ABSTRACT
                The study examines the major determinants of the
career patterns of black managers in white businesses and the effects
of corporations on their black managers' identities and relationships
to the black community. Analyzed were occupational mobility theories;
white and black managers' career patterns, goals, and related
factors; company employment policies and Affirmative Action Programs;
managers' understanding of the companies' hiring and promoting
policies and their influence on and agreement with those policies;
racial attitudes; effects of social protest on black managers' career
patterns; and the effect of black managers' position in white
corporations on their relationship to their communities. One hundred
fifty-six white managers and 116 black managers in eight firms were
studied using a seven-part questionnaire. All the data indicate that
racial discrimination is the major factor explaining the situation of
blacks in the corporate world (only 1.9 per cent of the managers of
participating firms) and in their own firms (low management positions
not receiving equal employment opportunities). (A copy of the
questionnaire, statistical tables, and a 10-page bibliography are
included.) (AG)

BLACK MANAGERS IN WHITE CORPORATIONS

by

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BLACK MANAGERS IN WHITE CORPORATIONS

Abstract by John P. Fernandez

ABSTRACT

The twentieth century has seen a slow broadening of
the business community's narrow recruitment base for management
positions. Business executives are being recruited increasingly
for their qualifications, rather than their social class,
religious affiliation, and ethnic background. Many studies have
concentrated on the influence of such factors as education, social
class, religious, political and organizational affiliation, age,
and sex on the careers of business executives. However, systematic
studies of the effect of race on the career patterns of business
executives have not been undertaken. This study attempts to fill
this void. The two central questions are: 1) What are the major
determinants of the career patterns of Black managers in white
businesses? 2) What effects do corporations have on their Black
managers' identities and relationships to the Black community?

In order to answer these central questions the following
subjects were carefully analyzed: (1) occupational mobility
theories, especially those theories dealing with managerial
mobility; (2) the white and Black managers' career patterns,
goals, aspirations, qualifications, job satisfaction, and
personal backgrounds; (3) the companies' general employment
policies and Affirmative Action Programs; (4) the white and
Black managers' understanding of their companies' hiring and
promoting policies, their influence on the employment policies
of their companies, their agreement with their companies' employment
policies, their views about the fairness of their companies'
employment policies with regard to Blacks, and their views about
the fairness of the corporate world's employment policies with

regard to Blacks; (5) the white and Black managers' racial attitudes and their perceptions of the racial atmosphere which .exists in their firms; (6) the effect of social protest such as riots and the civil rights movement on the career patterns of Black managers; and (7) the effect of membership in white corporations on the Black managers' relationships to their communities.

Six of the eight firms participating in this study are among the largest and most influential firms in California, if not the nation. The two remaining firms were smaller operations of large corporations located in the East. Two of the eight firms are banks, two are public utilities, and four are in manufacturing.

Within each firm a random selection procedure was used for selecting the participants. Any deviations were caused by personnel limitations or limitations placed on the sampling procedure by the firms. From all levels of management, 156 white and 116 Black managers participated in the study. Of the 272 managers, 46 were females.

A seven-part administered questionnaire was used in order to collect the data. The interviews took between 1 1/2 and 3 hours to conduct.

The typical Black manager in this study is a 32 year old male, college educated, liberal Democrat, Baptist who comes from a working class background and whose mother is probably more educated than his father. The manager is married to a person with educational achievement similar to his own, who comes from a working class background, and works.. The manager lives in an integrated

neighborhood, has fairly frequent social contact with whites, and belongs to integrated organizations.

The typical white manager is a 42 year old male, college-educated, moderate Republican, Protestant who comes from a middle class background and whose father is generally more educated than his mother. The manager is married to a person with similar educational achievement, who comes from a middle class family background, and who does not work. The manager lives in an all-white neighborhood, has little social contact with Blacks, and belongs to segregated organizations.

The present situation of Black managers in white corporations is not very hopeful. After thirty years of federal and executive orders, ten years of Plans for Progress, seven years of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, and many years of preaching about commitment to equal employment opportunities, Black managers represent only 1.9 percent of the managers in the participating firms. It has only been in the past four years that these firms have made more than token efforts to hire and promote Blacks into management positions, and this was done under increasing pressure from the Federal Government, civil rights groups, and the riots of the 1960's. The few Black managers who are employed by these firms are almost exclusively in low level management positions, generally related to the Black "sphere" and have little, if any, decision-making power.

In general, Black and white managers agree that racial discrimination is the major factor explaining the Black manager's present situation in the corporate world; however, the white

managers don't believe this is the case in their firms while the Black managers do. The white managers believe that the lack of qualified Blacks is the major factor explaining the situation of Blacks in their firms. Contrary to the white managers' views of the equal opportunities for Blacks in their firms, all the data indicate that racial discrimination is the major factor explaining the situation of Blacks not only in the corporate world, but also in their firms.

The most important evidence which supports the contention that Blacks are not and were not receiving equal employment opportunities in the participating firms is the regression analysis which shows that just being white adds over $4,000 to a managers yearly salary. It also shows that a college education means about $1,000 more per year for white managers than for Black managers, two years of work experience at the present company adds $320 more per year for white managers, and outside work experience adds $440 more per year for white managers.

Only 10 percent of the Black managers and 17 percent of the white managers indicated the racial atmosphere in their firms is free of any anti-Black sentiment.

Finally, only 9 percent of the white managers in this study did not express any negative racial attitudes. The following characteristics quite frequently describe the manager who is most likely to express such attitudes: white, male, middle/upper level, conservative Republican, over 40 years of age, no specific

educational achievement, very little contact with Blacks, and very religious. Even though there is the tendency for this group to hold the most racist attitudes, it is quite clear that many whites at every level of age, education, and social background hold racist attitudes.

Evidence was presented which clearly showed that, in general, the Black managers were more ambitious than the white managers.

Other data showed that Black managers were much more dissatisfied with such things as their work environment, promotions, and salary than the white managers. In addition, while overall satisfaction with the work environment increases for white managers as they move up the hierarchical ladder, some evidence indicates that it decreases for Black managers.

The Black managers in this study have more assimilative tendencies than the general Black population. In addition, there seems to be a tendency for the older, middle-level, Black male managers from the middle class to have more assimilative attitudes and behavior than the other groups of Black managers. This indicates that as some Black managers move up the occupational ladder they will become more integrationist in their attitudes and behavior. The degree to which this will happen will depend on the types of jobs the Blacks hold, the racial attitudes of white America in general, and the government's action on integration in housing, schooling, and employment. If Blacks begin to work in areas not related to the Black consumer market and Black employees, if

white society begins to accept Blacks as neighbors, colleagues,
and friends, and if the government pushes for integration and
equality of opportunity, Black managers will be more inclined
to follow an integrationist path than a separatist path.

In the final chapter, a new management program is
suggested which incorporates job design, joint target setting,
and assessment. This management program will help insure
Blacks are given more equal opportunities.

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16. Abstracts

The most significant findings of this study are: 1) white corporations are doing very little to provide Blacks with equal opportunities; 2) Black managers are extremely critical of their opportunities in their firms and in the corporate world in general; 3) white managers, while critical of the corporate world, generally believe their firms are doing a good job in the employment of Blacks; 4) in general Blacks attribute the present sad state of Black managers to racial discrimination, while white managers attribute it to the Blacks' lack of qualification and their cultural differences; 5) regression analysis shows that the Black position is more accurate because white managers with similar education and work experience make a great deal more money than Black managers; 6) overall the Black managers are more ambitious than white managers and they are much more dissatisfied with their work careers and environment; 7) the Black managers in this study are not losing their

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also like to tell my daughters Michele, Eleni and Sevgi that
daddy will not have to work all the time now and will have more
time to pay attention to them and their needs.

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PREFACE

The twentieth century has seen a slow broadening of the business community's narrow recruitment base for management positions. Business executives are being recruited increasingly for their qualifications, training, and abilities rather than their social class, religious affiliation, and ethnic background. Many studies have analyzed the effects of business leaders' backgrounds on their career patterns. These mobility studies have concentrated on the influence of such factors as education, social class, religious, political and organizational affiliation, age, and sex on the careers of business executives. However, systematic studies of the effect of race on the career patterns of business executives have not been undertaken. This study will attempt to fill this void. The central questions of this study are: (1) What are the major determinants of the career patterns of Black managers in white businesses? (2) What effects do white corporations have on Black managers' identities and relationships with the Black community?

Among the strongest values and beliefs in the United States is the idea that all individuals are and should be guaranteed equal rights and opportunities in all aspects of life. When applied to the business world, this ethic would be that individuals' successes or failures are and should be strictly dependent on their abilities, goals, amibitions, and determination.

More than fifty years ago, B. C. Forbes expressed this
ethic in most idealistic terms:

> Neither birth nor education, neither nationality
> nor religion, neither heredity nor environment
> are passports or obstacles to the highest success
> in this land of democracy. Only "worth" counts.[1]

Not only does American culture accent equal rights and
opportunities, but, as Max Weber argued, modern industrial bureau-
cratic systems have helped support and maintain the belief in
equality of opportunity. More specifically, Weber believed that
bureaucracies have a normal tendency to eliminate class differ-
ences and in turn the elimination of class differences provides
a favorable atmosphere for the development of bureaucracies:

> The development of bureaucracy greatly favors the
> levelling of social classes and this can be shown
> historically to be the normal tendency. Conversely,
> every process of social levelling creates a favour-
> able situation for the development of bureaucracy;
> for it tends to eliminate class privileges, which
> include the appropriation of authority as well as
> the occupation of offices on an honorary basis or
> as an avocation by virtue of wealth. The combina-
> tion everywhere inevitably foreshadows the develop-
> ment of mass democracy. . . .[2]

Harold Wilensky expertly summarized the ideal relationship
between the large bureaucratic industrial system and the American
ethic of equal rights and opportunities:

> . . . every industrial system requires some compe-
> tition for occupational position on the basis of

---

[1]Quoted in Vance Packard, The Pyramid Climbers (New York,
1962), p. 29.

[2]Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,
trans. by A. R. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (London, 1947), p. 340.

criteria relevant to the performance of the role,
as well as some system of special reward for scarce
talents and skills. It is plausible to assume that
these universal structural features of modern econ-
omies foster similar mobility ideologies, that in
the most diverse political and cultural contexts,
doctrines of economic individualism take root:
increasing portions of the population in modern-
izing sectors believe that everyone has an equal
opportunity to achieve a better job, everyone has
the moral duty to try to get ahead, if a man fails
it is at least partly his own fault, and so on.
Such notions are widespread in the U. S., again in
its most modern sectors.[3]

However, W. Lloyd Warner and James Abegglen noted that the

levelling effects of bureaucracies and the American ethic of equal

opportunities for all have yet to reach fruition:

. . . the operation of rank and the effects of high
birth are strongly evidenced in the selection of the
American business elite. Men born to the top are
more likely to succeed and have more advantages than
those born further down. There is not full freedom
of competition; the system is still sufficiently
status-bound to work to the considerable advantage
of men born to higher position. Fathers at the elite
levels still find it possible to endow their sons
with greater opportunity than those further down en-
joy. Nevertheless, they do so now in decreased num-
bers. The sons of men from the wrong side of the
tracks are finding their way increasingly to the
places of power and prestige. The values of com-
petitive and open status are felt more today than
yesterday and those of inherited position and fixed
position, while still powerful, are less potent now
than they were a generation ago.[4]

In deciding who will or will not be promoted, large bur-

eaucratic organizations take into consideration ability and job

_____

[3]H. L. Wilensky, "Measures and Effects of Social Mobility,"
in Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development, ed. by
Neil J. Smelser and Seymour Martin Lipset (Chicago, 1966), p. 103.

[4]L. W. Warner and J. Abegglen, Occupational Mobility (Min-
neapolis, 1955), p. 36.

performance criteria as well as ascriptive criteria, most of
which are irrelevant to ability and job performance.

Although the distinctions are not sharp, some criteria
mainly reflecting ability are: educational level, training,
work experience, job knowledge, leadership, job performance,
and references. Some criteria not mainly reflecting ability
are: race, sex, age, class, family background, and religion.
Personal references and educational institution attended may
reflect both criteria relevant to performance of the role and
those not relevant. Other factors such as personality, cultur-
al background, personal life style, and appearance, although
they are not generally considered ability criteria, may be crit-
ical in some occupational positions. Robert P. Quinn, et al.,
wrote that the most notable characteristic of the non-ability
criteria is their irrelevancy to job performance. Other common
characteristics of non-ability criteria are that they are gen-
erally conferred by an individual's social background; that most
people use these factors as a basis for forming social relations
not related to work; and that they usually cannot be modified
either by formal education or work-related experience.[5]

There have been many studies which have analyzed the
effects of ability and ascriptive criteria on the career patterns
of primarily white managers.

Suzanne Keller noted that, in 1952, two-fifths of the

---

[5]Robert Quinn, et al., The Chosen Few: A Study of Execu-
tive Discrimination in Executive Selection (Michigan, 1968),
pp. 2-3.

American business elite went to Harvard, Yale, or Princeton.[6]

Garda W. Bowman in 1962 and 1964 found that a white Protestant male born in the U. S. A. who had a college education was the most promotable manager in the business world. The least promotable manager was an ethnic minority, i.e., Black, Puerto Rican, or Asian or a female.[7]

Charles H. Coates and Roland J. Pellegrin in 1957 in an article which dealt with businesses and industries in one Southern metropolitan area found that national origin, family status, personal friendships, participation in off-the-job activities, and conformity with the social characteristics of one's supervisors all had their effects on an individual's promotional opportunities.[8]

Melville Dalton in 1951 found that managerial promotions in a New England factory were enhanced greatly if the manager was a white Protestant male who was a member of the Republican Party, the Masons, and the local yacht club.[9]

[6]Suzanne Keller, Beyond the Ruling Class: Strategic Elites in Modern Society (New York, 1963).

[7]Garda W. Bowman, "The Image of a Promotable Person in Business Enterprise" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1962). See also Garda W. Bowman, "What Helps or Harms Promotability?" Harvard Business Review, 42, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1964), 6-26, 184-96.

