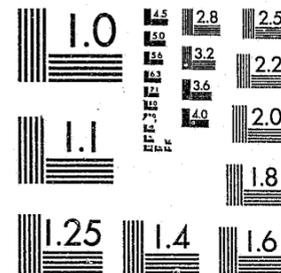


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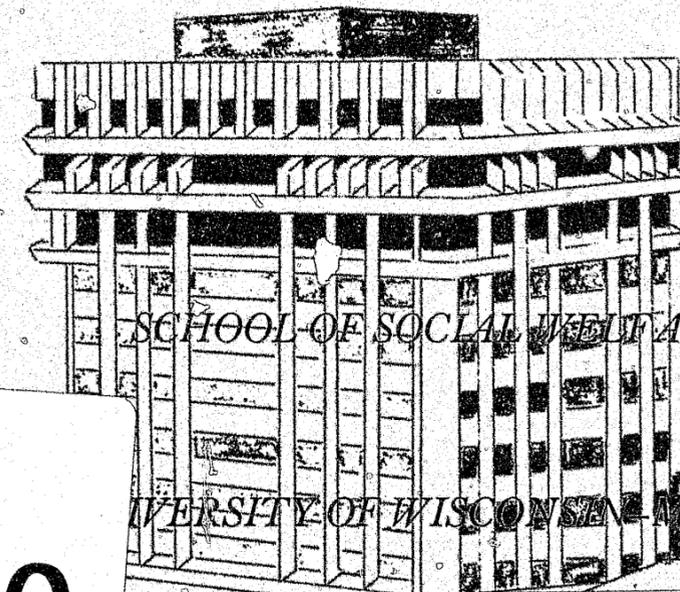
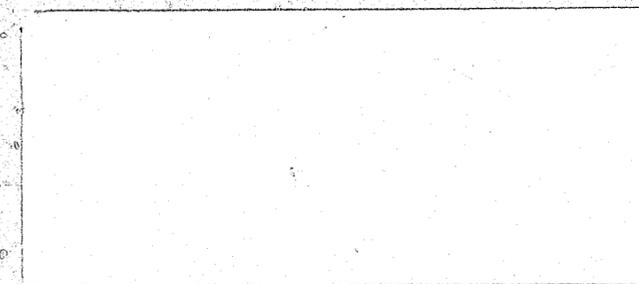
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ANALYSIS OF IMPEDIMENTS TO  
HIRING MINORITIES IN  
CRIMINAL JUSTICE AGENCIES

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December 1982

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ACQUISITIONS

Preface

This report is a summary and analysis of information gathered during the summer of 1981 as the result of site visits to several criminal justice agencies in the United States. Personnel involved in conducting the site visits include John Conley, Chris Dunning, Ellen Hochstedler, Carl Pope, and James Sprowls of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee; John Oliver of the State University of New York-Albany; and Robert Beasley and James McGhee of the Urban League.

## Introduction

This analytic report represents a synthesis of information gathered during site visits conducted between May and August 1981 to fifteen police agencies and four corrections agencies in various parts of the country (see Hochstedler et al., 1982). The aim of this report is two-fold: 1) to provide a general summary of the information gathered on site, and 2) to attempt to identify intra- or extra- agency factors that appear to play key roles in advancing or impeding the goals of affirmative action.

### THE STUDY

Affirmative action, for the purposes of this study, was defined as specific and identifiable measures taken with the expected result of increasing the proportionate representation of specific, identifiable classes of employees in a particular agency's workforce. Given that the study was concerned with criminal justice agencies and personnel, the research focused only on affirmative action within certain broadly-defined job categories typical of criminal justice work. For police agencies, the study was generally limited to sworn police officers (i.e., it excluded nonsworn dispatchers, clerical help, "meter maids," etc.), and in some cases was further limited to only those involved in typical law-enforcement duties. For example, one state patrol agency employed sworn personnel in licensing functions, and such job categories were excluded from examination and analysis on the grounds that they do not represent typical police functions. Except for the agencies that were probation departments only, the corrections agencies employed personnel in a wide array of positions, only a few of which

are necessarily correctional positions. Of particular interest in this study were the job categories that encompassed the positions of probation and parole agent, institutional caseworker, and prison guard. Affirmative action "success" was defined as that point at which the minority representation in the agency (ideally, at any given level or for any given job classification) matched the minority representation in the general available workforce at large in the respective communities.

As first planned, one of the aims of this research project was (a) to identify the extent to which minorities had been and still were underrepresented in particular job categories in particular agencies, (b) to identify and describe the efforts, techniques, or strategies which had been employed to meet the goals of affirmative action, and (c) to assess the relative success of the efforts undertaken. It readily became apparent that such a neat examination of cause and effect was not possible due to the absence of baseline and attrition data and the amorphous nature of many of the affirmative action techniques and strategies employed. On the other hand, the experiences of the research staff in the field suggest strongly that had complete, accurate, and precise data been available, data analysis alone would have painted a vague and misleading picture of affirmative action in the nineteen criminal justice agencies studied. As is often the case with the examination of social problems, the search for cause and effect was impeded not only due to the inability to control extraneous variables, but also to the absence of essential data.

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### The Sample

The reader of this report is cautioned to bear in mind that the nineteen criminal justice agencies upon which this report is based are not representative of all criminal justice agencies or any particular subset thereof. In fact, it is probably most accurate to assume that this sample is a biased one for the simple reason that access to agency information and permission to conduct a site visit depended on the approval of the chief administrator of the agency. Some agencies originally approached refused to grant permission; some agencies offered reasons for denial while others refused to discuss why the research was not a welcome intrusion. Some agencies first granted permission and later withdrew it. A majority of the agencies initially contacted, however, granted permission and followed through with the project. Nonetheless, the nineteen agencies used as the basis of this report can be taken, at best, only to represent those agencies with affirmative action programs which were willing to grant permission for the site visits.

