PREDICTORS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MUNICIPAL REPRESENTATION

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Abstract

The article presents the results of a path analysis that investigates the explanatory power of five new predictors of African American municipal representation against seven traditional predictors of municipal representation. The findings generally indicate that African American personnel directors and the percentage of African Americans in the city population are the most consistent predictors of African American municipal representation. African American actors in the internal environment of the personnel game--personnel directors, administrators, mayors, and council members—are also generally more predictive of African American municipal representation than variables in the external environments of municipalities.

Factors that affect the racial composition of American cities have been investigated empirically for over 25 years. Spurned by alarming statistics demonstrating the underrepresentation of African Americans in municipal government, scholar such as Eisinger (1982a, 1982b), Dye and Renick (1981), Kerr and Mladenka (1994), Lewis and Nice (1994), McClain (1993), Sigelman and Karnig (1977), Stein (1986), Stein and Condrey (1987) have commonly investigated the relationship between African American municipal representation and African American mayors and city council members, African American municipal population, city population, municipal union strength, the percentage of African American holding college degrees, and geographic region. However, only one empirical study has looked at the relationship between African American municipal representation and African American administrators (Kerr and Mladenka, 1994), and *no* studies have investigated the relationship between municipal representation and African American personnel directors, African American businesses, African American interest group strength, and the outsourcing of municipal services. Moreover, no studies have investigated the relationship between internal and external predictors of municipal representation in the form of a path analysis.

This article consequently presents the results of a study that examines the relationship between African American municipal representation and the five preceding new predictors and the seven preceding traditional predictors. It also investigates these predictors in the form of a path analysis where variables in the internal environment of municipalities are viewed as intervening variables that mediate the effects of antecedent variables in the external environment of municipalities (see Figure 1).

(Figure 1 about here)

African American elected officials have the capacity to influence African American municipal representation through appointing officials committed to representation, enacting and enforcing affirmative action plans, symbolizing that municipal employment is open, and exercising their informal influence over bureaucratic employment practices. However, on a daily basis, African American mayors and council members are further removed from employee

selection processes than African American personnel directors and administrators. Beyond examining five new predictors of African American representation in the context of a path analysis, this research helps discern whether African American elected officials or African American personnel directors and administrators are the most critical actors in determining African American municipal representation.

Predictors of Municipal Representation

Traditional Predictors Investigated

The empirical research generally supports the link between African American mayors and African American municipal employment, especially in professional and administrative positions (Eisinger 1982a, 1982b, 1983; Mladenka 1989; Stein 1986; Stein and Condrey 1987). Kerr and Mladenka's (1994), however, found that African American mayors have little impact over time on African American employment in official/administrative, professional, and protective service jobs. The research on African American city council members and municipal representation, in turn, demonstrates mixed results. Dye and Renick's (1981) and Browning's et al. (1984) investigations generally supports this relationship, while Eisinger's (1982a) research fails to demonstrate a relationship between African American municipal employment and African American city council members.

To resolve these inconsistent findings and to examine interactions between predictors, Mladenka (1989) analyzed African American employment patterns in over 1,200 cities with populations over 10,000. He found that African American municipal employment levels are a function of African American city council representation in unreformed city governments, in Southern cities with ward elections, and in Western cities with at-large elections. Since Mladenka's research, however, studies (Kerr and Mladenka 1994; McClain 1993; Lewis and Nice 1994; Sylvia and Haas 1998) yield inconsistent results regarding the relationship between African American municipal representation and African American council members.

Beyond mayors and city council members, the most commonly investigated predictors of African American municipal representation are the percentage of African Americans in the city population, municipal population, union strength, African American education level, and geographic region. With few exceptions, the empirical research indicates that the municipal population and the percentage of African Americans in the city population have a positive association with African American municipal representation (Behr 2000; Browning, Marshall, and Tabb 1984; Dye and Renick 1981; Eisinger 1982a, 1982b; Hall and Saltzstein 1977; Hutchins and Sigelman 1981; Kerr and Mladenka 1994; McClain 1993; Mladenka 1989; Stein 1986; Sylvia and Haas 1998).

Empirical research also demonstrates that unions are adept at keeping African Americans out of police and fire departments (Lewis 1988), that African American males in state and local government are more occupationally segregated when employees are organized into unions (Lewis and Nice 1994), and that union coverage has a negative relationship with African American professional employees (Eisinger 1982b).

Although human capital theory makes a strong case for a positive relationship between that African American employment and African American education levels (Becker 1962; Mincer 1994), a majority of studies indicate that various measures of education do *not* predict African American municipal or state and local representation (Dye and Renick 1981; Eisinger 1982a, 1982b; Hutchins and Sigelman 1981; Lewis and Nice 1994; McClain 1993). Although Sigelman and Karnig (1977) and Hall and Saltzstein (1977) provide exceptions to these findings, Sigelman and Karnig found the percentage of African American *college* graduates, absolutely and relatively to Whites, to be weakly associated with African American representation.

Finally, research indicates complex regional variations in African American municipal employment. While Stein (1986) demonstrates a positive relationship between the Sunbelt and African American representation, Eisinger (1982b) shows a negative relationship between the Sunbelt and African Americans in administrative, managerial, and professional municipal jobs.

Sigelman and Karnig's (1977) research, in turn, indicates that education has a more positive impact on African American representation in the South, while Mladenka's (1989) research specifies that Southern cities with unreformed governments and ward elections are more likely to employ African Americans.

