

Supplementary Materials

A	Textbook Quotes	2
B	Occupational Coding Scheme	2
C	Supplementary Analyses	4
C.1	Descriptive Statistics	4
C.2	Tabular Presentation of Regression Discontinuity Results	7
C.3	Event Study Results—Police and Fire Departments	7
C.4	Event Study Heterogeneity Results	10
C.5	Main analysis – lagged dependent variable specification	16
C.6	Tabular Presentation of Main Event Study Figures	17
C.7	Tabular Presentation of Appendix Event Study Figures	21

A Textbook Quotes

In this section, we itemize several depictions of the motivation for municipal civil service reform during the Progressive era. These descriptions draw from sources widely used in undergraduate syllabuses in the study of American politics—including both prominent scholarly accounts, as well as textbooks. The thrust of these analyses—now often presented as fact—is that the introduction of municipal civil service reform was design to dislodge the representation of foreign-born whites in local government, and that these reforms succeeded in achieving this aim. Consider several examples:

- “Because of the nature of their political ethos, Protestants and Jews have been in the vanguard of every fight for municipal reform.” (Banfield and Wilson 1963)
- “Hays argued that urban reformers tended to be from the upper-middle and upper-class business and professional elite, a group which endeavored through “reform” to reshape the city into a form congruent with its own economic social, cultural, and ethical interests and beliefs.” (Allswang 1986)
- “[Reformers] believed that government should serve not the interests of the “people.” but the “right” people, respectable people—the middle and patrician classes—who would substitute business for political practices.” (Plunkitt, ed. Callow 1976, pp. 178)
- “Reformers were least successful in the big cities with complex electorates, where middle- and upper-class voters did not constitute an electoral majority. Smaller cities, however, especially those in the Midwest and the West, almost always adopted reform items in their new charters. In these communities, lower-class ethnic voters were invariably outnumbered, and therefore when reform charter proposals were put before the voters, they usually passed.” (Judd and Swanstrom 1994, pp. 86)

B Occupational Coding Scheme

Table A1—Occupational Classification

Police	Fire	White Collar	Blue collar
Policemen and detectives;	Locomotive firemen; Stationary firemen; Firemen, fire protection;	Accountants and auditors; Actors and actresses; Airplane pilots and navigators; Architects; Athletes; Authors; Chemists; Chiropractors; Clergymen; College presidents and deans; Agricultural sciences-Professors and instructors; Biological sciences-Professors and instructors; Chemistry-Professors and instructors; Economics-Professors and instructors; Engineering-Professors and instructors; Geology and geophysics-Professors and instructors; Mathematics-Professors and instructors; Medical Sciences-Professors and instructors; Physics-Professors and instructors; Psychology-Professors and instructors; Statistics-Professors and instructors; Natural science (nec)-Professors and instructors; Social sciences (nec)-Professors and instructors; Non-scientific subjects-Professors and instructors; Subject not specified-Professors and instructors; Dentists; Designers; Dietitians and nutritionists; Draftsmen; Editors and reporters; Aeronautical-Engineers; Chemical-Engineers; Civil-Engineers; Electrical-Engineers; Industrial-Engineers; Mechanical-Engineers; Metallurgical, metallurgists-Engineers; Mining-Engineers; Engineers (nec); Entertainers (nec); Farm and home management advisors; Foresters and conservationists; Funeral directors and embalmers; Lawyers and judges; Librarians; Nurses, professional; Nurses, student professional; Agricultural scientists; Biological scientists; Geologists and geophysicists; Mathematicians; Physicists; Misc. natural scientists; Optometrists; Osteopaths; Personnel and labor relations workers; Pharmacists; Photographers; Physicians and surgeons; Radio operators; Recreation and group workers; Religious workers; Social and welfare workers, except group; Economists; Psychologists; Statisticians and actuaries; Misc social scientists; Sports instructors and officials; Surveyors; Medical and dental-technicians; Testing-technicians; Technicians (nec); Therapists and healers (nec); Veterinarians; Professional, technical and kindred workers (nec); Farmers (owners and tenants); Farm managers; Buyers and dept heads, store; Buyers and shippers, farm products; Conductors, railroad; Credit men; Floormen and floor managers, store; Inspectors, public administration; Managers and superintendants, building; Officers, pilots, pursers and engineers, ship; Officials and administrators (nec), public administration; Officials, lodge, society, union, etc.; Postmasters; Purchasing agents and buyers (nec); Managers, officials, and proprietors (nec); Agents (nec); Attendants and assistants, library; Attendants, physicians and dentists office; Baggage men, transportation; Bank tellers; Bookkeepers; Cashiers; Collectors, bill and account; Dispatchers and starters, vehicle; Express messengers and railway mail clerks; Mail carriers; Messengers and office boys; Office machine operators; Shipping and receiving clerks; Stenographers, typists, and secretaries; Telegraph messengers; Telegraph operators; Telephone operators; Ticket, station, and express agents; Clerical and kindred workers (n.e.c.); Advertising agents and salesmen; Auctioneers; Demonstrators; Hucksters and peddlers; Insurance agents and brokers; Newsboys; Real estate agents and brokers; Stock and bond salesmen; Salesmen and sales clerks (nec);	Bakers; Blacksmiths; Bookbinders; Boilermakers; Brickmasons,stonemasons, and tile setters; Cabinetmakers; Carpenters; Cement and concrete finishers; Compositors and typesetters; Cranemen,derrickmen, and hoistmen; Decorators and window dressers; Electricians; Electrotypers and stereotypers; Engravers, except photoengravers; Excavating, grading, and road machinery operators; Foremen (nec); Forgemen and hammermen; Furriers; Glaziers; Heat treaters, annealers, temperers; Inspectors, scalers, and graders log and lumber; Inspectors (nec); Jewelers, watchmakers, goldsmiths, and silversmiths; Job setters, metal; Linemen and servicemen, telegraph, telephone, and power; Locomotive engineers; Loom fixers; Machinists; Airplane-mechanics and repairmen; Automobile-mechanics and repairmen; Office machine-mechanics and repairmen; Radio and television-mechanics and repairmen; Railroad and car shop-mechanics and repairmen; Mechanics and repairmen (nec); Millers, grain, flour, feed, etc; Millwrights; Molders, metal; Motion picture projectionists; Opticians and lens grinders and polishers; Painters, construction and maintenance; Paperhangers; Pattern and model makers, except paper; Photoengravers and lithographers; Piano and organ tuners and repairmen; Plasterers; Plumbers and pipe fitters; Pressmen and plate printers, printing; Rollers and roll hands, metal; Roofers and slaters; Shoemakers and repairers, except factory; Stationary engineers; Stone cutters and stone carvers; Structural metal workers; Tailors and tailoresses; Tinsmiths, coppersmiths, and sheet metal workers; Tool makers, and die makers and setters; Upholsterers; Craftsmen and kindred workers (nec); Members of the armed services; Auto mechanics apprentice; Bricklayers and masons apprentice; Carpenters apprentice; Electricians apprentice; Machinists and toolmakers apprentice; Mechanics, except auto apprentice; Plumbers and pipe fitters apprentice; Apprentices, building trades (nec); Apprentices, metalworking trades (nec); Apprentices, printing trades; Apprentices, other specified trades; Apprentices, trade not specified; Asbestos and insulation workers; Attendants, auto service and parking; Blasters and powdermen; Boatmen, canalmen, and lock keepers; Brakemen, railroad; Bus drivers; Chainmen, rodmen, and axmen, surveying; Conductors, bus and street railway; Deliverymen and routemen; Dressmakers and seamstresses, except factory; Dyers; Filers, grinders, and polishers, metal; Fruit, nut, and vegetable graders, and packers, except fact; Furnacemen, smeltermen and pourers; Heaters, metal; Laundry and dry cleaning Operatives; Meat cutters, except slaughter and packing house; Milliners; Mine operatives and laborers; Motormen, mine, factory, logging camp, etc; Motormen, street, subway, and elevated railway; Oilers and greaser, except auto; Painters, except construction or maintenance; Photographic process workers; Power station operators; Sailors and deck hands; Sawyers; Spinners, textile; Switchmen, railroad; Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs; Truck and tractor drivers; Weavers, textile; Welders and flame cutters; Operative and kindred workers (nec); Housekeepers, private household; Laundresses, private household; Private household workers (nec); Attendants, hospital and other institution; Attendants, professional and personal service (nec); Attendants, recreation and amusement; Barbers, beauticians, and manicurists; Bartenders; Bootblacks; Boarding and lodging house keepers; Charwomen and cleaners; Cooks, except private household; Counter and fountain workers; Elevator operators; Guards, watchmen, and doorkeepers; Housekeepers and stewards, except private household; Janitors and sextons; Marshals and constables; Midwives; Porters; Practical nurses; Sheriffs and bailiffs; Ushers, recreation and amusement; Waiters and waitresses; Watchmen (crossing) and bridge tenders; Service workers, except private household (nec); Farm foremen; Farm laborers, wage workers; Farm laborers, unpaid family workers; Farm service laborers, self-employed; Fishermen and oystermen; Garage laborers and car washers and greasers; Gardeners, except farm and groundskeepers; Longshoremens and stevedores; Lumbermen, raftsmen, and woodchoppers; Teamsters; Laborers (nec);

Note: Data and coding scheme were derived from IPUMS census data, and the OCC1950 variable in particular.

