1992


James L. Llorens
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses

Recommended Citation
https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/5330

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at LSU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses by an authorized administrator of LSU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact gradetd@lsu.edu.
INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

Llorens, James L., Ph.D.
The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1992

Copyright ©1993 by Llorens, James L. All rights reserved.
BLACK EMPOWERMENT IN STATE LEGISLATURES:
THE IMPACT OF BLACK REPRESENTATION ON PUBLIC WELFARE EXPENDITURES
IN THE AMERICAN STATES, 1970-1988

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Political Science

James L. Llorens
B.S., Loyola University, 1968
M.S., The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1977
May 1992

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not have been completed without the guidance, assistance, and support of a number of people. My sincere appreciation goes to T. Wayne Parent, my major professor, who provided the necessary support from the development of the project through to its completion. Professor Parent allowed me the freedom to structure this research in my direction while ensuring that the necessary empirical procedures were complied with. James C. Garand was invaluable as a resource for methodological concerns and shared valuable data with me. Both of these individuals gave freely of their time and were always available. Other members of the committee, Mitchell F. Rice, E. Ramon Arango, and Keith A. Boeckelman offered timely and constructive comments and made the entire process a memorable experience.

My sincere appreciation goes to Judith Delmas for her tireless effort with data input. Her contribution considerably shortened the time necessary to complete the research. Julie DeJean offered a level of administrative support from the department which freed me from the worries about deadlines and form submissions. Her talents in preparing the final manuscript for submission is sincerely appreciated.

I must express my gratitude to Huey Perry at Southern University for his support and encouragement. My thanks also to Gloria Braxton and Arthur Penson at Southern. A special gratitude goes to Jewel Prestage, who started me out on this road and has been there for the entire journey with words of support and advice.

Of course the one person who is most responsible for this accomplishment is my wife, Glenda. She never let me doubt my ability to complete the work. Her constant love, support, and encouragement is the single most important cause of any success I enjoy. My children, Jared
and Raya, stood with me and were more of a role model for me than I for them. Our late nights together kept me going when I wanted to stop. Finally, my love and thanks to Bill and Hilda.

I am indebted and grateful to Louisiana State University and the Department of Political Science for its support.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Representation in State Legislatures</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 BLACK POLITICS: ELECTORAL GAINS AND POLICY RESPONSIVENESS</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electoral Gains</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Policy Impact and Representation</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 STATE POLICY MAKING</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representation</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalitions</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUMMARY</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 RESEARCH DESIGN</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent Variable</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Variables</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black representation</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Variables</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black population</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanization</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political culture</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government employees</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Per capita income</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypotheses</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method of Analysis</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 FINDINGS</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Representation and Region</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Impact of Black Representation and Socioeconomic Variables on Public Welfare Expenditures in the United States</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Impact of Socioeconomic Variables on Public Welfare Expenditures in the United States</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Impact of Black Representation and Socioeconomic Variables on Public Welfare Expenditures with Black Representation and South Interaction</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Distribution of Values for Model Variables</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Total Number of Black State Legislators in the United States, 1970-1988</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The Total Number of Black State Legislators in Eleven Southern States, 1970-1988</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The Total Number of Black State Legislators in States Outside the South, 1970-1988</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents the findings of research conducted to analyze the impact of black representation in state legislatures on state public welfare expenditures. Data is collected and analyzed for the period of 1970 through 1988. Black representation is operationalized as the percentage of blacks in the total number of legislators of both chambers of each state legislature. Public Welfare expenditures is operationalized as the percentage of the state expenditures classified as public welfare expenditures. Control variables included in the research are region, black population, urbanization, education, income, unemployment, political culture and state welfare employees.

A pooled data time series method is employed to analyze the data. A generalized least squares regression model is computed and the results used to test hypotheses concerning the impact of each independent variable on the dependent variable—public welfare expenditures. The major hypothesis is that increases in black representation in state legislatures result in increased levels of public expenditures. It is hypothesized that eleven states in the South that have experienced significant increases in black representation will exhibit a greater impact of black representation on the levels of public welfare expenditures than states outside the South.

The findings support the hypothesis that black representation is a significant variable in state welfare expenditures in the total data set. Black representation in the South has a negative impact on state public welfare expenditures. The performance of the region variable supports the theory that there is a significant difference between the eleven states in the South and the non-South states. Urbanization and state welfare employees are significant variables in the regression model. Unemployment is a significant variable but performs in a negative direction, opposite that hypothesized. Education and income perform in negative directions but are not significant.
Political culture and black population perform in the hypothesized positive direction but are non-significant.

The study concludes that black representation is a significant variable in models explaining policy impact and state expenditures.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 (VRA) and its subsequent extensions and amendments have increased the size of the black electorate in the South. That larger black electorate has produced significant increases in the number of blacks serving in state legislatures. Data collected by the Joint Center for Political Studies indicate that between 1970 and 1990 the number of black state legislators increased from 169 to 423.

The region of the country that experienced the greatest increase was the South. This increase was primarily due to two factors. The first factor related to the demographics of the South. The South had the highest percentage of African-Americans in its population and subsequently the greatest number of blacks not participating in the electoral process. It was the South that experienced the greatest impact of the VRA. The initial thrust of the VRA was in the area of voter registration and participation. Large numbers of blacks were not registered to vote as a result of barriers such as the poll tax and literacy tests. States with significant black populations had minimum black registered voters. As the black population gained voting strength the influence of the black electorate increased.

The second factor concerns race as a vote determinant. The newly enfranchised black voter initially had limited choices for candidates as white candidates attempted to remain in power by courting the black vote. However, as the voting strength of blacks in the South increased it became evident that there was an opportunity to elect black officials. As the number of black candidates increased the black voter was more inclined to cast his vote for a black candidate as opposed to a white candidate. Dramatic increases in the voting strength of the black electorate resulted in significant increases in black elected officials as black voters sought to translate their
new voting power into a black presence in the political institutions. Race became the most critical variable in elections involving black candidates (Black and Black 1987).

The increased black presence in policy-making political institutions at the state and local level has been termed black empowerment. Bobo and Gilliam (1990) define political empowerment as the extent to which a group has achieved significant representation and influence in political decision making. There is no argument about the increased black representation in state and local political institutions but influence is not so easily identified. Black political gains have provided black representatives with the potential to influence the political decision-making process.

As the number of black elected officials grew so did the expectations of the black electorate (Morris 1981; Karnig and Welch 1980). Black empowerment was expected to bring about a change in the status quo of southern politics. Black elected officials were expected to influence state policy making in those areas most critical to the black community—employment, health care, social services. Has this happened? Have black legislators played a significant role in the policy outcomes of state legislatures? Has black empowerment led to an increased effort to address social issues by state legislatures? That is the focus of this research.

My objective in this research is to assess the impact of black state legislators on state expenditures. It is an attempt to answer that question of the role that black state legislators have played in state policies and expenditures. It is necessary to isolate a particular policy or expenditure output that can be validly assumed to be of concern to the black electorate in order to assess that impact. The output that I choose to measure for impact is public welfare spending by the states.

I offer the theory that increased black representation in state legislatures has led to increased levels of public welfare spending. This increase should be most evident in those states
that have experienced the greatest increase in black voting strength and now experience significant levels of black representation in state legislatures. This finding will build upon existing state spending theories by introducing black state representation as a variable to a model based on previous empirical studies. I will attempt to demonstrate that the explanatory value of spending models is significantly improved in those states with significant black representation by the inclusion of black representation as an independent variable.

Black representation has not been offered in previous models of state spending. One reason for this lack of attention is the limited level of black representation in state legislatures prior to 1970. Black state legislative representation was limited to a few states that contained large urban areas with dense concentrations of black residents. Another reason was the concentration of black representation since 1970 in the South. Black state representation is still limited to a small geographic region which does not result in black representation being considered as an almost necessary variable in models of state spending when those models are applied to all fifty states. Should black representation prove theoretically significant it would highlight the necessity to investigate more closely regional variations in spending patterns. It may not be enough for scholars to accept that there are regional variations. It will be incumbent to identify those particular regional variables which account for regional differences.

Black Representation in State Legislatures

The data discussed in this section have been compiled from the annual Roster of Black Elected Officials published by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. The annual roster has been published each year since 1970 and the data in this paper cover the years 1970 through 1990. In previous research, scholars have questioned the accuracy of the Joint Center reports but these questions have been raised about the listing of local elected officials rather than state officials (MacManus 1978; Robinson and Dye 1978).
The annual reports attempt to list all black elected officials at the state and local level and it is understandable that some black elected officials from smaller communities and some officials from lesser elective offices will be unreported. It is also possible that turnover in elective offices are not reported on a timely basis. These problems are not as critical at the state level. The only data from the Joint Center utilized in this research is that of blacks elected to the Senate or House of Representatives in each state. This research assumes the accuracy of the annual reports of the Joint Center for black elected officials in state legislatures.

In 1970 the number of blacks serving in both chambers of state legislatures in the United States stood at 168. The only southern states reporting more than five black state legislators were Georgia (14) and Tennessee (8). Those states with more than ten black state legislators were Illinois (14), Maryland (11), Michigan (13), Missouri (15), New York (12), Ohio (13) and Pennsylvania (11). Those states outside the South all shared a common characteristic with the two southern states: a large urban area with a significant black population.

Following the 1962 United States Supreme Court decision in Baker v. Carr it became very difficult to create state legislative districts in these large urban areas without some of those districts having large black populations. The election of blacks to state legislatures in the mid-1960s were more the result of the concentration of blacks of sufficient size to construct state legislative districts in urban areas. Few southern states contained urban areas with the concentration of black population needed to ensure black representation. Georgia had Atlanta and Tennessee had Memphis but no other southern states could boast of cities with significant populations of African-Americans, with the possible exception of New Orleans in Louisiana.

The lack of black population concentration coupled with discriminatory voting practices resulted in the severe underrepresentation of blacks in state legislatures in the South. The passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act began the elimination of barriers to registration and electoral
participation and was an important catalyst for African-American political participation in the South.

Figure 1 illustrates the gains in black state legislative representation. In 1980 the number of black state legislators in both chambers of state legislatures in the U.S. had increased to 317 from 168 in 1970, an increase of 89 percent in ten years. Over half of the increase in black elected officials (53%) occurred in eleven southern states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia). Those eleven southern states experienced a 250 percent increase in black elected officials in the ten years from 1970 to 1980 (see Figure 2). The increases in states outside the South were not so drastic (see Figure 3).

It is in the eleven states that pre-1965 barriers to electoral participation were most evident. Accurate data for the period 1965 to 1970 is not available but it would be difficult to argue with the assumption that the increases between 1965 and 1980 would prove to be even more dramatic.

The total number of black state legislators increased from 317 in 1980 to 415 in 1990, an increase of 30 percent. Sixty percent of that increase occurred in the previously cited eleven southern states and in 1990 those eleven southern states accounted for 45 percent of black state legislators in the country.

Black state legislators still are not represented in the eleven southern states reporting the highest level of black representation in proportion to the percentage of blacks in the overall population of those states. Grofman and Handley (1991) reported a level of representation of 10 percent in 1985. The 1990 level appears to be approximately 11 percent. African-Americans make up 20 percent of the population in those states. The redistricting currently in process following 1990 census data appears to present an opportunity to blacks to increase their participation.
Figure 1. The Total Number of Black State Legislators in the United States, 1970-1988*

*Source: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Roster of Black Elected Officials.
Figure 2. The Total Number of Black State Legislators in Eleven Southern States, 1970-1988

*Source: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Roster of Black Elected Officials.*
Figure 3. The Total Number of Black State Legislators in States Outside the South, 1970-1988*

*Source: Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Roster of Black Elected Officials.
representation to a near proportionate level in some states, most notably Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi (Voting Rights Review 1991).

Significant advances in black state representation have been made in the past two decades and should continue to be made into the next decade. These advances will be made as long as blacks continue to consider the election of blacks as the most effective means of representation in the black community. Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson (1989) report that the least affluent is the most likely of blacks to adopt a "vote-black strategy." This would seem to indicate that as the socioeconomic level of the black community rises the probability of black candidates garnering the black vote would decrease. However, there appears to be a trend also that as blacks become more affluent they are less likely to remain in all black residential areas. If this is indeed the case those black voters less likely to utilize race as the primary determinant of their vote are also less likely to have the option of voting for a black candidate. It is also probable that those voters most likely to utilize race as the primary determinant of their vote are more likely to see an all black slate of candidates.

Since 1970 as blacks have begun to experience success in electoral politics at the state and local level there have also been attempts to evaluate the performance, or effectiveness, of black elected officials. Early success was measured by the ability to gain elective office. Subsequent success has been measured by performance in office. The black elected official is now the target of assessment by constituents and political scientists attempting to assess the impact of this relatively recent phenomenon.

One critical factor in the assessment of the effectiveness of black representation by the black electorate is the ability of black representatives to influence state policy. Research on the influence of black representation at the state level has been minimal. In a recent study Nelson (1991) suggests that blacks may become more effective as they gain positions of influence, such
as party leaders and committee chairpersons, in state legislatures. This hints that blacks have been something less than successful in influencing state policies heretofore.

The question of the success of the black state legislator is a critical one. A cursory view of the predicted continuance of a vote-black strategy would indicate that it may change in future years. Effectiveness would appear to be a critical factor. The purpose of this research is to attempt to assess the effectiveness of past advances reaped by the black community and consider the impact of the findings on future black electoral behavior.
CHAPTER TWO
BLACK POLITICS: ELECTORAL GAINS AND POLICY RESPONSIVENESS

The literature on black political empowerment has not produced a sufficient body of knowledge upon which one can build a theory of black political effectiveness. Of course, the argument can be made that black empowerment has only achieved significant levels in the past 25 years, hardly enough time to generate research findings on the impact of increased black political participation. The research that has been published on the impact of increased black political participation has been descriptive (Keech 1968; Key 1949; Matthews and Prothro 1966; Preston, Henderson and Puryear 1982, 1987; Morris 1981; Black and Black 1987). These excellent descriptive analyses have established a foundation upon which theories of black electoral participation can be built.

The role of black political organizations and community religious leaders in the early years of black political participation has been documented (Keech 1968), but the true impact of these early black political players has not been determined. The expectations of pre-1965 black political leaders are different from those of current black elected officials. The delivery of basic services to black communities was the focus of early leaders while current officials are more concerned with sharing in the overall wealth of the jurisdiction. Political gains have brought about changes in expectations.

