Hines, Florence-Marion	1995 -2006
Mary P. Miles, Calhoun-Orangeburg- Lexington	1982-1984
Ralph Canty, Sumter	1991- 2000
Robert R. Woods, Charleston	1973-1986
Samuel Foster, York	1981-1992
* Sara V. Shelton, Greenville	1984-1988 (Died: 1994)
* Tee Ferguson, Spartanburg	1983-1990 (Died: 2011)
Theodore Brown, Georgetown- Williamsburg-Horry	1994-2000
Thomas D. Broadwater, Richland	1981-1984
Timothy Scott, Charleston	2008-2010
* Tobias Gadson, Sr., Charleston	1981-1984 (Died: 1984)
* Walter Lloyd, Colleton-Beaufort	1994-2005 (Died: 2005)
Wilbur L. Cave, Allendale-Barnwell-Bmg.	1994-1998

Willie B. McMahan, Greenville	1992-1998
* Cathy Harvin, Clarendon	2008-2010 (Died: 2010)
SENATORS	SERVED
Dewitt Williams, Berkeley- Charleston-Coll.-Dorchester – Georgetown	1996-1997 (House: 1983-1996)
Frank Gilbert, Florence- Darlington	1989-1992 (House: 1983- 1988) (Died: 1999)
Herbert Fielding, Charleston	1985-1992 (House: 1971-73; 83-84)
* I. DeQuincey Newman, Chester-Fairfield-Richland	1983-1985 (Died: 1985)
Kay Patterson, Richland	1985 - 2008 (House: 1975-1985)
Maggie Glover, Florence- Darlington	1992-2004 (House: 1989-1992)
McKinley Washington, Charleston-Colleton	1991- 2000 (House: 1975-1990)
Theo Mitchell, Greenville	1985-1995 (House: 1975-1984)

Source: http://www.sclbc.org/pdf/SCLBC_Member_Contacts. Retrieved February 26, 2016.

APPENDIX B-LEGISLATORS' OVERALL BILL SPONSORSHIP AND
BILL PASSAGE BY SESSION AND PARTY

109th SESSION (1991-1992) DEMOCRAT BILL SPONSORSHIP

NAME	PARTY	RACE	BILLS SPONSORED	BILLS PASSED	BILLS NOT PASSED
ALEXANDER, M	D	W	7	2	5
ALEXANDER, T	D	W	13	1	12
ANDERSON, R	D	B	1	0	1
BAILEY, G	D	W	6	3	3
BAILEY, J	D	W	36	9	27
BARBER, R	D	W	7	3	4
BAXLEY, J	D	W	13	4	9
BEATTY, D	D	B	0	0	0
BENNETT, L	D	W	4	3	1
BOAN,W	D	W	39	6	33
BROWN, G	D	W	4	0	4
BROWN, J	D	B	5	1	4
BURCH, K	D	W	8	2	6
BURCH, P M	D	W	9	3	6
BYRD, A	D	B	0	0	0
CANTY, R	D	B	0	0	0
CARNELL, M	D	W	7	3	4
CHAMBLEE, C	D	W	7	2	5
COBB-HUNTER	D	B	0	0	0
CROMER, J	I*	W	37	4	34
DELLENEY, F	D	W	0	0	0
ELLIOTT, L	D	W	4	2	2
FABER, J	D	B	0	0	0
FARR, T	D	W	9	3	6
FELDER, J	D	W	12	3	9
FOSTER, S	D	B	5	1	4
GENTRY, L	D	W	11	3	8
GLOVER, M	D	B	1	0	1
GREGORY, J	D	W	12	8	4
HARRELSON, J	D	W	9	0	9
HARRIS, J	D	W	9	5	4
HARRIS, P	D	W	36	17	19
HARVIN, C	D	W	24	5	19
HARWELL, B	D	W	1	1	0