Even within the sample of nineteen agencies there was a considerable degree of variation with respect to cooperation in releasing data to the research project. Some agencies ignored the numerous written and verbal pleas for additional information or clarification of points subsequent to the site visits. Others extended unending cooperation, even reformatting existing institutional records to provide exactly the information in exactly the form it was requested. Thus, even within the sample of nineteen, the agencies are not equally represented in the summary of information due to the absence of data in some cases.

Given the limits of personnel, time, and money, and the necessity of being granted permission, only a few sites could be selected for study and therefore it was not possible to select the agencies in a manner whereby even the key variables could be standardized. Instead, a "smattering" of agencies was the aim of the selection procedures. Particular care was taken to insure that there was variation in the size of the agencies, the proportion of minority and female employees, region of country, type of agency, and type of affirmative action program. In a few cases, in the interests of ease of comparison, multiple agencies from a single geographic jurisdiction were selected for the study. The final sample included agencies from Alabama, California, Connecticut, Florida, Iowa, Minnesota, New Jersey, North Carolina, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Virginia. Corrections agencies included agencies that were solely probation departments as well as those comprised of institutions and parole departments. The size of the corrections agencies ranged from 214 to 3025 employees, with minority representation ranging between 9 and 43 percent of the employee workforce. Police agencies included city police departments, sheriff's departments, and state patrols. The employee workforce in the police agencies ranged from a low of 177 to a high of 2516, with minority representation ranging between one percent and 45 percent.

The sample included three agencies that were or had been under some form of Federal, court-enforceable affirmative action order or agreement, with another five agencies under some local or State administrative order. In addition, most of the remaining agencies, by virtue of being a governmental agency, were part of a general plan of affirmative action mandated by

legislative action. At the time of the study, all but two of the nineteen agencies claimed to have an affirmative action program in place; one had a program plan awaiting approval, the second had no program or plan. All agencies with an affirmative action program viewed both females and Blacks as targets of the program, although the majority of agencies named other minority groups -- Hispanic, Asian, Native American -- as targets, too. The bulk of the agencies had programs ostensibly aimed at recruitment, selection, retention, and promotion. A few agencies focused only on either recruitment or recruitment and selection. The majority of the agencies in the sample had received some kind of external -- federal, state or local -- funding for the program.

#### Methods of Data Collection

Criminal justice agencies were initially contacted by mail in early 1981 and asked to supply some basic information for the research project. This first mailed survey questionnaire was sent to more than 200 agencies nationwide. After two subsequent mailings to the nonresponding agencies, a final response rate of 70 percent was established and no further attempts were made to elicit information from the uncooperative agencies. The mailed survey questionnaire was a brief one, asking about the size and minority composition of the agency's workforce, and the affirmative action program if one existed (see Appendix A). The information returned as a result of this inquiry established the pool from which the sample of nineteen was selected.

After permission to conduct the site visit was obtained, usually two (in some cases three, and in some cases one) research staff travelled to the site to conduct interviews and gather institutional data. In each agency the chief

administrator or a designee was interviewed (see Appendix B), as was the individual most immediately and directly responsible for affirmative action matters (see Appendix C). These interviews consisted of standardized, structured, and mostly open-ended questions concerning affirmative action philosophy and strategy generally, and the affirmative action efforts and perceived effects in the particular agency.

The individual in charge of personnel selection for each agency was interviewed, as well. In some cases this individual was also the affirmative action officer; in other cases this party was employed in a separate agency, such as state or city civil service. These interviews (see Appendix D) were designed to glean only technical information about the policies, standards, and techniques used in the recruitment, selection, retention, and promotion processes. Some agencies had codified procedure to the extent they could provide a written description of the entire process. Other agencies were in the process of changing procedures, expected changes in the immediate future, or were using temporary procedures pending court decisions. The information used in this summary report reflects the personnel procedures in use in the summer of 1981.

In addition to being questioned about the specific recruitment, selection, retention, and promotion policies and procedures, the individual in charge of personnel was asked to furnish institutional data that would enable the project staff to determine the minority composition of the workforce over time and by job category, as well as data on attrition by minorities in the selection, retention, and promotion processes. In most instances this information was not readily available and was mailed to the project office

after the site visit was completed. In a few cases, the agency either could not or would not provide any such data; most of the agencies could not furnish all of the information with the specificity and detail requested.

At each agency the project staff attempted to interview eight "target" personnel, four minority employees and four female employees. In some jurisdictions where there were substantial numbers of two distinct groups of minorities, the number of total target interviews was expanded by one, resulting in three categories of minority interviewees, consisting of three individuals in each category. On the other hand, in some jurisdictions there were so few female or minority employees available for interviewing that the quota could not be met. A range in length of service of employee interviewed was sought in the hope of maximizing variation in perspective on the part of the employee, but in some jurisdictions, there were no minorities and women who had served for relatively long periods of time. As with the sample of agencies, the sample of target personnel interviewed cannot be viewed as representative. Interviews were conducted only with the express permission of the interviewee, although refusal to be interviewed was very rare. The agency selected and scheduled the target interviewees, but the observations of the project staff while onsite resulted in a conclusion that the sample interviewed was one based on scheduling convenience in most instances. The target interviews (see Appendix E) consisted of structured, standard, open-ended questions designed to elicit the individual's opinions about the philosophy and effects of affirmative action in general and in the agency in particular.

## THE FINDINGS.

### Current and Historical Data

As noted above, the limitations of missing data greatly hampered a more precise and complete analysis of the effect of affirmative action efforts. The lack of data was a common problem and worth noting in its own right. The project staff requested the following sets of information:

1. Number of employees in agency workforce in 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980 by race and sex
2. Number of employees in agency workforce in 1981 by race, sex, and rank or job category
3. Number of employees in leadership and professional positions in agency workforce in 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980 by race and sex
4. Job assignments for 1981 by sex and race
5. Attrition data (most recent) by sex and race for selection process and first year of employment

It was rare that an agency was able and willing to provide all such information. (While the project staff has no sure method of verification, in almost all cases the researchers who conducted the site visits were under the impression that lack of data was, in fact, the real problem, not lack of cooperation on the part of the agency.) Most agencies could and did provide portions of the requested information, such as total counts of minorities for the years 1970 and 1975, or the current year's (1981) minority and sexual composition of the workforce by job category (see Tables 1 and 2).

