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Affirmative Action Policy Today: Its Effectiveness as Examined in the United States Department of Commerce

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Shades of
Black

The Color Complex
Russell, Wilson &
Hall

**AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY TODAY: ITS EFFECTIVENESS AS
EXAMINED IN THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE**

**An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
Honors Studies in
Political Science**

**By
Louritha Green**

**1994
Political Science
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After a while you learn the subtle difference between holding a hand and chaining a soul...And you learn that love does not mean leaning and company does not mean security. And you begin to learn...that kisses are not contracts and presents are not promises. And you begin to accept...defeats with your head up and your eyes ahead with the Grace of a man and not the grief of a child. After a while you learn that even sunshine burns if you ask too much...so you plant your own garden and decorate your own soul instead of waiting for someone to bring you flowers. And you learn that you really can endure...that you really are strong and you really do have worth...and you learn with every good-bye and...you learn.

Veronica Shoffstall

So many people are responsible for my impending graduation as well as the completion of this document. To Dr. Suzanne D. McCray, Dr. Robert B. Cochran and family, Dr. Diane Blair, Dr. Donald Kelley, Dr. Linda Coon, Dr. Jeff Ryan, Dr. Chuck Adams, Wesley E. Marshall, L. Allen Brewer, the Fernandez Family, the Claus Family, Dr. Robert R. Pang, Larry M. Lawrence, and my family, I say thank you.

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*This thesis is dedicated to
Robert Tahsis Claus,
18 December 1972-5 September 1993.
You are my life.*

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But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, do as you desire, choose the leaders you please. You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "You are free to compete with all the others," and still justly believe you have been completely fair. (Graham, 182)

Introduction

These words of President Lyndon Baines Johnson epitomize the foundation on which affirmative action programs were founded. Since the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement, there has been a struggle between leveling out the inequalities of society and maintaining some semblance of a meritocracy. This conflict has made attempts to rectify occupational discrimination a feared and controversial subject, for even its proponents see antidiscriminatory policy as both paternalistic and activist, obstructionist and progressive, equal yet unfair. The creation and implementation of affirmative action policy in America represents the schism between the reality of race relations and the vision that creators of the Civil Rights Act envisioned.

Affirmative action was created as a corrective in the face of the realization that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 could not alone insure protection of every individual's right to equality. Despite its good intentions, affirmative action policy created and fostered its own troubles (Sindler, 4). Most of the problem lies with misinterpretation of what the term *affirmative action* means. Whether through honest misunderstanding or intentional manipulation of the term, some employers and displaced employees have used affirmative action as their emotional punching bag, an answer as to what went wrong in their

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pursuit of career advancement. Employers often misconstrue the policy as one that says that they must hire the black or the woman, when in fact the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states just the opposite.¹

The misinterpretation of policy creates dangerous and frightening consequences. When faced with letters of rejection from potential employers, some disgruntled white male candidates automatically blame affirmative action. They have valid reasons for this reaction, given the fact that in the past and now, there are instances in which an employer in fact does not hire the best candidate due to the pressures of meeting color quotas. In this delicate and racially charged world, it takes only one such instance of misapplication to validate all other claims of reverse discrimination.

As for the minority individuals who do get hired, they must face constant scrutiny and address countless questions concerning their abilities and the circumstances under which they earned employment. These concerns inevitably lead to credibility questions that perhaps would be absent if the new employee were white or male (Carter, 23). These different opinions and attitudes cause unneeded tensions in the employment world and decrease worker productivity. These phenomena call into question the value of affirmative action policy as a whole. If these are the effects of affirmative action policy, is its continued promotion worth the effort and repercussions?

In order to answer these questions, one needs background on the institution created to measure and insure equal employment and an analysis of how that organization has fared. This paper strives to examine

¹Laws Enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Services, 1994) 1-22.

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America's federal affirmative action laws and programs and provide suggestions to strengthen the effectiveness of such programs. Due to the fact that an examination of each federal agency's employment practices is beyond the scope of this paper, I will focus on the United States Department of Commerce's record on affirmative action, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's (EEOC) record on civil rights policy enforcement, and the future of affirmative action as a productive institution in America.

Because a basic definition of what equal employment means and why regulatory agencies exist is paramount to any discussion about affirmative action, the first part of this text discusses the history of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, the primary institution responsible for the application of civil rights law in the work place. The EEOC remains the primary watchdog and enforcer of America's equal employment statutes. However, its chaotic history is indicative of the difficulties of enforcement of civil rights.

In order to compare theoretical operation to actuality, the paper will examine the EEOC's effectiveness in the Department of Commerce, an institution known for its poor equal employment record, and the flagship organization in President Bill Clinton's plan "to create a government that looks like America"².

The final piece of this text will focus on the future of affirmative action policy in America and will discuss methods by which the federal government can strengthen the effectiveness of its affirmative action and

²Remarks by Secretary Ronald H. Brown in his speech on 21 July 1994 to Commerce Employees at the United States Department of Commerce.

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equal opportunity programs. Currently America is in the midst of a transition stage of race relations. More students of color and women graduate from high school and earn college degrees, which makes them qualified for a wider variety of positions and careers. This fact antiquates the 1960's standards used to measure 1990's progress. New methods of preparing tomorrow's leaders are currently being created, and one program in particular, the Friends of Rosey, seeks to provide postsecondary opportunities and inroads to career development.

Current affirmative action programs attempt to correct the remaining misdeeds of the 1960's; with the passing of thirty years came the improvement of educational opportunity and the entrance of more people of color into college. Thus while many of the difficulties that minorities experienced in the workplace thirty years ago continue to be a determining factor in their socio-economic advancement. The problem for the person of color who wants to achieve has become greater than just the legal denial of opportunity, and today's affirmative action policies should reflect that change. Instead of creating program after program that attempts to merely bandage years of discrimination, Civil Rights proponents must find a more permanent, progressive solution.

This is not to say that we should abandon the current affirmative action programs; they remain an important part of the struggle for equality. Allan P. Sindler, a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research eloquently states the philosophy behind continuing the current programs by saying:

As long as prior discrimination has present effects, mere neutrality to race is insufficient. As long as the effects of past racial discrimination persist, the

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employment of race-consciousness in rectifying that discrimination should not be abandoned (14).

Sindler's appeal for affirmative action program possesses validity. Without the programs we would have possibly been cheated of some of the world's best intellect. However, both members of the minority and majority should begin to work together to decrease the need for compensatory programs by shifting to a merit and individual based system of determining rewards. Affirmative action policy today has allowed for the achievement of many people of color. However the policies are antiquated and do not meet the needs of today's underrepresented individuals. Hence, new affirmative plans must be tailored to account for the wider educational backgrounds of minority individuals and improvement. These programs should include equal access to information, improvement of confidence in minority individuals.

Chapter I

The Structure and History the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)

Structure

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was created by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and became operational on 2 June 1965 (Graham, 179). Title VII requires that the Commission consist of five members, not more than three of whom shall belong to the same political party. The President appoints the Commission's members who are then subject to Senate confirmation. Upon approval, commissioners serve staggered five year terms, with one term ending each year. The President designates one member to serve as Chair and one member to serve as Vice Chair. The General Counsel also is appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for a term of four years. The Commission has the authority to investigate alleged civil rights violations and bring them before Congress. If, after a structured investigation, the EEOC finds probable cause to identify an organization as having discriminatory practices, the Commission can order the offending organization or business to "cease and desist from such unlawful employment practice and to make such affirmative action, including reinstatement or hiring of employees, with or without backpay. . . as will effectuate the polices of the Act."³

Under Title VII, the Commission, through its field and headquarters offices, bears responsibility for receiving and investigating

³Laws Enforced by the EEOC, 7-8

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charges of employment discrimination. Individual Commissioners may initiate charges if they receive information suggesting that the law has been violated. If the Commission decides after investigation that reasonable cause exists to believe that a violation of Title VII has occurred, the Commission must attempt to diffuse the situation through conciliatory practices. In addition to enforcing Title VII, the Commission is also charged with the following duties:

- 1) To enforce House Resolution 405, which states that "it is unlawful to discriminate on the basis of race, religion, color, national origin, or ancestry"(Graham, 247).
- 2) To cooperate with similar state and local institutions in the area of civil rights enforcement;
- 3) To fund all expenses of civil rights witnesses, who often lost everything when they revealed discriminatory behavior at their places of employment;
- 4) To assist employers if they requested such assistance;
- 5) To provide technical assistance and compile studies on the civil rights problem; and,
- 6) To create an advisory council for the modification of civil rights policy as needed.

All of the above duties imply that the EEOC possesses huge amounts of responsibility and power. However, the organization had troubles from the start. It could not keep its own house in order much less any other organization. High turnover, poor funding, and lack of dedication plagued the EEOC from its infancy. Civil rights historian

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Charles Bullock, III best summed up the young Commission in the following words:

During its first half decade, four chairmen, five general counsels, and six executive directors passed through the EEOC's revolving door. Indicative of restlessness in the ranks was the filing of 220 charges of discrimination against the Commission by its employees, a rate of complaints 28 times greater than was generally found in federal offices (Rodgers, 93).

Personnel problems were the least of the EEOC's difficulties.

Numerous impediments within the law restricted EEOC power and made it a slave to the very institutions over which it possessed jurisdiction. For example, although it was armed with the authority to order organizations found guilty of discrimination to reorganize its policies, the EEOC could not directly utilize the court system in the face of noncompliance. It could only mount investigations when conciliatory negotiations of compliance failed. Congress provided the EEOC's legitimacy, and because of that fact, the EEOC's effectiveness was directly tied to changing Congressional sentiment.

The EEOC also possessed no de facto power over other federal agencies because of a provision that grants offending organizations unlimited time in which they could correct discriminatory practices. This loophole meant that employers could promise to improve their civil rights record without actually having to act on that oath for a lengthy period of time (if at all). On a state level, the Commission's authority did not supersede that of state law, and the EEOC actually had to submit state confidentiality laws and the judicial scrutiny of the state governments. While most states had tough equal employment agencies, some states did not; without the ability to act upon cases of discrimination in states with

more lax laws, the EEOC was in effect a slave to the very institutions that it was created to regulate.

Reshaping the EEOC: Retail vs. Wholesale and the History of Effectiveness

Given the nature of its creation, the EEOC was certain to have a controversial existence even from its infancy. The honeymoon that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 created ended due to the EEOC's lack of direction and action. Civil rights leaders Jack Greenberg and James Farmer threatened demonstrations to protest the EEOC's cumbersome procedures that in effect took too long to grant relief to the plaintiffs.

The underestimation of the pervasiveness of discrimination further complicated the EEOC's effectiveness. The NAACP delivered the first load of complaints from workers at companies including Sears, Southern Bell, and Kroger (Graham, 243). Most complaints were from the South and the realities of discrimination hit the Commission with the importance of the monumental task before it. The EEOC's first budget provided for the processing of two thousand cases for fiscal year 1965-66. By April of 1966, over five thousand complaints were filed, overwhelming the organization's budget and human resources. The large number of cases also called into question the effectiveness of civil rights law as passed in 1964. The result of the EEOC's crippling procedures was that by the end of 1972, only about half of the 80,000 complaints the Commission had recommended for action had been investigated. By 1976 the rate of complaints had increased to around 80,000 a year, causing the backlog to mushroom. Instead of clearing complaints within the required sixty days, processing averaged two years. Even when the EEOC did investigate a complaint, its success rate was extremely low. Of the 41,000 investigations

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the EEOC conducted in its first seven years, only six percent were successfully resolved (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1971, 29).

Due to these problems, some policy makers felt a need for restructuring the complaint system. If the EEOC was to move beyond the tight limitations of case-by-case examination, then some transformation and reinterpretation of civil rights policy implementation was necessary. First, the EEOC had to create a clear and more encompassing definition of discrimination. The problem with the EEOC's attempt to metamorphose was its dependence on Congressional definitions and interpretations of civil rights legislation. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 hindered the implementation of the above initiatives. Section 706(g) of Title VIII addresses prejudicial intent versus discriminatory effect; the EEOC interpreted the above section to mean the following:

The express requirement of intent is designated to make it wholly clear that inadvertent or accidental discrimination will not violate the title or result in entry of court orders. It means simply that the respondent must have intended to discriminate (Graham, 188).