HAYES, R	D	W	15	1	14
HODGES, J	D	W	14	6	8
HOLT, D	D	W	8	3	5
HOUCK, W	D	W	3	0	3
INABINETTE, C	D	B	2	0	2
JENNINGS, D	D	W	10	2	8
JOHNSON, J	D	W	1	0	1
JOHNSON, J W	D	W	2	0	2
KENNEDY, K	D	B	0	0	0
KEMPE, K	D	W	6	1	5
KEYSERLING, H H	D	W	25	8	17
KINON, M	D	W	1	0	1
KIRSH, H	D	W	72	17	55
MANLY, S	D	W	16	4	12
MARTIN, D	D	B	3	1	2
MARTIN, L M	D	W	6	1	5
MATTOS, J	D	W	3	2	1
McABEE, J	D	W	21	9	12
McBRIDE, F	D	B	0	0	0
McCRAW, E	D	W	0	0	0
McELVEEN, J	D	W	6	2	4
McKAY, W	D	W	1	0	1
McLEOD, E	D	W	14	4	10
McTEER, D	D	W	9	2	7
NEILSON, D	D	W	4	0	4
NETTLES, E	D	W	3	0	3
PHILLIPS, O	D	W	10	6	4
RHOAD, T	D	W	6	3	3
ROGERS, T	D	W	12	1	11
ROSS, L	D	W	6	3	3
RUDNICK, I	D	W	70	3	67
SCOTT, J	D	B	9	0	9
SHEHEEN, R	D	W	8	2	6
SHIRLEY, J	D	W	0	0	0
SHORT, P	D	W	0	0	0
SMITH, R	D	W	12	1	11
SNOW, J	D	W	24	12	12
STODDARD, E	D	W	6	1	5
TAYLOR, L S	D	B	1	0	1
TOWNSEND, R	D	W	7	4	5
TUCKER, J	D	W	7	3	5
WAITES, C	D	W	25	5	20
WALDROP, D	D	W	24	3	21
WHIPPER, L S	D	B	8	3	5
WHITE, J	D	B	1	0	1
WILDER, J	D	W	8	2	6
WILKES, T	D	W	5	1	4

WILLIAMS, D	D	B	2	0	2
WILLIAMS, J	D	W	1	0	1

NOTE ALL SCLBC LEGISLATORS ARE DEMOCRATS (in bold)****

109th SESSION (1991-1992) REPUBLICAN BILL SPONSORSHIP

NAME	PARTY	RACE	BILLS SPONSORED	BILLS PASSED	BILLS NOT PASSED
BAKER, B	R	W	3	2	1
BEASLEY, D	R	W	11	2	9
BROWN, H	R	W	1	0	1
CATO, H	R	W	3	1	2
CLYBORNE, H	R	W	17	3	14
COLE, J	R	W	1	1	0
COOPER, D	R	W	3	1	2
CORBETT, K	R	W	2	0	2
CORK, H	R	W	6	1	5
CORNING,R	R	W	22	2	20
FAIR, M	R	W	19	1	18
FULMER, R	R	W	6	0	6
GONZALES, S	R	W	13	3	10
HALLMAN, H	R	W	3	2	1
HARRISON, J	R	W	4	2	2
HASKINS, T	R	W	9	1	8
HENDRICKS, B	R	W	1	0	1
HUFF, T	R	W	7	4	3
JASKWHICH, M	R	W	10	1	9
KEEGAN, T	R	W	11	2	9
KLAPMAN, J	R	W	2	0	2
KOON, L	R	W	20	6	14
LANGFORD, S	R	W	9	0	9
LITTLEJOHN, L	R	W	2	1	1
MARCHBANKS, C	R	W	0	0	0
MARTIN, L	R	W	15	1	14
McCAIN, W	R	W	2	0	2
McGINNIS, A	R	W	2	0	2
MEACHAM, R	R	W	13	0	13
QUINN, R	R	W	17	3	14
RAMA, J	R	W	31	6	35
RISER, J	R	W	0	0	0
SHARPE, C	R	W	10	2	8
SHISSIAS, J S	R	W	0	0	0
STURKIE, C	R	W	5	0	5
STONE, C	R	W	4	1	3
VAUGHN, L	R	W	2	0	2
WELLS, C	R	W	1	0	1
WILKINS, D	R	W	56	17	39