Although the preceding studies examine direct relationships between exogenous variables and African American municipal representation, the rationale for the direct relationships also applies to African American representation at the level of personnel director, administrator, mayor, and city council member. Specifically, unions generally do not support affirmative action efforts to improve African American representation because such efforts interfere with seniority rights to jobs and promotions (Lewis and Nice 1994; Riccucci 1986). Beyond maintaining elaborate entrance and promotion requirements that can limit African American access to municipal jobs (Piven, 1973), unions can dissuade African Americans from serving as personnel directors, mayors, and council members through creating excessively demanding collective bargaining procedures, inducing fears of work stoppages, and limiting discretion that can be exercised over municipal employees.

Human capital theory suggests that African American employment is positively related to African American education levels. African Americans are more employable when they possess knowledge, skills, abilities, experience, aptitude, training, or education in sufficient quantity demanded by the labor market (Becker 1962; Mincer 1994). With college degrees, African Americans are not only able to enhance their eligibility and competitiveness for a variety of merit appointments at all levels, they enhance African American confidence and competitiveness in running for political offices.

As populations of cities increase, African American municipal representation is said to increase because residents of large cities are more tolerant of minorities, whether they be elected officials, personnel directors, administrators, or the general mass of municipal employees (Kerr and Mladenka 1991; Saltzstein 1983). Larger cities also have greater employment opportunities

for African Americans, more resources for advertising jobs at all levels, more media outlets that appeal to African Americans, and more "articulate advocates" to demand public jobs (Stein 1986; Sylvia and Haas 1998; Thompson 1978, 333). Large African American municipal populations, in turn, allow for larger African American labor pools from which to hire at all levels and from which to recruit candidates for mayor and city council. Large African American populations also provide the foundation for electing African American mayors and council members and purportedly cause a waning of White interest in municipal jobs (Eisinger 1982a).

Finally, healthy Sunbelt cities of the South have tax-revenue bases that prevent the layoff of African American employees, allow for comprehensive recruitment campaigns, increase the attractiveness of elected and appointed leadership positions, and afford competitive salaries at all levels. Growing in size and number of services provided, Sunbelt cities offer greater numbers and variety of jobs for which African Americans may be eligible (Stein, 1986). Southern cities also have large African American populations that increase the likelihood of electing African American mayors and council members and increase the candidate pool for elected positions and high-level merit appointments.

New Predictors Investigated

African American Personnel Directors and Administrators

Externality theory, an economic theory that Saltzstein (1986) uses to explain gender representation in municipalities, suggests that the mere presence of African American personnel directors and administrators influences African American municipal representation, even when they do not take direct action to increase racial representation. The presence of African American officials has a positive unintended consequence, or external benefit, of increasing representation. Individuals forced to interact with African American personnel directors and administrators become more appreciative of African American capabilities and more aware of potential and actual employment barriers to African Americans. Perceiving that a municipal government headed by an African American personnel directors and administrators is more

receptive to African American job applicants, African Americans are also be more inclined to apply for municipal jobs.

Administrative advocacy theory, in turn, suggests that African American personnel directors and administrators are more inclined to advocate the recruitment, selection, and promotion of African Americans than non-African Americans. These actors use their education and experience to access and influence decision makers to further African American interests, including African American representation (Henderson 1973). In other words, they transcend the "purely technical or professional bounds of their roles" (Mosher, 1982, 14) to pursue and implement policy preferences articulated by the African American community (Henderson 1973). Such advocacy is often regarded as not only natural, but obligatory in municipal bureaucracies where African Americans are underrepresented (Henderson 1973).

Beyond their positive externalities and potential to advocate for African Americans, African American personnel directors influence African American representation through "developing and shaping the spectrum of personnel processes that determine the nature and characteristics of the applicant pool from which employees are selected" (Thompson 1978, 329). For example, they influence recruitment to local government through exercising discretion over the types of employment tests administered and over how the tests are scored (Thompson 1978, 329). Thompson (1978) further claims that personnel administrators affect representation by putting pressure on municipal departments that hire few African Americans, that expend little effort to recruit African Americans, or that have a substantial number of entry-level openings. The National Civil Service League (1973) investigation of cities with populations greater than 100,000 and African American populations greater than 10 percent, in turn, concludes that most barriers to African American representation could be overcome by reforms initiated by personnel administrators through interpretation of existing laws and administrative rules. Ultimately, to the extent that African American personnel directors are more inclined than White personnel

directors to exert pressure on departments to initiate reforms and to have a positive orientation toward hiring African Americans, representation should be enhanced through their presence.

In addition to externality and administrative advocacy theory, majority dominance theory also suggests that African American municipal representation is positively associated with the presence of African American administrators. This theory contends that when African Americans reach majority or plurality status, they begin to obtain a disproportionate share of municipal jobs, especially in relation to other ethnic groups (Blalock 1967; McClain 1993, 408). Given that a major responsibility of administrators is the selection and promotion of employees, African American administrators are in a special position to increase African American representation when they are a majority or plurality (McClain 1993; Meier and Smith 1994). Scholars further claim that African American administrators are less prejudiced against members of their own group, desire to improve the status of African Americans in government, and are willing to take affirmative measures to make employment policies and outcomes more favorable to African Americans (Eisinger 1982b, 1983; Henderson 1973; Thompson and Brown 1978).

Municipal Outsourcing

Many cities hire part-time workers as a strategy to eliminate costly benefits that must be paid to full-time workers. When municipalities downsize through outsourcing or privatizing, African American workers are the most likely to be dismissed because they generally have the least seniority and serve in the lowest occupational categories (Stein 1994). In a case study of St. Louis, Stein (1994) found that when the city privatized operations to balance the budget, African American municipal workers dropped noticeably because the city eliminated positions that African Americans held in greater number than Whites.