Project staff also requested information on attrition by minorities and females in the selection process. Such data is, of course, essential for assessing the impact of changing any particular selection criterion or

requirement. Very few agencies could provide such data. Several of the agencies included in the sample didn't even have access to such information; it was held in confidence by the city or state civil service. In other cases, the agency did not keep such information, or the data weren't made available to the project researchers.

Attempts to learn the history of minority and female employment in the agencies were thwarted by lack of recorded data, as well. In some agencies the minority and female employment "history" was so recent that the lack of institutional records was not a problem. This was particularly true for the history of females employed as police officers; typically, females were first deployed as sworn officers sometime between 1968 and 1975. On the other hand, for many agencies minority employment history was a hazy memory in the mind of an older employee who could speak about the period subsequent to the time he or she joined the department, but not about anything prior to that time. Often information about minority employment history was discovered fortuitously; a picture of the 1922 graduating recruit class, for example, would show three Black faces among the crowd. Some agencies in the sample were in fact very "young" agencies, without much "history" of employment practices. Where cities and counties had merged governments or even just police services, previous institutional history was lost to the current agency. In short, only bits and pieces of information concerning the history of minority and female employment were available, and the accuracy of what was popularly believed could not be verified. Such scant historical information was incapable of helping to explain the current state of minority and female employment in any particular agency.

Given what was learned from the target interviewees and other staff who were queried, there was not an obvious relationship between the current level of acceptance of minorities and females and either the way they had been deployed in the past or how long they had been represented in the agency workforce. In other words, there were agencies where minorities had long been employed in the workforce, yet racial tensions still ran high and morale appeared undermined. Likewise, agencies where minorities and females were relative newcomers showed evidence of serious transition pains and peer resistance, as well. Conversely, some agencies appeared to be enjoying relative calm in the face of recent affirmative action and change.

#### The Programs

In response to the initial mailed questionnaire, all but one of the nineteen agencies responded that they operated pursuant to an affirmative action program. (The one agency that claimed to have no program apparently did not need one. In 1981 both minorities and females were well represented at all levels, and their proportionate representation in the agency equaled their representation in the workforce at large. However, local pressure brought to bear in 1975 had resulted in an agreement to establish a hiring goal of 60 percent Black and 40 percent white, which in turn, resulted in a marked increase in minority representation in the department.) Upon closer inspection, it became evident that the word "plan" was probably more descriptive of the situation than was the word "program." Rather than programs, which implies a distinct set of related policies and services, the agencies subscribed to what could better be termed a redefinition of

emphasis. Most of the affirmative action measures were adopted on an ad hoc, and as recognized, basis as part of a reassessment of continuous agency functions. The new measures reflected a shift in what was recognized by the agency as equitable, desirable, and necessary, although in many cases this shift was forced on the agency. Most agencies, as governmental units, subscribed to an official affirmative action plan. The typical situation was that the legislature set goals, timetables, and enforcement provisions (if any), and perhaps mandated that a specific individual in each governmental unit be given formal responsibility for overseeing affirmative action matters. Each governmental unit, then, was typically obliged to draw up a formal "plan" which specified the goals and timetables for that unit, and conformed to the overall plan of the legislature. An annual progress report from each unit was often required as well.

Affirmative action is basically an attempt to precipitate lasting change. When change occurs there is a process or path of change and there is a locus of change. The measures undertaken by the agencies in their efforts to realize the goals of affirmative action can be classified along those two dimensions of change, process and locus, as depicted in Table 3. One pole of the process dimension is labelled active and the other is labelled passive, although all efforts on this continuum are subsumed under the rubric of "affirmative action." The passive process is one which removes barriers to employment of minorities and females who themselves provide the initial impetus to establish the employer-employee relationship. The active process is one which seeks to directly effect or produce the desired result by selectively

establishing that relationship through purposeful action on the part of the organization. In an affirmative action setting, an active process entails exclusive or differential selection. The use of the terms passive and active are not meant to describe any of the actors in the situation, but rather the method or process of change.

The second dimension along which affirmative action efforts can be placed is one describing the locus of the change. Given the interface of potential employers and potential employees, there are two logical points on this dimension, organizations and individuals. The traditional methods of recruitment focus on the individual as the locus of change. The essence of the recruitment function is to entice. Recruitment aims to develop or manipulate a desire in the individual to become an employee or, at the least, to locate those who already harbor such a desire. Successful recruitment requires a willingness on the part of the individual to be enticed. Given the fodder of recruitment, selection is a screening or rejecting process. The locus of change is the organization; selection marks a change from potential employer to actual employer. Successful selection requires a willingness on the part of the organization to select.

Table 3 portrays the typology of affirmative action efforts observed in the agencies, as defined by the two dimensions of process and locus. This typology reflects a distillation of empirical observations rather than a preconceived model to which the data were fitted; in other words, this typology emerged from rather than guided the research. Cells I and II represent the recruitment phase where the locus of change is the individual. The passive processes used in recruitment include refocused advertising and

efforts to present an integrated image. All agencies included in the sample took steps such as these in an effort to promote the goals of affirmative action. Cell II represents the active process of recruitment and includes things such as face-to-face intensive recruitment and intern or cadet programs. These active techniques are aimed at ferreting out qualified minorities and females and attempting to convince them to apply for employment. Quite a few of the agencies in the study had made such active recruitment attempts.

Cells III and IV represent the selection phase, where the locus of change is the organization. Passive processes (Cell III) include redesigning the selection procedures to eliminate unnecessary criteria that may be working systematically to discriminate against certain groups of applicants. Examples of this sort of measure include the elimination of rigid height and weight requirements, the elimination of portions of the physical agility test such as chin-ups, and a change in the weight or size of revolver with which the applicant must qualify as a marksman. Other examples of efforts taken which fall into this category are changes in the content of the written examination, or the relaxation of very strict regulations requiring automatic disqualification for misdemeanor convictions. The common denominator of these efforts is that they all reflect a change on the part of the agency to eliminate barriers to the selection of minorities and females for employment.

