

A Change Narrative of Black Agenda Setting *

Matthew B. Platt[†]

April 21, 2008

Abstract

In this paper, I introduce a new data set on how Congress recognizes and pays attention to black issues from 1947 to 1998. Using a variety of statistical tools, the exploration of this data reveals that black agenda setting is fundamentally a story about change. Over the last fifty years of the twentieth century Congress has allocated a greater share of its agenda to black issues and those issues cover a broader range of policy areas. Black Americans have progressed from a state of impoverished political exclusion to middle-class political incorporation, and the black agenda reflects that change accordingly.

*I would like to thank Fredrick Harris, Richard Niemi, Lawrence Rothenberg, Valeria Sinclair-Chapman, Daniel Gillion, Jeffrey Elliot, and Stephen Voss for comments on previous versions of this paper.

[†]Department of Political Science, University of Rochester plat@mail.rochester.edu

In 1957 Martin Luther King articulated a fairly straightforward black policy agenda – voting rights. Once black people had acquired the right to vote, then they could protect themselves from white mob violence and bring an end to segregation (King 1957). By 1968 King espoused a far more radical and ambitious policy agenda: ending the war in Vietnam; offering full employment and/or a guaranteed income; reconstructing urban transit systems to meet the needs of the poor; greater community control over the administration of federal poverty programs; fair provision of affordable housing; and greater police accountability (King 1967, 1968). These policy initiatives reflect an evolution in King’s political thought but also are a product of the changing political, social, and economic environments. By 1968 black American voting rights had been protected; segregation in public accommodations had ended; President Johnson had declared war on poverty; the undeclared war in Vietnam was escalating; the major riots in Watts, Newark, and Detroit had eroded the political will of white liberals; and SCLC had unsuccessfully tried to export the civil rights movement to the north. King’s transformation illustrates that black agenda setting in the post-war era is fundamentally a story about change – changes in strategies, changes in government responsiveness, and changes in the very issues themselves. In this paper, I investigate the nature and potential causes of this transformation by asking, how has the issue content of the black agenda changed in post-war America?

There are three primary reasons that a “change narrative” is absent from previous research on black agenda setting. First, the focus has been on establishing broader themes about the continuous institutionalization of white privilege (Williams 2003) or the cycles of progress and retrenchment that characterize America’s search for racial equality (Klinkner and Smith 1999; King and Smith 2005). Second, there is no data that defines and tracks black issues over large blocks of time because identifying and compiling the policy demands of a broad range of black political entrepreneurs would be an enormous research undertaking. Third, the major policy demands that would comprise a post-civil rights agenda have not changed a great deal because those demands have gone unmet. Core issues of full employment, a guaranteed income, national health insurance, federal funding of education, and affirmative action for individuals and businesses have not been resolved (Hamilton and Hamilton 1997; Walton and Smith 2003). I address the first reason by adopting an explicit

focus on agenda change rather than continuity. To address the second and third reasons I make two shifts in emphasis. Instead of examining the issue demands black political entrepreneurs make, I examine how those issue demands are prioritized, and rather than studying the issue priorities of black political entrepreneurs, this paper is interested in how Congress prioritizes black issues.

Admittedly, congressional prioritization of black issues is a step removed from the entrepreneurial work of black advocacy organizations and grassroots activists. However, the central question for black agenda setting is not how policy proposals originate but how those proposals receive governmental attention. Using data from the Congressional Bills and Policy Agendas Projects, I have coded every bill introduced and hearing held in Congress from 1947 to 1998 as addressing black issues or not. This provides insight into how Congress allocates attention to the black agenda as a whole and how it prioritizes issues within that agenda. I find that overall attention to black issues has increased over the past fifty years; the black agenda encompasses a wider range of issues in the post-civil rights era; and congressional attention to black issues is responsive to broader social, political, and economic events. Most importantly, the transformation in how Congress prioritizes black issues follows the progression that black Americans have made from impoverished, nominal citizens to a politically incorporated middle-class minority group.

The paper proceeds in four sections. Section 1 crafts a definition of black issues. Section 2 details how the bill introductions and hearings were coded in accordance with that definition. Section 3 uses the data I compiled to explore fifty-two years of congressional attention to black issues. Section 4 concludes by discussing avenues for future research and the contributions of understanding how black issues have changed over time. The transformation of Martin Luther King's agenda is evidenced by his own written and spoken words, this paper uses bill sponsorship and hearings to understand the transformation of congressional attention to the black agenda.

1 What is a Black Issue?

Changes in the issue content of the black agenda cannot be understood without first having a clear idea of what black issues actually are. Walton and Smith (2003) divide black policy demands into rights- and material-based issues. Rights-based issues “seek to achieve fundamental universal

freedom in terms of basic human, constitutional, and legal rights,” and material-based issues “seek access to economic benefits such as land, education, employment, and social security,” (Walton and Smith 2003, 84). In general, rights-based issues explicitly mention race, so they are relatively easy to identify. The problem with material-based policies is distinguishing between generic liberal policies and those that would have particular significance for black Americans.

Previous research has not done much to make the distinction between black issues and liberal issues any clearer. Research on the substantive representation of black Americans either defines black interests only in terms of generic liberalism or restricts roll call analysis to votes that are highlighted by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (Cameron, Epstein and O’Halloran 1996; Lublin 1997; Whitby 1997; Grose 2005). Baker and Cook (2005) use a similar tactic by measuring the number of times that representatives vote in accordance with the NAACP position on an issue. Hamilton and Hamilton (1997) offer an in depth case study rather than roll call analysis; however, they adopt the same approach of defining material-based black issues as those that were espoused by the NAACP and Urban League. These measures offer a limited view of the black policy agenda. As Strolovitch (2006) demonstrates, black interest groups – such as the LCCR, NAACP, and Urban League – adopt agendas that only address the concerns of a specific, relatively advantaged segment of black Americans. Ideally, a definition of black issues would be inclusive enough to transcend boundaries of class and ideology. The emphasis should be on whether a given policy reasonably addresses problems that confront black people. Whitby and Krause (2001) get closer to the ideal by distinguishing between policies that concentrate benefits on black Americans versus those that distribute benefits more widely. Unfortunately, this conception overlooks a number of important issues, such as full employment and a guaranteed income. In order to establish a specific criteria for separating liberal issues from black issues, we must have some conception of universal black interests.

Theorists of black politics have been sceptical that such a conception can meaningfully exist. Proponents of intersectionality criticize broad categorizations, such as race and gender, for ignoring the diversity that exists within these groups (Weldon 2006; Hancock 2007). Cohen (1999) is more pointed in her criticism, characterizing black Americans as existing within a state of advanced

marginalization. That is, the relatively more advantaged segment of the black population now marginalizes the least advantaged black people, specifically those who do not conform to standards of “appropriate” behavior. Similarly, Reed (2000) describes black identity politics as pushing the narrow interests of an elite who justify their advocacy as representing some homogenous community sentiment. Black Americans have progressed sufficiently in the post-war era to create real economic and social divisions among themselves. Although these divisions have not manifested in divergent political attitudes (Dawson 1994; Tate 1994), they are substantial enough to render claims of universal black interests as suspect.