C Supplementary Analyses

C.1 Descriptive Statistics

Figure A1—Foreign-Born Whites Are Underrepresented in Many Cities Prior to Civil Service Reform

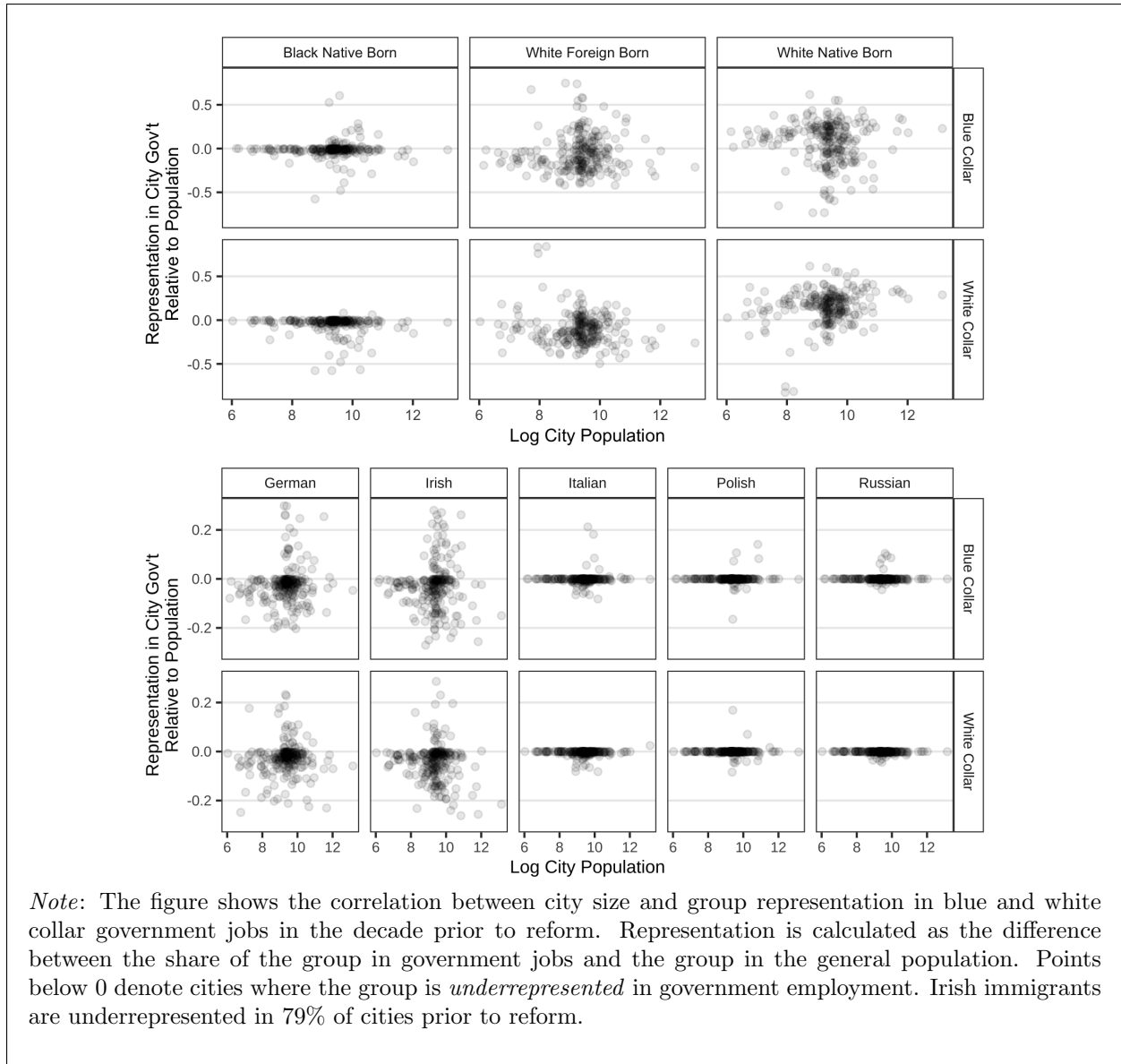


Figure A2—Irish Immigrants Make Up Similar Shares of Population in Small and Large Cities

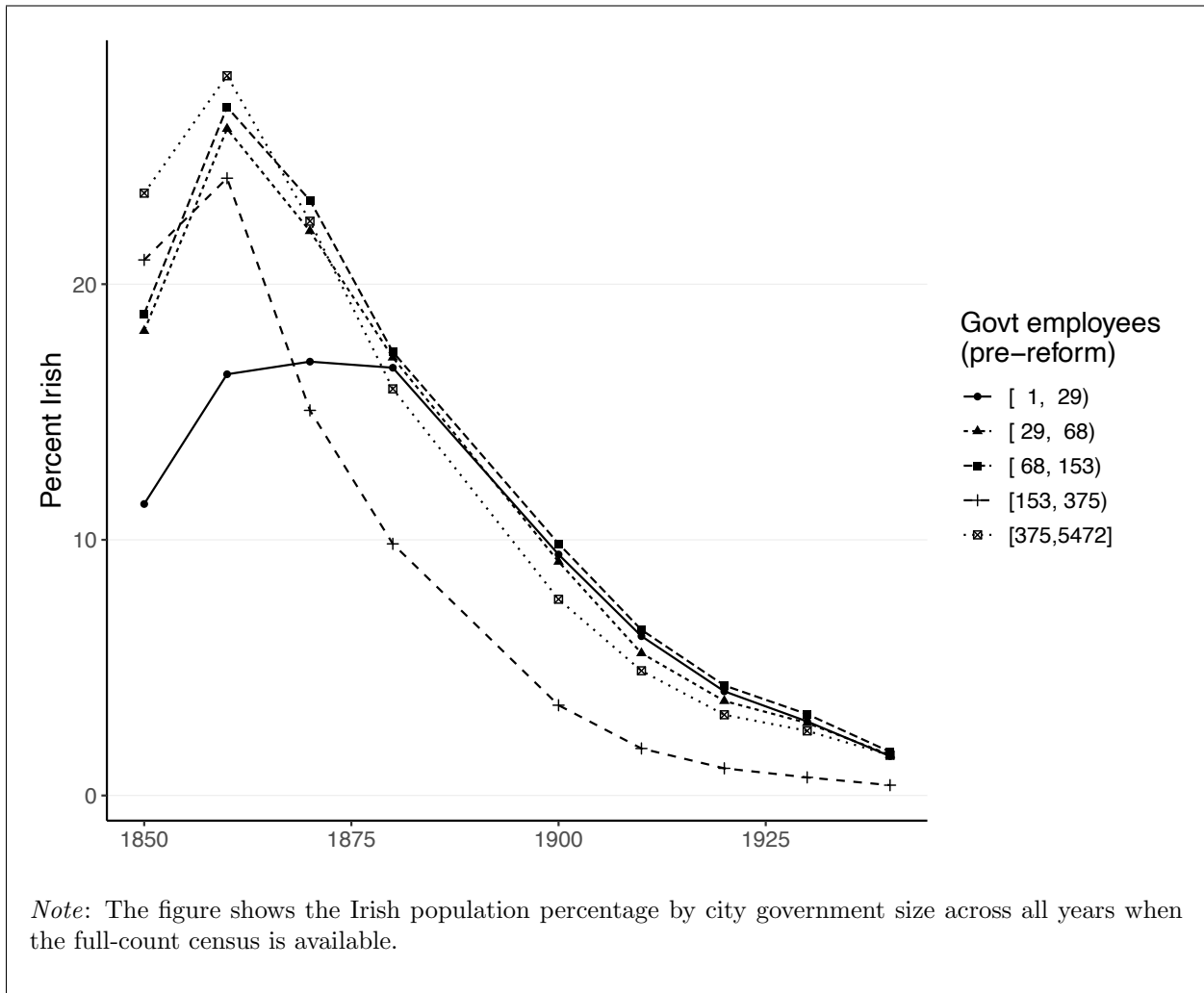
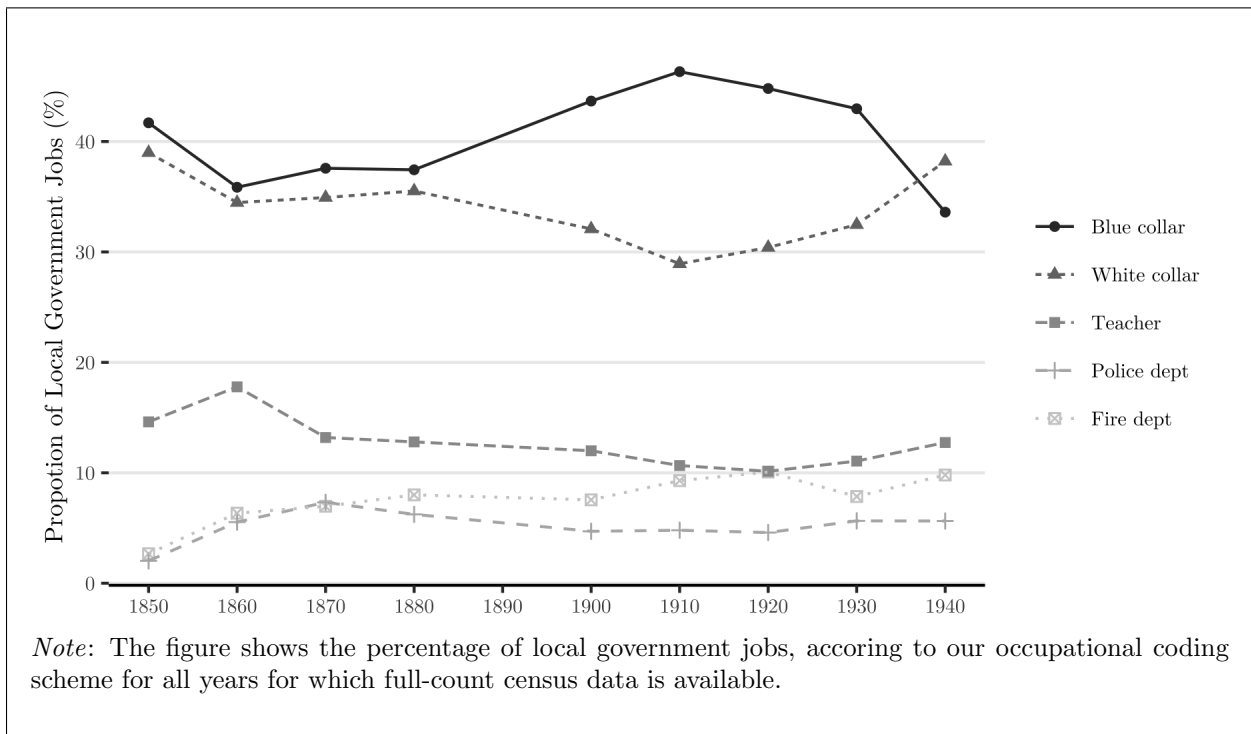


