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Proposition 209 and Public Employment in California:

Trends in Workforce Diversity

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Passed in 1996, Proposition 209 ended most forms of traditional affirmative action in public education, employment, and contracting. The Thelton E. Henderson Center for Social Justice (HCSJ) at the UC Berkeley School of Law investigated trends in public employment since 1990, in order to analyze the impact of Proposition 209 on workforce diversity in public employment. Little research has thus far examined public employment in the wake of Proposition 209, a vital area given its relationship to individual wealth as well as to the state economy.

Existing research in California and the nation has demonstrated large gains made in public sector workforce diversity in the 20th century for people of color and women of all racial and ethnic groups, although Latino Americans have tended to lag behind. In California, initial evidence suggests that Proposition 209 may have limited workforce diversity for people of color and women statewide.

HCSJ utilized California State Personnel Board (SPB) employment data by race and gender for public employees who were employed by the State of California as civil servants for each year since 1990. Data were analyzed for trends over time in total, by race, by gender, and by the intersection of race and gender. Additionally, civil service employment rates were compared to estimates of the working age population for each year. Key findings include:

- **There is modest, but persistent, gender disparity.** Men were more likely to be employed as civil servants than women, even after accounting for differences in the working age population. Disparity increased in the mid-1990s, around the time Proposition 209 was on the ballot, and remained steady during the following decade.
- **Trends over time are largely the same for men and women within each racial and ethnic group.** White American men are much more likely to be employed in the civil service than White American women, though for African Americans and Filipino Americans, women are more likely than men to be employed.
- **People of color show rapid gains in employment as civil servants, though these gains trail increases in the working age population.** Over time, the number of people of color in the civil service has grown while the number of White American civil servants has remained constant. However, the civil service employment rate for people of color has lagged several years behind changes in the working age population.
- **Latino Americans are greatly underrepresented in civil service positions.** Latino Americans, though making large gains in terms of the number of civil servants, are vastly underrepresented relative to their population. Furthermore, this disparity has grown over time. White Americans and African Americans are overrepresented as civil servants, while Asian Pacific Islander Americans have mostly been at parity.

This report has found that, on the whole, the State of California has provided employment opportunities for people of color and women of all races. However, lingering and even increased disparity still exists, particularly for Latino Americans and women, and should be rectified. Future HCSJ reports will examine issues pertaining to job quality, including trends in hiring, promotions, and wages, which were not examined in this report and where existing research demonstrates larger disparities for people of color and women of all races.

INTRODUCTION

Passed in 1996 and enacted in 1997, California's Proposition 209 ended most forms of traditional affirmative action in public employment, as well as in public education and contracting. However, there remains a dearth of research on the effect of this change in the public employment arena. While public employment is a vital area to research, especially given its relationship to individual wealth as well to the state economy, it is the least researched area in the measurement of Proposition 209's impact on Californians.

Continuing a series of reports examining the impact of Proposition 209 that initially focused on public contracting,¹ the Thelton E. Henderson Center for Social Justice (HCSJ) at the UC Berkeley School of Law is investigating the impact of Proposition 209 on public employment in the State of California since 1990 by examining trends in workforce diversity, hiring and promotions, and wages. In this first report in the series on public employment, HCSJ examines workforce diversity, including the racial, ethnic, and gender composition of public employees in California, both before and after Proposition 209.

Proposition 209

In 1995, Governor Wilson promulgated Executive Order No. W-124-95, eliminating affirmative action plans in state employment. In 1996, Proposition 209, entitled the California Civil Rights Initiative, passed with 54 percent of the vote. The initiative amended Article I of the California Constitution to prohibit race- and gender-conscious remedies to rectify the underutilization of women and people of color in public employment as well as public contracting and education. In *Coalition for Economic Equity v. Wilson*, the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit upheld the constitutionality of Proposition 209.²

Proposition 209 invalidated a series of laws that had been enacted by the California Legislature over the previous twenty years prior that required state agencies and departments to increase the representation of women and minorities in the state service by identifying jobs for which their employment numbers were fewer than would reasonably be expected by their availability (absent discrimination) and to develop affirmative action plans to remedy such underutilization.³

In *Kidd v. State of California*, the court struck down the supplemental certification policy adopted by the State Personnel Board that increased the pool of eligible employees by allowing women and minorities to be considered for employment even if they had not placed in the top three ranks of a list of potential candidates.⁴ The supplemental certification procedure at issue in that case was applied by the Department of Fish and Game after it found a "severe underrepresentation" of women, people of color, and the disabled in its ranks.⁵ The court relied on the wording of the ballot pamphlet to decide that the clear intent of the voters had been to

¹ Discrimination Research Center. (2006, August). *Free to Compete? Measuring the Impact of Proposition 209 on Minority Business Enterprises*. See also Thelton E. Henderson Center for Social Justice. (2007, September). *A Vision Fulfilled? The Impact of Proposition 209 on Equal Opportunity for Women Business Enterprises*.

² 122 F. 3d 692 (9th Cir. 1997).

³ California Government Code Sections 19790, et. seq. *Ward Connerly v. State Personnel Board*, 92 Cal. App. 4th 16 (2001).

⁴ 62 Cal. App. 4th 386(1998).

⁵ 62 Cal. App. 4th at 394.

eliminate gender and race-conscious affirmative action programs that increased hiring and promotion opportunities for state jobs.⁶

As the court later explained in *Connerly v. State Personnel Board*, the same strict scrutiny standard of review applies regardless of whether the law is “remedial” and regardless of whether it burdens or benefits a group which has historically been subjected to discrimination because rights created by the equal protection clause are not group rights but personal or individual rights.⁷ According to the court, the voters intended that Proposition 209 “reinstate the civil rights act and equal protection jurisprudence that predated” when the United States Supreme Court upheld the use of voluntary affirmative action plans to eliminate traditional patterns of segregation and exclusion in the workforce in *Steelworkers v. Weber*.⁸

The courts have created two exceptions to the elimination of affirmative action programs in state employment: if the failure to employ such programs “results in ineligibility for federal programs with loss of federal funds” or if federal law requires such affirmative action then Proposition 209 does not preclude it.⁹

Workforce Diversity Trends before 1990

In the latter part of the 20th century, considerable shifts in workforce diversity took place. Nationally, occupational disparity was reduced between the 1960s and the 1990s.¹⁰ Research tends to show that affirmative action programs were effective in achieving workplace integration in the 1960s and 1970s, but have shown reduced effectiveness since then, with similar patterns seen in both the public and private realms.¹¹

In California, workforce diversity trends mirrored national trends, with increased workforce diversity seen in public employment for women and people of color leading up to 1990.¹² According to Badgett, both private and public sector employment patterns in California showed an increase in the representation of people of color and women between 1970 and 1990, though African American men and women and Latino American women made the largest gains in the public sector.

⁶ 62 Cal. App. 4th at 407.

⁷ 92 Cal. App. 4th at 35,

⁸ 443 U.S. 193(1979); 92 Cal. App. at 35.

⁹ 92 Cal. App. at 57.

¹⁰ Tomaskovic-Devey, D. Zimmer, C., Stainback, K., Robinson, C.L., Taylor, T.C., & McTague, T. (2006). “Documenting Desegregation: Segregation in American Workplaces by Race, Ethnicity, and Sex, 1966-2003” *American Sociological Review*, 71: 565-588. Fullerton, H. N., Jr., & Toossi, M. (2001). “Labor Force Projections to 2010: Steady Growth and Changing Composition.” *Monthly Labor Review*. 124(11), 21-38.

¹¹ Carlson, S. M. (1992, August). “Trends in Race/Sex Occupational Inequality: Conceptual and Measurement Issues.” *Social Problems*. 39(3), 268-290. Holzer, H. J. & Neumark, D. (1999). “Are Affirmative Action Hires Less Qualified? Evidence from Employer-Employee Data on New Hires.” *Journal of Labor Economics*. 17(3), 534-569. Leonard, J. S. (1990). “The Impact of Affirmative Action Regulation and Equal Employment Law on Black Employment.” *Journal of Economic Perspectives*. 4(4), 47-63. Stainback, K., Robinson, C. L., & Tomaskovic-Devey, D. (1995). “Race and Workplace Integration: A Politically Mediated Process?” *American Behavioral Scientist*. 48(9), 1200-1228. See also *ibid*.

¹² Badgett, M. V. L. (1999). “The Impact of Affirmative Action on Public-Sector Employment in California, 1970-1990.” In Ong, P. (Ed.), *Impacts of Affirmative Action: Policies & Consequences in California*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press. See also Dometrius, N. C. & Sigelman, L. (1984). “Assessing Progress Toward Affirmative Action Goals in State and Local Government: A New Benchmark.” *Public Administration Review*. 44(3), 241-246.

Workforce Diversity Trends after 1990

Since the 1990s, reports on state and federal employees have generally found continued improvements in workforce diversity. However, there are differences in advancement between the various ethnic groups. Latino Americans are the only ethnic group to be employed in the public sector at the federal level at rates lower than in the civilian workforce; African Americans, Native Americans and Asian Pacific Islander Americans are employed by the US government at rates higher than in the civilian workforce.¹³ Women, who showed relatively large gaps in employment, have experienced large gains in workforce diversity in recent years.¹⁴

Given the national context, how did the elimination of affirmative action affect workforce diversity in the State of California? Previous research has indicated that the state may have seen a reduction in workforce participation rates for people of color and women after the passage of Proposition 209. Using data from the Current Population Survey (CPS), Caitlin Knowles Myers found a sharp drop in employment for people of color after the passage of Proposition 209, even after controlling for trends outside of California.¹⁵ She demonstrated that this dip in employment was mainly due to workers dropping out of the workforce. For example, between 1995 and 1999, she found that relative employment for people of color in California fell by 2.8 percentage points as these groups left the labor force, causing non-participation rates to climb by a corresponding 2.9 percentage points. Myers found that the highest rates of non-participation were for women of color, specifically African American women and Latino American women.

However, Myers investigated both public and private sector employment, with private sector employment accounting for the overwhelming majority of the sample. In fact, Myers reported an intriguing, though not statistically significant, finding, suggesting that rates at which people of color were employed in the public sector in California may have increased, rather than decreased, after 1995.

Llorens and colleagues utilized the CPS to investigate the ratio of female employment to male employment and African American and Latino American employment to White American employment.¹⁶ Using the time points of 1987, 1994, and 2002, they found that in nearly every state, women were employed at modestly higher rates in the public sector than in the private sector, while Latino Americans were generally employed at rates much lower than in the private sector. Results for African Americans were varied, with states showing a mix of overrepresentation, parity, and underrepresentation. In California, women and African Americans were more likely to be employed and Latino Americans less likely to be employed in the public sector relative to the private sector. Though not the focus of their study, they do not show significant changes in the rate of employment for the public sector employment relative to the private sector for women, African Americans, or Latino Americans in 2002, after Proposition 209 was passed, relative to rates in 1987 and 1994, before 209 was passed. Although this may indicate that Proposition 209 had little effect in public employment, the ratios reported by Llorens and

¹³ U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM). (2008). *Annual Report to Congress: Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program FY 2007*. Washington, DC: The U.S Office of Personnel Management. See also reports from previous Fiscal Years for similar trends. Holzer, Harry J., and Neumark, D. (2006). "Affirmative Action: What Do We Know?" *The Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*. 26(2), 463-490.

¹⁴ *Supra*, note 10.

¹⁵ Myers, C.K. (2007). "A Cure for Discrimination? Affirmative Action and the Case of California's Proposition 209." *Industrial & Labor Relations Review*. 60(3), 379-396.

¹⁶ Llorens, J.J., Wenger, J.B., & Kellough, E. (2007). "Choosing Public Sector Employment: The Impact of Wages on the Representation of Women and Minorities in State Bureaucracies." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*. 18(3), 397-413.

colleagues may reflect that rates of public employment for people of color and women have simply been matching trends in the private sector, where workforce diversity appears to have declined in the years following the passage of Proposition 209.