African American Interest Groups

Prominent organizations like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), National Urban League, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and Congress of Racial Equality are well organized, have strong African American support, and are

motivated by concerns for community welfare and character (Preston 1976). They have been especially active and important participants in the struggle for equal employment opportunity. African American interest groups also increase representation through identifying community interests and organizing activities in support of these interests, recruiting political leaders who are sympathetic to African American causes, developing and promoting political education programs, enhancing African American bargaining power with city councils and municipal bureaucracies, and helping community members penetrate the inner circles of municipal government (Jones 1978; Pressman 1976). Interest group efforts to enhance African American representation in elected or appointed leadership roles is a means to many political ends that may or may not include enhancing municipal racial diversity. Even when racial diversity is not an end, it becomes a byproduct of successful interest group efforts to see that African Americans are elected or appointed to municipal leadership positions.

African American Businesses

African American businesses siphon talent that would otherwise be attracted to municipal government (Eisinger 1982a). This is true at all levels of employment, but especially at leadership levels such as personnel director, mayor, and city council member. Although African Americans have been more dependent on the public sector than private industry for white-collar jobs, ownership of a private business is a strong and enduring cultural preference among African Americans (Eisinger 1982a, 1982b). Moreover, although number of African America businesses has not been investigated as a variable in representation research, Eisinger's (1982b, 767) research reveals that African American municipal representation varies negatively with changes in the proportion of African American among officials and managers in private industry.

Data Collection

To test the hypothesized model, data on African American municipal representation were requested from American cities (191) with populations of 50,000 or more in which African Americans constitute at least 10 percent of the population. Previous studies (e.g., Dye and

Renick 1981; Eisinger 1982a, 1982b; Karnig 1979) determined that it is not reasonable to expect

an African American mayor or proportional representation in municipal government unless a city

has a population of at least 50,000 and an African American population of at least 10 percent of

the population. We also limited the research to African Americans because combining data on

minorities "obscures almost as much as it reveals because of the distinct social, cultural, and

economic differences among these groups" (Hutchins and Sigelman 1981, 83). Responses were

ultimately received from 125 cities (65.44 percent); however, only 114 cities (59.68 percent)

responded with useable data.

African American representation was operationalized as the percentage of African

Americans employed fulltime by municipal government in nine job categories common to all

cities investigated. The Equal Employment Opportunity Index (EEOI) was also utilized as a

measure of African American representation. One calculates this index by dividing the

percentage of African American municipal employees by the percentage of African Americans in

a city's population. Finally, to develop an understanding of the predictors of representation in

better paying jobs, we investigated the percentage of African American in professional positions.

Professional positions generally require specialized or theoretical knowledge that is acquired

through a college education, relevant work experience, or specialized post-secondary training.

Affirmative action and EEO-4 reports that municipal governments are required to file with the

U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) were the source of data for the

different measures of African American representation.

Data measuring the presence of African American mayors, personnel directors, and

municipal administrators were obtained from the *Municipal Yearbook* (International City

Management Association [ICMA] 1997b), *Municipal Yellow Pages* (1997), *National Conference

of Black Mayors Directory* (1997), *National Roster of Black and Hispanic Elected Officials*

(National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials 1997), and *National League of

Cities* (1998). To allow African American mayors a modest amount of time to have an effect on

African American representation, the presence of an African American mayor was recorded only if a mayor had held office two consecutive years. We obtained data measuring the percentage of African American city council members from the ICMA's report *Municipal Form of Government: Trends in Structure, Responsibility, and Composition* (ICMA 1996).

Data measuring the percentage of services outsourced were extracted from the *Profile of Local Government Delivery Choices* (ICMA 1997a). Outsourcing was operationalized as the awarding of a franchise, concession, license, or right (exclusive or non-exclusive) to private firms to deliver municipal service within a specific geographic area. Firms that were granted a franchise, concession, or license solely for health, safety, or revenue-raising purposes, however, were not counted because these functions are not common to all 191 cities investigated.

Data regarding the percentage of the municipal workforce covered by a collective bargaining agreement were obtained from the *Union Membership and Earnings Data Book: Compilations from the Current Population Survey, 1997 edition* (U.S. Department of Commerce 1997) and the ICMA (1998) report *Labor Management Relations*. Data for the percentage of African Americans who are members of an African American interest group were obtained from past and present officials of NAACP chapters. These officials were promised anonymity in exchange for the data.

We obtained data on the number of businesses owned by African Americans from the *1992 Economic Census: Survey of Minority-Owned Enterprises Business Enterprises, Black, (SMOBE), MB92-1* (U.S. Department of Commerce 1992a). Data pertaining to the percentage of African Americans with a college degree were obtained from the *1990 Census of the Population, CPH-L-96* (U.S. Department of Commerce 1992b). We operationalized education level as the percentage of African Americans with a college education because holding a college degree was assumed critical for securing most professional positions. Finally, data measuring the African American population and labor force were obtained from the Census Bureau's 1990 census of the population (U.S. Department of Commerce 1992b).

Findings

Individual hypotheses were initially tested through Pearson correlations. The correlations indicate that the percentage of African Americans in the city is associated with all of the actors in the internal environment of municipalities (see Table 1). They also indicate that number of African American businesses is significantly associated with African American mayors and the percentage of African American administrators. City population is significantly associated with percentage of African American administrators and African American mayors.