[8]Charles H. Coates and Roland J. Pellegrin, "Executives and Supervisors: Informal Factors in Differential Bureaucratic Promotion," Administrative Science Quarterly, 2 (1957), 200-215.

[9]Melville Dalton, "Informal Factors in Career Achievement," American Journal of Sociology, 56 (March, 1951), 407-415. For other mobilities see: E. D. Baltzell, The Protestant Establishment:

What these studies clearly indicate is that, although bureaucracies have had a levelling effect on class differences, certain classes and races of people still have considerable advantages over other classes of people. Put another way, it is evident that, in addition to ability criteria, many ascriptive criteria are taken into consideration when evaluating the promotability of an individual. Furthermore, Weber's levelling theory of bureaucracies was concerned with class differences in all-white societies as opposed to differences in a multi-racial society and thus has more validity when applied to all-white class situations than when applied to multi-racial class situations.

Although the United States has been characterized by large bureaucratic organizations for many generations and Blacks have been guaranteed equal rights and opportunities for over 100 years, the fact that in the past thirty years more than ten executive orders.[10] and a major civil rights bill have been signed into law in order to guarantee Blacks and other minorities equal opportunities in employment and new agencies had to be formed to carry

---

Aristocracy and Caste in America (New York, 1964). C. F. Beattie, "Minority Men in a Majority Setting: Middle Level Francophones at at Mid-Career in the Anglophone Public Service of Canada" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1970). Randall Collins, "Employment and Education, A Study in the Dynamics of Stratification" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1968). Robert P. Quinn, Joyce M. Tabor, and Laura K. Gordon, The Decision to Discriminate: A Study of Executive Selection (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968). N. J. Weller, "Religion and Social Mobility in Industrial Society" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1960).

[10]Executive Orders are administered decrees used by the President to implement policies without Congressional approval; however, if money is needed to carry out these orders, the Congress must approve the allocation of funds.

out these laws at the cost of hundreds of millions of dollars to
the taxpayers is adequate testimony that the system has not pro-
duced equality of opportunity.

Theodore Caplow gives some insight into why Weber's
theory of the levelling effect of bureaucracies has not applied
to Blacks:

> The official ideology of any hierarchy neces-
> sarily includes the insistence that all promotions
> are determined by merit and achievement. Popular
> insight counters with the wistful or derisory ob-
> servation that all promotions are nepotistic.
> Both positions are necessarily correct. A func-
> tioning hierarchy which wishes to stay in business
> must necessarily consider the talent of candidates
> in making its selections. But, even under the most
> rigorous civil service controls, any such hierarchy
> will also evaluate the candidate as a potential in-
> group member, and will therefore give special at-
> tention to his congeniality in the broadest sense--
> a factor which depends upon his ability to conform
> to the habits and standards of the elders, and also
> upon the quality of his ancestors, his relatives,
> and his friends.
>
> The essential reasons for this condition seem to
> lie in the psychology of group life. As Homans has
> shown, the mere existence of a face-to-face group
> presupposes the establishment of group standards,
> and the continuity of a group depends upon its abil-
> ity to enforce its standards upon its members. At
> each hierarchical level certain secondary qualities
> determine which of a number of equally intelligent
> or equally efficient candidates for promotion shall
> be favored. They are by no means the same for all
> occupations or even for all similar occupations,
> but general trends can always be discerned.
>
> Other secondary qualities which typically figure
> in hierarchic promotion are appearance, skills of
> sociability (including sexual attractiveness), re-
> ligious and athletic affiliation, participation in
> formal and informal associations, miscellaneous
> talents for oratory, poker, or golf, and judiciously
> conspicuous consumption.

The most important selective elements, however,
are those which have to do with the workings of the
hierarchical system itself. Thus, the elders are
inclined to select those who are like themselves
in general appearance, and who, in addition, have
demonstrated specific ability to conform to hier-
archic expectations, to render personal services
to their sponsors, to conduct themselves prudently
in internecine conflicts, and to maintain the in-
terests of the group against all outsiders.

The net effect of hierarchical organization is
to bring to the fore persons who have carefully
shaped themselves to conform precisely to group
norms imposed by authority--including such very
delicate nuances as the proper choice of ties and
the use of appropriate inflections in conversation.[11]

The potentially harmful effects of the psychology of the

executive suite on the Black managers are profound. Although

Blacks will be able to resemble the corporate "in-group" in al-

most every manner, they cannot do so in color. Blacks can, if

they wish to and if they have to, change their style of dress,

speech, social skills, religious affiliation, political affilia-

tion, and they can learn to play golf, but they can never change

their color. Because they cannot change their color which pro-

duces negative stereotype attitudes among many whites, they can-

not participate fully and equally in many social activities both

directly and indirectly related to their work. Blacks in white

corporations are generally excluded from achieving any social

rapport or familiarity with their supervisors or work groups,

thus they are not able to take advantage of those opportunities

to display to their supervisors and work groups their social

---

[11]Theodore Caplow, The Sociology of Work (New York, 1954),
pp. 71-72.

abilities which become increasingly important as one moves up the occupational ladder.

Paul Bullock noted that "subtle discrimination which may exist in a closely knit group is particularly difficult to overcome. A tacit agreement among certain key leaders in a unit can assure that a Negro never performs work above a minimum level of skill and responsibility."[12]

In this study several cases came to light of Black managers not being able completely and fully to become members and participate in the rewards of a group life. For example, one Black manager was so light that people considered him white, unless they had been told otherwise. He had impeccable credentials when he was hired and was completely accepted as one of the boys at work. However, when his work group discovered that he was not white but just a light skinned Black, the attitudes of his white colleagues changed completely. People no longer asked him for advice. He was no longer spoken to freely and no longer invited to join others for lunch or coffee. In short, he was isolated and ignored. This same process of being accepted and then rejected once his white colleagues discovered he was not white had occurred several times in previous jobs.

Thus, to explain the Black executive's position one must combine Weber's levelling theory and the ethic of equal rights and opportunities with an analysis of the internal dynamics of the executive suite.

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[12]Paul Bullock, _Equal Opportunity in Employment_ (Los Angeles, 1966), p. 103.

It cannot be denied that some sectors of American society
·have been moving slowly forward, with occasional setbacks, toward
a more equitable society; however, the extent to which progress
has been made in the business world, especially in the managerial
ranks, has become a serious and heated issue in the country.

Although many articles and books have been written which
discuss the general Black employment situation, there is no com-
plete, in-depth study concentrating on the Black managers in
white corporations.[13]

Many of the empirical studies make broad generalizations
which are not usually supported by any concrete evidence. For
example, Herbert Northrup and his associates at the Wharton School
of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania put

---

[13]In this study the word "manager" will be defined as:
managers, officials, and professionals. The exact definitions
of these words are similar to the definitions the Equal Employ-
ment Opportunity Commission uses in its reporting forms. Their
definitions follow:

> Officials and Managers—Occupations requiring ad-
> ministrative personnel who set broad policies, exercise
> over-all responsibility for execution of these policies,
> and direct individual departments or special phases of
> a firm's operations. Includes: officials, executives,
> middle management, plant managers, department managers
> and superintendents, salaried foremen who are members
> of management, purchasing agents and buyers, and kindred
> workers.
> Professional—Occupations requiring either college
> graduation or experience of such kind and amount as to
> provide a comparable background. Includes: accountants
> and auditors, airplane pilots and navigators, architects,
> artists, chemists, lawyers, etc.

The primary reason the word "manager" is being used in such a
broad manner is that many firms have expressed some difficulty in
distinguishing between officers, managers, and professionals. In
addition, the more technically oriented firms have very few Black
managers and/or officers, but a somewhat larger number of Black
professionals.

forth in a series of books certain testable hypotheses regarding the tendency of industries to integrate or not integrate their work forces.[14] In general, the books concluded that industries will have more Black workers, if they are located in Northern urban areas where large numbers of Blacks live, the industries are expanding their work forces, and the industries are not consumer oriented. Although Northrup and his associates recognized the existence of discrimination, the general tenor of the books was a lack of qualified Blacks rather than discrimination was the primary factor explaining the number of Blacks in industries, especially the extremely small number in managerial positions. This generalization was made without any concrete supportive data. The primary sources of statistical data used in the books which were reviewed by this writer were aggregate industry statistics on the number of Blacks in various occupational groups compiled by the U. S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the U. S. Census of Population and data in possession of the authors. These data do not provide us with statistical information concerning the qualifications of the Black managers

---

[14]The following books were reviewed by the writer: The Negro in the Automobile Industry, by Herbert R. Northrup, 1968. The Negro in the Aerospace Industry, by Herbert R. Northrup, 1968. The Negro in the Steel Industry, by Richard L. Rowan, 1968. The Negro in the Chemical Industry, by William H. Quay, 1969. Negro Employment in Basic Industry, by Herbert R. Northrup, 1970. The Negro in the Public Utility Industries, by Bernard E. Anderson, 1970. The Negro in the Insurance Industry, by Linda P. Fletcher, 1970. The Negro in the Meat Industry, by Walter A. Fogel, 1970. The Negro in the Tobacco Industry, by Herbert R. Northrup, 1970. The Negro in the Banking Industry, by Armand J. Thieblot, Jr., 1970.

at various occupational levels, therefore we are not able to com-
pare the Black managers with their white counterparts. Thus,
Northrup et al.'s proposition that Blacks are not making it be-
cause they are not qualified is unsubstantiated. Their statis-
tics only present a general picture of the number of Blacks in
certain industries.

Jack G. Gourlay's book illustrates another shortcoming
found in many studies written about Blacks in white corporations:
reliance on data collected from official representatives of the
participating companies.[15] Such data tend to be biased because
of the loyalty the representatives feel towards their company
and/or because these representatives are usually those people
who are directly responsible for their companies' employment
policies, thus they generally believe they are doing a reputable
job with regard to the employment of Blacks.

Gourlay claimed that Blacks had made significant progress
in salaried positions because in the interviews he conducted in
an American Management Association questionnaire survey the "pre-
ponderant majority of executives indicated that they were willing
to provide Blacks with equal opportunities." He concluded:

> Objective analysis of all the facts and opinions
> generated in this research project yields one
> principal conclusion: that the underlying
> climate of motivation in virtually all of the

---

[15]Jack G. Gourlay, The Negro Salaried Worker (New York,
1965).

companies studied is one of sincere willingness
to deal with the Negro movement in good faith . . . .[16]

However, there is very little concrete evidence to support

these pronouncements. As noted before, Gourlay based his state-

ments primarily on the responses of the official representatives

(Vice-Presidents of Personnel and Personnel Directors) of the

301 companies who participated in his American Management Associa-

tion study. He supplied the following companies' data to show

the situation of Black salaried workers in the participating

firms:

> 164 companies reported Negroes in salaried positions
> 65 companies reported Negroes in professional positions
> 59 companies reported Negroes in supervisory positions
> 23 companies reported Negroes in executive positions
>
> Usually, the company that listed Negroes in executive
> (middle management) positions also tended to list
> Negroes in supervisory and/or professional positions.
> Thus, the statistic to be watched is the smallest one:
>
> > Less than 8 percent of all companies reporting on
> > a random geographic basis have Negroes now employed
> > in executive positions.
> >
> > Only 14 percent of all companies in the survey
> > which reported Negroes in salaried positions in-
> > dicated that Negroes occupy executive positions.
> > (For professional and supervisory positions the
> > figures are slightly under 40 percent and 36 per-
> > cent respectively.)
>
> Of the 164 firms that listed Negroes in salared posi-
> tions, 63 stated that they have Negroes employed in
> more than one salaried position.[17]

Gourlay's data do not seem to support his statements. They do not

give the exact number of Black managers, their managerial levels,

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[16]Ibid., pp. 8-9.

[17]Ibid., p. 79.

job titles, salaries, or any other factors which would be essen-
tial for him to know in order to be able to make such positive
statements.

A further example of praise for the employment record of
a company backed up by questionable statistics appeared in the
1964 Executive Study Conference Proceedings. One of the speakers
said:

> Another company, one of many with an exemplary record
> in providing equal employment opportunity, is the
> Ford Motor Company. Ford has had Negroes in manage-
> ment positions since the early twenties.
>
> While an exact count of minorities in management
> is not available before 1962, the company had 58
> in management and supervisory positions in 1962
> and 71 in 1963. The data for 1964 is not yet avail-
> able, but the company indicates that the increase
> since last January is significant, with one plant
> alone adding approximately 20 minority foremen to
> the salaried payroll.
>
> Because of its long history in promoting minorities
> into management positions, Ford has Negroes in jobs
> at fairly high management levels. A superintendent
> started as an apprentice die maker; an industrial
> relations manager over a sizable manufacturing plant,
> began as a management trainee after college gradua-
> tion; another industrial relations manager, over a
> large operation, began as an hourly rated laborer;
> a division labor representative, a high level posi-
> tion with Ford, started as an employment interviewer.[18]

If Ford Motor Company had been promoting Blacks to manage-
ment positions since the 1920's, it would seem reasonable to ex-
pect that they would have employed more than 71 Blacks in manage-
ment positions by 1963, and at higher levels.

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[18]The Executive Study Conference Nov. 10-11, 1964 (Prince-
ton, N. J., 1964), p. 10.

The empirical evidence in these studies dealt primarily with the number of Blacks employed by a firm or industry. In other words, the studies to date have generally dealt with the hiring aspects as opposed to the promotional aspects. Hiring is one thing; promoting is another. As Bowman wrote:

> For both advantaged and disadvantaged groups, promotion is a slow and often involved process which includes recruitment, development, and motivation, as well as advancement. Each phase is affected not only by the established procedures but also by the attitudes of those who carry out these observations.[19]

Another major shortcoming of most studies of Black employees is that they generally lack comparative analyses between the views of the Black and white managers (employees) about the fairness of their companies' employment policies toward Black and white employees.[20] In addition, the studies do not compare the managers' views of their companies' employment policies with their views of the corporate world's employment policies. The latter views would probably be more correct with regard to equal employment opportunities for Blacks because the former views would be influenced by such factors as company loyalty and one's own experiences. Furthermore, to agree that one's company has

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[19]Bowman (1964), pp. 7-8.