Proposition 209 also affected employment at public universities in California. In the years following the passage of Proposition 209, faculty recruitment of people of color and women declined, though recruitment has since returned to levels achieved before the passage of Proposition 209.¹⁷ However, the university system of California has not matched the changing demographics of the nation nor California in particular. For example, the California university system is below the national average in recruiting available women. For staff, there was no apparent reduction in employment for people of color and women after the passage of Proposition 209; however, people of color and women are overrepresented in lower level positions and underrepresented in higher level positions.¹⁸

The Present Research

Thus far, research investigating diversity in public employment in California has focused on samples from published Census reports. However, these data sets generally lack the statistical power to investigate employment exclusively in the public sector, particularly for each race and ethnicity, as well as the ability to investigate race by gender interactions. Additionally, no published report known to us investigates trends over time by year to specifically focus on whether there was any measurable short-term or long-term impact of the passage and enactment of Proposition 209 on public employment in California.

Therefore, HCSJ sought to analyze workforce diversity in public sector employment for the State of California. HCSJ concentrated on public employees who were employed as civil servants for the State of California, investigating 17 year trends from 1990 to 2007, focusing on the potential impact of Proposition 209. Future reports will investigate hiring, promotions, and wages during this time period for state civil servants.

¹⁷ University of California. (2007, September). Regent's Study Group on University Diversity: Faculty Work Team Report. Last accessed August 14, 2008, from: http://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/diversity/documents/0711-fac_tm_report.pdf.

¹⁸ University of California. (2008, April). *UC Report of the Staff Diversity Council*. Last accessed August 14, 2008, from: http://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/diversity/documents/ucsdc_report.pdf.

METHODOLOGY

State Personnel Board Data

In the current analysis, HCSJ utilized California State Personnel Board (SPB) data reported for civil servants employed directly by the state for full-time, part-time, or seasonal employment.^{19,20} Data were obtained on the number of total employees, as well as disaggregated by gender and race and ethnicity. Data are presented by raw numbers, which give the population of each group, as well as by employment rates, which give the relative population of each group, divided by total number of employees each year.

The racial and ethnic categories consisted of White American, African American, Hispanic/Latino American, Asian Pacific Islander (API) American, which was further broken down into Asian American, Filipino American, and Pacific Islander American, as well as Native American and “Other” American. Data were also categorized for men and women, both in total and separately for each racial and ethnic group.

Data were obtained via SPB Report 5102²¹ for 1990 through 2007.²² Employment was verified each year by the SPB, which received demographic data on new hire and rehire forms. For race and ethnicity, employees were given the option to choose only one race and ethnicity category, including the option for “Other.”

¹⁹ To note, as HCSJ only investigated employees directly employed by the State of California, we did not examine public employees employed by the federal government, counties, or municipalities. Myers (2007) estimated that eight percent of the workforce in California were employed in the public sector. HCSJ analyses indicated that roughly one percent of California’s working age (18-64) residents were state civil servants.

²⁰ In order to apply for employment with the State of California, an applicant must initially determine which of the qualifying examinations are currently being administered. The State Personnel Board’s “Exam Bulletin” website (http://www.spb.ca.gov/jobs/exams/exam_bulletins.htm) has a listing of current exam offerings sorted by posting date, title, and department, though the appropriate test administration date or location may not be immediately available. Alternatively, an applicant may visit the SPB Employment Services Center in Sacramento to obtain examination announcements, applications for examinations, forms, and other brochures. Local Employment Development Department offices may also receive announcements for state civil service examinations. After finding an examination of interest, a copy of the exam announcement (bulletin) and, if available, an application from the department conducting the examination must be obtained. Some positions require that the applicant fill out the Standard State Examination application form, which can be found on the SPB’s website in either an online or printable version. The Bulletin announcement for the chosen exam has specific information regarding where the application should be mailed or hand delivered, and by what date. After receiving and evaluating the applicant’s provided information, the Board will decide whether to allow the applicant to take the examination. If the application is accepted, detailed information about the test time and location will be provided, if such information was missing from the Bulletin announcement. Some exams can be taken online, in which case information regarding the setup of an online account will be provided; however, many exams require in-person exam administration. At the test administration, SPB members may conduct any number of evaluation methods as specified on the exam announcement, including written tests, oral tests or interviews, or performance testing, among others. The announcement has information about what types of tests will be administered and how much weight is given to the applicant’s performance on each type of exam. If the applicant passes the appropriate tests and is chosen to be a California state employee, she or he will initially serve a probationary period of six months to one year. After receiving three probationary reports from her or his immediate supervisor, these reports are discussed with the probationary employee and reviewed by another supervisor. A satisfactory review will end the probationary period and permanent status as a state employee will be conferred.

²¹ SPB provides yearly reports that include a portion of the data contained in this report. The latest report is available at: <http://www.spb.ca.gov/WorkArea/showcontent.aspx?id=3962>.

²² SPB Report 5102 utilizes the state fiscal year, which runs from July of the previous year through June of the current year. In this report, years will be referred to without the fiscal year terminology.

Census Data

Census data provided estimates of the working age population in California between 1990 and 2006. Estimates were provided by the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS), a division of the Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC).²³ The NCHS utilizes yearly estimates provided by the US Census, with breakdowns by state, race, ethnicity, gender, and age.

Unlike US Census estimates, NCHS provides ‘bridged-race’ estimates, in which the categorization for race and ethnicity is the same for the 1990 estimates as it is for the 2000 estimates; this avoids a limitation of the US Census data, in which the categorization for race and ethnicity was changed in 2000.²⁴ The NCHS also revised their 1990s estimates after results of the 2000 census were available; in general, data from the 1990s needed to be revised upward, as the US population grew faster than predicted.

Census data are available for White Americans, African Americans, API Americans, Hispanic/Latino Americans and Native Americans. In the Census, data for White Americans, African Americans, API Americans and Native Americans are presented separately for Hispanic/Latino Americans and non-Hispanic/Latino Americans. In this report, Hispanic/Latino Americans of all races will be included as Hispanic/Latino Americans, and White Americans, African Americans, API Americans, and Native Americans will be non-Hispanic/Latino only. This categorization structure is the closest match to the SPB categorization structure.

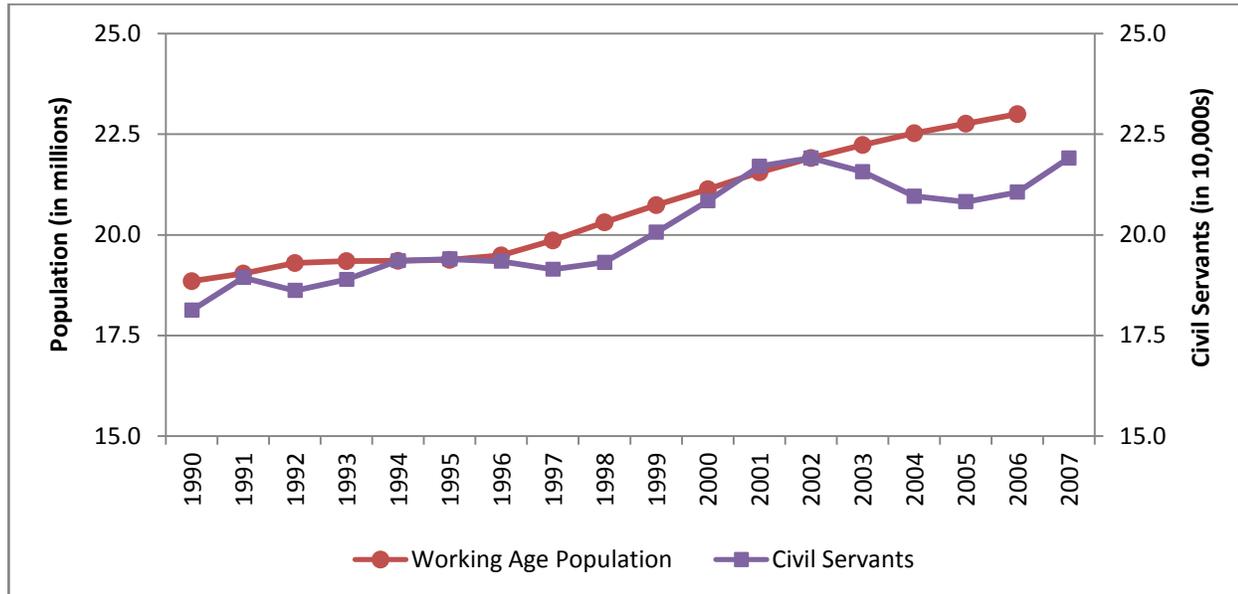
Caution should be used when comparing the results for the working age population figures to the SPB figures, as the Census figures are only estimates of the population. Additionally, differences in racial and ethnic categorization by SPB and the Census/NCHS may obscure the findings. This is particularly true for Native Americans, whose small state population will magnify these discrepancies.

²³ National Center for Health Statistics. Bridged-race intercensal estimates of the July 1, 1990-July 1, 1999, United States resident population by county, single-year of age, sex, race, and Hispanic origin, prepared by the U.S. Census Bureau with support from the National Cancer Institute. Available on the Internet at: <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/about/major/dvs/popbridge/popbridge.htm>, April 24, 2004. National Center for Health Statistics. Postcensal estimates of the resident population of the United States for July 1, 2000-July 1, 2006, by year, county, age, bridged race, Hispanic origin, and sex (Vintage 2006). Prepared under a collaborative arrangement with the U.S. Census Bureau. Available on the internet from: <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/about/major/dvs/popbridge/popbridge.htm>, August, 16, 2007.

²⁴ Additionally, the estimates used by the NCHS more closely correspond with the California State Personnel Board categorization for race and ethnicity.

RESULTS: STATE WORKFORCE

Figure 1: Civil Service Employment by the State of California and Working Age Population



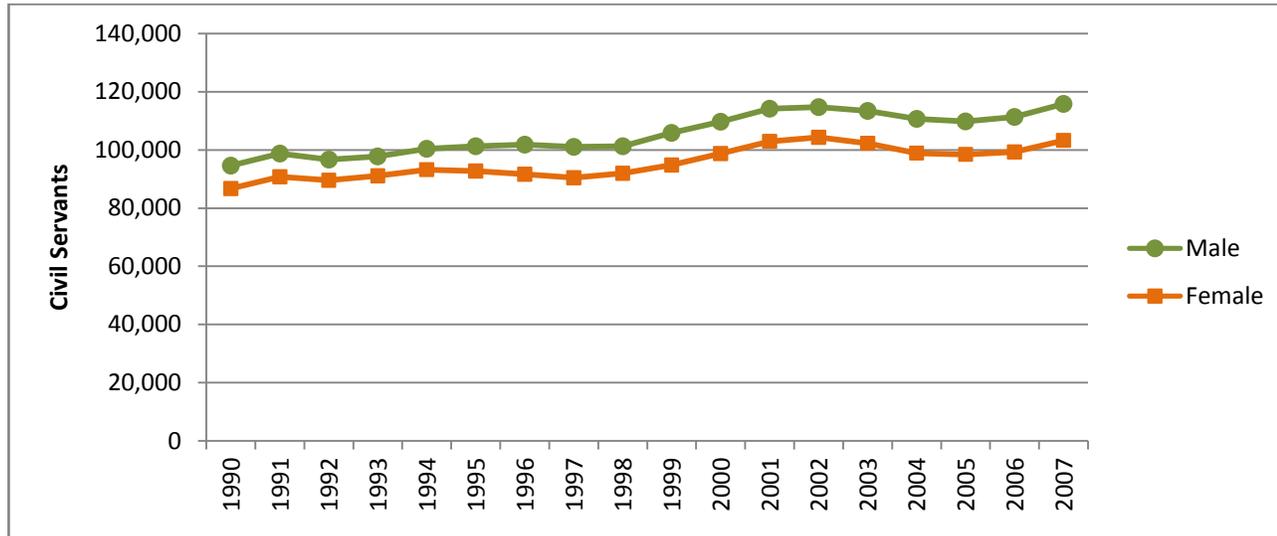
As seen in Figure 1, over time, the total number of people employed by the State of California has risen since 1990. The largest increase occurs between 1998 and 2001. There was also an increase during the early 1990s. In the mid 2000s there was a dip, however, employment has rebounded to match record high levels since then. Total employment numbers were flat in the mid-1990s during the time Proposition 209 was advocated and passed.

The working age population in California has also risen, from approximately 19 million in 1990 to 23 million in 2006. Growth was modest in the early and mid 1990s, but rose steadily in the late 1990s and 2000s.