WOFFORD, S	R	W	6	1	5
WRIGHT, D	R	W	22	5	17
YOUNG, A	R	W	6	1	5
YOUNG, R	R	W	8	1	7

110th SESSION (1993-1994) DEMOCRAT BILL SPONSORSHIP

NAME	PARTY	RACE	BILLS SPONSORED	BILLS PASSED	BILLS NOT PASSED
ALEXANDER, M	D	W	10	4	6
ALEXANDER, T	D	W	27	6	21
ANDERSON, R	D	B	3	0	3
ASKINS, H	D	W	1	0	1
BAILEY, G	D	W	10	4	6
BAILEY, J	D	W	45	9	36
BARBER, R	D	W	13	2	11
BAXLEY, J	D	W	21	1	20
BEATTY, D	D	B	3	0	3
BOAN,W	D	W	14	5	9
BREELAND, F	D	B	2	1	1
BROWN, G	D	W	4	0	4
BROWN, J	D	B	12	2	10
BYRD, A	D	B	5	0	5
CANTY, R	D	B	5	0	5
CARNELL, M	D	W	9	4	5
CHAMBLEE, C	D	W	5	0	5
COBB-HUNTER, G	D	B	20	1	19
CROMER, J**	I*	W	53	3	50
DELLENEY, F	D	W	1	0	1
ELLIOTT, L	D	W	3	2	1
FARR, T	D	W	10	2	8
FELDER, J	D	W	10	3	7
GOVAN, J	D	B	8	0	8
HARRELSON, J	D	W	7	0	7
HARRIS, J	D	W	3	1	2
HARRIS, P	D	W	26	8	18
HARVIN, C	D	W	13	4	9
HARWELL, B	D	W	8	4	4
HINES, J	D	B	2	0	2
HODGES, J	D	W	35	7	28
HOLT, D	D	W	4	1	3
HOUCK, W	D	W	9	3	6
INABINETTE, C	D	B	4	0	4
JENNINGS, D	D	W	15	6	9
KENNEDY, K	D	B	4	2	2
KEYSERLING, W	D	W	9	2	7
KINON, M	D	W	0	0	0
KIRSH, H	D	W	88	15	73
LAW, J	D	W	3	1	2
MARTIN, M	D	W	9	1	8
MATTOS, J	D	W	6	1	5
McABEE, J	D	W	14	4	10

McCRAW, E	D	W	2	0	2
McELVEEN, J	D	W	15	2	13
McKAY, W	D	W	6	1	5
McLEOD, E	D	W	17	4	13
McMAHAND, W	D	B	2	1	1
McTEER, D	D	W	11	2	9
MOODY-LAWRENCE,	D	B	7	0	7
NEAL, J	D	B	17	0	17
NEILSON, D	D	W	23	3	20
PHILLIPS, O	D	W	16	4	12
RHOAD, T	D	W	10	4	6
ROGERS, T	D	W	25	5	20
RUDNICK, I	D	W	63	1	62
SCOTT, J	D	B	14	1	13
SHEHEEN, R	D	W	14	8	6
SNOW, J	D	W	56	20	36
SPEARMAN, M	D	W	9	2	7
STILLE, H	D	W	5	1	4
STODDARD, E	D	W	2	0	2
TOWNSEND, R	D	W	8	1	7
TUCKER, J	D	W	14	5	9
WAITES, C	D	W	11	1	10
WALDROP, D	D	W	14	3	11
WHIPPER, L	D	B	11	1	10
WHITE, J	D	B	2	2	0
WILDER, D	D	W	7	2	5
WILDER, J	D	W	12	4	8
WILKES, T	D	W	8	1	7
WILLIAMS, D	D	B	0	0	0

DEMOCRATS (71)