More recent studies on the impact of black politics have been empirically focused (Karnig 1979; Karnig and Welch 1980; Robinson and Dye 1978; Eisinger 1982; MacManus 1978; Meier and England 1984; Grofman and Handley 1989; Herring 1990; Nelson 1991). These studies can be placed under the categories: electoral gains, policy impact and representation. A separate area that has garnered some attention is black voter behavior theory.
The voter behavior theories presented by social scientists to explain black voting behavior have not gained widespread acceptance because of their lack of empirical validation. These theories, which include participatory theory, compensatory theory and ethnic identification theory will not be the focus of this research but should be mentioned. Scholars who have presented these theories include Shingles (1981), Ellison and Gay (1989), and London and Giles (1987). These scholars have attempted to present explanations for black political participation in an effort to understand and possibly predict black voting behavior. Neither of these theories have been refined enough to contribute significantly to a theory of black political participation. The literature pertinent to this research focuses more on electoral gains, policy impact and representation.

Electoral Gains

The electoral gains made by blacks since 1965 have been documented in a number of studies (Williams 1982, 1987; Campbell and Feagin 1975; Karnig and Welch 1980). Williams (1987) comprehensively details the electoral gains made by blacks at the state, local and national level. Williams' source is the National Roster of Black Elected Officials. Williams credits the electoral gains made by blacks to increased registration, mobilization and participation. However, Williams also brings forth the "crucial question" of the role of electoral participation in securing concessions for citizens electing representatives from their own group. The question of whether this is possible has been debated (Matthews and Prothro 1966; Keech 1968; Jones 1970; Walton 1971). Williams does not try to resolve the debate of whether black political participation was enough to rectify past inequities but offers that electoral gains have probably passed the expectations of those authors above who questioned the impact of black enfranchisement.
However, the need to address the specific question of the impact of black electoral participation requires one to go beyond the numbers game. Yes, the change in the emphasis of the VRA has and continues to result in more blacks being elected to offices throughout the country, as Williams documents, but the impact of those gains must now be addressed. Williams states that empirical assessment is difficult but does point out some studies at all three levels of government that cite limited gains in benefits received. Williams concludes that increased participation is necessary to maximize benefits.

Campbell and Feagin (1975), by documenting the electoral gains made by blacks through 1975, state that they are laying the groundwork for future analysis. Campbell and Feagin present descriptive examples of benefits received by local communities after the election of blacks to municipal offices (Fayette, Mississippi and Tuskegee, Alabama). They conclude that pessimistic predictions of the impact of black elected officials are being proved wrong.

The major benefits cited by scholars investigating early black electoral gains, including Campbell and Feagin, are centered on corrective actions within the black residential community, such as infrastructure improvements, access to education and jobs. These concerns are valid because the majority of black electoral gains have been at the local level, on city councils, county commissions and school boards. The measure of the success of increased black political participation has been based more on gaining office rather than on benefits received from having attained office.

This is understandable in that access to political institutions was a major benefit of electoral participation and a goal in and of itself for the vast majority of black citizens who had been denied the opportunity to participate in the political system. After the access to the political institutions was somewhat secured the focus of attention shifted.
Policy Impact and Representation

As blacks began to participate more in the electoral process and actually gain elective office scholars shifted their attention to the question of effectiveness and impact. Attempts were made to identify and measure the benefits received by the black community as blacks accessed the political institutions and processes of the United States. The 1965 Voting Rights Act (VRA) has served as the starting point for a number of studies on black politics.

The VRA has been and still is the single most important catalyst for the black political movement in the United States. Its role in increasing the levels of registration in southern states is the foundation for black voter participation and black electoral gains. States and local governments covered by the VRA are still experiencing its impact as legislative bodies reapportion districts in response to the 1990 Census. The United States Justice Department has adopted a policy of mandating states to increase black representation in state legislatures by creating as many black majority districts as possible (Voting Rights Review 1991). This action should precipitate an increase in the number of black state elected officials for this coming decade. This will also mean that increased attention will be paid to the accomplishments of black state legislators as the benefit of attainment of office has been relegated to secondary status.

What have the elections of blacks to representative positions, and more specifically state legislatures, meant to the policy outputs of those institutions? The importance of this question has not been overlooked by scholars but it has not been addressed empirically at the state level. Most empirical studies have been based on local black political gains. Black representation has also not been offered as a significant variable in research and theory development on state government spending and policy. The debate over the significance of political variables versus socioeconomic variables has ignored black representation as a contributing variable in state policy
and expenditure studies. By focusing on black representation as a variable in explaining state government spending and policy, this research contributes to the literature.

Morris (1982) considered the influence of blacks on the distribution of public benefits in a report delivered at a Rockefeller Foundation Conference. Morris' comments and conclusions reflect the status of research on black political participation. Morris (1982, 166) commented on the expectations of the black electorate by stating that "Many blacks expected that with these achievements they would be assured the opportunity to influence the distribution of public benefits in such a way as to improve their economic opportunities. For several reasons these expectations have not been realized."

It is possible that the black electorate has not realized the expected benefits of increased political participation due to the level of expectations. It has been stated earlier that even with levels of participation and representation increasing at tremendous rates blacks are still underrepresented in most electoral bodies. The level of representation may have not yet reached a level where it can exert enough influence to achieve the expectations of the black electorate.

Morris cites three approaches to the measurement of black political influence: (1) the effect of black electoral participation on local decision making in general; (2) the effect on a single type of benefit, i.e. employment; and (3) the change in policy priorities reflected in expenditure patterns. He states, "Together they yield some important common findings and raise a number of new questions that suggest the need for further investigation." Morris believed at that time that participation had made a difference but that the difference had been limited. Morris cited the work of Keech (1968), Gosnell (1969), Eisinger (n.d.) and Watson (1980). Morris concluded that black participation influences the distribution of public benefits at the local level but research is not "extensive, wide-ranging, or methodologically adequate" to make any further conclusions.
According to Morris, several important questions remained unanswered. These questions included the uncertainty that exists about shifts in program priorities, the observation that an increase in rational-technical decision making at state and local levels reduces the influence of black participation, and the problem that black underrepresentation creates in the ability of blacks to influence policy. Morris' assessment was accurate and there has been some effort to improve on the situation since his report.

Black underrepresentation does hinder the ability of blacks to influence policy at the state level. The assumption is that as the level of representation increases, the level of influence should also increase. Nelson (1991) agrees that one can safely assume that the success of a minority group is linked in part to what percentage it represents in a chamber. But Nelson also states that a minority group's influence goes beyond mere representation in numbers. He states that the key to influence is leadership positions within the legislature. Leadership positions, such as committee chairpersons and party leaders, are crucial to effectiveness.

As Morris stated, underrepresentation is a problem but Nelson correctly points out that leadership positions are critical to the impact of increased representation. Leadership is usually a benefit of seniority and one would expect black state legislators to gain leadership roles with increased seniority and minimum turnover. The role of black legislative leadership is an important issue that needs to be studied as the literature on black empowerment expands.

Morris' argument that rational-technical decision making also hampers black influence has merit but its applicability is lessened when the policy output measured is state expenditures. State legislatures have not been characterized as hotbeds of rational-technical decision making. It is precisely because state politics relies heavily on political decisions and compromises that it is an appropriate arena for examining the influence of black legislators on expenditure patterns and policy outputs. It is in the state legislative arena that black influence should increase as black
legislators increase in numbers that afford greater opportunity to forge coalitions and as black legislators gain tenure and leadership positions in state legislatures.

Karnig and Welch (1980), among many of their studies in black politics, reported on their findings of the impact black representation had on urban policy. Karnig and Welch recognized that the question of whether elected black officials influence changes in public policy is a valid point of major research. The authors state, "The implicit assumption of studies that attempt to assess the effect of black municipal officials is that blacks elected to office will work toward policies favorable to blacks" (1980, 108). Karnig and Welch’s dependent variable was per capita spending in a comparative study of urban areas. They reported that the effect of black mayors on social welfare expenditures was small and that the impact of black council members was insignificant.

Karnig and Welch cited five factors they believed salient in restricting the likelihood that black representation will have substantial influence on public policy: (1) attitudes and talents of black elected officials—black elected officials replacing white elected officials with the same policy stances would have little effect; (2) cooperation of white officials is critical—black elected officials at the municipal level must rely on bureaucrats and elites to implement policies or respond to the influence of the office; (3) the limited role of local government in policy making; (4) the limited tax base of local governments; and (5) time—black elected officials have not been in office that long. These factors are valid concerns when investigating black representation; however they are not as critical as one would initially assume.

Blacks elected to state and municipal legislatures in the South are unlikely to be replacing white legislators with similar views. Increased black voter registration led to districts with rapid shifts in the racial make-up of the electorate. Reapportionment under the eye of the United States Justice Department created new black districts in many state and local legislatures. I would argue
that black elected officials more often than not represented changes in the policy direction of the
district and immediate changes in expectations of the electorate of the district.

Research by Combs, Hibbing and Welch (1984) indicates that conservatism is dominant in
districts in the South up to a 40 percent level of black population. It is only after the black
population surpasses the 40 percent level that representation becomes more liberal. This finding
could support the contention that districts which have evolved into black majority districts, either
through demographic shifts or increased voter registration and participation, and elected black
representatives are likely to have been represented by conservative white representatives.

The lack of cooperation from bureaucrats and elites would hamper effectiveness but as
the numbers of black elected officials increase at any level of government lack of cooperation
should decrease. Those jurisdictions with token minority representation are more likely to
experience this barrier to effectiveness than jurisdictions with significant levels of representation.
This should be more evident at the local level where just a few black members of a governing
body should be able to exert some influence and therefore offset any lack of cooperation on the
part of bureaucrats.

The limited role of local government would be inherent in all measures of local
government spending and the role of black representation introduced as a variable in any model
on local government spending would still be measured from the same level as all local
representatives would be measured. Black representatives influence budgetary policy not by
increasing revenue but by shifting priorities to policy areas more responsive to the demands of
the black community.

The factor of black elected officials not being in office long enough is overcome through
time-series analysis. Cross-sectional studies would not measure the true impact of black
representation. Most elected officials are more effective the longer their tenure in office and
black elected officials should prove to be no exception. The longer the time period analyzed the less impact this factor should have on effectiveness. This of course assumes minimum turnover of black elected officials. There is no valid measure of turnover among black state elected officials but it must be assumed that the turnover rate is minimum and as the level of representation remains static or increases black tenure increases.

Sanders and Bensel (1991) assess the impact of the VRA on welfare systems in the South and conclude that black empowerment generated by the VRA was the direct cause for the increase of Aid for Dependent Children payments in the southern states. Sanders and Bensel state, "In the sixteen years following passage of the Voting Rights Act, the South's welfare system changed from one that provided minimal support to the poor white population and that serviced the needs of the black-belt plantation economy to one that increasingly provides benefits to the structurally unemployed black poor." The authors analyzed the welfare payments in seven southern states and utilized correlational analysis to determine the relationship between black mobilization and welfare payments.

This modest attempt to link black empowerment and policy impact is a step in the direction needed in the field of black politics but the scope of the study was limited and the results do not lend anything to theoretical development of a policy impact model or a generalizable variable operationalization.

Much of the research on black empowerment in recent years has concentrated on urban politics or the distribution of benefits in metropolitan jurisdictions (Engstrom 1983; Browning, Marshall and Tabb 1990; Grofman and Handley 1989; Bobo and Gilliam 1990; Mladenka 1989). Bobo and Gilliam (1990) present evidence that shows that black empowerment leads to increased black participation. Their primary measure of black empowerment was black control of the office of mayor. Having a black mayor, according to Bobo and Gilliam, results in more trust
in the local political institution by the black community. This increased trust leads to increased political participation by black residents of the jurisdiction. Bobo and Gilliam admit that the relationship between empowerment and participation could be the opposite—that is, participation leads to empowerment, but they argue that in their sample the empowerment had taken place earlier and participation was a response to that empowerment and was a result of increased efficacy on the part of the black electorate.

This increased efficacy was related to a sense of the effectiveness of black elected officials responding to the expectations of the electorate. The logical conclusion here is that empowerment in the form of black elected officials increases the belief of the black electorate that the political system is responsive to participation and this belief, this efficacy, results in increased participation. This argument must be extended to the point that the black community will also seek evidence of responsiveness to the increased participation and this response must go beyond empowerment, or elective office. Those in elective office must be able to present tangible evidence of effectiveness through an increased level of benefits in the black community.

Mladenka (1989) examined the responsiveness of local political institutions that had acquired increased minority representation to demands of blacks and hispanics. This research addresses the issue of black responsiveness to the expectations of the electorate and is that extension of Bobo and Gilliam's research. Mladenka analyzed data from 1200 cities and used employment as the benefit of consequence to minorities in those jurisdictions.

Employment has been widely accepted as one of the most salient issues for minorities in their evaluation of the ability of minority officials to respond to needs and demands of the minority community (Browning, Marshall and Tabb 1984, 169). Employment is especially crucial in the municipal arena. Mladenka concluded that the effectiveness of black elected
officials was dependent on a number of interrelated factors—region, electoral structure (reformed v. unreformed), size of minority population and types of offices held.

More benefits were received by the black community when the size of the minority population was large, ward type elections were used, and the administrative structure was unreformed. Council members appeared to have more influence than a black mayor. Mladenka states in his conclusion, "...minority political representation makes absolutely no difference under some institutional arrangements but is of decisive importance under others."

Mladenka's findings suggest the obvious. We would expect that responsiveness would be positively correlated with the size of the minority population. Municipal governments are closest to the electorate in terms of direct feedback. Feedback is faster and more obvious to the electorate than state government. It can best be described as being "closer to the people." State governments would be expected to be responsive to minority populations but not to the extent of municipal governments. The feedback is not so obvious at the state level. I would expect that state governments and legislatures would not be as responsive to the size of the minority population as municipal governments and legislatures. Mladenka also found that council representation was more critical than mayoral representation. Mladenka did not define the office of Mayor as weak or strong in his analysis. There is the possibility that the council is more effective when the office of Mayor is weak as opposed to strong. There are a number of variables which could be a factor in Mladenka's findings but his conclusions appear valid in that strong minority representation on the council probably is the result of significant levels of participation by the black electorate.