The growth in the number of employees in the state very closely matches the growth in the working age population, with one percent of the working age population employed as civil servants in the State of California since 1990.

RESULTS: WORKFORCE DIVERSITY AND WORKING AGE POPULATION BY GENDER

Figure 2: Civil Service Employment by Gender

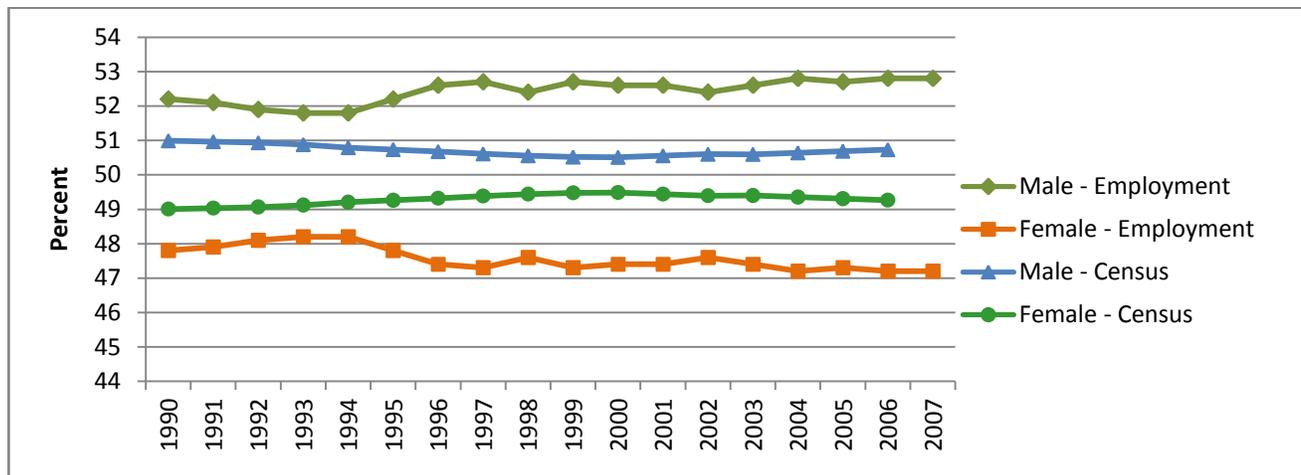


As seen in Figure 2, men and women have both increased in numbers of public employees. The trends for women and men match each other and, to a strong degree, the overall total. After several years of steady rates in the 1990s, both men and women experienced a large increase in employment in the late 1990s, with a slight dip in the mid 2000s.

At all time points, men have been more likely to be public employees than women by several thousand employees. This has varied between a low of 6,628 additional male employees in 1993 to a high of 12,480 additional male employees in 2007.

The employment rates and working age population by gender can be seen in Figure 3. On the whole, only modest movements have occurred since 1990. Men represent a larger portion of the working age population than women by one to two percentage points. This difference was estimated to have decreased through the 1990s but has increased since 2000.

Figure 3: Employment Rates and Working Age Population by Gender



In terms of the civil service employment rates, men have been employed at rates between 51 and 53 percent and women have been employed at rates between 47 and 49 percent. During the studied time period between 1990 and 2007, men have always been employed at rates higher than reflected in the working age population while the opposite has been true for women.

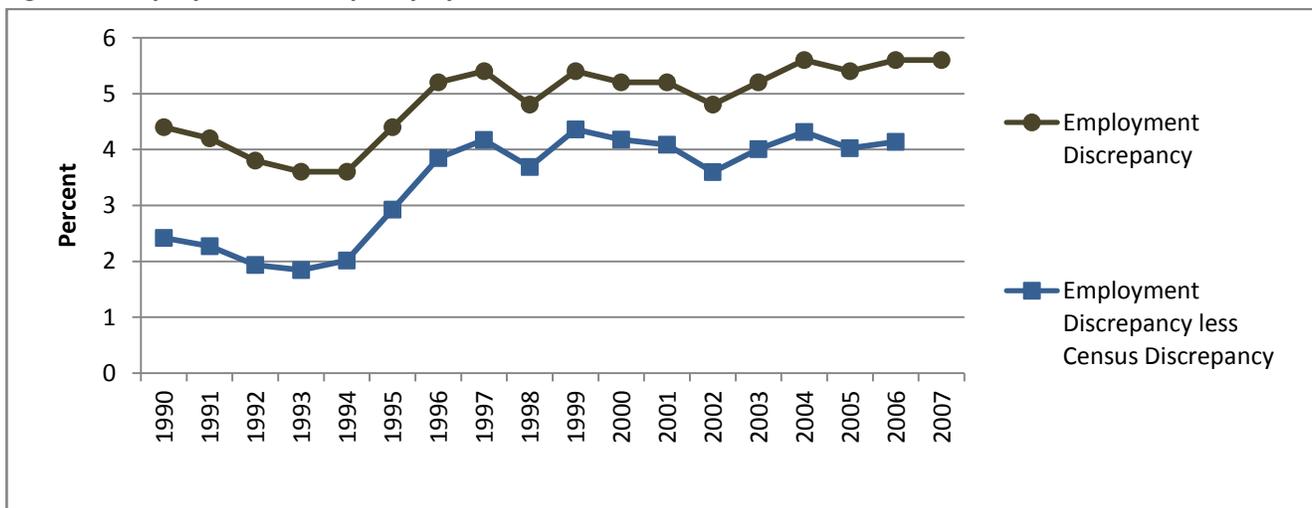
Figure 4 displays the civil service employment rate for men relative to women. The discrepancy represents the employment rate for men, subtracting the rate for women. It shows that during the studied time period, women have always been less represented in the civil servant workforce, by between three and six percentage points. However, as California’s working age population is slightly more male than female, the relative disparity for civil servant public employees is lessened, resulting in a two to four percent disparity level in the studied time period.

In examining the trends over time, there was a one percentage point reduction in gender disparity in the early 1990s. However, the disparity level rose by nearly two percentage points between 1994 and 1997, with most of the increase in disparity occurring during 1995 and 1996. This effect is more pronounced for the disparity taking the working age population into consideration; this is due in part because the census estimated an increasing female working age population during this time period.

With or without the working age population correction, disparity levels rose from the lowest levels of disparity to a near peak of highest disparity during these three years. Disparity rates have held fairly steady since 1997.

Although the increase in employment disparity during the mid-1990s occurs before the enactment of Proposition 209, this corresponds to results seen in previous HCSJ research on public contracting, which indicated that reductions for certified small businesses owned by people of color and women of all races and ethnicities (referred to as DBEs, or Disadvantaged Business Enterprises) began before the passage of Proposition 209, during a time in which Executive Orders and a public campaign against affirmative action may have influenced hiring decisions.²⁵

Figure 4: Employment Discrepancy by Gender

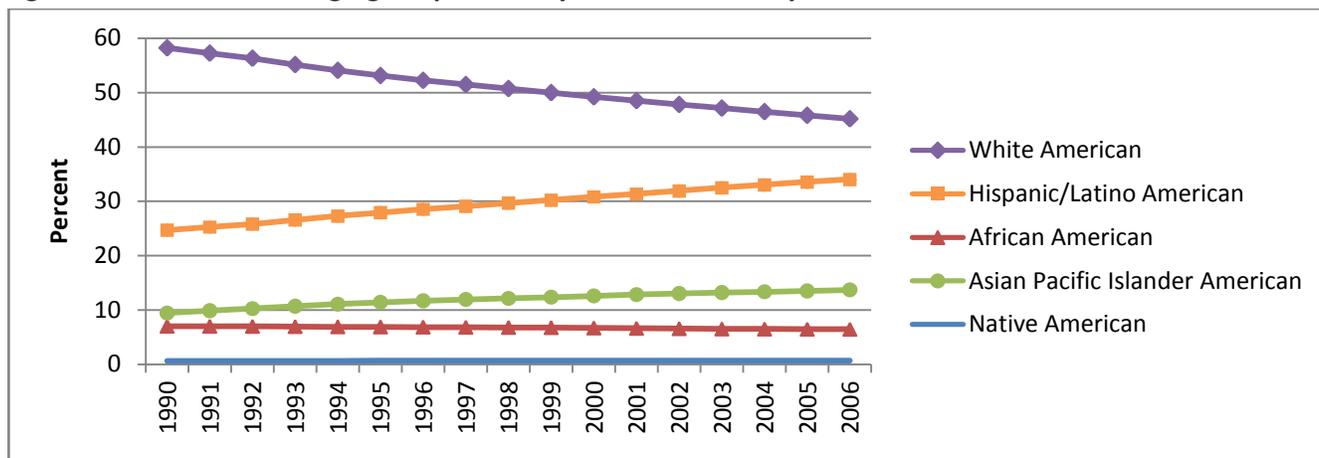


Note: Higher values indicate overrepresentation of men.

²⁵ *Supra*, note 1.

RESULTS: WORKING AGE POPULATION BY RACE

Figure 5: California Working Age Population by Race and Ethnicity



The trends for employment for the State of California are clearly influenced by the available pool of potential employees. Therefore, HCSJ analyzed trends in California’s working age population, identified as those between the ages of 18²⁶ and 64, from 1990 until 2006.²⁷

White Americans are the largest group in the state, though as of 2000, they no longer comprised the majority of California’s working age population, and have experienced a steady reduction of more than ten percentage points of the total working age population since 1990.

Hispanic/Latino Americans are the second largest group in the state, and their representation in California has been steadily growing, with an almost ten percent point increase from 1990 to 2006, from just under 25 percent to over 34 percent. In 1990, White Americans were 30 percentage points higher than Hispanic/Latino Americans, but that difference had been reduced to approximately ten percentage points in 2006.

Asian Pacific Islander Americans are the third largest group in the state, and also have experienced increases over time, from nine and a half to 13 and a half percent of the working age population from 1990 to 2006.

African Americans are the fourth largest group in the state, and have decreased by a bit over one half of a percentage point since 1990, moving from just over seven percent to approximately six and a half percent of the working age population.

During the studied time period, Native Americans have made up under .7 percent of the California working age population, showing growth in the 1990s but a reduction in the 2000s.

These trends are expected to continue. By 2030, Latino Americans are expected to surpass White Americans as the largest single group and the Asian Pacific Islander American population is also expected to continue to increase.²⁸

²⁶ The minimum age of 18 was used as most civil servants are age 18 and older.

²⁷ At the time of publication, data were not available for 2007.

²⁸ Myers, D., Pitkin, J. & Park, J. (2005, February). *California Demographic Futures: Projections to 2030, by Immigrant Generations, Nativity, and Time of Arrival in U.S.* Last accessed August 14, 2008 from <http://www.usc.edu/schools/sppd/research/popdynamics/CDFFULLreport2005.pdf>.