[20]One study which does compare white and Black employees' attitudes toward their companies' equal employment practices is Louis A. Ferman's, The Negro and Equal Employment Opportunities (New York: Praeger, 1968). As was found in this study, the views of the Black managers are very unfavorable and those of the white managers very favorable toward their companies' employment policies as they apply to Blacks.

not been equal in their treatment of Blacks, indirectly means the
white managers have achieved their positions through an illegiti-
mate system.

Gourlay's study is confined to white managers' views about
their companies' employment policies toward Black salaried workers.
A study dealing only with Black managers' views was done by J. S.
Morgan and R. L. Van Dyke. They interviewed 42 Black managers
covering their personal experiences and views regarding the op-
portunities that exist for Blacks in the corporate world. Based
on these interviews Morgan and Van Dyke drew certain conclusions
and offered the participating firms suggestions regarding how they
could improve their overall employment practices as they apply to
Blacks.[21] Both Gourlay's and Morgan and Van Dyke's studies would
have been more valid and persuasive if they had compared the views
of both the Blacks and whites rather than only the Blacks or whites.

Another crucial shortcoming of existing studies is that
they do not compare the Black and white managers' career patterns,
goals, aspirations, job satisfaction, qualifications, family back-
ground, and personal background data. As writers such as Coates
and Pellegrin, Kahn et al., Bowman, and Dalton have recognized,
such factors are extremely important in explaining career patterns;
therefore, if one wishes to explain the Black managers' situation
in the corporate world vis-a-vis the white managers' situation all
of the above factors must be included in the analysis. By excluding

[21]J. S. Morgan and R. L. Van Dyke, White Collar Blacks:
A Breakthrough? (New York, 1970).

a comparative analysis of these factors, writers have overlooked

potentially important information in explaining the Black and

white managers' present situations in the corporate world.[22]

Still another area in which past studies are deficient is

in analyzing the Black and white managers' individual racial at-

titudes. Furthermore, there have been no attempts to obtain

Black and white managers' perceptions of the racial atmosphere,

i.e., attitudes, feelings and remarks of other employees, which

exists in their firms. By excluding an analysis of Black and

white managers' personal racial attitudes and by excluding the

managers' perceptions of the racial atmosphere which exists in

their firms, these studies missed the crucial fact that Black

managers' experiences in white firms do not depend only on their

companies' stated employment policies and the individuals' quali-

fications, but more importantly on what is in the minds of white

people. Changes for good or evil in the treatment of Blacks de-

pend as much on white peoples' beliefs and opinions about Blacks

as on Blacks' qualifications and stated official company policies.

Another area of weakness in previous studies is that if

the difficulties of Black managers or prospective Black managers

are discussed, they are typically treated out of social and po-

litical context, i.e., they do not analyze the effects on business

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[22]David E. Kidder et al. in their study, Negro and White
Perceptions on Company Employment Policy in the South (Springfield,
Va., 1971) did discuss, in a limited manner, the expectations of
Black and white managers, ". . . black perceptions of white em-
ployer attitudes and policies on racial integration, and the
extent to which employees and employers agree on certain aspects
of integration."

practices of such social actions as the riots of the 1960's, the

civil rights movement, or the pressures and protest of the com-

panies' Black employees.

And finally, no study concerned itself with the possible

conflicts between the Black managers' loyalties and relationships

to their communities and those to their companies. That corpora-

tions can draw ethnic-religious minorities away from their local

ties was noted by Harold L. Wilensky and Jack Ladinsky. The con-

flicts which they found among white minority managers, e.g., Jew-

ish and Catholic professionals and managers in WASP dominated firms,

can arise in sharpened form among Black managers in WASP dominated

firms.[23]

In short, existing studies are incomplete and superficial

in their analysis and limited in their context. They do not give

the reader a clear, concise, accurate picture about the Black and

white managers' views and attitudes toward their companies' employ-

ment policies. They do not compare the career patterns, goals,

aspirations, job satisfaction, qualifications, and personal back-

grounds of the Black and white managers. They do not attempt to

obtain an impression of the managers' racial attitudes and the

racial atmosphere which exists in the managers' companies. They

do not attempt to analyze the effect of larger social and politi-

cal contexts on the career patterns of Black managers. And finally,

[23]Harold L. Wilensky and Jack Ladinsky, "From Religious
Community to Occupational Group: Structural Assimilation Among
Professors, Lawyers, and Engineers," American Sociological Review,
32 (August, 1967), 541-561.

they do not analyze the conflicts between community relationships and enterprise relationships which may arise in Black managers as they begin to participate in more meaningful positions in the corporate world.

One of the main reasons for the lack of thorough studies is that until the late 1950's and the 1960's there have been very few Black managers in white corporations, largely because of the "closed door" policy of the white business community. However, there also seems to have been a lack of interest and opportunity to study such a sensitive, complex problem.[24]

In order to answer the central questions of this dissertation, "What are the major determinants affecting the career patterns of Black managers in white businesses?", and "What effects do white corporations have on Black managers' identities and relationships with the Black community?", the following subjects will be carefully analyzed: (1) occupational mobility theories, especially those dealing with managerial mobility; (2) the white and Black managers' career patterns, goals, aspirations, qualifications, job satisfaction, and personal backgrounds; (3) the companies' general employment policies and Affirmative Action Programs; (4) the white and Black managers' understanding of their companies' hiring and promoting policies, their influence on the employment policies of their companies, their agreement with their companies' employment policies, their views about the fairness of

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[24]The writer was warned by people in the academic, research, and business community that it would be extremely difficult to obtain the cooperation of white businesses to participate in this study because of the business community's extremely sensitive and cautious views toward equal employment opportunities for Blacks.

their companies' employment policies with regard to Blacks, and their views about the fairness of the corporate world's employment policies with regard to Blacks; (5) the white and Black managers' racial attitudes and their perceptions of the racial atmosphere which exists in their firms; (6) the effect of social actions such as riots and the civil rights movement on the career patterns of Black managers; and (7) the effect of membership in white corporations on the Black managers' relationships to their communities.

This study aims to produce new knowledge and understanding regarding Black managers in white businesses. These new data will, hopefully, help accelerate the progress of firms and agencies which are already moving in the direction of full and effective utilization of Blacks at all levels of management and serve as a spur to those employers who have not yet begun to move. Finally, it is hoped that this study will clearly show the immediate need for concrete, determined governmental, social, and business action to improve the situation of Black managers in white businesses.

CHAPTER I

RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

The basic research design used for this study will be
discussed in three sections. The first section discusses the
procedure used in selecting the eight firms which participated
in this study. The second section describes the procedures used
to select the 156 white managers and the 116 Black managers from
the eight participating firms as well as deviations from the basic
selection procedure and the number, sex, and managerial levels of
the participating managers. The final section deals primarily
with the survey instrument and the writer's rationale for using
it. An evaluation of the effectiveness of the survey instrument
is included in this section.

Selection of the Firms

In view of the limitations of financial resources it was
decided to confine the study primarily to firms with headquarters
located in the San Francisco Bay area and the Los Angeles area.
Because of the intensive, time-consuming interviews, it was in-
itially decided to limit the number of firms to ten and the num-
ber of managers from each firm from a minimum of ten Black and
ten white managers to a maximum of fifteen each.

Six of the eight firms finally selected are listed in

Fortunes 500; four of the eight firms are among the top ten

firms in California dollar-volume. The six largest firms have

a total employment force of approximately 210,000, 85 percent of

whom are employed in California. In short, these firms are among

the largest, most powerful, and most influential firms in California.

The firms were selected because they are leaders within

their industries, they each have a heavy impact on the economy

and on employment practices in California--if not the entire

country--and they are influential in molding both public and

private opinions with regard to equal employment opportunities.

More specifically, their positions within this society make them

leading candidates for social change. If there are going to be

any great changes in society initiated by the business community,

these companies must be among the leaders.

Beyond geographical location, four secondary criteria were

used to make the final selection of the firms. There was a desire

to have at least two sets of two firms from the same industry so

that a comparative analysis could be made between the firms from

the same industry. There was also a desire to include two small

operations of large corporations with headquarters not located

in California--to see if Black managers fared better or worse in

small, somewhat autonomous operations of large, nationally known

corporations. The third selection aim was to include two firms

which are part of the same parent company but somewhat autonomous

in the policy making area (except for general directions set forth

by the Chairman of the Board). The purpose was to locate local

similarities and differences in the companies' employment policies

(Affirmative Action Programs)[1] toward Blacks. Finally, there was

a desire to obtain a distribution of firms between those which are

subject to public (governmental) regulation and those which are

not. By this contrast the writer hoped he could determine to

what extent governmental regulation is effective in assisting

Blacks to receive meaningful equal employment opportunities.

Initially ten letters were sent out to the Personnel Vice-

Presidents or their representatives in the companies which were

the primary firms that the writer and his advisors hoped would

participate in the study. The letter indicated they would be

contacted in two weeks in order to discuss the project in greater

detail.

When the firms were called, positive responses were received

from eight of the representatives. Two firms in the transportation

industry replied negatively by letter before they could be contacted.

Both indicated they have had too many requests for participation

in such studies; therefore, they had put a moratorium on such ac-

tivities. Letters were sent to two more transportation firms and

again negative responses were received before direct contact could

be made.[2]

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[1]Affirmative Action Programs (AAPs) are programs designed
to place extra efforts in the area of employment of minorities.

[2]These four letters were the types of responses some
people in research organizations and the business and academic
communities warned the writer that he would receive because of

In the meantime, the writer met several times with repre-
sentatives from several of the companies who, after lengthy dis-
cussions, indicated that they would like a larger number of their
managers to be interviewed. Therefore, it was decided to limit
the study to eight firms rather than ten and to request the par-
ticipation of fifteen white and fifteen Black managers from each
firm instead of a minimum of ten each. It was hoped that each
firm would allow five upper level managers, five middle level man-
agers, and five lower level managers of each race to be interviewed.

The eight firms which finally participated in this study
were two banks, two public utilities, and four manufacturing firms.
Of the four manufacturing firms, two belonged to the same parent
company. The remaining two firms were smaller operations of large
corporations with headquarters located in the East. In order to
keep the firms anonymous, each firm was given a fictitious name
and in this study will always be referred to by that name. The
two public utilities are named Ace Public Utility and Deuce Pub-
lic Utility; the two banks, Triple A Bank and Triple C Bank; the
two manufacturing firms from the same parent company Aunts Manu-
facturing Company and Cousins Manufacturing Company; and the two
small manufacturing operations are Ajax Manufacturing Company and
Century Manufacturing Company.

Although Ace Public Utility, Triple C Bank, and Aunts Manu-
facturing Company eventually requested that more than thirty of

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the sensitivity of the subject area. In fact, many of these
people said the writer would never obtain cooperation from
white businesses which, of course, proved to be wrong.

their managers be interviewed, they were, at first, somewhat hesitant about participating in the study. The writer had to prove his credibility and the validity and usefulness of the study to these firms. The writer had an even more difficult time convincing the other firms, with the exception of Ajax Manufacturing Company. In fact, two of the other firms almost refused to participate. Several of the managers in these two companies indicated that the main reason their companies finally did decide to participate was because they knew that six other firms, with some of whom they had a great deal of contact, were participating in the study.

The Selection Procedure

The procedure generally used by the firms in selecting the managers was a disproportional, stratified, systematic sampling model. When possible this model divided the managers by race (Black and white), managerial level (lower, middle, and upper), and location (San Francisco/Los Angeles and other). After achieving this basic breakdown, the firms were able to select the managers in the following manner. Each firm selected a random number and from their lists selected each person whose name coincided with the number. Names of women coincided with the random numbers and were, therefore, included in the study.

The random procedure described above was not closely followed when selecting the Black middle level managers and the white and Black female middle and upper level managers because there

were very few of them and it was desired to have as many of these unique managers participating as possible. Approximately 80 percent of all the Black middle level managers from the firms were interviewed. In four of the six large companies all of their Black middle level managers were interviewed. With regard to middle and upper level female managers, the only two upper level white female managers and the only Black middle level female manager in all of these companies were interviewed. Two of the companies only had one white middle level female manager each and both were interviewed.

In the two small firms, Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies, the random selection procedure was not carefully followed because of personnel limitations. Ajax Manufacturing had only three Black managers in a managerial work force of eighty-five and Century Manufacturing had only two Black managers in a managerial work force of 171; therefore, all of the Black managers were selected for the study. However, only four of the five were interviewed because one of the two Black managers in Century Manufacturing was transferred to New York. All five Blacks were lower level managers. In addition, five of the top seven white managers in Century Manufacturing and seven of ten in Ajax Manufacturing were interviewed. Only two of the twelve were actually considered upper level managers in the overall corporate structure.

In Cousins Manufacturing only thirteen Black managers were interviewed because two men selected for the study were on vacation during the two weeks the interviewers were in Los Angeles

and there were no other Black managers to replace them. In addi-
tion, the goal of twenty-five Black and twenty-five white managers
in Aunts Manufacturing was not reached because of a 20 percent re-
duction in the company's work force during the interview period.

Three companies deviated from the random selection proce-
dure not because of personnel restrictions but because of restric-
tions placed on the sampling procedure by the firms themselves.
The senior managers from Triple C Bank were personally selected
by the Vice-President who was the writer's initial contact. In
addition, both Cousins Manufacturing and Deuce Public Utility
restricted the number of senior managers who could be interviewed
to one and two, respectively. The companies' representatives in-
dicated that many of their top managers were not available to par-
ticipate in the study.

Only two Black and two white managers who were asked to
participate refused. The two Blacks indicated that they did not
want to "get involved in any study on race." The two white indi-
cated that they were not interested in participating in any type
of study.

In the final sample 272 managers were interviewed, 156
whites and 116 Blacks. In these subtotals there were thirty white
upper level or senior managers, including two white female managers;
thirty-four Black and seventy-nine white niddle level managers, in-
cluding one Black female and five white females; and eighty-two
Black and forty-seven white lower level managers, including twenty-
two Black females and sixteen white females. Thus, women made up
forty-six of the 272 managers.

Table 1 shows the number of participating managers by race, sex, and company. Notice that Cousins, Ajax, and Century Manufacturing Companies did not have any female managers, Black or white, participating in the study. In fact, Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies did not employ any female managers.