Eisinger (1982) also concluded that the size of the black population was the most important variable in black employment at the municipal level. However, he observed that the office of mayor was more critical, in contrast to Mladenka, than that of council member. One
possible explanation for the different findings is that Eisinger’s study was based on data collected from fewer cities and from an earlier period than Mladenka’s study. One may hypothesize that local governing bodies began to experience greater minority representation in the late 1970s and early 1980s and would necessarily gain in significance. Again, the office of Mayor was not categorized as weak or strong.

More recently scholars have turned to the state arena as a level of analysis for studying the impact of black representation. Herring (1990) factor analyzed bills considered race-related in three southern states to measure legislative responsiveness to black constituents. Herring’s study, though limited in scope, concluded that the level of black voting strength did have an impact on legislation. Herring posed a critical question of whether these benefits were derived from black legislators representing black constituents or from white legislators responding to black voter strength. This is a critical question.

Black voting strength is characterized by the percentage of eligible blacks registered to vote or by the percentage of blacks in the total population. Registered black voters is a more accurate variable but not always available. Black population is an indirect measure but still valid. It is a critical variable which should be included in any model attempting to measure representation and effectiveness. The two distinct variables of black voting strength and black legislative representation should have independent impact on a dependent policy variable.

Nelson (1991) studied legislatures in 45 states in 1983, 1985 and 1987. He considered three critical policy expenditures: education, social welfare, and health and hospitals. Nelson argued that these policy areas were salient to the black community and presented accurate measures of the impact of minority group influence. Nelson did not confine his studies to black influence but included blacks in his study. Nelson concluded that the correlation between black influence and social welfare was marginally positive. Nelson’s study is a step in the right
direction but suffers from the short time period included in the study. He also limited his independent variables and weakly operationalized group influence. Nelson's contribution is the development of theoretical direction in minority representation by introducing the variable of group influence among minority representatives.

Campbell and Feagin (1975) posed the question of what have black elected officials accomplished. This question has been the focus of many studies at the municipal level but few at the state level of analysis. Herring and Nelson have attempted to address this shortcoming. This research attempts to further resolve the lack of analysis of minority representation at the state level.

It is not enough to simply analyze the level of black representation in state legislatures. The original intent of the VRA was to remove barriers to voting from black and minority citizens. In recent years the Act has allowed the United States Justice Department to enforce policies that increased black voting strength and black representation. But the evaluation of the impact of increased black representation must be documented as an additional measure of the success of the VRA. Black representation at the national level is increasing but is still not at a level where the number of blacks in congress can be adequately measured for its impact on policy. The impact of black representatives at the state level has been ignored in most scholarly work on state policy outputs. This is during a time when state government is emerging as the fastest growing sector of the governmental structure as a function of Ronald Reagan's New Federalism. This growing strength of state government combined with an increasing number of black state legislators for the past 20 years drives one to seek an answer to the question of the impact of these black legislators.
CHAPTER THREE
STATE POLICY MAKING

The American states have been the unit of analysis of many scholars in their attempt to understand government spending (Fabricant 1942; Sharkansky 1968; Carmines 1974; Dawson 1963; Weber and Uslaner 1977; Jennings 1979; Cnudde and McCrone 1969; Hofferbert 1966; Garand 1988). A major point of contention in the development of a theoretical model of state spending has been the dominance of political versus socioeconomic variables. Political variables such as party competition, voter turnout, and legislative apportionment can and have been initially perceived to be valid predictors of state legislative policy. Opponents of this stance argue that variables such as income, education, and various demographic characteristics are more valid in their ability to predict and explain state legislative policy. This argument has led many social scientists to develop models which test the strength of one set of variables against the other.

A review of the research in state spending demonstrates that neither argument is a clear winner or loser. The research in the field allows one to identify critical variables and introduce additional variables which may increase the ability of existing models to explain state expenditures or serve as a basis for the development of new models of state spending. This research utilizes that approach by reviewing the literature, selecting key variables and hypothesizing that the inclusion of a black state representation variable increases the explanation of the variance in state spending in one budget area.

Sharkansky (1968, 7) identified two critical questions inherent to the state spending research corpus: "What measurements will be used to analyze state government expenditures? What social, economic, and political phenomena should be tested for their relationships to the
measures of state spending?" These questions had been explored as early as 1942 by Fabricant, who found per capita income had the strongest relationship to expenditures.

Sharkansky cited three approaches to the study of state spending. The first approach is to study interstate variations in combined spending. The second is to study interstate variations in the magnitude of government expenditures and other outputs of state political systems. The third approach is to study the decision-making approach to the factors that influence individual budget makers. The decision-making approach is best characterized by Aaron Wildavsky (1964, 1988). Wildavsky's theory of incrementalism offers an explanation of the decision-making process that occurs in the budgetary process at all levels of government. The approach that is most applicable to the development of a theory of state spending is the study of interstate variations of expenditures and outputs of state political systems. It is this approach that has spawned the argument of political versus socioeconomic variables.

The political variables Sharkansky identified included party competition, party strength, turnout and equity of apportionment. The economic variables included income, education, urbanization and industrialization. These two sets of variables and their impact on state spending are still being studied and analyzed with researchers offering empirical evidence citing the predominance of each set over the other.

Sharkansky also identified variables that had been omitted such as interest group activity, federal aid and civil service structure. Some of these omitted variables, in different forms, have since made their way into the development of theoretical models. In his research Sharkansky attempted to include as many variables as he thought applicable to the dependent measure. Political as well as socioeconomic variables were included in the study. Sharkansky developed a model using per capita spending as the dependent variable and 46 independent variables. He concluded that governmental characteristics had the greatest impact. The most powerful variable
in Sharkansky's study was previous spending, providing support for Wildavsky's theory of incrementalism. However, Sharkansky concluded that the independent variables having significant impact included a mixture of political, economic, and governmental characteristics. Sharkansky's comprehensive model did little to resolve the debate over the most significant variables in state policy making.

Shaffer and Weber (1974) concentrated on policy measures as a dependent variable as opposed to expenditures and argued that governmental structures and characteristics had less impact than anticipated on policy outcomes. Shaffer and Weber did find that bureaucratization or bureaucratic professionalism had an impact on policy outcomes at the state level. Although Sharkansky discussed the civil service system as a factor that concept has been operationalized in subsequent studies as a measure of the bureaucracy in state government. The concept of the influence of the bureaucracy has become an important variable in state spending literature (Garand 1988; Weiher and Lorence 1990).

In an indirect contribution to the development of the bureaucratic variable Garand (1988), Garand, Parkhurst and Seoul (1991), in explaining government growth, offer support for a bureau voting model which theorizes the influence of the bureaucracy and bureaucratic voting patterns on state government growth and spending patterns. In these studies the bureaucracy becomes a factor by virtue of its level of voting participation as compared to other segments of the electorate. A higher level of voting participation leads to greater influence by the bureaucracy on state policies and expenditures. Weiher and Lorence (1990), although critical of Garand's findings, agree with Garand that the size of public employment is a very significant factor of state government growth.

Welfare policy has been used consistently as a dependent variable in state spending models. Jennings (1979) used welfare policies to test the independent impact of party competition
and class-based electoral politics. Jennings (1979, 416) theorized that "when a party or faction which receives substantial electoral support from the lower class voters attain office, social welfare benefits should increase." Although Jennings uses class as the distinguishing characteristic for support for social welfare benefits his theory is generalizable to any interest group or political faction. It is then applicable to black state legislators who receive substantial if not all support from the black electorate.

Jennings' results suggested strong support for his thesis, however a large proportion of the variance was not explained in his model. Jennings offers that additional variables need to be included in the model to increase the amount of variance explained. Jennings' work suggests that as the number of black state legislators increases so should influence in welfare spending if one assumes that most of the support of black legislators is derived from a constituency with a significant lower class and/or disadvantaged base.

Parent and Steckler (1985) offer evidence that one cannot always assume that black constituencies support increased public welfare spending. Parent and Steckler (1985, 526) theorized that "middle income blacks would be most concerned with the progress of the civil rights movement and less concerned with aid to the poor." Utilizing survey and polling data Parent and Steckler conclude that there are class differences in public welfare spending among blacks and that these differences may increasingly influence the voting behavior of the black electorate. Their finding leads to caution in the assumption of common policy interests among black voters.

Dawson and Robinson (1963), in analyzing welfare policies, concluded that interparty competition did not have a significant impact on welfare policies. Dawson and Robinson theorized that a high level of interparty competition would result in more liberal social welfare measures. Their study, using correlational analysis, did not support their hypothesis.
Cnudde and McCrone (1969) disagreed with Dawson and Robinson. They argued that a "reliance on correlational analysis can lead to unwarranted causal inferences." Cnudde and McCrone suggests that there is support for interparty competition as a significant variable but cautioned that the impact may vary with the policy measured. This assertion of significance being dependent on the policy measured certainly has face validity and is supported by other scholars. This has not prevented scholars from still attempting to resolve the debate. Fry and Winters (1970) also found support for political variables over socioeconomic variables after Hofferbert (1966) had reported the predominance of socioeconomic variables over political variables.

Sharkansky and Hofferbert (1969), utilizing factor analysis, concluded that the answer to the question of political versus socioeconomic variables was not an easy one to answer. They, as did Jennings, conceded that it varied with the dimensions of the policy being studied. According to Sharkansky and Hofferbert the competition variable as well as the affluence dimension of the economy significantly related to welfare-education policies.

Carmines (1974) suggested that party competition or conflict was mediated by a legislature that was organizationally strong and effective. Carmines characterization is similar to what is often operationalized as a professional legislature, again an often used independent variable. Carmines’ data supports his argument that a strong legislature is a catalyst in the transformation of party conflict into state policy.

Other variables which have been included in state policy and expenditure analyses include legislative reform (Karnig and Sigelman 1975), and political culture (Lowery and Sigelman 1982; Miller 1991; Boeckelman 1991; Morgan and Watson 1991). Karnig and Sigelman operationalized legislative reform by using rankings from the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures and found reform had little or no impact on policy. Political culture, brought into prominence by Elazar,
has been used as a variable in numerous studies but Lowery and Sigelman suggest that political culture is not critical to policy outputs. They do offer that there is what can be called a "missing link" in the measure of political culture. This missing link can be that of a culture elite or a cultural lag. Although states are becoming less homogeneous, lessening the effect of political culture, the elite may still retain the political culture characteristics. The political elite, with more influence on policy decisions than the general population, would impact policy-making decisions. These culture characteristics then would be evident in the policy-making institutions dominated by the elite. The elite would lag behind the general population in homogeneity and would not exhibit the reduced political culture influences of the general population.

Boeckelman (1991) concluded that political culture did have an impact on economic development policies of states. Boeckelman utilized a linear measure of political culture after theorizing the relationship between culture and policy. There is justification for the inclusion of political culture in state spending analysis. There is more justification when one compares regions of the country. This research compares the South and non-South regions of the country and there may be cultural differences between the regions which may be significant. There may also be differences within the South and political culture may explain some of that difference.

Representation

In assessing the impact of black representation in state legislatures by analyzing the variances in state expenditures one assumes that policy impact is a valid measure of effective representation. Effective representation may be manifested in either positive or negative policy impact. The effective representative directs policy or influences policy in the direction of the demands of the constituency. In that manner the representative must be responsive to the demands and needs of the constituency. Responsiveness then is a key element in measuring representation. That responsiveness is positive when the constituency demands direct benefits
from the governing institution. The responsiveness is a negative measure when the constituency demands that the governing institution not deliver certain benefits or enact certain policies. In this particular study I will concentrate on the positive responses of legislative bodies to constituency demands.

Eulau and Karps (1977) define responsiveness as the relation between district positions and policy orientation of the representative. They identify four components of responsiveness: policy, service, allocation and symbolic. Policy responsiveness relates to the issues in the political arena and the key component in this variable is congruence as highlighted by the work of Miller and Stokes. Service responsiveness is a measure of benefits the representative is able to obtain for constituents. Allocation responsiveness is similar to service responsiveness but is more closely linked with what is considered "pork barrel" benefits. Symbolic responsiveness is associated with an intangible variable such as image and the psychological impact of representation.

The black legislator, who most often represents a majority black constituency in state legislatures, is probably most confident of success in policy responsiveness. The African-American community has been consistent on major policy issues affecting the community and the black population. This consistency leads to high congruence between legislator and community and results in the legislator being confident that policy stances in the legislature are consistent with those of the district constituency.

Symbolic responsiveness has also been closely associated with black legislators (Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson 1989). The black community has been obvious in seeking black elected officials as the most effective representative for the community and have almost demanded black representation as a statement of solidarity and identity.
There is recent support for a reduction in the strength and need for symbolic responsiveness in the black community. Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson have presented evidence of a changing trend among black voters. Symbolic responsiveness may not be as critical as it has in the past. Once symbolic responsiveness is attained service and allocation responsiveness assumes a more critical role. This happens as competition in black majority districts often pit black candidates against black candidates. Candidate quality is measured then in terms of effectiveness or predicted effectiveness in delivering benefits to the district. Either candidate will correlate positively with symbolic and policy responsiveness. The measures used to differentiate between the candidates are service and allocation responsiveness. As black elected officials gain tenure in office they are evaluated more on service and allocation responsiveness. This leads to more competitive elections in the black community which may result in increased cleavages in the black community on issues (Parent and Steckler 1985).

Meier and England (1984) cite Pitkin’s (1967) labels of representation and distinguish between descriptive and active representation. Meier and England state that most studies of black representation have related to descriptive representation rather than active representation. Meier and England examined the impact of black school board representation on education policy. They found some positive relationship between black representation and policy but theorized the need for policy congruence between representatives and community. This finding may indicate that in the education policy arena there may be less agreement within the black community which makes it more difficult for the black school board representative to be positive in policy responsiveness. The authors also state that the ability to influence non-minority board members is critical to the success of black representatives and policies of interest to the black community must be implemented by the school board in order for the black representatives to be considered successful.
A crucial question which emerges in literature on black representation centers on symbolic representation. Scholars have begun to question whether symbolic representation in the black community is a worthwhile goal and whether the negative impact of symbolic representation is greater than the derived benefits. Symbolic representation is exemplified in the black community through the election of a black representative and the belief by the electorate that the only effective representative for the black community is a black representative. The negative impact of that symbolic representation is derived from the inability of black representatives to effect policy changes in legislative institutions and from the indirect effect of more conservative non-minority legislators being elected from districts created after black voters are consolidated into black majority districts.

