

**DIVERSITY AMONG ELECTED OFFICIALS
IN THE PITTSBURGH REGION IN 2002**

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Monique Constance-Huggins, M.A.
Ralph L. Bangs, Ph.D.
University Center for Social and Urban Research
University of Pittsburgh

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The purpose of this study is to examine the level of diversity of African Americans and women in elected offices in the Pittsburgh MSA. The study has three specific aims:

1. Measure the share of African Americans and women among different types of elected officials in the Pittsburgh MSA.
2. Identify cities, among the 52 largest US cities, that have high levels of African Americans and women elected officials compared to population shares and identify reasons for the success
3. Make recommendations for increasing the level of diversity among elected officials in the Pittsburgh region

Between June and November 2002 we collected data on the diversity among US elected officials for the Pittsburgh area; state elected officials for the Pittsburgh area; county elected officials for the region; major city mayors; mayors, council presidents and council members in the Pittsburgh MSA; school board members in the Pittsburgh MSA and council members for the 52 largest US cities. We used web searches, faxes and the telephone to obtain such data.

Our primary method for determining level of diversity is to compare the ratio of African Americans and women among elected officials to the share of African Americans and women in the population. If the ratio of African Americans among elected officials is greater than or equal to the share of African Americans and women in the population, then the representation is judged to be “fair”.

The study’s positive findings about African American and women representation are:

- Ten municipalities and one county in the region have fair levels of African Americans on their councils. They include Scottdale borough, North Belle Vernon borough, Brackenridge borough, Finleyville borough, Coraopolis borough, Leetsdale borough, Washington city, Homestead borough, Beaver Falls city, McKeesport city and Allegheny county.
- There are seven municipalities in the region which boast fair levels of female representation on their councils. They include Finleyville borough, Frazier township, Whitaker borough, Aleppo township, Marianna borough, Delmont borough, and East McKeesport borough.
- The school districts with the best racial diversity on their school boards are Big Beaver Falls, New Kensington Arnold, Cornel, Gateway, East Allegheny, Rochester Area, Pittsburgh and Midland.
- Fifteen school districts in the region boast fair levels of gender diversity on their school boards. These include Penn Hills, Chartiers Valley, East Allegheny,

Wilkinsburg borough, Franklin Regional, Monessen city, Trinity Area, Black Hawk, Riverside Beaver County, Avonworth, Highlands, North Hills, Plum borough, Quaker Valley and South Fayette township.

- Among the 52 largest US cities, 20 have fair levels of African American representation on their city councils. Las Vegas exhibits the highest level of African American representation. The city has 33.3% (2 out of 6) blacks on its council compared to 10.8% in the population.
- Eight of the 52 largest US cities have fair levels of women representation among their city council members. These cities include Detroit, Denver, Santa Ana, Atlanta, Jacksonville, Baltimore, Virginia, and Tucson.

We also found many instances of under-representation:

- Of the four US representatives from the Pittsburgh MSA in June 2002, none were African American and one was a female.
- Neither of the two US senators from Pennsylvania in June 2002 were African American or women.
- Out of the 43 state representatives from this region, two (5%) are African Americans. There are no African Americans among the 21 state senators from the Pittsburgh MSA.
- There are no African American mayors among the 99 city and borough mayors for which race data was reported in the region.
- The representation of women as mayors (17.4%) is significantly lower than the representation of women in the 2000 population (52.2%).
- African Americans who account for 8% of the population make up less than 1% of the council presidents in the Pittsburgh MSA.
- Women represent 11% (19 out of 167) of council presidents. This is well below women's share of the 2000 population (52.2%).
- African Americans make up 2.5% (27 out of 1040) of council members in the region. This pales in comparison to their representation in the 2000 population (8%).
- Women held 203 (17.8%) of the 1138 council positions for which sex was reported. This is well below women share of the 2000 population (52.3%)
- African Americans, who comprise 8% of the population in the region, account for 4.1% of the school board members throughout the region.

- Women make up 36.6% of the school board members in the Pittsburgh MSA, which is well below the share of women in the 2000 population (52.2%).
- African Americans represent 23.9% (161 out of 673) of all council members in the 52 largest cities in the US. This is lower than the average proportion of African Americans in these cities' population.
- Women held 31.9% (215 out of 673) of the total city council positions, within the 52 largest cities, which is well below the average share of women in their population (51.3%).

In November 2002 we conducted a literature search of books, electronic journals, local newspapers and websites to identify factors that may affect the number of African Americans and women elected officials. The main factors are:

Small number of African American and women candidates African Americans and women generally make up a smaller percentage of election candidates than whites and males, especially for higher office. This limits the opportunity for voters to elect African Americans and women to represent them in public offices.

Inadequate campaign funds Many African Americans and women can rarely come up with enough funds needed to execute an effective election campaign, thereby reducing their chances of getting elected.

Incumbency Most of the incumbents seeking reelection are white men. They can employ large staffs and secure huge financing necessary to promote their reelection

Electoral systems The current winner-take-all system leaves minorities underrepresented because it awards 100% of the representation to a 50.1% majority.

Run-off elections Research shows that if there is racial polarization in voting, the run-off between a black and white candidate will ensure the election of the white candidate unless blacks make up a majority of the voters.

City size Many political scientists believe that since 'women tend to be found in offices for which there is less prestige, fewer candidates and a steeper path to higher elective office,' they are more likely to be elected in smaller towns where the prestige of the position and the number of candidates competing for the position are lower.

During December 2002 we also conducted a survey of cities with diversity among city council members to determine their reasons for success. Twenty-seven cities were

contacted, and ten cities completed the survey. Adequate campaign finance for African Americans and women, and low incumbent re-election were most frequently mentioned as explanations for diversity in the cities that responded. Increasing the number of single member districts was indicated as a major factor in two cities. Denver, which has a fair level of both African American and women on the city council noted that the council staff assistant positions provide the impetus for many women to run for public office. According to John Bennett of the Denver City Council, candidates who have worked as council staff assistant (most of whom are women) have the advantage of knowing their constituents for years and the issues that concern them.

In addition, we identified local and national programs that help African Americans and women to run for public office:

- **Program for Emerging Leaders in Public Affairs** The program is being developed by CORO Center for Civic Leadership of Pittsburgh. Its mission is to position participants for increased involvement in the electoral process as ethical and effective candidates, campaign staffers, board members, appointees or community advocates. This two-month training program will target African Americans, women and youths (age 21 - 40). The training will focus on the areas of strategic thinking, civic leadership, networking, public speaking, consensus-building, individual leadership development problem-solving, boards and commissions, and effective fundraising and campaigning.
- **Institute for Public Leadership** This initiative is co-sponsored by the YWCA and the Institute for Women in Politics at Chatham College. The mission of the program is to increase the number of women in Pennsylvania who are in public leadership. The two-day conference will be held on April 5th and 6th 2003 at Chatham College. According to a spokesperson at the Pittsburgh YWCA, the program will focus on educating women on issues they need to be aware of before running for office, and provide interested female candidates with tools necessary to orchestrate an effective campaign.
- **Winning with Women in Pennsylvania** This program was initiated by the Republican Party to enhance the role of women in Pennsylvania politics, government and public policy. The statewide effort is part of a national program coordinated by the Republican National Committee.
- **Early Money Is Like Yeast (EMILY's List)** A large grassroots political network, that raises campaign contributions for Democratic women running for the House, the Senate and for governor; helps women candidates build strong, winning campaigns; and helps mobilize women voters.
- **Ready to Run** This program was established in 1998 to encourage women in New Jersey to seek public office. It is a joint project of the Center for American Women and Politics and the Institute for Women's Leadership. This annual conference addresses topics such areas as Putting Your Campaign Together,

Raising Money for Campaigns, Running as an outsider or Challenger, Media Strategy for New Jersey Candidates, Appointive Office: How to Position Yourself and What to Expect from the Process, and Conquering the Camera.