(Table 1 about here)

The correlations further indicate that three of the five newer predictors—African American personnel directors, African American administrators, and African American businesses—are consistently associated with the measures of African American municipal representation (see Table 1). However, number of African American businesses demonstrates an unpredicted *positive* association with the representation measures. The correlations also indicate that of the traditional predictors, African American mayors, African American city council members, and percentage of African Americans in the city population are significantly related to the percentage of African American employees and percentage of African Americans in professional positions. These correlations are substantial and a little larger than the correlations between the representation measures and African American personnel directors and African American administrators. The data further indicate that the South has a significantly larger percentage of African American municipal employees than the non-South. A positive association between the EEO index and city population is the remaining statistically significant correlation between the dependent variables and predictors.

Regressions between the independent and intervening variables indicate that the percentage of African Americans in the city is the only variable significantly related to African American personnel directors and the percentage of African Americans on city council (see Table 2). African American businesses and city population are significantly related to the

percentage of African American administrators. And, a logistic regression reveals that African American businesses, the percentage of employees under collective bargaining agreements, the percentage of African Americans in the city, and the South are significantly related to African American mayors. Overall, the exogenous variables explain a modest (r^2=.14) to moderate (r^2=.50) amount of variance in the endogenous variables. Finally, regressions between outsourcing and the measures of representation indicate insignificant relationships.[1]

(Table 2 about here)

Regressions controlling for the effects of all the predictors on representation indicate that African American personnel directors and percentage of African Americans in the city population are significantly related to all of the dependent variables (see Table 2 and Figures 2, 3, 4). The presence of an African American mayor is significantly related to African American representation in all jobs and professional positions. The number of African American administrators, in turn, is the only other variable significantly related to African Americans in professional positions.

(Figures 2, 3, and 4 about here)

Seven of the nine significant regression coefficients are quite large. For example, the presence of an African American personnel director is associated with a 21.3 percent increase in the EEO index, and the presence of an African American mayor is associated with an 8.5 percent increase in African Americans in professional positions. The direction of the relationship between the percentage of African Americans in the city and the EEO index is also opposite to that expected. The predictors ultimately explain a substantial amount of variation in African American representation in all jobs (r^2= .77) and professional positions (r^2=.63) and a moderate amount of variation in the EEO index (r^2 = .26).

Discussion

In sum, the correlation analysis in Table 1 supports nine of the 12 hypothesized relationships between the variables investigated for the first or second time and the measures of

African American representation. They also generally support the body of previous research demonstrating a relationship between African American municipal representation and African American mayors, African American city council members, and African American municipal population.   Moreover, the correlations reveal a higher percentage (47.2 percent) of significant relationships between the independent and dependent variables than between the independent and intervening variables (28.6 percent).

In testing for the most parsimonious models of prediction, regressions indicate that African American personnel directors and African American municipal population are the most consistent predictors of African American municipal representation, followed closely by African American mayors. African Americans municipal population also appears to have an indirect relationship with representation through its association with African American personnel directors and African American mayors. Of the two external variables investigated for the first time, only African American businesses appears to have an effect on a dependent variable that is mediated by a variable in the internal environment of municipalities. Finally, the regressions reveal that more variables in the internal environments of municipalities predict African American representation than do variables in the external environment of municipalities.

Contrary to expectations, African American municipal representation is not adversely affected by outsourcing. This possibly reflects that increasing numbers of African Americans have sufficient seniority to avoid being laid off or are entitled to a transfer when their jobs are eliminated (Stein 1994). Although a number of the cities studied have outsourced some municipal services, affirmative action and EEO-4 reports also show that new hires actually climbed, African Americans are a significant portion of those new hires, and that the percentage of African Americans in senior positions has stayed the same or increased slightly.

That African American interest group membership failed to predict African American municipal representation may reflect the unreliability of the interest group measure. Fluctuations in the annual membership numbers can occur because interest groups fail to report accurate

membership information, chapters dissolve their association, and chapter members fail to renew their membership. Another explanation is that the research did not accurately specify the relationship between African American interest groups and African American municipal representation. Electoral-interest group theory suggests that policy outcomes are a result of a social system rather than the *direct* influence of interest groups (Cingranelli 1981). Interest groups help transform potential African American voters into *actual* voters who, in turn, help elect and pressure African American mayors into appointing African American officials and enacting policies and programs to improve African American representation.

The absence of a relationship between the percentage of African Americans employed by municipal government and the percentage of African Americans with a college degree is consistent with the majority of past studies and the body of research demonstrating that degrees earned are not the most valid predictors of work performance (Schmidt and Hunter 1998). More valid criteria, such as previous experience, test scores, and work samples, may be more important in selection decisions. Moreover, a majority of the jobs in the municipalities surveyed may not require a college degree, and the range of African Americans in the city population with a college degree (2.22 percent to 16.36 percent) may have been too narrow to affect representation.

That unions do not adversely impact African American municipal representation may reflect efforts by unions to improve the employment status of African Americans (Riccucci 1986). Unions with a history of opposition to affirmative action may have also decreased their resistance to diversity efforts in order to concentrate on such problems as fighting lawsuits against law enforcement officers, increasing pay and benefits, and protecting officer safety (Lewis 1988; Riccucci 1986). The absence of a relationship may also reflect that the power of municipal unions has diminished to the point where they lack sufficient strength to continue to fight affirmative action and equal employment opportunity programs (Riccucci 1986).

The unpredicted positive relationship between African American businesses and African American representation perhaps reflects the expansion of African American businesses in

healthy economies that generates revenues that allow municipal programs and employment to expand. Vibrant African American businesses may also attract a surplus of African American labor that provides municipalities a wider base of African American talent from which to choose.