Research that attempts to measure policy responsiveness of non-black representatives to the black community contributes to the argument. Bullock and MacManus (1981) examine the linkage between a white legislator’s minority constituency and policy responsiveness to that constituency. They found the highest support in districts with a 40 to 44.9 percent black voting age population. Bullock and MacManus suggested at the time of their research that reapportionment in 1980 should be concerned that black interests might be better served when some districts are created with white representatives having black voting age populations of an influential size rather than creating districts with heavy majority black voting age populations as the means of effecting black representation.

Combs, Hibbing and Welch (1984) determined that blacks influenced representation when the black population was less than 15 percent and more than 45 percent. Their findings indicate that population levels between 15 percent and 45 percent tend to polarize districts along racial lines and blacks suffer by not being able to overcome white majority influence. It would seem probable that in districts with significant but non-majority black populations the black population
would become frustrated at their lack of influence and be less likely to accept white representation once they are in a position to elect a representative of their choice. This scenario leads to the demand for symbolic responsiveness and descriptive representation in those districts that transition from white to black voting majorities. The lack of influence during a transition period would also lead to increased demands for allocation and service responsiveness in an effort to overcome past inequities. The objective of the black electorate then would be away from influence districts as Bullock and MacManus suggest and more towards black majority districts. Symbolic representation becomes much more important to the black community.

Swain (1989) suggests that party and region has an impact on the ability of white representatives to respond to black constituencies. Democrats are more responsive and white representatives in the South are less responsive. Swain enters the argument by cautioning that the creation of black majority districts may not ensure the most responsive representation.

Thernstrom (1987) argues against the assertion that black majority districts should be created to ensure black representation. Thernstrom (1987, 226) asserts, "No voters are guaranteed representation." She argues that minority districting may actually inhibit political integration. What Thernstrom presents is an argument against symbolic representation and the belief that blacks and other minorities can only be represented by members of their own race or ethnic identification. However, representation is also measured in terms of responsiveness and other research (Combs, Hibbing and Welch 1984; Bullock and MacManus 1981) demonstrates that non-minority representation does not always respond to minority interests. The policy interests of the majority appear more likely to be served even in districts with black influence.

Coalitions

Once black representation is achieved by the black community that representation must be translated into responsiveness. In the state and national arena black representatives will find
themselves in the minority in the legislative bodies. Their effectiveness is dependent on their ability to form effective coalitions. The fact that it is necessary to form coalitions in order to be effective also means that compromises must be made by black legislators. These compromises result in a less than optimum response to black expectations from black legislators.

Riker (1962) asserts that rejecting an optimal payoff in favor a certain payoff is a rational act. Black state legislators operate in an arena where they are forced to reduce payoffs in favor of gaining some return on their contribution to a winning coalition. The creation of legislative black caucuses in state legislatures reflects the strategy of black legislators to present their votes as a unified force critical to effective coalitions. The larger the size of the force (the caucus) the more bargaining power of the delegation and the less it is forced to compromise. Riker states that uncertainty from lack of information also leads to coalitions of a size greater than the actual minimum winning size. Information is critical in coalitions and information is suspect in most state legislatures. Building a greater than minimum winning coalition leads to a reduction in the effectiveness of the black legislators.

Browning, Marshall and Tabb (1990) have addressed the issue of coalitions at the municipal level. The authors state that minority representation alone does not ensure the ability to meet minority interests. Even with substantial representation at the municipal level minority representatives must seek allies in order to form dominant coalitions and influence policy. It is not the intent of this research to expand on coalition building within state legislatures but it is incumbent to indicate that black state legislators face a substantial task in building consistent coalitions.

At the municipal level coalitions are possible with other minority groups and liberal whites (Browning, Marshall and Tabb 1990). These groups may be considered natural allies with often common agendas. These common agendas exist because the political jurisdiction is a
singular jurisdiction with decisions of the governing body directly impacting the entire population of the jurisdiction. The existence of natural allies are not as readily available at the state level. Factions are more apparent in state legislatures. Rural versus urban factions; intrastate regional factions; and ethnic factions make it difficult to form coalitions at the state level. This can often be more critical in the South as opposed to other regions of the country. Blacks in state legislatures in the South should find it more difficult to find coalitional alliances. There are fewer other minorities and women in southern legislatures and fewer urban areas where one is more likely to find liberal representatives. Black legislators in the South are thus dependent on the strength of their delegation in forming coalitions in order to advance their policy interests. It appears more likely that the necessity to compromise in order to assure victory would lead to a lower level of effectiveness than desired by the black legislators.

Smith, Rice and Jones (1991) discuss the role of coalitions in the ability of black political groups to gain advances in civil rights policy. Although the coalitional politics discussed is not in the legislative arena but in the general political arena the authors suggest that the policy outcomes are often less than desired by the black members of the coalition. The most likely allies of black groups in coalitions outside the legislative arena are other minorities and Jewish groups, according to Smith, Rice and Jones. This likely combination of allies should apply to the ability of state legislators to enter into coalitions with members of the legislature sharing common or close to common goals and objectives.

It is again obvious that it becomes difficult for black state legislators to secure the necessary alliances. The greatest numbers of black state legislators are in the South and few other minority groups exist in state legislatures in the South. What will occur is that coalitions in the legislature form as a basis of political necessity in order to attain sometimes different policies. For instance, black leaders may join a coalition where the agreement is based on two
dissimilar legislative issues. The black vote is given to an issue unrelated to the black legislator’s constituency in order to secure the votes of the other members of the coalition on an issue salient to the black legislators. Compromises are still made in the legislation in order for each group to be able to justify the vote given to the other group in the coalition.

The larger the size of the black delegation the greater its ability to negotiate maximum responsiveness from the legislature. It is this reasoning that leads me to theorize that the higher the proportion of black representation in state legislatures the greater the ability of the black delegation to secure increased expenditures in certain policy areas critical to the black community. I cannot measure the coalition-building capabilities of the black state legislative delegations but I can assume that such ability is inherent in the positive impact of black representation on state expenditures.

SUMMARY

The objective of the first three chapters of this dissertation was to establish a framework and theoretical foundation upon which hypotheses presented in the next chapters can be tested. The findings from the analysis of the data can serve to add to the body of literature which has been reviewed and from which assumptions have been made.

The primary objective of this research is to assess the impact of black empowerment, in the form of black representation, on policies adopted by state legislatures. I consider this to be a valid topic for research because this country has experienced a dramatic growth in black representation in state legislatures in the last twenty years. This growth in black representation has generated an expansion of data and theory in the field of political science termed black politics. The enfranchisement of millions of new voters with a common agenda that seeks changes in public policy throughout the United States has led social scientists to document the phenomenon and measure the impact of this force on American political institutions.
Early research focused on the gains realized by black enfranchisement. It was evident that blacks did not seek the franchise merely to influence the existent policy makers in the policy decisions of the institutions. The focus quickly became active participation in the decision-making process through the election of blacks to offices at every level of government. Early enforcement of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 led to increased numbers of black registered voters through the removal of barriers to participation. As Congress and the United States Justice Department continued to expand the authority and coverage of the Act the focus shifted to the election of blacks and other minorities to public offices. An assumption that was not forcefully or successfully challenged was that the black population could best be represented by black public officials. It is only recently that this assumption is being questioned by both black and white scholars at a time when the Justice Department is mandating maximum black and minority representation through the creation of black majority districts.

The inevitable question that followed the incorporation of blacks into political institutions was whether this new force had any significant impact. Studies centered on the level of government that experienced the greatest increase in black elected officials, the municipality. The concentration of blacks in urban areas led to increased membership on city councils and school boards. Expectations of the black electorate were documented as chiefly employment and social welfare demands. As would be expected there were contradictory findings but a generalization could be made that black elected officials did impact policies at the local level.

The accession of blacks to higher levels of government was not as quick or as proportionate as at the local level. Blacks have been and continue to be underrepresented in Congress. The gains at the state legislative level have been slower but are now reaching levels where one would anticipate an impact. Research of black representation at the state legislative level is now being undertaken as the numbers of black state legislators increase. The recent
thrust of the Justice Department has been in the direction of maximum minority representation through the election of minority representatives. Growth in the number of black state legislators should continue following recent and upcoming reapportionments in the southern states. There is evidence that the expectations and demands of the black electorate have not changed significantly so we may still measure the impact of black representation by measuring changes in social welfare responsiveness of state legislatures.

Theories of state expenditures provide a theoretical foundation from which the impact of black state legislators can be empirically measured. State expenditure theory is enhanced while theories of black representation are developed. It is from this foundation that I proceed in this dissertation.

I will next develop a theoretical model which will include variables designed to isolate the contribution of black representation to state welfare expenditures. Hypotheses will be presented to predict the influence of each variable. Data will then be analyzed to determine whether the hypotheses can be rejected or accepted. The final chapter of this dissertation will be my assessment of the value of my findings and the contribution of this research to current theory. I will also present the implications of the findings of this research to the practical direction of black political participation.
CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH DESIGN

Theory

The model in this research is designed to provide an identification of the variables that will explain a significant percentage of the variance in state public welfare expenditures. The key variable that is expected to have a significant positive impact on state public welfare expenditures is black representation. I present the hypothesis that black representation has an independent significant effect on public welfare spending in American states. The black representation variable is included in a comprehensive regression model in an effort to assess the impact of increased black representation in state legislatures since 1970. Black representation is a measure of black empowerment that represents the tangible effect of increased black participation in the political process at the state level.

The importance of the black representation variable goes beyond its contribution to expenditure theory. Black representation has been an explicit goal of black voting participation. The black electorate has sought increased input into the political processes at all levels of government through the election of blacks to representative bodies. The successful effort to increase black representation has resulted in a new level of black empowerment in the American states. The significance of the black representation variable serves as a measure of the effectiveness of black empowerment.

The dependent variable in the model is state public welfare expenditures. This dependent variable is selected because it has been presented in previous studies as a valid measure of the expectations and priorities of the black electorate (see Chapter 2). It is not presented as the best measure of priorities in the black electorate, but merely a valid measure. There are a number
of measures which are valid variables, including education, employment, health care and community development. I believe that in a comparative analysis of state expenditures the public welfare variable is a valid measure of the priorities of black legislators. Those black legislators entering the state political arena since 1970 have been the benchmark for black empowerment. They were not elected to maintain the status quo but to effect change in a positive manner that would result in increased benefits to the black community. Public welfare expenditures are an accurate measure of their ability to deliver the results expected by the black community.

The regression model that represents the relationship between black representation and public welfare expenditures is as follows:

\[ Y_i = a + bX_i + e_i \]
\[ PW = a + bBR + e \]

- \( a \) = Intercept
- \( e \) = Error Term
- \( PW \) = Public Welfare Expenditures
- \( BR \) = Black Representation

The hypothesized relationship in this simple bivariate model of black representation and state public welfare expenditures is that black representation will have a positive impact on state public welfare expenditures. As the level of black representation increases public welfare expenditures will increase.

A simple bivariate model obviously does not provide sufficient support for a generalization on the significance of the black representation variable. It is necessary to develop a comprehensive model that includes other variables which may contribute to the explanation of the dependent variable.

The decision of which independent variables to include in the model is based on previous models in the literature and on research in which relationships between certain variables and
public welfare expenditures have been presented. The additional variables in the model are: percentage of black population, urbanization, political culture, region, unemployment, state and local welfare employees, income and education. These variables would indicate that I support the position that public welfare expenditures of a state are dependent on socioeconomic variables rather than political variables. In fact, I support the theory that neither set of variables, political and socioeconomic, should presume dominance over the other set.

Cnudde and McCrone (1969) correctly argue that the critical factor is the dependent variable being measured. The ability of one set of variables over the other to explain the variance in the dependent variable depends on the particular policy output or expenditure being measured as the dependent variable. The black representation variable is the only political variable in the model. It is not the intention of this study to attempt to prove or disprove the dominance of political or socioeconomic variables. The variables are selected because I theorize that these variables should significantly impact the dependent variable of public welfare expenditures.

If the analysis of the data indicates that a significant percentage of the variance is explained by the model then it is only an indication that the specific socioeconomic variables in this model impact this specific dependent variable. It does not allow one to generalize that socioeconomic variables are more important than political variables in explaining any state policy or output. Conversely, should the black representation variable prove to be the most significant variable in the model it merely supports the hypothesis that black representation significantly impacts state public welfare expenditures while explaining a significant percentage of the variation in public welfare spending in American states for the period 1970-88.

The regression equation for the comprehensive model is:
\[ PW = B_0 + B_1BR + B_2R + B_3BP + B_4URB + B_5PC + B_6EE + \\
    B_7INC + B_8ED + B_9UE + e \]

\( PW = \text{Public Welfare Expenditures} \)
\( BR = \text{Black Representation} \)
\( R = \text{Region} \)
\( BP = \text{Black Population} \)
\( URB = \text{Urbanization} \)
\( PC = \text{Political Culture} \)
\( EE = \text{Government Welfare Employees} \)
\( INC = \text{Per Capita Income} \)
\( ED = \text{Education} \)
\( UE = \text{Unemployment in State} \)

This model is developed to test the significance of the independent variables in explaining public welfare expenditures. There are certain variables which are expected to influence the response of a state to public welfare demands of its citizens. These variables are the socioeconomic variables. It has been stated that the intent of this study is to assess the impact of black representation in state legislatures on public welfare expenditures and it is intended for this model to offer support for that theory. The results of this equation should demonstrate the significance of black representation as a variable of state public welfare spending.

**OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES**

**Dependent Variable**

The dependent variable I will use is annual welfare spending by the states for the years 1970-88. Welfare spending has been the dependent variable in many studies (Garand 1988; Sanders and Bensel 1991; Jennings 1979; Carmines 1974; Dawson and Robinson 1963; Cnudde and McCrone 1969; Wright 1975; Schneider 1976). Various operationalizations of welfare spending have been used, which include per capita spending, proportion of state resources allocated to welfare programs, AFDC caseloads and overall state welfare expenditures. Previous studies (Fabricant 1942; Sharkansky 1968; Dawson and Robinson 1963) suggest that per capita
spending is the most appropriate method of operationalizing welfare expenditures for comparative, time-series analysis.