Finally, based on the findings of the paper, we recommend the following specific actions for increasing African American and women representation among elected officials in the Pittsburgh region:

- To address the barrier of low African American and women candidates, we recommend that local organizations which help minorities and women run for elected office should:
 1. Create and maintain a directory of minorities and women qualified for and interested in staff positions with elected officials, encourage local elected officials to hire these people as staff, and encourage minority and women staff to run for public office.
 2. Take other steps to increase the number of minority and women candidates for elected offices, such as encouraging local and state political parties to appoint minorities and women as ward chairpersons and as members of political party committees.
 3. Create a directory of all local programs to help minorities and women run for public office.
- As a solution to the campaign finance problem, we recommend consideration of laws that provide for the public financing of election campaigns.
- In dealing with the factor of high incumbent reelection, we recommend the continual mobilization of resources such as money, voter turnout and favorable media coverage for African American and women candidates
- Regarding the barrier of electoral system, we recommend consideration of an alternative system such as proportional representation, which would result in more African Americans and women being elected to public offices.
- No solution was identified to deal with the barriers posed by run-off elections and city size.

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INTRODUCTION

This report provides findings from our study of diversity of elected officials in the Pittsburgh Metropolitan Statistical Area (which includes Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Fayette, Washington and Westmoreland County). The project has three main aims:

1. Measure the share of African Americans and women among different types of elected officials in the Pittsburgh region
2. Identify cities that have high levels of African American and women elected officials compared to population shares and identify reasons for the success
3. Make recommendations for increasing the level of diversity among its elected officials in the Pittsburgh region

The project was funded by Sustainable Pittsburgh, Executive Women's Council, and The Pittsburgh Foundation.

IMPORTANCE OF AFRICAN AMERICANS AND WOMEN AMONG ELECTED OFFICIALS

African Americans and women are needed in decision-making positions in order for their interests to be adequately and accurately addressed. According to Rule and Zimmerman, the lack of women and minorities on governing bodies means that important issues receive little or no consideration during the policy making process (Rule and Zimmerman, 1994). They also state that minorities become alienated from the political system and show less respect for laws enacted without their direct input by legislative bodies they view as illegitimate.

Being an elected official is therefore one of the best ways that African Americans and women can contribute to the advancement of these groups. This type of study is necessary to boost the representation of African Americans and women among elected officials and increase their participation in decision-making processes throughout the Pittsburgh MSA.

METHODS

From June to November 2002 the followings steps were completed:

- Gathered data on diversity among US elected officials for the Pittsburgh area and for all of the US by telephoning national organizations
- Conducted web searches and telephoned national and state organizations to collect data on diversity among state elected officials for the Pittsburgh area and for all of the US (average diversity rates)
- Collected data on county elected officials for the Pittsburgh area and all of the US (average diversity rates) by telephoning local counties and national organizations

- Gathered data on diversity among major city mayors, council members, and school board members by doing web searches and telephoning local, state and national organizations
- Gathered data, with the help of the Local Government Academy, on all mayors, presidents of council, and council members/chairmen/supervisors in the Pittsburgh MSA to determine the level of diversity. A total of 363 of the 416 municipalities in the Pittsburgh MSA were contacted (Appendix 1). We were unable to obtain contact information on the remaining 53 municipalities within the time frame for this project. We however feel that enough municipalities were included in the study for us to draw accurate conclusions about the diversity of elected officials.

Of the 363 municipalities and 6 counties that were contacted by fax in July, 65% (235 out of 363) of municipalities and all 6 counties responded. A second fax was sent in September to the 128 non-responding municipalities and those that had missing sex or race data in the first response. By the end of our data collection period in November a total of 286 municipalities (78.8%) and all 6 counties had responded. Of the 286 municipalities 184 (64%) provided information on race while 202 (71%) provided information on sex. Of the six counties, all provided data on race and sex.

- Collected data on diversity among elected officials (mayors and council members) from the 52 largest cities in the US to determine areas of high African American and women representation. We checked the web site of each city to determine the sex and race of each mayor and council member. Where it was difficult to decipher such information, we contacted an official in that city by phone and inquired about the race and gender of the elected officials. In addition, we contacted those cities, which appeared to have had fair levels¹ of African Americans and women representation to confirm the accuracy of our data (see Appendix 2).
- Attempted to survey 27 cities with fair levels of African American and female representation to determine factors that play a role in the election of these two groups to their city council. As of December only 4 of the cities had completed the survey.
- Gathered data from the 2000 census on the African American and women shares of population in municipalities in the Pittsburgh region.
- Gathered data on the African American and women share of population in school districts in the Pittsburgh area.

¹ We assume that a “fair level” means the ratio of African Americans and women among elected officials is 1.0 or more times the share of African Americans and women in the population.

- Contacted 102 school districts in the Pittsburgh MSA by fax in October, to determine levels of diversity among the elected school board members. Of the 102 school districts, 57 (56%) responded. In November a second fax was sent to the non-responding school districts and telephone calls were made to three school districts with missing data. By the end of our data collecting period a total of 76 (74.5%) school districts had responded, three of which had missing data on sex and race of board members.
- Conducted literature search to determine the factors that influence the election of African Americans and women
- Identified some strategies that communities can use to increase representation

FINDINGS

African American and Women Representation in the Pittsburgh MSA

Our study reveals that African Americans and women are not well represented among most types of elected officials in the Pittsburgh MSA. Below we detail the representation of African American and women among elected officials within the region and compare the data to state and national averages.

US Congressional Members (Table 1)

- Of the four US representatives from the Pittsburgh MSA in June 2002, none were African American and one was a female.
- Neither of the two US senators from Pennsylvania in June 2002 were African American or women.

Table 1. Elected Federal Legislative Officials

Elected Officials	Total Number	Black		Female	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
US Representatives from the *Pittsburgh Area	4	0	0.0%	1	25.0%
US Representatives from Pennsylvania	21	1	4.8%	1	4.8%
US House of Representatives	435	39	9.0%	62	14.3%
US Senators from Pennsylvania	2	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
US Senators	100	0	0.0%	13	13.0%

**Pittsburgh 6-county region*

Source: Legislative Resource Center, Office of the Clerk, US House of Representatives, <http://www.senate.gov> and <http://www.house.gov>

Pennsylvania Legislature Members (Table 2)

- Out of the 43 representatives from this region, two (5%) were African American. The African American share of representatives from the Pittsburgh area is less than the

state average of African American representatives (7.4%) and less than the national average of African American among representatives (7.8%).