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND SEX OF PARTICIPATING
MANAGERS FROM EACH COMPANY

Company	Black Males	Black Females	White Males	White Females
Ace Public Utility	14	12	17	10
Triple C Bank	21	4	25	5
Cousins Manufacturing	13	0	15	0
Aunts Manufacturing	17	2	20	2
Triple A Bank	13	1	13	4
Ajax Manufacturing	3	0	15	0
Century Manufacturing	1	0	15	0
Deuce Public Utility	11	4	13	2
Total	93	23	133	23

In sum: approximately 14 percent of the Black managers in these firms were interviewed. If one subtracts the 508 Black managers in Ace Public Utility from the total of 822 Black managers in all of the companies and the twenty-six in that company from the total of 116, 29 percent of all the Black managers in the remaining seven companies were interviewed.

Table 2 shows the percentage of Black managers from each company who participated in the study.

TABLE 2

PERCENT OF BLACK MANAGERS PARTICIPATING
IN THE STUDY FROM EACH FIRM

Company	Black Managers (N=116)
Ace Public Utility	5 %
Triple C Bank	22
Cousins Manufacturing	37
Aunts Manufacturing	25
Triple A Bank	30
Ajax Manufacturing	100
Century Manufacturing	50
Deuce Public Utility	40
Total	29

As was noted before, approximately 80 percent of the Black middle level managers were interviewed. Although only a small percentage, .4 percent, of the white managerial work force in all the companies were interviewed, 10 percent of the senior policy makers in the four large firms, excluding Cousins Manufacturing and Deuce Public Utility, were interviewed.

Because of the relaxation of the random selection criteria, because of the desire to study special categories of personnel, i.e., women and Blacks above lower level positions, because of

personnel restrictions of the companies, and because of restric-

tions placed on the selection of personnel by the companies, this

sample is not representative of any large population. But it does

represent a range of variation by race, sex, and managerial level

which will provide insight into the career patterns of Black man-

agers in white corporations as compared to those of the white

managers.

After the participants were selected, the firms sent out

a letter of introduction and a biographical sketch of the writer

to their participating managers along with a request for their

voluntary participation. Each manager was asked to set aside

two hours for an interview.

Survey Instrument

It was decided that a personally administered question-

naire would produce the most extensive and reliable data. There

were several reasons for this. First, mailed questionnaires were

unlikely to be returned in large numbers. Second, the length of

the questionnaire might have deterred the participants from com-

pleting the questionnaire and/or giving careful, reliable responses.

An administered questionnaire would allow the interviewer to obtain

more precise, unambiguous answers to the open-ended questions. And

third, the interviewer would be able to make a judgment as to the

demonstrated interest, openness, sincerity, and honesty of each of

the managers. The writer and his advisors were aware that some

managers might be more honest and open if they were allowed to fill

out the questionnaire on their own; however, it was believed that
administered questionnaires' advantages outweighed the advantages
of mailed or non-administered questionnaires.

The questionnaire included both open-ended and close-ended
questions.[3] On the one hand, a completely open-ended questionnaire
would allow the interviewers more latitude to include their personal
biases as they recorded the responses; on the other hand, a com-
pletely close-ended questionnaire would not allow the interviewers
to obtain the more personal views, attitudes, and feelings of the
managers.

In the initial meetings with the companies' representatives,
the opportunity to review the questionnaire and make suggestions
about its format and content was agreed upon.

The primary objections to the questionnaire centered around
the length and the content of the personal background questions.
In the first draft seen by the firms, the personal background sec-
tion came at the beginning. In the second draft sent to the firms,
the personal background questions were switched to the final sec-
tion and several questions were eliminated. After the second
draft was sent to the firms, there were still two firms which ob-
jected to the personal background questions. At interviews with
representatives of these companies, it was pointed out that the
study could not be significant or complete if those questions
were not included. The writer provided literature which showed
the manner in which personal background information had been used

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[3]See Appendix A for a copy of the questionnaire.

in other mobility studies. After the representatives reviewed the literature, they agreed that the personal background questions would be important for the study.

The final questionnaire was set up as follows. In the first section the managers answered questions about their promotional opportunities, goals, job histories, and job satisfaction. It was hoped this would involve the managers personally in the study. The second section posed questions about the managers' relationships to their companies' employment policies in the areas of influence, understanding, agreement, and practice. The third section attempted to obtain the managers' views and attitudes about the opportunities that existed in the past and that presently exist in their firms and in the corporate world for Black managers. These three sections were administered to both the Black and white managers. The first part of the fourth section, administered specifically to the white managers, asked questions about their attitudes toward the Black managers in their firm and Black people in general. The second part of the fourth section, administered specifically to the Black managers, asked additional questions about their personal experiences in their firms and their attitudes about opportunities for Blacks in the white business world. In addition, this section attempted to find out what the Black managers' relationships are to the Black community, their views regarding the effect of the corporate world on Blacks, and their views as to what is the best strategy for Blacks to pursue in this country in their quest for equality. The fifth section,

which was completed by both the Black and white managers, dealt
with their image of the promotable manager in business. In this
section, the managers were asked to indicate whether the twenty-
five factors listed in the chart were irrelevant, helpful, or
harmful for promotion to supervisor and beyond, ideally in their
opinions, actually in their firms, and actually in business in
general. Sections six and seven were administered only to the
companies' personnel representatives and Affirmative Action Co-
ordinators. These two sections were concerned with the companies'
recruiting, hiring, testing, training, and promoting policies and
with the structure of their Affirmative Action Programs. The
final section sought information about the personal backgrounds
of the managers. Information such as marital status, educational
achievement, family background, organizational, religious and po-
litical affiliations was obtained.

Twenty-five trial interviews in three of the firms were
conducted by the writer and his two assistants. These interviews
were helpful in eliminating additional questions which reduced the
general time for the Black managers' interviews from two and one-
half hours to one and one-half to two hours and the white managers'
interviews from two hours to one and one-quarters to one and three-
quarters hours. The trial interviews also were helpful in refin-
ing some of the administrative procedures. Although some of the
interviews took as long as three hours to complete, depending on
the verbosity of the interviewee, only two Black managers and
eight white managers expressed or showed concern over the length
of the interviews.

In order to assure that the responses would be frank and honest, five steps were taken. One step was to have both Black and white interviewers. The writer obtained the assistance of two white interviewers, Gerald Bradshaw and Caroline Kerr, to conduct approximately half of both the Black and white interviews. The writer was the Black interviewer. Previous studies have indicated that interviewees are inclined to be more honest in their responses with someone from the same race than with someone from a different race, especially when the subject deals with race.[4] However, after careful analysis of all of the responses of the interviewees, and reviewing tables which used interviewers as a control variable, no signif cant differences were found in the aggregate responses of the managers, regardless of the interviewer's racial background.

There are several possible explanations for this lack of variance between the responses of the managers who were interviewed by an interviewer of their own race and the responses of the managers who were not. The Black managers may have felt comfortable dealing with whites since most of these managers live rather integrated lives and have been conditioned to or become accustomed to white interviewers. In discussing the openness of the white managers' responses, several of the white managers who are in charge of Personnel or their companies' Affirmative Action Programs told the writer that at the present time many whites are willing to

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[4]Gary Marx, Protest and Prejudice (New York, 1967). See also Louis A. Ferman, The Negro and Equal Employment Opportunities (New York, 1968).

admit that Blacks are treated unfairly in business but are gener-
ally not willing to admit that Blacks are treated unfairly in
their companies. They also said that whites are more willing to
express their negative racial views than in the past. However,
the problem of response bias arises when one attempts to find out
why the individuals have such racial views, the validity of them,
and what they are doing to try to overcome them. One middle level
white manager from Ace Public Utility said that many whites will
admit to harboring certain negative racial attitudes about Blacks
because they rationalize that all people in America are racist
since the society is racist. A typical comment: "Certainly I
have racist attitudes, all people, Black or white, are racists."
And a final explanation for the lack of apparent response bias is
that the skills of the interviewers may have been such that they
were able to provide an atmosphere conducive to candid, honest
answers.

The percent of interviews completed by each interviewer
is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

PERCENT OF INTERVIEWS COMPLETED BY STAFF

Interviewer	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
John	49 %	42 %
Caroline	29	35
Gerald	22	23
Total	100	100

Although there were no significant differences between the responses of the interviewees who were interviewed by someone of the same race and those who were not, several Black managers requested that they be interviewed by a Black and their requests were honored. These managers indicated they wanted to be interviewed by the Black project director because they wanted their responses interpreted and presented properly. They felt a white interviewer would consciously or unconsciously distort their responses.

Several other Black managers confronted Caroline, a white woman, about her participation in a study primarily concerned about Blacks. After she explained the purpose of cross-race interviews, all the interviewees decided that they would participate in the study. In fact, several of Caroline's best interviews were those with the Blacks who first complained about her race.

Another step taken, to insure honesty and frankness, was to conduct all of the interviews in private. The only people present at the interview session were the interviewer and the interviewee.

A third step was to assure the interviewees complete anonymity. This was done in two ways. First, the participants were assured that their names would not appear on any part of the questionnaire or be mentioned in the study. Second, they were assured that none of the information in the interview schedule would be released to their company in any manner which would allow the company to identify a particular manager as the source of the data.

The fourth step taken was to have only those managers who voluntarily agreed to participate involved in the study.

The final step was to include many differently worded questions designed to measure the same basic concept throughout various sections of the interview schedule. For example, there were seven questions which attempted to find out how equal and fair the managers' believed their companies' employment policies are towards Blacks and another seven questions attempted to measure the overall job satisfaction of the managers.

Interview Quality

Immediately after each interview, the interviewers were to indicate on the questionnaire how much rapport they had with the interviewee, how they rated the quality of the interview, to what degree the interviewee seemed interested in the study, and if the length of the interview affected the interviewee in any way.

Since the writer could not do all of the interviews himself and it was not desirable, the interviewers' evaluations were extremely helpful in evaluating the validity of the interviewees' responses and in giving the writer some insight as to why an interview might not have been of high quality. Was it because of lack of rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee or was it because of the manager's lack of interest and/or the manager's evasiveness, suspiciousness, and/or lack of understanding of the questions?

As can be seen in Table 4, the interviewers believed that
a substantial majority of the Black interviews and a majority of
the white interviews were of high quality, i.e., the managers
were not generally evasive, suspicious, or confused.

TABLE 4

QUALITY OF THE INTERVIEWS

Quality	Black Managers[*] (N=114)	White Managers[**] (N=153)
Questionable	3 %	5 %
Generally Adequate	23	44
High Quality	74	51
Total	100	100

[*]There were missing data on two cases.

[**]There were missing data on three cases.

Several examples of why an interview was rated questionable
are: One of the older, less educated Black managers just promoted
to management from a non-management job was "jokingly" told by his
superior that, "he better not give away any company secrets." Dur-
ing the interview this Black manager was very careful to make sure
he responded properly. In other words, he seemed to say only what
he thought his boss expected him to say--everything is fine, there
are no problems, the company is more than fair, and I am completely
satisfied. One white manager did not like many of the questions
because of their "personal" character. In addition, he was quite

upset about the length of the interview. His answers, while

probably honest, were short and not very detailed because he

wanted to finish the interview as quickly as possible.

As would be expected, the quality of the interviews and

the interest of the interviewees were directly related. Table 5

lists the degree of interest of the interviewees in the study as

perceived by the interviewers.

TABLE 5

INTEREST OF THE INTERVIEWEES

Interest	Black Managers* (N=114)	White Managers** (N=155)
High	75 %	50 %
Low	22	37
Average	3	13
Total	100	100

*There were missing data on two cases.

**There was missing data on one case.

All three interviewers believed they had excellent rapport

with 22 percent more of the Black managers than the white managers.

This difference is shown in Table 6.

The 20 to 24 percent difference between the evaluations

of the Black and white managers' questionnaires in Tables 4 to 6

may be attributed to several sources. One is that the priority

of equal employment opportunities is much greater in the minds of

TABLE 6

INTERVIEWERS' RAPPORT WITH THE INTERVIEWEES

Rapport	Black Managers[*] (N=114)	White Managers[**] (N=153)
Excellent throughout	78 %	56 %
Average	20	39
Poor throughout	2	3
Started good, became poor	0	1
Started poor, became good	0	1
Total	100	100

[*]There were missing data on two cases.

[**]There were missing data on three cases.

the Black managers; consequently, they would be more interested in this study and more concrened about the quality of their answers than the white managers. Many of the white managers, as some of the following chapters will clearly indicate, believe the need for equal employment opportunities for Blacks has been overemphasized; thus, they were not as interested as the Black managers in this type of study and this lack of interest is reflected in their responses. Another reason for the differences in evaluation of the interviews is that the major emphasis of the study is on the Black managers' career patterns and not on the white managers' career patterns; therefore, the differences which occur between

the Black and white managers' degree of interest, rapport with the
interviewers, and quality of the interviews could be expected.
Finally, the white managers' responses with regard to the oppor-
tunities that exist for Blacks in their companies would be in-
fluenced more than the Black managers' responses by their loyal-
ty to their company because the white managers generally have
served a much longer time with their companies; the most loyal
managers would be most tempted to portray a favorable image of
their companies' employment policies resulting in less candid
responses.

   The final table in this section shows the breakdown of
the three previous factors in each of the firms. Only the posi-
tive data are listed, i.e., the number of high quality interviews,
the number of interviewees who had a high degree of interest, and
the number of interviewees with whom the interviewers had excel-
lent rapport. In general, the companies will be listed in order
starting with the company whose white managers scored the high-
est on these factors and ending with the company whose white
managers scored the lowest.