Lewis-Beck and Rice (1985) offer support for using a percentage based operationalization. They argue that this type of operationalization offsets any need to utilize a price deflator. The critical factor as to whether this does compensate for inflation is the measure used as the denominator. The denominator measure must allow the assumption that annual increases in inflation is the same as any annual inflation increases for the numerator. In order to eliminate the need then to adjust for inflation I will use a percentage based measure of social welfare spending. This variable will be measured as the percentage of state general fund expenditures allocated to the public welfare category. This measure is a continuous measure and is a valid measure for inclusion in a regression equation. I also use the percentage measure because it is an indicator of the overall priority of public welfare expenditures of a state as compared to other categories of expenditures. The greater the percentage of state expenditures committed to public welfare the higher the priority of public welfare spending. I argue that black state legislators attempt to influence the priorities of state expenditures and a valid measure of their success is the ability to increase the percentage of funds in a category to which the black state legislators are expected to concentrate their efforts.

The welfare expenditure variable is used in this model as an indicator of the effectiveness of black state legislators since social welfare issues and expenditures have been identified in previous studies to be a high priority of the black community (Morris 1981; Karnig and Welch 1980). The overwhelming majority of black state legislators represent majority black districts (Grofman and Handley 1991) so the assumption is that black state legislators, in attempting to serve the needs of district constituents, would concentrate on social welfare issues and
expenditures. The ability of black state legislators to influence state expenditures in the social welfare area is then an indication of the effectiveness of these black state legislators.

Independent Variables

*Black representation.* The major independent variable is black representation in state legislatures. The primary hypotheses of the research is based on the impact of this variable on the dependent variable. Control variables will be introduced in order to determine the true level of covariation between the major independent variable and the dependent variable.

Black representation is operationalized as the percentage of black state legislators in the total number of state legislators in both chambers of each state legislature and for each year from 1970 to 1988. These data have been collected from the National Roster of Black Elected Officials compiled annually by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.

Control Variables

*Black population.* This variable is necessary as a control variable in that the size of the black population has consistently been cited as a significant variable in research on the spending and redistribution patterns of local government. It is possible that this variable will be more significant in explaining public welfare expenditures than black representation. Recent data conclude that poverty in the United States is significantly higher among African-Americans than among whites (Swinton 1991). States with a significant black population can be expected to exhibit higher levels of public welfare expenditures than states with lower levels of black population.

This variable should also correlate significantly with black representation. Studies attempting to identify political variables that impact black representation at the municipal level have indicated that the primary determinant of black representation is black population (Engstrom
and McDonald 1981; MacManus 1978; Robinson and Dye 1978). The variable has to be included in this model and controlled for in order to accurately assess the impact of the black representation variable. Black population is operationalized as the percentage of blacks in the state’s total population.

Urbanization. Public welfare is a redistributive policy that is aimed at those citizens at or near the poverty line in terms of income. The amount of money a state spends on public welfare programs should be directly related to the number of citizens in need of social services. A majority of citizens in poverty in this country live in urban or suburban areas (Kweit and Kweit 1990). The more urbanized a state is the more demands it should have for public welfare services. Urbanization within each state should have a positive impact on social welfare spending.

Urbanized areas are indicators of a greater need for social services which would result in higher spending (Dawson and Robinson 1963). Urbanization could also be an indicator of a more liberal attitude toward social welfare spending on the part of the electorate. Wright, Erikson and McIver (1987) included urbanism as a socioeconomic variable in a model to identify the determinants of policy liberalism in the states. It was concluded that urbanism was not a statistically significant determinant of policy liberalism in a number of policy areas in their study, including a public welfare measure, AFDC. The variable was important and the relationship was close to significant. Urbanized areas have a more diverse population which is usually more tolerant and aware of the need for a commitment to social welfare spending.

The ability of urbanization to significantly explain the variance in state welfare spending has been mixed. I still include it in this model because its impact has been important when not significant in other studies. Urbanization will be operationally defined using United States Census data on percentage of the states’ populations residing in urban areas.
Political culture. The political culture of a state, the measure of a state citizenry's attitude and disposition toward the role of the state in addressing issues, can have an impact on its commitment to social welfare spending. Wright, Erikson and McIver (1987) identify measures of public opinion and state in a footnote that public opinion is similar to a measure of political culture. Public opinion as a non-political variable has been used in an attempt to explain policy differentiation (Weber and Shaffer 1972). Political culture is not a measure of public opinion but an indicator of the established attitudes and political preferences of a state or community. The political culture of a state would influence a state's commitment to public welfare expenditures and policies.

The operationalization of political culture is based on Elazar's three primary classifications of political culture: moralistic, traditionalistic and individualistic (Elazar 1984). Lowery and Sigelman (1982) relate political culture to government activity. The moralistic culture would support the most active government. The individualistic government would support a less active government and the traditionalistic government would support the least active government. Government activity can be viewed as the expectation that it is the role of government to provide support for its citizens. Cultures supporting active governments would support a greater role of government in providing public welfare benefits for its citizens. It would be expected then that states with moralistic or individualistic ratings would possibly be more willing to commit resources to social ills than traditionalistic states. Moralistic states would support government benefits to citizens as a commitment to the welfare of all citizens. These states would not require the presence of a political faction which supports increased benefits. Individualistic states would be more likely to produce coalitions with minority factions which would result in increased benefits. Legislators are more willing to compromise in order to secure concessions in individualistic states. Traditionalistic states are least likely to support government
spending on social services and least likely to produce coalitions with minority factions which would result in increased spending.

This variable will be operationalized by assigning states a value of 1 to 6 based on its political culture. Elazar's ratings consist of mixes of political cultures so that the three ratings would generate another three ratings based on a mix of those three ratings (see Gosling 1991 for a use of this rating). The ratings would range from 1 for traditionalistic to 6 for moralistic.

Region. The region variable is a dummy variable included in the model to differentiate between the eleven states in the South that experienced the greatest increase in the number of black state legislators and the remaining states. This variable is operationalized as 1 = South and 0 = non-South. This is not intended to measure political attitudes of the South. That is a function of the political culture variable. This variable is included as a means of comparing states with significant increases in black state legislators since 1970 and states with limited or stable levels of black representation.

Government employees. Garand (1988) and Garand, Parkhurst and Seoul (1991) have demonstrated the significance of the size of the bureaucracy as a variable in governmental spending analyses. Garand (1988) argues that government employees are more politically active than non-government employees and are more liberal in their attitude toward government spending, if only as a matter of self-survival. Social welfare activities are usually labor-intensive in that it requires a large number of employees. It would be expected that states with higher percentages of state and local employees in the social welfare area would be more likely to expend more on social welfare programs. It would appear valid that employees in all departments of state government would have an impact on government spending. More specifically, employees in the social welfare area would be more interested in influencing social welfare expenditures.
This influence of government employees is actualized in two contexts. State employees are more politically active than non-state employees. Legislators are aware of this activity and respond to perceived demands of that segment of the electorate. This is a response of the legislator to the individual vote. State employees are also active as a group in the legislative budgetary process. Wildavsky (1964, 1988) presents this phenomenon in his analyses of the congressional budgetary process. State employees adopt a survival strategy in the budgetary process and are usually successful in influencing legislators during the appropriations process.

Theoretically, the larger the level of employment the greater the influence on increased expenditures. This measure is operationalized as the percentage of state and local employees employed full time in the social welfare sector: the number of state and local employees working full time in social welfare divided by the total number of state employees. The influence of welfare employees on the budgetary priorities may not be a direct influence but a lagged influence. The number of employees in any one year should impact the level of funding in the following year. This lagged impact is the result of two factors: (1) the legislators respond to the demands of employees and (2) the level of employees is a factor in the budgetary process which is best identified as an incremental process. The funds appropriated in any one year is a factor of the previous year’s level of funding. This variable is lagged to compensate for the incremental budgeting process.

*Per capita income.* This measure is operationalized as the total amount of personal income for each state divided by the total population of the state. Income is a measure of the economic well-being of a state. The level of income impacts upon the state’s ability to generate revenue. It has also been hypothesized that an electorate with a stable or increasing level of income is more willing to support social welfare programs. This variable has reacted in a different direction than one may initially suppose. High levels of income can be theorized to
result in lower demands for social welfare programs but this has not been the case and it is expected to perform in the positive direction in this model.

*Unemployment.* The unemployment variable has been used extensively as both a dependent and independent variable. Scholars have used the level of unemployment compensation benefits as a dependent policy variable in attempts to explain policy outputs (Cnudde and McCrone 1969; Jennings 1979; Wright 1975; Dawson and Robinson 1963). The use of the level of unemployment as an independent variable has not been so widespread.

Lewis-Beck and Rice (1975) employed the unemployment rate as an independent variable in a study on government growth and eliminated the variable in the final model because it did not demonstrate significance. However, Lewis-Beck and Rice employed this variable at the national level. The authors state that impact depends on the subjective severity of a variable. The national unemployment rate is normally less than rates at the state level which would be considered severe by state residents. It is anticipated that the unemployment variable would show more significance at the state level than the national level. The electorate at the state level would show a higher concern for the unemployment rate and convey that concern to elected representatives. The level of unemployment should also directly impact the state welfare policy as high levels of unemployment would result in greater demands for welfare services.

Unemployment then may impact public welfare expenditures in a direct and indirect manner. The direct impact would be greater demand due to higher unemployment and the indirect impact would be as an influencing factor on state legislators to respond to higher levels of unemployment. This variable is operationalized as the yearly average unemployment rate for each state.

*Education.* Education is a socioeconomic measure and has been included in various models of state spending. The operationalization of the education variable has varied among
these studies. In their study on public opinion and state policy liberalism Wright, Erikson and McIver (1987) utilize an education measure of the percentage of the population 25 years and older who are high school graduates. This measure had a positive but non-significant impact on liberalism in public opinion. Sharkansky and Hofferbert (1969) utilize a measure of median school years completed as an independent variable in their factor analysis of state policy variables. The authors identified a positive link between education and welfare leading them to theorize that high levels of educational attainment may provide an impetus to governmental policy makers to provide higher levels of welfare and educational services. Fry and Winters (1970), measuring education as median number of years completed, theorized a positive impact on redistributive policies but the analysis failed to support the theory.

Education is measured in this study as the proportion of the population twenty-five years of age and older who have completed four years of high school. The theoretical relationship between education and welfare policies suggested in previous studies has been that higher educational attainment should produce higher levels of welfare services. This direction is based on the assumption that the more educated the populace the more willing it is to support redistributive policies. This assumption is valid but I believe that previous researchers have not acknowledged that higher levels of education should also reduce the demand for welfare services. In fact, the non-significance of the education variable in some studies may be attributed to this factor.

In this study I offer the theory that education levels will impact positively on welfare policies but I caution that education is also a negative factor in the total relationship. The proportion of the population completing four years of high school may be a measure of the ability of a state's population to secure gainful employment and negate the need for welfare services. The more educated a populace the more employable that populace. However, in deference to
previous scholars I will theorize that higher levels of education will positively impact public welfare spending in states.

There is always a temptation to include as many variables as possible in order to increase the percentage of variance explained in the regression analysis. However, it is also wise to keep the model as simple as possible and still offer a sufficient number of control variables if one is able to explain a significant percentage of the variance with such a model. This is especially important when attempting to assess the impact of a major independent variable. The major independent variable in this model is the percentage of black state legislators. The major thrust of this research is to identify the direction of influence this variable has on the dependent variable.

I have not set out to maximize the variance explained by the complete model but to do so would be beneficial and contribute more to the theoretical development of state spending theories. Should the minimal model included in this study support the hypotheses offered the model can be expanded to include additional variables in order to improve the explanatory power of the model. I believe enough control variables have been included in the model to allow me to make generalizations about the impact of the variable. This research can serve as a base model which can be expanded if the results of the analysis are in the direction of the general hypotheses. A more comprehensive model with additional variables can certainly be produced in further research.

**Hypotheses**

The central focus of this research is the impact of the black representation and empowerment variable on social welfare spending by American states. It is anticipated that black legislators will have a positive impact on social welfare spending and that this impact will increase over the time period studied. Black state legislators share a common characteristic with
all elective officeholders—reelection. A not so common characteristic of black state legislators is a homogeneous district with high support for social welfare issues. This characteristic allows and in some ways mandates that most black state legislators concentrate on welfare policies in state policy making. The ability to deliver programs and services back to their districts is then a measure of how effective they are individually and collectively. The collective efforts of black state legislators then should result in increased priorities given to social welfare measures in state legislatures. This increase in priority should be measurable as an independent impact when the contribution of other critical variables have been measured.

Coalition studies suggest that minority factions gain more strength and bargaining power as the size of the minority faction increases and as its ability to contribute a significant level of influence in the total coalition increases. As the percentage of black representation increases in state legislatures so should the ability of the black representatives to influence legislation and budgetary priorities. Nelson (1991) hypothesized that blacks in state legislatures would have a positive impact on social service spending and as blacks gain positions of influence in state chambers the influence would increase. Nelson’s data do not offer significant support for the hypothesis. It is possible that a cross-section comparative analysis may provide some evidence of the impact of influential positions but lack of a valid measure of influence allows only speculation.

A valid assumption would be that as blacks gain seniority in state legislatures they gain positions of influence, whether formal or informal. These benefits of seniority should result in increased policy influence by black state legislators. Assuming black state legislators retain their seats and do not suffer any more turnover than majority legislators we can expect the policy preferences of minority state legislators to increase in priority.
The hypothesized relationships between black representation and social welfare expenditures at the state level are as follows:

**H1**: Black representation will have a positive impact on state public welfare expenditures.

**H2**: As percentages of black legislators in a state remain stable over time the level of state public welfare expenditures will increase.

**H3**: The impact of black representation on public welfare expenditures for the period 1970-88 will be greater in southern states than in non-southern states.

The relationship theorized in Hypothesis Two may be attributable to experience and access to positions of influence by black legislators. This is offered as an explanation but is not measurable in this model.