RESULTS: WORKFORCE DIVERSITY FOR WHITE AMERICANS AND PEOPLE OF COLOR

Figure 6: Number of Civil Service Employees for White Americans and People of Color

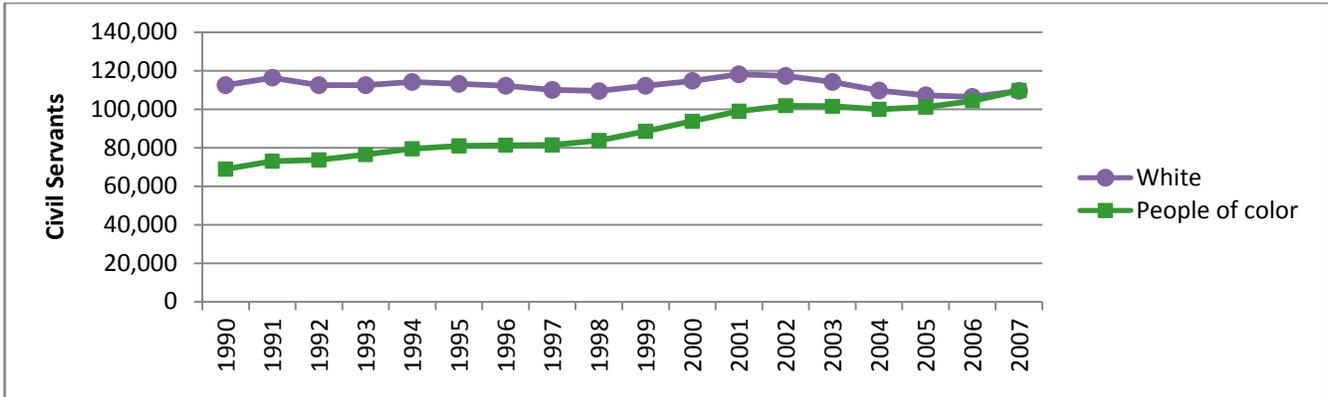
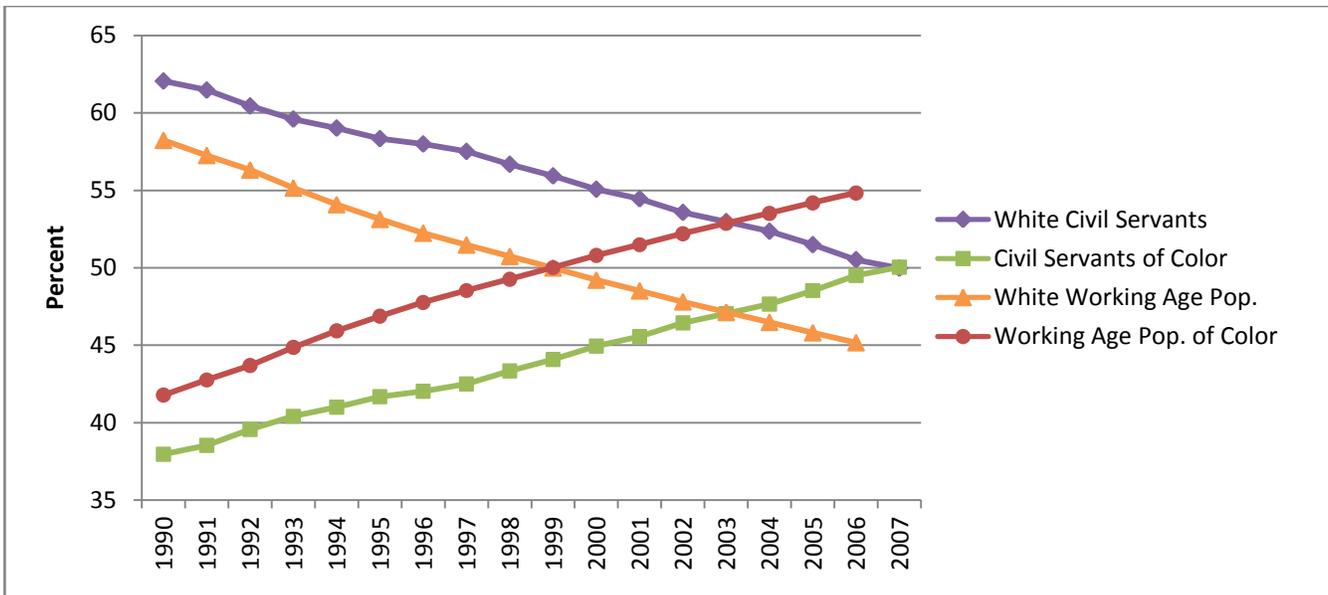


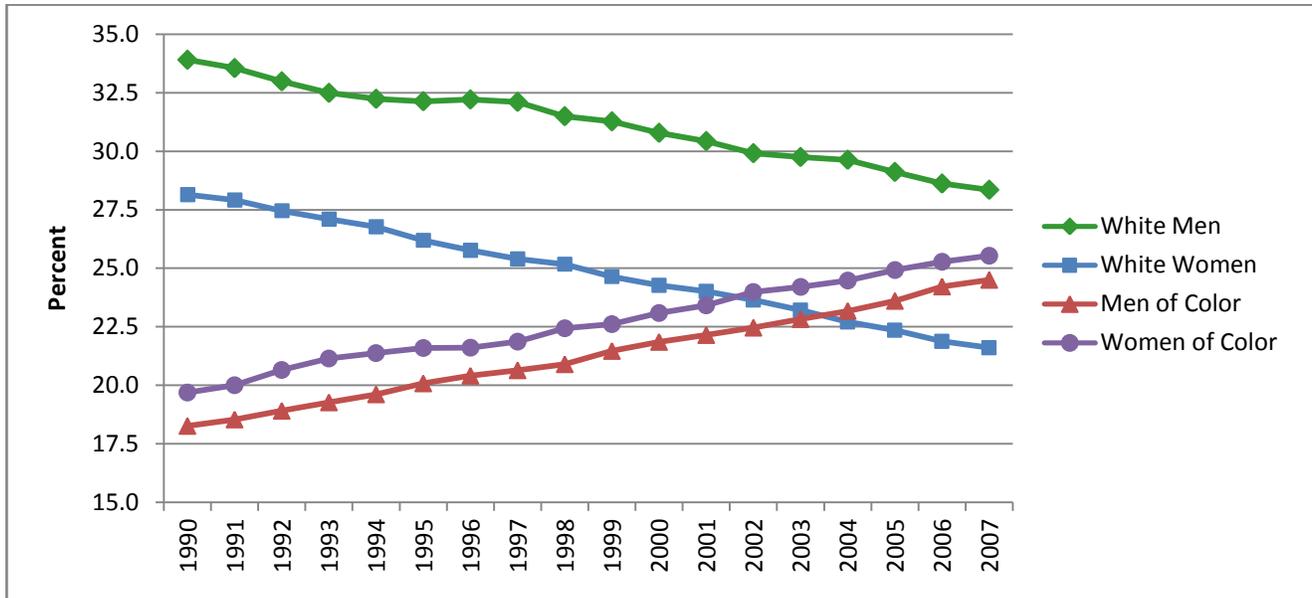
Figure 7: Employment Rates and Working Age Population for White Americans and People of Color



As illustrated in Figure 6 and Figure 7, the number of White American employees has held relatively steady since 1990, though the employment rate has declined since 1990. The number of people of color employed as civil servants by the state has risen from under 70,000 to nearly 110,000. The employment rate for people of color has risen from under 38 percent in 1990 to 50 percent in 2007. In fact, 2007 is the first year that people of color were the majority of civil service employees in California, exceeding the number of White American civil service employees. This trend reflects the increase in the relative population size of people of color in California and the corresponding increase to both the number and percentage of public employees that are people of color.

However, the employment rate for people of color has consistently lagged behind the working age population. This disparity was less than four percentage points in 1990, reached an apex of six percentage points in 1997, and has consistently been between five and six percentage points for the next decade. Currently, the civil servant workforce has lagged roughly eight years behind trends in the working age population. For example, people of color reached a majority in the working age population in 1999, but did not reach being a majority of civil servants until 2007.

Figure 8: Employment Rates for White Americans and People of Color, by Gender



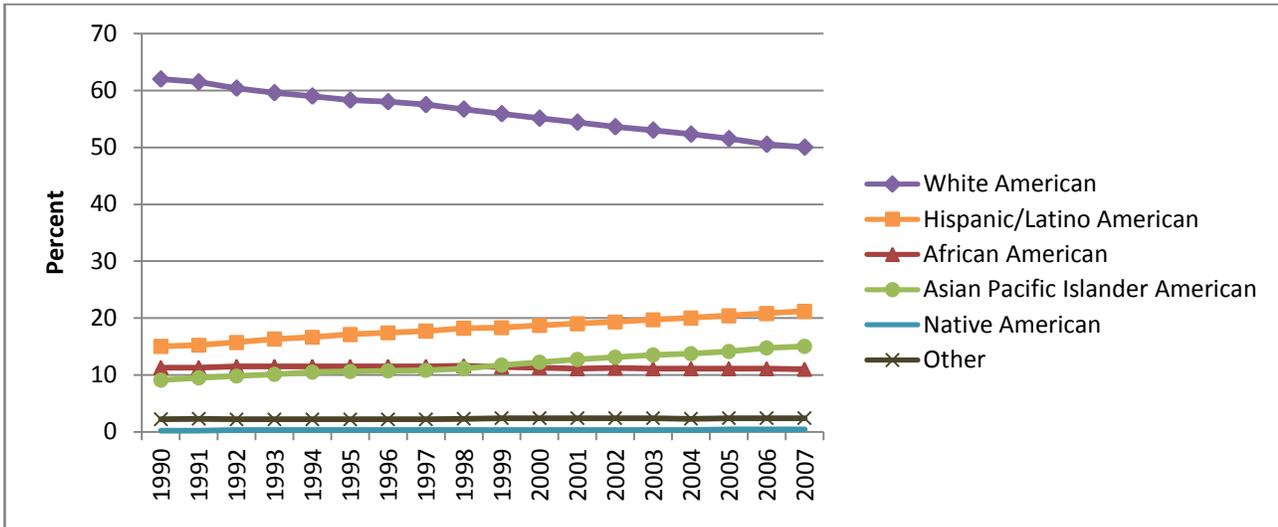
As seen in Figure 8, White American men are employed at higher rates than White American women by a margin of over five percentage points. This margin grows somewhat over time. Among people of color, women of color are consistently employed at rates higher than men of color, though this is a relatively modest difference of about two percentage points.

White American men have consistently been the largest segment employed with the state. White American women had been the second largest segment, but have become the smallest segment since 2004. Women of color and men of color had been the third and fourth largest segments, and now are the second and third largest. If current trends continue, women and men of color will become the first and second largest segment in the California workforce by 2013.

In the context of Proposition 209, employment trends are similar for White American men and women and men and women of color before and after Proposition 209. As the California civil service has grown, men and women of color have increased their representation at similar rates both before and after Proposition 209. Although the proportion of White American women employed by the state has declined, these declines are generally similar to the declines seen for White American men and in the working age population, though the rates for White American men appear to be declining at a slower rate than White American women.

RESULTS: WORKFORCE DIVERSITY BY RACE

Figure 9: Employment Rates by Race and Ethnicity

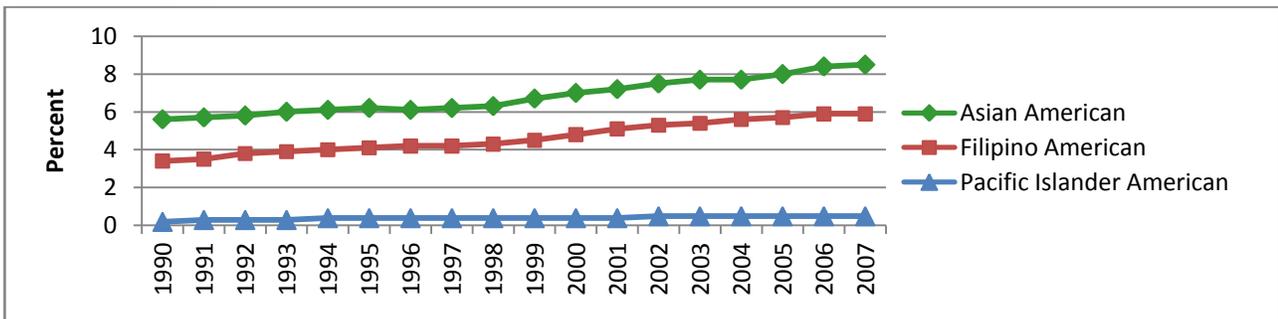


An examination of the 17 years of employment data between 1990 and 2007 by race reveals that White Americans have held, by far, the largest number of positions with the State of California, as seen in Figure 9. However, there has been a greater than ten percentage point decline, and in 2007, White Americans held exactly 50 percent of the positions. If current trends continue, White Americans will hold less than half of the positions with the State of California after 2007.

Hispanic/Latino Americans hold the second largest number of positions, and have steadily increased from 15 percent of the civil servant workforce in 1990 to over 21 percent in 2007.

Through the 1990s, African Americans held the third highest position with the State of California. African Americans have held fairly steady at 11 percent, though they have experienced a very modest, yet steady decline in public employment since 1990.