This statement epitomizes the main problem with EEOC policy and handling of civil rights complaints. The EEOC took a retail approach to enforcement, which meant that the rectification process was slow, time consuming, and narrow in focus. During its infancy, the policy as executed only dealt with intent cases, where one must prove that some company or individual intended to deny employment opportunity to potential employees based on elements listed in Title VII. This method made cases harder to fight and win, because it relied on subjective information, such as how an employer felt and whether or not the

employer possessed certain personality traits (racist versus nonracist, for instance).

However, if the definition of discrimination were shifted to include effect as a criterion for evaluating claims, more cases could be proven. The EEOC could better defend a complaint that possessed corroborative statistical information (i.e., hiring reports, percentage of minority employment, increases or decreases in minority employment, etc.) than abstract and subjective individual arguments (employer word versus employee accusation) that represented the bulk of early claims. A concrete measuring system could help identify and effectively counter individual and institutional discrimination.

The movement for equal employment opportunity would benefit from a wholesale approach to discrimination eradication. Recognition of an institutional problem provided a recognizable enemy on which the organization could concentrate its efforts. Instead of fighting multiple battles without direction that case-by-case examination represented, the EEOC could fight the war of which the battles were a part--institutional racism.

The EEOC and the Judicial System

The federal court system provided the EEOC with the larger scope that it needed. The Department of Justice prosecuted several important cases that it felt had industry-wide implications. Among corporations sued were United States Steel, Household Finance, Roadway, AT&T, and several unions. In these cases the courts upheld the use of statistical data on racial distributions in job categories as a method of proving discrimination and upheld the suits against the industries (Bullock, 115). The courts also ruled against employment tests that excluded more blacks

than whites (*Griggs v. Duke Power Company*, 1971) and seniority systems that excluded blacks from better-paying jobs (*United States v. Local 189, United Paperworkers*, 1970). The courts also ordered specific unions to adopt affirmative action plans in compensation for their past discriminatory behavior (Rodgers, 92).

The judicial branch's reinterpretation of affirmative action policy caught Congress' attention. Prior to 1972, the Commission was only authorized to negotiate with discriminating employers through conferences, conciliation, and persuasion. If the EEOC found a pattern of discrimination, it could refer the matter to the Attorney General for possible prosecution. In 1972, Congress gave the EEOC the authority to take cases directly to the federal district courts. EEOC jurisdiction was also extended to state and local government workers and to employers and unions with fifteen or more employees. Despite this new authority, the EEOC still needed a concrete method of determining patterns of racial discrimination.

The Problem with Numbers: Legitimacy and Fear of Data Manipulation

The Court rulings did little to alleviate concerns over the misuse of numbers. Even if the Commission could guarantee proper usage of statistics, the problem of comparison remained. Since there was no data bank of employment information, how could the new information be used to concretely prove discrimination? One answer to this question was that equal opportunity would be defined as the following: minus discrimination, an equal chance to represent one's group in the workforce relative to the group's size and percentage of the population. Although it would conflict with the traditional standards of individual merit divorced from the group's historical context, the redefinition of equal opportunity

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was necessary. Without such a model of proportional representation, no measurable benchmark of underutilization with which to justify governmental involvement to remedy discriminatory activity could exist. Even if the EEOC could realize all of these ideas, it still needed the authority to implement and enforce corrective measures; this authority would include requiring specific measures of hiring and promotion sufficient to rectify the underrepresentation problem.

Resistance to the creation of a data base containing racial demographics continued. Keeping statistics on the racial composition of organizations has always been a delicate process. Due to the historical use of head-counting for the purpose of racial exclusion, Civil Rights groups were afraid that the collection of such data would lead to reprisals against the plaintiffs. In the words of Clarence Mitchell,

The history of the reason why we do not include this is sadly and surely proven, that the minute you put race on a civil service form, the minute you put a picture on an application form, you have opened the door to discrimination and, if you say that isn't true, I regret to say I feel you haven't been exposed to all of the problems that exist in this country (Graham, 282).

Despite these protests, the EEOC knew that its credibility necessitated numbers. With careful application, the Commission could avoid the Jim Crow misuse of the numbers. In March of 1966, John Macy, Chair of the Civil Service Commission, announced that all federal agencies would by law be required to record and report their racial demographics (Graham, 199). By making all federal agencies accountable, Macy circumvented complaints from Civil Rights leaders. In order to guard against agency manipulation and misuse of information, the CSC required that forms containing race information not pass through the

individual agencies' personnel offices, but rather the data would go directly to the CSC and EEOC.

The power of the information that would be compiled could be used to set the EEOC apart from most government agencies. The EEOC could use the statistics gained from the forms (called EEO-1's) to pinpoint organizations which might be involved in discriminatory activity. The fact that the numbers could be used against an employer made them powerful, and if a company was not hiring enough individuals from traditionally underrepresented groups, the company could be subject to reprisal. Determining what was meant by enough became a problem. Did the regulation and dependence on numbers smell of quotas, which were distasteful and illegal?

Results of the EEOC's First Compiled Statistics

The use of statistics validated itself when the first set of the EEOC's statistical data arrived. When the preliminary results from analysis of the EEO-1 returns began to come in mid-1967, the precision of these findings permitted the EEOC to pinpoint crucial target areas; by the fall of 1967 the EEOC's research staff had analyzed the data contained in the first batch of two-page EEO-1 forms and had broken it down for nine major metropolitan areas. The data were drawn from the 1966 reports of forty-three thousand employers covering twenty-six million workers. By choosing large cities in different geographic areas of the nation, the EEOC was better able to locate distinct areas of the country that had abnormally high occurrences of discrimination. This method led to wholesale processing of civil rights cases as opposed to the ineffective retail model that had hampered the EEOC's ability to fully function.

The data revealed with unprecedented precision that blacks were disproportionately represented in blue-collar jobs throughout the nation. This was especially true in the South. In New Orleans, for example, blacks were 30.7 percent of the population and 44.8 percent of the blue collar jobs. In Atlanta, blacks were 23 percent of the population but held 33.8 percent of the blue collar jobs. In Chicago, blacks were 14 percent of the population but held 20.6 percent of the blue-collar jobs (Graham, 247).

The analysis revealed how entrenched discrimination was in the nation; the white-collar employment market, where future job growth lay in technical and service enterprises, was almost devoid of minority representation. Minorities faced two main problems in employment. First, blacks were underrepresented according to their area populations in white-collar employment in general. For example, blacks in Kansas City were 11.2 percent of the population and only 2.1 percent of the white-collar work force; in Cleveland the corresponding figures were 13 percent and 3.2 percent. Second, within those white-collar categories, the great majority of blacks worked either in the low-paying clerical and sales positions or as hospital orderlies in white-collar growth industries. For example, in Chicago, of the 4.7 percent black employee white-collar population, eighty percent fell into the low-status category. While there were more jobs open to minorities than in previous times, they were dead-end types of employment (Graham, 242).

This trend still remains the order of the day in the 1990's, particularly in federal employment. One organization that exemplifies the difficulties with equal employment and its enforcement is the United States Department of Commerce. The following pages discuss the Department's attempts to remake its image and increase compliance with

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EEOC regulations.

Chapter II

Numbers Then and Numbers Now: Equal Employment and the United States Department of Commerce

Employment Stratification at the Department of Commerce

Although great strides have been made and some action continues to be taken to eliminate inequality, the pariahs of sexism and racism still plague the federal government. Executive Order 12067 granted the EEOC the power to eradicate unfair employment practices. The dismal numbers of the 1960's remain a part of today's reality, and this fact is exemplified by the diversity record of the United States Department of Commerce.

A lack of minority representation at mid- and senior management levels has become a fundamental concern of the Department's Secretary, Ronald H. Brown, and with good reason. For example, African Americans make up nineteen percent of Commerce's thirty-six thousand employees, but only seven percent of its GS 13-15 employees.⁴ Within that seven percent, there are no people of color above GS 13 ranking. The Senior Executive Service (SES), the most coveted positions in the Department, have only a six percent black representation.⁵ Commerce ranks forty-seventh out of fifty-eight agencies in the percentage of women in professional positions, with women representing forty-six percent of the

⁴The Government Service (GS) system is a military-style ranking system used by the U.S. federal government. Employees are paid by grades on the GS system which ranges from GS 1-15.

⁵The Senior Executive Service is a separate personnel system covering a majority of the top managerial, supervisory, and policy-making positions in the executive branch of the Federal government.

total Commerce workforce, but only thirteen percent of the Senior Executive Service. Commerce ranks dead last in the area of Latino employment, and an impenetrable glass ceiling exists for all people of color.⁶

The placement of people of color in mostly bottom-rung, dead-end positions pervades most federal agencies. In Commerce, the case has an added element. While its lower-level positions typify federal government hiring practices, the higher-level political appointee positions have an unusually high percentage of minorities. Despite this reality, the placement of minority individuals in the highest and lowest ends of the occupational spectrum gives the erroneous impression that affirmative action is alive, well and working properly in the Department.⁷ In actuality Commerce still maintains a predominantly white middle management core.⁸ The Department's job stratification also provides insight into what areas affect Commerce policy. At the lower echelons of Commerce, people of color are employed as janitors, clerical workers, and security guards, positions which effectively cut them out of the policy arena altogether. At the political appointee level, people of color provide merely cosmetic

⁶Department of Commerce. *Commerce News*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 21 July 1994

⁷An example of this phenomenon is the fact that in 1991, 43% of Asian Americans employed at Commerce had professional employment positions. African Americans, however, ranked dead last in its professional representation (12.3%), but first in white-collar clerical positions (31.5%).

⁸While white males made up 42.7% of Commerce's Civil Service workforce, they comprised 83.3% of SES positions and 69.3% of GS 13-15 positions.

input and alterations to policies that filter through their offices. According to the EEOC's 1991 PATCO rankings, the Federal government has increased its employment of minorities.⁹ However, the hiring was bottom-heavy and blacks received very few middle and upper management promotions. This is not due to any lack of ability or intellect, but rather a lack of access to information. By the time a policy package or briefing paper reaches the political appointee level, the middle-level civil service employees have completed the research and substantive analysis for the policy papers. The information on which the Secretary will base his decisions has been ninety-percent completed, and very little that the political appointee says will change the policy substantively.

One could make the argument that people of color at the middle-management level still could not make substantive, lasting decisions when those decisions need the approval of a majority white top management staff; it is true that this is possible.¹⁰ However, with substantial numbers of qualified people of color located throughout all levels of government, the possibility of their recommendations being ignored is greatly lessened. The importance of middle-management increases when one considers the instability of the political appointee positions, which have a longevity of not longer than eight years due to

⁹PATCO is an acronym that divides up federal employment positions into five categories: professional, administrative, technical, clerical, and other positions.

¹⁰The emphasis on minority versus majority is not intended to be antagonistic. It is recognition of the fact that the color of the policy maker should not matter as long as that person is the best qualified individual of all candidates and possesses value to the Department.

presidential elections.¹¹ Middle-management positions possess a more job security as they are not dependent on elections.

New Directions: The Commerce Department's Diversity Program.

Secretary Brown cites several different reasons for Commerce's lackluster diversity record. First the EEO process is usually an antagonistic exercise rather than a beneficial one. Personnel departments throughout Commerce do not take a proactive attitude when dealing with equal opportunity problems. Strengthening this barrier is the fact that turnover in the civil service is nearly nonexistent. Thus qualified employees ripe for promotion and who can offer new insights to Commerce policy are left hanging in positions that they have outgrown. This leads to poor morale and a feeling of underutilization. These obstacles stunt the growth of Department as well as the individual.

In an effort to remedy these problems, the Department looked within its ranks. The Secretary enlisted a small group of people of color all of whom had earned at least GS-10 status, to identify the main problems within the department, then propose solutions for each area of concern. To make the plan less dependent on subjective opinion and to establish its credibility, the Committee based the initiatives on a statistical and factual basis. From this comprehensive examination, seven tenets of the initiative were formulated. They are as follows:

Inclusion

In his 21 July 1994 speech to Commerce Department employees concerning diversity issues, Secretary Brown acknowledged that

¹¹In fact, most political appointees are lucky to see the end of their President's first term. Most political appointments last an average of two years.

Commerce possesses a history of excluding certain members in its individual divisions of operations (specifically in the Office of the Budget and Planning). This exclusion limits the pool of ideas available to the Department. Thus, the Department's definition of diversity is to be expanded to mean the inclusion of all employees, regardless of race, gender, color, religious belief, age, disability or sexual orientation.