Cell IV is the ultimate position in affirmative action. It is an active process in that it entails conscious, purposeful differentiation with respect to minorities and females. It represents what many have argued constitutes reverse discrimination. Court decisions at all levels, however, are generally

consistent in their approval of quota hiring, so long as the selection criteria used are standard across all groups. Such quota systems have been interpreted as being tolerable, especially for short periods of time, because the results are in the public interest (see Dunning, 1982). An example of this sort of measure would be a commitment to hire two minorities and one female for every five new hires until parity is achieved with respect to the general workforce. This kind of effort was the least common among the agencies, yet 7 of the 19 agencies had adopted, at least for a short time, such a position sometime in the five-year period between 1976 and 1981. This position was adopted most often as the result of court action or threatened court action.

Whether the affirmative action measures had the support of external funds, whether they included expensive and spectacular gestures, and whether staff had been exclusively assigned to oversee affirmative action matters appeared to have no bearing on either the progress toward affirmative action goals or the nature of the sentiment regarding affirmative action in the agency. It is clear from this description of the affirmative action efforts that much of it required no special funding. Most of the measures taken to recruit and select minorities and females for employment did not differ in kind from those used to recruit and select generally. Advertisement and recruiting missions existed before affirmative action; it was only the target that changed. Reassessment of selection criteria was (or at least should have been) an ongoing process. Selection was certainly a necessary concomitant of employment; only the desired result was redefined. Neither money nor, within reasonable limits, manpower emerged as the key to effective movement toward the goals of affirmative action.

### Personnel Recruitment and Selection

Of primary interest to the project were the methods used by the agencies to recruit and select personnel. The premise behind the interest was that it might be possible to identify particular components of the recruitment or selection procedures that operated systematically to bar minorities and females from employment. Once identified, alternatives could be recommended to remedy the situation.

Recruitment. At a minimum, the corrections and police agencies used traditional (Cell I type) recruitment techniques aimed at both minority and non-minority audiences. Corrections agencies in the study generally did not report activities that went beyond the kind of activity represented in Cell I of Table 3; most corrections agencies merely announced position openings and did no more. Announcements of corrections and police job openings were sent to other government units, posted on bulletin boards and published in job bulletins. Printed fliers were often sent to recognized minority groups and churches, and also to colleges with a large minority student body. Both corrections and police agencies commonly used radio and newspaper ads aimed at both the white and minority audiences. Television spots were used with less frequency.

Police agencies were generally more active in recruitment and usually extended their efforts past the point of job announcements to include activities of the Cell II variety in Table 3. Police agencies usually had recruiting officers or teams who engaged in face-to-face contact with potential recruits. Some departments in the study had ad hoc recruiting teams, others had a continuous recruiting operation. These teams usually

included minority and female officers. College campuses and military bases were the common recruiting grounds. Often these teams circulated in the neighborhoods and attended neighborhood functions, seeking to build rapport and establish networks which, it was hoped, would interest minorities in the police job.

Several of the police agencies in the sample had at one time or another engaged in relatively spectacular and intensive recruiting missions aimed particularly at potential minority recruits. A few of the agencies had sponsored forays to distant cities or colleges in the hope of locating qualified minorities and convincing them to relocate. Some of these expeditions were aimed at minority police officers who had been laid-off in other cities. Invariably these missions were described as disappointing. Unusually large amounts of money, time, and effort were invested in these attempts, but most often the result was no or a very small increase in the number of minority officers. The sentiment expressed most often was that such efforts were not worth the resources they consumed.

Intern or cadet programs, another example of Cell II type activities, were employed by a couple of the police agencies as recruitment techniques. These programs were designed to involve young people, usually high school students in the daily operations of the police agency and groom them for a police career. One of these programs had ended because of funding cuts, but the police agency staff spoke favorably of the promise it had held. A second agency still had its cadet program and viewed it as their greatest single hope for increasing minority representation on the force; two-thirds of the members of that cadet class were either minority or female. In both of the agencies

with cadet programs, the minority community was seen as being negatively disposed toward law-enforcement and recruitment was purported to be severely frustrated by these attitudes. The cadet programs were seen as a means to counter and perhaps neutralize the peer pressure to disregard policing as a viable career option.

That police agencies engaged in more intensive and extensive recruitment efforts than did corrections agencies may be a reflection of accurately perceived need. Indeed, for police agencies that were not approaching their affirmative action goal for minority and/or female officers, the standard explanation offered was an inability to effectively recruit. On the other hand, corrections agencies, all of which were meeting their respective minority affirmative action goals, had no parallel concerns about, and no apparent need for, extensive recruitment efforts.

Selection. While selection procedures did vary, they tended to be comprised of the same basic components in all agencies. In most, but not all, agencies the selection criteria and procedures were comprised of the following seven basic components: 1) minimum educational requirements; 2) written exam; 3) oral interview; 4) psychological evaluation; 5) background investigation; 6) physical agility test; and 7) good health requirements. In addition, some agencies maintained dual eligibility lists. The agencies each used slightly different procedures, standards varied between agencies, and the components carried different weights in the final hiring decision depending on the agency. One or another component may have been completely absent from the process in a particular agency; for example, a few agencies had no minimum educational requirements, a few used no psychological evaluation. However,

the similarities in the selection procedures far outweighed the differences. (For a complete description of each agency's selection procedure, see Hochstedler et al., 1982).

The data that were made available to the research project, as scant as it was, generally indicated that minorities and females did not have obvious differential attrition rates for the various components of the selection process. In fact, some agencies reported that attrition rates were greater for non-minority males than for either minorities or females. These data, however, pertained to only a single year. Therefore, another approach was used to determine whether certain selection points or procedures were associated with a paucity of minorities or females on the police force. The statistical associations that were uncovered must be interpreted with caution. The data used here cannot afford causal implications. A statistical association may suggest a cause and effect relationship, but more complete data than were available for this study are necessary before a causal relationship could be inferred with any confidence.