- One of the 43 state representatives (2.3%) from the Pittsburgh area was female. This average pales in comparison to the overall percentage (13.8%) of women in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives and the national average of women state representatives (23.5%).
- Out of the 21 state senators from the Pittsburgh MSA, there were no African Americans. This is noticeably less than the state average of African American senators (6.0%) and the national average of 7.1%.
- Women have higher representation than African Americans among the 21 senators from the Pittsburgh MSA. Out of the 21 officials there are four (19.0%) women compared to 0% of African Americans. This percentage of women senators from the Pittsburgh MSA is higher than Pennsylvania’s average of women senators (16.0%), however, it is lower than the national average (20.4%) of state senators.

Table 2. Elected State Senators and Members of the House of Representatives

Elected State Officials	Total Number	Black		Female	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Pennsylvania Representatives from the Pittsburgh Area*	43	2	4.7%	1	2.3%
Pennsylvania Representatives	203	15	7.4%	28	13.8%
State Representatives in the US	5,440	426	7.8%	1,277	23.5%
Pennsylvania Senators from the Pittsburgh Area*	21	0	0.0%	4	19.0%
Pennsylvania Senators	50	3	6.0%	8	16.0%
State Senators in the US	1,984	140	7.1%	404	20.4%

Sources: <http://www.nga.gov/governors>, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Center for American Women and Politics, <http://www.nbcsl.com/legislatedirectory/index.htm>, <http://www.state.pa.us>, <http://www.pcntv.com/leg>, followed by telephone confirmation of race and gender

Local Elected Officials

Mayors (Table 3)

- In November 2002 there were no African American mayors among the 99 city and borough mayors for which race were reported, in the Pittsburgh MSA. This is certainly not consistent with the African American share of population in the Pittsburgh MSA in 2000 (8.0 %). It is also not consistent with the average percentage of African American mayors (18%) in the 100 most populated cities in the US in June 2002.
- The overall percentage of women mayors in the Pittsburgh area (17.4%) is low when compared to the women share of population in the region (52.2%). This however,

exceeds the average percentage of women mayors (13%) in the 100 most populated cities in the US in June 2002.

- The majority of female mayors were from local governments within Allegheny County.

Table 3: Elected Mayors in the Pittsburgh MSA*

Mayors	Black			Female		
	Units reporting race	Number	Percent	Units reporting sex	Number	Percent
City	17	0	0.0%	17	1	5.9%
Borough	82	0	0.0%	98	19	19.3%
Total	99	0	0.0%	115	20	17.4%
US Mayors in 100 most populated Cities	100	18	18.0%	100	13	13.0%

See Appendices 3 & 4

Source: *Counties and Municipalities in the Pittsburgh MSA, with the help of Local Government Academy*

*Includes Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Fayette, Westmoreland and Washington County

Council Presidents/Chairmen (Table 4)

- Overall, there is a lack of diversity among council presidents /chairmen in the Pittsburgh MSA. African Americans, who account for 8% of the population in the region, represent less than 1% (1 out of 153) of the council presidents/chairmen for which race was reported. The lone African American council president was from Homestead borough in Allegheny County.
- There is also a low percentage of women functioning as council president/chairmen in the region. Women represent 11% (19 out of 167) of the elected council presidents/chairmen in the Pittsburgh region. This is substantially lower than the representation of women in the population (52.2%).
- At the borough level, there were 17 female council presidents/chairmen out of the 84 presidents (20.2%) for which (borough level) data were collected. This percentage almost doubles the average percentage of women presidents/chairmen for the county, city, borough and townships combined in the MSA (11.3%). Furthermore, the majority of these female council presidents were from boroughs within Allegheny County.
- Townships also performed poorly in terms of the number of female council presidents. Of the 75 presidents/chairmen for whom data were reported, one (2.6%) was female.

Table 4. Elected Council Presidents/Chairmen in the Pittsburgh MSA*

President/ Chairman	African American			Women		
	Units Reporting Race	Number	Percent	Units Reporting Sex	Number	Percent
County	6	0	0.0%	6	0	0.0%
City	2	0	0.0%	2	0	0.0%
Borough	74	1	1.3%	84	17	20.2%
1st & 2nd Class Township	71	0	0.0%	75	2	2.6%
Total	153	1	0.6%	167	19	11.3%

See Appendices 5 & 6

Source: *Counties and Municipalities in the Pittsburgh MSA with the help of Local Government Academy*

*Includes Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Fayette, Westmoreland and Washington County

African American Council Members/Supervisors/Commissioners (Tables 5-7)

- Most councils throughout the Pittsburgh MSA have no African Americans. They make up 2.5% (27 out of 1040) of council members of government throughout the Pittsburgh MSA, which pales in comparison to the share of African Americans in the region’s population (8%).
- Forty percent (11 out of 27) of the African Americans council men are women.
- At the County level there were 2 (6.6%) African Americans out of 30 council members. These 2 African Americans were from the 15-member Allegheny County council. This percentage compares fairly with the percentage of African American elected county officials (of which council members comprise a big portion) in Pennsylvania and the US African Americans accounted for 1% (6 out of 478) of the elected county officials in the Pennsylvania, and 4.2% of (961 out of 36,511) of elected county officials throughout the US
- At the Borough level, African Americans accounted for 2.6% (16 out of 593) of the commissioners/supervisor. In fact, borough governments alone boast more than half of the African American council members in the Pittsburgh MSA (16 out of 27)
- At the level of city government, African Americans make up 11.6% (9 out of 77) of city council members.
- There was no African American council member/commissioner at the township level.
- Scottdale Borough in Westmoreland County exhibited the highest level of diversity among its council members. African Americans who make up only 1.1% of the population accounted for 12.5% (1 out of 8) of the council members. This represents an 11.4 ratio of blacks in council to blacks in the population. Ten other municipality governments and 1 county government had fair levels of African American

representation among their council members relative to share of African Americans in the population. These include North Belle Vernon borough, Brackenridge borough, Finleyville borough, Coraopolis, Leetsdale borough, Washington City, Homestead borough, Beaver Falls city, McKeesport city and Allegheny county.

- Homestead borough has the highest percentage (77.8%) of African Americans on its council (77.8%), which exceeds the share of African Americans in its population (51.3 %). However it places 8th in terms of the ratio of percentage of blacks on the council to the percentage of blacks in the population (1.5)
- Of the 6 county governments, Allegheny County was the only one that exhibited a fair level of representation among its council members. While the proportion of African Americans in the population is 12.3%, it is 13.3% on the county council.
- The city of Pittsburgh ranked 13th in terms of the ratio of percent African Americans in council (22%) to African Americans in the population (27%).
- Among the 10 municipalities in the region with the largest African American population there were 4 which demonstrated rather poor levels (a ratio less than 1.0) of diversity. Among these are Clairton city, Pittsburgh city, Aliquippa city, and Duquesne city.