NOTE* ALL SCLBC LEGISLATORS ARE DEMOCRATS (in bold)*

**** REPRESENTATIVE L.M. CROMER IS AN INDEPENDENT SO HIS BILLSPONSORSHIP
ACTIVITY IS OMITTED FROM THIS ANALYSIS****

110th SESSION (1993-1994) REPUBLICAN BILL SPONSORSHIP

NAME	PARTY	RACE	BILLS SPONSORED	BILLS PASSED	BILLS NOT PASSED
ALLISON, M	R	W	2	0	2
BAKER, B	R	W	3	2	1
BROWN, H	R	W	1	0	1
CATO, H	R	W	5	0	5
CLYBORNE, H	R	W	13	1	12
COOPER, D	R	W	5	0	5
CORNING, R	R	W	38	2	36
DAVENPORT, G	R	W	42	1	41
FAIR, M	R	W	32	5	27
FULMER, R	R	W	4	1	3
GAMBLE, M	R	W	10	3	7
GONZALES, S	R	W	23	2	21
GRAHAM L	R	W	4	0	4
HALLMAN, H	R	W	6	0	6
HARRELL, R	R	W	5	2	3
HARRISON, J	R	W	7	3	4
HASKINS, T	R	W	10	2	8
HUFF, T	R	W	4	3	1
HUTSON, H	R	W	7	1	6
JASKWHICH, M	R	W	10	0	10
KEEGAN, T	R	W	8	0	8
KELLEY, M	R	W	9	0	9
KLAUBER, J	R	W	7	2	5
KOON, L	R	W	8	1	7
LANGFORD, S	R	W	6	2	4
LITTLEJOHN, L	R	W	4	2	2
MARCHBANKS, C	R	W	2	0	2
MEACHAM, R	R	W	10	0	12
QUINN, R	R	W	9	0	9
RICHARDSON, S	R	W	16	2	14
RISER, J	R	W	4	4	0
ROBINSON, A	R	W	11	0	11
SHARPE, C	R	W	19	0	19
SHISSIAS, J	R	W	21	5	16
SIMRILL, J	R	W	22	3	19
SMITH, R	R	W	7	2	5
SMITH, W	R	W	13	1	12
STONE, C	R	W	4	2	2
STUART, E	R	W	9	4	5
STURKIE, C	R	W	7	0	7
THOMAS, P	R	W	4	1	3
TROTTER, T	R	W	3	0	3

VAUGHN, L	R	W	9	2	7
WALKER, R	R	W	5	2	3
WELLS, C	R	W	7	1	6
WILKINS, D	R	W	40	9	31
WITHERSPOON, W	R	W	9	1	8
WOFFORD, S	R	W	17	8	9
WORLEY, H	R	W	4	0	4
WRIGHT, D	R	W	8	2	6
YOUNG, A	R	W	8	1	7
YOUNG, R	R	W	7	2	5

REPUBLICANS (52)

114th SESSION (2001-2002) DEMOCRAT BILL SPONSORSHIP

NAME	PARTY	RACE	BILLS SPONSORED	BILLS PASSED	BILLS NOT PASSED
ALLEN, K	D	B	1	0	1
ASKINS, H	D	W	5	1	4
BALES, D	D	W	17	0	17
BATTLE, J	D	W	3	1	2
BOWERS, W	D	W	24	0	24
BREELAND, F	D	B	1	1	0
BROWN, G	D	W	2	0	2
BROWN, J	D	B	34	2	32
BROWN, R	D	B	5	0	5
CARNELL, M	D	W	8	4	4
CLYBURN, W	D	B	7	1	6
COBB-HUNTER, G	D	B	17	1	16
COLEMAN, C	D	W	4	1	3
DELLENEY, F	D	W	3	1	2
EMORY, E	D	W	1	1	0
FREEMAN, M	D	W	3	2	1
GOURDINE, A	D	B	1	0	1
GOVAN, J	D	B	4	1	3
HARVIN, C	D	W	5	1	4
HAYES, J	D	W	4	4	0
HINES, J	D	B	1	0	1
HINES, M	D	B	3	0	3
HOSEY, L	D	B	0	0	0
HOWARD, L	D	B	2	1	1
JENNINGS, D	D	W	10	4	6
KENNEDY, K	D	B	3	1	2
KIRSH, H	D	W	54	6	48
LEE, B	D	B	3	1	2
LLOYD, W	D	B	2	0	2
LOURIE, J	D	W	13	3	10
MACK, D	D	B	0	0	0
McCRAW, E	D	W	1	0	1
McLEOD, W	D	W	12	4	8
MILLER, V	D	W	13	5	8
MOODY-LAWRENCE	D	B	7	0	7
NEAL, J M	D	W	1	0	1
NEAL, J H	D	B	8	0	8
NEILSON, D	D	W	3	1	2
OTT, H	D	W	7	3	4
PARKS, J	D	B	3	1	2
PHILLIPS, O	D	W	2	2	0
RHOAD, T	D	W	1	1	0
RIVERS, R	D	W	0	0	0