Figure A3—Composition of Local Government Jobs by Type



C.2 Tabular Presentation of Regression Discontinuity Results

Table A2—Effect of Civil Service Reform on Representation, RDD Results

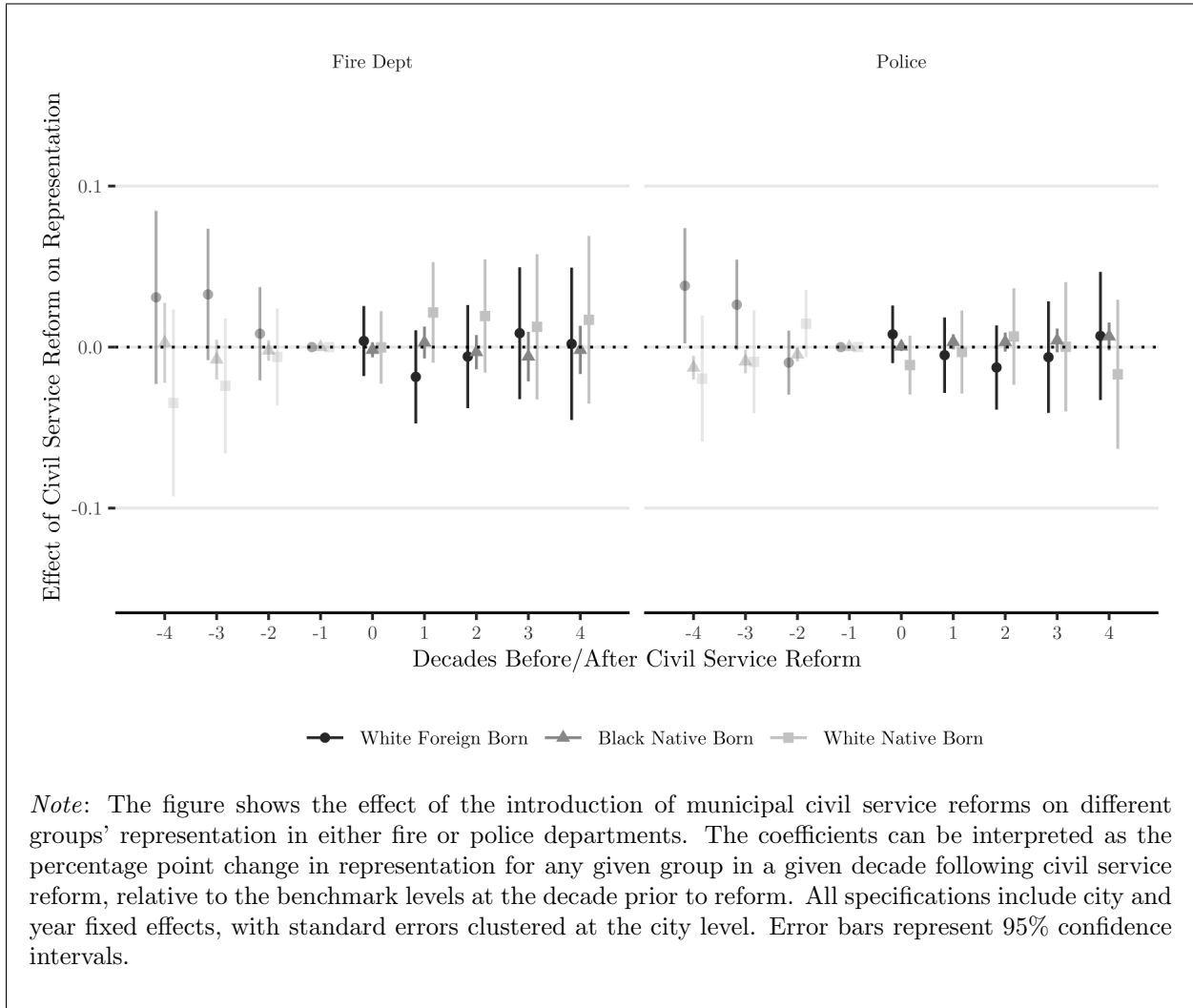
Group	Occupation	Estimate	SE (Conv.)	SE (Robust)	BW	N	Eff. N
Foreign W.	Blue Collar	-0.011	0.021	0.022	61,602.290	1,754	1,186
Native W.	Blue Collar	0.005	0.021	0.023	67,195.310	1,754	1,217
Native B.	Blue Collar	0.002	0.009	0.010	60,031.560	1,754	1,179
Foreign W.	White Collar	0.001	0.012	0.013	109,302.800	1,731	1,271
Native W.	White Collar	-0.001	0.011	0.012	127,234.500	1,731	1,284
Native B.	White Collar	0.001	0.001	0.001	53,308.360	1,731	1,144

Table A3—Effect of Civil Service Reform on Representation, RDD Results

Group	Occupation	Estimate	SE (Conv.)	SE (Robust)	BW	N	Eff. N
German	Blue Collar	0.005	0.008	0.008	71,577.870	1,754	1,219
Irish	Blue Collar	-0.003	0.014	0.016	64,756.590	1,754	1,211
Italian	Blue Collar	-0.011	0.009	0.010	99,711.240	1,754	1,269
Polish	Blue Collar	-0.0004	0.002	0.003	116,865.600	1,754	1,291
Russian	Blue Collar	0.001	0.002	0.002	56,542.110	1,754	1,163
German	White Collar	-0.0002	0.003	0.003	72,527.120	1,731	1,208
Irish	White Collar	-0.002	0.004	0.004	165,103.700	1,731	1,318
Italian	White Collar	-0.003	0.002	0.002	64,845.670	1,731	1,200
Polish	White Collar	0.001	0.001	0.001	97,267.950	1,731	1,251
Russian	White Collar	0.001	0.001	0.001	60,542.850	1,731	1,168

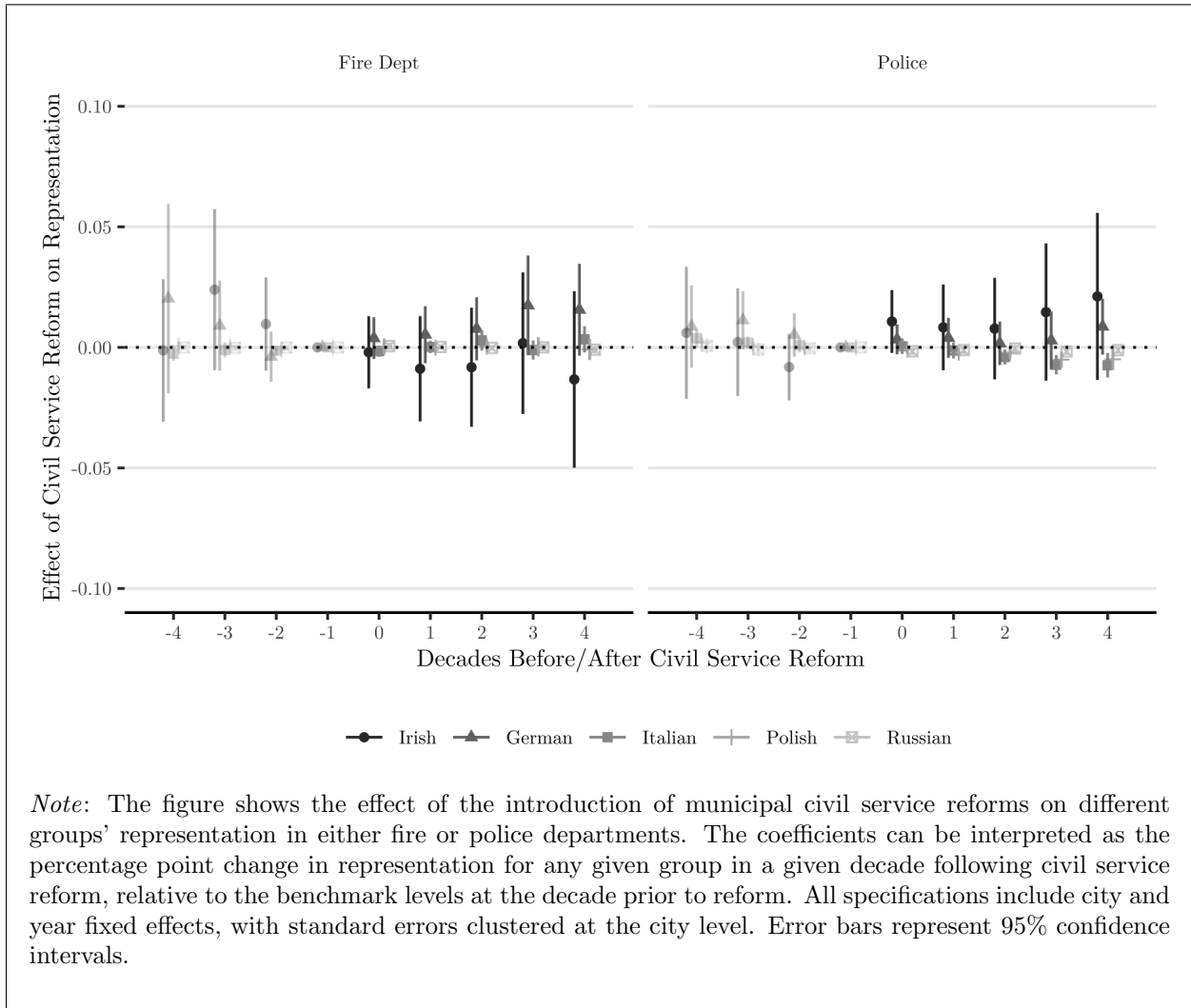
C.3 Event Study Results—Police and Fire Departments