Although the data were far from ideally suited for this sort of test, especially with regard to the small size of the sample, an attempt was made with a relatively sophisticated statistical procedure -- discriminant function -- to analyze empirically the effects of the selection components and their respective importance in the selection decision on the representation of minorities and females in the agency. For each agency the minority representation goal was set equal to the proportion of minorities in that jurisdiction, either county (for city and county agencies) or state. The agencies were then divided into two groups: (1) those within 75 percent of

their minority representation goal, the "success" group, and (2) those that fell short of 75 percent of their respective goals. While the female representation goal could have arguably been set at 40 percent, the percentage of adult females in the full-time workforce at large (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1981:381), none of the nineteen agencies were approaching a workforce so comprised. For pragmatic reasons, then, the agencies were divided into two groups with respect to female representation: (1) those with less than 5 percent of the force comprised of females, and (2) those with at least 1 female in every 20 employees in the job categories examined. Variables were created to represent the importance of each of the seven basic selection components in establishing the final eligibility ranking. For those components capable of resulting in automatic disqualification of an applicant, the variables were coded to reflect the stringency of the standard. The statistical procedure of discriminant analysis (Nie et al., 1975:434-462) is designed to identify which variable or set of variables correlates with each of the two groups of agencies, those approaching their affirmative action goal and those falling far short. The analysis revealed that the seven basic selection components, neither singly nor in sets, could systematically discriminate between the two groups of agencies. In other words, whether or not an agency was nearing its numerical affirmative action goal did not appear to be related to either the stringency of standards employed or the weight of the particular selection component in the final selection decision. Subjective scrutiny of the selection procedures resulted in a similar conclusion. No particular set of components or procedures emerged as synonymous with affirmative action success or failure.

Because the more sophisticated technique of discriminant function analysis bore no fruit, an elementary statistical technique, better suited to the data, was employed. Using Yule's Q as the measure of association (Loether and McTavish, 1974:201-202), the use of a physical agility test as a determinant of selection was discovered to be associated (.77) with lesser representation of females in the agency (see Table 4). No other single component in the set of seven basic components appeared to be associated with affirmative action success in the sample of 19 agencies.

Consideration of variables other than the seven basic components used in the selection process revealed more useful information. Two perfect associations were noted (Loether and McTavish, 1974:199-201), one each between agency type (police or corrections) and the two affirmative action success measures (75 percent or better of the minority goal, and female representation at a level of 5 percent or better). These perfect associations resulted from the fact that all four of the corrections agencies in the sample were classified as "successful" in terms of minority and female affirmative action goals. Given this, further analysis considered police agencies and corrections agencies separately.

Police agencies. Considering only police agencies, several actual and suspected associations between affirmative action "success" and selection policies merit mention. First and most importantly is the association between a commitment to a hiring quota for minorities -- the most extreme of affirmative action efforts noted in the typology -- and the proportionate representation of minorities in the agency. Five of the police agencies in the study had made a commitment, either the result of a court order or part of

a voluntary agreement, to hiring a disproportionately large number of minorities until a specified goal or point in time was reached. Of these five agencies all but one was nearing or had already surpassed its minority affirmative action goal (see Table 5). Of the ten agencies that had not made such a hiring commitment, only one had attained a satisfactory level of minority representation on its force. The statistical association (Yule's Q) between hiring quota and achieving at least 75 percent of the affirmative action goal is .95, a very strong association. It should be further noted that one agency had made, as the result of a pending court order, a commitment to consider for hire an inordinate number of minority candidates, specifically one of every three considered. This agency had only one-third of the minorities on its force that one would expect given the number of minorities in the population. Given these data, whether commitment to consider is as effective as commitment to hire cannot be determined with certainty. Common sense suggests that commitment to consider would have less impact, and these data, however, do not refute that assumption.

As was found to be the case for the total sample of nineteen agencies, no single component of the seven common selection components signaled success or failure for police agency's affirmative action efforts. A number of components were suspected by both research staff and agency personnel of posing a real threat to affirmative action goals, but for each suspect component a case of successful affirmative action was found, suggesting that such component was not necessarily an impediment to affirmative action goals. Beyond that categorical statement, not much can be said with certainty due to

the small sample studied. It is possible that the suspected components (or any other factor for that matter) would be shown in a larger sample to associate with affirmative action failure.

High educational requirements were often mentioned as probable impediments to affirmative action. The notion expressed was that a minority individual with an associate's degree or more would be unlikely to settle for a police job. Five police agencies required more than a high school diploma for selection. Only one agency in the sample required a B.A. degree for hire, and in fact, that one agency was falling far short of its minority goal. In addition, three agencies requiring an associate's degree were not nearing their goals. However, one other agency requiring an associate's degree was meeting its minority goal. The success of this agency might be attributable to a hiring quota employed by that agency, and which was not employed by the other agencies requiring an associate's degree or better for hire. A Yule's Q of .06, a negligible association, describes the association between achieving minority affirmative action goals and using an educational requirement of a high school diploma or less (see Table 6). The inescapable suggestion is, however, that a hiring quota is capable of curing any possible affirmative action impediment posed by a relatively high educational requirement at entrance.

An extensive background investigation and accompanying stringent criteria were suspected of having a differential impact on minority candidates, based on the popular but unsubstantiated belief that more minority applicants would be weeded out if drug use or felony convictions constituted automatic disqualification. Eleven of the fifteen police agencies used criteria at

least this stringent. A few agencies used even more stringent criteria, including credit history. However, the police agency with the most stringent standards and the most thorough investigation was meeting its minority affirmative action goal. Again, this particular agency operated pursuant to a hiring quota. Considering the fifteen police agencies, a modest Yule's Q (-.33) in the unexpected direction was found to exist between stringency of background standards and affirmative action success (see Table 7).