Opportunity

Through recruitment and promotion at all levels, the Department aims to create and broaden opportunities for an increasingly diverse workforce. The Department will also establish aggressive career development programs to assure that a diverse pool of qualified candidates remains available for all present and future opportunities.

Comprehensiveness

Diversity will be taken into consideration in every aspect of the business of Commerce--in training, seminars, procurement, in the grant process, in trade missions, regulatory work, business liaison, and in every other program area of the Department.

Accessibility

All employees are entitled to clear, fair, and timely processing of complaints. This area perhaps needs the most attention and improvement within the Department. Commerce's administrative grievance procedure will be strengthened immediately.

Management Improvement Through Training

The Department will require all managers to participate in training on the Department's Diversity Polices and Conflict Resolution Techniques. Diversity is a management issue. Therefore, to ensure accountability, each manager will have a diversity critical element added

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to the performance plan. The element will set forth the criteria by which the manager will receive evaluation, including but not limited to, the proactive recruitment, training, and career development of all qualified employees and diversification of Department program areas.

Evaluation and Communication

The Department will establish a Diversity Council which will have the responsibility of monitoring the implementation of diversity policy and programming, evaluating their effectiveness and facilitating communication on a continuing basis throughout the Department about the effectiveness of diversity initiatives. With monitoring, problems with the Initiative can be found and the proper modifications made. This saves precious time and keeps morale from deteriorating.

It is the Secretary's hope that all of these parts combined will improve the work environment for everyone throughout the Department. However, a closer examination of these initiatives reveals several problems with the policy and a certain idealism that is not tempered with realistic possibilities. The next chapter explores these problems in detail and provides possible solutions.

Chapter III

The Problem With Reform and Infiltrating the Good Old Boy Network

The Realities of Diversity Initiative Implementation

The Diversity Initiative's creation represents a positive beginning for increasing diversity at the Department. However, the Diversity Council will have difficulty implementing most of the plan's parts. For example, the current federal hiring freeze limits any efforts to hire and promote deserving, underrepresented individuals. Thus, Commerce can add no new employees of any color to its roles. Even without a hiring freeze, qualified minorities within the Department cannot receive promotions due to the entrenchment of the civil service in the middle management area.

If the Department does not waver and strongly pursues some of the other objectives of the initiative, the chance for positive results will increase. However, even the slightest deviation from plans to increase cultural sensitivity will destroy the initiative's success. For instance, if Commerce attempts to implement mandatory cultural sensitivity training for managers, the Department must insure that it does not conduct the training in an antagonistic manner. Due to poor execution, similar programs in the private sector have caused deeper schisms between managerial staff and subordinate employees. Approaching the subject with a realistic goal in mind will help increase its chances of success. For example, rather than attempting to change the personal values of its managers, Commerce should instead focus on creating managerial styles devoid of racist and sexist attitudes, regardless of the manager's personal

beliefs on the subjects of race and gender relations. If the Department makes its primary objective to change the person's belief system rather than focusing on changing managerial actions, it will fail in its attempts to improve manager/subordinate relationships. In order for Commerce to create effective initiatives and heal its interagency scars, the Department must discover the reasons behind discriminatory behavior. It cannot remedy what ails the Department without a clear delineation of divisive issues ranging from racism to ageism. This full-scale diagnosis of problems will lead to the creation of more relevant and effective corrective measures.

Commerce must also reform its current equal employment counseling system. Due to the fact that plaintiffs must follow the EEOC's guidelines concerning conciliatory procedure, many cases get resolved unsatisfactorily.¹² The EEOC appoints counselors to aid plaintiffs in their complaints, and the EEOC objectively handles the cases. However, the offending organization usually controls the implementation of EEOC recommendations that require restitution for plaintiffs. Employees return from personnel offices with EEOC victories under their belts, but as their compensation, plaintiffs often receive glorified clerical work at a higher grade level, turning the issue into one of pay instead of utility and intellect.

One example of the EEO process gone wrong is in the case of Carolyn Gunney, a GS 14 within the Office of Budget and Planning. Ms. Gunney has been on staff, has a college degree and has a fifteen-year

¹²Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. *Laws Enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992

tenure with the Department. When she was up for promotion in 1987, a trade analyst position became open due to the death of a colleague. Ms. Gunney applied for the position. In spite of glowing recommendations, excellent performance reports, and the federal government hiring freeze, another individual with no tenure in the Department and far less experience than Ms. Gunney received the position. Ms. Gunney filed an EEO complaint and an EEOC counselor from the Detroit area office read the complaint, examined her working conditions and manager's style. After the investigation, the counselor recommended Ms. Gunney for promotion. Although the counselor found in her favor, Ms. Gunney's promotion has caused her continual stress and difficulty in her position. She has not received any of the special projects that her position merits, and is relegated to administrative duties and teaching the other higher-paid analysts the methodology of the Department.

The creation of the new Diversity Council is supposed to eliminate these types of occurrences. However, the effectiveness of the Council is already in doubt. To institute improvement and insure fair employment practices, the Council needs guaranteed funding and a competent, proactive staff. The Department is addressing the latter criterion as of the writing of this paper; however, the issue of funding remains a thorny one. Both these needs would be serviced by the Office of Budget and Planning (OBP), the main policy implementing arm of the Department. OBP has a history of cutting the budgets of diversity programs such as the Division of Minority Business Development and Civil Rights Division of Commerce.¹³ Both programs have suffered each of the previous twelve

fiscal years (Office of Budget and Planning, Department of Commerce Budget, 1991). Due to the past reluctance of OBP to fund areas that concentrate on minority development, the new Council should make guaranteed funding a major priority of its agenda. If it does not, the Diversity Council will exist as a mere skeleton of the organization that Secretary Brown envisioned.

I do not mean to denigrate the attempts of Secretary Brown and the Department to create a more representative and productive work environment. Rather, the above critique should serve as points of reference that the new Diversity Council and its planners should consider in the near future when attempting to revitalize the Department. Diversity and affirmative action do have the opportunity to flourish and increase productivity, but they need a realistic analysis of implementation procedure to insure that any strides the Council should make will not be overturned by subsequent administrations which may possess a harsher attitude towards any movement toward diversity.

Application of the Department of Commerce's Employment Practices versus Other Federal Government Agencies

Although the Department of Commerce has a dismal record of minority representation, the case is not true for every single agency in every department. Commerce has special circumstances which set it apart from most agencies, thus providing insight into why its affirmative action policies have failed so miserably. Commerce has well-established trends and rules that have governed the Department since its existence. For

¹³In fact, Secretary Robert Mosbacher proposed removing the Division of Minority Business Development from the Department altogether in 1991, but Congress defeated the proposal.

instance, the Department has many business and economic analysts on its payroll, and most of the analysts are white males. In American society, traditionally the corporate world has been white and male. However, in organizations such as the EEOC and Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice both have established traditions of hiring people of color. Whether or not this action is out of generosity or guilt is a matter of conjecture; however, the mission of the EEOC and the Civil Rights Division has been to enforce equal employment (Laws Enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 7). Because of the nature of the objective, it would be ironic for the above two institutions to remain unresponsive to the needs of people of color. It is also good policy sense for organizations that deal in civil rights policy to include members of the groups that they are trying to help. The Commerce Department had no such clear mission of dedication to equal rights and egalitarianism. The purpose of the Department is to promote United States companies and products abroad. The Department of Commerce's international focus makes it less likely to encounter d

Federal judicial scrutiny has mandated reform for some federal agencies. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare had to assist the Department of Justice in the implementation of school desegregation policy (Bullock III, 61).¹⁴ The Departments of Labor, Housing and Urban Development (HUD), and Interior all possess interactive domestic agendas. These departments handle community-based issues. The Departments of Commerce, State, and Treasury focus on intergovernmental and

¹⁴The education directives that were under the jurisdiction of the former Department of Health, Education and Welfare now fall under the authority of The Department of Education.

international affairs. Thus, they are less likely to be subject to public scrutiny for equal employment rights violations on a national scale. In the 1960's, high profile, highly visible cases of discrimination merited the most printed attention. According to the EEOC's *Annual Report on the Employment of Minorities, Women and People With Disabilities in the Federal Government*, domestic agencies had better records of fair employment practices than did agencies with an international focus (264-265). Thus, some agencies have more of a bent towards reform than others, and cases of unintentional institutional racism proved more difficult to locate and eradicate. However, through the continued effort of the Department of Commerce and the EEOC, fair employment practices will become more common.

Black people have always been in America's wilderness in search of a promised land. Yet many black folk now reside in a jungle ruled by a cutthroat market morality devoid of any faith in deliverance or hope for freedom.

--Dr. Cornel West
Race Matters

Chapter VI

Analysis of Progress of Fair Employment Laws and Implementation

The bulk of this report has focused on minority underrepresentation and the repressive nature of the system in which people of color must function. Although the Department of Commerce has a dismal record of minority representation, the case is not true for every single agency in every department. Commerce has special circumstances which set it apart from most agencies, thus providing insight into why its affirmative action policies have failed so miserably. As for the rest of the federal government, an analysis of fair employment practices within the public sector by Charles S. Bullock, III and Charles M. Lamb reveals a more progressive, less dismal picture of federal employment opportunity for minorities.

In order to realize both the pros and cons of fair employment legislation's consequences, one must examine improvements in black incomes and employment and relate them to their white counterparts. During the period of 1958-1977, blacks represented about 9.8 percent of the total work force. In 1958, most black males were employed in low-paying service and laborer jobs, while most black women worked as domestic and service employees.

In marked contrast, the private sector employment situation of minorities steadily improved from 1958 to 1977. By 1968, black representation in white-collar jobs had increased significantly, and a smaller proportion of black women were working as domestics. Still, over half of all black males were employed in low-paying blue-collar jobs, and most black women were still working in the domestic arena. By 1977, black males improved their representation in white-collar and skilled blue-collar jobs, and they were also significantly less likely to be laborers. Black women finally moved into the white-collar work force, especially technical and clerical fields. Only 8.9 percent of all black women worked as domestics in 1977, compared to 37.2 percent in 1958 (Rodgers, 101).

Although the employment situation overall for minorities improved, minority representation in private sector middle management positions mirrored the problems found at the Department of Commerce. In some employment positions such as managers, administrators and sales workers, the underrepresentation is severe; 52.5 percent of all white workers were employed in white-collar jobs compared to only 35.2 percent of black employees. Blacks still remain overrepresented in the service industries of employment.

Even though black employees have broken the glass ceiling that once separated them from white-collar employment, they still remain employed in the lower echelons of white-collar jobs. For example, blacks are more likely to be nurses than doctors, hygienists than dentists, paralegals than lawyers. This trend places black employees on the peripheral of the best-paying jobs, and sets a ceiling to just how far and high minorities can ascend in their career development. Thus, while

black employees have made a great deal of progress, they have not come close to achieving parity in better-paying occupations.

Data on black employment by the federal government suggests a form of progress that parallels that in the private sector. Data on federal employment by race began in 1962, and the first statistics indicate that blacks substantially underrepresented in the better-paying to top-ranking positions (GS 12-18).¹⁵ The data for the 1960's also show that minorities were overrepresented in the lower grades (GS 1-4).¹⁶ Blacks fared slightly better in the GS 9-11 (8.4 percent) (Handbook of Labor Statistics, 75-81).

The possibility of parity grows slimmer when the unemployment rates of minorities are figured into the above dismal numbers. In early 1982, the unemployment rate for black individuals was 17.4 percent, compared to about 8.1 percent for white persons. According to Bullock and Lamb, the black/white ratio of unemployment was indicative of the last twenty years of employment statistics and trends (103). Between 1958 and 1981, the white unemployment rate averaged about five percent. During the same period, the black unemployment rate doubled that of whites (101).¹⁷ For half of that time frame, black unemployment averaged over twelve percent, while white unemployment remained steady. The lowest rate for black unemployment has always been higher than the highest rate of white unemployment.

¹⁵The U.S. Civil Service Commission began compiling the statistics in 1962; however, the EEOC took over this task in 1969.

¹⁶Blacks formed 21.1 percent of GS 1-4's and 4.4 percent of GS 12-18's.

¹⁷The rate of unemployment for blacks averaged about twelve percent during the 1958-1981 time frame.