RUTHERFORD, J	D	B	5	0	5
SCOTT, J	D	B	7	1	6
SHEHEEN, V	D	W	2	0	2
SMITH, F	D	B	2	1	1
SMITH, J	D	W	22	5	17
SNOW, J	D	W	11	2	9
STILLE, H	D	W	8	4	4
WEEKS, D	D	B	0	0	0
WHATLEY, M	D	W	2	0	2
WHIPPER, J	D	B	12	1	11
WILDER, D	D	W	4	1	3

DEMOCRATS (54)

SCLBC LEGISLATORS (24)

NOTE ALL SCLBC LEGISLATORS ARE DEMOCRATS (in bold)****

114th SESSION (2001-2002) REPUBLICAN BILL SPONSORSHIP

NAME	PARTY	RACE	BILLS SPONSORED	BILLS PASSED	BILLS NOT PASSED
ALLISON, M	R	W	13	1	12
ALTMAN, J	R	W	50	3	47
BARFIELD, L	R	W	4	0	4
BARRETT, J	R	W	11	1	10
BINGHAM, K	R	W	9	1	8
CAMPSEN, G	R	W	39	8	31
CATO, H	R	W	37	19	18
CHELLIS, C	R	W	3	1	2
COATES, M	R	W	5	2	3
COOPER, D	R	W	9	1	8
COTTY, B	R	W	7	1	6
DANTZLER, T	R	W	1	0	1
DAVENPORT, G	R	W	32	2	30
EASTERDAY, M	R	W	13	1	12
EDGE, T	R	W	9	2	7
FLEMING, R	R	W	11	1	10
FRYE, M	R	W	2	1	1
GILHAM, J	R	W	6	1	5
HAMILTON, G	R	W	3	0	3
HARRELL, R	R	W	9	1	8
HARRISON, J	R	W	57	11	46
HASKINS, G	R	W	4	0	4
HINSON, S	R	W	8	1	7
HUGGINS, C	R	W	10	3	7
KEEGAN, T	R	W	10	2	8
KELLEY, M	R	W	20	3	17
KLAUBER, J	R	W	14	3	11
KNOTTS, J	R	W	56	2	54
KOON, L	R	W	5	0	5
LAW, J	R	W	11	2	9
LEACH, R	R	W	4	0	4
LIMEHOUSE, H	R	W	17	2	15
LITTLEJOHN, L	R	W	7	1	6
LOFTIS, D	R	W	13	1	12
LUCAS, J	R	W	7	0	7
MARTIN, B	R	W	6	1	5
McGEE, J	R	W	20	3	17
MEACHAM-R-R	R	W	11	2	9
MERRILL, J	R	W	10	3	7
OWENS, D	R	W	4	2	2
OWENS P D	R	W	0	0	0
PERRY, R	R	W	5	1	4

QUINN, R	R	W	8	1	7
RICE, R	R	W	6	2	4
RISER, J	R	W	1	1	0
ROBINSON, A	R	W	15	1	14
RODGERS, E	R	W	31	7	24
SANDIFER, W	R	W	10	2	8
SCARBOROUGH, W	R	W	9	3	6
SHARPE, C	R	W	28	6	22
SIMRILL, J	R	W	15	0	15
SINCLAIR, P	R	W	5	0	5
SMITH, D	R	W	1	1	0
SMITH, G	R	W	4	1	3
SMITH, J R	R	W	7	3	4
SMITH, W	R	W	14	2	12
STUART, E	R	W	1	0	1
TALLEY, S	R	W	14	2	12
TAYLOR, J	R	W	14	5	9
THOMPSON, M	R	W	8	0	8
TOWNSEND, R	R	W	36	13	23
TRIPP, D	R	W	5	1	4
TROTTER, T	R	W	1	1	0
VAUGHN, L	R	W	12	4	8
WALKER, R	R	W	7	2	5
WEBB, B	R	W	0	0	0
WHITE, W B	R	W	16	1	15
YOUNG, A	R	W	11	2	9
YOUNG, W	R	W	11	3	8

REPUBLICANS (70)