The unpredicted relationship between the percentage of African Americans in the city and the EEO Index might reflect the size and strength of informal Caucasian networks, particularly in smaller cities.[2] Facilitated by easy access to group members in smaller towns, Caucasian networks might become increasingly insular, prejudicial, and inclined to hire from within when minorities become an increasing competitive employment threat through growing in size. Coupled with the fact that smaller cities often have less well-developed merit systems, affirmative action plans, and grievance procedures, African Americans in smaller cities may experience fewer protections and outreach efforts that would help ensure their representation.

Conclusion

Jones (1978) and Pressman (1976) argue that the ability and willingness of African American mayors to impact racial representation depends more on their leadership traits, personal characteristics, and cultural values than political, organizational, or environmental factors. Future research might investigate the relationship between representation and the characteristics, ideologies, and leadership styles of African American mayors, city council members, personnel directors, and administrators. Such research might be especially sensitive to the relationship between municipal representation and the orientation of these actors toward active versus passive representation of African Americans.

City managers are also in an influential position to initiate diversity efforts and to advocate racial representation (Mulrooney 1971; Slack 1987). In large cities, they can directly influence the attitude and behavior of personnel directors and affirmative action officers, while in smaller cities, they may be the chief administrative officer, senior personnel manager, or person responsible for EEO and affirmative action programs (Slack 1987, 200). Future research might

investigate the relationship between African American representation and the race, values, characteristics, and leadership styles of city managers.

Since 1995 several cities have passed laws barring the use of employment programs based on race, gender, or ethnicity. Future research might investigate the relationship between municipal representation and the passage of these laws and the political factors leading to their passage. Finally, future research might utilize longitudinal data to discern the causal sequencing of the factors affecting representation and might investigate the capacity of African American personnel directors and administrators to affect representation at the state and federal levels.

Although past research on the relationship between African American representation and African American mayors and council members yields mixed results, our correlation analysis further reveals that African American mayors and council members are generally associated with African American municipal representation. The correlation matrix in Appendix A also demonstrates collinearity between the percentage of African Americans in the city and African American council members (r=.672) and African American Mayors (r=.456) that may be suppressing the relationship between African American representation and African American mayors and council members in the regressions presented here. Keeping this collinearity in mind, our findings demonstrate that African American personnel directors surface as the leading actors that predict African American representation.

This research also demonstrates that African American municipal population continues to be a leading predictor of African American municipal representation. However, manipulating the African American population in order to enhance African American representation is not an easy task, nor necessarily a desirable task if enhancing racial diversity has a deleterious impact on the diversity of suburban areas, rural areas, or other cities. On the other hand, appointing an African American personnel director is a much simpler and easy task to accomplish that this research suggests holds much promise for enhancing racial diversity in American municipalities.

Notes

1. Regressions between outsourcing and the dependent variables indicate insignificant unstandardized coefficients of .101 (SE=.017) for African Americans in all jobs, of .161 (SE=.114) for the EE0 index, and of 7.634E-02 (SE=.016) for African Americans in professional positions.

2. Cities were divided into groups with the largest and smallest African American populations, and the regressions were rerun. The regressions indicate that the percentage of African Americans in the city demonstrates a significant negative relationship with the EEOI (unstandardized coefficient=-4.240, SE =1.431) in the 57 city with the smallest African American populations. Percentage African American population was not significantly related to the EEOI in the 57 cities with the largest African American populations.

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TABLE 1. PEARSON CORRLEATIONS BETWEEN THE PREDICTORS AND THE INTERVENING AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES

| | Intervening Variables | | | | Dependent Variables: AA in | | |
| | AA Personnel | # AA | | % AA | | | |
Predictors	Director	Administrators	AA Mayor	City Council	All Jobs	EEOI	Profess. Positions
1. AA Personnel							
Director					.393***	.176*	.419***
2. # AA Administrators					.364**	.186*	.450***
3. AA Mayor					.466***	.084	.522***
4. % AA on City Council					.554**	-.103	.542***
5. % Jobs Outsourced					.141	.105	.117
6. # AA Businesses	.021	.594***	.375***	.087	.365***	.215*	.335***
7. % AA in AA							
Interest Groups	-.093	-.024	.079	-.051	-.105	-.086	-.079
8. % Employees under							
Collective Bargain	.060	-.058	-.068	-.052	-.109	-.013	-.021.
9. % AA College							
Graduates	-.062	.005	.087	.043	-.112	-.119	.006

10. City Population	-.079	.427***	.166*	-.092	.081	.245**	.093
11. % AA in City							
Population	.320***	.259**	.456***	.672***	.836***	-.087	.652***
12. South	-.056	.120	-.082	.095	.320***	.059	.119

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, one-tailed significance

Note: AA=African American, Bargain.=Bargaining, Profess.=Professional

TABLE 2. REGRESSIONS PREDICTING THE INTERVENING AND DEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Intervening Variables				Dependent Variables: AA in		
	AA Personnel	% AA		% AA			
	Director	Administrators	AA Mayor[a]	City Council	All Jobs	EEOI	Profess. Positions
Predictors	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)	B (SE)
1. AA Personnel					6.286**	21.278**	8.377***
Director					(1.759)	(7.023)	(2.031)
2. # AA Administrators					1.360E-02	2.946E-02	3.724E-02***
					(.008)	(.033)	(.010)
3. AA Mayor					5.501*	19.092	8.466**
					(2.476)	(9.884)	(2.858)
4. % AA on City Council					5.979E-03	-8.766E-02	.110
					(.053)	(.212)	(.061)
5. # AA Businesses	-8.535E-05	.492***	.008*	-2.919E-02	2.102E-03	-6.554E-03	-3.178E-03
	(.000)	(.104)	(.004)	(.017)	(.010)	(.041)	(.012)