Examining the impact of employment progress on black income gains requires a rather complex analysis. Traditionally, such analyses are based on comparisons of either black and white males or black and white family income. Comparisons of only males are distorted by the extremely high black teenage unemployment rate and by the fact that the mean age of the black population is considerably lower than the white population. Comparisons of families obscure the fact civil rights laws have affected various types of families differently.

For example, comparing median family income by race during the time period of 1964-1980 suggests that black families made only about fifty percent of what white families earned. In 1980, that figure had only grown by eight percent. However, this does not mean that the entire civil rights movement was for naught. Two-parent black families improved their standard of living, earning about seventy-four percent of what white two-parent families make.¹⁸

The discrepancies within figure interpretation become apparent when one figures in the increase of the single-mother black families. Between 1970 and 1980, black female-headed families increased from 1.4 million to 2.6 million, an increase of over eighty percent (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981, 9). While the number of female-headed families increased by seventy percent for all groups, the rate of increase was highest among black mothers.¹⁹ The significance of these figures is that women in

¹⁸Compare this to the overall average of fifty-eight percent, and the importance of distinguishing between different types of families becomes important.

¹⁹In contrast to the eighty percent increase in black female-headed families, white female-headed families increased by forty-one percent.

general have a difficult time adequately supporting their families. In 1980, only 5.2% of two-parent families lived in poverty. For female-headed families, this figure was thirty-three percent.²⁰

The impact of these facts can neither be underestimated nor misinterpreted. The black unemployment and employment figures are indicative of a much larger problem than racial discrimination. Some researchers argue that the disparity between black and white incomes is not just a matter of race discrimination. In his book *Black-White Income Differentials: Empirical Studies and Policy Implications*, Stanley H. Masters concluded that between thirty-five and sixty percent of white/black income gap can be attributed to racial discrimination (56). The rest of the discrepancy is caused by sexism and general deficiencies in the American economy. Millions of women currently find themselves family heads who are thrown into the work force without proper training for high-paying technical employment. Even if they are prepared, traditional discrimination practices (sexism in particular) keep them out of the employment arena.

Even if blacks get good employment, they will find themselves making less than their white counterparts. This element, in the case of black males, can often be attributed to racist practices. However, single-mothers often face many types of discrimination at once. Race, sex, and moral discrimination occurs when one examines the plight of the single black mother. Often these individuals are not hired because they are seen as less capable and somehow at fault for their situations, while the fathers are better able to obtain employment (Feducci, 182).

²⁰The racial demography was as follows: 26% white-female headed families, 51% black female-headed families.

The fact still remains that overall, employment opportunities and pay scales have improved. These gains can be attributed to both civil rights policy and the dedication of individual employers to comply with federal mandates and employees to better themselves. However, much more remains to be done, and in the twenty-first century, more emphasis will be placed on increasing minority retention rates and education quality. Underrepresented groups should focus on increasing their numbers and intellectual presence at all echelons of public and private sector employment. Only then can we continue to improve upon the achievements of past generations.

We cannot afford, ever, to let our standards slip. There are too many doubters waiting in the wings to pop out at the worst possible moment and cry, "See? I Told [sic] you!" The only way to keep them off the stage is to make our own performances so good that there is no reasonable possibility of calling them into question. It isn't fair that so much should be demanded of us, but what has life to do with fairness?

--Dr. Stephen L. Carter
Reflections of an Affirmative
Action Baby

Chapter V

Redirecting Affirmative Action Policy: Replacing Antiquity with Modernization

On Not Becoming an "Affirmative Action Baby"

The problems at Commerce and around the nation did not arrive at the organizations' doorsteps overnight; poor education, lack of respect and institutionalized racism have festered into the current problems that America experiences each day. Preferential treatment policies of the 1960's gave birth to what Dr. Stephen L. Carter calls *affirmative action babies*, those individuals who benefited from the institution of a racial preference element in admissions procedures at universities and in employment (Carter, 14). While the drawbacks of the programs were necessary for the benefits, the advantages live a fragile existence that the drawbacks threaten to shatter. The underutilization and lack of confidence in minority individuals are in some ways a product of policies that were intended to help.

This is not to say that we should abandon the current affirmative action programs; they remain an important part of the struggle for

equality. Without the programs we would have possibly been cheated of some of the world's best intellect. However, both members of the minority and majority should begin to work together to decrease the need for compensatory programs by shifting to a merit and individual based system of determining rewards. Rectification of past abuses should continue; however today's policy makers should combine the restitution programs for past and present abuses with a preventive plan for the future. The way to achieve this is not by providing more programs like the present ones, but supplementing current policy with innovative programs that address the needs of today's minority students and future employees. Thus, new programs should focus on the power of information and equal education as well as historically discriminatory behavior.

That solution starts by giving underrepresented groups the power of information, an equal education, and enrichment opportunities outside the classroom that increase independence and self-confidence. The implementation of these elements would end the dependence on continued proliferation of the deplorable situation that face today's reformers. Any good social service program is one in which its success causes the program's demise due to the fact that the plan accomplished its original objective. Current affirmative action policy does not possess this element. Increasing numbers of qualified employees have not lessened the need for corrective measures; the newness and surprise with which a person of color is greeted still remains. The merit questions follow the black class valedictorians and Latino professionals to America's boardrooms, no matter what the credentials of the individual. The shift from healing past wounds to assuring the future union of race and

meritocracy will take years; the key is to make the transition as productive and inclusive as possible.

De Facto Unequal Education

Although the landmark case in the pursuit for equal education, *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* did not insure equal educational opportunity for all. The case addressed the issue of race; however, the economic stratification of America and a dependence on local property taxes to fund neighborhood schools prevents equal education from coming into existence. Hence, no matter how great a student's intellect and potential, environmental factors such as a stable home, safe community, and good educational system significantly affect that individual's ability to acquire a secondary education of college preparatory quality.

Some of the best students receive their educational backgrounds in schools with old outdated textbooks and often schools depend on the local communities to raise property taxes in order to keep schools in running order, much less technologically up-to-date. In Arkansas and North Dakota, some school districts have been forced to consolidate due to the fact that they could not afford to remain separate entities. It is not due to any negligence of the people of the community; the economics of Little Rock School District will be different from those in Fayetteville and they in turn will differ from Dierks.²¹ If a community makes its living on factories and farms, so does the school district. If a community makes its living on banking and investment, so do its secondary educational

²¹Dierks is a small community in the southern Arkansas with a population of 765.

institutions. Thus there will be some schools that possess high numbers of dollars spent on its students, while others fight for economic survival. For instance, in Texas, per-pupil expenditures range from \$2,400 in the impoverished districts to approximately \$20,000 in the most affluent (Holt, 88). Also, two to four times as much money is spent on educating a suburban child than is provided for a student attending an inner-city school.²² This differential in the application of funds cripples any attempt at equal education in this country and creates a system based on the economic stratification of its members rather than equal opportunity.

To counteract this problem, less dependence on the property tax system and the creation of an equitable distribution of funding are the keys to educational funding reform. First, a flat rate of the amount of money spent per student must be created; this amount shall be based on the average income of the richest and poorest school districts in the state. For those districts without the best local property tax funding, the states shall provide funding from its own coffers to compensate smaller districts for funding shortages. To insure that the districts do not waste any funds that they receive, they shall be held accountable for all expenditures that they incur, and any extra funds left shall be put toward the following fiscal year's costs for the districts' educational programs.

Unequal education creates another problem: information deficiencies in the public school system. Lack of access to information concerning advancement opportunities, scholarships, and general information about postsecondary education remains a problem for many

²²Kenneth C. Holt, *The African American Immersion School: A Programmatic Design to Reclaim African American Youth*. Note:

districts.²³ High school counselors serve as the centers for this information. However, without funding or knowledge of such essential classroom aids as SAT and ACT tutorials, best/worst colleges specialized by major, and the necessary requirements for college entrance hinders the counselor's ability to fully help the students.

Even if the counselor has the information, the timing of the dissemination of information hurts some students. Most students receive counseling about college in their junior or senior level in high school. For some students, that is too late. Their grade performance and testing skills may not have prepared them for the requirements of good schools. The building of a good preparatory curriculum should begin in the last year of junior high school. All students should prepare for college; however, minority students must work harder in order to prepare for the possibility of discrimination and the best black syndrome (Carter, 51). In his book *Reflections of an Affirmative Action Baby*, Carter discusses the fact that no matter how intelligent the black individual, their white counterparts assumed that black students cannot compete intellectually with white people (49).

The above assertions do not represent an attempt to whine about how people of color cannot beat the system and get the necessary scores for entering educational institutions; it is evident that they can. However, people in socio-economically disadvantaged areas must face the fact that unless one is born a genius, meeting the standard does mean working harder and adapting temporarily to an unsavory situation in the hopes of

²³Reaching the Goals: A Technical Report on Retention Rates for American High Schools

having the opportunity to someday rewrite the very tests we sit at our desks and take. This is neither to deny the intelligence of the white students, nor to assert that they do not possess hardship. It is to say that some hardships are based on socio-economic stratification, some are due to race. America's high schools must insure against both by providing each student with every opportunity that the budgets will allow. Only from this starting point can an equal playing field be created.

The Misinterpretation of Affirmative Action Policy

Dr. Stephen L. Carter, tenured professor at Yale Law School states, "I got into law school because I am black. So what (11)? " Carter goes on to say how it does not matter how he got into Yale Law, but what he did there. With all due respect to Dr. Carter's honesty, I take issue with his rhetorical question. Certainly it matters how people of color achieve what they do, and we long for the day when the question of how becomes a nonissue because it will be assumed that people of color arrived at success' door by different, but equally meritorious, methods. We must realize that in fact no two individuals have excelled in the same manner. When employers assert that "all things being equal, I'd have to hire the minority or the woman," they attempt to circumvent the difficulties of the hiring process. Because no two people arrive at the same chance of opportunity by the same route, any carefully examined résumé combined with a thorough interview procedure will unmask the best candidate, no matter what sex, race, or religion. Differences make us neither exceptional, better nor worse than each other. The utilization of our intellect and talents in a manner that fits the needs of a particular organization determines our employment value.

The assertion that difference does not define superiority does not discount the importance of diversity. Race definitely marks the experiences of all individuals. For example, my education has had quite a lot to do with who I am. No standardized test or grade report can measure race's effect on my life. I have arrived at my educational hypotheses and conclusions in a manner that comes from the viewpoint of a small-town, southern black woman. For practicality's sake, I grudgingly admit that such tests are necessary, even if I do not feel that they represent my intellect, value system, and viewpoints. However, I also know how to present myself in a manner by which I am a good candidate for employment and academic awards even by traditional ranking methods, without reshaping my views to meet certain criteria. I am free to pursue any occupation and opportunity with the knowledge that complete metamorphosing of my viewpoint is not a necessary requirement for success. While it may not matter to Dr. Carter how he arrived at Yale, it mattered to those around him in the academic world; it matters to the students who look to him as a role model. When one is identified as an affirmative action baby, others will question every accomplishment, every publication in law journals, and every promotion that the baby receives. Carter is right when he says it should not matter how he got to Yale, but right now it still does. People of color are still in the stages of earning respect and equality; until that dream even remotely comes into view, we must continue to strive for never-seen-before excellence. It is not just a matter for ourselves, but for generations to come.

Chapter VI

Conclusions

I believe affirmative action is an assault upon America, conceived in lies and fostered with an irresponsibility so extreme as to verge on the malign. If the government officials and politicians who presided over its genesis had injected heroin into the bloodstream of the nation, they could not have done more potential damage to our children and our children's children.

Senator Orrin G. Hatch (R.--Utah)
(Congressional Quarterly, 1981,
1749)

This country has progressed somewhat since the era of overt, legal racism. However, resistance to the programs from Congress, employers, and in some cases possible beneficiaries complicate attempts to achieve true employment equality. The crux of the problem lies in the definition of discrimination, the ability to pinpoint cases of employment inequality, and the application of effective corrective measures.

With the metamorphose of the employment arena comes a change in the types of difficulties and issues that people of color face in the workplace. The fair employment policies have not progressed over time, and the effect has been continued discrimination and denial of opportunity in more covert manners.

The fault does not lie only with the fair enforcement mechanisms; beneficiaries, supervisors, and managers must replace skepticism and realize that compliance with fair employment practice laws is a positive and beneficial objective. The following elements of fair employment policy need to be addressed in order to achieve the objective of fair employment:

Clarity of Policy

The goals of policies created to end discrimination have never been clearly defined by the organizations charged with enforcing fair employment laws.