Figure A4—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation, Police and Fire



Note: The figure shows the effect of the introduction of municipal civil service reforms on different groups' representation in either fire or police departments. The coefficients can be interpreted as the percentage point change in representation for any given group in a given decade following civil service reform, relative to the benchmark levels at the decade prior to reform. All specifications include city and year fixed effects, with standard errors clustered at the city level. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A5—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation, Police and Fire



Note: The figure shows the effect of the introduction of municipal civil service reforms on different groups' representation in either fire or police departments. The coefficients can be interpreted as the percentage point change in representation for any given group in a given decade following civil service reform, relative to the benchmark levels at the decade prior to reform. All specifications include city and year fixed effects, with standard errors clustered at the city level. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

C.4 Event Study Heterogeneity Results

Figure A6—Effect of Civil Service Reforms, by Share of Population Foreign Born White

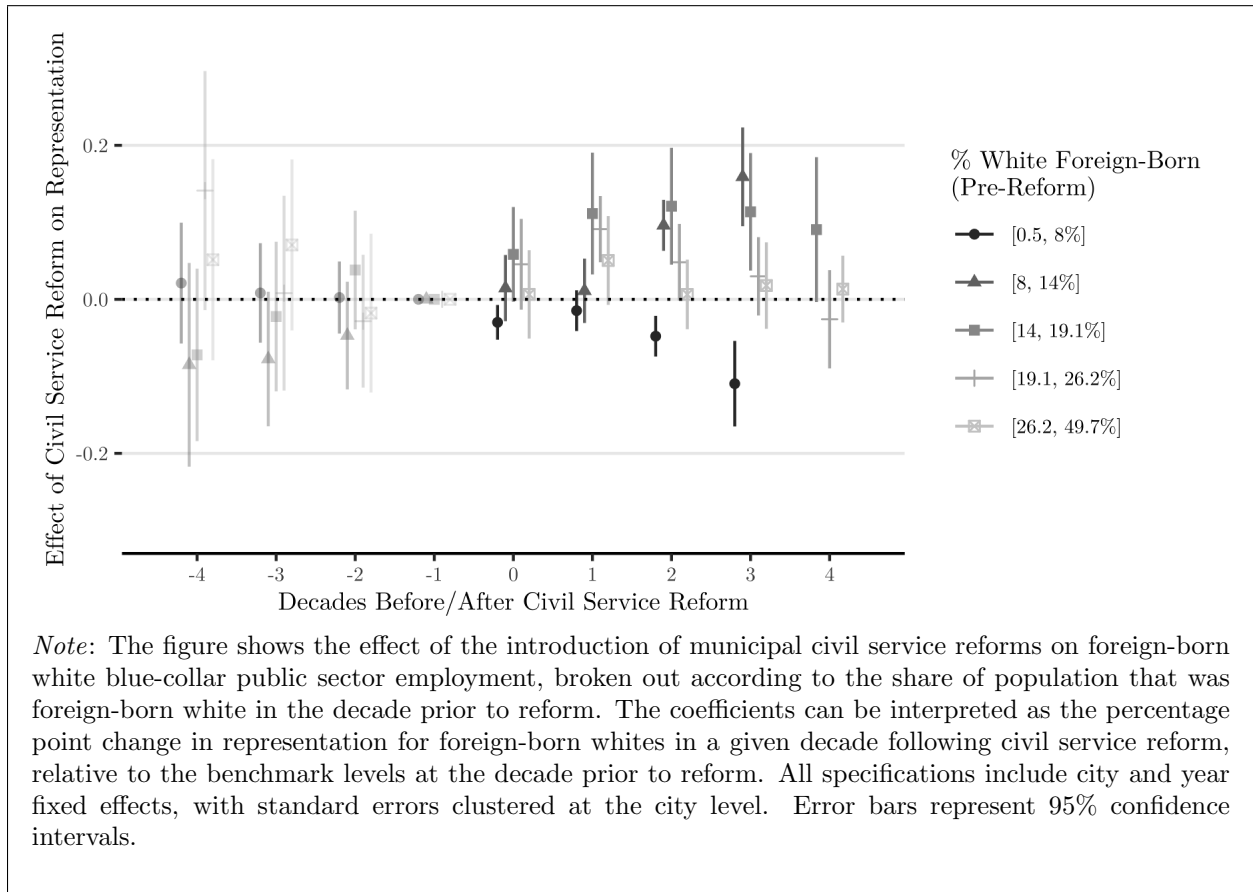


Figure A7—Effect of Civil Service Reforms, by City Size Population

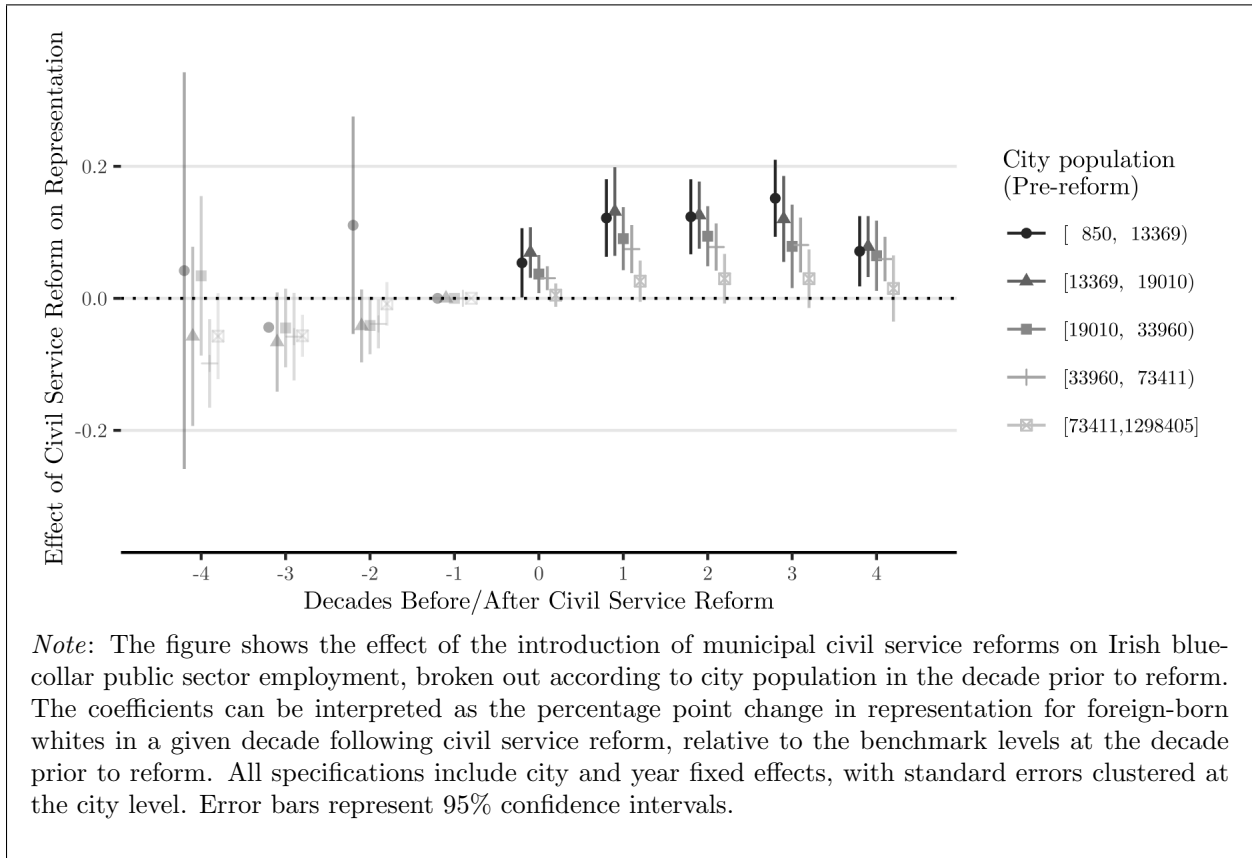


Figure A8—Effect of Civil Service Reforms, by Machine Dominance

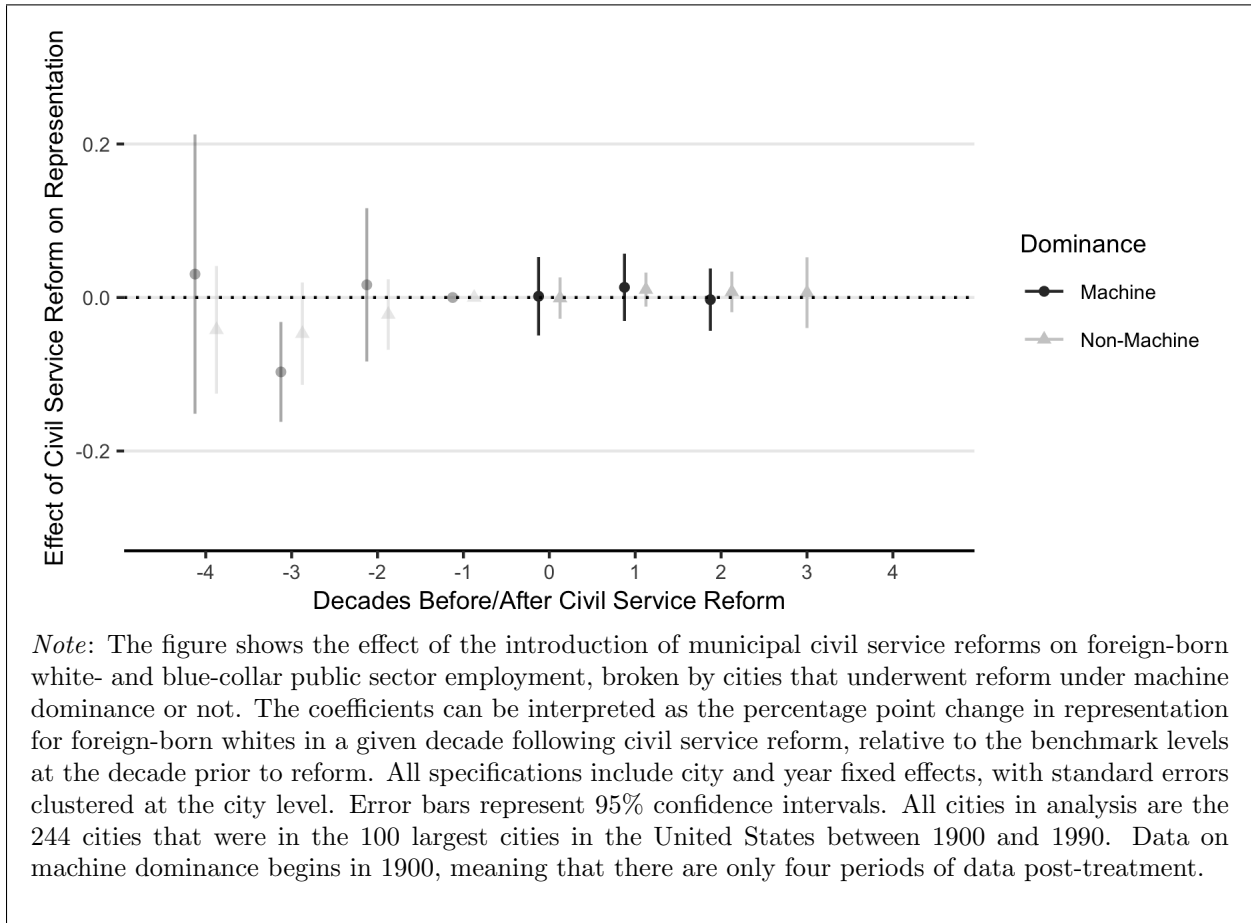


Figure A9—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation in Blue Collar Jobs, by Region

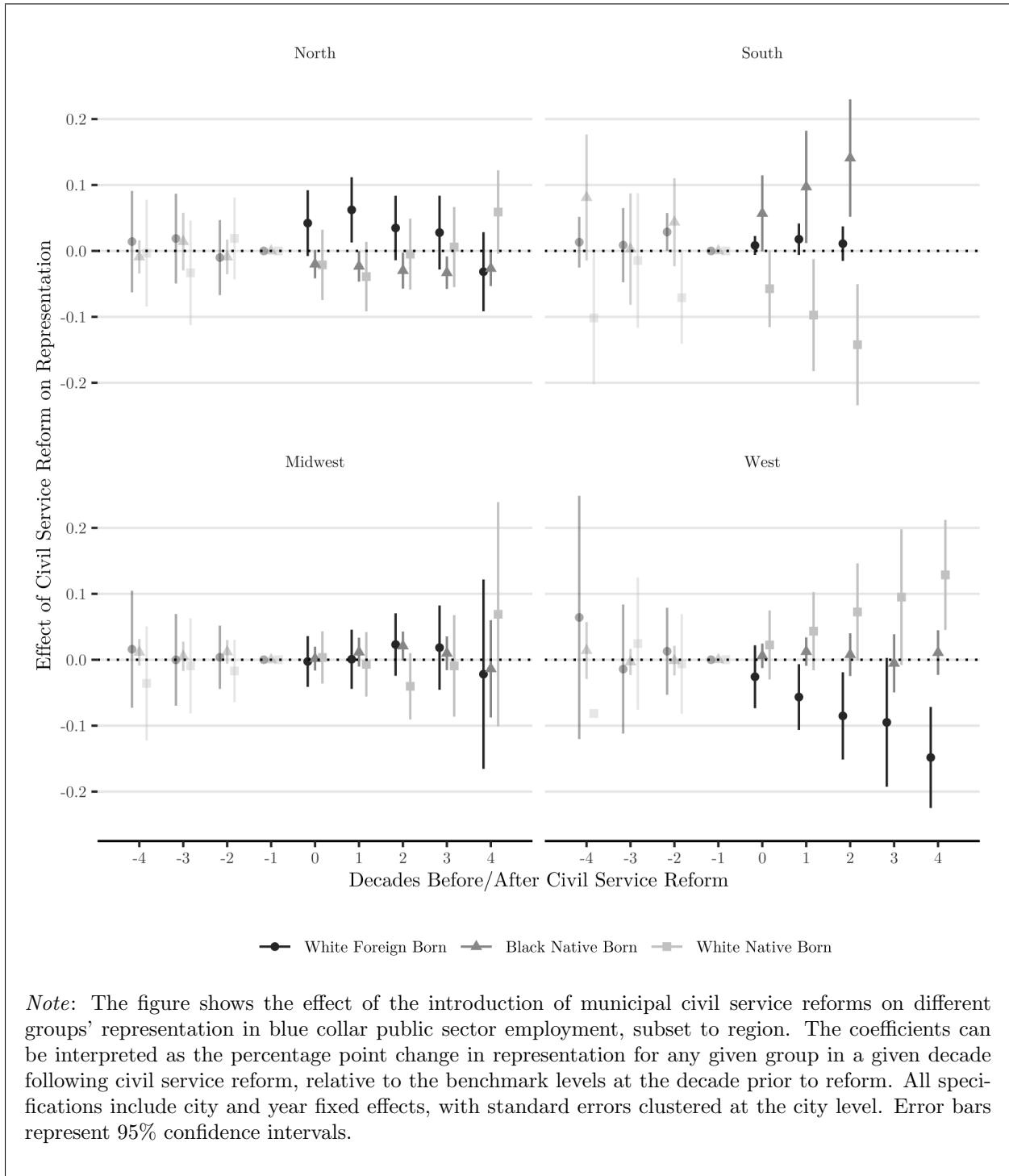
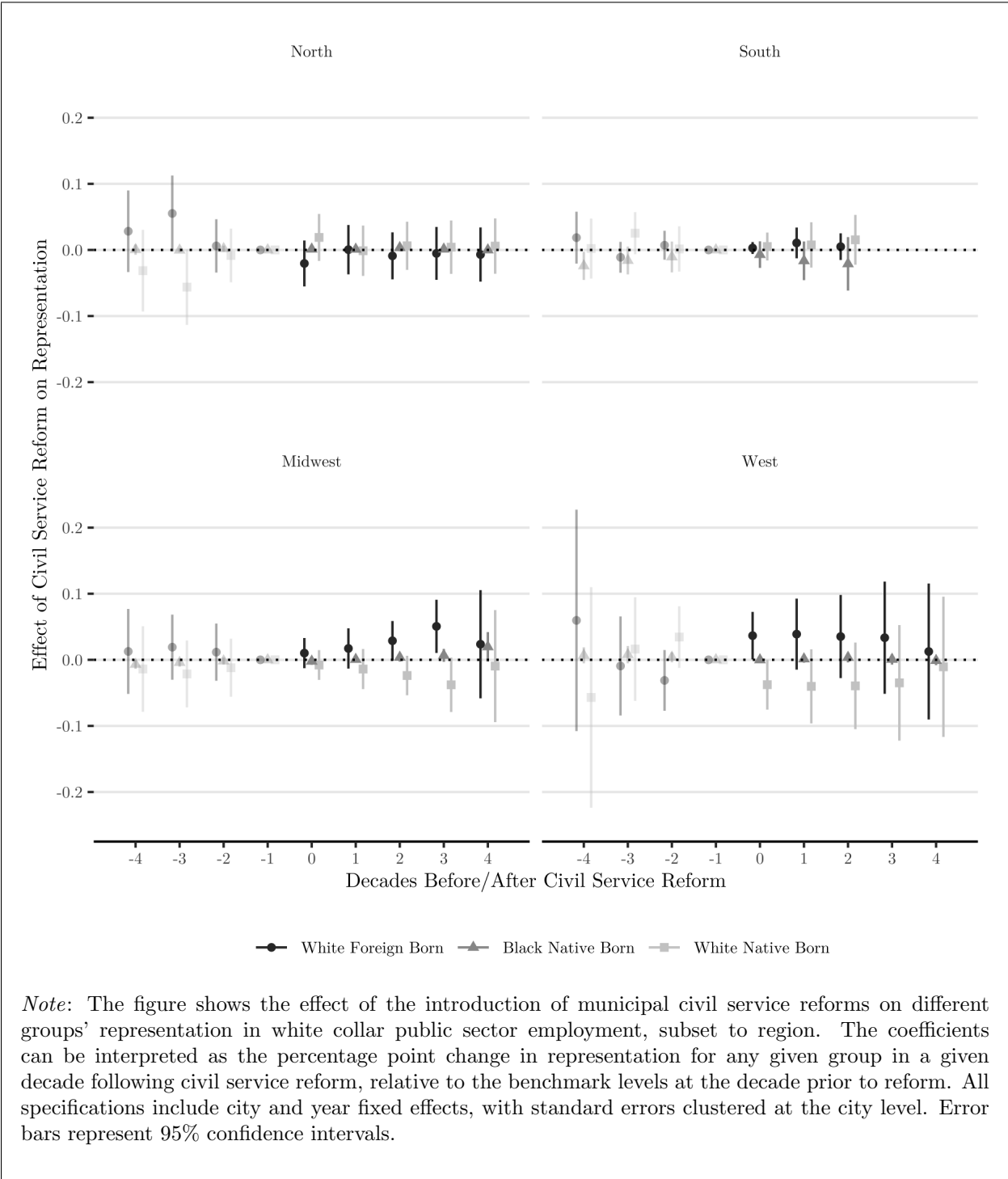
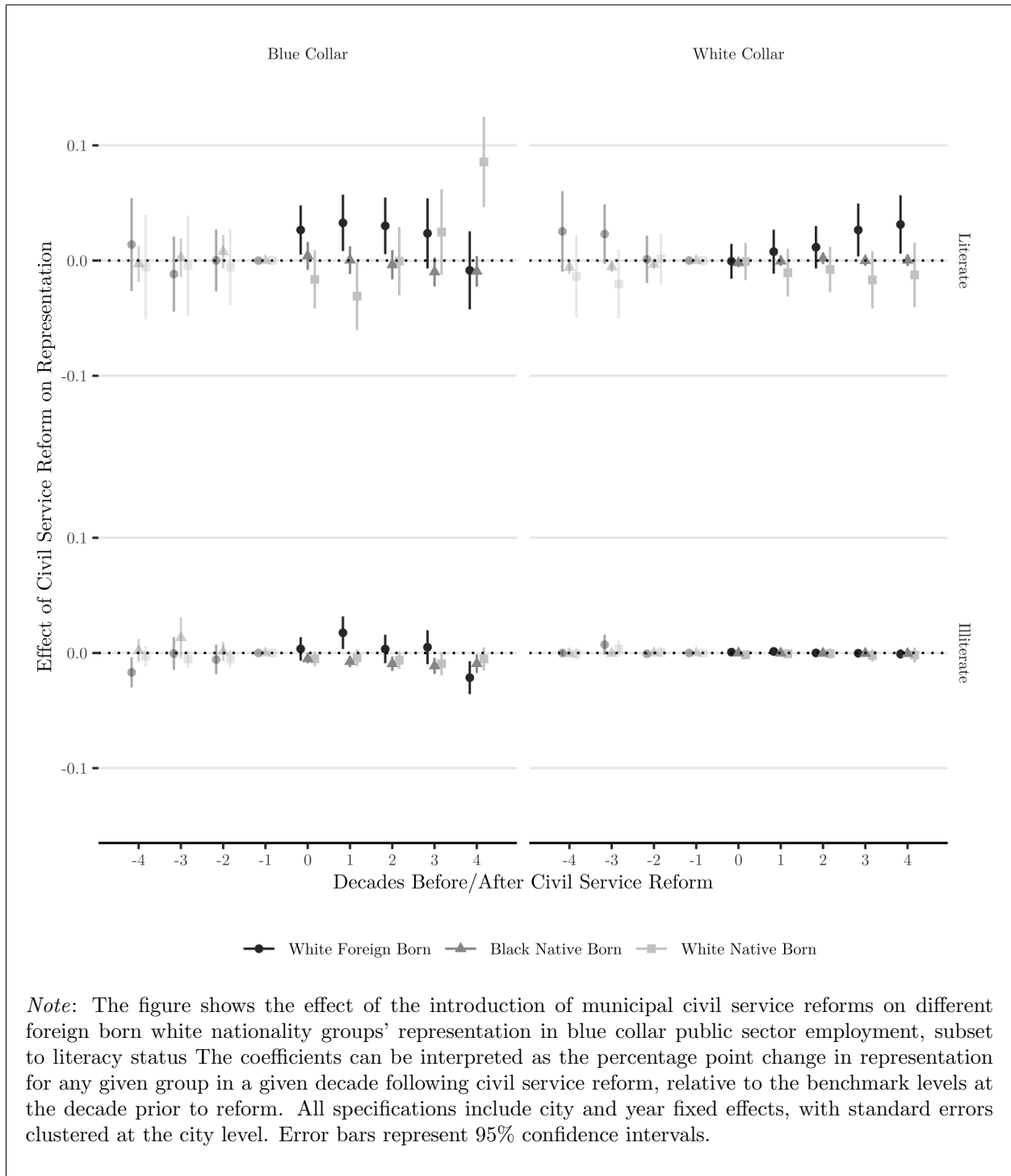