6. % AA in AA	–4.262E-02	3.649	.331	-.251	-.341	-2.417	-.411
Interest Groups	(.037)	(7.769)	(.347)	(1.242)	(.673)	(2.686)	(.777)
7. % Employees under	-6.409E-05	-8.459E-02	-.030*	-2.704E-02	1.853E-02	5.391E-02	2.544E-02
Collective Bargain.	(.001)	(.265)	(.012)	(.042)	(.023)	(.093)	(.027)
8. % AA College	-2.319E-03	-.412	.047	.226	-.114	-.539	3.478E-02
Graduates	(.005)	(.988)	(.037)	(.158)	(.085)	(.341)	(.099)
9. City Population	-5.457E-08	-1.082E-04*	-2.100E-06*	9.746E-06	1.519E-06	1.829E-05	4.335E-07
	(.000)	(.000)	(1.938E-06)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)	(.000)
10. % AA in City	1.204E-02**	-.371	.115**	1.147***	.677***	-.782*	.275*
11. Population	(.004)	(.812)	(.035)	(.130)	(.094)	(.377)	(.109)
12. South	-.176	11.701	3.309**	-6.037	5.184	15.371	1.662
	(.106)	(22.354)	(1.017)	(3.575)	(2.075)	(8.282)	(2.395)
R^2	.147	.394	.398	.496	.772	.208	.631

*$p<.05$, **$p<.01$, ***$p<.001$

Note: AA=African American, Bargain.=Bargaining, Profess.=Professional

a=results of a logistic regression

APPENDIX A: CORRELATION MATRIX FOR THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Independent Variables	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. AA Personnel Director	.011	.066	.257**	-.131	.021	-.093	.060	-.062	-.079	.320**	-.056
2. # AA Administrators		.332***	.099	.061	.594***	-.024	-.058	.005	.427***	.259**	.120
3. AA Mayor			.429***	.202*	.375***	.079	-.068	.087	.166	.456***	-.082
4. % AA on City Council				.012	.087	-.051	-.052	.043	-.092	.672***	.095
5. % Jobs Outsourced					.199	-.015	-.049	-.028	.029	.151	.032
6. # AA Businesses						-.063	.025	.048	.870***	.286**	.030
7. % AA in AA Interest Groups							.115	-.102	-.015	-.080	-.183
8. % Employees under Collective Bargain.								-.122	.084	-.100	-.590***
9. % AA College Graduates									.027	-.072	-.011
10. City Population										-.036	-.103

11. % AA in City

    Population   .300**

12. South

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*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, two-tailed significance

Note: AA=African American, Bargain.=Bargaining

External Variables   **Internal Variables**   **Dependent Variables**

AA Businesses[a]

AA Interest Group Support[a]

% Under Collective Bargaining   AA Personnel Director[a]

% AA with College Degrees   % AA Administrators[a]   % AA in Municipal Gov't

City Population   AA Mayor   EEO Index

% AA in City Population   % AA on City Council   % AA Professionals

South   % Services Outsourced[a]
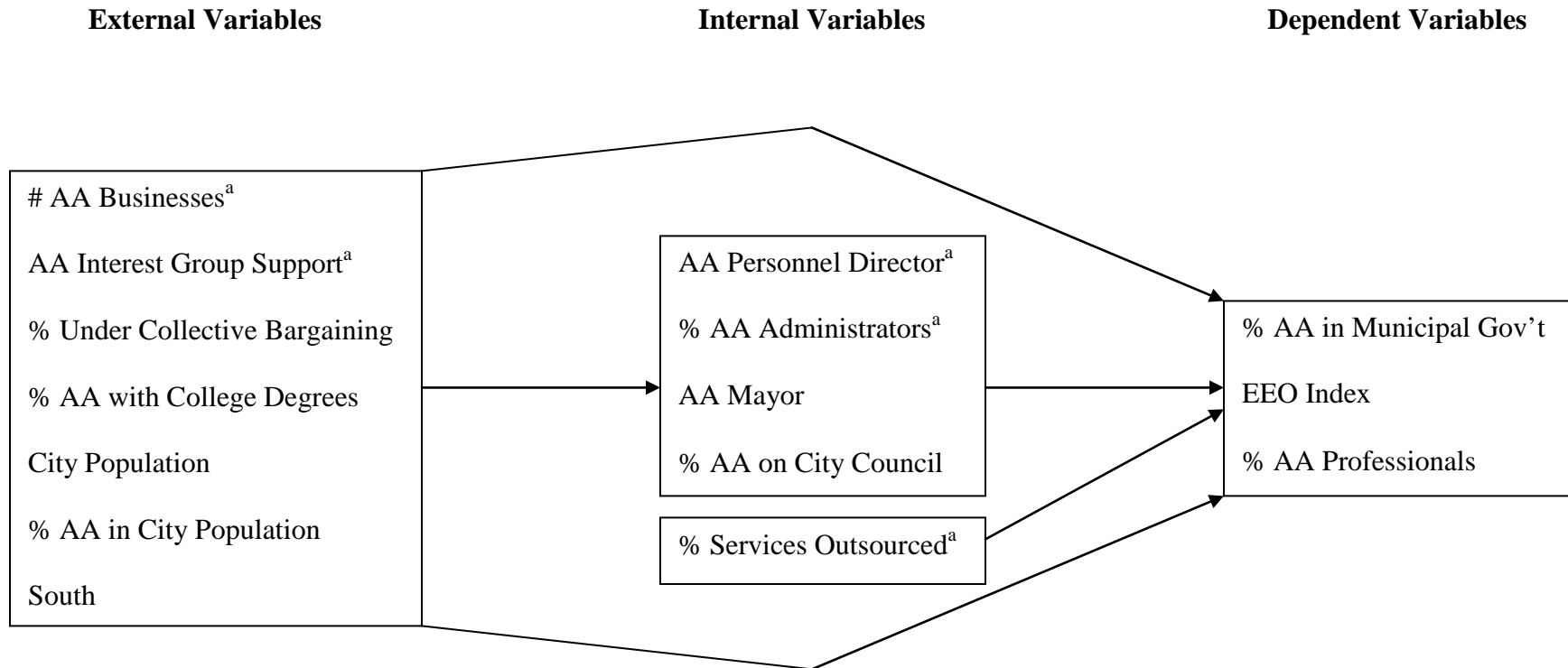
Figure 1. **Model Predicting African American Municipal Representation**