**Hypothesis Three** is the result of the increase in black state legislators in the eleven states in the South. The eleven states of the South are presented as a region in the model distinct from non-South states. The states of the South region should predict greater levels of public welfare spending as black empowerment becomes a factor in policy priorities.

Black population is a control variable which is expected to impact significantly on social welfare spending in all states. This positive impact is based on a number of characteristics of the African-American population in the United States. Gurin, Hatchett and Jackson (1989) state that the majority of blacks of voting age support higher priorities for social welfare policies. The proportion of blacks in each state should then influence social welfare policies. African-Americans are disproportionately represented in the lower-income group in the United States. The demand for social welfare services by African-Americans should result in higher levels of public welfare expenditures in states with higher proportions of black population.

**H4**: The greater the black population proportion the greater the level of social welfare spending in all states.
Urban areas create demands for social services more than rural areas. Dense population patterns require more in the area of health care, employment development, housing needs, criminal justice needs, etc. Residents in urban areas also tend to be more supportive of social welfare policies and the need for expenditures in that policy area. Urbanization is expected to have a positive impact on social welfare spending within the state.

**H5:** The higher the percentage of the population living in urban areas the greater the level of social welfare spending.

Political culture is included in the model in an effort to test the significance of culture in the level of state social welfare spending. States with a moralistic, individualistic, or moralistic-individualistic cultures should be more receptive to demands for social welfare spending. States with a traditionalistic culture should be least receptive to demands for social welfare spending. The political culture variable is measured on a scale of 1 to 6 with traditionalistic states receiving the lowest ranking and moralistic states receiving the highest ranking. Using this ranking method it is expected that as the political culture measure increases in value so will the level of public welfare expenditures.

**H6:** States with individualistic and moralistic political cultures will exhibit higher levels of public welfare expenditures than traditionalistic states.

Black legislators in states with moralistic and individualistic cultures should be more effective because there should be greater opportunity to forge coalitions with majority state legislators more receptive to social welfare demands. Moralistic states would theoretically produce legislators more willing to accept the state as a vehicle for providing basic citizen needs. Individualistic states should produce legislators more willing to form coalitions with black
legislators in order to gain support for other policy priorities. Traditionalistic states would offer the least attractive environment for public welfare expenditures.

The number of government employees has been shown in previous research to be a significant influence on government spending. Government employees are basically active interest groups with high levels of electoral participation. States with greater proportions of state employees in the public welfare area should experience higher levels of public welfare expenditures as those employees influence budgetary decisions.

**H7:** The higher the proportion of state employees in the public welfare area the higher the level of social welfare spending.

Income is a control variable which has been reported to have a positive correlation with social welfare spending. A higher level of personal income in a state has produced high levels of social welfare spending. This relationship is theorized to be a factor of the increased willingness of citizens to support social welfare spending when personal income is high and the increased ability of the state to generate revenues to support social welfare expenditures.

**H8:** The higher the personal income of a state the higher the level of social welfare spending.

Education is a measure of the socioeconomic development of a state. High educational levels could be indicative of social and economic advancements and lower demands for social welfare spending. However, previous studies have shown a positive impact of education on public welfare expenditures. This positive direction is expected to occur in this model.

**H9:** The higher the proportion of the population completing four years of high school the greater the percentage of state funds spent on social welfare needs.
Unemployment is theorized to impact positively on public welfare expenditures. The significance of the unemployment variable should be greater in state policy analysis than national analysis. Unemployment demands more immediate reaction in the individual states than on the national level. State legislators are limited in their ability to reduce the unemployment rate but they can be called upon to provide assistance to those citizens affected by high unemployment levels. Unemployment is also an economic variable which measures industrialization and economic development. It is hypothesized that this variable will be significant in the state expenditure model.

H10: The annual unemployment rate in a state will positively impact public welfare expenditures.

Region is hypothesized to be significant in the model as the South is expected to have a positive relationship on the dependent variable. It is anticipated that the region dummy variable will demonstrate that there is a significant difference between the South and non-South states on public welfare expenditures.

H11: South states and non-South states will experience significantly different levels of public welfare expenditures.

Method of Analysis

The years for which data will be compiled are 1970-88. In order to quantitatively assess the influences of the independent variables on the dependent variable as those influences have progressed during that time period it will be necessary to employ a pooled data time series regression model.

The option of a pooled data set is preferable to the alternative of conducting separate cross-sectional analyses. The pooled data analysis provides the opportunity to assess the variation
in the model over the time period studied. This study is based on the hypothesis that variation
in the dependent variable, state public welfare expenditures, is a factor of time and pooled data
sets allow the measure of this variation as well as the measure of variation between cases
(cross-sectionally). The hypotheses presented in this research offers that the impact of black
representation on public welfare spending does vary between states (cases) and across time. The
theoretical foundation of the research drives one to pooled data time series models. This
technique has been used in previous studies of comparative state expenditures and comparative
municipal studies (Garand, Monroe and Meyer 1991; Mladenka and Kerr 1990).

The use of pooled data set analyses increases the possibility of violating two ordinary
least squares assumptions. The possibility of heteroscedasticity and autocorrelation contaminating
the regression coefficients must be considered. Autocorrelation exists if the disturbance terms
of different observations are correlated or do not equal zero. Heteroscedasticity exists when the
variances of the distribution of the fixed values of the independent variables are not equal.
Autocorrelation and heteroscedasticity violates the assumptions of autoregressiveness and
homoscedasticity in ordinary least squares regression. The existence of heteroscedasticity and
autocorrelation in regression analysis may result in biased coefficients which appear more precise
than is the actual case and which are not minimum-variance estimates (Johnson, Johnson and Buse
1987). These violations can be overcome and the pooled data regression model can be considered
to be unbiased (Ostrom 1978; Johnson, Johnson and Buse 1987).

The initial ordinary least squares regression results indicated the existence of
autocorrelation. The Durbin-Watson value for autocorrelation was calculated in the initial
comprehensive regression model and a value of .282 indicating a first order correlation of .859
was found. This necessitated the need to adjust the method of analysis in order to compensate
for autocorrelation and heteroscedasticity.
A Generalized Least Squares (GLS) regression procedure is used in which the variables are transformed by the procedure described in Kmenta (1971, 512, eq. 12.32). This transformation adjusts the values of the observations and results in a non-autoregressive and non-heteroscedastic model. The regression coefficients are then analyzed for their fit to the model.

The comprehensive regression model presented earlier is the primary tool of analysis. This model is the basis for accepting or rejecting the hypothesized relationships between the measured variables. The significance of the coefficients in the regression model serves as the foundation for the conclusions and any generalizations that can be offered.

The region variable allows the most critical component of the analysis. The dummy region variable provides the ability to determine whether there is any difference between regions. The large increase of black state elected officials in the South mandates the isolation of the South from other states in an effort to assess the impact of the increase of black elected officials. It is in the South that the homogeneity of the majority black districts support the argument that the expectations of the black electorate are public welfare related. It is in the South that one can accurately assess the ability of black elected officials to deliver to their constituents the resources they expect from state government. This is accomplished in the model through the use of an interactive variable. The variables of region and black representation are utilized to create an interactive variable which then allows the assessment of the impact of black representation in the South.
CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS

The pooled data generalized least squares regression produces a bivariate equation with the following coefficients:

\[ Y_i = a + bX_i + e_i \]
\[ PW = a + bBR + e \]
\[ PW = .110 + .026 (BR) + e \]
\[ R^2 = .248 \]

The bivariate model produces a positive coefficient for black representation (BR). The standard error of the black representation coefficient is .047 and the probability value is .290. The effect of the black representation variable on state public welfare expenditures is in the hypothesized direction but it is non-significant. The R^2 of the model is .248 which I contend is strong for a bivariate model. It suggests that the black representation variable is a critical explanatory variable in the measure of state public welfare expenditures.

The value of a comprehensive multivariate model as compared to the simple bivariate model lies in its ability to increase the model's explanatory capability. My design expanded the model by introducing additional socioeconomic variables which are theorized to have a significant impact on public welfare expenditures in state legislatures. These variables were introduced and a generalized least squares regression model using pooled data was developed.

The results of the pooled data analysis do not indicate support for all of the hypotheses presented but do offer support for the primary hypothesis concerning the impact of black representation on public welfare expenditures. The regression coefficients for the comprehensive
model for the United States are presented in Table 1. The $R^2$ for the model is .363 which is not as large as one would hope for but which indicates that the model does explain over a third of the variance in the dependent variable. It appears that the model would be improved with the inclusion of additional independent variables. The results suggest that the inclusion of political variables should increase the amount of variance explained by the model. This argument will be expounded upon in the final section of the paper in which I present the implications of the research and suggestions for future research.

In the comprehensive model for the fifty states three of the nine independent variables are significant in the hypothesized direction. Urbanization, black population and state welfare employees perform as hypothesized. Urbanization is the most significant of the independent variables. Unemployment, with a negative coefficient of .0006, performs in the opposite direction of my hypothesis.

The primary independent variable, black representation, performs in the hypothesized direction and is a strong predictor of public welfare expenditures. The coefficient of .071 is the strongest of the independent variables. The variable contributes more to the equation than any of the other variables. The probability value is .076 which is nearly significant enough to reject the null hypothesis. The level of impact suggests that black representation is an important factor in the public welfare expenditures of the American states. It would not be unwise to conclude that as the level of black representation increases in future years the impact of the black representation variable should approach significance.

The urbanization variable performs extremely strong. This is as theorized. Most public demand for supportive services exists in urban areas where there is not a strong non-governmental system of support. This strong association is not unexpected although the level of significance is stronger than anticipated.
Table 1. The Impact of Black Representation and Socioeconomic Variables on Public Welfare Expenditures in the United States®

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
<th>Standardized</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONSTANT</td>
<td>.104 (.018)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLK LEG</td>
<td>.071 (.049)</td>
<td>.055</td>
<td>.076</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGION</td>
<td>.0009 (.008)</td>
<td>.008</td>
<td>.457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLK POP</td>
<td>.023 (.014)</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>.046*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN</td>
<td>.048 (.009)</td>
<td>.164</td>
<td>.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POL CULT</td>
<td>.002 (.002)</td>
<td>.822</td>
<td>.131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELF EMP</td>
<td>.29 (.101)</td>
<td>.061</td>
<td>.002*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCOME</td>
<td>-.0006 (.0007)</td>
<td>-.049</td>
<td>.210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEMPL</td>
<td>-.0006 (.0003)</td>
<td>-.029</td>
<td>.023*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUC</td>
<td>-.046 (.003)</td>
<td>-.102</td>
<td>.085</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R²=.363
df=940
®Standard error in parenthesis.
The state welfare employees variable is also significant (p = .002) and in the hypothesized direction. This variable is a lagged variable measured at t-1. The significance of this variable lends support to incrementalism in state budgeting and also indicates the effectiveness of the employees as a critical voting force in the considerations of the legislators.

Two variables, unemployment and education, produce coefficients in the opposite direction of that hypothesized. This is not surprising and not altogether unexpected. Previous research has hypothesized that education should impact positively on public welfare expenditures under the assumption that a more educated populace would support higher levels of public welfare expenditures. This assumption was taken into consideration when developing the hypotheses. I also stated that it is conceivable that education could theoretically have a negative impact on public welfare expenditures. This alternative theory rests on the assumption that the more educated a populace the less demand it places on the state for supportive services. It appears that the results of the regression model would lend support to the alternative theory. The education coefficient, -.046 with a probability value of .085, approaches significance and is counter to accepted theory.

Unemployment was not theorized to produce a negative coefficient. It was anticipated that the higher the level of unemployment the greater the demand for supportive services provided in public welfare expenditures. An explanation for the behavior of the unemployment variable may rest in the influence of unemployment compensation benefits. Increases in unemployment levels are usually indicative of industry fluctuations which produce manpower layoffs. Most individuals affected by this type of action receive unemployment compensation benefits which offset the demand for public welfare services. In future research, this variable could be refined in terms of its operationalization in order to more accurately determine its impact on public welfare expenditures.
Income also performs in the opposite direction than that hypothesized but it appears that income shares a possible common theory with the education variable. These findings provide support for a change in accepted theory. Again, a higher income level is indicative of a healthy economy which in turn reduces the demand for supportive services. Although this variable is not significant it does offer evidence for a change in theory.

Region and political culture perform in the theorized direction but are not significant. The non-significance of the region variable indicates that there is not a significant difference between the eleven states of the South and the other non-South states in public welfare expenditures. The political culture measure indicates that the political culture of a state does result in a difference in public welfare expenditures but not significantly.

Table 2 reports the results of a regression model which includes all socioeconomic variables in the first model but which excludes the black representation variable. This model is constructed to observe the difference in the ability of the independent variables to explain the variance in the dependent variable without the black representation variable. When the $R^2$ of the two models are compared the model without the black representation variable is almost equal to the model with the black representation variable and actually improves the $R^2$ by .005 points. All of the independent variables in model two perform as they did in model one and the levels of significance are practically identical. Black population, urbanization, state welfare employees and unemployment retain a level of significance. The coefficient estimates of all the variables except the region variable are almost identical in each of the two models.

The coefficient of the region variable increases in the second model to .0026 from .0009 in the first model. The probability value is improved for the region variable in the second model to .374 from .457 in the first model. The region variable is still non-significant but its contribution to the explanatory power of the model increases when the black representation
Table 2. The Impact of Socioeconomic Variables on Public Welfare Expenditures in the United States®

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
<th>Standardized</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONSTANT</td>
<td>.105</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGION</td>
<td>.0026</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>.374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLK POP</td>
<td>.023</td>
<td>.054</td>
<td>.039*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>.172</td>
<td>.000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POL CULT</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.064</td>
<td>.192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELF EMP</td>
<td>.295</td>
<td>.064</td>
<td>.002*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCOME</td>
<td>-.0004</td>
<td>-.037</td>
<td>.274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEMPL</td>
<td>-.0006</td>
<td>-.027</td>
<td>.028*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUC</td>
<td>-.046</td>
<td>-.104</td>
<td>.082</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R²=.368  
df=941
®Standard error in parenthesis.
variable is deleted from the model. The standard errors also remain the same for all of the variables in both models. The model with the black representation variable does not result in the increased probability of rejection of the null hypothesis for the other variables in the model when compared to the model excluding the black representation model. This supports an assumption that black representation is a relevant variable even if it does not increase the total explanatory power of the model to any measurable degree (see Johnson, Johnson and Buse 1987). It has not biased the coefficients and probability values of the remaining independent variables. Since the primary theory of this research is based on the black representation variable it is necessary and indeed valid that the variable be included in the model for the purpose of testing the hypotheses offered in Chapter 4.