Shelby (2005) develops a pragmatic black solidarity to answer these critics. Despite the socially constructed nature of racial identity (Appiah 2005; Weldon 2006; Hancock 2007) and the class divisions among black Americans (Cohen 1999; Reed 2000; Strolovitch 2006), black people are united by a shared vulnerability to racism. As such, black politics should limit itself to issues of racial justice:

...I would urge that we define black politics not only in terms of (1) the common racial identity of the agents who engage in it, but also, and more importantly, in terms of (2) the political interests those agents share because of the unfair social consequences that this ascriptive racial identity typically entails and engenders and (3) the mutual recognition of the need to work collectively to advance these shared interests in racial justice. (Shelby 2005, 154)

In practical terms, that means a black agenda should contain policies that offer legal protections against racism, remedies for the effects of racism, commemorations to undermine the negative stereotypes which reinforce racism, and elimination of stigmatizing social and economic disparities that justify (and are justified by) racism (Shelby 2005, 153-160). Stigmatizing disparities are the key to distinguishing between liberal social welfare policies and black social welfare policies. Previous research has shown that welfare policies were historically implemented in ways that drew distinctions between deserving versus undeserving poor and reinforced existing racial inequalities (Lieberman 1998; Neubeck and Cazenave 2001; Williams 2003; Hancock 2004; Steensland 2006). Given this history of black Americans with social welfare, welfare policies are included as black

issues only if they are non-stigmatizing and non-discriminatory solutions to problems of urban poverty and racial disparities.

Emerging from this discussion, there are three criteria for identifying black issues:

1. **Anti-Racist:** Policies that erect legal protections against racial discrimination and remedies for the negative effects of past discrimination. Hate crime legislation, civil rights bills, the voting rights acts, minority set asides, and affirmative action are all examples of this criterion.
2. **Cultural:** Cultural policies are those landmarks, commemorations, holidays, and monuments that celebrate black achievements and history while simultaneously undermining negative racial stereotypes of inferiority.
3. **Social Welfare:** Social welfare is limited to policies which explicitly address some racial disparity; explicitly attempt to remedy urban poverty; and those which disproportionately impact black Americans. These policies must foster non-stigmatizing, non-discriminatory social programs such as full employment, a guaranteed income, federal control over programs, or an opposition to work requirements. This encompasses a wide range of policies from expanding benefits under AFDC to funding research on sickle cell anemia to increasing federal funding of elementary and secondary education.

2 Measuring Attention Allocation

The next step is to apply these criteria to the measures of attention. An issue is regarded as receiving attention from Congress when a bill is introduced or a hearing is held on that issue (Sulkin 2005; Jones and Baumgartner 2005). These levels of attention should not be viewed as equivalent. Krutz (2005) shows that the vast majority of bills introduced in Congress never receive further consideration. The implication is that issues which do have hearings held on them are receiving a qualitatively higher level of attention from Congress. Scholars of agenda setting distinguish between these levels of attention as the public agenda versus the formal agenda. Bill introductions are analogous to an issue reaching the public agenda – it has received high visibility and public interest, while hearings are analogous to the formal agenda – that set of issues which receive serious consideration from decision-makers (Cobb, Ross and Ross 1976, 126). For our purposes, the distinction between the public and formal agendas is more accurately viewed in terms of recognition and attention. When a bill is introduced Congress is recognizing that issue as a problem of interest to some constituency, but further action may or may not be necessary. When hearings are held

on an issue Congress has gone beyond recognizing a problem, and MCs are seeking some further understanding or resolution of that problem (Talbert, Jones and Baumgartner 1995; Diermeier and Feddersen 2000; Oleszek 2004). In that sense they are paying attention to the issue. Throughout the remainder of the paper congressional recognition will refer to how bill introductions are allocated, and congressional attention will refer to how hearings are allocated.

The Congressional Bills Project (Adler and Wilkerson 2007) has compiled every bill introduced from 1947-1998 and the Policy Agendas Project¹ has compiled every hearing held over the same time period. These are the raw data for measures of recognition and attention respectively. Both data sets code bills and hearings as fitting within nineteen subject categories: macroeconomics; civil rights; health; agriculture; labor, employment, and immigration; education; environment; energy; transportation; law, crime, and family; social welfare; community development and housing; banking, finance, and commerce; defense; space, science, and communication; foreign trade; international affairs; government operations; and public lands and water management.² Allocations of recognition and attention are the distribution of bills and hearings across these nineteen topics.

Using the descriptions of the hearings and the titles of the bills, I coded the 274603 bills and 72161 hearings as dealing with black issues or not. There are some important coding decisions to take note of:

- All bills that explicitly mention race are included.
- The bulk of welfare reform legislation in the mid-1990s is excluded because these bills were more punitive and implemented work requirements. These policies violated the social welfare criterion's prohibition on stigmatizing programs. Hancock (2004) provides an account of how welfare reform cast black women as undeserving villains who operate outside the norms of the American Creed.
- All bills that deal with busing and affirmative action – both pro and con positions – were included. These bills present a unique challenge. On one hand, they explicitly mention race, but on the other hand they conflict with the anti-racist criterion. I include bills that

¹The data used here were originally collected by Frank R. Baumgartner and Bryan D. Jones, with the support of National Science Foundation grant number SBR 9320922, and were distributed through the Center for American Politics and Public Policy at the University of Washington and/or the Department of Political Science at Penn State University. Neither NSF nor the original collectors of the data bear any responsibility for the analysis reported here.

²Greater detail on how this coding was done can be found on the public websites for each database: www.congressionalbills.org and www.policyagendas.org.

oppose busing and affirmative action because they capture how Congress is recognizing and paying attention to an issue that has direct effects on black Americans. What separates these opposition bills from welfare reform is the explicit discussion of race.

- The focus is solely on domestic policies, so anti-apartheid legislation is excluded. Admittedly, the anti-apartheid movement was a tremendous source of black activism, particularly in the 1970s and 1980s. The dilemma was in determining foreign policy issues beyond apartheid. Counting all foreign policy matters that relate to the African diaspora seemed too simplistic, so I opted to follow the literature and concentrate on the domestic black agenda.
- Bills for bilingual voting rights are excluded because they do not address explicitly black issues with voting irregularities. However, voting representation for the District of Columbia was included as an issue of voting rights for the large black population of the nation’s capital.
- Coding decisions are based solely on the descriptions and titles of the bills and hearings. Public comments by black officials or organizations in favor of (or in opposition to) a given policy were not relevant to including (or excluding) any bills or hearings as black issues. For example, President Clinton’s Crime Bill has been discussed as a major issue by previous research (Williams 2003).³ However, the provisions that deal directly with remedies for inner cities meet the criteria I have laid out, so it is included for that reason.

Space will not allow for a full description of the coding decisions for bills and hearings, but some examples could give a better sense of what the congressional black agenda entails. Table 1 shows

Table 1: Number of Black Issues by Criterion Type

	Anti-Racist	Cultural	Social Welfare	Total
Bills	2166 (24%)	452 (5%)	6402 (71%)	9020 (100%)
Hearings	575 (24.8%)	26 (1.1%)	1716 (74.1%)	2317 (100%)

the number of black issues that fell within each of the three criteria discussed in Section 1. Based on this table, Congress views the black agenda primarily in terms of social welfare policies. Anti-racist issues are a distant second, comprising about a quarter of the congressional black agenda, and cultural issues receive the least attention from Congress. These results are not particularly surprising since the description of the social welfare criterion is suggestive of covering a broader

³It should be noted that black leaders opposed the harsh penalties imposed by the Crime Bill.

range of policy proposals. However, we still do not have a clear sense of the content of black issues that receive attention and recognition from Congress.