115th SESSION (2003-2004) REPUBLICAN BILL SPONSORSHIP

NAME	PARTY	RACE	BILLS SPONSORED	BILLS PASSED	BILLS NOT PASSED
ALTMAN, J	R	W	53	0	53
BARFIELD, L	R	W	3	2	1
BINGHAM, K	R	W	9	2	7
CATO, H	R	W	42	10	32
CEIPS, C	R	w	13	1	12
CHELLIS, C	R	W	6	1	5
CLARK, K	R	W	2	0	2
CLEMMONS, A	R	W	9	5	6
COATES, M	R	W	6	0	6
COOPER, D	R	W	18	6	12
COTTY, B	R	W	11	3	8
DANTZLER, T	R	W	2	0	2
DAVENPORT, G	R	W	41	2	39
DELLENEY, F	R	W	6	2	4
DUNCAN, J	R	W	10	4	6
EASTERDAY M E	R	W	5	2	3
EDGE, T	R	W	20	3	17
FRYE, M	R	W	3	1	2
FUNDERBURK L S	R	W	0	0	0
GILHAM, J	R	W	3	1	2
HAGOOD, B	R	W	8	0	8
HAMILTON, G	R	W	5	4	1
HARRELL, R	R	W	16	4	12
HARRISON, J	R	W	40	10	30
HASKINS, G	R	W	6	0	6
HERBKERSMAN, W	R	W	7	1	6
HINSON, S	R	W	11	2	9
HUGGINS, C	R	W	10	0	10
KEEGAN, T	R	W	7	1	6
KOON, L	R	W	7	0	7
LEACH, R	R	W	24	0	24
LIMEHOUSE, H	R	W	17	2	15
LITTLEJOHN, L	R	W	7	2	5
LOFTIS, D	R	W	12	1	11
LUCAS, J	R	W	11	4	7
MAHAFFEY, J	R	W	3	1	2
MARTIN, B	R	W	4	0	4
McGEE, J	R	W	6	1	5
MERRILL, J	R	W	13	0	13
OWENS, P	R	W	2	1	1
PERRY, R	R	W	1	0	1
PINSON, L	R	W	2	0	2
PITTS, E	R	W	13	2	11

PITTS, M	R	W	11	2	9
QUINN, R	R	W	8	1	7
RICE, R F	R	W	11	0	11
RICHARDSON, R	R	W	6	3	3
SANDIFER, W	R	W	12	9	3
SCARBOROUGH, W	R	W	10	0	10
SIMRILL, J	R	W	5	0	5
SINCLAIR, P	R	W	7	0	7
SKELTON, B R	R	W	3	1	2
SMITH, D	R	W	0	0	0
SMITH, G M	R	W	38	4	34
SMITH, G R	R	W	2	0	2
SMITH, J R	R	W	7	2	5
SMITH, W D	R	W	18	0	18
STEWART, J	R	W	3	0	3
STILLE, H	R	W	14	2	12
TALLEY, S	R	W	17	3	14
TAYLOR, J	R	W	8	1	7
THOMPSON, M	R	W	7	1	6
TOOLE, M	R	W	6	0	6
TOWNSEND, R	R	W	35	4	31
TRIPP, D	R	W	9	0	9
TROTTER, T	R	W	1	0	1
UMPHLETTE, C	R	W	4	0	4
VAUGHN, L	R	W	11	2	9
VIERS, T	R	W	13	0	13
WALKER, R	R	W	17	5	12
WHITE, W	R	W	11	1	10
WHITMIRE, W	R	W	2	0	2
WILKINS, D	R	W	16	2	14
WITHERSPOON, W	R	W	26	9	17
YOUNG, A	R	W	7	2	5

REPUBLICANS (73)