Figure A10—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation in White Collar Jobs, by Region



Note: The figure shows the effect of the introduction of municipal civil service reforms on different groups' representation in white collar public sector employment, subset to region. The coefficients can be interpreted as the percentage point change in representation for any given group in a given decade following civil service reform, relative to the benchmark levels at the decade prior to reform. All specifications include city and year fixed effects, with standard errors clustered at the city level. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Figure A11—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation, by Race and Nativity, Occupation, and Literacy



Note: The figure shows the effect of the introduction of municipal civil service reforms on different foreign born white nationality groups' representation in blue collar public sector employment, subset to literacy status. The coefficients can be interpreted as the percentage point change in representation for any given group in a given decade following civil service reform, relative to the benchmark levels at the decade prior to reform. All specifications include city and year fixed effects, with standard errors clustered at the city level. Error bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

C.5 Main analysis – lagged dependent variable specification

We present alternative estimates of the effect of civil service on group representation using a lagged dependent variable specification, formally:

$$Y_{it} = \alpha + \beta reform_{it} + \lambda prop_{it} + \gamma Y_{i,t-1} + \epsilon_{it}$$

Where Y_{it} is the share of (native born whites) in (blue collar) municipal civil service jobs in city i in year t . $reform$ is a binary indicator whether city i has adopted civil service reforms in year t . We include a time varying control of the underlying proportion of (native born whites) in city i in year t , which we include to obtain estimates interpretable as the over or underrepresentation of specific groups. $Y_{i,t-1}$ is the lagged dependent variable, the share of (native born whites) in (blue collar) municipal civil service jobs in city i in year $t - 1$, which is the previous decennial census year.

Table A4—Effect of Civil Service Reform, Lagged-DV Models

Group	Occupation	Estimate	SE	P-Value
Native B.	White Collar	0.002	0.001	0.030
Native B.	Blue Collar	-0.010	0.005	0.042
Foreign W.	White Collar	-0.042	0.005	0
Foreign W.	Blue Collar	0.014	0.008	0.068
German	White Collar	-0.004	0.003	0.135
German	Blue Collar	0.003	0.004	0.461
Irish	White Collar	-0.011	0.003	0
Irish	Blue Collar	0.034	0.006	0
Italian	White Collar	-0.0003	0.001	0.756
Italian	Blue Collar	-0.003	0.004	0.449
Native W.	White Collar	0.028	0.006	0
Native W.	Blue Collar	-0.007	0.010	0.508
Polish	White Collar	-0.0003	0.0004	0.353
Polish	Blue Collar	-0.002	0.001	0.009
Russian	White Collar	-0.0004	0.001	0.449
Russian	Blue Collar	-0.001	0.001	0.435

C.6 Tabular Presentation of Main Event Study Figures

Table A5—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation

	Blue Collar			White Collar		
	F. Born White	N. Born White	N. Born Black	F. Born White	N. Born White	N. Born Black
Decade = (-4, -3]	-0.002 (0.022)	-0.007 (0.024)	0.008 (0.012)	0.027 (0.018)	-0.013 (0.018)	-0.008* (0.003)
Decade = (-3, -2]	-0.012 (0.018)	-0.010 (0.022)	0.026* (0.013)	0.030* (0.015)	-0.016 (0.015)	-0.007** (0.002)
Decade = (-2, -1]	-0.005 (0.015)	-0.007 (0.017)	0.014 (0.010)	0.001 (0.011)	0.003 (0.011)	-0.003 (0.002)
Decade = (0, 1]	0.026* (0.012)	-0.015 (0.014)	-0.011 (0.008)	0.002 (0.008)	-0.002 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.002)
Decade = (1, 2]	0.049*** (0.014)	-0.039* (0.016)	-0.014+ (0.008)	0.011 (0.010)	-0.012 (0.010)	-0.001 (0.002)
Decade = (2, 3]	0.037* (0.014)	-0.032* (0.016)	-0.012 (0.009)	0.011 (0.009)	-0.013 (0.010)	0.001 (0.003)
Decade = (3, 4]	0.029 (0.018)	-0.016 (0.020)	-0.020* (0.009)	0.027* (0.012)	-0.027* (0.012)	0.000 (0.002)
Decade = (4, 5]	-0.022 (0.020)	0.023 (0.022)	-0.009 (0.012)	0.029* (0.013)	-0.029* (0.014)	-0.001 (0.003)
Population Share (%)	1.199*** (0.074)	0.802*** (0.066)	0.828*** (0.064)	0.627*** (0.064)	0.456*** (0.055)	0.104*** (0.018)
Num.Obs.	4408	4408	4408	4392	4392	4392
R2	0.672	0.616	0.734	0.519	0.496	0.288

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table A6—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation

	Blue Collar					White Collar				
	Irish	German	Italian	Polish	Russian	Irish	German	Italian	Polish	Russian
Decade = (-4, -3]	0.002 (0.016)	0.016 (0.012)	-0.005 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.005 (0.007)	0.000 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.005+ (0.003)	-0.001 (0.001)
Decade = (-3, -2]	-0.017 (0.013)	0.000 (0.008)	0.014+ (0.008)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.019+ (0.010)	0.004 (0.007)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.000)	0.003 (0.003)
Decade = (-2, -1]	-0.003 (0.010)	0.010 (0.008)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Decade = (0, 1]	0.020* (0.008)	0.003 (0.005)	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.002)	0.003 (0.004)	0.000 (0.003)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Decade = (1, 2]	0.048*** (0.012)	0.005 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.007)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.004+ (0.002)	0.002 (0.005)	0.005 (0.005)	0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.000)	0.001 (0.001)
Decade = (2, 3]	0.028* (0.012)	0.006 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.007)	0.000 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.002)	0.006 (0.005)	0.007 (0.004)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Decade = (3, 4]	0.018 (0.016)	0.004 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.010)	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.004+ (0.002)	0.011+ (0.006)	0.011* (0.005)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Decade = (4, 5]	-0.037* (0.017)	0.006 (0.007)	-0.026** (0.009)	-0.005 (0.003)	0.000 (0.003)	0.006 (0.008)	0.011+ (0.006)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)
Population Share (%)	0.311** (0.118)	0.931*** (0.118)	1.909*** (0.209)	0.808*** (0.129)	0.320** (0.114)	0.219** (0.076)	0.673*** (0.083)	0.132*** (0.028)	0.172* (0.084)	0.197+ (0.105)
Num.Obs.	4408	4408	4408	4408	4408	4392	4392	4392	4392	4392
R2	0.554	0.508	0.585	0.563	0.438	0.448	0.443	0.370	0.345	0.291

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table A7—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation, by Size of Bureaucracy

	Size of Bureaucracy, Pre-Reform				
	[1, 26)	[26, 58)	[58, 130)	[130, 300)	[300,5472]
Decade = (-4, -3]	0.043 (0.073)	0.100+ (0.058)	-0.044 (0.088)	-0.093** (0.032)	-0.024 (0.029)
Decade = (-3, -2]	0.021 (0.140)	0.070 (0.043)	-0.091* (0.036)	-0.047 (0.031)	-0.047* (0.018)
Decade = (-2, -1]	-0.028 (0.062)	0.021 (0.029)	-0.062** (0.021)	-0.043* (0.017)	0.008 (0.011)
Decade = (0, 1]	0.071* (0.032)	0.040* (0.017)	0.046*** (0.011)	0.011 (0.010)	0.012 (0.007)
Decade = (1, 2]	0.130*** (0.033)	0.093*** (0.023)	0.105*** (0.025)	0.055*** (0.013)	0.019 (0.015)
Decade = (2, 3]	0.134*** (0.024)	0.078*** (0.020)	0.103*** (0.022)	0.061** (0.018)	0.026 (0.024)
Decade = (3, 4]	0.154*** (0.028)	0.081*** (0.019)	0.101*** (0.028)	0.075* (0.032)	0.022 (0.027)
Decade = (4, 5]	0.090*** (0.024)	0.047** (0.017)	0.076*** (0.017)	0.043+ (0.024)	0.016 (0.035)
Population Share (%)	1.832** (0.545)	1.637* (0.702)	0.086 (0.582)	0.435 (0.323)	0.366+ (0.197)
Num.Obs.	254	273	253	320	364
R2	0.681	0.671	0.715	0.552	0.597

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table A8—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation, by Literacy

	Literate		Illiterate	
	Irish	German	Irish	German
Decade = (-4, -3]	0.008 (0.014)	0.015 (0.012)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.002)
Decade = (-3, -2]	-0.008 (0.012)	-0.001 (0.008)	-0.007* (0.003)	0.000 (0.002)
Decade = (-2, -1]	0.002 (0.009)	0.008 (0.007)	-0.006+ (0.003)	0.003 (0.002)
Decade = (0, 1]	0.022** (0.008)	0.004 (0.005)	0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)
Decade = (1, 2]	0.043*** (0.011)	0.005 (0.006)	0.008* (0.004)	0.002 (0.001)
Decade = (2, 3]	0.039*** (0.012)	0.004 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.003)	0.002 (0.001)
Decade = (3, 4]	0.033* (0.015)	0.003 (0.006)	-0.008* (0.004)	0.001 (0.001)
Decade = (4, 5]	-0.003 (0.017)	0.003 (0.007)	-0.017*** (0.004)	0.002 (0.002)
Population Share (%)	1.336*** (0.179)	1.169*** (0.106)	0.131*** (0.039)	0.066** (0.026)
Num.Obs.	4408	4408	4408	4408
R2	0.556	0.510	0.291	0.373

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

C.7 Tabular Presentation of Appendix Event Study Figures

Table A9—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation

	Police Departments			Fire Departments		
	F. Born White	N. Born White	N. Born Black	F. Born White	N. Born White	N. Born Black
Decade = (-4, -3]	0.038* (0.018)	-0.020 (0.020)	-0.013*** (0.004)	0.031 (0.027)	-0.035 (0.030)	0.003 (0.013)
Decade = (-3, -2]	0.026+ (0.014)	-0.009 (0.016)	-0.009* (0.004)	0.033 (0.021)	-0.024 (0.021)	-0.008 (0.006)
Decade = (-2, -1]	-0.010 (0.010)	0.014 (0.011)	-0.005* (0.002)	0.008 (0.015)	-0.006 (0.015)	-0.002 (0.003)
Decade = (0, 1]	0.008 (0.009)	-0.011 (0.009)	0.000 (0.001)	0.004 (0.011)	0.000 (0.012)	-0.002 (0.002)
Decade = (1, 2]	-0.005 (0.012)	-0.003 (0.013)	0.003 (0.002)	-0.018 (0.015)	0.022 (0.016)	0.003 (0.005)
Decade = (2, 3]	-0.013 (0.013)	0.007 (0.015)	0.003 (0.003)	-0.006 (0.016)	0.019 (0.018)	-0.003 (0.005)
Decade = (3, 4]	-0.006 (0.018)	0.000 (0.020)	0.004 (0.004)	0.009 (0.021)	0.013 (0.023)	-0.006 (0.008)
Decade = (4, 5]	0.007 (0.020)	-0.017 (0.024)	0.007 (0.004)	0.002 (0.024)	0.017 (0.027)	-0.002 (0.008)
Population Share (%)	1.140*** (0.081)	0.740*** (0.090)	0.102** (0.038)	0.857*** (0.122)	0.732*** (0.124)	0.139+ (0.079)
Num.Obs.	3470	3470	3470	3500	3500	3500
R2	0.674	0.643	0.534	0.589	0.564	0.470

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table A10—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation

	Police Departments					Fire Departments				
	Irish	German	Italian	Polish	Russian	Irish	German	Italian	Polish	Russian
Decade = (-4, -3]	0.006 (0.014)	0.009 (0.009)	0.004* (0.002)	0.002+ (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.015)	0.020 (0.020)	-0.003+ (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Decade = (-3, -2]	0.002 (0.011)	0.011+ (0.006)	0.002 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.024 (0.017)	0.009 (0.010)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Decade = (-2, -1]	-0.008 (0.007)	0.005 (0.005)	0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.010 (0.010)	-0.004 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Decade = (0, 1]	0.011 (0.007)	0.003 (0.003)	0.000 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.002 (0.008)	0.004 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.000 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)
Decade = (1, 2]	0.008 (0.009)	0.004 (0.004)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.001+ (0.001)	-0.009 (0.011)	0.005 (0.006)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Decade = (2, 3]	0.008 (0.011)	0.002 (0.005)	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.002+ (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.008 (0.013)	0.008 (0.007)	0.003 (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)	0.000 (0.001)
Decade = (3, 4]	0.015 (0.015)	0.003 (0.006)	-0.007*** (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)	-0.002* (0.001)	0.002 (0.015)	0.017+ (0.011)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)
Decade = (4, 5]	0.021 (0.018)	0.009 (0.006)	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.005* (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.013 (0.019)	0.016 (0.010)	0.003 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)
Population Share (%)	0.649*** (0.178)	0.889*** (0.107)	0.343*** (0.058)	0.492*** (0.132)	0.117* (0.055)	0.668* (0.291)	0.684*** (0.127)	0.187 (0.131)	0.389* (0.172)	-0.022 (0.021)
Num.Obs.	3470	3470	3470	3470	3470	3500	3500	3500	3500	3500
R2	0.585	0.548	0.484	0.530	0.349	0.441	0.424	0.608	0.520	0.481

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table A11—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation

	Foreign Born White (% Pre Reform)				
	[0.5, 8%]	[8, 14%]	[14, 19.1%]	[19.1, 26.2%]	[26.2, 49.7%]
Decade = (-4, -3]	0.021 (0.040)	-0.085 (0.067)	-0.072 (0.057)	0.141+ (0.079)	0.051 (0.067)
Decade = (-3, -2]	0.008 (0.033)	-0.078+ (0.045)	-0.022 (0.050)	0.008 (0.065)	0.071 (0.057)
Decade = (-2, -1]	0.002 (0.024)	-0.047 (0.036)	0.038 (0.039)	-0.028 (0.044)	-0.018 (0.053)
Decade = (0, 1]	-0.030* (0.011)	0.015 (0.022)	0.058+ (0.031)	0.046 (0.030)	0.006 (0.029)
Decade = (1, 2]	-0.015 (0.013)	0.011 (0.021)	0.111** (0.040)	0.091*** (0.022)	0.050+ (0.029)
Decade = (2, 3]	-0.048*** (0.013)	0.096*** (0.017)	0.121** (0.039)	0.048+ (0.025)	0.006 (0.023)
Decade = (3, 4]	-0.110*** (0.028)	0.159*** (0.033)	0.114** (0.039)	0.030 (0.026)	0.018 (0.029)
Population Share (%)	0.633* (0.275)	0.953+ (0.481)	1.323*** (0.274)	0.983*** (0.268)	1.322*** (0.166)
Decade = (4, 5]			0.091+ (0.048)	-0.026 (0.033)	0.013 (0.022)
Num.Obs.	290	241	267	307	359
R2	0.531	0.530	0.612	0.676	0.659