Table 5. African American Elected Council Members/Supervisors/Commissioners in the Pittsburgh MSA*

Members of Councils / Supervisors/Commissioners	African Americans		
	Total Mbrs for Units Reporting Race	Number	Percent
County Council Members/ Commissioners	30	2	6.6%
City Council Member	77	9	11.6%
Borough Commissioner	593	16	2.6%
1st & 2nd Class Township Commissioners/Supervisors	340	0	0.0%
Total Members	1040	27	2.5%
Elected County Officials in PA	478	6	1.3%
Elected County Officials in the US	22,672	961	4.2%

See Appendix 7

Source: Counties and municipalities in the Pittsburgh MSA, with the help of Local Government Academy

*Includes Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Fayette, Westmoreland and Washington County

Note: National and state wide data on city and borough council members could not be obtained

Table 6. Regions in the Pittsburgh MSA with *Fair Levels of African American Representation Among Council Members

Rank	Counties & Municipalities	County	Total Council Mbrs	African American			Ratio of % Blacks as council mbrs to % Blacks in Pop
				Number	% of council	% of 2000 Pop	
1	Scottdale boro	Westmoreland	8	1	12.5%	1.1%	11.4
2	North Belle Vernon boro	Westmoreland	7	1	14.3%	1.3%	11.0
3	Brackenridge boro	Allegheny	6	1	16.7%	3.4%	4.9
4	Finleyville boro	Washington	7	1	14.3%	5.9%	2.4
5	Coraopolis boro	Allegheny	8	2	25.0%	12.4%	2.0
5	Leetsdale boro	Allegheny	7	1	14.3%	7.3%	2.0
7	Washington city	Washington	4	1	25.0%	14.6%	1.7
8	Homestead boro	Allegheny	9	7	77.8%	51.3%	1.5
9	Beaver Falls city	Beaver	4	1	25.0%	17.5%	1.4
10	McKeesport city	Allegheny	7	2	28.6%	24.5%	1.2
11	Allegheny County	Allegheny	15	2	13.3%	12.3%	1.1

See Appendix 7

Source: Counties and municipalities in the Pittsburgh MSA, with the help of Local Government Academy

*Fair level means the ratio of African Americans and women among elected council members is 1.0 or more times the share of African Americans and women in the population.

Table 7: Municipalities* with Low levels of African Americans Representation in the Pittsburgh MSA Ranked by % Black Population

Counties & Municipalities	County	Total Council Members	African American			Ratio of % Blacks as council mbrs to % Blacks in Pop
			Number	% of Council	% of 2000 Pop	
Duquesne city	Allegheny	4	1	25.0%	47.7%	0.5
Aliquippa city	Beaver	4	1	25.0%	35.5%	0.7
Clairton city	Allegheny	4	1	25.0%	28.3%	0.9
Pittsburgh city	Allegheny	9	2	22.2%	27.1%	0.8

*Among the top 10 municipalities in terms of African American population

See Appendix 7

Source: Pittsburgh MSA counties and US census bureau

Female Council Members/Supervisors/Commissioners (Tables 8-9)

- Women held a total of 203 (17.8%) of the 1138 positions of council members/commissioners/supervisors for which sex was reported, in the Pittsburgh MSA. This percentage is significantly lower than the proportion of women in the region (52.3%).
- Among the different types of governments, counties had the lowest level of female representation. Our data show that there are only 3 women (10.0%) out of the 30 county council members. This is significantly less than the percentage of women

elected county officials (of which council members comprise a big part) in Pennsylvania and the US (30.0% and 25.8%, respectively).

- Women accounted for 23.0% (151 out of 654) of borough council members in the Pittsburgh MSA. This percentage is still well below women’s share of the region’s population (52.3%).
- Finleyville of Washington County exhibited the highest level of female representation among its council members. Five of its 7-member council were women, who represent 52.1% of the borough’s population. In fact, Finleyville is the only community that exhibits fair levels of representation for both African Americans and women among its council members.
- Six other municipalities boast fair level of women representation, which include Findley borough, Frazier Township, Whitaker borough, Allepo Township, Marianna borough, Delmont borough and East McKeesport.
- The city of Pittsburg performed poorly ranking 68th overall in terms of the ratio of percent women in council to percent women in the population. Women who make up 52.4% of the city’s population comprise 22.2% (2 out of 9) of city council.

Two hundred and eighty five municipalities reporting council member by sex do not have a fair level of woman representation.

Table 8: Female Elected Council Members/Supervisors/Commissioners in the Pittsburgh MSA*

Members of Councils / Supervisors/Commissioners	Women		
	Total Mbrs for Units reporting Sex	Number	Percent
County Council Members/ Commissioners	30	3	10.0%
City Council Member	77	13	16.9%
Borough Commissioner	654	151	23.0%
1st & 2nd Class Township Commissioners/Supervisors	377	36	9.5%
Total members	1138	203	17.8%
Elected County Officials in PA	665	186	30.0%
Elected County Officials in the US	36,511	9,404	25.8%

See Appendix 8

Source: Counties and municipalities in the Pittsburgh MSA, with the help of Local Government Academy

*Includes Allegheny, Beaver, Butler, Fayette, Westmoreland and Washington County

Table 9: Municipalities in the Pittsburgh MSA with *Fair Levels of Women Representation Among Council Members

Rank	Counties & Municipalities	County	Total Council Members	Women			Ratio of % women as council mbrs to % women in Pop
				Number	% of Council member	% of Pop	
1	Finleyville boro	Washington	7	5	71.4%	52.1%	1.4
2	Frazier twn	Allegheny	3	2	66.7%	49.6%	1.3
3	Whitaker boro	Allegheny	7	4	57.1%	49.7%	1.1
3	Aleppo twn	Allegheny	5	3	60.0%	52.5%	1.1
3	Marianna boro	Washington	5	3	60.0%	53.8%	1.1
3	Delmont boro	Westmoreland	7	4	57.1%	52.0%	1.1
3	East McKeesport boro	Allegheny	7	4	57.1%	52.2%	1.1

See Appendix 8

Source: *Counties and municipalities in the Pittsburgh MSA, with the help of Local Government Academy*

*Fair level means the proportion of women council member is 1.0 times or more the proportion of women in the population

African American School Board Members (Tables 10-11)

According to the data we collected in October and November 2002, School boards throughout the Pittsburgh MSA lack diversity. The findings are presented below.

- African Americans which comprise 8.2% of the population in the region, account for 4.3% (29 out of 666) of the school board members throughout the Pittsburgh MSA. While this is more than the representation of minorities (the majority of which are African Americans) on school boards in Pennsylvania (1.4%), it does not exceed the representation of minorities at the national level (14.5%) [PBSA Bulletin, 2002].
- African Americans are more widely represented on school boards on Beaver County than on any other county in the MSA. African Americans represent 7.7% of all school board members in the county and 6.5% of the (school district) population.
- Allegheny County which has the highest proportion of African Americans (11.7%) among the six counties has 6.0% of African Americans on school boards.
- There are 8 school districts with fair levels of African American representation throughout the Pittsburgh MSA. These include Big Beaver Falls, New Kensington Arnold, Gateway, East Allegheny, Rochester Area, Pittsburgh, Midland borough, and Wilksburg borough.
- Pittsburgh school district, with the 5th largest African American population ranks 6th in terms of the ratio of African American board members to African American in the population.

- Among the 10 school districts in the region with the largest African American population four of them demonstrate low levels of African American representation on their school boards. These include Duquesne, Aliquippa, Penn Hills, Monessen, Washington and Sto Rox school districts.