As stated above, the Congressional Bills and Policy Agendas Projects have already coded each bill and hearing as falling within one of nineteen topics. Table 2 illustrates the types of black issues that fall into each topic category.⁴ Now we can see how the three criteria for black issues place

Table 2: Examples of Black Bills by Topic

Topic	Example
Macroeconomics	incentives for manufacturing in high unemployment areas
Civil Rights	extension of the Commission on Civil Rights
Health	tax deductions for medical care expenses or health insurance
Agriculture	domestic food programs for the needy
Labor/Employment/Immigration	earned income tax credit
Education	expand Title III programs under Higher Education Act
Environment	collecting demographic data for waste treatment sites
Energy	low-income home energy assistance
Transportation	public works employment for long-term unemployed
Law/Crime/Family	racially discriminatory use of the death penalty
Social Welfare	establish national minimum for AFDC benefits
Community Development/Housing	revitalization and construction of public housing
Banking/Finance/Commerce	non-discrimination in insurance
Defense	pensions for soldiers in the Brownsville Massacre of 1906
Space/Science/Communication	diverse ownership of local broadcasting
Foreign Trade	job retraining for those displaced by foreign trade
International Affairs	funding domestic microloans programs
Government Operations	King holiday and its commission
Public Lands	national African-American history museum

bills into a variety of different categories. Again, the Social Welfare criterion includes the widest range of issues; it spans health, labor, community development, foreign trade, international affairs, agriculture, and macroeconomics. However, the Anti-racist criterion is broader than simply civil rights. The banking, communication, defense, and environment categories all address issues of past or present racial discrimination. Finally, government operations and public lands are the primary

⁴The appendix contains brief statements about which issues fit within each topic, and a more exhaustive list of coding decisions is available online: <http://mail.rochester.edu/~plat/>

homes for cultural legislation. Examples like this can only provide an unrepresentative snapshot of the issue content of the black agenda. Ultimately, we want a summary measure to convey both the breadth and depth of the agenda.

I capture the breadth and depth of agendas by using Simpson’s Index of Diversity – a common statistic used by ecologists to quantify the biodiversity of a habitat. Baumgartner, Jones and MacLeod (2000) use a variant of this statistic to characterize how the jurisdictions of congressional committees have changed over time. Diversity is measured by the following formula:

$$\mathbf{D} = \frac{1}{\sum (\frac{n_i}{N})^2} \tag{1}$$

In Equation 1, n_i is the number of bills/hearings that fall within a given topic and N is the total number of bills/hearings. Higher values mean that there is greater diversity, and the highest possible score is the total number of categories. In this case, there are nineteen policy topics, so a diversity score of 19 means that issues have been evenly distributed across each topic. As an illustration, we can calculate the diversity of anti-racist hearings. In 1948, there were four hearings held that can be classified as dealing with anti-racist issues (so $N = 4$), three of these hearings were under the topic of civil rights ($n_1 = 3$) and one dealt with government operations ($n_2 = 1$). Using Equation 1, the diversity of anti-racist issues in 1948 is 1.60.⁵

Now more can be said about the three criteria for black issues. Table 3 confirms that the breadth and depth of issues under the social welfare criterion are greater than the other two criteria. Somewhat unexpectedly, the cultural criterion covers a more diverse set of issues than the

Table 3: Diversity of Black Issue Criteria

	Anti-Racist	Cultural	Social Welfare
Bills	1.458	2.314	5.790
Hearings	1.375	2.126	5.945

⁵The calculation is $\frac{1}{9/16+1/16}$, which is 1.6.

anti-racist criterion. Basically, anti-racist issues are overwhelmingly within the topic category of civil rights, so it has the least diversity of the three criteria. Since cultural issues include landmarks and commemorations such as medals, stamps, and coins, these bills and hearings are evenly spread across public lands and government operations. The message is consistent with Table 1, Congress recognizes and pays attention to black issues that address a wide range of concerns about material well-being and prosperity. The next section explores how that recognition and attention have varied in the post-war period.

3 Results

Table 4: Allocation of Recognition and Attention, 1947-1998

	All Bills	Black Bills	Difference	All Hearings	Black Hearings	Difference
Macroeconomics	0.043	0.024	0.018	0.037	0.065	-0.028
Civil Rights	0.019	0.201	-0.182	0.029	0.220	-0.191
Health	0.048	0.099	-0.051	0.037	0.069	-0.032
Agriculture	0.034	0.007	0.027	0.039	0.002	0.037
Labor/Employment	0.055	0.182	-0.127	0.038	0.119	-0.080
Education	0.033	0.112	-0.079	0.023	0.052	-0.029
Environment	0.032	0.001	0.031	0.041	0.001	0.040
Energy	0.023	0.003	0.020	0.045	0.000	0.045
Transportation	0.035	0.009	0.027	0.050	0.017	0.033
Law/Crime/Family	0.060	0.019	0.041	0.043	0.040	0.002
Social Welfare	0.056	0.142	-0.087	0.023	0.204	-0.181
Housing/Development	0.025	0.124	-0.099	0.023	0.155	-0.132
Banking/Commerce	0.063	0.008	0.055	0.074	0.026	0.048
Defense	0.100	0.007	0.093	0.110	0.002	0.108
Science/Communication	0.018	0.002	0.016	0.031	0.008	0.022
Foreign Trade	0.044	0.0004	0.044	0.027	0.000	0.027
International Affairs	0.023	0.001	0.022	0.063	0.004	0.059
Government Operations	0.175	0.044	0.131	0.167	0.021	0.145
Public Lands	0.115	0.014	0.101	0.100	0.005	0.095
Diversity	12.453	7.408		13.017	6.960	
N	274603	9020		72161	2318	

Before addressing how the allocations of recognition and attention shift over time, it is necessary to establish that the allocations for black issues differ from the allocations for recognition and attention more generally. Table 4 presents how bills and hearings are distributed across the nineteen topics. Cell entries are the proportions of issues that fit within a given topic for all bills/hearings, black bills/hearings, and then the difference between proportions for all bills/hearings and black bills/hearings. For example, the first row shows that 4.3% of all bills introduced from 1947-1998 are classified as dealing with macroeconomic issues compared to only 2.4% of black bills, yielding a difference of 1.8% in the allocation of recognition. All of the differences presented here are statistically significant at standard levels.

There are a number of important points to take away from this table. First, looking at the columns for black bills and black hearings, we see that issues of civil rights, labor/employment, welfare, and housing/development are Congress's top priorities in dealing with black issues. Interestingly, Walton and Smith (2003) do not discuss housing as an element of the post-civil rights black agenda. Instead, they include health care and federal education funding as more pressing concerns. Table 4 shows that education and health issues rank fifth in bill sponsorship and congressional hearings respectively, so they are certainly agenda priorities.

Second, congressional hearings on black issues are dominated by civil rights and welfare issues. These two categories account for over 42% of all hearings held on black issues, while they are only 34% of black issue bills. The implication is that congressional attention to the black agenda is more narrowly focused than its recognition of this agenda. Examining the diversity scores at the bottom of Table 4 confirms that congressional recognition of black issues is more evenly dispersed than attention.

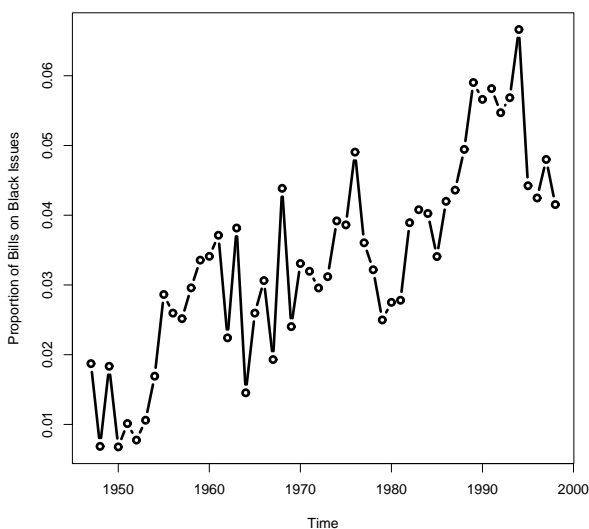
Third, the allocations for recognition and attention are substantially different for black issues compared to all issues. The overall congressional agenda is far more diverse than its black issue agenda in terms of bill introductions and hearings. Civil rights, labor/employment, welfare, and housing/development are 64.9% of recognized black issues but only 15.5% of all the issues Congress recognizes. This disparity is even greater for hearings; those four topic categories amount to 69.8%

of attention for black issues and only 11.3% of attention for all issues.⁶ Two implications emerge from these stark differences in congressional prioritizing of black issues compared to all issues. First, we can proceed with some confidence that changes in congressional recognition and attention to black issues over time is not the product of larger trends in congressional behavior. Second, these disparities raise serious questions about the responsiveness of Congress to black issue concerns. Given that the most important topics for black issues receive relatively little attention from Congress overall, future research must address how black Americans attain congressional recognition for their issues. Part of that story will be told through our exploration of how recognition and attention have changed in the post-war era.