The results of regression models one and two leads to an assumption that there is an interactive relationship between black representation and region. This relationship was specified in the presentation of the theoretical assumptions developed in this research. These theoretical assumptions lead to the final regression model which includes a variable which represents the interaction between region and black representation. The interactive variable is created by the formula: \( \text{region} \times \% \text{black legislators} \). This new variable, REGBLACK, is then used to determine the impact of black representation and region on public welfare expenditures in the South and non-South states.

The results of the third regression model are presented in Table 3. This regression model serves as the model from which generalizations can be made regarding the contribution of this research to the paradigm of black political representation and state public welfare spending.

The results of the comprehensive regression model presented in Table 3 indicate significant differences from the first two regressions. The difference occurs in which independent variables produce significant coefficients. The R^2 increases to .379 from .368 in the second
Table 3. The Impact of Black Representation and Socioeconomic Variables on Public Welfare Expenditures with Black Representation and South Interaction®

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Estimate</th>
<th>Standardized</th>
<th>P</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONSTANT</td>
<td>.093 (.018)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLK LEG</td>
<td>.276 (.074)</td>
<td>.214</td>
<td>.0001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGBLK(I)</td>
<td>-.355 (.095)</td>
<td>-.243</td>
<td>.0001*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGION</td>
<td>.017 (.009)</td>
<td>.150</td>
<td>.028*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLK POP</td>
<td>.020 (.014)</td>
<td>.044</td>
<td>.081</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN</td>
<td>.043 (.009)</td>
<td>.147</td>
<td>.0000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POL CULT</td>
<td>.003 (.002)</td>
<td>.100</td>
<td>.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELF EMP</td>
<td>.278 (.100)</td>
<td>.061</td>
<td>.002*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCOME</td>
<td>-.0008 (.0007)</td>
<td>-.070</td>
<td>.125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEMPL</td>
<td>-.0006 (.0003)</td>
<td>-.028</td>
<td>.029*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUC</td>
<td>-.032 (.032)</td>
<td>-.071</td>
<td>.167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R² = .379
df = 939
®Standard error in parenthesis.
regression and .363 in the first regression. It appears that the inclusion of the interaction variable does not dramatically improve the explanatory ability of the model but it does alter the contributions of the independent variables to the regression equation.

Black representation is now an independent variable with a high level of significance (.0001). The black representation coefficient of .276 indicates that for every one percentage point increase in black representation state public welfare expenditures can be predicted to increase by .27 of one percent. The region variable and the region*black representation interactive variable now have significant coefficients. The interactive variable has a negative coefficient which indicates that black representation in the South is less effective than black representation in the non-South. The size of the interactive variable results in the actual impact of black representation in the South being negative. The significance of the region variable supports the difference in the two regions as being a significant difference.

Other variables which are significant are urbanization, state welfare employees and unemployment. The black population variable approaches significance as does the political culture variable. Per capita income and education are much less significant. All variables in the model show some strength in their contribution to the explanatory capability of the model. The fact that the $R^2$ is somewhat low indicates that additional variables probably need to be included in the model to increase its explanatory capability. This expansion of the model will be addressed at a later point in this paper.

**Black Representation and Region**

The first hypothesis (H1) theorized that black representation would have a positive impact on state public welfare expenditures. Black representation is operationalized in this research as the percent of blacks holding seats in the state legislature. The variable, BLK LEG, represents this variable. The coefficient for this variable is .276 and the level of probability is .0001.
These results indicate that black representation does indeed have a positive impact on state public welfare expenditures and this impact is significant. The null hypothesis is rejected and H1 is supported by the results of the regression model.

The pooled data time series analysis allows the researcher to theorize that the relationship between black representation and state public welfare expenditures is a significant relationship which is a factor of time, a longitudinal relationship, as well as a cross-sectional relationship. This allows me to conclude that the influence of black state legislators has occurred consistently in the years 1970 to 1988. As the percentage of black state legislators, the measure of black representation, has increased during that time period the impact of black representation on state public welfare expenditures has been positive and significant. A critical component of the theory espoused in this research is valid and supported by the results of the regression model. The impact of black empowerment at the state level on state public welfare expenditures is significant.

The second hypothesis (H2) proposes that as the percentages of black legislators in a state remain stable over time the level of state public welfare expenditures will increase. I state that this hypothesis is presented but the model developed does not offer a means of testing that hypothesis. In observing the percentage of black legislators as depicted in Figure 1 it illustrates that black representation does not increase steadily. Percentages remain stable over a period of years. If we assume that turnover among black state legislators is similar to that of white legislators we can further assume that black legislators gain experience and access to positions of influence. This increase in leadership and experience should result in increases in influence (Nelson 1991). There is no reason to reject this assumption on the basis of the results of this research, but there is also no basis on which to accept the hypothesis.

The primary focus of this research is centered on the increase in black representation in eleven southern states since 1970. It is theorized that this increase in black representation should
result in a greater impact on state public welfare expenditures in the South because state legislatures in the South have experienced greater percentages of black legislators and therefore greater levels of black representation or black empowerment. Hypothesis Three (H3) states that the impact of black representation on public welfare expenditures for the period 1970-88 will be greater in southern states than in non-southern states. This hypothesis is tested in the regression model through the relationship between three variables: % black legislators, region and region * % black legislators.

The region variable is a dummy variable. States in the South are coded 1 and non-South states coded 0. The coefficient of the region variable, reported in Table 3, is .017 with a probability (p) value of .028. The p value indicates that there is a significant difference between the South and the non-South states. The positive value of the region variable's coefficient indicates that states in the South during the period 1970 through 1988, when controlling for the other variables in the model, had a greater impact on public welfare expenditures than the states outside the South. This finding is consistent with the theoretical assertions I have made about the South. However, my theory is expanded to contend that black empowerment would have greater impact in the South than in non-southern states. This implies that public welfare expenditures in the South is a factor of increased black representation. There is an interactive effect between region and black representation. To test this hypothesis it was necessary to create a new variable. This variable is found in Table 3 as REGBLK (I).

The interaction variable produces a coefficient of -.355 with a p value of .0001. I conclude the impact of black representation in the South is significantly different from that outside the South. However, the negative value of the coefficient is in the opposite direction from that theorized. The results indicate that black representation in the South has a lower impact on state public welfare expenditures than black representation in non-South states and in fact when the
coefficients are inserted into the equation black representation in the South has a negative impact on public welfare expenditures.

An abbreviated equation which illustrates the relationship in the South is:

\[
Y = b_0 + b_1X_1 + b_2X_2
\]

\(Y\) = Public Welfare Expenditures  
\(b_0\) = intercept  
\(X_1\) = Percent Black Legislators  
\(X_2\) = Region * % Black Legislators

Thus:

\[Y = .093 + (.276) \text{ (Percent Black Legislators)} + (-.355) \text{ (Region * % Black Legislators)}\]

\[= .093 + (.276) \text{ (% Black Leg)} - (.355) \text{ (% Black Leg)}\]

\[= .093 - .079 \text{ (% Black Leg)}\]

The significance of the interaction variable requires that the null hypothesis not be rejected and therefore H3 is rejected. The data lend support to an argument that even as the level of black representation has increased more in the South as opposed to the non-South that increased level of black empowerment has not resulted in a greater impact on public welfare expenditures.

This finding suggests that black representation in the South has not produced the benefits in terms of increased public welfare expenditures as theorized. In fact, the findings suggest that the increased level of black representation has a negative impact on public welfare expenditures. The findings fly in the face of conventional thought. The reasons for this relationship can only be assumed but there is theoretical, if not empirical, support for this relationship.

Combs, Hibbing and Welch (1984) considered the level of black population needed to influence representation. They concluded that population levels between 15 percent and 45 percent polarized districts. It may be theorized that increased black representation in state
legislatures has polarized the legislature and resulted in increased conservatism in state legislatures in the South. Research by Swain (1989) also lends some support to this theory. The contention is that creating more black majority districts result in more conservative white majority districts.

Another explanation may rest in practical politics. The question becomes at what point does minority representation begin to influence legislative decision making. Although blacks in state legislatures in the South have increased in recent years they have not reached a level of strong influence. One may argue that underrepresentation hampers black legislative effectiveness but even proportionate black representation would not result in significant levels of black representation. The critical factor is legislative coalitions. The ability of black legislators to form effective coalitions may be the key to increased effectiveness.

Natural allies for black legislators are other minorities, or white legislators with minority constituencies. Black majority districts reduce the number of white legislators with significant minority constituencies. There are few other minorities in the South which would have a presence in the legislature. Black legislators in the South may have to rely on women or urban legislators as allies in coalitions. Urban legislators are the most likely prospects.

The influence of black legislators should increase as numbers increase. The 1991-92 redistricting and reapportionment process is likely to result in more black legislators. Influence then should increase in the future and the performance of the black representation variable in the South may begin to reverse itself.

The first few hypotheses offered in this analysis are the foundation of this research. The conclusion is offered that black empowerment has made a significant impact on public welfare expenditures in the United States in the period 1970 through 1988 but the dramatic increase in black empowerment in the South has not resulted in that level of black empowerment exercising
a greater impact on state public welfare expenditures than in non-South states. An analysis of
the remaining variables in the model and the remaining hypotheses provides an opportunity for
an explanation of this finding.

Black Population

The coefficient estimate for the black population variable is in the hypothesized direction
as stated in Hypothesis Four (H4). Black population has a positive impact on public welfare
expenditures in American states. However, the p value for this variable is not at a level
significant enough to accept the hypothesis. The p value of .074 approaches significance and it
appears that there is a strong impact on state public welfare expenditures by the black population
variable. The performance of this variable is not unexpected. Although non-significant it lends
support to the argument that the black population supports greater welfare expenditures and the
secondary argument that the size of the black population may impact on the demand for state
public welfare expenditures. The first argument is supported by the findings of Gurin, Hatchett
and Jackson (1989) and the second argument is supported by the findings of Sanders and Bensel
(1991). Of course, regression analysis does not allow one to specify the cause of the relationship
of an independent variable to the dependent variable but I am confident of the statement that the
impact of the black population variable can be attributed to the two stated factors.

Urbanization

Increases in urbanization are theorized to produce increases in public welfare expenditures
(H5). The model produces a coefficient of .043 with a p value of .000. This finding does not
contradict any research on the impact of urbanization. Urban areas create high demands for
supportive services, including public welfare expenditures. This finding reaffirms the accepted
relationship between urbanization and public welfare expenditures.
Political Culture

The political culture variable performs in the hypothesized direction but is not a significant variable. Hypothesis Six (H6) theorized that as states approached a ranking on the political culture measure of a totally moralistic political culture the level of state public welfare expenditures would increase. The regression results support this contention and the probability value approaches significance at .078. The political culture variable is a strong variable in the equation and should be considered for inclusion in any model attempting to explain state expenditures which may be influenced by the political attitudes of a state. This is the case with public welfare expenditures. It is a policy measure for which public support and tolerance is a factor of norms and mores. Political culture serves the purpose of measuring that factor.

The results then do not allow the acceptance of H5. But the strength of the variable in that it approaches significance demands that it be considered a contributing component of the model.

Government Employees

This variable is a lagged variable (t-1) which attempts to measure the influence of the previous years level of state public welfare employees on state public welfare expenditures. The basis for the relationship hypothesized in the model is incrementalism (Wildavsky 1964) and bureau voting (Garand, Parkhurst and Seoud, 1991). The contribution to the model by this variable is significant (.002) and in the direction hypothesized. The coefficient of .278 contributes to the model at the same level as the black representation. Hypothesis Seven (H7) is accepted. The model supports the theory that the higher the level of state employees in the public welfare area the higher the level of public welfare spending.
Income

Income has more often been theorized to have a positive impact on social welfare spending. Hypothesis Eight (H8) states that the higher the personal income of a state the higher the level of social welfare spending. The results of the regression equation as presented in Table 3 do not support that hypothesis. The variable performs in the opposite direction than that hypothesized. The per capita income coefficient is -.0008 with a p value of .125. Although the contribution of the per capita income variable is not significant it indicates that this variable actually performs in the opposite direction from mine and most hypotheses.

It has been offered that a positive relationship between income and welfare spending is a factor of the higher level of revenue generated to the state by high levels of income and the willingness of those individuals enjoying the benefits of that income to share the resources of the state. This research contradicts that assumption. H8 is therefore rejected and I offer this assumption as a contributing factor in its demonstrated direction: the higher the income level the lower the demand for social welfare services. A high level of per capita income is indicative of a healthy economy. A healthy economy is able to provide for its citizens through the private market economy. It appears that the performance of the income variable in this model lends support to a hypothesis based on that assumption. I would anticipate that in future research the income variable would continue to perform in the direction it does in this model.

Education

The education variable is hypothesized to have a positive impact on social welfare spending in American states (H9). The accepted assumption is that a higher educated populace would be more supportive of public welfare expenditures. The results of this model do not support the hypothesis offered. Education produces a negative coefficient of -.032 with a p value of .167. It is not a significant factor but it does perform strongly in the opposite direction from
that hypothesized. As with income there appears to be a common element of comparison with these variables' impact on social welfare spending. The more educated a populace is the less demand there is for public welfare services. Education prepares one for employment and employment negates the need for social welfare services. It is this observation that I made in Chapter 4 when I stated that it is very possible that the education variable could contribute negatively to the regression equation. H9 is rejected. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected.

Unemployment

Hypothesis Ten (H10) states that the annual unemployment rate in a state will positively impact public welfare expenditures. The variable was included in the model as a measure of demand for supportive services. The assumption is that the unemployed will demand services from the state which will appear in the state expenditures as public welfare expenditures. The unemployment variable does not perform as hypothesized but its contribution to the regression equation is significant. The unemployment variable produces a coefficient of -0.0006 with a p value of 0.029. The variable performs in the opposite direction than that hypothesized. Unemployment has a negative impact on state public welfare expenditures. The higher the level of unemployment the lower the level of state public welfare expenditures. The significance of the relationship leads to the rejection of H10.