Table 10: African American School Board Members in the Pittsburgh MSA

Region	Total Mbrs for Units Reporting Race	African American			Ratio of % in School District to % in Pop
		School Board Mbrs	% of School Board Mbrs	% of 2000 County Population	
Allegheny County	279	17	6.0%	12.3%	0.5
Beaver County	117	9	7.7%	5.9%	1.3
Butler County	36	0	0.0%	0.8%	0.0
Fayette County	45	0	0.0%	3.4%	0.0
Washington County	99	1	1.0%	3.2%	0.3
Westmoreland County	90	2	2.2%	1.9%	1.2

See Appendices 9&11

Source: School districts in the Pittsburgh region and Pennsylvania State Data Center

Table 11: School Districts with Fair Levels of African American Representation in the Pittsburgh MSA

Rank	School District	County	Total Board Mbrs.	African American			Ratio of % Blacks as Board Mbrs to % Blacks in Pop
				No. of Board Mbrs.	As % of Board Mbrs	As % of 2000 Sch Dist Pop	
1	Big Beaver Falls	Beaver	9	3	33.3%	12.6%	2.7
2	New Kensington Arnold	Westmoreland	9	2	22.2%	10.7%	2.1
2	Cornell	Allegheny	9	2	22.2%	10.6%	2.1
4	Gateway	Allegheny	9	1	11.1%	7.4%	1.5
5	East Allegheny	Allegheny	9	1	11.1%	8.0%	1.4
5	Rochester Area	Beaver	9	1	11.1%	8.7%	1.3
6	Pittsburgh	Allegheny	9	3	33.3%	26.9%	1.2
7	Midland Boro	Beaver	9	2	22.2%	20.8%	1.1
8	Wilkinsburg Boro	Allegheny	9	6	66.7%	66.5%	1.0

See Appendix 9

Source: School districts in the Pittsburgh MSA; US Census Bureau

Table 12: School Districts* with Low levels of African Americans in the Pittsburgh MSA
 Ranked by % of African American Population

School District	County	Total Board Mbrs	African American			Ratio of % Blacks as Board Mbrs to % Blacks in Pop
			No. Board Mbrs	% of Board Mbrs	% of 2000 SD Pop	
Duquesne City	Allegheny	9	2	22.2%	47.7%	0.5
Aliquippa	Beaver	9	3	33.3%	35.5%	0.9
Penn Hills	Allegheny	9	2	22.2%	24.2%	0.9
Monessen City	Westmoreland	9	0	0.0%	14.0%	0.0

Among the top 10 school districts in terms of African American population

Sources: School districts in the region and State data Center

See Appendix 9

Women School Board Members (Tables 13-14)

- Women make up 37.2% (248 out of 666) of school boards in the Pittsburgh MSA, which is below the share of women in the population (52.2%). It is however consistent with the state average of women representation (38%) as well as the national average of women representation 39% (PSBA Bulletin, 2002).
- None of the six counties had a fair level of representation where proportion of women on the school board was equal to or exceeded the proportion of women in the population.
- Penn Hills school district of Allegheny County demonstrated the highest level of gender diversity among its board of directors. Women who make up 52.6% of the population accounted for 77.8% (7 out of 9) of school board members.
- Fifteen school districts exhibited fair levels of women representation on the school boards. The majority (10) were within Allegheny County.
- Appendix 10 shows 59 of the school districts have less than fair levels of women representation.

Table 13: Women Share of School Board Members in the Pittsburgh MSA

Region	Women				
	Total Mbrs for Units Reporting Sex	No. Board Mbrs	% of School Board	% of 2000 County Population	Ratio of % on board to % in Pop
Allegheny County	279	120	43.0%	52.6%	0.8
Beaver County	117	36	30.8%	52.1%	0.6
Butler County	36	10	27.7%	51.2%	0.5
Fayette County	45	13	28.9%	52.1%	0.5
Washington County	99	36	36.3%	52.0%	0.6
Westmoreland County	90	33	36.6%	51.8%	0.7

See Appendix 10

Source: School districts in the region and Pennsylvania state Data Center, 2000

Table 14: School Districts with *Fair Levels of Women Representation in the Pittsburgh MSA

School District	County	Total Number	Women			Ratio of % Women as Directors to % Women in County Pop
			Number	As % of board Mbrs	As % of 2000 County Pop	
Penn Hills	Allegheny	9	7	77.8%	52.6%	1.5
Chartiers Valley	Allegheny	9	6	66.7%	52.6%	1.3
East Allegheny	Allegheny	9	6	66.7%	52.6%	1.3
Wilkinsburgh borough	Allegheny	9	6	66.7%	52.6%	1.3
Franklin Regional	Westmoreland	9	5	55.6%	51.8%	1.1
Monessen City	Westmoreland	9	5	55.6%	51.8%	1.1
Trinity Area	Washington	9	5	55.6%	52.0%	1.1
Black Hawk	Beaver	9	5	55.6%	52.1%	1.1
Riverside Beaver County	Beaver	9	5	55.6%	52.1%	1.1
Avonworth	Allegheny	9	5	55.6%	52.6%	1.1
Highlands	Allegheny	9	5	55.6%	52.6%	1.1
North Hills	Allegheny	9	5	55.6%	52.6%	1.1
Plum borough	Allegheny	9	5	55.6%	52.6%	1.1
Quaker Valley	Allegheny	9	5	55.6%	52.6%	1.1
South Fayette Township	Allegheny	9	5	55.6%	52.6%	1.1

See Appendix 10

Source: School Districts in Pittsburgh MSA; US Census Bureau

*Fair level of representation means that the proportion of women on school boards is 1.0 or more times the proportion of women in the population

US Cities with High Levels of African Americans and Women among Council Members

In this section we concentrated on city council members, as they often comprise the largest group of elected officials in city government. Our study reveals that the level of diversity among elected council members varies throughout the 52 cities with no distinctive pattern. Our results are detailed below.

African American Council Members (Tables 15-16)

- In August 2002 African Americans held 161 of the 673 council member positions in the 52 largest cities in the US. This represents 23.9% of the total council members in these cities, which is less than the average African American share of population (25%) for these 52 cities.
- As shown in table 16, twenty of the 52 largest US cities had a fair representation of African American on city council.
- Las Vegas, which is the 32nd largest city in the US, has the highest level of black representation among its elected council members when compared to the percentage of African Americans in the population. The city has 33.3% (2 out of 6) African Americans participation on council, which is 3.1 times the percentage of African Americans in its population.
- Several cities had high percentages of African Americans on their councils, but the percentages were neither consistent with nor above the percentage of African Americans in the population. For example, Baltimore has the highest percentage of African Americans (57 %) on its council. However, this percentage is well below the share of African Americans in the city (64.8%).
- As shown in Appendix 12, Pittsburgh has an average (ranks 27th) of 22.2% (2 out of 9) African American on its council. This is slightly lower than the share of African Americans in the population (27.8%).
- Ten of the 52 cities that we studied in August had zero percent African Americans on their city councils.
- None of the 10 cities with the largest African American percentage of population had fair levels of racial diversity among their council members. These are Detroit, New Orleans, Baltimore, Atlanta, Memphis, Washington, Cleveland, St. Louis, Philadelphia and Milwaukee.