Monitoring

Over the past fifteen years, monitoring and enforcement of nondiscrimination standards have mostly been passive and limited. While improvements have taken place, monitoring is limited by the lack of clear policy initiatives.

Federal Involvement

The commitment of federal agencies to fair employment objectives has varied by agencies and over time. As exemplified by the EEOC's beginnings, precious time passes before effective enforcement strategies are created and implemented.

Enforcement Agency Presence and Commitment

The commitment of federal agencies to fair employment also varies from one presidential administration to the next. Traditionally, Democratic presidents have been more empathetic and activist in the area of civil rights enforcement and fair employment policy. Republicans, however, proved not as enthusiastic supporters of changing the discriminatory situations during the Civil Rights Movement and after.

Attitude of Beneficiaries

The problem with fair employment is not an administrative one alone; underrepresented groups have varied in the intensity with which they have sought compliance with the laws. In the mid-1960's, minorities were their most active in pursuit of egalitarianism. That enthusiasm has

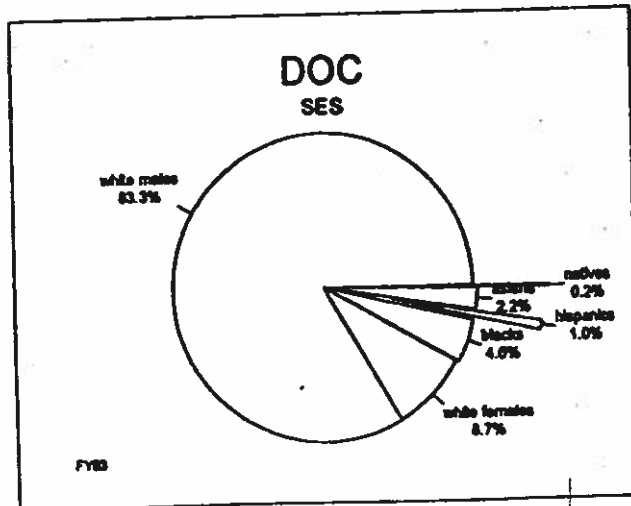
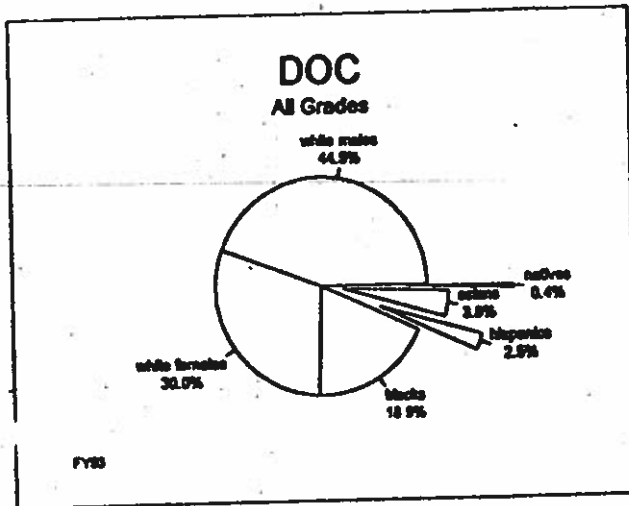
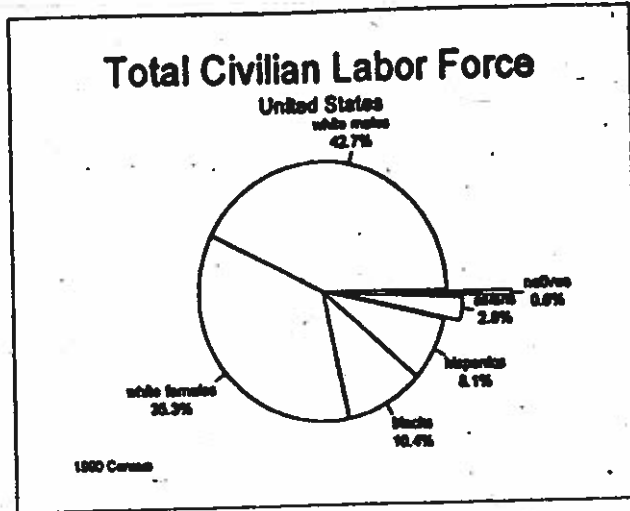
waned with the passage of time and the realization that most goals have not been achieved.

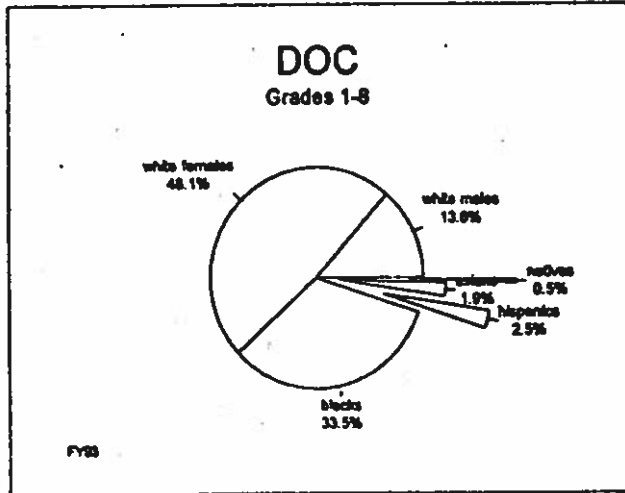
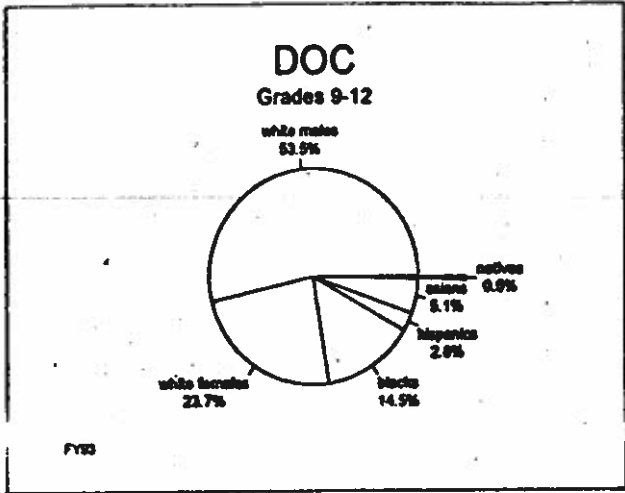
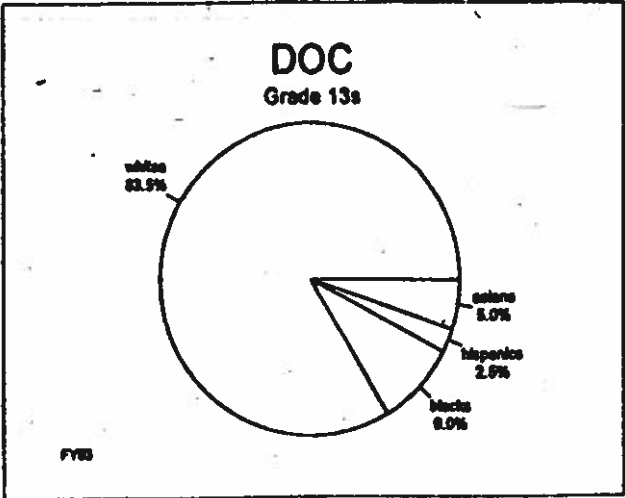
All of these problems will prove difficult to surmount; however, dedication to improvement must come at all levels and cut across all spectrums. Equal opportunity is not the problem of just the EEOC, employers, and the possible beneficiaries alone; it is a societal problem that we must all acknowledge and remove from our society. If we do not, this country will see continued division of its different peoples and the widening of the current socio-economic gap. This country cannot succeed without realizing and cultivating the talents and intellect of all of its citizenry, this country will not only cease to progress, but it will slowly disintegrate into a separatist, crippled society. The mission of every individual in this country should be to end In order to do that, we must remember the importance of the Civil Rights Movement and a time when integration and equality were unthinkable.

In closing, I say this to members of underrepresented groups: the most important thing is to never allow self-doubt or stigma to impede professional and personal success. The most powerful agent against discrimination is protection and growth of one's soul; no law can give that to you, or take it away. Look back to remember the atrocities only for the sake of moving forward. Look back at past triumphs as treasures in themselves that you must multiply. Look forward at the opportunities ahead; if you do not readily see anything on the horizon, take it upon yourself to create possibilities.

Green 50

APPENDICES





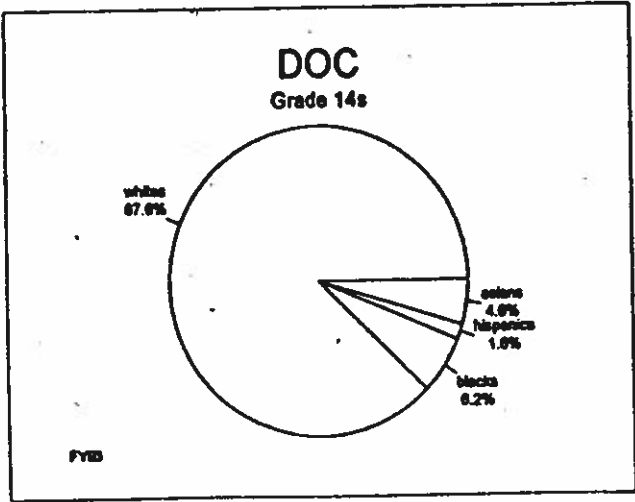
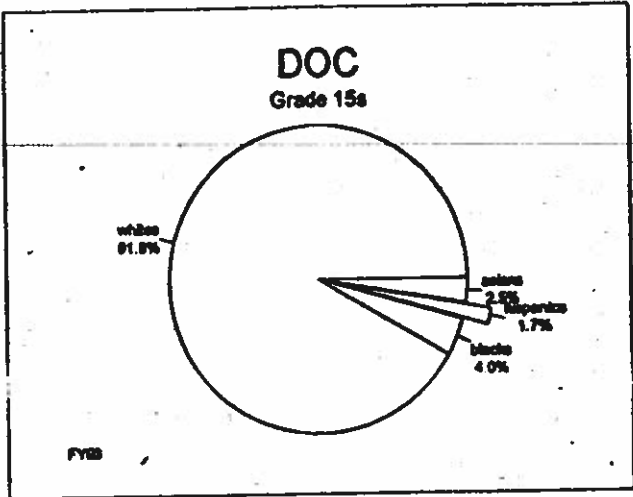
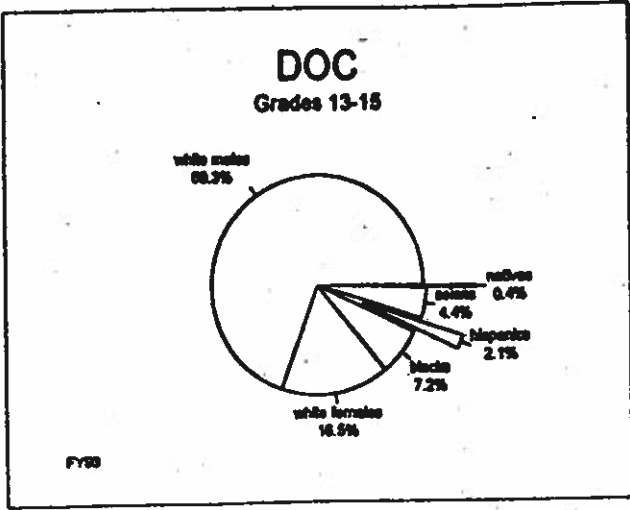