Note: AA=African American, Gov't=Government, EEO=Equal Employment Opportunity
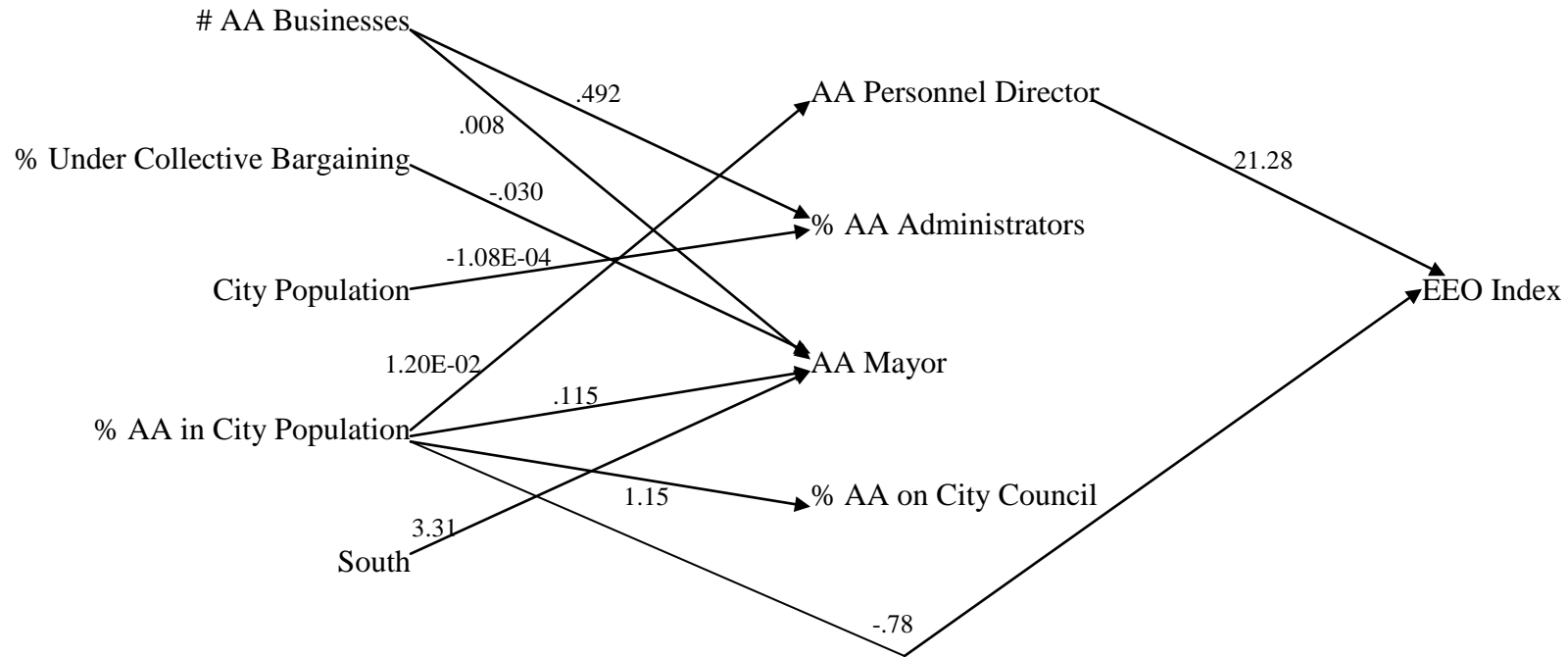
[a]Variables empirically investigated for the first or second time.
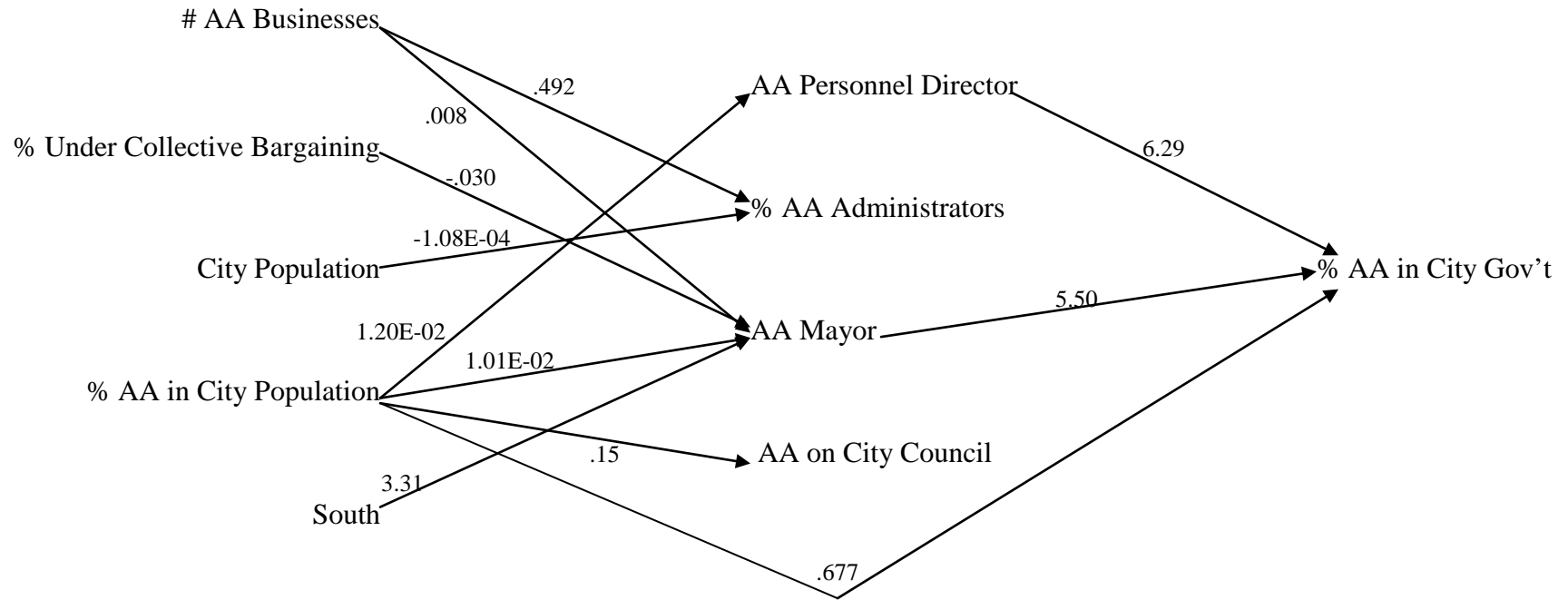
Figure 2. **Predictors of African American Representation in All Municipal Jobs**
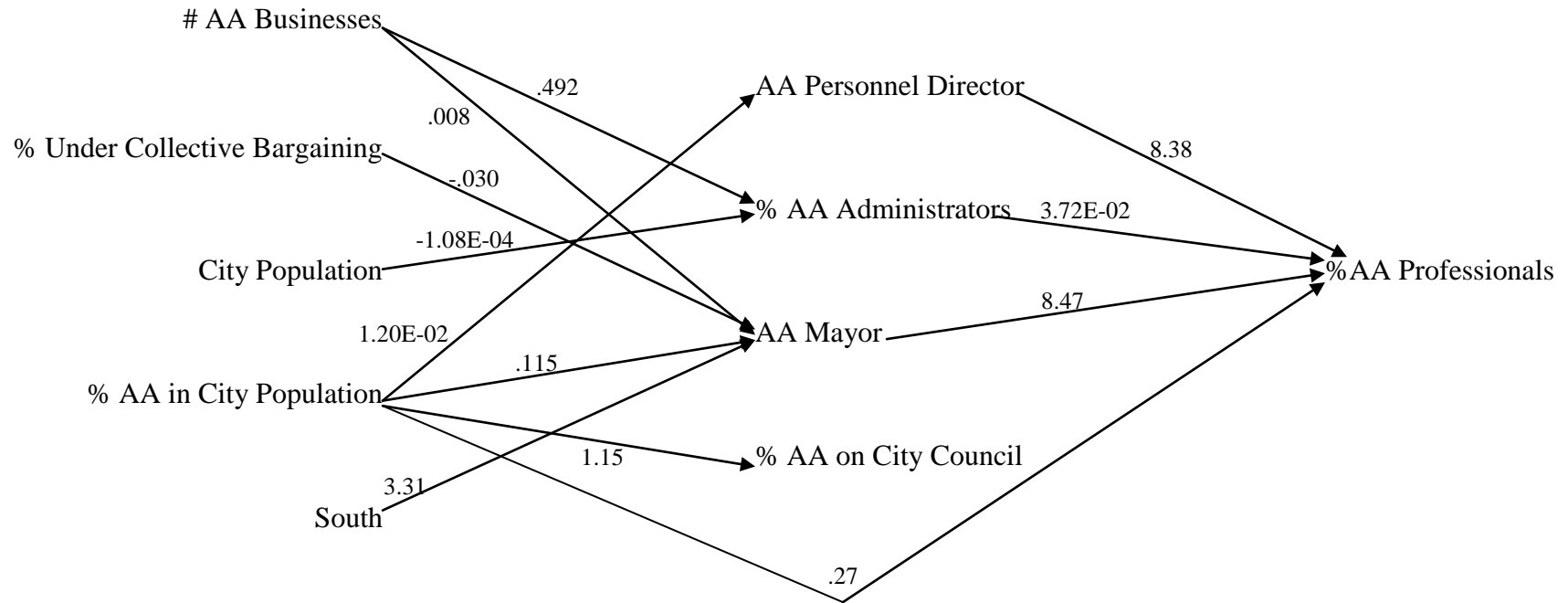
Note: AA=African American, Gov't=Government

Figure 3. **Predictors of African American Representation According to the EEO Index**

Note: AA=African American, EEO=Equal Employment Opportunity

Figure 4. **Predictors of African American Representation in Municipal Professional Positions**

Note: AA=African American

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