Where it was used in the selection procedures, the physical agility test was often mentioned as a suspected component partially affecting female candidates. Four of the fifteen police agencies did not use such a test in the selection procedure. Of the other 11 agencies every one of them had altered its test in an effort aimed to remove unnecessary barriers to female applicants. Several agencies reported allowing retests for those who failed. Only one agency used the physical agility score as a partial determinant of the final rank on the eligibility list; that agency also reported that only 3 percent of its officers were female. As anticipated, a positive association ( $Q = .77$ ) was found between those agencies having a female contingent accounting for at least 5 percent of the workforce and those agencies not requiring a physical agility test prior to hire (see Table 8). This association is particularly suspected of spuriousness because all police agencies eventually subject all new hires to some kind of physical agility training and testing. It should be noted in this regard that the success measure used here is not the percent of females hired, but the percent on the force, which directly challenges the association noted. It is more likely

that some other factor such as the extent of the agency's overall affirmative action efforts, affects both the proportion of females on the force and the existence of an agility test in the selection process.

Corrections agencies. All four of the corrections agencies in the study were either very close to attaining or had already surpassed their numerical minority goal by the summer of 1981. Three of the four had accomplished this without adopting a hiring quota. While the corrections agencies did not exhibit the number of female employees one would find in the workforce at large, they far surpassed the police agencies in their employment of females. Women comprised between 16 and 21 percent of the corrections employee workforce in three of the four agencies; in the fourth agency women comprised only 6 percent of the department. Women were still barred by law from some corrections positions, which served to limit their employment and advancement, a problem not shared by police agencies.

#### Perceptions of Staff and Target

The research staff encountered very few interviewees, either staff or line, who were not quick to state their belief that affirmative action in the department had come about as the result of actual or threatened court action or some other kind of mandate imposed from without. Not surprisingly, staff and target personnel expressed a variety of perceptions concerning affirmative action efforts. Perspectives varied not only between, but within, agencies.

Staff, on the one hand, generally tended to be supportive of the agency's affirmative action efforts. This was expected as staff was interviewed in the capacity of spokesperson for the agency and the current policies. Where

affirmative action goals were yet distant, the staff tended to describe the problem as one of recruitment. Most expressed the belief that the agency was expending all reasonable effort and that progress toward affirmative action goals depended on the development of the requisite career interest on the part of the target population. Many pointed to external factors, such as private sector competition, gender stereotypes, or a history of police oppression of minorities, as the real impediments to realizing affirmative action goals.

On the other hand, with notable exceptions, most target interviewees, i.e., minority and/or female employees, were skeptical of the sincerity of the efforts and impatient with what was generally seen as very slow progress. Most, however, also admitted that they were at a loss for remedies or suggestions for speeding the progress. Besides the easy criticism the target interviewees offered, the most noteworthy discovery to emerge from these interviews was the lack of knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of affirmative action matters, both in the agency and in general. Many of those interviewed had no idea whether the agency had an affirmative action plan, program or goal, or what efforts if any had been undertaken. Many could not identify the staff person in charge of such matters. To several the subject seemed to be a painful one. Affirmative action seemed to carry a stigma from which many of those who were meant to be the beneficiaries wished to disassociate themselves. It appeared that affirmative action had been widely interpreted to mean that those who did not qualify were nonetheless hired. The suspicion that standards had been lowered, even dangerously so, was pervasive. Where a scoring system on an exam had been changed, it was taken to be a lowering of standards. Where a physical agility test had been altered

so that chin-ups and scaling a 6-foot wall were replaced with a dummy drag and a tire change, standards were seen as lowered. Where the applicant had a choice of service revolvers with which to qualify as marksman, target personnel grumbled that standards had been lowered. Affirmative action, it seemed, had become synonymous with the abandonment of standards. In one agency it was rumored that recruits could no longer read or write.

The ignorance and misunderstanding concerning affirmative action is undoubtedly an impediment in and of itself. Line personnel fear its dire effects, while the targets of the efforts are stigmatized and demoralized. The stigma attached to affirmative action caused many target personnel to wish it would wither away.

#### The Intangible Environment

To overlook the organization's atmosphere of racial and sexual prejudice would be to miss much of the point in any assessment of affirmative action matters. At the same time, the quality of the organization's atmosphere is necessarily a subjective factor, one which is recognized and felt quite differently by different individuals. The different members of the research staff were, however, similarly impressed with the variation between departments in the attitudes and sentiments concerning affirmative action, and with the degree to which the attitudinal atmosphere seemed to affect the morale of the personnel and the momentum of the affirmative action efforts.

The acceptance of the philosophy of affirmative action, and to a greater extent the acceptance of the individual targets of affirmative action is undoubtedly a key component of affirmative action success. The observations

of the research staff while on site indicated that in each agency the sentiments of the leadership were inferred, correctly or not, and widely reflected in the lower echelons of the agency. In agencies where the individual responsible for affirmative action matters was given both real and symbolic support from the administrative leadership, affirmative action appeared to enjoy more respect, to be taken more seriously. Even in agencies where the line personnel had a history of resistance to working with minorities and females, what was perceived as a sincere and firm resolve on the part of the chief administrator appeared to have quite an impact on the resistant personnel. In other agencies, where racial and sexual slurs and incidents were tolerated and overlooked by the leadership, affirmative action was perceived by virtually everyone to be a fraudulent exercise forced upon the agency. Although the data collected cannot substantiate such a suspicion, it is certainly reasonable to assume that retention of minorities and females is related to the extent of the racial and sexual prejudice that pervades an agency. There can be little doubt that the quality of the attitudinal atmosphere has a subtle, but very real, impact on affirmative action efforts.