Figure 10: Employment Rates for Asian Pacific Islander Americans



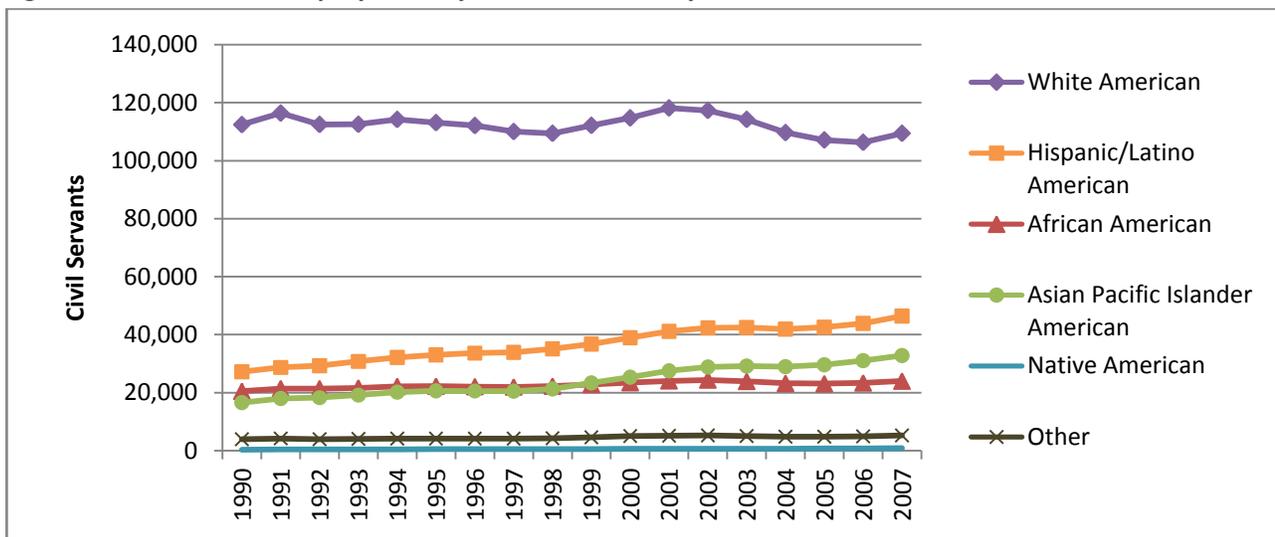
Asian Pacific Islander Americans have been steadily increasing in California state public employment, from just over nine percent in 1990 to over 15 percent in 2007. As illustrated in Figure 10, Asian Americans make up the largest portion of this group, with Filipino Americans the next largest subgroup, and Pacific Islander Americans making up only a small portion of this group. Substantial percentage increases have occurred for all three groups.

While the number of Native Americans employed as civil servants has doubled, Native Americans have consistently held less than half of a percent of positions in the State of California, rising from .2 percent in 1990 to .4 percent in 2007.

The category of “Other” Americans is difficult to interpret, as it is not clear who is represented in this group. Interestingly, the number of reported “Other” Americans has stayed consistent at about two percent in the past 17 years.

As shown in Figure 11, it is evident that the decrease in the relative rate of employment of White Americans has not been the result of a reduction in the total number of White Americans employed. The level of employment for White Americans has stayed fairly constant between 100,000 and 120,000 employees, though brief peaks occurred in 1991 and 2001/2002.

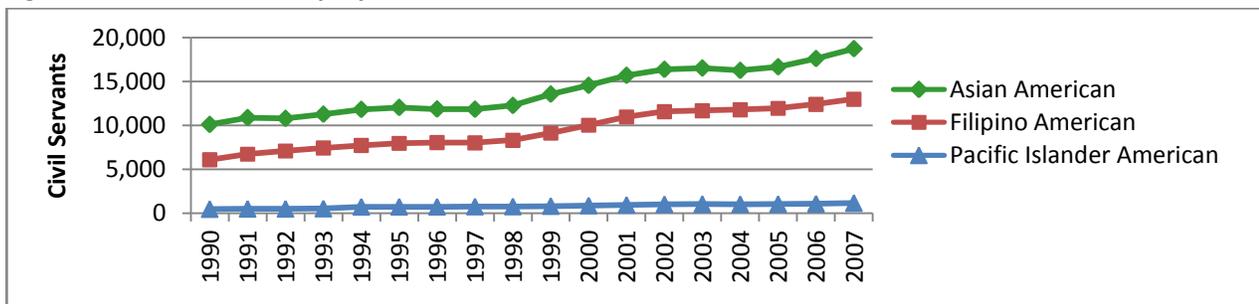
Figure 11: Civil Service Employment by Race and Ethnicity



Strong growth is seen in the total number of employees who are Hispanic/Latino Americans and Asian Pacific Islander Americans. The number of African American employees has increased slightly. Although the number of employees remains small, the number of Native American employees has doubled since 1990.

Looking at Figure 12, the number of Asian Americans and Filipino Americans has increased dramatically, both in terms of percentage increase and in the number of civil servants. Though the number of Pacific Islander American employees has doubled since 1990, the total number of Pacific Islander American civil servants remains modest.

Figure 12: Civil Service Employment for Asian Pacific Islander Americans



RESULTS: WORKFORCE DIVERSITY AND WORKING AGE POPULATION BY RACE

Figure 13: White American Employment and Working Age Population

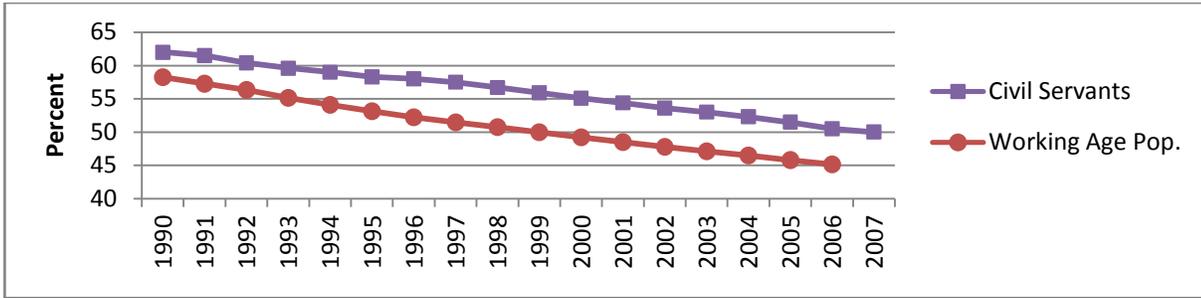


Figure 14: Hispanic/Latino American Employment and Working Age Population

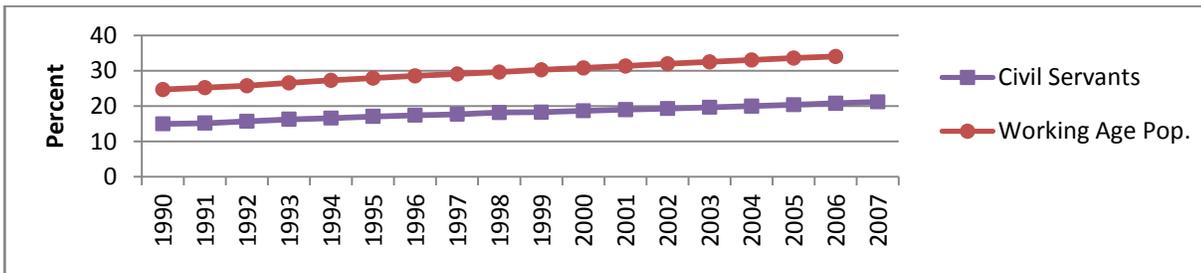


Figure 15: African American Employment and Working Age Population

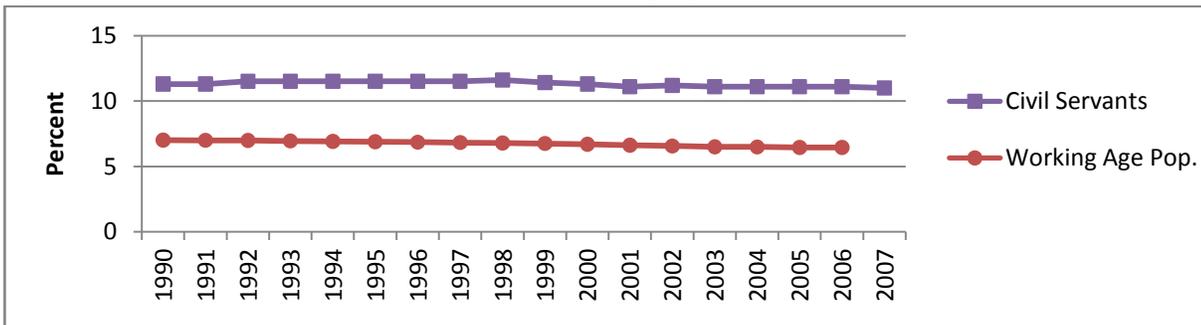
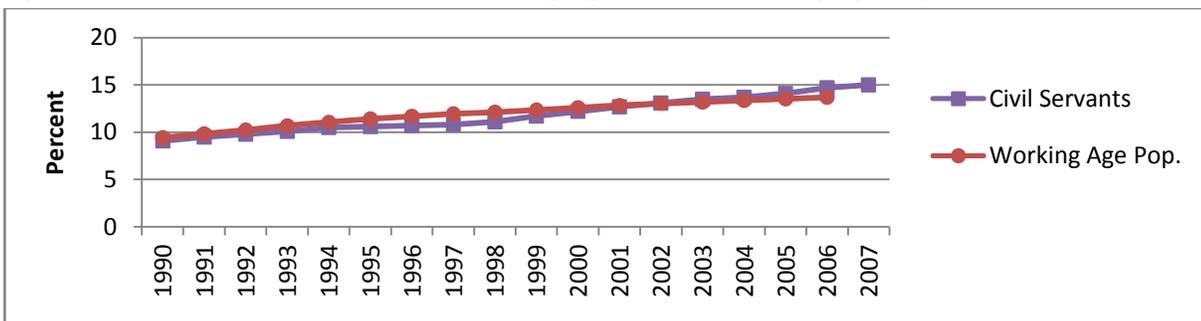


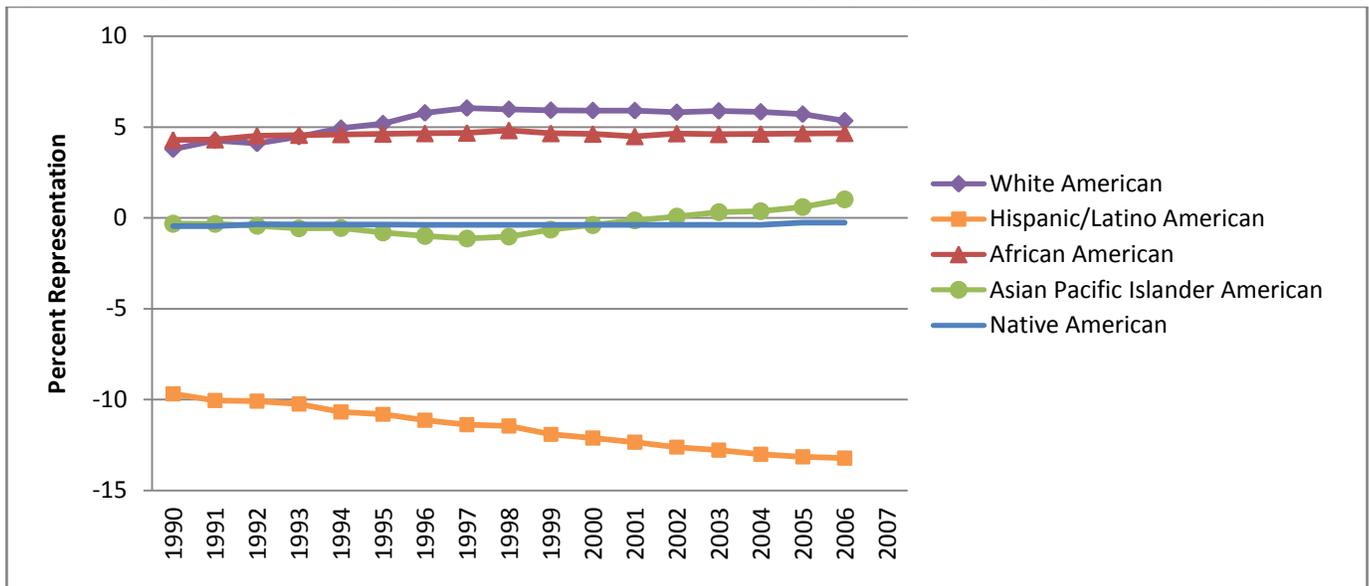
Figure 16: Asian Pacific Islander American Employment and Working Age Population



In Figure 13 through Figure 16, working age population data is paired with employment data for each year. White and African Americans were more likely to be employed by the state relative to their working age populations, while Hispanic/Latino Americans were less likely to be employed relative to their working age populations. Asian Pacific Islander Americans had relative parity, though they were less likely to be employed by the state in the late 1990s and slightly more likely to be employed by the state in the mid 2000s.