Table 15. African American Council Members in the 52 Largest Cities in the US

Total Council Members	Black		
	Council Members	Percent of Council	Percent of 2000 Pop
673	161	23.9%	24.7%

See Appendices 11-14

Source: US Census Bureau, 2000

Table 16. Cities with *Fair Levels of African American Representation among Council Members

Rank	Cities	Total Council Members	Blacks			Ratio of % Blacks in Council to % Blacks in Pop
			Council Mbrs	Blacks as % of Council	Blacks as % of 2000 Pop	
1	Las Vegas, NV	6	2	33.3%	10.8%	3.1
2	San Jose, CA	10	1	10.0%	3.8%	2.6
3	Phoenix, AZ	8	1	12.5%	5.3%	2.4
4	Los Angeles, CA	15	3	20.0%	11.4%	1.8
5	Colorado Springs, CO	8	1	12.5%	7.3%	1.7
5	Columbus, OH	7	3	42.9%	25.8%	1.7
7	Austin, TX	6	1	16.7%	10.2%	1.6
8	Sacramento, CA	8	2	25.0%	16.4%	1.5
8	San Diego, CA	8	1	12.5%	8.5%	1.5
10	San Antonio, TX	10	1	10.0%	6.9%	1.4
10	Wichita, KA	6	1	16.7%	12.1%	1.4
12	Denver, CO	13	2	15.4%	11.6%	1.3
12	New York, NY	51	17	33.3%	25.6%	1.3
14	Fort Worth, TX	8	2	25.0%	20.5%	1.2
14	Seattle, WA	9	1	11.1%	9.6%	1.2
16	San Francisco, CA	11	1	9.1%	8.2%	1.1
16	Dallas, TX	14	4	28.6%	26.1%	1.1
18	Kansas City, MO	12	4	33.3%	32.0%	1.0
18	Chicago, IL	50	19	38.0%	36.9%	1.0
18	Omaha, NE	7	1	14.3%	14.0%	1.0

Source: US Census Bureau; Cities' websites

See Appendices 12 & 13

*Fair level of representation means that the proportion of African American on the council is 1.0 or greater than the proportion of African American in the population

Table 17: Cities* with Low levels of African American Population Representation
Ranked by the % of African American Population

Cities	Council Members	# of Blacks	Blacks as % of council	Blacks as % of 2000 Pop	Ratio of % Blacks in Council to % Blacks in Pop
Detroit, MI	9	3	33.3%	82.3%	0.4
New Orleans, LA	7	2	28.6%	67.3%	0.4
Baltimore, MD	19	11	57.9%	64.8%	0.9
Atlanta, GA	16	9	56.3%	61.6%	0.9
Memphis, TN	13	5	38.5%	61.6%	0.6
Washington, DC	13	5	38.5%	60.5%	0.6
Cleveland, OH	21	9	42.9%	51.4%	0.8
St. Louis, MO	28	*10	35.7%	51.4%	0.7
Philadelphia, PA	17	7	41.2%	43.4%	0.9
Milwaukee, WI	17	5	29.4%	38.0%	0.8

*Among the top 10 cities in terms of African American population

See Appendix 12 & 13

Source: US Census Bureau; Cities' websites

Women Council Members (Tables 18- 19)

- Women have a higher level of representation on city councils than African Americans do. For the 52 cities studied, women held 31.9% (215 out of 673) of the total city council positions compared to 23.9% held by African Americans. This however was still below the average share of women in the population for the 52 cities (51.3%).
- When compared to the percentage of women in the population, Detroit, Michigan has the highest level of women representation among its council members. This city, which is the 9th largest in the US, has 7 women on its nine-member council (77.8%) compared to 52.9% of women in its population.
- Denver, Colorado boasts the second highest level of women representation on its council. Women make up 69.2% (9 out of 13) of the council and 49.5% of the population.
- Santa Ana, California (which has the 52nd largest female population) also boasts a high level of women representation on its council. This city has a council that is 66.7% women.
- Pittsburgh performs poorly (tied for 38th) in terms of its percentage of women council members compared to women share of the population. Pittsburgh city council has 2 (22.2%) women on its nine-member council. Women make up 52.4% of the population in the city of Pittsburgh.
- There were fewer cities that had zero women on their council (5) than cities that had no African Americans (10).

- Denver, Colorado is the only city that demonstrates high levels of both African American and women representation. There are 15.4% of African Americans on the city council compared to 11.6% in the population, and 69.2% of females on the council compared to 49.5% in the population.
- As Appendix 14 shows, 44 of the 52 cities do not have a fair level of women representation

Table 18: Female Council Members in the 52 Largest Cities in the US

Total Council Members	Female		
	Council Members	Percent of Council	Percent of 2000 Pop
673	215	31.9%	51.3%

Source: US Census Bureau; Cities' websites
See Appendix: 12 & 13

Table 19: Cities with *Fair Levels of Female Representation among their Council Members

Rank	Cities	Total Council Mbrs	Women			Ratio of % Women in Council to Women in Pop
			No. Council Mbrs	Women as % of Council	Women as % of 2000 Pop	
1	Detroit, MI	9	7	77.8%	52.9%	1.5
2	Denver, CO	13	9	69.2%	49.5%	1.4
3	Santa Ana, CA	6	4	66.7%	49.9%	1.3
4	Atlanta, GA	16	9	56.3%	50.5%	1.1
5	Jacksonville, FL	19	10	52.6%	51.5%	1.0
6	Baltimore, MD	19	10	52.6%	51.7%	1.0
6	Virginia Beach, VA	10	5	50.0%	50.5%	1.0
6	Tucson, AZ	6	3	50.0%	51.1%	1.0

See Appendices 14 & 15

Source: US Census Bureau; Cities' websites

*Fair level or representation means the proportion of women on council is 1.0 or greater than the proportion of women in the population

FACTORS AFFECTING THE REPRESENTATION OF AFRICAN AMERICANS AND WOMEN IN ELECTED OFFICES

We conducted a literature search of books, electronic journals, local newspapers and websites to identify factors that may affect the number of African Americans and women elected officials. From our literature search we identified a number of factors that impact the representation the groups. These factors include electoral systems, small number of African American and women candidates, inadequate campaign fund, incumbency, run-off elections and city size.

Small Number of African American and Women Candidates

The low percentage of minority and women running for election affects the representation of these groups in elected offices. Bledsoe and Herring strongly believe that the paucity of women candidate is the most serious obstacle to increasing women representation (Bledsoe and Herring, 1990). Newman states that women have made up an extremely low percentage of general election candidates, especially for higher office (Newman, 1995). Furthermore, Newman believes that when women run for office they win as often as men do. Zimmerman and Rule also add that even in open seat elections, which offer the best opportunities for non-incumbent candidates, women often make up a small percentage of the candidates. For example, 32 seats were open in the primaries in the 1998 for the US House. Of these contests women constituted only 17% and 10% of all of the Democratic and Republican primary candidates, respectively (Zimmerman and Rule, 2000). These percentages suggest there is limited opportunity for voters to elect women to represent them in public offices.

Campaign Finance

Inadequate campaign finance is another factor that impacts the number of African Americans and women to elected positions. According to Zimmerman and Rule, candidates running for election usually require large sums of money to finance their campaign, which rely heavily on expensive television and print media. Many of the larger contributors tend to donate money to the probable winners of election, who are often white incumbents. As a consequence challengers rarely come up with enough funds needed to execute an effective campaign against the incumbent. In addition, in the case of a two-year term many incumbents may not separate the fund raising activities from regular activities. Although most states have laws that govern the amount of money that are donated to candidates or expended by them, the laws are typically lax and may involve little more than the release of unaudited campaign receipts.