115th SESSION (2003-2004) DEMOCRAT BILL SPONSORSHIP

NAME	PARTY	RACE	BILLS SPONSORED	BILLS PASSED	BILLS NOT PASSED
ALLEN, K	D	B	2	0	2
ANTHONY, A	D	W	6	4	2
BAILEY, G	D	W	6	3	3
BALES	D	W	3	0	3
BATTLE, J	D	W	2	1	1
BOWERS, W	D	W	12	2	10
BRANHAM, L	D	W	2	0	2
BREELAND, F	D	B	2	0	2
BROWN, G	D	W	5	3	2
BROWN, J	D	B	29	1	28
BROWN, R	D	B	4	0	4
CLYBURN, W	D	B	5	0	5
COBB-HUNTER, G	D	B	18	1	17
COLEMAN, C	D	W	0	0	0
EMORY, E	D	W	0	0	0
FREEMAN, M	D	W	1	0	1
GOURDINE, A	D	B	2	0	2
GOVAN, J	D	B	6	0	6
HARVIN, C	D	W	4	2	2
HAYES, J	D	W	6	4	2
HINES, J	D	B	1	0	1
HINES, M	D	B	1	0	1
HOSEY, L	D	B	1	0	1
HOWARD, L	D	B	4	0	4
JENNINGS, D	D	W	9	5	4
KENNEDY, K	D	B	3	0	3
KIRSH, H	D	W	57	1	56
LEE, B	D	B	0	0	0
LLOYD, W	D	B	3	1	2
LOURIE, J	D	W	21	2	19
MACK, D	D	B	3	0	3
McCRAW, E	D	W	2	1	1
McLEOD, W	D	W	14	3	11
MILLER, V	D	W	14	2	12
MOODY-LAWRENCE	D	B	7	0	7
NEAL, J M	D	W	1	0	1
NEAL, J H	D	B	16	0	16
NEILSON, D	D	W	14	1	13
OTT, H	D	W	3	0	3
PARKS, J	D	B	9	0	9
PHILLIPS, O	D	W	1	0	1
RHOAD, T	D	W	4	2	2

RIVERS, R	D	W	3	2	1
RUTHERFORD, J	D	B	7	0	7
SCOTT, J	D	B	12	0	12
SHEHEEN, V	D	W	15	4	11
SMITH, F N	D	B	6	0	6
SMITH, J E	D	W	25	2	23
SNOW, J	D	W	14	1	13
WEEKS, D	D	B	0	0	0
WHIPPER, J	D	B	7	0	7

DEMOCRATS (51)

SCLBC LEGISLATORS (24)

NOTE ALL SCLBC LEGISLATORS ARE DEMOCRATS (in bold)**

119th SESSION (2011-2012) REPUBLICAN BILL SPONSORSHIP

NAME	PARTY	RACE	BILLS SPONSORED	BILLS PASSED	BILLS Not PASSED
ALLISON, M	R	W	8	0	8
ATWATER, T	R	W	9	0	9
BALLENTINE, N	R	W	11	1	10
BANNISTER, B W	R	W	14	3	11
BARFIELD, L	R	W	9	0	9
BEDINGFIELD, E	R	W	5	1	4
BIKAS, E	R	W	0	0	0
BINGHAM, K	R	W	17	3	14
BOWEN, D	R	W	19	0	19
BRADY, J	R	W	21	2	19
BRANNON, D	R	W	3	0	3
CHUMLEY, W	R	W	0	0	0
CLEMMONS, A	R	W	23	5	18
COLE, J D	R	W	1	0	1
COOPER, D	R	W	20	5	15
CORBIN, T	R	W	5	1	4
CRAWFORD H A	R	W	0	0	0
CRAWFORD, K R	R	W	12	1	11
CROSBY, W	R	W	0	0	0
DANING, J	R	W	7	2	5
DELLENEY, F	R	W	5	0	5
EDGE, T	R	W	7	1	6
ERICKSON, S	R	W	10	1	9
FORRESTER, P	R	W	3	0	3
FRYE, M	R	W	3	1	2
GAMBRELL, M	R	W	6	1	5
HAMILTON, D P	R	W	2	0	2
HARDWICK, N	R	W	11	8	3
HARRELL, R	R	W	8	3	5
HARRISON, J	R	W	27	8	19
HARVIN C B	R	W	0	0	0
HEARN, G M	R	W	1	0	1
HENDERSON, P	R	W	2	0	2
HERBKERSMAN, W	R	W	34	4	30
HIOTT, D	R	W	4	2	2
HIXON, W M	R	W	6	3	3
HORNE, J	R	W	5	1	4
HUGGINS, C	R	W	16	2	14
JOHNSON K L	R	W	2	2	0
LIMEHOUSE, H	R	W	22	3	19
LOFTIS, D A	R	W	22	1	21
LONG, D A	R	W	10	0	10
LOWE, P	R	W	11	1	10