TABLE I-9

GOVERNMENTWIDE DISTRIBUTION (PERCENTAGE) OF WHITE COLLAR EMPLOYEES
BY PATCO CATEGORY
BASED ON CPDF DATA FOR 1982 - 1991
(DOES NOT INCLUDE USPS, AAFES, TVA, OR INTELLIGENCE GATHERING AGENCIES)

| OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES | YEAR | TOTAL | MEN | WOMEN | WHITE | BLACK | HISPANIC | ASIAN AMERICAN / PACIFIC ISLANDER | AMERICAN INDIAN / ALASKAN NATIVE |
|-------------------------|------|-------|-----|-------|-------|-------|----------|---|--|
| CLERICAL | 1982 | 25.4 | 6.3 | 47.9 | 22.5 | 39.7 | 31.2 | 23.1 | 26.6 |
| | 1983 | 24.8 | 6.1 | 46.4 | 21.9 | 38.5 | 30.5 | 22.3 | 28.0 |
| | 1984 | 24.1 | 6.1 | 44.7 | 21.2 | 37.7 | 29.9 | 21.5 | 27.9 |
| | 1985 | 23.8 | 6.2 | 43.4 | 20.7 | 37.8 | 29.4 | 21.4 | 27.6 |
| | 1986 | 23.0 | 6.1 | 41.7 | 19.9 | 37.1 | 28.6 | 20.5 | 27.4 |
| | 1987 | 22.2 | 5.8 | 40.0 | 19.0 | 36.3 | 27.0 | 19.9 | 27.2 |
| | 1988 | 21.5 | 5.8 | 38.4 | 18.2 | 35.8 | 26.1 | 19.3 | 26.5 |
| | 1989 | 20.6 | 5.6 | 36.6 | 17.4 | 34.3 | 25.2 | 18.6 | 25.7 |
| | 1990 | 19.2 | 5.2 | 34.0 | 16.1 | 32.7 | 23.7 | 17.1 | 24.8 |
| | 1991 | 18.4 | 5.2 | 32.0 | 15.2 | 31.5 | 22.7 | 16.3 | 23.8 |
| OTHER | 1982 | 2.7 | 4.7 | 0.4 | 2.5 | 3.5 | 5.2 | 2.0 | 2.7 |
| | 1983 | 2.8 | 4.8 | 0.5 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 5.1 | 2.0 | 3.3 |
| | 1984 | 2.6 | 4.6 | 0.4 | 2.4 | 3.2 | 4.7 | 2.0 | 3.0 |
| | 1985 | 2.7 | 4.6 | 0.5 | 2.4 | 3.2 | 5.1 | 1.8 | 2.9 |
| | 1986 | 2.6 | 4.6 | 0.4 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 5.1 | 2.2 | 3.3 |
| | 1987 | 2.5 | 4.4 | 0.4 | 2.3 | 2.8 | 4.8 | 2.2 | 3.2 |
| | 1988 | 2.5 | 4.5 | 0.4 | 2.3 | 2.8 | 5.0 | 2.0 | 3.8 |
| | 1989 | 2.6 | 4.6 | 0.5 | 2.4 | 3.0 | 5.0 | 2.1 | 3.7 |
| | 1990 | 2.6 | 4.6 | 0.6 | 2.4 | 2.9 | 5.1 | 2.0 | 3.5 |
| | 1991 | 2.7 | 4.7 | 0.7 | 2.5 | 3.1 | 5.4 | 2.4 | 3.6 |

Explanation of table using example of "Women, Professional, 1991":
18.0 percent of all white-collar women were within the "Professional" PATCO category.

TABLE I-9

GOVERNMENTWIDE DISTRIBUTION (PERCENTAGE) OF WHITE COLLAR EMPLOYEES
 BY PATCO CATEGORY
 BASED ON CPDF DATA FOR 1982 - 1991
 (DOES NOT INCLUDE USFS, AAFES, TVA, OR INTELLIGENCE GATHERING AGENCIES)

| OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES | YEAR | TOTAL | MEN | WOMEN | WHITE | BLACK | HISPANIC | ASIAN AMERICAN / PACIFIC ISLANDER | AMERICAN INDIAN / ALASKAN NATIVE |
|-------------------------|----------------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|----------|---|--|
| PROFESSIONAL | 1982 | 21.9 | 30.9 | 11.2 | 24.3 | 6.9 | 14.4 | 36.6 | 14.6 |
| | 1983 | 22.6 | 32.1 | 11.7 | 25.2 | 9.3 | 15.0 | 37.9 | 12.2 |
| | 1984 | 22.7 | 32.0 | 12.1 | 25.3 | 9.5 | 15.2 | 38.5 | 12.2 |
| | 1985 | 22.9 | 32.2 | 12.6 | 25.6 | 9.7 | 15.4 | 39.5 | 12.4 |
| | 1986 | 23.2 | 32.4 | 13.0 | 25.9 | 9.9 | 15.7 | 40.6 | 12.6 |
| | 1987 | 23.6 | 32.8 | 13.7 | 26.3 | 10.2 | 16.4 | 41.5 | 13.0 |
| | 1988 | 23.7 | 32.8 | 13.9 | 26.4 | 10.1 | 16.6 | 41.9 | 13.5 |
| | 1989 | 23.8 | 32.9 | 14.2 | 26.6 | 10.3 | 17.0 | 42.1 | 13.7 |
| | 1990 | 26.1 | 34.8 | 17.0 | 29.0 | 12.3 | 18.8 | 43.9 | 16.0 |
| | 1991 | 26.3 | 34.4 | 18.0 | 29.3 | 12.4 | 18.8 | 43.4 | 16.3 |
| | ADMINISTRATIVE | 1982 | 28.6 | 36.5 | 19.3 | 30.5 | 21.0 | 25.6 | 20.1 |
| 1983 | | 28.1 | 35.5 | 19.4 | 29.6 | 21.3 | 25.6 | 19.8 | 23.1 |
| 1984 | | 29.3 | 36.5 | 21.1 | 31.0 | 22.9 | 26.8 | 20.3 | 24.5 |
| 1985 | | 29.5 | 36.4 | 21.7 | 31.3 | 23.0 | 26.9 | 19.6 | 25.1 |
| 1986 | | 30.1 | 36.8 | 22.7 | 32.0 | 23.5 | 27.4 | 19.9 | 25.4 |
| 1987 | | 30.7 | 37.1 | 23.7 | 32.7 | 24.0 | 28.4 | 19.6 | 25.6 |
| 1988 | | 31.4 | 37.7 | 24.7 | 33.5 | 24.9 | 29.0 | 19.9 | 26.0 |
| 1989 | | 31.9 | 37.9 | 25.6 | 34.1 | 25.5 | 29.6 | 20.2 | 26.7 |
| 1990 | | 30.7 | 36.5 | 24.5 | 32.7 | 24.5 | 28.6 | 19.5 | 25.2 |
| 1991 | | 31.5 | 37.5 | 25.3 | 33.6 | 25.1 | 29.5 | 20.5 | 25.8 |
| TECHNICAL | | 1982 | 21.5 | 21.7 | 21.2 | 20.3 | 26.9 | 23.5 | 18.0 |
| | 1983 | 21.6 | 21.6 | 22.1 | 20.6 | 27.5 | 23.8 | 18.1 | 33.4 |
| | 1984 | 21.3 | 20.9 | 21.7 | 20.1 | 26.7 | 23.4 | 17.6 | 32.4 |
| | 1985 | 21.2 | 20.6 | 21.9 | 20.0 | 26.3 | 23.2 | 17.1 | 31.9 |
| | 1986 | 21.1 | 20.2 | 22.2 | 19.9 | 26.5 | 23.3 | 16.8 | 31.4 |
| | 1987 | 21.0 | 19.9 | 22.3 | 19.7 | 26.6 | 23.3 | 16.7 | 31.0 |
| | 1988 | 20.9 | 19.3 | 22.6 | 19.6 | 26.5 | 23.2 | 17.0 | 30.1 |
| | 1989 | 21.0 | 19.1 | 23.0 | 19.6 | 26.9 | 23.2 | 16.9 | 30.1 |
| | 1990 | 21.4 | 19.0 | 23.9 | 19.9 | 27.6 | 23.8 | 17.6 | 30.5 |
| | 1991 | 21.1 | 18.3 | 24.0 | 19.4 | 27.9 | 23.7 | 17.4 | 30.5 |

SALARY TABLE NO. 94-DCB

INCORPORATING THE 4.23% LOCALITY PAY ADJUSTMENT
 FOR THE LOCALITY PAY AREA OF WASHINGTON-BALTIMORE, DC-MD-VA-WV
 (INCLUDING ST. MARY'S COUNTY, MD)
 Effective January 1994

ANNUAL Rates by Grade and Step

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| GS-1 | \$12,406 | \$12,820 | \$13,232 | \$13,644 | \$14,058 | \$14,300 | \$14,708 | \$15,116 | \$15,135 | \$15,521 |
| 2 | 13,948 | 14,281 | 14,743 | 15,135 | 15,304 | 15,754 | 16,205 | 16,655 | 17,105 | 17,555 |
| 3 | 15,221 | 15,728 | 16,236 | 16,744 | 17,251 | 17,759 | 18,266 | 18,774 | 19,282 | 19,789 |
| 4 | 17,086 | 17,656 | 18,225 | 18,794 | 19,363 | 19,932 | 20,501 | 21,070 | 21,639 | 22,208 |
| 5 | 19,116 | 19,753 | 20,389 | 21,026 | 21,663 | 22,300 | 22,937 | 23,574 | 24,211 | 24,847 |
| 6 | 21,308 | 22,018 | 22,727 | 23,437 | 24,147 | 24,857 | 25,567 | 26,276 | 26,986 | 27,696 |
| 7 | 23,678 | 24,467 | 25,256 | 26,045 | 26,834 | 27,623 | 28,412 | 29,201 | 29,990 | 30,779 |
| 8 | 26,223 | 27,098 | 27,972 | 28,847 | 29,721 | 30,596 | 31,470 | 32,345 | 33,219 | 34,094 |
| 9 | 28,964 | 29,930 | 30,895 | 31,860 | 32,825 | 33,790 | 34,755 | 35,721 | 36,686 | 37,651 |
| 10 | 31,898 | 32,961 | 34,024 | 35,087 | 36,150 | 37,213 | 38,276 | 39,340 | 40,403 | 41,466 |
| 11 | 35,045 | 36,214 | 37,382 | 38,551 | 39,719 | 40,887 | 42,056 | 43,224 | 44,393 | 45,561 |
| 12 | 42,003 | 43,402 | 44,802 | 46,202 | 47,602 | 49,002 | 50,401 | 51,801 | 53,201 | 54,601 |
| 13 | 49,947 | 51,612 | 53,276 | 54,941 | 56,605 | 58,270 | 59,934 | 61,599 | 63,263 | 64,928 |
| 14 | 59,022 | 60,990 | 62,958 | 64,926 | 66,894 | 68,862 | 70,829 | 72,797 | 74,765 | 76,733 |
| 15 | 69,427 | 71,740 | 74,054 | 76,368 | 78,682 | 80,996 | 83,310 | 85,624 | 87,938 | 90,252 |

NOTE: Locality rates of pay are considered basic pay only for certain purposes--see "1994 Salary Tables" cover sheet.

(4) White Collar Average Grades (GS/GM Pay Systems)

MINORITIES - The average white collar grade for all groups in the Federal work force increased during FY 1991. The governmentwide average grade level for white collar positions was 9.23. For whites 9.66; blacks 7.61 (2.05 grades lower than the white average); Hispanics 8.37 (1.29 grades lower than the white average); Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders 9.31 (.35 of a grade lower than the white average); American Indians/Alaskan Natives 7.87 (1.79 grades lower than the white average). These grade differences have remained steady throughout the ten years shown in Figure 7.