#### SUMMARY

Given the kinds of data that commonly exist as part of the institutional records of police and corrections agencies, there is at best inadequate historical data with which to place the current situation in context. Furthermore, it is very difficult to assess the effects of measures adopted pursuant to affirmative action plans. Typically there is no baseline data of

adequate specificity to allow direct measurement of the effects of a change in policy or standards. Affirmative action plans tend to exist in terms of ends, not means, and even then the ends are often not clearly defined. The means to pursue the goals tend to be more passive than active in nature, and thus, even in the best of cases, it would be nearly impossible to extract contextual changes such as shifts in cultural attitudes generally from the specific effects of policy changes. From a goal-oriented perspective, none of this matters because a goal orientation is not concerned with the partial effects of the various means. From a perspective of policy evaluation, the problems noted are nearly insurmountable. Despite the fact that it was not possible to directly measure the effects of affirmative action policies in the agencies studied, a few fundamentally important findings, some of which bear directly on the achievement of affirmative action goals, emerged from this study.

Considering all 19 agencies, it appears that the perceived sentiment of the administrative leadership in the agency dictates the expressed attitude of the agency workforce as a whole toward affirmative action philosophy and acceptance of target personnel. If the line personnel perceive sincerity and commitment, they will show less resentment and resistance toward affirmative action, both in philosophy and in practice. On the other hand, where the administrative leadership tolerates racial and sexual slights and incidents, resistance is greatest and morale is a problem. From what could be gathered given the impressionistic and intangible nature of these factors, administrative leadership is a critical variable in determining whether affirmative action is a matter of pride or resentment in an agency.

Turning to empirical phenomena, it must first be noted that achieving affirmative action goals, whether minority or female, appears to be a very different story for corrections agencies than for police agencies. It is possible that jobs in corrections hold more intrinsic appeal for minorities and females than do jobs in policing. The difference in prestige accruing to the two occupations, however, renders this inference suspect. Further, it is possible that corrections agencies have historically been more receptive to minority and female employees, and that what is presently observed is an effect of natural gravitation toward positions perceived to be realistically attainable. Given the small number of corrections agencies in the study and the lack of historical employment, all such inferences remain purely speculative. Nonetheless, it is strongly suggested by the findings of this study that to discuss affirmative action in corrections and affirmative action in police agencies in a single breath would be misleading. Furthermore, given that all four corrections agencies in the study had realized affirmative action success, i.e., that there was no variability with respect to the criterion variables, within-group analysis would be pointless.

The relationship between a hiring quota and achieving the numerical affirmative action goal for minorities in police agencies must be recognized as the single most important finding of this study. Not only does a hiring quota portend affirmative action success, the absence of a hiring quota generally spells affirmative action failure. A related finding of great importance is that no single selection component or policy suspected of impeding affirmative action necessarily prevents an agency from realizing its

goal. In other words, a hiring quota appears to be capable of overcoming any suspected impediment. Very high selection standards can be maintained and affirmative action goals still met if coupled with a hiring quota.

Finally it must be noted that although corrections agencies had workforces comprised of larger proportions of females, both corrections and police agencies have a very long way to go before claiming success with respect to affirmative action goals for women that reflect parity with the general workforce. Those who claim that affirmative action is a battle already won with respect to females (and there were several interviewees in the study who made exactly that claim) must do so in the face of evidence quite to the contrary. Affirmative action goals for women tend to be even more vaguely defined than those for minorities, and in the case of police agencies goals for women are widely presumed to be unrealizable. In most agencies the urgency of affirmative action is aimed at minorities, not women, and agencies in the study did not hesitate to admit that they were not expending much effort to recruit and select female employees. This inattention to affirmative action on behalf of females is reflected in the absence of hiring quotas for females; not a single agency had employed such a policy.

#### IMPLICATIONS

After considering the variety of selection policies and standards used in the agencies studied, a feasible strategy for achieving affirmative action, either with respect to minorities or females, does present itself. First, a hiring quota must be established and adhered to. The quota must be so constructed that the workforce in the agency will reflect, within a specified

period of time, the composition of the general workforce. Second, an agency must set relatively high standards of employment so that no one, either within or without the agency has defensible grounds on which to question the qualifications of the employees. Third, the agency must avoid ranking the candidates as part of the selection process; by doing so, the agency will be able to avoid hiring in disregard to the ranks. Such a policy will save resentment and improve morale on the part of both target and non-target employees. In other words, all applicants must be judged on a pass/fail basis with respect to all criteria, and a judgment of failure on any criterion must result in disqualification for hire. This policy, in conjunction with the high standards, will protect the target employee from criticism based on suspicion of incompetence. Finally, once a pool of highly qualified candidates is established, they must be selected randomly (by chance), with the exception that minority candidates and female candidates will have a disproportionately greater chance of selection, in keeping with the hiring quota. Continuous recruiting and testing of applicants will help avert the potential problem of having too few minority and female candidates to meet the quota. Obvious sincerity of commitment on the part of the administrative leadership to the goals and means of affirmative action will serve to assuage the resistance to and tensions surrounding the changes, as well as to cement the effects of the change. The agencies in the sample provide incontrovertible evidence that such a selection strategy and show of commitment will in all likelihood result in dramatic progress toward affirmative action goals. Given the sheer numerical probabilities involved,

anything short of a hiring quota that disproportionately selects for hire the targets of affirmative action will result in incremental progress only, and will render the ultimate goal of affirmative action a distant prospect.

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TABLE 1. WORKFORCE COMPOSITION OF POLICE AGENCIES  
BY JOB CATEGORY, SEX, AND RACE, 1981