Figure 17 details the level of employment expected relative to the working age population rate. Both White and African Americans are roughly five percentage points more likely to be employed by the state than would be expected from their working age population size. Rates have held steady for African Americans, while White Americans show a slight, steady rise from 1990 through 1997, during a time that includes, as well as predates, the passage of Proposition 209. It should be noted that the rise for White Americans in the 1990s is driven both by an increase in employment for White Americans and a dip in estimates of the relative size of the working age population. However, White American relative employment rates have begun slowly decreasing since 2004. It should also be noted that since the African American population in California is smaller than the White American population, the higher levels of representation reflects a higher proportional representation for African Americans than White Americans.²⁹

Figure 17: Representation among Civil Servants Relative to Working Age Population by Race and Ethnicity



Note: Higher numbers indicate overrepresentation, lower numbers indicate underrepresentation

Hispanic/Latino Americans are much less likely to be employed by the state than would be expected from the size of their working age population, a disparity that has been increasing since 1990. This disparity rose from ten percent in 1990 to over 13 percentage points in 2006. Asian Pacific Islander Americans have stayed within a few percentage points of expected employment rates in the years studied, reaching a nadir of just over one percentage point below expected levels in 1997, and currently are just over one percentage point above expected levels. Asian Pacific Islander American employment took a dip around the passage of Proposition 209, but has increased since then. Hispanic/Latino American employment has steadily decreased both before and after the passage of Proposition 209.

²⁹ When these figures are analyzed as a relative representation, African Americans are represented in the civil service at a rate 61 to 71 percent greater than their working age population, while White Americans are represented at a rate 7 to 12 percent greater than their working age population. To note, Llorens and colleagues found that African Americans were represented at a rate between 36 and 80 percent greater in the public sector than in the private sector in California during a similar time period. *Supra*, note 16.

RESULTS: WORKFORCE DIVERSITY BY RACE AND GENDER

Figure 18: Employment Rates for White American Men and Women

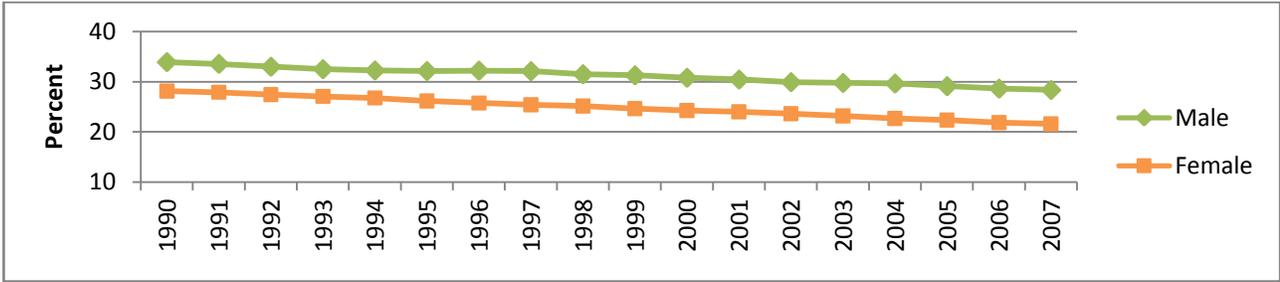


Figure 19: Employment Rates for Hispanic/Latino American Men and Women

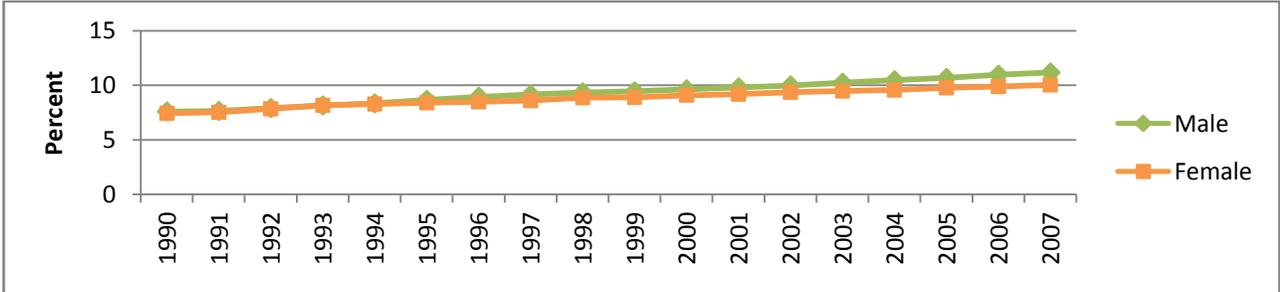


Figure 20: Employment Rates for African American Men and Women

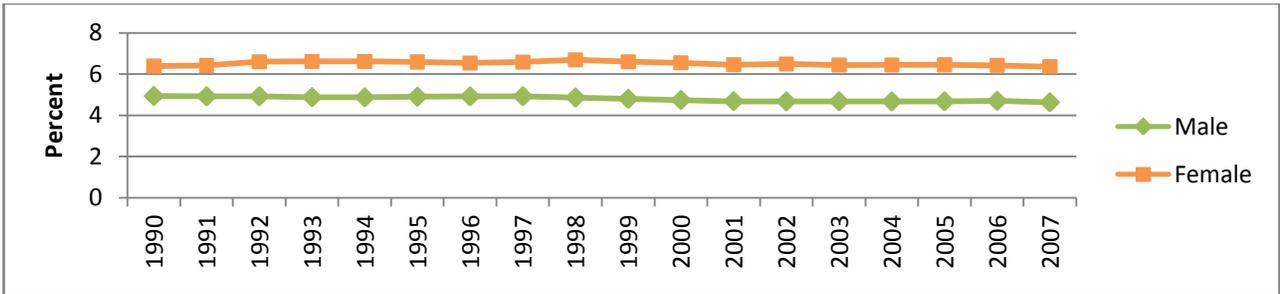


Figure 21: Employment Rates for Asian Pacific Islander American Men and Women

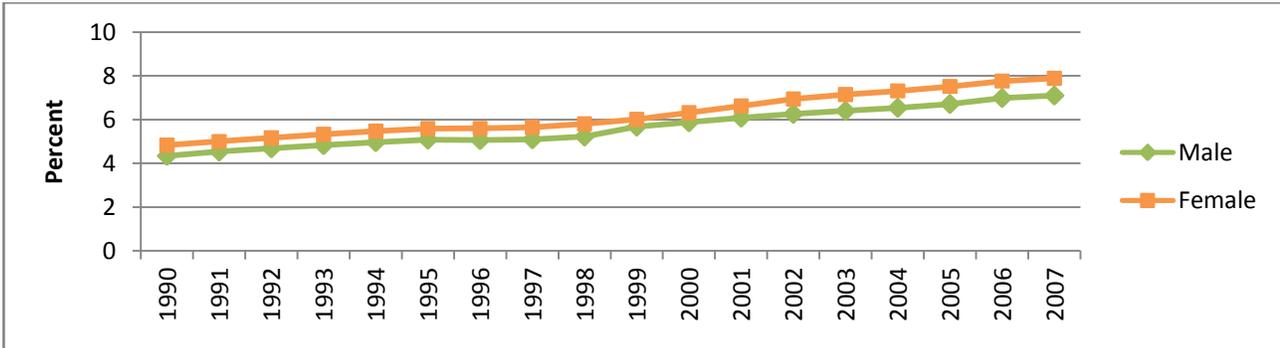


Figure 22: Employment Rates for Asian American Men and Women

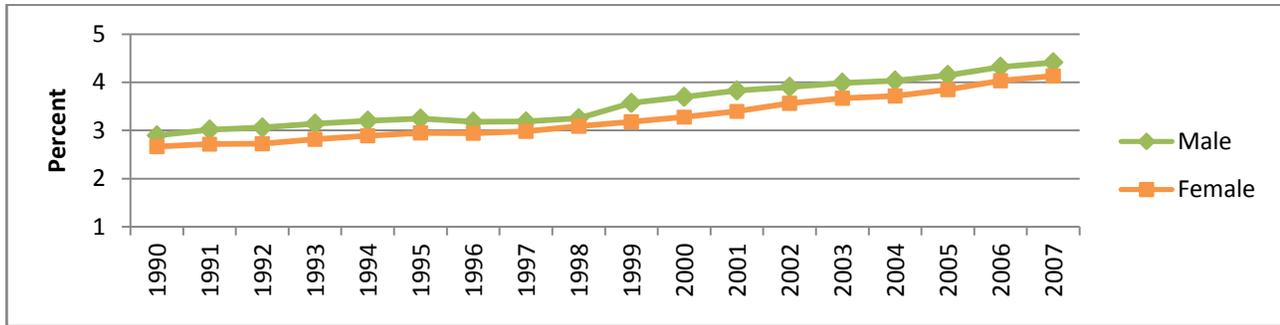


Figure 23: Employment Rates for Filipino American Men and Women

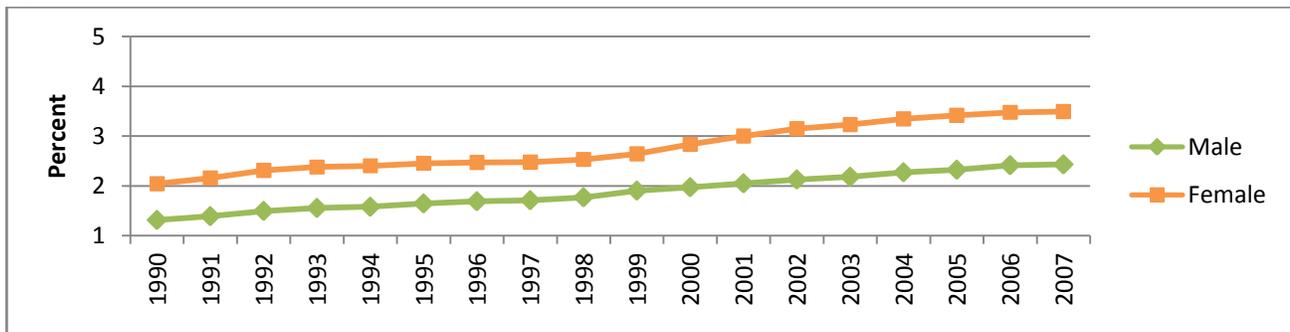


Figure 24: Employment Rates for Pacific Islander American Men and Women

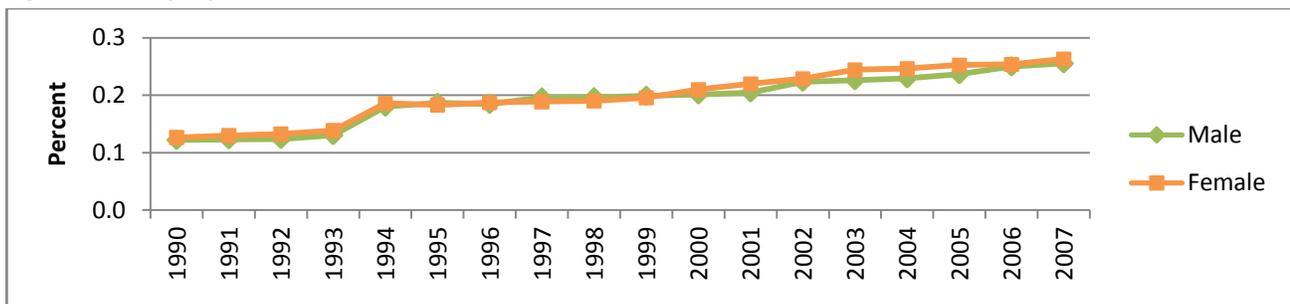
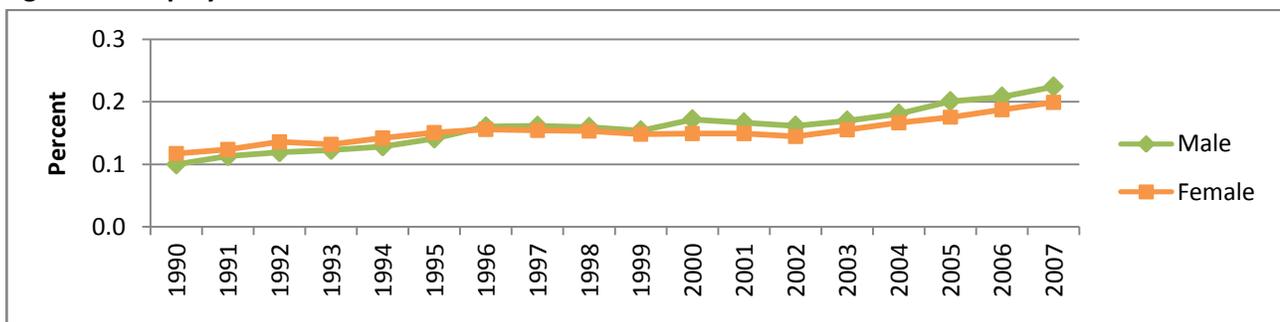


Figure 25: Employment Rates for Native American Men and Women



Figures 18 through 25 detail employment rates by gender and by race and ethnicity. There is a steady reduction in employment rates for both male and female White Americans. White American males have a consistently higher employment rate of about six to seven percentage points relative to White American women.