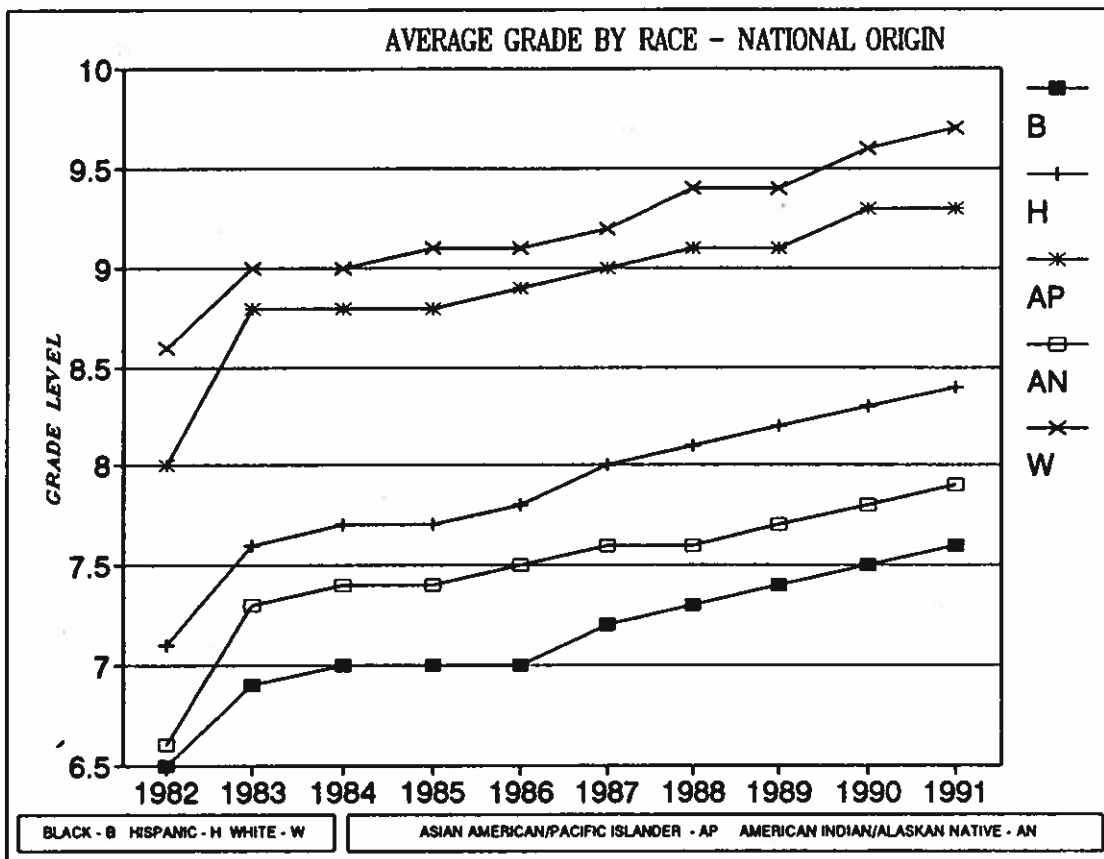


FIGURE 7

DATA FROM TABLES I-17 THRU I-20

TABLE 1-10
COMMERCE

WHITE COLLAR DATA BY GS AND RELATED GRADES FOR 1987 - 1991

| DATA AS OF SEPT. 30 | | TOTAL NUMBER | MEN | | WOMEN | | WHITE | | BLACK | | HISPANIC | | ASIAN AMERICAN / PACIFIC ISLANDER | | AMERICAN INDIAN / ALASKAN NATIVE | |
|-----------------------|------|--------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|--------|----------|--------|-----------------------------------|--------|----------------------------------|--------|
| GRADE | YEAR | | NUMBER | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER |
| GS & RELATED 15 | 1987 | 1,556 | 1,463 | 93.9 | 95 | 6.1 | 1,437 | 92.2 | 54 | 3.47 | 23 | 1.48 | 41 | 2.63 | 3 | 0.19 |
| | 1988 | 1,217 | 1,118 | 91.9 | 99 | 8.1 | 1,130 | 92.9 | 36 | 2.96 | 20 | 1.64 | 27 | 2.22 | 4 | 0.33 |
| | 1989 | 1,250 | 1,134 | 90.7 | 116 | 9.3 | 1,158 | 92.6 | 39 | 3.12 | 19 | 1.52 | 30 | 2.40 | 4 | 0.32 |
| | 1990 | 1,264 | 1,137 | 90.0 | 127 | 10.0 | 1,163 | 92.0 | 41 | 3.24 | 19 | 1.50 | 37 | 2.93 | 4 | 0.32 |
| | 1991 | 1,755 | 1,583 | 90.2 | 172 | 9.8 | 1,620 | 92.3 | 58 | 3.19 | 25 | 1.42 | 51 | 2.91 | 3 | 0.17 |
| TOTAL GS & RELATED | 1987 | 26,912 | 18,057 | 65.9 | 11,855 | 44.1 | 20,834 | 77.8 | 4,821 | 17.17 | 608 | 2.26 | 672 | 2.50 | 77 | 0.29 |
| | 1988 | 24,606 | 13,392 | 54.4 | 11,216 | 45.6 | 18,667 | 75.9 | 4,661 | 18.94 | 559 | 2.27 | 617 | 2.51 | 84 | 0.34 |
| | 1989 | 25,000 | 13,396 | 53.5 | 11,614 | 46.5 | 18,811 | 75.2 | 4,874 | 18.50 | 560 | 2.24 | 661 | 2.64 | 84 | 0.38 |
| | 1990 | 25,727 | 13,855 | 53.9 | 11,872 | 46.1 | 18,206 | 74.7 | 5,040 | 18.59 | 581 | 2.26 | 790 | 3.07 | 108 | 0.42 |
| | 1991 | 29,089 | 15,930 | 54.8 | 13,159 | 45.2 | 22,050 | 75.8 | 5,290 | 18.15 | 681 | 2.38 | 950 | 3.27 | 118 | 0.41 |
| TOTAL EXECUTIVES | 1987 | 363 | 352 | 91.9 | 31 | 8.1 | 366 | 95.6 | 9 | 2.35 | 2 | 0.52 | 6 | 1.57 | 0 | 0.00 |
| | 1988 | 396 | 360 | 90.9 | 36 | 9.1 | 374 | 94.4 | 11 | 2.78 | 3 | 0.76 | 8 | 2.02 | 0 | 0.00 |
| | 1989 | 401 | 363 | 90.5 | 38 | 9.5 | 377 | 94.0 | 10 | 2.49 | 5 | 1.25 | 9 | 2.24 | 0 | 0.00 |
| | 1990 | 425 | 363 | 90.1 | 42 | 9.9 | 384 | 92.7 | 17 | 4.00 | 4 | 0.94 | 9 | 2.12 | 1 | 0.24 |
| | 1991 | 525 | 479 | 91.2 | 46 | 8.8 | 489 | 93.1 | 19 | 3.62 | 5 | 0.95 | 11 | 2.10 | 1 | 0.19 |
| OTHER WHITE COLLAR | 1987 | 317 | 243 | 76.7 | 74 | 23.3 | 271 | 85.5 | 29 | 9.15 | 12 | 3.79 | 4 | 1.26 | 1 | 0.32 |
| | 1988 | 2,674 | 1,866 | 65.6 | 988 | 34.4 | 2,504 | 87.1 | 209 | 7.27 | 56 | 2.02 | 97 | 3.38 | 6 | 0.21 |
| | 1989 | 2,985 | 1,933 | 64.8 | 1,052 | 35.2 | 2,596 | 86.6 | 221 | 7.40 | 71 | 2.38 | 99 | 3.32 | 9 | 0.30 |
| | 1990 | 3,026 | 1,935 | 63.9 | 1,091 | 36.1 | 2,613 | 86.4 | 222 | 7.34 | 73 | 2.41 | 110 | 3.64 | 8 | 0.26 |
| | 1991 | 4 | 3 | 75.0 | 1 | 25.0 | 4 | 100.0 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 | 0.00 | 0 | 0.00 |
| TOTAL WHITE COLLAR | 1987 | 27,612 | 15,652 | 56.7 | 11,960 | 43.3 | 21,571 | 78.1 | 4,659 | 16.87 | 622 | 2.25 | 682 | 2.47 | 76 | 0.28 |
| | 1988 | 27,678 | 15,636 | 56.1 | 12,240 | 43.9 | 21,665 | 77.4 | 4,681 | 17.51 | 620 | 2.22 | 722 | 2.59 | 90 | 0.32 |
| | 1989 | 28,366 | 15,662 | 55.2 | 12,704 | 44.8 | 21,774 | 76.7 | 5,105 | 17.96 | 636 | 2.24 | 769 | 2.71 | 103 | 0.36 |
| | 1990 | 29,178 | 16,173 | 55.4 | 13,005 | 44.6 | 22,215 | 76.1 | 5,279 | 18.09 | 658 | 2.26 | 909 | 3.12 | 117 | 0.40 |
| | 1991 | 29,618 | 16,412 | 55.4 | 13,206 | 44.6 | 22,543 | 76.1 | 5,299 | 17.89 | 696 | 2.35 | 961 | 3.24 | 119 | 0.40 |