   As one can see from Table 7, there are differences among
the companies. Although the differences cannot be attributed to
any specific factors, several explanations seem reasonable. One
is that the more emphasis the firms have placed on the intent
and meaning of equal employment opportunity laws and the good
faith effort that is required to carry them out the more the
white managers would be interested in the study. However, the

TABLE 7

INTERVIEWS EVALUATED BY COMPANIES

Companies	High Quality		High Interest		Excellent Rapport	
	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.
Ace Public Utility	76%	81%	84%	85%	88%	81%
Ajax Manufacturing	100	60	100	60	100	73
Triple A Bank	64	59	64	65	64	71
Deuce Public Utility	57	53	57	47	71	40
Aunts Manufacturing	69	46	79	46	79	59
Triple C Bank	84	50	80	40	80	43
Century Manufacturing	100	20	100	27	100	60
Cousins Manufacturing	69	20	62	20	69	13

emphasis placed on the Affirmative Action Programs of these firms could produce white managers who would be less interested in the study because they might feel that their companies place too much emphasis on these Programs. To which extreme the white managers went could also depend on their racial attitudes.

After the interviews were completed and reviewed, a tentative code for quantifying the responses was developed and tested on 100 completed questionnaires. A revised code was then tested on 200 questionnaires. The final coding scheme was developed to code all of the 272 interview schedules.

In order to produce tables and conduct other statistical

analysis, the PICKLE system, Berkeley Transposed File Statistical System, which is primarily designed to handle the data and statistical operations employed in the analysis of survey data was used. It was developed by the Survey Research Center at the University of California, Berkeley.

Summary and Conclusions

Six of the eight firms participating in this study were among the largest and most influential firms in California, if not the nation. The two remaining firms were smaller operations of large corporations located in the East. Two of the eight firms are banks, two are public utilities, and four are in manufacturing.

Within these firms the writer used a random selection procedure but was forced to deviate from randomness by either personnel limitations or limitations placed on the sampling procedure by the firms. In the end, 156 white and 116 Black managers from all levels of management participated in the study. Of the 272 managers, 46 were females.

A seven part administered questionnaire which was used in order to collect the data rather than a mailed or non-administered questionnaire was decided upon. Five steps were taken to assure that the responses would be as candid and honest as possible. A vast majority of the Black managers' and a majority of the white managers' questionnaires were of high quality.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL PROFILE OF THE MANAGERS

Introduction

This chapter presents a general profile of the managers
who participated in this study. Some of the personal char..ter-
istics which will be analyzed are: geographical background, age,
education, marital status, religious preference, political philos-
ophy and affiliation, and organizational affiliations. Additional
information will be presented on where the managers lived as teen-
agers and as adults, their mothers' and fathers' educational achieve-
ment, their fathers' occupation and their spouses' fathers' occupation.

These profiles are a necessary context for understanding
the present position and outlook of the managers. In addition,
data on social origins, education, and social participation will
be used throughout the s   ..   to help explain similarities and dif-
erences in the career patterns of the Black and white managers.

Geographical Backgrounds

Although this study includes only firms with headquarters
located in the San Francisco Bay area and the Los Angeles area,
the managers in this study come from almost every state in the
union. Fifty percent of the white managers and 22 percent of
the Black managers lived in California most of the time until

they were eighteen years of age. Most of the other white managers, 38 percent, lived primarily in the Northeast or Midwest and 47 percent of the Black managers lived in the South. Because of the regional sample, the vast majority of the white managers and a majority of the Black managers have lived most of their adult lives in California.[1]

Ages

As Table 1 shows the Black managers who participated in this study are generally much younger than the white managers. The mean age of the Black managers is thirty-two and of the white managers is forty-one.

A possible explanation for the big difference in age between the Black and white managers is that the firms have only recently (1967) begun to hire and promote more than a few token Blacks into management positions. When these firms began to seek more Black managers, only Ace Public Utility already had a large number of Blacks in non-managerial positions whom the company could promote to managerial positions; therefore, the companies began to actively recruit young, college educated Blacks.

However, there have been moves recently by some of the firms to hire older, college educated Blacks who already have management experience in universities, the government (military), social agencies, and/or their own businesses. This is supported

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[1]See Appendix B, pp. 530-531, for the frequency distribution of where the managers lived most of their lives as teenagers and as adults.

by the fact that 47 percent of the Black managers over forty have been with their firms four or less years, all have college degrees, all have had lengthy experience in at least one of the four areas of work just mentioned, and all are middle level managers.

TABLE 1

THE MANAGERS' AGES

Age	Black Managers (N=116)	Cumulative Frequencies	White Managers (N=156)	Cumulative Frequencies
21-25 Years	13 %	13 %	2 %	2 %
26-30 Years	26	39	10	12
31-35 Years	27	66	9	21
36-40 Years	18	84	19	40
41-45 Years	9	93	19	59
46-50 Years	6	99	20	89
51-55 Years	0	0	15	94
56-60 Years	1	100	5	99
Over 60 Years	0		1	100
Refuse to give	0		1	101
Total	100		101*	

$p \leq .05$

*The percent is over 100 because of rounding errors.

As will be seen throughout the study, age, among other things such as education and sex, has a strong influence on many of the managers' attitudes and opinions.

The Managers' Educational Backgrounds

In this section the managers' educational achievements, their major areas of study, and the schools they attended will be discussed.

Warner and Abeggelen, among others,[2] have rightly noted that lack of money and other restrictions to higher education have limited the number of Black people and working class people from obtaining a college education;[3] however, R. S. and H. M. Lynd have also rightly noted that: "If education is oftentimes taken for granted by the business class, it is no exaggeration to say that it evokes the fervor of a religion, a means of salvation, among a large section of the working class."[4] The Lynds' statement is supported by this study. On the one hand, although two out of three of the Black managers come from working class backgrounds, nine out of ten of them completed at least one year of college. On the other hand, two out of three of the white managers come from middle and upper class[5] backgrounds and only three out of four completed at least one year of college.

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[2]See also Patricia C. Sexton, _Education and Income_ (New York, 1961).

[3]W. L. Warner and J. Abeggelen, _Big Business Leaders in America_ (New York, 1963), pp. 34-58. Also see W. L. Warner and J. Abeggelen, _Occupational Mobility_ (Minneapolis, 1955), pp. 95-114.

[4]R. S. and H. M. Lynd, _Middletown_ (New York, 1929), p. 187.

[5]Working class, as defined in this study, includes the managers who come from families where the father was a skilled/unskilled laborer, service worker, small farmer, etc. Middle/upper class, as defined in this study, includes the managers who come from families where the father was a business owner, corporate manager, educator, professional etc.

Richard E. Peterson noted that many white middle class students are questioning the need for a college degree. While these white middle class men and women are questioning the need for a college degree, they are being replaced by working class whites and large numbers of minorities who believe a college education is their ticket to a better life:

> There is little doubt that the educational and career interests of college-age youths are undergoing rapid change. First, there is evidence that increasing numbers of youths are choosing not to attend a college or university, at least not in a lockstep manner . . . . Thus the leveling-off of enrollments can be attributed to . . . a sense that a college degree may not be the only key to the good life, which may not be so temporary.

Continuing he noted:

> Responding to nearly a decade of steadily increasing pressure, the colleges and universities, at almost all points of access, are now admitting record numbers of minority students: first Blacks, now Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians. Mexican-Americans increased by 19% and Blacks by 17%.[6]

Table 2 shows the educational levels achieved by the managers by race and sex. Notice that the males are more educated than the females and both the Black males and females have completed more years of college than their white counterparts. As one would expect, the higher up the managerial ladder the managers are, the more likely they are to have college degrees.

Considering the emphasis on high educational achievement for advancement in business in recent years, this finding is not

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[6]R. E. Peterson, "American College and University Enrollment Trends in 1971," A Technical Report Sponsored by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, June, 1972, pp. 30-32.

startling. What is more significant is the fact that the Black

managers have more years of college than their white peers. Not

TABLE 2

MANAGERS' EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

Educational Levels	Black Males (N=93)	Black Females (N=23)	White Males (N=133)	White Females (N=23)
Grade School	0 %	0 %	1 %	0 %
9th Grade	0	0	1	0
10th Grade	0	0	1	0
12th Grade	8	13	20	52
1 Year of College	5	22	7	13
2 Years of College	20	26	12	9
3 Years of College	2	0	2	0
Bachelors Degree	42	30	29	9
Graduate School	23	9	28	17
Total	100	100	101*	100

p ≤ .05

*The percent is over 100 because of rounding errors.

only do 30 percent more of the Black middle level managers have a

higher level of education (at least a bachelors degree) than their

white peers, but also approximately twice the percentage of Black

middle level managers as white middle level managers have done

graduate work--46 percent of the Black middle level managers and

only 23 percent of the white middle level managers. In addition,

only 3 percent   of the Black middle level managers have a

minimum of a high school education, compared to 28 percent of the white middle level managers and 13 percent of the white upper level managers. Only 11 percent of the Black lower level managers have a minimum of a high school education, compared to 32 percent of their white peers.

These figures support a consistent claim made by the vast majority of the Black managers and supported by many of the white managers in this study: that Black managers normally have to be more qualified (educated) than white managers in order to get equal positions.[7] The figures also refute the following claim by Kidder, et al.:

> It is interesting, though given the age disparity perhaps not surprising, that Black sample members were more likely to have completed 16 plus years of education than were white respondents (52% versus 46%). Yet, whites in this sample attended college in essentially the same proportion as did blacks (72% versus 76%). These figures lend little support to speculation that blacks must over-compensate in educational attainment to reach an occupational level comparable with less-qualified whites.[8]

They based their conclusions on a sample of only thirty three Blacks who were selected in various non-random fashions such as ". . . leads, and contacts and the like."[9] Furthermore, only fifty white managers made up the white sample. The information they presented on the managers' educational achievement was

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[7]It should be noted that substantial attitudinal and quantitative data will be presented in Chapters V and VI which will further support this claim.

[8]D. E. Kidder, et al., p. 20.

[9]Ibid., p. 16.

drawn from another study and the selection procedure they used was not discussed. Their conclusions are therefore dubious.[10]

A. <u>Subject areas in which the managers received their degrees</u>

Twenty-four percent of the Black and white managers received degrees in scientific fields; 38 percent of the Black and 36 percent of the white managers received degrees in the social sciences or humanities area; and 44 percent of the Black and 58 percent of the white managers received degrees in the "technical"-professional fields, i.e., business administration, accounting, economics, and law. Notice that if economics had been included under the heading of social sciences and humanities, 42 percent of the Black and 50 percent of the white managers would have received their degrees in those areas.[11]

These figures tend to cast some doubt on the business community's contention that they are unable to find qualified Black managers because most Blacks have degrees in the social sciences and humanities rather than in the areas of business and science. The firms who participated in this study have been able to find Blacks with business and scientific backgrounds. Furthermore, these firms utilize managers with all types of educational training.

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[10]See Appendix B, pp. 531-532, for the frequency distribution of the degrees the managers received.

[11]See Appendix B, pp. 532-533, for the frequency distribution of the subject areas in which the managers received their degrees.

B. **Colleges and universities attended by the** .
    participating managers

Thirty-six percent of the Black managers who received

bachelors degrees attended predominantly Black Southern colleges

or universities. This high percentage of graduates from pre-

dominantly Black colleges in these California-based firms is

due primarily to recruitment efforts of some of the firms to

hire Blacks with scientific backgrounds.

Most of the white managers who received their degrees

from public universities and colleges attended the "select" pub-

lic schools more than any other type of schools. The primary

reason for this is that many of the managers attended the Univer-

sity of California system, especially U. C. Berkeley. As a re-

sult, only a few of the managers attended private "select" schools

such as Harvard, Stanford, and MIT.[12]

Students of social stratification have often observed that

not only is high educational achievement important for success in

the business world, but also the type of school attended.[13] Bendix

and Lipset wrote:

> If the college degree can be said to be a badge of
> eligibility for top white collar jobs, then we must
> note that the badge comes in different school colors
> and carries a differential reward accordingly. Col-
> lege education "pays" more or less according to the

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[12]See Appendix B, pp. 533-534, for the frequency distribution
of the colleges and universities attended by the managers.

[13]See also Ernest Havemann and Patricia Salter West, _They_
Went to College (New York, 1952), pp. 179-181.

> type of college one goes to, in rough proportion
> to the size of the endowment per student.
>
> Furthermore, among the graduates of the wealthier
> colleges and universities, the graduates of the
> Ivy League colleges have the highest earnings.
> And, among these, the graduates of the so-called
> Big Three Eastern Men's Schools (Harvard, Yale,
> and Princeton) earn more money at every point in
> their careers than any other group of college
> men.[14]

In this study, of the twenty-three upper level white
managers who had college degrees, 61 percent attended either Ivy
League schools or "select" private or public universities; 48
percent of the white middle level managers and 21 percent of the
lower level managers attended Ivy League or "select" private or
public schools. Thus our data on the schools attended by the
white managers tends to support Bendix and Lipset's position.

With regard to Black managers, 40 percent of the middle
and lower level managers attended predominantly Black colleges and
21 percent attended predominantly white "select" public or private
schools or Ivy League schools.

Since the Black managers who have graduated from "select"
public or private schools have all been with their firms less than
four years, it remains to be seen if their educational background
will have the same "payoff" effect it seems to have for the white
managers.

In sum: the average level of education achieved by the
Black managers is somewhat higher than that of the white managers.

[14]R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset, <u>Class, Status, and Power</u>
(Glencoe, 1953), p. 474.

The Black and white managers received their degrees in similar subject areas. The Black managers attended Black colleges more frequently than any other type of college, while the white managers attended "select" public universities or colleges more than any other type of school.

Family Background

The major emphasis in this section will be on the family backgrounds of the managers. More specifically, the managers' mothers and fathers' educational levels and the best jobs the managers' fathers had when the managers were teenagers will be discussed.

A. Mothers' and fathers' educational levels

Table 3 shows the educational levels of the managers' mothers and fathers.

From the data on mothers' and fathers' educational level, several interesting observations can be made. One is that the Black managers' mothers more often than their fathers received high school diplomas and college degrees. This is primarily due to the belief at that time that teaching was a female occupation especially in elementary school. Since most schools were segregated, Black women had more opportunities at one of the main occupations open to Black college graduates. In short, segregated schools increased Black female occupational chances; therefore, there was more emphasis placed on sending Black females to college than Black males.