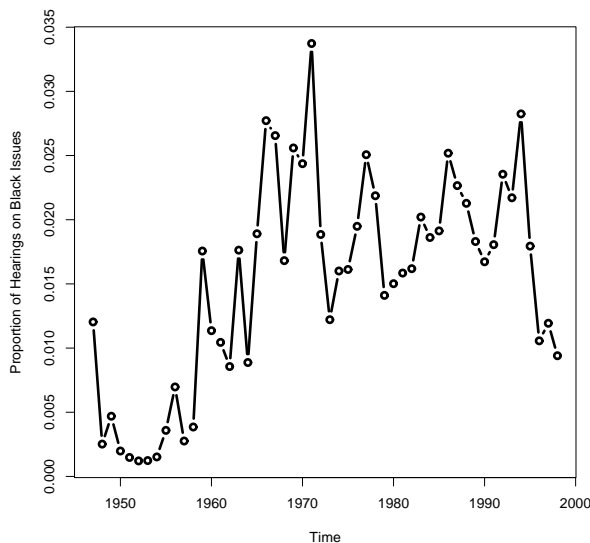
3.1 Prioritizing the Black Agenda

Figure 1: Congressional Bills and Hearings on Black Issues

(a) Black Issue Bills



(b) Black Issue Hearings



We can think of congressional priorities shifting in two ways with regard to the black agenda:

⁶Part of this disparity is due to the large numbers of bills and hearings dedicated to defense, government operations, and public lands. When these categories are disregarded for the calculation of proportions, differences between black issues and all issues diminish slightly. However, the substantive points about the distinct allocations of recognition and attention still hold.

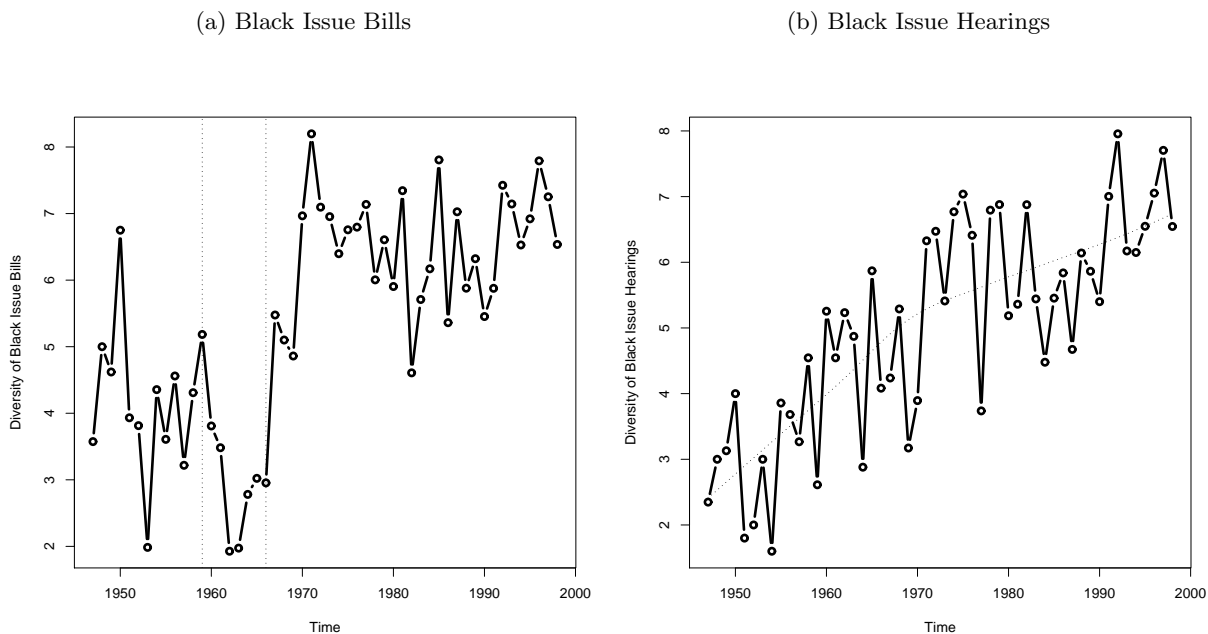
black issues as a proportion of total recognition and attention; and the allocation of recognition and attention within the black agenda itself. Figure 1 deals with this first question by presenting the annual proportions of hearings and bills that address black issues. First, the small values along the y-axes show that black issues are never a top priority for Congress – black issues never account for more than 6% and 3.5% for bills and hearings respectively. Given the substantial cross-sectional disparities that we observed in Table 4, it is not particularly surprising to see that black issues are marginal elements of the congressional agenda. Despite this marginality, congressional recognition of black issues has steadily increased since 1947. Looking at Figure 1(a), black issues begin to receive more recognition in 1955. However, counter to what we might expect, the 1960s are not a period of increased recognition of black issues. Perhaps the introduction of black issue bills was overwhelmed by the general expansion of government that took place during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Although there is a brief resurgence in black issue recognition between 1973 and 1976, the longest upward trend begins in 1982 and lasts until 1994. This period of growth in black issue legislation is likely the result of increased numbers of black MCs and a recovery from the wave of conservatism that ushered Reagan into power. Similarly, the Republican takeover of Congress marks the end of this growth period with a steep decline in black issue recognition.

Figure 1(b) shows that congressional attention to black issues follows a slightly distinct trajectory from recognition. Black issue bills fit in with a story of gradual increase, but black issue hearings are better characterized as peaks and valleys. In particular, after being virtually ignored for the first ten years of the study (1948-1958), attention to black issues peaks in 1959. Importantly, this surge establishes congressional attention to black issues, and it never dips back down to these pre-1960 levels. We see more peaks in 1963 and 1967, and the maximum value is reached in 1971. As with the spike in 1959, attention seems to have a higher floor after 1971; it only returns to pre-1970 levels from 1996 to 1998. Although the high points of 1967 and 1971 are never reached again, there are peaks in 1977, 1986, and 1994. The basic story from Figure 1 is that after a period of disregard in the 1950s, black issues have emerged as standard – though marginal – items on the congressional agenda. Our task is to uncover which policy topics are driving these patterns in recognition and attention.

3.2 A More Diverse Black Agenda

Before looking at the specific types of issues that were raised in different time periods, I begin with an examination of how content has varied overall. Figure 2 presents the diversity of black issues over time. Recall that diversity is used to measure how evenly recognition and attention are distributed across the range of policy topics. Figure 2(a) tells a story of disjointed change