COMMERCE

| YEAR | TOTAL ALL | | TOTAL FEMALE | | WHITE FEMALE | | BLACK MALE | | BLACK FEMALE | | HISPANIC MALE | | HISPANIC FEMALE | | ASIAN AMERICAN / PACIFIC ISLANDER MALE | | ASIAN AMERICAN / PACIFIC ISLANDER FEMALE | | AMERICAN INDIAN / ALASKAN NATIVE MALE | | AMERICAN INDIAN / ALASKAN NATIVE FEMALE | |
|-----------------------|-----------|------|--------------|------|--------------|------|------------|------|--------------|-------|---------------|------|-----------------|------|--|------|--|------|---------------------------------------|------|---|------|
| | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % |
| PROFESSIONAL | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1982 | 9,337 | 13.8 | 1,288 | 13.8 | 958 | 10.3 | 384 | 4.11 | 296 | 2.74 | 110 | 1.18 | 34 | 0.36 | 240 | 2.57 | 35 | 0.37 | 9 | 0.10 | 5 | 0.05 |
| 1983 | 9,566 | 14.8 | 1,414 | 14.8 | 1,056 | 11.0 | 411 | 4.30 | 274 | 2.86 | 119 | 1.24 | 36 | 0.40 | 264 | 2.76 | 42 | 0.44 | 13 | 0.14 | 4 | 0.04 |
| 1984 | 9,878 | 15.9 | 1,577 | 15.9 | 1,187 | 12.0 | 417 | 4.22 | 282 | 2.86 | 137 | 1.39 | 42 | 0.43 | 296 | 3.00 | 56 | 0.59 | 13 | 0.13 | 5 | 0.05 |
| 1985 | 9,992 | 16.5 | 1,646 | 16.5 | 1,223 | 12.2 | 417 | 4.17 | 301 | 3.01 | 135 | 1.35 | 48 | 0.48 | 308 | 3.08 | 68 | 0.68 | 12 | 0.12 | 6 | 0.06 |
| 1986 | 9,976 | 17.2 | 1,714 | 17.2 | 1,278 | 12.8 | 414 | 4.15 | 311 | 3.12 | 139 | 1.39 | 46 | 0.46 | 321 | 3.22 | 73 | 0.73 | 11 | 0.11 | 6 | 0.06 |
| 1987 | 10,073 | 17.9 | 1,800 | 17.9 | 1,344 | 13.3 | 402 | 3.99 | 310 | 3.06 | 152 | 1.51 | 49 | 0.49 | 329 | 3.27 | 91 | 0.90 | 10 | 0.10 | 6 | 0.06 |
| 1988 | 10,220 | 18.3 | 1,874 | 18.3 | 1,403 | 13.7 | 381 | 3.73 | 318 | 3.11 | 146 | 1.45 | 46 | 0.45 | 354 | 3.48 | 99 | 0.97 | 12 | 0.12 | 8 | 0.08 |
| 1989 | 10,324 | 18.8 | 1,939 | 18.8 | 1,465 | 14.2 | 377 | 3.65 | 311 | 3.01 | 145 | 1.40 | 46 | 0.45 | 367 | 3.75 | 106 | 1.05 | 12 | 0.12 | 9 | 0.09 |
| 1990 | 10,984 | 19.8 | 2,171 | 19.8 | 1,649 | 15.0 | 397 | 3.61 | 336 | 3.06 | 162 | 1.47 | 50 | 0.46 | 462 | 4.21 | 128 | 1.17 | 19 | 0.17 | 8 | 0.07 |
| 1991 | 11,280 | 20.1 | 2,272 | 20.1 | 1,713 | 15.2 | 402 | 3.56 | 355 | 3.15 | 166 | 1.47 | 54 | 0.48 | 488 | 4.33 | 140 | 1.24 | 18 | 0.16 | 10 | 0.09 |
| ADMINISTRATIVE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1982 | 5,226 | 35.9 | 1,876 | 35.9 | 1,377 | 26.3 | 343 | 6.56 | 411 | 7.86 | 80 | 1.72 | 52 | 1.00 | 36 | 0.73 | 31 | 0.56 | 13 | 0.25 | 5 | 0.10 |
| 1983 | 4,966 | 34.9 | 1,732 | 34.9 | 1,295 | 26.1 | 319 | 6.42 | 335 | 7.15 | 80 | 1.61 | 42 | 0.85 | 43 | 0.87 | 36 | 0.72 | 12 | 0.24 | 4 | 0.08 |
| 1984 | 5,418 | 37.3 | 2,023 | 37.3 | 1,486 | 27.6 | 341 | 6.29 | 428 | 7.90 | 86 | 1.59 | 50 | 0.92 | 53 | 0.98 | 42 | 0.78 | 14 | 0.26 | 7 | 0.13 |
| 1985 | 5,344 | 38.3 | 2,061 | 38.3 | 1,530 | 28.4 | 338 | 6.28 | 426 | 7.91 | 84 | 1.75 | 58 | 1.08 | 62 | 1.15 | 42 | 0.76 | 15 | 0.26 | 5 | 0.09 |
| 1986 | 5,392 | 39.0 | 2,105 | 39.0 | 1,562 | 29.0 | 322 | 5.97 | 440 | 8.16 | 91 | 1.69 | 56 | 1.04 | 62 | 1.15 | 42 | 0.76 | 16 | 0.30 | 5 | 0.09 |
| 1987 | 5,515 | 40.6 | 2,249 | 40.6 | 1,670 | 30.3 | 325 | 5.89 | 460 | 8.34 | 88 | 1.60 | 63 | 1.14 | 61 | 1.11 | 50 | 0.91 | 12 | 0.22 | 6 | 0.11 |
| 1988 | 5,757 | 42.1 | 2,423 | 42.1 | 1,803 | 31.3 | 329 | 5.71 | 498 | 8.95 | 96 | 1.87 | 64 | 1.11 | 66 | 1.18 | 52 | 0.90 | 13 | 0.23 | 6 | 0.10 |
| 1989 | 5,993 | 43.2 | 2,567 | 43.2 | 1,912 | 31.9 | 360 | 6.01 | 540 | 9.01 | 103 | 1.72 | 66 | 1.13 | 75 | 1.25 | 57 | 0.95 | 14 | 0.23 | 10 | 0.17 |
| 1990 | 6,048 | 43.6 | 2,639 | 43.6 | 1,905 | 31.5 | 366 | 6.09 | 590 | 9.76 | 97 | 1.60 | 72 | 1.19 | 83 | 1.37 | 61 | 1.01 | 16 | 0.26 | 11 | 0.18 |
| 1991 | 6,182 | 44.0 | 2,721 | 44.0 | 1,970 | 31.9 | 370 | 5.99 | 601 | 9.72 | 100 | 1.82 | 71 | 1.15 | 93 | 1.50 | 66 | 1.07 | 16 | 0.26 | 13 | 0.21 |
| TECHNICAL | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1982 | 6,146 | 31.5 | 1,934 | 31.5 | 1,233 | 20.1 | 412 | 6.70 | 651 | 10.59 | 111 | 1.81 | 30 | 0.48 | 80 | 1.30 | 14 | 0.23 | 29 | 0.47 | 6 | 0.10 |
| 1983 | 6,416 | 34.6 | 2,222 | 34.6 | 1,418 | 22.1 | 425 | 6.82 | 743 | 11.56 | 120 | 1.87 | 36 | 0.56 | 80 | 1.25 | 16 | 0.25 | 24 | 0.37 | 9 | 0.14 |
| 1984 | 6,235 | 35.6 | 2,234 | 35.6 | 1,421 | 22.8 | 395 | 6.34 | 749 | 12.01 | 112 | 1.80 | 39 | 0.63 | 79 | 1.27 | 18 | 0.29 | 23 | 0.37 | 7 | 0.11 |
| 1985 | 6,182 | 36.6 | 2,276 | 36.6 | 1,425 | 23.1 | 396 | 6.41 | 791 | 12.80 | 113 | 1.83 | 39 | 0.63 | 77 | 1.25 | 18 | 0.28 | 23 | 0.37 | 7 | 0.11 |
| 1986 | 6,070 | 38.3 | 2,324 | 38.3 | 1,450 | 23.9 | 376 | 6.19 | 803 | 13.23 | 102 | 1.66 | 44 | 0.72 | 75 | 1.24 | 18 | 0.30 | 23 | 0.38 | 7 | 0.15 |
| 1987 | 5,860 | 40.3 | 2,363 | 40.3 | 1,440 | 24.6 | 365 | 6.23 | 847 | 14.45 | 99 | 1.69 | 52 | 0.89 | 76 | 1.30 | 17 | 0.29 | 25 | 0.43 | 7 | 0.12 |
| 1988 | 5,725 | 41.6 | 2,392 | 41.6 | 1,430 | 25.0 | 367 | 6.41 | 863 | 15.42 | 96 | 1.68 | 49 | 0.86 | 75 | 1.31 | 22 | 0.38 | 25 | 0.44 | 8 | 0.14 |
| 1989 | 5,651 | 43.6 | 2,462 | 43.6 | 1,454 | 25.7 | 356 | 6.30 | 929 | 16.44 | 95 | 1.68 | 48 | 0.85 | 89 | 1.22 | 25 | 0.44 | 27 | 0.46 | 8 | 0.11 |
| 1990 | 5,773 | 44.8 | 2,586 | 44.8 | 1,456 | 25.3 | 342 | 5.92 | 1037 | 17.96 | 103 | 1.78 | 54 | 0.94 | 86 | 1.18 | 31 | 0.54 | 24 | 0.42 | 8 | 0.10 |
| 1991 | 5,802 | 45.9 | 2,663 | 45.9 | 1,466 | 25.6 | 341 | 5.86 | 1069 | 18.42 | 100 | 1.72 | 63 | 1.09 | 89 | 1.19 | 34 | 0.59 | 26 | 0.45 | 9 | 0.16 |
| CLF | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BELOW 54.90 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BELOW 42.90 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ABOVE 3.60 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ABOVE 6.60 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BELOW 3.20 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BELOW 3.40 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BELOW 1.90 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BELOW 1.60 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| ABOVE 0.40 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| BELOW 0.40 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE I-12

COMMERCE

| TOTAL ALL | TOTAL FEMALE | WHITE FEMALE | | BLACK | | HISPANIC | | ASIAN AMERICAN / PACIFIC ISLANDER | | AMERICAN INDIAN / ALASKAN NATIVE | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------|--------------|-------|--------|-------|----------|-------|-----------------------------------|------|----------------------------------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|-------|------|
| | | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | NUMBER | % | | | | | | | | | | |
| TOTAL BLUE COLLAR | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1982 | 1,383 | 113 | 8.2 | 54 | 3.9 | 328 | 23.72 | 58 | 4.19 | 27 | 1.95 | 0 | 0.00 | 48 | 3.47 | 0 | 0.00 | 31 | 2.24 | 1 | 0.07 |
| 1983 | 1,312 | 99 | 7.5 | 49 | 3.7 | 311 | 23.70 | 49 | 3.73 | 25 | 1.91 | 0 | 0.00 | 56 | 4.27 | 0 | 0.00 | 32 | 2.44 | 1 | 0.08 |
| 1984 | 1,265 | 97 | 7.7 | 55 | 4.3 | 279 | 22.06 | 42 | 3.32 | 29 | 2.29 | 0 | 0.00 | 54 | 4.27 | 0 | 0.00 | 11 | 0.87 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 1985 | 1,184 | 83 | 7.0 | 54 | 4.6 | 268 | 22.64 | 38 | 3.21 | 29 | 2.45 | 0 | 0.00 | 53 | 4.46 | 0 | 0.00 | 9 | 0.76 | 1 | 0.08 |
| 1986 | 1,090 | 85 | 7.8 | 51 | 4.7 | 255 | 23.39 | 33 | 3.03 | 26 | 2.39 | 0 | 0.00 | 49 | 4.50 | 0 | 0.00 | 8 | 0.73 | 1 | 0.09 |
| 1987 | 1,137 | 115 | 10.1 | 72 | 6.3 | 247 | 21.72 | 40 | 3.52 | 18 | 1.58 | 1 | 0.09 | 52 | 4.57 | 1 | 0.09 | 5 | 0.44 | 1 | 0.09 |
| 1988 | 1,096 | 123 | 11.3 | 61 | 7.5 | 222 | 20.44 | 39 | 3.59 | 17 | 1.57 | 1 | 0.09 | 45 | 4.14 | 1 | 0.09 | 7 | 0.64 | 1 | 0.09 |
| 1989 | 1,029 | 125 | 12.1 | 85 | 8.3 | 197 | 19.14 | 39 | 3.79 | 20 | 1.94 | 1 | 0.10 | 41 | 3.98 | 0 | 0.00 | 9 | 0.87 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 1990 | 1,003 | 120 | 12.0 | 84 | 8.4 | 192 | 19.14 | 36 | 3.59 | 18 | 1.79 | 0 | 0.00 | 39 | 3.89 | 0 | 0.00 | 6 | 0.60 | 0 | 0.00 |
| 1991 | 972 | 116 | 11.9 | 81 | 8.3 | 191 | 19.65 | 35 | 3.90 | 20 | 2.06 | 0 | 0.00 | 31 | 3.19 | 0 | 0.00 | 5 | 0.51 | 0 | 0.00 |
| CLF | BELOW | BELOW | 14.1 | BELOW | 9.8 | ABOVE | 9.1 | ABOVE | 2.2 | BELOW | 8.7 | BELOW | 1.5 | ABOVE | 1.7 | BELOW | 0.5 | BELOW | 0.8 | BELOW | 0.2 |
| TOTAL COMMERCE | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1982 | 29,491 | 11,733 | 39.8 | 8,237 | 27.9 | 1,777 | 6.03 | 3,111 | 10.5 | 364 | 1.23 | 232 | 0.79 | 414 | 1.40 | 118 | 0.40 | 83 | 0.28 | 35 | 0.12 |
| 1983 | 29,446 | 11,808 | 40.1 | 8,266 | 28.1 | 1,747 | 5.93 | 3,158 | 10.7 | 368 | 1.25 | 215 | 0.73 | 459 | 1.56 | 133 | 0.45 | 83 | 0.28 | 36 | 0.12 |
| 1984 | 29,792 | 12,151 | 40.8 | 8,459 | 28.4 | 1,715 | 5.76 | 3,267 | 11.0 | 363 | 1.29 | 228 | 0.77 | 483 | 1.65 | 165 | 0.55 | 61 | 0.20 | 32 | 0.11 |
| 1985 | 29,385 | 11,988 | 40.8 | 8,226 | 28.0 | 1,688 | 5.74 | 3,314 | 11.3 | 400 | 1.36 | 245 | 0.83 | 508 | 1.73 | 171 | 0.56 | 60 | 0.20 | 30 | 0.10 |
| 1986 | 28,813 | 11,964 | 41.2 | 8,137 | 28.2 | 1,612 | 5.59 | 3,272 | 11.4 | 376 | 1.31 | 247 | 0.86 | 515 | 1.79 | 173 | 0.60 | 59 | 0.20 | 35 | 0.12 |
| 1987 | 28,749 | 12,075 | 42.0 | 8,188 | 28.5 | 1,567 | 5.45 | 3,379 | 11.8 | 373 | 1.30 | 266 | 0.93 | 527 | 1.83 | 208 | 0.72 | 52 | 0.18 | 32 | 0.11 |
| 1988 | 28,984 | 12,363 | 42.7 | 8,256 | 28.5 | 1,555 | 5.37 | 3,587 | 12.4 | 375 | 1.29 | 263 | 0.91 | 551 | 1.90 | 217 | 0.75 | 58 | 0.20 | 40 | 0.14 |
| 1989 | 29,415 | 12,829 | 43.6 | 8,527 | 29.0 | 1,590 | 5.41 | 3,751 | 12.8 | 385 | 1.31 | 272 | 0.92 | 578 | 1.96 | 232 | 0.79 | 64 | 0.22 | 47 | 0.16 |
| 1990 | 30,181 | 13,125 | 43.5 | 8,841 | 28.6 | 1,645 | 5.45 | 3,862 | 12.8 | 394 | 1.31 | 282 | 0.93 | 663 | 2.20 | 285 | 0.94 | 66 | 0.23 | 55 | 0.18 |
| 1991 | 30,590 | 13,322 | 43.6 | 8,779 | 28.7 | 1,644 | 5.37 | 3,881 | 12.7 | 409 | 1.34 | 307 | 1.00 | 690 | 2.26 | 302 | 0.99 | 71 | 0.23 | 53 | 0.17 |
| CLF | BELOW | BELOW | 45.70 | BELOW | 35.30 | ABOVE | 4.90 | ABOVE | 5.40 | BELOW | 4.80 | BELOW | 3.30 | ABOVE | 1.50 | BELOW | 1.30 | BELOW | 0.30 | BELOW | 0.30 |

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