POLICE AGENCY		TOT POP <sup>a</sup>	TOT FORCE <sup>b</sup>	MIN POP <sup>a</sup>	MIN FORCE	FEMALE FORCE	LINE OFFICERS				SPECIALISTS AND FIRST LINE SUPERVISERS				MIDDLE AND TOP MANAGEMENT			
							MALES		FEMALES		MALES		FEMALES		MALES		FEMALES	
							W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
A	N	671	676	229	83	59	373	62	36	17	132	3	6	0	46	1	0	0
	%	-	-	34	12	9	76	13	7	3	93	2	5	0	98	2	0	0
B	N	7,478	539	3,524	49	25	362	37	19	6	101	5	0	0	8	1	0	0
	%	-	-	47	9	5	85	8	5	1	95	5	0	0	89	11	0	0
C	N	7,478	177	3,524	38	5	101	31	3	2	32	4	0	0	4	1	0	0
	%	-	-	47	21	3	74	23	2	1	89	11	0	0	80	20	0	0
D	N	761	378	101	77	12	203	57	9	2	62	17	1	0	26	1	0	0
	%	-	-	13	20	3	76	21	3	1	78	21	1	0	96	4	0	0
E	N	571	918	157	96	21	539	74	11	3	211	11	7	0	61	1	0	0
	%	-	-	28	10	2	86	12	2	0	92	5	3	0	98	2	0	0
F	N	303	354	23	13	9	219	11	4	1	86	0	4	0	28	1	0	0
	%	-	-	8	4	2	93	5	2	0	96	0	4	0	97	3	0	0
G <sup>c</sup>	N	4,076	503	160	4	5	435	4	5	0	d	d	d	d	59	0	0	0
	%	-	-	4	1	1	98	1	1	0	-	-	-	-	100	0	0	0
H <sup>c</sup>	N	460	542	38	38	14	321	28	10	2	130	7	1	0	41	1	1	0
	%	-	-	8	7	3	89	8	3	1	94	5	1	0	95	3	3	0
J	N	404	588	115	131	43	335	99	26	14	68	14	1	1	26	3	1	0
	%	-	-	28	22	7	75	21	5	3	81	17	1	1	87	10	3	0
K	N	563	656	66	32	51	392	22	40	5	149	5	4	0	37	0	2	0
	%	-	-	12	5	8	85	5	9	1	94	3	3	0	95	0	5	0
L	N	563	209	66	9	20	135	5	14	2	36	1	4	0	11	1	0	0
	%	-	-	12	4	10	87	3	9	1	88	2	10	0	92	8	0	0
M	N	232	158	36	25	6	84	21	2	4	27	6	0	0	10	4	0	0
	%	-	-	16	22	4	76	19	2	4	82	18	0	0	71	29	0	0
N	N	14,229	2,516	4,879	400	31	1,553	367	19	12	431	19	0	0	113	2	0	0
	%	-	-	34	16	1	80	19	1	1	96	4	0	0	98	2	0	0
P	N	268	318	146	144	9	126	127	4	4	34	10	1	0	9	3	0	0
	%	-	-	54	45	3	48	48	2	2	76	22	2	0	75	25	0	0
Q	N	262	e	38	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e	e
	%	-	-	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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<sup>a</sup>1980 Census data in thousands; figures are for counties or, where applicable, for states

<sup>b</sup>sworn positions as reported in job category breakdown

<sup>c</sup>agency data from 1980

<sup>d</sup>data not supplied as requested; these categories are combined with line officer categories

<sup>e</sup>data not supplied



TABLE 3: Typology of Affirmative Action Efforts  
Process

Locus	Passive	Active
	Cell I	Cell II
Individual (Recruitment)	Announcements and advertising pitched at both minority and non-minority audiences.	Personal contact recruiting entailing differential contact on the basis of race or gender of those to be recruited.
	Cell III	Cell IV
Organization (Selection)	Redesigning selection criteria to remove unrelated criteria suspected of barring minorities and/or females.	Purposeful selection of qualified minorities and females to the exclusion or under-inclusion of qualified non-minority males.

TABLE 4. Association<sup>a</sup> between affirmative action success<sup>b</sup> with respect to females, and the use of a physical agility test in selection process, for 19 agencies.

		USE OF PHYSICAL AGILITY TEST IN SELECTION	
		<u>NO</u>	<u>YES</u>
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION SUCCESS <sup>b</sup>	YES	5	5
	NO	1	8

<sup>a</sup>Yule's Q = .77

<sup>b</sup>Success is defined as females comprising five percent or more of the agency workforce.

TABLE 5. Association <sup>a</sup> between affirmative action success<sup>b</sup> with respect to minorities, and use of a hiring quota, for police agencies only.

		USE OF A HIRING QUOTA	
		<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION SUCCESS <sup>b</sup>	YES	4	1
	NO	1	9

<sup>a</sup>Yule's Q = .95

<sup>b</sup>Success is defined as minorities represented in the agency workforce at 75 percent or more of their representation in the respective population at large.

TABLE 6. Association<sup>1</sup> between affirmative action success<sup>b</sup> with respect to minorities and stringency of educational requirements,<sup>c</sup> for police agencies only.

		STRINGENCY OF EDUCATIONAL REQUIREMENTS <sup>c</sup>	
		<u>LOW</u>	<u>HIGH</u>
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION SUCCESS <sup>b</sup>	YES	3	1
	NO	8	3

<sup>a</sup>Yule's Q = .06

<sup>b</sup>Success is defined as minorities represented in the agency workforce at 75 percent or more of their representation in the respective population at large.

<sup>c</sup>Possession of an associate's degree, or 60 college credits, or more, was considered a high educational requirement. A low educational requirement was a high school diploma or less.

TABLE 7. Association<sup>a</sup> between affirmative action success<sup>b</sup> with respect to minorities, and stringency of background standards,<sup>c</sup> for police agencies only.

		STRINGENCY OF BACKGROUND STANDARDS <sup>c</sup>	
		LOW	HIGH
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION SUCCESS <sup>b</sup>	YES	1	4
	NO	4	6

<sup>a</sup>Yule's Q = -.45

<sup>b</sup>Success is defined as minorities represented in the agency workforce at 75 percent or more of their representation in the respective population at large.

<sup>c</sup>Automatic disqualification for any particular factor e.g., conviction, drug use, was regarded as a high standard.

TABLE 8. Association<sup>a</sup> between affirmative action success<sup>b</sup> with respect to females and use of a physical agility test, for police agencies only.

		USE OF A PHYSICAL AGILITY TEST	
		NO	YES
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION SUCCESS <sup>b</sup>	YES	3	3
	NO	1	8

<sup>a</sup>Yule's Q = .77

<sup>b</sup>Success is defined as females comprising five percent or more of the agency workforce.

**END**