Figure 2: The Diversity of the Black Agenda

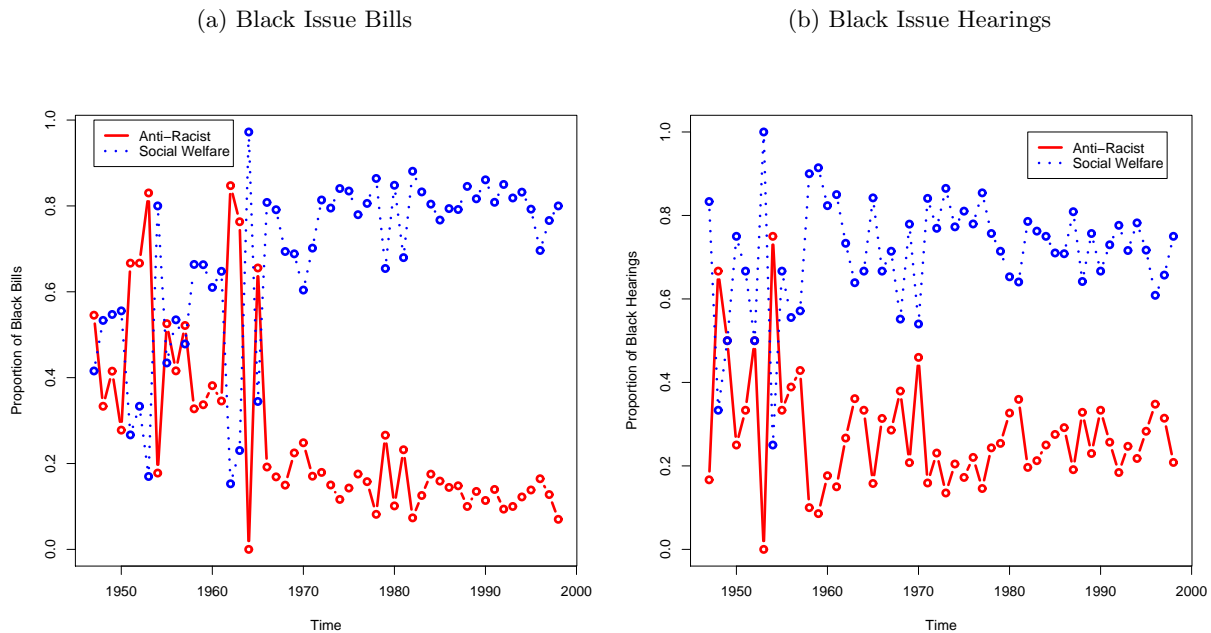


in congressional recognition of black issues. The dotted vertical lines represent structural breaks in the time trend at 1959 and 1966.⁷ It seems that sponsorship of black issue bills was heavily concentrated on issues of civil rights until the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. After black Americans had achieved the basic rights of citizenship, Congress began to recognize a more diverse set of black issues. Conversely, Figure 2(b) tells a story of gradual diversification of congressional attention. There is a clear upward trend in the diversity of black issue hearings, displaying no sign of some momentous break in how Congress pays attention to black issues. The presentation

⁷The tests were conducted using the tools developed by Bai and Perron (1998) and implemented through the `strucchange` package in R (Zeileis et al. 2002, 2003).

and comparison of recognition and attention presented by Figure 2 raises two important questions. First, what separates the gradual and disjoint changes in diversity observed for hearings and bill sponsorship respectively? Second, and more broadly, what are the specific issues and political events that are driving these trends in the diversity of issues that are addressed by Congress?

Figure 3: Black Issue Criteria over Time



To address the first question, Figure 3 presents the proportion of black issue bills and hearings that are accounted for by the Anti-racist and Social Welfare criteria. Figure 3(a) sheds light on some of the disjunction we observed for the diversity of congressional recognition. There was relative balance between anti-racist and social welfare bills up until 1965. After the passage of the Voting Rights Act, Congress shifted focus to the recognition of social welfare rather than anti-racist policies. Table 3 has already shown us that the social welfare criterion encompasses a broader range of issues, so the shift in congressional recognition illustrated by Figure 3(a) fits perfectly with the story of disjoint diversity told by Figure 2. Again, we observe a much different pattern for congressional attention. The divergence between social welfare and anti-racist issues occurs in 1954. More importantly, the gap between these two types of issues does not gradually widen (as was the case

for recognition), and the disparity between social welfare and anti-racist issues is smaller for hearings than it is for bill sponsorship. In terms of the recognition of black issues, Congress was heavily focused on anti-racist measures, and once black Americans were afforded the essential guarantees of liberty, these issues were largely overlooked. However, Congress has consistently divided its attention between social welfare and anti-racist issues. Black political progress is associated with Congress recognizing entirely new categories of black issues, but there has not been such a wholesale shift in how Congress pays attention to the black agenda. In this latter case, change in diversity is due to the exploration of new issues within pre-existing boundaries.

3.3 Shifting Congressional Priorities

Table 5: Top Black Issue Priorities, 1947-1965

Year	Recognition Priority	Attention Priority
1947	civil rights	housing
1948	education, government ops	civil rights
1949	civil rights	civil rights
1950	civil rights, education	civil rights, housing, labor, welfare
1951	civil rights	government operations
1952	civil rights	defense, labor
1953	civil rights	housing, labor, welfare
1954	welfare	civil rights
1955	civil rights	civil rights, welfare
1956	civil rights	civil rights
1957	civil rights	civil rights
1958	civil rights	government ops, welfare
1959	civil rights	macroeconomics
1960	civil rights	labor
1961	labor	labor
1962	civil rights	civil rights, transportation
1963	civil rights	civil rights
1964	welfare	welfare
1965	civil rights	labor

Now we can discuss Congress’s actual issue priorities regarding the black agenda. Tables 5 and 6 present a list of the policy topics which have the highest number of bills introduced and hearings

Table 6: Top Black Issue Priorities, 1966-1998

Year	Recognition Priority	Attention Priority
1966	welfare	housing
1967	welfare	welfare
1968	welfare	law, welfare
1969	welfare	welfare
1970	civil rights	civil rights
1971	health	welfare
1972	welfare	civil rights
1973	labor	welfare
1974	labor	civil rights, welfare
1975	labor	macroeconomics
1976	labor	macroeconomics
1977	labor	welfare
1978	housing	housing
1979	civil rights	civil rights
1980	housing	civil rights
1981	civil rights	civil rights
1982	labor	housing
1983	labor	welfare
1984	education	welfare
1985	labor	civil rights
1986	housing	civil rights
1987	housing	welfare
1988	labor	civil rights
1989	housing	housing
1990	education	civil rights
1991	education	civil rights
1992	labor	civil rights, housing, welfare
1993	health	health, housing
1994	housing	health
1995	health	welfare
1996	health	housing
1997	education	civil rights
1998	education	education

held from 1947 to 1998. There are a few important points to take away from this list. First, civil rights issues dominate congressional recognition until 1966, and it is only after the passage of the Voting Rights Act that Congress shifts its focus toward other types of black issues. Second, congressional recognition of black issues follows an intuitively sequential pattern that mirrors black Americans' progression toward becoming a politically incorporated middle-class minority. Lastly, congressional attention to black issues follows a completely separate trajectory. Rather than any single issue dominating a particular period of time, civil rights and welfare issues are top priorities throughout the 52 years of this study. Unlike bill sponsorship, congressional hearings emphasize a larger variety of issues, which explains the patterns for diversity observed in Figure 2. In order to understand each of these three points, the remainder of this section explores in greater depth both the nature and potential causes of changes in congressional priorities for the black agenda.

Figure 4: Shifts in Congressional Recognition of Black Issue

(a) Issue Priorities, 1947-1972

(b) Issue Priorities, 1973-1998

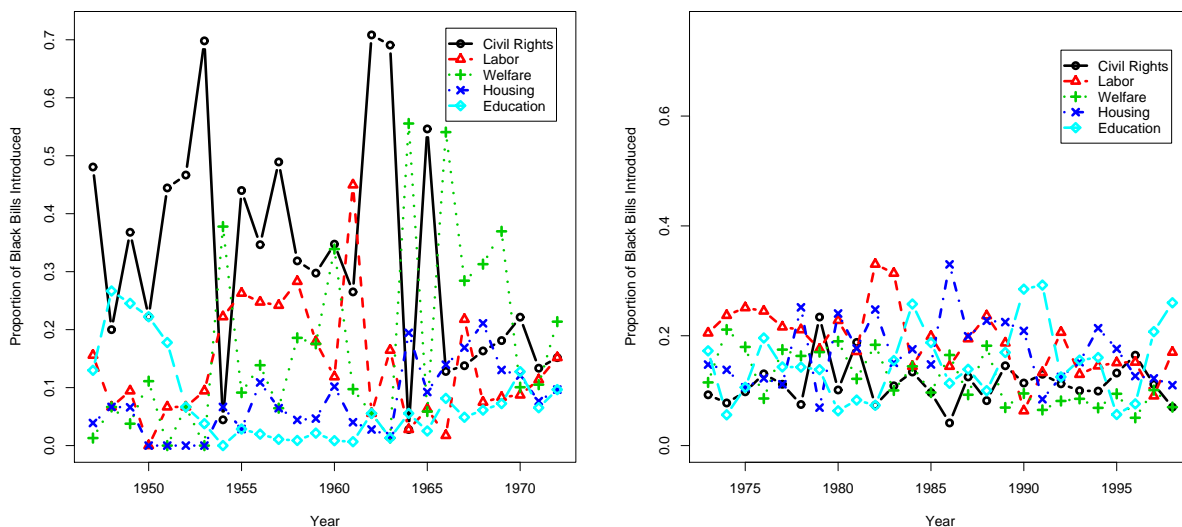


Figure 4 graphically displays the proportion of all black issue bills that address civil rights, labor, welfare, housing, and education issues respectively. Starting with Figure 4(a), we can see how civil rights was the dominant black issue recognized by Congress prior to 1966. Of the eighteen