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table A12—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation

	City Population (Pre Reform)				
	[850, 13369)	[13369, 19010)	[19010, 33960)	[33960, 73411)	[73411, 1298405]
Decade = (-4, -3]	0.042 (0.153)	-0.058 (0.069)	0.034 (0.062)	-0.099** (0.034)	-0.057+ (0.033)
Decade = (-3, -2]	-0.044 (0.194)	-0.066+ (0.038)	-0.045 (0.030)	-0.058+ (0.034)	-0.057*** (0.016)
Decade = (-2, -1]	0.111 (0.084)	-0.042 (0.028)	-0.041+ (0.022)	-0.039* (0.019)	-0.008 (0.017)
Decade = (0, 1]	0.054* (0.027)	0.069*** (0.020)	0.037* (0.015)	0.031** (0.009)	0.005 (0.009)
Decade = (1, 2]	0.122*** (0.030)	0.132*** (0.034)	0.090*** (0.024)	0.075*** (0.019)	0.026 (0.016)
Decade = (2, 3]	0.124*** (0.029)	0.126*** (0.026)	0.094*** (0.023)	0.078*** (0.018)	0.030 (0.019)
Decade = (3, 4]	0.152*** (0.030)	0.120*** (0.033)	0.079* (0.032)	0.081*** (0.021)	0.030 (0.023)
Decade = (4, 5]	0.071* (0.027)	0.078** (0.024)	0.065* (0.027)	0.060** (0.017)	0.015 (0.026)
Population Share (%)	1.998+ (1.047)	1.762+ (1.037)	1.206+ (0.687)	0.555 (0.333)	0.227 (0.166)
Num.Obs.	223	234	287	329	391
R2	0.683	0.699	0.642	0.677	0.577

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table A13—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation

	Machine Dominance	
	Machine	non-Machine
Decade = (-4, -3]	-0.042 (0.042)	0.030 (0.093)
Decade = (-3, -2]	-0.047 (0.034)	-0.097* (0.033)
Decade = (-2, -1]	-0.022 (0.023)	0.016 (0.051)
Decade = (0, 1]	-0.001 (0.014)	0.002 (0.026)
Decade = (1, 2]	0.010 (0.011)	0.013 (0.022)
Decade = (2, 3]	0.007 (0.013)	-0.003 (0.021)
Decade = (3, 4]	0.006 (0.023)	
Population Share (%)	0.966*** (0.226)	1.078* (0.299)
Num.Obs.	472	61
R2	0.664	0.777

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table A14—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation, Region

	F. Born White				N. Born White				N. Born Black			
	North	South	Midwest	West	North	South	Midwest	West	North	South	Midwest	West
Decade = (-4, -3]	0.014 (0.039)	0.013 (0.020)	0.016 (0.045)	0.064 (0.094)	-0.003 (0.041)	-0.102 (0.051)	-0.036 (0.044)	-0.082 (0.094)	-0.009 (0.013)	0.081 (0.049)	0.011 (0.010)	0.014 (0.022)
Decade = (-3, -2]	0.019 (0.035)	0.009 (0.029)	0.000 (0.035)	-0.014 (0.050)	-0.033 (0.040)	-0.015 (0.052)	-0.009 (0.037)	0.025 (0.051)	0.014 (0.022)	0.003 (0.043)	0.005 (0.011)	-0.003 (0.010)
Decade = (-2, -1]	-0.010 (0.029)	0.029 (0.015)	0.004 (0.025)	0.013 (0.034)	0.019 (0.032)	-0.071 (0.036)	-0.017 (0.024)	-0.006 (0.039)	-0.009 (0.013)	0.044 (0.034)	0.012 (0.009)	-0.001 (0.011)
Decade = (0, 1]	0.042 (0.025)	0.008 (0.007)	-0.003 (0.020)	-0.026 (0.024)	-0.021 (0.027)	-0.057 (0.030)	0.004 (0.020)	0.022 (0.027)	-0.020 (0.011)	0.057 (0.029)	0.002 (0.009)	0.006 (0.010)
Decade = (1, 2]	0.062 (0.025)	0.018 (0.012)	0.001 (0.023)	-0.057 (0.025)	-0.039 (0.027)	-0.097 (0.043)	-0.007 (0.025)	0.043 (0.030)	-0.023 (0.012)	0.097 (0.043)	0.012 (0.011)	0.012 (0.011)
Decade = (2, 3]	0.035 (0.025)	0.011 (0.013)	0.023 (0.024)	-0.085 (0.034)	-0.005 (0.027)	-0.142 (0.047)	-0.040 (0.026)	0.072 (0.038)	-0.030 (0.014)	0.141 (0.045)	0.021 (0.011)	0.008 (0.017)
Decade = (3, 4]	0.028 (0.029)		0.018 (0.033)	-0.095 (0.050)	0.006 (0.031)		-0.009 (0.039)	0.095 (0.053)	-0.033 (0.013)		0.010 (0.013)	-0.005 (0.023)
Decade = (4, 5]	-0.032 (0.031)		-0.022 (0.073)	-0.148 (0.039)	0.059 (0.032)		0.069 (0.087)	0.129 (0.043)	-0.027 (0.014)		-0.014 (0.038)	0.011 (0.017)
Population Share (%)	1.019 (0.126)	1.011 (0.202)	1.127 (0.132)	0.982 (0.444)	1.011 (0.134)	0.718 (0.117)	1.017 (0.139)	1.196 (0.447)	1.247 (0.236)	0.696 (0.103)	0.354 (0.130)	1.450 (0.500)
Num.Obs.	1738	874	1409	364	1738	874	1409	364	1738	874	1409	364
R2	0.602	0.636	0.690	0.635	0.579	0.686	0.658	0.631	0.508	0.727	0.645	0.549

Table A15—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation, Literacy

	Literate			Illiterate		
	F. Born White	N. Born White	N. Born Black	F. Born White	N. Born White	N. Born Black
Decade = (-4, -3]	0.014 (0.021)	-0.006 (0.023)	-0.003 (0.008)	-0.017* (0.007)	-0.003 (0.005)	0.002 (0.005)
Decade = (-3, -2]	-0.012 (0.017)	-0.004 (0.022)	0.002 (0.009)	0.000 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.004)	0.013 (0.009)
Decade = (-2, -1]	0.000 (0.014)	-0.006 (0.017)	0.008 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.005 (0.004)	0.001 (0.004)
Decade = (0, 1]	0.027* (0.011)	-0.016 (0.013)	0.004 (0.006)	0.004 (0.005)	-0.005 (0.003)	-0.005* (0.002)
Decade = (1, 2]	0.033** (0.012)	-0.031* (0.015)	0.000 (0.006)	0.018* (0.007)	-0.004 (0.004)	-0.008** (0.002)
Decade = (2, 3]	0.030* (0.013)	-0.001 (0.015)	-0.004 (0.006)	0.003 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.009** (0.003)
Decade = (3, 4]	0.024 (0.016)	0.025 (0.019)	-0.010 (0.006)	0.005 (0.008)	-0.009+ (0.005)	-0.011** (0.004)
Decade = (4, 5]	-0.008 (0.017)	0.086*** (0.020)	-0.009 (0.007)	-0.021** (0.007)	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.009* (0.004)
Population Share (%)	1.466*** (0.049)	1.107*** (0.047)	1.399*** (0.047)	0.459*** (0.083)	0.249+ (0.149)	0.612*** (0.066)
Num.Obs.	4408	4408	4408	4408	4408	4408
R2	0.683	0.833	0.754	0.416	0.312	0.617

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001

Table A16—Effect of Civil Service Reforms on Representation, Literacy

	Literate			Illiterate		
	F. Born White	N. Born White	N. Born Black	F. Born White	N. Born White	N. Born Black
Decade = (-4, -3]	0.025 (0.018)	-0.014 (0.018)	-0.006* (0.003)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.001)
Decade = (-3, -2]	0.023+ (0.013)	-0.020 (0.015)	-0.006** (0.002)	0.007 (0.004)	0.004 (0.004)	0.000 (0.001)
Decade = (-2, -1]	0.001 (0.010)	0.001 (0.011)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)
Decade = (0, 1]	-0.001 (0.008)	-0.001 (0.008)	-0.002 (0.002)	0.001* (0.000)	-0.002 (0.001)	0.000 (0.000)
Decade = (1, 2]	0.008 (0.010)	-0.011 (0.011)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.000)
Decade = (2, 3]	0.012 (0.009)	-0.008 (0.010)	0.002 (0.003)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)	0.000 (0.000)
Decade = (3, 4]	0.027* (0.012)	-0.017 (0.013)	0.000 (0.002)	0.000 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.003)	0.000 (0.000)
Decade = (4, 5]	0.031* (0.013)	-0.012 (0.014)	0.000 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.001)
Population Share (%)	0.716*** (0.045)	0.423*** (0.043)	0.054*** (0.012)	0.044 (0.035)	0.341* (0.144)	0.038* (0.015)
Num.Obs.	4392	4392	4392	4392	4392	4392
R2	0.540	0.933	0.230	0.243	0.266	0.225

+ p < 0.1, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01, *** p < 0.001