TABLE 3

MOTHERS' AND FATHERS' EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

Educational Level	Mothers		Fathers	
	Black Managers' (N=115)	White Managers' (N=155)	Black Managers' (N=113)	White Managers' (N=152)
Grade School	14 %	28 %	35 %	40 %
9th Grade	4	1	3	2
10th Grade	5	6	4	6
11th Grade	8	2	5	1
12th Grade	43	35	29	18
1 Year of College	1	3	0	2
2 Years of College	7	9	4	7
3 Years of College	0	3	4	4
4 Years or More of College	19	13	15	21
Total	101**	100	99	101

*The cases (N) do not equal the number of managers participating in the study because of missing data.

**The total percents are over or under 100 because of rounding errors.

The white managers' mothers also received high school diplomas more often than their fathers; however, more of the white managers' fathers received college degrees than their mothers.

In comparing all of the parents, the white managers' fathers completed four years of college most often. They were followed by the Black managers' mothers, the white managers' mothers, and then the Black managers' fathers.

Overall the Black managers' mothers were the most educated: their mean educational level was twelve years and one month. This compares with eleven years and six months for the white managers' fathers, eleven years and five months for the white managers' mothers, and eleven years and two months for the Black managers' fathers.

As one would expect, for both the Black and white managers, there is a strong relationship between the educational level of the mothers and fathers and the educational level of the managers. For example, 65 percent of the Black mothers and 65 percent of the white mothers who had at least bachelors degrees had sons or daughters who had at least bachelors degrees. The case is quite similar for the fathers—81 percent of the Black fathers and 65 percent of the white fathers who had at least bachelors degrees also had sons or daughters with at least bachelors degrees. Notice that there is a stronger relationship between the educational achievement of the Black managers and their college-degreed parents than there is between the white managers and their college-degreed parents. This is probably the result of those few Black parents who were able to obtain a college education under oppressive conditions constantly prodding their children to be someone and make something of themselves. However, approximately 55 percent of

the Black managers and 43 percent of the white managers whose mothers and fathers had less than twelve years of schooling received college degrees--again reflecting the very strong desire among working class families to send their children to college.

These findings are quite similar to those found by Warner and Abeggelen in their study on business leaders in America. (It should be remembered that approximately 17 percent of our sample were females and Warner and Abeggelen's sample consisted of only males.)

> Although the education of the father is important
> in determining the education of the sons, it is
> far from the deciding factor. The proportions of
> college-educated sons decrease as the educational
> background of the father declines, but the fact that
> two thirds of the sons of men with less than high
> school would go to college shows that other factors
> are motivating these men.[15]

That this drive for education extends even to the most deprived strata is suggested by Leonard Goodwin. A general conclusion of his was that both welfare mothers and their sons show at least as strong a concern as the white middle class about getting all possible education and training.[16]

B. The managers' fathers' best occupations

Although there were no great differences between the educational levels of the Black and white managers' fathers, there were great differences in the occupations of the fathers. Two-

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[15]Warner and Abeggelen (1963), p. 41.

[16]Leonard Goodwin, Do the Poor Want to Work? (Washington, D. C., 1972).

thirds of the Black managers' fathers held such jobs as unskilled

laborers, skilled laborers and dining room porters, while two-

thirds of the white managers' fathers were professionals, mana-

gers, or business owners. The similarities in educational achieve-

ment and the lack of similarities in occupational achievement can

be attributed to the lack of opportunities afforded Black people

in the past.

When the educational levels of the Black managers' fathers

and the best jobs they held were correlated, it was found that

the educated parents of the Black managers generally found employ-

ment in the professional areas serving the Black community. They

realized that their best chances of employment were in serving the

Black community and not in white corporations, primarily because

of racial discrimination.

Table 4 shows the best occupations of the fathers when the

managers were teenagers.

The fact that 62 percent of all the white managers' fathers

(80 percent of the upper level white managers' fathers) were middle

or upper class is not surprising, and it is a sign that the white

manager sample is at least in social background typical of the

universe of white managers. A number of larger studies have

found that between 60-70 percent of the business elite come from

middle and upper class family backgrounds. Many sociological

studies have suggested that the reason for this phenomenon is

that children born to middle and upper class families have more

advantages than those born to lower class families because the

TABLE 4

BEST OCCUPATION OF FATHERS WHEN MANAGERS WERE TEENAGERS

Occupations	Black Managers' Fathers* (N=115)	White Managers' Fathers** (N=154)
Unskilled Laborer	20 %	8 %
Skilled Laborer	21	14
Small Business Owner	10	10
Medium Business Owner	1	4
Large Business Owner	0	1
Low Level Supervisor/Manager	5	12
Middle Level Supervisor/Manager	3	9
Upper Level Supervisor/Manager	0	6
Lawyer or Doctor	2	4
Clergyman	3	0
School Principal or Professor	2	2
School Teacher or Counselor	1	1
Other Professional: Engineers, Real Estate Broker, Accountant, Publisher/ Editor, Statistician	5	11
Governmental Service	11	5
Farmer of Own Large Farm	0	3
Farmer of Own Small Farm	6	5
Dining Room Waiter or Porter for the Railroad	8	6
Didn't Have a Father	3	5
Doesn't Know	4	1
Other	2	1
Total***	107	102

*There was missing data in one case.

**There were missing data in two cases.

***The total percents are over 100 because of rounding errors.

corporate system is still considerably status bound.[17]

That two-thirds of the Black managers come from working class backgrounds is a measure of an impressive amount of inter-generational mobility. The primary reason for this is that dis-crimination against Blacks has decreased, to an extent, that over the past two decades more Blacks have had an opportunity to obtain better educations and better jobs than their parents.

Finally, there is a shift downward in social origins: the Black managers who are entering the business world in recent years are coming more from working class backgrounds than middle class backgrounds. Generally, the Black managers who have the most years of corporate experience come from the Black middle class, approximately 66 percent, while those with fewer years of service generally come from lower class backgrounds, approximately 70 percent. This is not the case with the white managers. Regard-less of length of service approximately 33 percent come from work-ing class backgrounds.

In sum: the educational levels of the Black and white managers' parents are not significantly different; however, the Black managers' mothers had the highest mean educational level followed by the white managers' fathers, white managers' mothers, and Black managers' fathers. If one considers the fathers'

[17]F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, _American Business Leaders_ (New York, 1932); William Miller, ed., _Men in Business_ (Cambridge, 1952), pp. 286-337; W. L. Warner and J. C. Abeggelen, _Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry_ (Minnea-polis, 1955); Mabel Newcomer, _The Big Business Executive_ (New York, 1955); Reinhard Bendix, _Work and Authority in Industry_ (New York, 1956), pp. 198-253; C. Wright Mills, _Power, Politics and People_ (New York, 1963), pp. 110-139.

occupations as indications of class origins, it can be said that
two in three of the white managers come from middle and upper class
backgrounds, while in sharp contrast, two in three of the Black
managers come from working class backgrounds.

These last two sections on educational achievement of the
participating managers and their family backgrounds clearly show
that although a large majority of the Black managers come from
working class backgrounds, they have pursued education more vig-
orously than the more privileged white managers, the majority of
whom generally come from middle class backgrounds.

The Managers' Spouses Backgrounds

This section will discuss the marital status of the
managers, whether their spouses work, the educational level their
spouses attained, and the spouses' fathers' occupations. The
first subject to be discussed is the managers' marital status.

Although there were no questions which dealt with whether
a cert   marital status was helpful or harmful for promotions,
several female and   le managers, both Black   d white, indicated
that there are disadvantages to being single, separated, or divorced.
For example, a white female from Ace Public Utility, who is divorced,
said that her promotion was held up for six months because her sup-
ervisor and his superior believed that divorce was a sign of "im-
maturity, instability, and emotionalism." With regard to the
males, an upper level white manager from Triple A Bank indicated
that single or divorced males are handicapped because the male

needs a wife to help entertain customers, bosses, peers and sub-
ordinates, especially at the middle and upper levels of manage-
ment where social intercourse becomes extremely important. He
also believes that this applies more to middle and upper level
managers in banks and public-related industries than to managers
in some types of manufacturing businesses. However, being single
and an older woman may be helpful for females seeking business
careers primarily because the male dominated bureaucracy believes
that only single, older women are more likely to stay with the
firms than married women whose family responsibilities are cen-
tral. It is striking that all the white females who were inter-
viewed in upper and middle management positions were never married.
The Black female in the middle level of management is divorced,
but she believes being divorced has not hindered her career be-
cause of her unique educational background in chemistry and
library services which are in great demand.

That attitudes about marriage can be an asset to one's
promotional opportunities is evident in responses to the question:
Is a helpful spouse a harmful, helpful, or irrelevant factor for
promotions to supervisor and beyond? More than 50 percent of the
managers believe ideally in their opinions that a helpful spouse
should be an important factor in considering a person for a man-
agerial position. More than 50 percent also believe this is
the case in their firms and in business in general. The male

managers of both races feel this more so than the female managers.[18]

A. Do the managers' spouses work?

More than twice the number of Black managers' spouses
work than the white managers' spouses, 66 percent and 28 percent,
respectively.

The higher up the managers are on the occupational ladder,
the less likely it will be that their spouses work. All of the
Black and white female managers' spouses work. One possible ex-
planation which was mentioned by some of the Black managers for
such a large difference between the percentage of Black and white
male managers' spouses who work is that most of the Black managers
are lower level managers who receive low pay; therefore, their
spouses work to supplement the family income.

It is quite possible that, if the Black managers are al-
lowed to move up the occupational ladder, the male managers'
spouses will cease to work in order to assist her husband in per-
forming the social functions which become necessary and because
the wife may not have to continue to supplement the family income.
However, the value of women as independent professionals and work-
ers is increasing as a result of the women's movement and the new
opportunities for women; therefore, the change may not occur.

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[18]See Appendix B, p. 534, for the frequency distribution
of the marital status of the managers.

B. Spouses' educational levels

In this study, the data show that the higher the educational level of the managers, the higher the educational level of the spouse. One-third of the Black and white managers who have bachelors degrees or better are married to spouses with bachelors degrees.[19] In addition, only two of the Black managers and two of the white managers who do not have college degrees have spouses with college degrees.

C. Spouses' fathers' best occupations

As is the case with the managers' fathers, the white spouses' fathers are more likely to be business managers, business owners, or professionals than the Black spouses' fathers who are more likely to be unskilled laborers, skilled laborers, or government workers. There was a large percentage, 21 percent, of the Black managers who did not know what their spouses' fathers did for employment.[20]

In correlating the spouses' fathers' occupations with the managers' fathers' occupations, indications are that, in general, the Black male managers married more often below their class background than within it; however, the Black female managers married more often within their class background than outside it. This same pattern was also evident with the white males and females;

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[19]See Appendix B, p. 535, for the frequency distribution of the educational levels of the managers' spouses.

[20]See Appendix B, pp. 535-536, for the frequency distribution of the best occupations achieved by spouses' fathers.

however, whites from the upper class and, to a lesser extent, those from the lower class are more likely to marry within their social-economic group than those in the middle class.

In sum: the data suggest that being married is an asset for males, but being single is an asset for females, especially older females. The higher up the managerial ladder the managers are, the less likely it is that their spouses are working. More of the Black managers' spouses work than the white managers' spouses. The Black and white managers' spouses have similar educational achievement; however, the Black managers' spouses generally come from working class backgrounds, while the white managers' spouses generally come from middle and upper class backgrounds.

Religious, Political, and Organizational Affiliations of the Managers and Their Social Contact with Members of the Opposite Race

The primary purpose of this section is to analyze the managers' religious affiliations and frequency of church attendance, political philosophy and political affiliations, organizational affiliations, and social contact with members of the opposite race.

A. Religious preference and frequency of attendance at church

The modal preference of the Black managers are Baptists-- 29 percent. An almost identical percent, 28 percent, of the Black managers have no religious preference. The modal category, 32 percent, for the white managers are the high status Protestant religions, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Methodist. This was closely followed by those white managers who were Catholic. As was the

case with the Black managers, the next highest percentage, 17 percent, of the white managers have no religious preference. The religious preferences of the managers are shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCES

Religion	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Baptist	29 %	1 %
None	28	17
Methodist	11	7
Catholic	9	29
Episcopalian	5	9
Lutheran	4	5
Other Protestant Denominations	4	3
Church of Christ	4	6
Presbyterian	2	16
Protestant--No Specific Denomination	2	3
Jewish	1	1
Other Denominations-Not Protestant	1	1
Mormon	0	3
Total	100	100

The main story here is the large Catholic minority among whites and the sizeable secular minority among both Blacks and whites. Only 49 percent of the white managers are affiliated

with the Protestant faith. Previous studies such as Bowman's[21] noted that approximately 70 percent of the white managers in business are Protestant.

The high percentage of Catholic managers is a clear testimony that religious discrimination against Catholics in the business community, at least in the West, has decreased substantially since Mabel Newcomer pointed out the large discrepancies between the Catholic population in the U. S. and their representation in the executive ranks. She noted that although Catholics made up 33 percent of the U. S. population, they made up only 9 percent of the executives in business.[22]

The proposition that discrimination against Catholics in the business community has decreased is supported by the managers in this study. A comparison with Bowman's provides a further clue to the trend. Bowman found in her study that approximately 26 percent of the managers believed that being Catholic was a harmful factor for promotion to supervisory positions and beyond in business in general and approximately 39 percent believed being Protestant was helpful for promotion to supervisory positions and beyond.[23] In this study, only 5 percent of the white managers and 9 percent of the Black managers believe being Catholic is harmful for promotion in business in general; however, 22 percent of the white

[21]Bowman (1964), p. 8.

[22]Mabel Newcomer, The Big Business Executive (New York, 1955), pp. 46-48.

[23]Bowman (1962), pp. 99-99B.

managers and 33 percent of the Black managers believe being Protestant is helpful for promotion in business in general. These figures, while indicating that discrimination against Catholics has decreased, clearly point out that there is still a substantial amount of work to be done to eliminate discrimination against Catholics in the business community.

The fact that only 1 percent of the managers in this study are Jewish supports the position that Jews are still finding it extremely difficult to pursue careers in Protestant dominated firms. Thirty percent of the Black managers and 23 percent of the white managers in this study believe being Jewish is a harmful factor for promotion to supervisory positions and beyond in business in general and 20 percent of the Black managers and 7 percent of the white managers believe this is also the case in their firms.