years between 1947 and 1965, civil rights bills account for the bulk of congressional recognition for all but four of those years: 1948, 1954, 1961, and 1964. Examining Figure 4(a) – and the underlying bill sponsorship that comprises the plot – shows the shifts in congressional priorities for extending full citizenship rights to black Americans. From 1947 to 1952, black civil rights issues consisted of fighting employment discrimination through the creation of a permanent, strong Federal Employment Practices Committee (FEPC); abolishing the poll tax as a requirement for voting; and curbing mob violence through anti-lynching legislation. Beginning in 1953, Congress begins to recognize black civil rights in a broader sense, with legislation calling for the end of discrimination and segregation in housing, public accommodations, and education. By 1955 the emphasis had largely shifted away from FEPC legislation toward establishing a commission on civil rights and fighting segregation on interstate transportation. This shift towards focusing on broad civil rights legislation remained until the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and it was supplemented throughout by efforts to enfranchise black Americans, which was finally accomplished through the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Table 6 and Figure 4 highlight the expansion of congressional recognition after passage of the Voting Rights Act. Once black people made the transition from nominal to actual citizens, Congress prioritized War on Poverty programs aimed at meeting the basic material needs of the 40% of black Americans living in poverty. By 1972 the black poverty rate had fallen to 33% and congressional recognition shifted to issues of labor and employment.⁸ Rather than stabilizing black families through the provision of government resources, from 1973 to 1977 the new emphasis was to create greater employment opportunities at higher wages. While the focus on black welfare issues was largely the product of a single political moment, namely the War on Poverty, Congress seems to prioritize black issues of labor and employment during periods of economic difficulty – particularly as unemployment rises. The last stage in the transition of congressional priorities for recognizing black issues was to translate black Americans' enhanced political and earning power into decent living conditions and quality education for their children. Figure 4(b) displays how

⁸The poverty statistics are taken from the Current Population Survey's annual social and economic supplements. The numbers can be found at the following Census Bureau website: <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/histpov/hstpov2.html>

issues of housing/community development and education became top priorities from the late 1970s throughout the 1980s and 1990s. For both sets of issues, the general theme in the legislation is to increase the federal role in providing general aid to struggling urban centers in terms of increasing public housing for the homeless; making housing more affordable for low- and middle-class workers; decreasing resource disparities between inner-city and suburban schools; or providing incentives for the development of businesses within impoverished urban communities. In that sense, shifts in congressional priorities for black issues creates an intuitive narrative of change: first, black people had to be acknowledged as full citizens; second, a stronger social safety net was needed to help lift people out of poverty; third, the provision of jobs at decent wages allowed black people to remain out of poverty; and to complete that slow progression towards the middle-class, black Americans required greater federal intervention into (particularly urban) problems of affordable housing and quality education.

Table 7: Analyzing Black Issue Recognition

	Civil Rights	Welfare	Labor	Housing	Education
Liberalism	0.101 (0.036/0.173)	-0.049 (-0.076/-0.019)	0.010 (-0.025/0.050)	-0.046 (-0.058/-0.031)	-0.013 (-0.034/0.014)
Unemployment	-0.031 (-0.060/0.000)	-0.002 (-0.028/0.028)	0.056 (0.032/0.084)	0.003 (-0.011/0.018)	0.002 (-0.015/0.018)
Protest	0.039 (0.010/0.068)	0.093 (0.045/0.141)	0.076 (0.031/0.122)	0.126 (0.082/0.172)	0.142 (0.100/0.186)
Representation	0.012 (-0.044/0.078)	-0.049 (-0.079/-0.013)	-0.010 (-0.039/0.023)	-0.008 (-0.026/0.010)	0.010 (-0.015/0.044)

To provide a more systematic approach to how congressional recognition of black issues has shifted from 1947 to 1998, Table 7 presents the results from a beta-binomial regression of the proportions presented in Figure 4.⁹ It should be noted that the intent of this analysis is not to

⁹The beta-binomial estimation was performed using the `betabin` function in the `aod` package in R (R Development Core Team 2007).

make any causal claims, but rather this table illustrates general patterns that could serve as the basis for future research. Cell entries show the change in the proportion of black issues given a standard deviation increase in the independent variable, and the 95% confidence interval is presented in parentheses.¹⁰ Liberalism is a measure constructed by Ellis and Stimson (2007) to capture the proportion of the population who identify as liberals. Unemployment is the national unemployment rate reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Protest is the count of black protest events in a given year, as recorded by Jenkins, Jacobs and Agnone (2003). Representation is the number of black members of Congress serving in a given year.

There are a few important points to take away from Table 7. Black civil rights issues are more recognized when a greater share of the population is liberal. Labor/employment issues are prioritized during times of economic difficulty, and protest is an important strategy for black agenda setting. This last point about the potential role of protest is perhaps the most exciting avenue for future research because it speaks directly to the longstanding debate over whether protest or politics is the appropriate strategy for securing government responsiveness. The lack of positive relationships between black representation and congressional recognition suggest that this is a debate worth revisiting. In addition, the findings for liberalism support the notion offered by Smith (1992) that civil rights have, in some sense, become the easy part of the black agenda. Rather than addressing the more intractable issues of social welfare, affordable housing, and community development, periods of higher liberalism are instead associated with enhanced recognition of black civil rights issues. Combined with the relationship between unemployment and labor/employment issues, the broader story from Table 7 is that congressional recognition of black issues appears to respond to movements in the social, political, and economic environments.

Congressional attention to black issues does not exhibit quite the same level of responsiveness observed for recognition. Table 8 presents the results of the beta-binomial analysis of the proportion of black issue hearings devoted toward civil rights, welfare, labor/employment, housing, and education issues respectively. Issues of labor/employment, housing, and education seem to follow patterns that are similar to the findings about congressional recognition shown in Table 7. The

¹⁰Bold entries show that the change is statistically significant.