Both Hispanic/Latino American women and men show steady increases over time in state employment. Although Hispanic/Latino American men and women match employment rates almost exactly in the early 1990s, since 1996, Hispanic/Latino men appear to be more likely to be employed than Hispanic/Latino women, with a greater than one percentage point likelihood to be an employee of the state.

Employment rates for both African American men and women stayed consistent over time. African American women were consistently employed by approximately two percentage points more than African American men.

Both male and female Asian Pacific Islander Americans have steadily increasing employment rates over time. There is a small but steady indication that Asian Pacific Islander American women are employed more than Asian Pacific Islander American men. After a period of steady rates, both Asian American men and women have experienced increases in employment rates since 1998. There is only an extremely modest indication that Asian American men have a higher rate of employment than Asian American women. Small increases in employment for Filipino men and women have occurred at the beginning of the 1990s and since 1998. There are steadily higher rates of employment for Filipina women relative to Filipino men. Both Pacific Islander American men and women have seen increases in employment, with no apparent differences by gender.

A very small percentage of California's workforce is Native American. There are increases for both male and female Native Americans, with no large differences between them.

Rates of overall employment by race and ethnicity are very similar for men and women. Similar trends occurred for both genders, with rates declining for White Americans, staying steady for African Americans, and rising for Hispanic/Latino and Asian Pacific Islander Americans. For both genders, White Americans were the most populous, followed by Hispanic/Latino Americans, with Asian Pacific Islander Americans surpassing African Americans as the third largest segment.

Thus, these data do not indicate a reduction in public employment and employment rates for people of color and women after the passage of Proposition 209. In fact, trends indicate an increase in employment for people of color. However, persistent and increasing disparity is evident for Hispanic/Latino Americans.

OVERALL DISCUSSION

HCSJ sought to examine trends in public employment, focusing on results from 1990 until 2007, to determine the effects of the law eliminating most traditional forms of affirmative action for people of color and women of all races in California state employment. It is evident that, on the whole, White Americans and men have held a disproportionately greater number of positions than people of color and women throughout the time frame studied. Hence, the underutilization of people of color and women in California state employment persists.

After accounting for differences in the working age population, men are, on average, more likely to be employed as civil servants than women, a difference that increased during the studied years due to the rate of disparity doubling between 1993 and 1996 and being sustained for the next decade. Although women are more likely to be employed in the public rather than private sector,³⁰ the employment rate for women has varied by race. White American women, although often seen as the largest beneficiaries of affirmative action,³¹ are employed at rates lower than White American men, while women of color are employed at rates higher than men of color. Overall, factors such as family and child rearing responsibilities, occupational segregation, and discrimination may be limiting equal employment and pay for women.³²

After taking into account the working age population, it is evident that Hispanic/Latino Americans show the most disparity in public employment, a trend that has been increasing over time. This trend for Hispanic/Latino Americans also exists outside of California, as Latinos are the only ethnic group to be employed for public employment at the federal level at rates lower than in the civilian workforce³³ and are the least represented in state and local governments across the United States.³⁴ A recent federal report found that citizenship and educational attainment were the main reasons for reduced Hispanic/Latino employment in the public sector.³⁵ Relative to private sector positions, public employment positions are more likely to require citizenship and higher levels of educational attainment.

On the other hand, White Americans and African Americans are more likely to be employed by the State of California in every year since 1990. Historically, African Americans have been employed in the public sector at

³⁰ *Supra*, note 16.

³¹ Hartmann, H. (1996). "Who Has Benefited from Affirmative Action in Employment?" In Curry, G.E. (Ed.), *The Affirmative Action Debate*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

³² Sproul, K. (1999). *Women and Equality, A California Review of Women's Equity Issues in Civil Rights, Education and the Workplace*. Sacramento, CA: California Senate Office of Research. O'Neill, J. (2003). "Recent Trends and Current Sources of the Gender Wage Gap in the U.S.," Institute for the Study of Labor, 2003. Last accessed August 14, 2008 at http://www.iza.org/en/webcontent/events/transatlantic/papers_2003/oneil.pdf. Jacobsen, J.P. (2007). *The Economics of Gender, Third Edition*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

³³ U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM). (2008). *Annual Report to Congress: Federal Equal Opportunity Recruitment Program FY 2007*. Washington, D.C.: The U.S. Office of Personnel Management. Last accessed August 14, 2008 from http://www.opm.gov/About_OPM/Reports/FEORP/index.asp. See also reports from previous Fiscal Years for similar trends.

³⁴ Greene, V., Selden, S.C., & Brewer, G. Measuring Power and Presence: Bureaucratic Representation in the American States. *J Public Adm Res Theory* 11: 379-402. Yaffe, J. (1995). Government's Role in the Under Representation of Latinas in Public Employment. *The American Review of Public Administration*. (25, 4), 303-326.

³⁵ U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO). (2006). *The Federal Workforce: Additional Insights Could Enhance Efforts Related to Hispanic Representation*. GAO-06-832. Washington, D.C.: The U.S. Government Accountability Office. Last accessed August 14, 2008 from <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d06832.pdf>.

higher rates due to extensive discrimination occurring in the private sector.³⁶ Not only did the public sector become an attractive place for employment, it offered higher quality jobs with higher wages compared to positions in the private sector.³⁷ During the 20th century, the public sector historically has had systems of accountability to remedy discrimination in workforce diversity.

Asian Pacific Islander Americans, unlike other groups investigated in this report, were at near parity for civil service employment rates. At the state level, Asian Pacific Islander Americans were reported to be the second most underrepresented group, though it has been noted that they appear to have been able to penetrate the highest quality jobs.³⁸ Also, despite the notion that Asian Americans are the “model minority,” there is no evidence that Asian Americans are currently overrepresented in the total civil servants workforce.

Looking at the interaction of race and gender, trends by race were similar for both men and women, matching the overall trends. However, differences were apparent by gender within each race, as some groups (White Americans and Hispanic/Latino Americans, in recent years) have more male employment, while other groups (African Americans and Filipino Americans) have more female employment.

Regarding race and ethnicity, the evidence demonstrates that the representation of people of color and women has not dramatically increased or decreased during the ten-year period since Proposition 209 went into effect. This stands in contrast to stark workforce diversity reductions seen for people of color and women in public contracting³⁹ and in public education⁴⁰ in California. However, there are indications that disparities in employment increased in the early 1990s, coinciding with Governor Pete Wilson’s successful run for governor with a key plank being the removal of race- and gender-conscious remedies. It is possible that the rhetoric used during this campaign may have influenced hiring decisions before the passage of Proposition 209, but additional research will be necessary to determine this.

Such increases in disparity, however, are still relatively modest in comparison to the more stark effects of Proposition 209 in other domains. What accounts for the absence, in the realm of civil service employment, of negative trends seen in other domains? As previously discussed, preliminary evidence by Myers indicated that people of color and women of all races may have responded to declining availability of work in the private sector by looking for work in the public sector, including the California civil service. Public employment may have become a shelter in the storm at a time when higher education, contracting, and private employment became areas in which it was increasingly difficult to find success.

This report does not address the issues of job quality and advancement – it simply measures employment rates. The University of California system, also legally bound by Proposition 209, similarly showed no significant impact of Proposition 209 on total employment by race and sex.⁴¹ However, people of color and women, despite being

³⁶ Katz, M.B., and Stern, M.J. (2006). *One Nation Divisible: What America Was And What It Is Becoming*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation. See also Conrad, C., Whitehead, J., Mason, M., and Stewart James, eds. (2005). *African Americans in the U.S. Economy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ *Supra*, note 34.

³⁹ Discrimination Research Center and Equal Rights Advocates. (2004, June). *Proposition 209 and the Decline of Women in the Construction Trades*. See also *Supra*, 1.

⁴⁰ University of California (2007, September). “University of California Undergraduate Work Team of the Study Group on University Diversity Recommendations and Observations” Last accessed August 14, 2008 at

http://www.universityofcalifornia.edu/diversity/documents/07-diversity_report.pdf. Also *Supra*, notes 9 and 10.

⁴¹ *Supra*, note 18.

underrepresented in high level positions before Proposition 209, showed no gains in high status positions. It is possible that a similar trend is occurring in the California state civil service, with people of color and women being overrepresented in lower status positions while underrepresented in higher status positions.

Limitations

There are several limitations to these analyses. Data are available from SPB in summary only without data for individuals, eliminating the ability to analyze changes for individuals over time or accounting for individual distinctions, such as education level, and increasing the difficulty in making causal distinctions, particularly for the impact of Proposition 209. It is possible that other events occurring at the same time may have exacerbated or limited positive or negative trends. It is also difficult to account for the effect of federal laws and regulations that affect hiring employment decisions in the state.

Only state civil servants were investigated, so caution should be used in generalizing these results to other public employees, including local and federal employees located in California. Additionally, these employment rates were not compared to similarly obtained employment rates in the private sector.

Finally, this report does not examine job quality, including status and wages. Existing research suggests that people of color and women are overrepresented in lower status positions and underrepresented in higher status positions, including with the state, in the state university system, and nationally.⁴² Future HCSJ reports will examine these issues by examining trends in hiring, promotions, and wages in the State of California civil service.

⁴² *Supra*, notes 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 32, 36, and 39.