The performance of the unemployment variable in the equation is surprising. There are a number of factors which may explain the behavior of the variable. The unemployment variable in the equation was not lagged. The unemployment figures used were for the same year of the observation. The assumption was that states would respond quicker to levels of unemployment. A lagged variable may present a different relationship. Since same year measures were utilized it may be argued that a significant number of those unemployed would not create a demand for supportive services from the public welfare agencies because of the availability of insured funds.
such as unemployment compensation, severance pay and worker’s compensation. This would lower the demand for public welfare expenditures. Another factor may be that the unemployed may be willing to use personal reserve funds in anticipation of reemployment. These factors would diminish with length of unemployment so the use of a lagged unemployment variable in future research may be advisable.

Region

The region variable, although mentioned earlier in this chapter as an interactive variable with black representation, is also a variable which should have a separate effect on state public welfare expenditures. The distinction in region in this research applies to states in the South as opposed to states outside the South. The variable is a dummy variable and H11 states simply that South states and non-South states will experience significantly different levels of public welfare expenditures. The coefficient of the region variable, as reported in Table 3, is .017 with a p value of .028. The positive value of the coefficient predicts that states in the South will experience higher levels of public welfare expenditures than states outside the South. The difference between the states is statistically significant. The null hypothesis is rejected and H11 is accepted.

The performance of the region variable is counter to that of the performance of the interactive variable. The model presents evidence that states in the South region spend a higher percentage of their overall expenditures on public welfare than non-South states. Yet, when region is combined with black representation in an interactive measure the South performs at a lower level than the non-South states. It may be implied that black legislators, even though larger in number in the South, are less effective in the South than black legislators outside the South. It may be argued that black legislators in the South may not yet have attained the level of seniority and expertise in legislative strategies as have their counterparts outside the South. This
finding offers the researcher an opportunity to further investigate this and other possible explanations for the performance of this variable.

**Generalizations**

The equation for the comprehensive model presented in Chapter 4 was:

\[ PW = B_0 + B_1 BR + B_2 R + B_3 BP + B_4 URB + B_5 PC + B_6 EE + B_7 INC + B_8 ED + B_9 UE + e \]

The regression equation is now specified as:

\[ PW = 0.093 + 0.276 (BR) - 0.355 (RB) + 0.017 (R) + 0.020 (BP) + 0.043 (URB) + 0.003 (PC) + 0.278 (EE) - 0.0008 (INC) - 0.032 (ED) - 0.0006 (UE) + e \]

PW = Percent Public Welfare Expenditures  
BR = Percent Black Representation in Legislature  
RB = Region * Black Representation Interaction  
R = Region  
BP = Percent of Blacks in Population  
URB = Percent of Population in Urban Areas  
PC = Political Culture  
EE = Percent of State Employees in Public Welfare  
INC = Per Capita Income  
ED = Percent Population Completing 4 Years High School  
UE = Percent Unemployment in State

This pooled data time series model allows me to offer generalizations based on the performance of the variables in the regression equation above. This model attempted to explain variations in the level of state expenditures dedicated to public welfare services by the fifty states. It further attempted to explain difference between eleven states in the South and the remaining states outside that region. The major thrust of the model was to measure the impact of black representation on those level of expenditures and on the difference between the regions. In order to do this control variables were introduced which were theorized to effect the level of public
welfare expenditures in the states. All of these control variables were socioeconomic variables. The sole political variable in the model was black representation.

The black representation variable is an important measure of the effectiveness of the increased level of black legislators in this country and particularly in the South since 1970. Few studies have attempted to assess the impact of black representation at the state level and no study has attempted a time series analysis of this relatively recent phenomenon. The time series model presents an advantage over cross-sectional analysis because it measures the impact of the variable as a longitudinal effect.

Black representation does impact public welfare expenditures at the state level. The increase in the number of black state legislators in the United States has meant that in the period 1970 through 1988 those black legislators have contributed to an increase in the percentage of state funds dedicated to public welfare services.

The paradox in this research is that black representation is not a positive factor in state public welfare expenditures in the region that has experienced the greatest growth of black representation in state legislators--the South. There is a difference between the regions but the South, which would be expected to exhibit greater effect from black representation, in fact exhibits a negative effect from black representation.

What is it about the South that produces this effect? One may speculate that coalition building is a factor. Black state legislators in the South lack natural allies such as other minorities or large urban constituencies. The inability to forge strong coalitions probably weakens the strength of the black legislator in the South. The impact of this factor should diminish as blacks gain more numbers and as they gain expertise in legislative strategy. This argument leads one to the conclusion that additional political variables must be included in this
model for future research in an attempt to seek an empirical explanation for the difference in performance of the black representation variable.

The performance of the remaining socioeconomic variables in the model provides support for a rejection of some currently accepted theoretical assumptions about the contribution of these variables to state welfare expenditures. The model also establishes support for other variables in the theoretical direction specified in previous research.

Education and income perform in this model in a direction counter to previous theoretical assertions. These two variables, strong but non-significant, contribute negative coefficients to the equation. The strength of these variables indicate that these two variables should measure demand factors rather than attitude factors. Previous researchers (Sharkansky and Hofferbert 1969; Fry and Winters 1970) have used these measures as a measure of the population's attitude toward government spending. The measures have not exhibited significant findings but they have been in the positive direction as theorized. I believe this research offers support of these variables as demand factors in state spending. Higher levels of income and education reduce the demand for state spending in certain policy areas such as welfare services.

The black population variable was expected to be a positive contributor to the equation. The variable should be a measure of support for welfare services in the population as well as a demand variable. This variable functions in the same manner as urbanization. Urbanization is a demand variable in that increased levels in urban populations created demands for supportive services. The urbanization variable is the most significant variable in the equation. One reason for this significance may be the high level of urbanization in each state. Nationwide more than seventy-five percent of the population resides in urban areas. It would be very difficult for this variable not to be significant.
Political culture is not a significant variable in the equation but the strength of the measure serves to validate the inclusion of political culture in subsequent models. This variable can serve as a measure of public opinion and institutional support of policy direction. This variable may be a more accurate description of the political institutions in a state rather than its populace. Mobility can affect the political culture of the populace but institutions maintain the tradition of the community (Lowery and Sigelman 1982).

The strength of the state welfare employees variable supports the theory of incrementalism and the more recent development of a theory of bureau voting. It becomes obvious that the bureaucracy, either as a whole or specific departments can impact state policies and expenditures. They are a major actor in the policy process.

Unemployment is a significant variable but its coefficient is small which indicates that its negative impact on the public welfare expenditures is not major. This variable may be open to respecification even though it is significant. A lagged measure may produce greater coefficients while maintaining significance.

Table 4 presents the distribution of values for the variables of the model. The continuous variables demonstrate reasonable distributions which allow for proper regression analysis. There appears to be no compaction of values.

The overall performance of the model is encouraging. The intent of the research was to find support for the hypothesis that black representation is a significant factor in state expenditure analysis, policy analysis and representation theory. I submit that it has accomplished this objective.
Table 4. Distribution of Values for Model Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PWELEXP</td>
<td>.042</td>
<td>.285</td>
<td>.133</td>
<td>.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLEGBLAK</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.171</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGION (DUMMY)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.22</td>
<td>.414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBLACK</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.367</td>
<td>.09</td>
<td>.108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURBAN</td>
<td>.190</td>
<td>.960</td>
<td>.657</td>
<td>.162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLCULT</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>3.64</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNEMPLOY</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>2.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDUC</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>.873</td>
<td>.650</td>
<td>.106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERCAP</td>
<td>2.61</td>
<td>23.19</td>
<td>8.77</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAGPWELF</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td>.077</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGBLACK</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>.171</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>.032</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PWELEXP = Percent Welfare Expenditures
PLEGBLAK = Percent of Blacks in Legislature
REGION = South = 1; Non-South = 0
PBLACK = Percent Black in State Population
PURBAN = Percent of State Population in Urban Area
POLCULT = Political Culture Ranking; 1-6
UNEMPLOY = Percent Unemployment in State
EDUC = Percent Residents Completing 4 Years of High School
PERCAP = Per Capita Income in State
LAGPWELF = Percent of State Employees in Welfare Sector
REGBLACK = Interaction Between Region and PLEGBLAK

* Multiply by 100 for actual percent.
* Multiply by 1000 for actual value.
* Multiply by 100 for actual value.
CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this research as stated in the introduction was to assess the impact of the increased black representation in state legislatures since 1970 on public welfare expenditures. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 has been and continues to be the major catalyst in the attempt by African-Americans to gain equal or proportional representation in the political institutions of this country. The early years of the struggle for representation focused on symbolic representation. The objective for African-Americans was to gain access to the political decision-making bodies at all levels of government. The primary concern of the black electorate was the election of blacks as a symbol of newly gained political power. This increase in black elected officials occurred mainly at the local and state level. As stated in Chapter 1 although blacks are still underrepresented in proportion to their size in the national population they are approaching proportional representation in some states and municipalities. The focus then must shift to the effectiveness of these black elected officials. The black electorate is now evaluating the ability of black elected officials to meet the expectations of the communities they represent. Policy issues salient to the black community must be investigated in context of the rise in the level of black representation. Black representation has progressed from symbolic representation to policy responsiveness.

This research has taken a single policy issue, public welfare and attempted to assess the impact of black representation on that measure. I have attempted to determine the policy responsiveness of black representation to public welfare policies. It is my conclusion that black representation does have a positive impact on state public welfare expenditures but I have found that black representation in the South has a negative impact on public welfare expenditures.
The reason for this difference between the regions can be many and should be the focus for further research in this specific policy area and in the development of a paradigm of black representation. The South can be assumed to have experienced an increase in black elected officials but not a change in the total responsiveness of the state legislative bodies to issues salient to the black community.

The increase in black elected officials in the South has been the result of the creation of majority black districts. Swain (1989) and others have offered that the creation of majority black districts may result in an actual increase in the election of officeholders less receptive to the needs of the black population in the remaining districts. The findings of this research may lend some credence to this argument. The increase in black legislators has had a negative impact on public welfare expenditures in the South. Southern legislatures, while becoming more black, may also be becoming more conservative.

It is possible that this trend may reverse as the percentage of black state legislators increase to a level where its ability to forge solid coalitions increases. This possible scenario illustrates the demand for continued investigation of black representation at the state level as we attempt to determine the impact of the recent redistricting efforts which are leading to increased levels of black representation in state legislatures.

The possibility exists that the relationship of black representation to state public welfare expenditures is a non-linear relationship. Increases in black representation will not produce proportionate increases in welfare expenditures. Impact may be minimal until representation reaches an effective level. Once it reaches an effective level the impact may be proportional until impact is maximized and further increases in representation fail to produce subsequent increases in benefits. This relationship cannot be demonstrated in this study but is a consideration in future research.
As we now attempt to measure the impact of black representation in terms of responsiveness to the black community the task will be complicated by the ability of black elected officials who have gained access to political institutions from districts that are not black majority districts. The success of recent black candidates such as Douglas Wilder, David Dinkins and Mike Espy has led to the introduction of the concept "deracialization" (see Perry 1991 for a treatment of this subject). Deracialization asserts that black candidates for elective office from non-black majority districts must avoid race-specific issues. Further research of the theory of the impact of black representation may have to specify and operationalize the concept of black representation as those elected officials representing black majority districts. It appears that at a time when black representation is reaching a level that makes it available for empirical analysis it may also be undergoing a transformation which requires adjustments in previous constructs of empirical research.

Stekler and Parent (1992) offer that race remains a critical factor in electoral behavior but as blacks become more competitive in non-black districts less liberal blacks are entering the political arena. If the majority of blacks participating in the electoral process see a decline in gains participation may decline.

Implications

This research should contribute to theoretical development in two major areas, black representation and state policy responsiveness. Research in the field of black representation has primarily focused on local governments with little emphasis being placed on black representation at the state level. The more specific application of this research in the area of black representation is in the effort to identify the impact of black voter participation. Race is a major issue in the decision-making process of the American electorate (see Carmines and Stimson 1989). The thrust of the United States Department of Justice in its interpretation of the VRA is
to create more black majority districts at the state and local level in the reapportionment process of 1991. This strategy of creating majority black districts to increase black representation carries with it the implication that black representation has made an impact in policy output at the state level. Heretofore this assumption has not been empirically researched.

Numerous scholars have attempted to create predictive models of state spending and growth (see previous citations). The search for significant variables and higher R squares has led to a number of simple and complex theories. All of the research in this area has contributed to the ability of scholars to advance empirically supported theories which continue to offer critical explanations. Theoretical advancement is dynamic. The ability of one or more additional variables to improve existing theoretical models is a valuable contribution. I offer the performance of the education and income variables in this model as an opportunity for future researchers in policy analysis to rethink their theories on the performance of these variables. The performance of this model also suggests that the model be expanded to include political variables in an attempt to improve its explanatory power. Measures of party strength, legislative reform, legislative professionalism and minority leadership may significantly enhance this model.

The development of black legislative representation as a significant independent variable in state policy analysis should prove beneficial to further research in other policy areas. Minority employment growth as a function of black representation has been studied at the local level but not at the state level. This model could be used to assess its impact on a dependent variable of state minority employment. Other issues adaptable to this model include minority economic development, education and environmental issues.

Black representation is a variable which demands more analysis. Further research may focus on black representation as the dependent variable in an attempt to identify the factors other than population and electoral structure which result in increased minority representation. I am
encouraged by the results of this research and believe that continued investigation will result in major contributions to the development of a theory of black representation and the enhancement of existing theories of state policy making.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.


VITA

James L. Llorens received his B.S. in psychology at Loyola University in New Orleans, La. in 1968. After three years of military duty in the United States Army he completed a M.S. degree in urban affairs from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. A 14-year career in local government consisted of a series of political appointments for the City of Baton Rouge which included positions as director of human services and director of personnel. In 1985, he accepted a part-time appointment as a lecturer in the School of Public Policy at Southern University. In 1989, he accepted a full-time appointment in political science at Southern University while completing requirements for the Ph.D. at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, La. He is currently an assistant professor of political science at Southern University.
Candidate: James L. Llorens

Major Field: Political Science


Approved:

Wayne Parent
Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

C. Weiss Orange

Alice G. Bottcher

Mitchell F. Prie

Student, M. Foster

Date of Examination:

March 30, 1992