Table 8: Analyzing Black Issue Attention

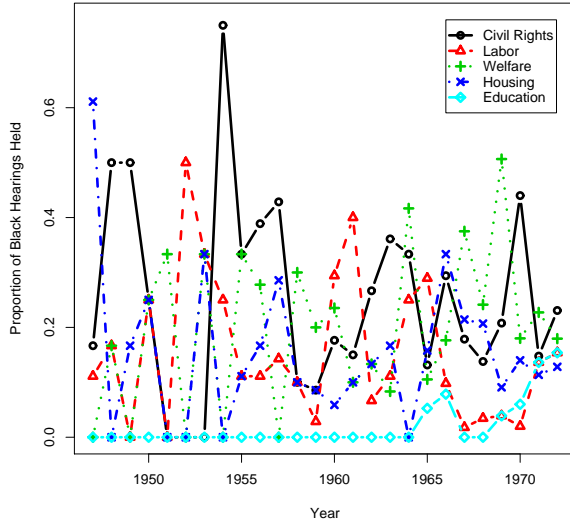
	Civil Rights	Welfare	Labor	Housing	Education
Liberalism	-0.023 (-0.055/0.011)	-0.022 (-0.064/0.023)	0.022 (-0.009/0.059)	-0.030 (-0.052/-0.005)	-0.006 (-0.018/0.014)
Unemployment	-0.007 (-0.030/0.016)	-0.014 (-0.044/0.018)	0.026 (0.004/0.049)	-0.008 (-0.027/0.013)	0.002 (-0.010/0.015)
Protest	-0.017 (-0.044/0.010)	0.008 (-0.035/0.051)	0.097 (0.060/0.136)	0.070 (0.032/0.111)	0.174 (0.141/0.211)
Representation	-0.037 (-0.065/-0.005)	-0.041 (-0.077/0.001)	0.015 (-0.013/0.048)	-0.015 (-0.038/0.014)	0.006 (-0.010/0.027)

distinction between recognition and attention appears when we look at the columns for civil rights and welfare issues. Unlike the results for black issue bills, hearings on civil rights and welfare issues do not have any positive relationship with political, social, or economic contexts. In that sense, congressional attention toward black issues seems less responsive than recognition.

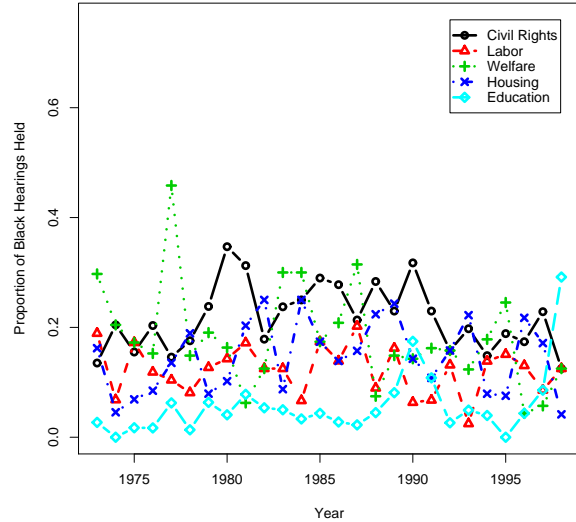
Figure 5 presents the actual proportions of black issue hearings that are accounted for by civil rights, labor/employment, welfare, housing, and education issues. Examining the differences in these patterns for attention priorities compared to those for recognition provides some insight into the apparent lack of responsiveness observed in Table 8. Recall from Figure 4 and Table 6, that congressional recognition of civil rights and welfare issues dominated the agenda until roughly 1972, but then declined substantially thereafter. Contrary to that story, Figure 5(a) illustrates that congressional attention to black issues was not driven by the same single-minded focus on civil rights that we saw for recognition prior to 1966. Instead, black issues of housing, labor/employment, and welfare play a more prominent role. However, the key distinction is that the prioritization of civil rights and welfare issues does not end in 1972. Figure 5(b) shows that civil rights and welfare issues are the top priority in congressional attention to black issues in seventeen of the twenty-six years between 1972 and 1998. This lingering attention to civil rights and welfare issues is driven largely

Figure 5: Shifts in Congressional Attention to Black Issue

(a) Issue Priorities, 1947-1972



(b) Issue Priorities, 1973-1998



by congressional oversight. Rather than putting forth new policies, congressional hearings on black civil rights and welfare issues are concerned with the maintenance of prior achievement. As such, congressional attention focuses on the enforcement of existing equal opportunity provisions and the implementation of various welfare services. In that sense, the change narrative for congressional attention is not regarding the transformation of policy, but rather it is the shift from an offensive to a defensive posture.

4 Conclusion

The exploration of congressional recognition of and attention to black issues from 1947 to 1998 has produced a change narrative about black Americans' progression through the twentieth century. First, black people needed to be accorded the fundamental rights of citizenship: basic human dignity and an unsuppressed voice in the political process. Second, the social safety net was strengthened to help meet basic material needs. Third, the agenda called for better employment opportunities in terms of the number of jobs and the wages paid for those jobs. Lastly, black Americans required

affordable housing and quality education to complete the transition from impoverished non-citizens to a politically incorporated middle-class minority. In conjunction with this progression, Congress allocates more of its agenda to black issues over time, and those issues cover a broader range of policy areas. Additionally, congressional attention to black issues is transformed from overturning an established order to maintaining the status quo. The second half of the twentieth century is marked by America's struggle to accept its black citizens on an equal basis, congressional attention and recognition of black issues mirrors that effort.

There are a number of important contributions stemming from this research. Providing a change narrative fundamentally alters the standard discourse of black agenda setting. Previous work emphasizes the continuity of issue themes (Hamilton and Hamilton 1997), constraining racial policies (Williams 2003; King and Smith 2005), and necessary conditions for racial progress (Klinkner and Smith 1999). I articulate a more fluid conception of black agenda setting in which both the issues and strategies shift in accordance with broader social, economic, and political trends. As a result, these findings about the progression of congressional recognition of black issues contributes to a broader understanding of how groups make that transition from political exclusion to inclusion. By the same token, the prioritization of housing and education issues speaks to research on the lack of divergence in black political attitudes, given the divergence in incomes (Tate 1994; Dawson 1994). The findings about congressional priorities can offer some support for the conclusion in Gay (2004) that continued black middle-class militancy is driven by an inability to translate higher incomes into requisite quality of housing and education. Scholars of agenda setting more generally may also take interest in the disparities between recognition and attention. In particular, the discussion in this paper raises questions about which is the better measure of responsiveness, bill sponsorship or congressional hearings. A proper answer to these questions requires a conceptual framework that integrates the introduction of legislation more fully into our understandings of agenda setting and policymaking processes. Finally, the preliminary analysis of the determinants of changes in recognition and attention can serve as a springboard for research into how strategies of black agenda setting change over time and the impact of macro-context on the content of legislative portfolios.

Without question, the most important contribution is the data itself. Prior studies have been

constrained in terms of either the methods employed or the time span studied. Studies over time were able to construct rich descriptions, but could not search for the more general patterns associated with large-n research. Conversely, large-n analysis was restricted to only a few Congresses, leaving out the broader historical context. This data set is amenable to both descriptive narratives and quantitative analysis, suffering from neither of the constraints described above. Black agenda setting has always been fundamentally a story about change. Now we have the data to make such storytelling possible.

Appendices

A Coding Decisions by Topic

1. Macroeconomics bills are predominantly about unemployment and what the government can do to provide more jobs for the poor. This includes full employment legislation, targeted jobs credits for the poor, incentives to develop economically distressed areas, and the creation of enterprise zones.
2. Civil rights bills deal with instances of discrimination in a variety of areas; voting rights issues that impact black people; administering existing civil rights provisions; and remedial actions such as reparations for slavery and minority set asides.
3. Black interest health legislation deals with expanding health care to the poor, caring for pregnant women, and funding for sickle cell and vitiligo research.
4. Agriculture bills use surplus products to provide food assistance to the needy and school children.
5. The labor and employment category consists of job training programs targeted towards the poor or black people.
6. Education legislation is coded as a black issue if it provides targeted benefits to “disadvantaged” students, reduces funding disparities, further Head Start programs, and sets aside funding for historically black colleges.
7. Environmental policies with the location of waste sites in minority communities.
8. Energy bills provide home energy assistance to the poor and compensate those who lost jobs as a result of the oil crisis.
9. Transportation black bills include extended public works projects intended to curb unemployment, representation of minorities and the poor on local transit boards, and amendments to the Urban Mass Transportation act that pertain to the poor.