Finally, a high percentage of white managers are Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Methodists, compared to their small representation in the U. S. population. In this study it became apparent that the whites who succeed to the higher managerial levels belong to one of these high status Protestant denominations. For example, 42 percent of the upper level white managers, 29 percent of the middle level white managers, and 6 percent of the lower level white managers are members of these denominations. This is not true for Blacks. Newcomer also noted these trends in her study.[24] Thus it seems that the business community is

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[24]Newcomer, pp. 46-48.

not only selective in choosing individuals who are affiliated
with the Protestant religion, but more specifically those indi-
viduals who belong to specific high status denominations of the
Protestant faith.

The majority of the managers in our study attend religious
services infrequently, if at all. More than half of both the
Black and white managers never attend church or only attend
church a few times a year. This is more true among the Protes-
tant managers than among the Catholic managers. The lack of at-
tendance at religious services reflects a more general trend away
from the church. Table 6 shows the frequency distribution with
regard to attendance at religious services.

TABLE 6

ATTENDANCE AT RELIGIOUS SERVICES

Frequency of Attendance	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
More Than Once A Week	3 %	5 %
Once A Week	12	27
Once Or Twice A Month	16	11
A Few Times A Year	36	32
Never	32	25
Total	100	100

An ironic comment on the effect of Christianity on preju-
dice is the low degree of prejudice among the most secular whites:
86 percent of the white managers who did not express any negative
racial attitudes about Blacks in the study never attend church or
attend only a few times a year.[25]   In addition, 60 percent of
those white managers who expressed negative attitudes about Blacks
on one to three questions attend church only a few times a year
or never.   However, those white managers who attend church more
than twice a week, once a week, or once or twice a month tend to
hold more racist attitudes than those who attend church very in-
frequently or never.   For example, 35 percent of the white mana-
gers who attend church at least twice a month or more expressed
negative attitudes about Blacks on three or less of the questions.

Support for the position that those who attend church
frequently have not been affected greatly, if at all, by the
Christian doctrine of equality was found by Angus Campbell:

> If one thinks of . ... the churches as major forces
> of acculturation in American society one must con-
> clude that their contribution to racial patterns
> in this country has been to preserve the status
> quo . . . the role of the churches has been es-
> pecially remarkable. Despite their historic
> dedication to the inculcation of moral values,
> their influence on the racial attitudes of their
> constituents appears to have been very limited.[26]

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[25]Chapter VI covers racist attitudes. These attitudes
include such statements as Blacks are lazy, dumb, slow, irre-
sponsible, etc.

[26]Angus Campbell, White Attitudes Toward Black People
(Ann Arbor, Mich., 1971), p. 68. His study interviewed 2,945
whites and 2,814 Blacks.

It should be noted that in this study there were no large differences among the various Christian denominations with regard to racial attitudes. This finding also was supported by Campbell:

> Slightly over half of the white residents of these northern cities identify themselves as Catholic, something over a quarter are Protestant, one in eight is Jewish, and four percent say they have no religion. . . . the differences between Catholics and Protestants in their response to racial questions are very minor.[27]

Because of the few Jews in this study, it was impossible to make a comparison between the racial attitudes of the Jews and the Christians. However, Campbell did make a comparison:

> The pattern of Jewish attitudes presents a striking contrast to that of Catholics and Protestants: Jews are consistently more positive in their orientation toward these racial issues.[28]

In sum: although two-thirds of the Black managers and almost half of the white managers are Protestants, they are from various denominations. There was also a large number of Black and white managers who have no religious preference. The majority of the managers, Black and white, do not attend religious services frequently. And finally, the most racist white managers are generally those who attend church most frequently.

B. Political philosophy and political affiliations

When the managers were asked what they considered their political philosophy to be, the largest percent of the Black

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[27]Ibid., p. 47.

[28]Ibid., pp. 47-48.

managers consider themselves liberals and the largest percent of
the white managers consider themselves moderates. Only a small
percent of the Black managers consider themselves conservatives;
there were a few white managers who consider themselves "?　at-
wingers" and a significant number who consider themselves conser-
vatives. Table 7 shows the political philosophies of the managers.

TABLE 7

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES

Political Philosophy	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Radical	8 %	1 %
Liberal	43	27
Moderate	33	41
Conservative		28
Right Winger	0	3
Other	10	1
Total	100	100

Significant variations occur when age is used as the control
variable. The data show that the younger white managers are more
likely to consider themselves liberals and the older white managers
are more likely to consider themselves conservatives. With regard
to the Black managers, it was found that the younger Black managers
are more likely to consider themselves liberals and the older Black
managers are more likely to consider themselves moderates.

An interesting contradiction among the Black managers oc-
curs when sex is used as the control variable. Aproximately two-
thirds of the Black females, compared to one-fourth of the Black
males, consider themselves moderates; however, it will be seen
throughout the study that the Black females' views regarding the
opportunities that exist for Blacks in their firms and the cor-
porate world in general are consistently more critical than the
Black males. In addition, Black females have assimilated less
into white society than Black males. This is interesting because
it would be expected that a moderate or a conservative would be
less critical on racial issues and would have assimilated more
into white society than a radical or a liberal.

There was not much difference between the political philos-
ophies of the white males and those of the white females, with the
exception that none of the females considered themselves "right-
wingers."

The pattern of political affiliation is no surprise: It
is a well-known fact that white businessmen are primarily Republi-
cans and that Blacks are primarily Democrats. Table 8 shows the
distribution of the managers' political affiliations.

Analysis of the managers' political philosophy and affilia-
tion clearly indicates that the older, more educated, higher level,
white managers are more likely to be moderate or conservative Re-
publicans than liberal Democrats. The older, middle level Black
managers are more likely to consider themselves moderate Democrats
rather than liberal Democrats or Independents. Thus, corporations'

might create a general convergence toward a moderately conservative
political stance.

TABLE 8

POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS

Political Affiliations	Black Managers (N=114)*	White Managers (N=154)**
Democrat	72 %	33 %
Republican	4	61
Independent	22	5
Other	2	1
Total	100	100

*There were missing data in two cases.

**There were missing data in two cases.

C. Organizational affiliations

This section discusses the organizational affiliations of
the managers and whether or not these organizations have racially
mixed memberships.

One of the helpful factors for "making it" in the business
world is to have community and civic interests and to belong to
the "right" clubs. In Bowman's study of 2,000 managers, more than
71 percent of them believed that community and cultural interests
should ideally be helpful to an individual's promotional opportuni-
ties to supervisory positions and beyond. Fifty-one percent be-
lieved these factors were in fact helpful in their firms and 64

percent believed they were helpful in business in general. In

addition, 63 percent of the managers in her study believed ideally

that belonging to prominent social clubs should be irrelevant to

an individual's promotional opportunities and 51 percent believed

this was the case in their firms; however, only 23 percent of the

managers believed this was in fact the case in business in general.[29]

In this study, 32 percent of the Black managers and 26

percent of the white managers do not belong to any organizations.

The vast majority of the managers who do not belong to any organ-

izations come from lower management. As would be expected, the

higher the position held on the managerial ladder, the more likely

the manager is to belong to organizations. Table 9 lists the organ-

izations the Black and white managers belong to and whether the

memberships of the organizations are all-Black, all-white, or ra-

cially mixed.

Although in general large differences do not occur between

the racially mixed and racially unmixed organizations to which the

Black and white managers belong, differences do occur when impor-

tant variables are controlled. The younger, lower level Black man-

agers, Black females more so than Black males, are more likely to

belong to all-Black organizations than the older, middle level

Black males. There are several reasons for this difference.

Younger Black managers have grown up in a time when increasing em-

phasis was being placed on Black pride; therefore, they are more

likely to belong to organizations which exclude whites. In addi-

tion, the younger Black managers are almost exclusively at the

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[29] Bowman (1964), pp. 18, 22.

TABLE 9

ORGANIZATIONAL AFFILIATIONS

Organizational Affiliations	Black Managers		White Managers	
	Whites Belong (N=116)	Blacks Only (N=116)	Blacks Belong (N=156)	Whites Only (N=156)
Civil Rights	34 %	0 %	9 %	0 %
Professional	20	3	30	3
Business or Civic	19	4	30	9
Fraternal	11	15	3	19
Charitable	9	5	14	1
Church-Oriented	7	3	13	13
Social	7	8	4	10
Political	5	2	7	0
Neighborhood	4	7	10	8
Veterans	2	0	2	1
Organizations of the Same Race (Generally social and company organizations)	0	9	0	0
Country Club	0	0	1	8
Other	2	1	1	8
Belong to No Organizations	32 %		26 %	
Total*	120	57	124	80

*The percents do not equal 100 because many of the managers belonged to more than one organization.

lower rung of the managerial ladder; therefore, they are not re-
quired to get involved in many social and non-social organiza-
tions which might have white members.

Because the white middle and upper level managers are
older and more conservative and have less interaction with Blacks
at work (there are only a few Blacks above the lower level of man-
agement) and because their levels of management require them to
belong to more organizations than lower level managers, one would
expect them to belong to more all-white organizations than racially
mixed organizations. The data shows that this is the case.

Many of these upper level managers said they did not know
whether or not Blacks were purposely excluded from their all-white
organizations, but it would probably be safe to say that even if
they are not purposely excluded, they probably are not encouraged
to join. Only 13 percent of the white upper level managers be-
long only to social organizations which have Black members and 27
percent do not belong to any social organizations.

A valid question to ask the senior managers (or any man-
gers) who belong to organizations which exclude Blacks direct
or indirectly is: How can they be totally and sincerely committed
to equality of opportunity for Blacks when they belong to racist
organizations?

D. The managers' social contact with members of
   the opposite race outside of work

Although the percentages of Black and white managers who
belong to racially mixed and/or unmixed organizations are quite

similar, the Black managers have a great deal more contact with whites at social functions not related to work than the white managers have with Blacks at social functions not related to work. The Black managers generally do not have social contacts with whites from their jobs but with white friends outside of work. Ferman also found in his study of twenty firms that there was very little inter-personal relationships between Black and white workers at social functions outside of work.[30] Table 10 shows the frequency of contact between the Black and white managers with members of the opposite race at social functions not related to work.

TABLE 10

FREQUENCY OF SOCIAL CONTACT WITH MEMBERS OF
THE OPPOSITE RACE NOT RELATED TO WORK

Frequency of Contact	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Very Frequent	24 %	6 %
Fairly Frequent	31	17
Not Very Frequent	32	47
Never	13	30
Total	100	100

Blacks of all ages have about the same frequency of contact with whites outside of work; however, the older white managers are

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[30]Ferman, p. 108.

the least likely group of white managers to have contact with
Blacks outside of work.

Even though 71 percent of the white managers have very or
fairly frequent contact with Blacks on-the-job, only 23 percent of
them have fairly or very frequent contact with Blacks at social
functions not related to work. Of course the thirty upper level
white managers have little contact with Blacks on the job because
there are no Blacks at their level; however, 27 percent have con-
tact with Blacks at social functions not related to work, primar-
ily in civic functions and parties related to organizations they
consider social in nature.

This lack of contact on the part of most of the white
managers with Blacks at social functions outside of work indicates
that Blacks are not full members of the work group, i.e., they are
not allowed to fully participate in activities outside of work
with their white subordinates, peers, and superiors which make a
work situation more fulfilling and which are important to one's
promotional opportunities and successes.

St. Clair Drake addressed himself to this point. He wrote:

> The life styles of the Negro upper class are
> similar to those of the white upper middle class,
> but it is only in rare instances that Negroes have
> been incorporated into the clique and associational
> life of this group or have intermarried into it.
> (Their participation in activities of the white
> upper class occurs more often than with those whites
> who have similar life styles because of Negro upper-
> class participation as members of various civic
> boards and interracial associations to which wealthy
> white people contribute.) Living "well" with highly
> developed skills, having enough money to travel,
> Negroes at this social level do not experience

> victimization in the same fashion as do the
> members of the lower class. Their victimiza-
> tion flows primarily from the fact that the
> social system keeps them "half in and half
> out," preventing the free and easy contact
> with their occupational peers which they need;
> and it often keeps them from making the kind of
> significant intellectual and social contribu-
> tions to the national welfare that they might
> make if they were white.[31]

When the Black managers were asked what incidental pres-
sures they must put up with that whites do not have to put up
with, a number of them indicated a major one was their exclusion
from socially interacting with whites both on- and off-the-job.
The managers' responses to some of the other questions were also
directly related to their exclusion from such social interaction.
The general tenor of these statements was as follows: Blacks
face social isolation in a white corporation, they are not in-
vited to have lunch with co-workers, they are not invited to so-
cial functions outside of work and if they are invited, no one
socializes with them. A lower level Black manager in Triple A
Bank said, ". . . I have been told many times by white co-workers
or bosses that 'I am not a racist but my wife is so I can't invite
you home for dinner'."

The type and frequency of the contact between the managers
with members of the opposite race at social functions not related
to work is shown in Table 11.

Overall the Black females who are lower level managers, non-
college educated, and 30 years of age or younger have less inter-
action with whites than the Black males who are middle level

[31] St. Clair Drake, "The Ghettoization of Negro Life,"
Daedelus, Fall, 1965, p. 119.

managers, college-educated and over 30. This lack of interracial

contact among the younger, less-educated Black females is due

TABLE 11

TYPE AND FREQUENCY OF SOCIAL CONTACT WITH THE
OPPOSITE RACE NOT RELATED TO WORK

Type and Frequency of Contact	Black Managers (N=16)	White Managers (N=156)
NOT VERY FREQUENTLY: Only at Civic Functions	8 %	27 %
NOT VERY FREQUENTLY: Mostly at Parties	24	28
NOT VERY FREQUENTLY: A Few Friends	14	8
NOT VERY FREQUENTLY: Neighbors	3	1
NOT VERY FREQUENTLY: Church Activities	0	5
FAIRLY AND VERY FREQUENTLY: Civic Functions	12	11
FAIRLY AND VERY FREQUENTLY: Social Functions such as Parties, Dinners, Parties, etc.	33	9
FAIRLY AND VERY FREQUENTLY: Personal Friends	41	16
FAIRLY AND VERY FREQUENTLY: Neighbors	9	1
FAIRLY AND VERY FREQUENTLY: Educational Functions such as Attending Classes, Teaching	0	2
FAIRLY AND VERY FREQUENTLY: Church Activities	2	9
Total[*]	146	117

[*]The total percentages are more than 100 because many managers
have contact in more than one area.

partly to their managerial level which does not require a great deal of social and community involvement, to their age group which is more identified with Black separatist views, and to their educational opportunities which did not provide them with possible opportunities for forming friendships with whites in college. Equally important perhaps is the fact that Black women have been abused and used by this white male dominated society; therefore, part of the reason they have less interaction with whites can be attributed to their fear of being abused and used by white males.