APPENDIX

Table 1. Working Age Population Rate, by Race, Ethnicity, and Gender

	Men	Women	White American	Hispanic/Latino American	African American	API American	Native American	People of color
1990	51	49	58.2	24.7	7	9.4	0.6	41.8
1991	51	49	57.3	25.2	7	9.8	0.7	42.7
1992	50.9	49.1	56.3	25.8	7	10.3	0.7	43.7
1993	50.9	49.1	55.1	26.5	7	10.7	0.7	44.9
1994	50.8	49.2	54.1	27.3	6.9	11.1	0.7	45.9
1995	50.7	49.3	53.1	27.9	6.9	11.4	0.7	46.9
1996	50.7	49.3	52.2	28.5	6.9	11.7	0.7	47.8
1997	50.6	49.4	51.5	29.1	6.8	11.9	0.7	48.5
1998	50.6	49.4	50.7	29.7	6.8	12.1	0.7	49.3
1999	50.5	49.5	50	30.2	6.8	12.4	0.7	50
2000	50.5	49.5	49.2	30.8	6.7	12.6	0.7	50.8
2001	50.6	49.4	48.5	31.3	6.6	12.8	0.7	51.5
2002	50.6	49.4	47.8	31.9	6.6	13	0.7	52.2
2003	50.6	49.4	47.1	32.5	6.5	13.2	0.7	52.9
2004	50.6	49.4	46.5	33	6.5	13.3	0.7	53.5
2005	50.7	49.3	45.8	33.5	6.5	13.5	0.7	54.2
2006	50.7	49.3	45.2	34	6.5	13.7	0.7	54.8
2007	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Table 2. Number and Rate of Civil Servants, by Gender, and Discrepancy of Male and Female Employment

	Number of Civil Servants			Civil Service Rate		Employment Discrepancy Rate	
	Total	Men	Women	Men	Women	Total	Total, w/ census
1990	181,252	94,544	86,708	52.2	47.8	4.4	2.4
1991	189,424	98,657	90,767	52.1	47.9	4.2	2.3
1992	186,170	96,597	89,573	51.9	48.1	3.8	1.9
1993	188,894	97,761	91,133	51.8	48.2	3.6	1.8
1994	193,576	100,358	93,218	51.8	48.2	3.6	2.0
1995	193,978	101,272	92,706	52.2	47.8	4.4	2.9
1996	193,404	101,752	91,652	52.6	47.4	5.2	3.8
1997	191,425	100,955	90,470	52.7	47.3	5.4	4.2
1998	193,152	101,188	91,964	52.4	47.6	4.8	3.7
1999	200,625	105,797	94,828	52.7	47.3	5.4	4.4
2000	208,433	109,702	98,731	52.6	47.4	5.2	4.2
2001	217,066	114,110	102,956	52.6	47.4	5.2	4.1
2002	219,075	114,729	104,346	52.4	47.6	4.8	3.6
2003	215,677	113,386	102,291	52.6	47.4	5.2	4.0
2004	209,575	110,664	98,911	52.8	47.2	5.6	4.3
2005	208,222	109,759	98,463	52.7	47.3	5.4	4.0
2006	210,591	111,262	99,329	52.8	47.2	5.6	4.1
2007	219,088	115,784	103,304	52.8	47.2	5.6	*

* Data not available at time of publication

Table 3. Number and Rate of White Americans and People of Color in the Civil Service, by Gender

	Number of Civil Servants		Rate of Civil Service Employment					
	White	People of color	White men	White women	Men of color	Women of color	White American	People of color
1990	112,458	68,794	33.9	28.1	18.3	19.7	62.0	38.0
1991	116,420	73,004	33.5	27.9	18.5	20.0	61.5	38.5
1992	112,513	73,657	33.0	27.5	18.9	20.7	60.4	39.6
1993	112,553	76,341	32.5	27.1	19.3	21.1	59.6	40.4
1994	114,221	79,355	32.2	26.8	19.6	21.4	59.0	41.0
1995	113,134	80,844	32.1	26.2	20.1	21.6	58.3	41.7
1996	112,130	81,274	32.2	25.8	20.4	21.6	58.0	42.0
1997	110,066	81,359	32.1	25.4	20.6	21.9	57.5	42.5
1998	109,454	83,698	31.5	25.2	20.9	22.4	56.7	43.3
1999	112,184	88,441	31.3	24.6	21.5	22.6	55.9	44.1
2000	114,756	93,677	30.8	24.3	21.8	23.1	55.1	44.9
2001	118,171	98,895	30.4	24.0	22.1	23.4	54.4	45.6
2002	117,336	101,739	29.9	23.6	22.5	24.0	53.6	46.4
2003	114,234	101,443	29.8	23.2	22.8	24.2	53.0	47.0
2004	109,702	99,873	29.6	22.7	23.2	24.5	52.3	47.7
2005	107,182	101,040	29.1	22.4	23.6	24.9	51.5	48.5
2006	106,363	104,228	28.6	21.9	24.2	25.3	50.5	49.5
2007	109,463	109,625	28.4	21.6	24.5	25.5	50.0	50.0

* Data not available at time of publication

Table 4. Rate of Civil Service Employment by Race and Ethnicity

	White American	African American	Hispanic/Latino American	API American	Native American	Other	Asian American	Filipino American	Pacific Islander American
1990	62.0	11.3	15.0	9.1	0.2	2.21	5.6	3.4	0.2
1991	61.5	11.3	15.2	9.5	0.2	2.3	5.7	3.5	0.3
1992	60.4	11.5	15.7	9.8	0.3	2.2	5.8	3.8	0.3
1993	59.6	11.5	16.3	10.1	0.3	2.2	6.0	3.9	0.3
1994	59.0	11.5	16.6	10.5	0.3	2.2	6.1	4.0	0.4
1995	58.3	11.5	17.1	10.6	0.3	2.2	6.2	4.1	0.4
1996	58.0	11.5	17.4	10.7	0.3	2.2	6.1	4.2	0.4
1997	57.5	11.5	17.7	10.8	0.3	2.2	6.2	4.2	0.4
1998	56.7	11.6	18.2	11.1	0.3	2.3	6.3	4.3	0.4
1999	55.9	11.4	18.3	11.7	0.3	2.4	6.7	4.5	0.4
2000	55.1	11.3	18.7	12.2	0.3	2.4	7.0	4.8	0.4
2001	54.4	11.1	19.0	12.7	0.3	2.4	7.2	5.1	0.4
2002	53.6	11.2	19.3	13.1	0.3	2.4	7.5	5.3	0.5
2003	53.0	11.1	19.7	13.5	0.3	2.4	7.7	5.4	0.5
2004	52.3	11.1	20.0	13.7	0.3	2.3	7.7	5.6	0.5
2005	51.5	11.1	20.4	14.1	0.4	2.4	8.0	5.7	0.5
2006	50.5	11.1	20.8	14.7	0.4	2.4	8.4	5.9	0.5
2007	50.0	11.0	21.2	15.0	0.4	2.4	8.5	5.9	0.5

Table 5. Number of Civil Service Employees by Race and Ethnicity

	White American	Hispanic/Latino American	African American	API American	Native American	Other	Asian American	Filipino American	Pacific Islander American
1990	112,458	27,235	20,522	16,609	393	4,035	10,079	6,080	450
1991	116,420	28,724	21,469	18,055	448	4,308	10,857	6,719	479
1992	112,513	29,321	21,458	18,328	475	4,075	10,766	7,085	477
1993	112,553	30,811	21,703	19,185	481	4,161	11,248	7,429	508
1994	114,221	32,156	22,214	20,204	524	4,257	11,790	7,706	708
1995	113,134	33,089	22,283	20,684	566	4,222	12,015	7,952	717
1996	112,130	33,665	22,151	20,604	611	4,243	11,838	8,047	719
1997	110,066	33,953	22,025	20,563	604	4,214	11,810	8,017	736
1998	109,454	35,123	22,315	21,294	604	4,362	12,243	8,305	746
1999	112,184	36,789	22,867	23,446	606	4,733	13,538	9,117	791
2000	114,756	38,979	23,531	25,400	669	5,098	14,531	10,013	856
2001	118,171	41,196	24,168	27,561	686	5,284	15,675	10,965	921
2002	117,336	42,358	24,462	28,905	670	5,344	16,359	11,556	990
2003	114,234	42,466	23,977	29,195	701	5,104	16,508	11,674	1,013
2004	109,702	41,961	23,295	29,012	728	4,877	16,242	11,774	996
2005	107,182	42,548	23,168	29,612	783	4,929	16,650	11,945	1,017
2006	106,363	43,903	23,431	31,049	832	5,013	17,587	12,402	1,060
2007	109,463	46,428	24,084	32,827	927	5,359	18,714	12,978	1,135

Table 6. Number of Civil Service Employees by Race and Ethnicity

	White American	Hispanic/ Latino American	African American	API American	Native American
1990	62.0	15.0	11.3	9.1	0.2
1991	61.5	15.2	11.3	9.5	0.2
1992	60.4	15.7	11.5	9.8	0.3
1993	59.6	16.3	11.5	10.1	0.3
1994	59.0	16.6	11.5	10.5	0.3
1995	58.3	17.1	11.5	10.6	0.3
1996	58.0	17.4	11.5	10.7	0.3
1997	57.5	17.7	11.5	10.8	0.3
1998	56.7	18.2	11.6	11.1	0.3
1999	55.9	18.3	11.4	11.7	0.3
2000	55.1	18.7	11.3	12.2	0.3
2001	54.4	19.0	11.1	12.7	0.3
2002	53.6	19.3	11.2	13.1	0.3
2003	53.0	19.7	11.1	13.5	0.3
2004	52.3	20.0	11.1	13.7	0.3
2005	51.5	20.4	11.1	14.1	0.4
2006	50.5	20.8	11.1	14.7	0.4
2007	50.0	21.2	11.0	15.0	0.4

* Data not available at time of publication

Table 7. Percentage Representation in the Civil Service Workforce Relative to Working Age Population

	White American	Hispanic/Latino American	African American	API American	Native American
1990	3.8	-9.7	4.3	-0.3	-0.4
1991	4.2	-10.0	4.3	-0.3	-0.5
1992	4.1	-10.1	4.5	-0.5	-0.4
1993	4.5	-10.2	4.5	-0.6	-0.4
1994	4.9	-10.7	4.6	-0.6	-0.4
1995	5.2	-10.8	4.6	-0.8	-0.4
1996	5.8	-11.1	4.6	-1.0	-0.4
1997	6.0	-11.4	4.7	-1.1	-0.4
1998	6.0	-11.5	4.8	-1.0	-0.4
1999	5.9	-11.9	4.6	-0.7	-0.4
2000	5.9	-12.1	4.6	-0.4	-0.4
2001	5.9	-12.3	4.5	-0.1	-0.4
2002	5.8	-12.6	4.6	0.1	-0.4
2003	5.9	-12.8	4.6	0.3	-0.4
2004	5.8	-13.0	4.6	0.4	-0.4
2005	5.7	-13.1	4.6	0.6	-0.3
2006	5.3	-13.2	4.6	1.0	-0.3
2007	*	*	*	*	*

* Data not available at time of publication

Note: Higher numbers indicate overrepresentation, lower numbers indicate underrepresentation

Table 8. Percentage Representation in the Civil Service Workforce by Gender and Race

	White American		Hispanic/Latino American		African American		Asian Pacific Islander American		Asian American		Filipino American		Pacific Islander American		Native American	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
1990	33.9	28.1	7.6	7.4	4.9	6.4	4.3	4.8	2.9	2.7	1.3	2.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
1991	33.5	27.9	7.6	7.5	4.9	6.4	4.5	5.0	3.0	2.7	1.4	2.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
1992	33.0	27.5	7.9	7.9	4.9	6.6	4.7	5.2	3.1	2.7	1.5	2.3	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
1993	32.5	27.1	8.1	8.2	4.9	6.6	4.8	5.3	3.1	2.8	1.6	2.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
1994	32.2	26.8	8.3	8.3	4.9	6.6	5.0	5.5	3.2	2.9	1.6	2.4	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
1995	32.1	26.2	8.6	8.4	4.9	6.6	5.1	5.6	3.2	2.9	1.6	2.5	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2
1996	32.2	25.8	8.9	8.5	4.9	6.5	5.1	5.6	3.2	2.9	1.7	2.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
1997	32.1	25.4	9.1	8.6	4.9	6.6	5.1	5.6	3.2	3.0	1.7	2.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
1998	31.5	25.2	9.3	8.9	4.9	6.7	5.2	5.8	3.3	3.1	1.8	2.5	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
1999	31.3	24.6	9.4	8.9	4.8	6.6	5.7	6.0	3.6	3.2	1.9	2.6	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
2000	30.8	24.3	9.6	9.1	4.7	6.5	5.9	6.3	3.7	3.3	2.0	2.8	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
2001	30.4	24.0	9.8	9.2	4.7	6.5	6.1	6.6	3.8	3.4	2.1	3.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
2002	29.9	23.6	10.0	9.4	4.7	6.5	6.3	6.9	3.9	3.6	2.1	3.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1
2003	29.8	23.2	10.2	9.5	4.7	6.4	6.4	7.1	4.0	3.7	2.2	3.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
2004	29.6	22.7	10.4	9.6	4.7	6.4	6.5	7.3	4.0	3.7	2.3	3.3	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
2005	29.1	22.4	10.7	9.8	4.7	6.5	6.7	7.5	4.1	3.8	2.3	3.4	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2
2006	28.6	21.9	11.0	9.9	4.7	6.4	7.0	7.8	4.3	4.0	2.4	3.5	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2
2007	28.4	21.6	11.2	10.0	4.6	6.4	7.1	7.9	4.4	4.1	2.4	3.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2

NOTES

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