10. Law, Crime, and Family issues are coded as black when they address disparities in sentencing, prohibitions of police brutality, hate crimes, and programs to help children or poor mothers.
11. Social welfare bills include guaranteed income, appropriations for the Office of Economic Opportunity, and expansions of the food stamp program. Mostly this topic is composed of changes to AFDC that increase benefits, federalize administration, avoid work requirements, and repeal punitive measures.
12. Community development and Housing legislation is coded as black when it expands or improves low-income housing, especially public housing. Issues of fair housing, community development block grants, enterprise zones, and economic development of depressed areas are also included under this heading.
13. Banking, Finance, and Commerce refers to discrimination in the ability of minorities to get reasonable credit and insurance rates. Targeted tax relief for low-income people and inducements to invest in minority business are also included.
14. Defense bills offer remedies to black soldiers for past racial injustices and create special offices for equal opportunity or minority affairs.
15. Space, Science, Technology, and Communications contains issues about the diversity of broadcasting ownership, media portrayal of racial/ethnic groups, and public works employment to build communication infrastructure.
16. Foreign trade bills include some affirmative action measures and job retraining for those displaced by foreign trade.
17. International Affairs does not include many black bills, given the emphasis on domestic policies. The exception is funding for domestic microloan programs.
18. Government operations relate to black interests when they commemorate black people or achievements, preferences for contracts in high unemployment areas, and applying civil rights laws to government offices such as Congress and the Supreme Court.
19. Public lands and water management is devoted entirely to monuments and landmarks that recognize important aspects of black history.

References

- Adler, E. Scott and John Wilkerson. 2007. Congressional Bills Project. Technical Report NSF Grants 00880066 and 00880061 University of Colorado and University of Washington.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 2005. *The Ethics of Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bai, Jushan and Pierre Perron. 1998. "Estimating and Testing Linear Models with Multiple Structural Changes." *Econometrica* 66:47–78.
- Baker, Andy and Corey Cook. 2005. "Representing Black Interests and Promoting Black Culture: The Importance of African American Descriptive Representation in the U.S. House." *Du Bois Review* 2:227–246.
- Baumgartner, Frank R., Bryan D. Jones and Michael C. MacLeod. 2000. "The Evolution of Legislative Jurisdictions." *Journal of Politics* 62:321–349.
- Cameron, Charles, David Epstein and Sharyn O'Halloran. 1996. "Do Majority-Minority Districts Maximize Substantive Black Representation in Congress." *American Political Science Review* 90:794–812.
- Cobb, Roger, Jennie-Keith Ross and Marc Howard Ross. 1976. "Agenda Building as a Comparative Political Process." *American Political Science Review* 70:126–138.
- Cohen, Cathy. 1999. *The Boundaries of Blackness*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dawson, Michael C. 1994. *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Diermeier, Daniel and Timothy J. Feddersen. 2000. "Information and Congressional Hearings." *American Journal of Political Science* 44:51–65.
- Ellis, Christopher and James A. Stimson. 2007. On Conservatism in America. American Political Science Association Chicago, IL: . Paper prepared for presentation at annual meeting.
- Gay, Claudine. 2004. "Putting Race in Context: Identifying the Environmental Determinants of Black Racial Attitudes." *American Political Science Review* 98:547–562.
- Grose, Christian R. 2005. "Disentangling Constituency and Legislator Effects in Legislative Representation: Black Legislators or Black Districts?" *Social Science Quarterly* 86:427–443.
- Hamilton, Dona C. and Charles V. Hamilton. 1997. *The Dual Agenda: Race and Social Welfare Policies of Civil Rights Organizations*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2004. *The Politics of Disgust: the Public Identity of the Welfare Queen*. New York: New York University Press.
- Hancock, Ange-Marie. 2007. "When Multiplication Doesn't Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm." *Perspectives on Politics* 5:63–79.
- Jenkins, J. Craig, David Jacobs and Jon Agnone. 2003. "Political Opportunities and African-American Protest, 1948-1997." *American Journal of Sociology* 109:277–303.

- Jones, Bryan D. and Frank R. Baumgartner. 2005. *The Politics of Attention: How Government Prioritizes Problems*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- King, Desmond S. and Rogers M. Smith. 2005. "Racial Orders in American Political Development." *American Political Science Review* 99:75–92.
- King, Martin L. 1957. "Give us the Ballot – We Will Transform the South". In *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King Jr.*, ed. James M. Washington. San Francisco: Harper Collins pp. 197–200.
- King, Martin L. 1967. "Where Do We Go from Here?". In *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King Jr.*, ed. James M. Washington. San Francisco: Harper Collins pp. 245–252.
- King, Martin L. 1968. "A Testament of Hope". In *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King Jr.*, ed. James M. Washington. San Francisco: Harper Collins pp. 313–328.
- Klinkner, Philip A. and Rogers M. Smith. 1999. *The Unsteady March*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Krutz, Glen S. 2005. "Issues and Institutions: "Winnowing" in the U.S. Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* 49:313–326.
- Lieberman, Robert C. 1998. *Shifting the Color Line: Race and the American Welfare State*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lublin, David. 1997. *The Paradox of Representation: Racial Gerrymandering and Minority Interests in Congress*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Neubeck, Kenneth J. and Noel A. Cazenave. 2001. *Welfare Racism: Playing the Race Card Against America's Poor*. New York: Routledge.
- Oleszek, Walter J. 2004. *Congressional Procedures and the Policy Process*. Sixth ed. Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press.
- R Development Core Team. 2007. *R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing*. Vienna, Austria: R Foundation for Statistical Computing. ISBN 3-900051-07-0.
URL: <http://www.R-project.org>
- Reed, Adolph. 2000. *Class Notes: Posing as Politics and Other Thoughts on the American Scene*. New York: The New Press.
- Shelby, Tommie. 2005. *We Who are Dark: The Philosophical Foundations of Black Solidarity*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University.
- Smith, Robert C. 1992. "Politics" is Not Enough: The Institutionalization of the African American Freedom Movement. In *From Exclusion to Inclusion: The Long Struggle for African American Political Power*, ed. Ralph C. Gomes and Linda Faye Williams. New York: Greenwood Press pp. 97–126.

- Steensland, Brian. 2006. "Cultural Categories and the American Welfare State: The Case of Guaranteed Income Policy." *American Journal of Sociology* 111:1273–1326.
- Strolovitch, Dara Z. 2006. "Do Interest Groups Represent the Disadvantaged? Advocacy at the Intersections of Race, Class, and Gender." *Journal of Politics* 68:894–910.
- Sulkin, Tracy. 2005. *Issue Politics in Congress*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Talbert, Jeffrey C., Bryan D. Jones and Frank R. Baumgartner. 1995. "Nonlegislative Hearings and Policy Change in Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* 39:383–405.
- Tate, Katherine. 1994. *From Protest to Politics: The New Black Voters in American Elections*. Enlarged ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Walton, Hanes and Robert C. Smith. 2003. *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom*. 2nd ed. New York: Longman Publishers.
- Weldon, S. Laurel. 2006. "The Structure of Intersectionality: A Comparative Politics of Gender." *Politics and Gender* 2:235–248.
- Whitby, Kenny J. 1997. *The Color of Representation: Congressional Behavior and Black Interests*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Whitby, Kenny J. and George A. Krause. 2001. "Race, Issue Heterogeneity and Public Policy: The Republican Revolution in the 104th U.S. Congress and the Representation of African-American Policy Interests." *British Journal of Political Science* 31:555–572.
- Williams, Linda Faye. 2003. *The Constraint of Race: Legacies of White Skin Privilege in America*. University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Zeileis, Achim, Christian Kleiber, Walter Krmer and Kurt Hornik. 2003. "Testing and Dating of Structural Changes in Practice." *Computational Statistics and Data Analysis* 44:109–123.
- Zeileis, Achim, Friedrich Leisch, Kurt Hornik and Christian Kleiber. 2002. "strucchange: An R Package for Testing for Structural Change in Linear Regression Models." *Journal of Statistical Software* 7:1–38.