LUCAS, J H	R	W	11	0	11
McCOY, P M	R	W	13	0	13
MERRILL, J	R	W	26	2	24
MOSS, D C	R	W	11	1	10
MOSS, V S	R	W	0	0	0
MURPHY, C	R	W	6	0	6
NANNEY, W K	R	W	13	2	11
NORMAN, R W	R	W	2	1	1
OWENS, P	R	W	7	4	3
PARKER, S	R	W	3	1	2
PATRICK, A	R	W	3	1	2
PINSON, L	R	W	4	1	3
PITTS, M	R	W	39	8	38
PUTMAN J	R	W	3	0	3
POPE, T	R	W	8	3	5
QUINN, R	R	W	7	0	7
RYAN, R	R	W	10	0	10
SANDIFER, W	R	W	33	12	21
SIMRILL, J	R	W	6	0	6
SKELTON, B R	R	W	1	0	1
SMITH, G R	R	W	20	0	20
SMITH G M	R	W	14	4	10
SMITH, J R	R	W	7	1	6
SCOTTILE, F M	R	W	4	0	4
SOUTHARD, E L	R	W	0	0	0
SPIRES, L K	R	W	10	0	10
STRINGER, T M	R	W	14	1	13
TALLON, E R	R	W	11	2	9
TAYLOR, B	R	W	3	0	3
THAYER, A J	R	W	4	3	1
TOOLE, M R	R	W	15	0	15
TRIBBLE, D	R	W	0	0	0
UMPHLETTE, C	R	W	5	0	5
VIERS, T T	R	W	13	1	12
WHITE, W	R	W	17	4	13
WHITMIRE, W	R	W	1	0	1
WILLIS, M N	R	W	2	1	1
YOUNG, T R	R	W	17	4	13

REPUBLICANS (76)

119th SESSION (2011-2012) DEMOCRAT BILL SPONSORSHIP

NAME	PARTY	RACE	BILLS SPONSORED	BILLS PASSED	BILLS NOT PASSED
AGNEW, P	D	W	1	0	1
ALEXANDER, T	D	B	1	0	1
ALLEN, K B	D	B	5	1	4
ANDERSON, C	D	B	1	0	1
ANTHONY, M	D	W	1	0	1
BALES, J C	D	W	6	0	6
BATTLE, J	D	W	2	1	1
BOWERS, W	D	W	12	1	11
BRANHAM, L	D	W	1	0	1
BRANTLEY, C	D	B	3	0	3
BROWN, G A	D	W	2	1	1
BROWN, H B	D	W	14	0	14
BROWN, R L	D	B	13	1	12
BUTLER GARRICK, M	D	B	5	0	5
CLYBURN, W	D	B	9	1	8
COBB-HUNTER, G	D	B	14	0	14
DILLARD, C	D	B	1	0	1
FUNDERBURKE, L	D	W	15	4	11
GILLARD, W G	D	W	27	1	26
GOVAN, J	D	B	6	1	5
HART, C R	D	B	11	0	11
HAYES, J E	D	W	2	1	1
HODGES, K	D	B	5	1	4
HOSEY, L	D	B	2	0	2
HOWARD, L	D	B	4	0	4
JEFFERSON, J	D	B	6	0	6
KING, J R C	D	B	18	1	17
KNIGHT, P	D	W	0	0	0
MACK, D	D	B	3	0	3
McEACHERN, J	D	B	9	0	9
McLEOD, W	D	W	11	1	10
MITCHELL, H	D	B	4	0	4
MUNNERLYN, E	D	W	1	1	0
NEAL, J M	D	W	4	1	3
NEAL, J H	D	B	3	0	3
NEILSON, D	D	W	2	0	2
OTT, H	D	W	4	2	2
PARKS, J	D	B	0	0	0
RUTHERFORD, J	D	B	36	4	32
SABB, R A	D	B	0	0	0
SELLERS, B T	D	B	21	1	20
SMITH, J E	D	W	31	4	27
STAVRINAKIS	D	W	14	0	14

VICK, T M	D	W	4	2	2
WEEKS, D	D	B	1	0	1
WHIPPER, J	D	B	1	0	1
WILLIAMS, R Q	D	B	3	0	3

DEMOCRATS (48)

SCLBC LEGISLATORS (28)

NOTE ALL SCLBC LEGISLATORS ARE DEMOCRATS (in bold)****