Incumbency

Another factor which affects the election of women to public offices is the high percentage of incumbents seeking reelection. In fact, Zimmerman and Rule believe that it is the main barrier to equal representation of women in the US congress, state legislature as well as governors (Zimmerman and Rule, 2000). They believe that the vast majority of incumbents are men who tend to run for reelection and usually win. Jody

Newman in her article 'Women Candidates can Win When They Run' supports the view of Zimmerman and Rule. According to Newman one of the reasons for the perception that women have a harder time winning elections than men is that most incumbents are men, and incumbents by far, win more often than challengers and open seat candidates (Newman, 1995). Furthermore, Newman purports that when comparing men to women running as incumbents, challenger or for an open seat, men had no advantage over women.

A 1994 study conducted by the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) on the success of women and men candidates in elections from 1986-1992 show a huge disparity between success rate for incumbents and challengers. The study found that US House members won 95% of their re-election bids (nearly sixteen times as often as challengers); US senators 82% (almost four times as often as challengers); state representatives 94% (more than ten times as often as challengers); state senators 92% (almost eight times as often as challengers) and governors 77% (more than three times as often as challengers). According to the study candidates for open seats (where there is no incumbent) were anywhere from 2 to 9 times as likely to win as a challenger (Newman, 1994).

Electoral System

The electoral system appears to be a major causal factor in the election of racial minorities and women in the US. Many political scientists believe that the commonly used winner-take-all system in the US is unjust because it leaves minorities unrepresented. Steven Hill in his Book 'Fixing Elections' argues that the "Winner-Take-All electoral system is a mug's game that makes losers of us all" (Hill, 2002). This system awards 100% of the representation to a 50.1% majority. According to Hill this principle is archaic and lies at the root of many of our worst, seemingly intractable problems.

A common form of the winner-take-all system is the single-member districts system, by which all members of congress and most members of state legislature as well as local governing bodies are elected. Under the single-member district only one representative is elected in each district. There are varying views on how this system affects different groups. Zimmerman and Rule believe that this method produces representational distortion when votes are split by three candidates and a candidate with a minority of the votes is allowed to be elected. Furthermore they claim it limits the opportunity for white and minority women candidates to be elected to state legislatures and the US congress (Zimmerman and Rule, 1994). DeSantis and Renner purport that district elections at the county level do not strongly promote the election of black men to county legislatures, and does not appear to have an impact on the number of women who are elected. Meanwhile, Herrick and Welch explain that the single-member district promotes the election of blacks to office because they tend to be geographically concentrated. According to them, a district with a combined minority population of 65%, would nearly guarantee the election of a black candidate (Zimmerman and Rule, 2000).

These authors however all agree that multi-member districts are more advantageous to the election of black women to city councils and state legislature than single member districts. Zimmerman and Rule for example noted that the percentage of women members of state legislatures nearly double in states that utilize the multimember district system as oppose to the single-member district system.

Another form of the winner-take-all system is the at-Large² voting system. According to many, this also impedes the election of blacks, especially male. Zimmerman and Rule purport, that in this system, if whites make up the majority of voters in a county, candidates supported by African Americans tend not to get elected.

Run-off Elections

Another factor that has been suggested to affect the election of racial minorities and women is run-off elections³. Bullock and Johnson present mixed evidence on the impact of runoffs on black electoral success. On one hand, they conclude that the presence of a runoff requirement in local elections has no effect on the percentage of city councilors who are African Americans. On the contrary, they claimed that whites were much more likely to win runoffs between black and white candidates in primaries for both state and local offices. Black candidates who led in the first round won only 50% of the time against white candidates, but white candidates who led in the first round won 84% of the runoffs against African American candidates (Bullock and Johnson). Rule and Zimmerman claims that if there is racial polarization in voting, the run-off between a black and white candidate will ensure the election of the white candidate unless blacks make up a majority of the voters. Richie and Caleb of the Center for Voting and Democracy however feel that the success of black candidates in US House primary runoffs in black-majority districts may be linked more to the question of whether blacks or whites are a majority in the primary electorate rather than the demands of winning a runoff election (<http://www.fairvote.org>)

In terms of the impact on women, Bullock and Johnson suggest that the presence of a runoff requirement generally does not affect the percentage of women in local elections, however the evidence is more mixed for state elections. Furthermore the authors purported that based on a relatively few instances, runoffs have had a clear adverse impact against women candidates in runoffs for the most prestigious offices (Bullock III and Johnson 1992).

City Size

Some political scientists claim that the size of the city affects the election of minorities. Bullock III and MacManus state that based on the theory that ‘women tend to be found in offices for which there is less prestige, fewer candidates and a steeper path to higher elective office,’ they are more likely to be elected in smaller towns where the prestige of

² All residents vote on all council members

³ Election method where the top two candidates face off in a second round of voting if no candidate wins a majority (lower prescribed threshold) in the first round.

the position and the number of candidates competing for the position are lower (Bullock and MacManus, 1991). Furthermore the authors suggest that it might be easier for a relative newcomer to win a seat in a small town than in a larger one where it takes a longer time to develop name recognition and a sizable campaign network.

Other factors

Other factors that were suggested as impacting the election of African Americans and women includes council size, timing of the municipal elections and length of the council term. We were however unable to find any literatures on these.

Further research needs to be done to discover more barriers to the election of African Americans and women to public office as well as to measure the real impact of the barriers on the two groups at different levels of government.

Factors Identified through City Survey

The presence of a winner-take-all type of electoral system does not appear to hinder the election of African Americans and women to city council as most of the responding cities (7 out of 10) indicated they have no form of proportional representation.

The high number of incumbent re-election also does not appear to be a major factor limiting the number of elected African Americans and women in the cities that responded. Three of the 10 cities– New York, Denver and Baltimore indicated that they have had very high rates of incumbent re-election in the past, while the other seven cities claimed that the presence of term limits for council members dissipates the barrier of high incumbent re-election, hence African Americans and women have more opportunity to participate in open-seat elections.

In terms of the number of African American candidates, the response was also varied. Two cities (Denver and New York) indicated that an impressive number of African Americans do run for public offices. Denver reported that in its last election (1999) 7 of the 31 candidates (23%) that ran for council positions were black. This percentage exceeds the proportion of blacks on the population (11.6%). In addition, 4 of the 31 candidates (12.9%) running for city council were Hispanics. Furthermore, in the 1999 election, there were 3 African Americans among the 4 candidates running the mayoral race. The city of New York did not provide supporting data. The other 8 cities indicated that not many African Americans run for election. However, all of the cities with fair representation of women indicated that there is a substantial amount of women candidates.

The majority of cities (6) boasted of not having a problem with inadequate campaign finance for African Americans and women. In fact, New York claims it has the best campaign finance formula in the U.S. For every dollar raised by a candidate the city gives four dollars. This formula according to Lupe Todd, City council Press coordinator, allows more minorities to run for public offices.

Although 5 of the 10 cities that responded have run-off elections, they claim it does not appear to play a role in the election of African Americans and women.

In terms of other factors, 2 cities (Dallas and New York) mentioned that the number of single member voting districts is the most important factor influencing the election of minorities to their city councils. These cities indicated that since the number of districts increased, the representation of African Americans elected to their city council has also increased. Currently, Dallas has 14 single member districts while New York has 51.

Colorado Springs indicated that the presence of their city-wide integrated diversity program encourages the election of African Americans and women to public offices.

Denver, which has a fair level of both African American and women on the city council noted that the council staff assistant positions provide the impetus for many women to run for public office. According to John Bennett of the Denver City Council, candidates who have worked as council staff assistant have the advantage of knowing their constituents for years and the issues that face. Currently 4 of the council members were once council aids. Twenty-one of the 23 councils are women.

LOCAL AND NATIONAL PROGRAMS THAT ENCOURAGE AND PREPARE AFRICAN AMERICANS AND WOMEN TO RUN FOR PUBLIC OFFICE

Local Programs

Program for Emerging Leaders in Public Affairs The programs is being developed by CORO Center for Civic Leadership and funded by Heinz Endowments and R.K Mellon Foundation. The mission of the Emerging Leaders in Public Affairs program is to position participants for increased involvement in the electoral process as ethical and effective candidates, campaign staffers, board members, appointees or community advocates. This two-month training initiative targets 3 main groups - women, minorities and youths (between ages 21 and 40) in the Pittsburgh region, and will be limited to 25 participants. According to a spokesperson of CORO, the program is schedule to begin in April 2003

The goals of the program are to;

- Have a more diverse pool of local political leaders
- Prepare and train budding leaders to be effective and ethical candidates, office holders and appointees and advocates.
- Present fundamental components of running a successful campaign
- Emphasize strategic thinking to facilitate professional objectives in political environments
- Develop emerging leadership to have greater impact upon the local electoral process

The program would focus on the areas of strategic thinking, civic leadership, networking, public speaking, consensus-building, individual leadership development problem-solving, boards and commissions and effective fundraising and campaigning.

Institute for Public Leadership This is an initiative co-sponsored by the YWCA and the Institute for Women in Politics at Chatham College. The mission of the program is to increase the number of women in Pennsylvania who are in public leadership. The program will be held on April 5th and 6th 2003 at the Chatham College. According to a spokesperson of program the organizers would like it to be an annual event.

The goals of the program are:

- Educate women on issues they need to be aware of before running for office
- Provide interested female candidates with the tools such as fundraising, networking opportunities that are necessary to engage in an effective campaign.

Winning with Women in Pennsylvania This program was initiated by the Republican Party to enhance the role of women in Pennsylvania politics, government and public policy. The statewide effort is part of a national program coordinated by the Republican National Committee.

The Winning with Women in Pennsylvania program has 3 main goals:

- To increase the role of Republican women in the political process in Pennsylvania through various capacity building programs and services;
- To establish an interactive network of Republican women to work toward eliminating the gender gap; and,
- To create an open-dialogue with women and leaders at the local, state and national level in order to effectively serve the needs of women and to advance the Party (www.pagop.org).

One of the strategies of the program is the establishment of the Anne Anstine Excellence in Public Service Series, a statewide training program that prepares women for greater political involvement.

National Programs

Early Money Is Like Yeast (EMILY's List), This is a large grassroots political network, that raise campaign contributions for Democratic women running for the House, the Senate and for governor; help women candidates build strong, winning campaigns; and help mobilize women voters. There are two types of training programs-1) that provides campaign workers with the essential tools needed to execute an effective campaign and 2) that trains women who are interested in running for US and state legislative positions.

According to a spokesperson of EMILY'S List, no such training has yet been held in Pennsylvania.

In terms of its success, in the nine elections since EMILY's List began, they have helped elect 11 Democratic women senators, 54 congresswomen and seven governors. Prior to its establishment, no Democratic woman had ever been elected to the U.S. Senate in her own right, no woman had ever been elected governor of a large state, and the number of Democratic women in the U.S. House was on the decline. EMILY's List has become the largest financial resource for minority women seeking federal office. Almost one-third of the women EMILY's List has helped to elect have been women of color.

In the 2002 elections, 71,000 EMILY's List members contributed nearly \$9.4 million directly to pro-choice Democratic women running for the Senate, the House and governor.

Ready to Run This program was established on 1998 to encourage women in New Jersey to seek public office. It is a joint project of the Center for American Women and Politics and the Institute for Women's Leadership. This one-day, yearly program has 7 different focus areas:

- Positioning Yourself for Public Office
- Putting Your Campaign Together
- Raising Money for Campaigns
- Media Strategy for New Jersey Candidates
- Running as an outsider or Challenger
- Appointive Office: How to Position Yourself and What to Expect from the process
- Conquering the Camera

A spokesperson of the program, Amy Bain, the organizers of the Ready to Run are now looking to expand the program to other states that have under representation of minority and women among elected officials.

In terms of the success of the program, Amy Bain states that the program has so far been successful as many women who participated in the program have gone on to win legislative, mayoral and cit council races. The spokesperson was however unable to provide concrete data.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of the paper, we recommend the following specific actions for increasing African American and women representation among elected officials in the Pittsburgh region:

- To address the barrier of low African American and women candidates, we recommend that local organizations which help minorities and women run for elected office should:

1. Create and maintain a directory of minorities and women qualified for and interested in staff positions with elected officials, encourage local elected officials to have these people as staff, and encourage minority and women staff to run for public office.
 2. Take other steps to increase the number of minority and women candidates for elected offices, such as encouraging local and state political parties to appoint minorities and women as ward chairpersons and as members of political party committees. In a recent study of women elected to local offices in four states, 64% reported that political leaders had discouraged potential women from running for office because of their sex. The study also found that party chairs repeatedly preferred candidates like themselves (Zimmerman and Rule 2000). Since most of the party chairs are men this meant that women were less likely to be recruited.
 3. Create a directory of all local programs to help minorities and women run for public office.
- As a solution to the campaign finance problem, we recommend the adoption of laws that provide for the public financing of election campaigns.
 - In dealing with the incumbency issue we recommend the continual mobilization of resources such as money, voter turnout and favorable media coverage for African American and women candidates. According to Zimmerman and Rule the key to reduce the incumbent's (most of whom are white male) advantage is to increase the financial quality of the challengers. Based on a study conducted on the 1996 congressional election, many incumbents were 'safe' because there were no well funded challengers to oppose them. The magnitude of the incumbent's advantage was however halved when the challenger spent over \$250,000, and it was reduced by two-thirds when the challenger spent over \$500,000 (Zimmerman and Rule 2000).

In terms of voter turnout, women are more likely than men to vote for women candidates (Zimmerman and Rule 2000). Since there are more women in the population and women since 1980 are turning out to the polls in larger number than men, women candidates should use this gender gap to their advantage and mobilize more women to go to the polls thus increasing the chances of them being elected. However, if women are to be elected, they first have to run. In addition there should be the mobilization of the black community through the education and registration of black potential voters.

- To deal with the barrier of electoral system we recommend consideration of an alternative electoral system that would result in more minorities and women being elected to public offices. Zimmerman purports that a system of proportional representation can guarantee minorities representation in proportion to their

voting strength (Zimmerman, 1994). Two forms of proportional representation are cumulative and limited voting. The latter is currently practiced in the case of county commissioners, election district boards and members of Philadelphia city council. This recommendation is however difficult to implement as it requires a drastic change in election laws.

- No solution has been identified to deal with the barrier posed by run-off election. In fact, Rule and Zimmerman believe that it would be difficult to eliminate such a barrier.
- We were unable to identify any ways of dealing with the barrier of city size.

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