White females have less interaction with Blacks than white males. In general, the older white males who are in middle and upper management, but not necessarily college educated, have more contact with Blacks than lower level white managers. Of course part of this difference between the frequency of contact of the white managers from the various managerial levels with Blacks can be attributed to the civic and community involvement of the white middle and upper level managers and part of it can be attributed to the fact that a large number of white females make up the lower managerial positions in this study.

The Racial Make-Up of the Managers' Neighborhoods

When the white managers were asked whether Blacks live in their neighborhoods, approximately the same percentage of white females and white males live in neighborhoods with Black neighbors. Only 4 percent Black females live in an all-white neighborhood, compared with 11 percent of the Black males.

Although almost half of the white managers have Blacks living in their neighborhoods, almost three-quarters of them live in areas where Blacks make up only 5 percent or less. Only one white manager lives in a neighborhood where Blacks make up 50 percent or more of the population.

One-fifth of the Black managers live in neighborhoods where Blacks make up only 10 percent or less. Many of these Blacks live in these areas because of the proximity of their neighborhoods to their jobs. Most of the white managers have moved out to lily-white suburbs many miles away from their jobs and the urban centers where large numbers of minorities live. Almost half of the Black managers live in areas where Blacks make up at least half of the population in their neighborhood.

Would the Managers Marry Someone of a Different Race?

The great lack of interaction with Blacks on the part of the white managers, especially in the social area, stems partially from the fact that substantial numbers of white managers (72 percent), because of their racial attitudes and stereotypes, would not consider a Black as a possible marriage partner.

Up until the late 1960's there was very little opposition to interracial marriages in the Black community; however, in the past several years many Blacks, especially among the young and women, have voiced strong opposition to interracial marriages generally on the grounds that any Black who marries a white is psychologically oppressed and brainwashed by white America. In

this study, 74 percent of the Black females, compared to only 27

percent of the Black males, could hardly imagine themselves marry-

ing a white. (The white males' and females' views about interra-

cial marriages are quite similar.) In addition, 50 percent more

of the Black managers 30 or younger than those over 30 could

hardly imagine themselves marrying a white. As has been noted

throughout this chapter, the younger Black managers are more in-

volved in the new emphasis put on Black pride than the older

Black managers.

The older white managers are more likely to say that they

could hardly imagine themselves marrying a Black person than the

younger white managers. An issue of Jet reported that 58 percent

of the Black population and only 29 percent of the white popula-

tion approve of interracial marriages and 21 percent of the Blacks

and 60 percent of the whites disapprove.[32] These figures are quite

similar to those reported in this study.

There seems to be a relationship between the amount of

contact the white managers have with Blacks and their views about

marrying Blacks. For example, 46 percent of the white managers

who have a great deal of contact with Blacks, compared to 76 per-

cent who have no contact with Blacks at all, could hardly imagine

themselves marrying a Black. In addition, the less contact the

white managers have with Blacks, the more likely they are to

strongly agree rather than just agree, i.e., those with less

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32Jet, December 7, 1972, p. 30. Poll was taken by
Gallup-Poll.

contact with Blacks generally feel more strongly about not marrying Blacks than those who have more frequent contact with Blacks.

Similarly the Black managers who have the most frequent contact with whites are more likely to believe they could marry a white than those with less frequent contact. This is expected considering those Blacks with the most contact are Black males who are middle level managers over 30 years of age and have more integrationist attitudes than the younger, lower level Black managers.

Summary and Conclusions

In summary, a profile of the typical Black manager and the typical white manager who participated in this study will be presented.

The typical Black manager is a 32-year-old male, college-educated, liberal Democrat, Baptist who comes from a working class background and whose mother is probably more educated than his father. In addition, the manager is married to a person with educational achievement similar to his own, who comes from a working class background, and who works. The manager lives in an integrated neighborhood, has fairly frequent social contact with whites, and belongs to integrated religious, social, civic, professional, and business organizations.

The typical white manager is a 42-year-old male, college-educated, moderate Republican, Protestant who comes from at least a middle class background and whose father is generally more educated than his mother. In addition, the manager is married to a

person with similar educational achievement, who comes from a middle class family background, and who does not work. The manager lives in an all-white neighborhood, has little social contact with Blacks, and belongs to segregated social organizations, but integrated civic, professional, political, religious, and business organizations.

CHAPTER III

THE COMPANIES' AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS

Introduction

To analyze the Affirmative Action Programs of the com-
panies participating in this study, this chapter will both de-
scribe programs and offer possible explanations for the large
variations in them.

The Companies' Affirmative Action Programs

The firms which participated in this study were required
by law (Revised Executive Order 11246), in January 1970, to sub-
mit a written Affirmative Action Compliance Program; however,
most of the firms indicated that they had written AAPs before
1970 and all of the firms stated that they had taken steps to
practice equal employment opportunities before they wrote their
programs.[1] Revised Executive Order 11246 states in part:

> An affirmative action program is a set of specific
> and result-oriented procedures to which a contractor
> commits himself to apply every good faith effort.
> The objective of those procedures plus such efforts
> is equal employment opportunity. Procedures with-
> out effort to make them work are meaningless; and
> effort, undirected by specific and meaningful pro-
> cedures, is inadequate. An acceptable affirmative
> action program must include an analysis of areas
> within which the contractor is deficient in the

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[1]All of the firms are federal contractors, thus come
under the jurisdiction of Executive Orders.

utilization of minority groups and, further, goals
and timetables to which the contractor's good faith
efforts must be directed to correct the deficiencies
and, thus to increase materially the utili:- tion of
minorities at all levels and in all segments of his
work force where deficiencies exist.[2]

The companies also were members of the now defunct Plans
for Progress and are currently members of its replacement, the
National Alliance of Businesses. Plans for Progress, initiated
by the late President John F. Kennedy, was a voluntary effort
on the part of some business leaders to go beyond the letter of the
equal opportunity laws by aggressively pursuing the concept of
equal employment opportunities. Every company, except the two
banks, joined Plans for Progress in 1962. The banks, Tripe A
Bank and Triple C Bank, joined the organization in 1964 and 1965,
respectively. The National Alliance of Businesses is a joint ef-
fort by the federal government and the business community to pro-
vide employment and on-the-job training for members of minority
groups previously considered unemployable.

Table 1 lists the dates the firms first developed written
Affirmative Action Programs.

The companies gave various reasons for having written
Affirmative Action Programs before they were required by law.
For example, the AAP Co-ordinator in Triple C Bank said that they
wrote an AAP as early as 1964 because of an agreement with the
California Fair Employment Practices Commission (CFEPC). Triple

_____ _._____

[2]Ruth G. Shaeffer, Non-discrimination in Employment:
Changing Perspectives (Washington, D. C., 1971), pp. 90-91.

A Bank indicated that their written AAP was the result of pressure

applied on the company by civil rights organizations; Aunts and

TABLE 1

DATES COMPANIES FIRST DEVELOPED WRITTEN
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAMS

Company	Date
Triple C Bank	1964
Cousins Manufacturing	1967
Aunts Manufacturing	1967
Triple A Bank	1968
Ajax Manufacturing	1969
Century Manufacturing	1969
Deuce Public Utility	1969
Ace Public Utility	1970

Cousins Manufacturing Companies indicated that their programs de-

veloped because their companies have always been "progressive" in

the area of human rights. Three companies, Ajax and Century Manu-

facturing and Deuce Public Utility, stated that their programs

were a result of a new awareness on the part of management that

there was a real need to provide equal opportunities for all. It

should be noted that the writer has never seen a copy of Deuce

Public Utility's Affirmative Action Program. The firm's represen-

tative indicated that the senior manager in charge of the AAP be-

lieves the information is privileged and not for outside consumption.

Ace Public Utility was the only company which said that
it had not developed a written Affirmative Action Program before
the governmental order. However, it did indicate that it took
concrete steps toward improving minority employment as early as
1962. Although last in formulating a written policy, Ace Public
Utility has the most detailed, elaborate Affirmative Action Pro-
gram. Many features of their program, completed in 1970, anti-
cipated governm . orders issued in 1971 and 1972. For example,
their Affirmative Action Program included provisions for elimin-
ating job restrictions based on sex. They also included in their
Affirmative Action Program goals and timetables not only for eth-
nic minorities, but also women.

As will be seen, even though these firms have made various
types of voluntary commitments to equal employment opportunities
and even though they have been required by governmental laws to
provide equal employment opportunities, the degree of commitment
to affirmative action is minimal to say the least.

A. Employment goals

Although all of the firms do have written AAPs, they vary
widely from the comprehensive plan of Ace Public Utility with
specific goals and timetables to the short statement of Triple C
Bank which simply reiterates its stance as an equal opportunity
employer.

Ace Public Utility has established the goal of achieving
population parity[3] in every district, department, and division no

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[3]Reaching population parity in a corporation means to

later than 1980. In addition, it will attempt to reach employee parity[4] at all levels from the lowest clerk to the Board of Directors by 1990. Not only are there goals and timetables for the entire company, but also for all the major subdivisions in the company.

Of the remaining firms, excluding Triple C Bank which has no specific goals and timetables, and Deuce Public Utility, their main goal is to increase the numbers of Black employees. Little, if any, emphasis is placed on increasing the numbers of Black managers at all levels of management and in all areas of management and timetables have not been set.[5]

Put another way, these companies are primarily concerned with reaching ethnic minority employment representation directly related to their population representation in the surrounding communities. This goal is not far reaching, especially since no specific dates have been set to achieve them.

A primary reason these remaining firms do not have goals and timetables is that they doubt their usefulness and effectiveness.

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achieve an employee group whose ethnic composition is a more or less direct relationship to the racial mixture of the community in which the corporation's operations are located.

[4]Employee parity is defined as a more or less direct relationship between the ethnic and sex composition of the work force and the ethnic and sex composition of all major job categories and all managerial levels.

[5]Triple A Bank and Ajax Manufacturing have recently (1972) complied with Executive Order 11246 by establishing goals and timetables on a year-by-year basis to attempt to increase the number of Blacks in their managerial work force, but they are only concerned with the total number of Black managers and not with the number of Blacks at each managerial level.

This reason, as the federal government argued in Revised Order 11246, is not valid. Another primary reason is that the enforcement of the law, by the federal government, has been slow and of limited effectiveness, to say the least.

Governmental pressures to meet goals and timetables have proven to be helpful in increasing the effectiveness of the Affirmative Action Programs in Ace Public Utility. One senior white manager in Ace Public Utility said many managers rationalized their lack of progress by saying they could not find qualified Blacks and/or could not afford them; but, after they were given goals and timetables as part of their managerial responsibilities and were going to be held accountable for meeting these goals, many of those who said they could not find any Black managers suddenly found them.

Setting goals and timetables does create certain problems which firms must realistically face. For example, it came out in several seminars the writer conducted for some of the senior managers in Ace Public Utility that the economic slowdown and the resultant discovery that the company was overstaffed at the middle and upper management positions created two serious problems: (1) The company has had to revise downward their goals and timetables and, as a result, some of the Black managers who expected to be promoted have not been promoted and they attribute it only to racial discrimination rather than to the economic slowdown, overstaffing or a combination of these factors. (2) Many of the white managers attribute their lack of promotional opportunities

to their company's strong emphasis on affirmative action rather
than to the economic slowdown and/or overstaffing. These senior
managers indicated that there is less discontent among the Black
managers than the white managers because many of them have just
recently received promotions, while many of the white managers
have not. They also indicated that there is more discontent
among the white managers than the Black managers because, in gen-
eral, the white males are apprehensive about and feel threatened
by the emphasis being placed on minorities and women. Many of
them consider their company's Affirmative Action Program to be
discriminatory toward white males. As many students of job dis-
crimination have observed, a recession heightens conflict between
minority and majority groups over jobs. Only in a brisk labor
market can occupational integration go forward rapidly and smoothly.[6]

Although some Black managers have become discontented
with company efforts in the area of equal employment opportunity,
the establishment of goals and timetables has generally had a very
positive effect on the Black managers' views of the opportunities
available in their firm, compared to those available in the corpor-
ate world in general. On the average, 80 percent of the Black man-
agers in Ace Public Utility believe that Blacks do not have equal
opportunities in the corporate world. This is the highest per-
centage of Black managers believing this to be true in the six
large companies. In contrast, only 50 percent, the lowest

[6]Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux, Industrial
Society and Social Welfare (New York, 1965), p. xxxiii.

percentage of Black managers in all of the companies believe that
Blacks do not have equal opportunities in their company. In con-
trast, 72 percent of the Black managers in Triple C Bank and 63
percent of those in Deuce Public Utility, which have very weak
AAPs, believe that Black managers do i it have equal opportunities
in their firms and 74 percent and 70 percent respectively, (f their
Black managers do not believe that Blacks have equal opportunities
in the corporate world. As one can see, the Black managers in
these two companies do not see much difference in the opportuni-
ties available to Black managers in their firms and in the corpor-
ate world in general. Thus a strong Affirmative Action Program
does create more positive views of the companies' employment poli-
cies among the Black managers than a weak policy.

The effect of Ace Public Utility's Affirmative Action Pro-
gram on their white managers does not seem to be more negative
than the effect the weak Affirmative Action Programs have on the
white managers in Triple C Bank and Deuce Public Utility. The
lack of difference among the white managers from these companies
can be attributed to the timing of the interviews. The interviews
in Ace Public Utility were completed before the economic slowdown
and the discovery of overstaffing and a strong impact on the employ-
ment policies of the company; therefore, the uneasy feelings of the
white managers did not show up in the interviews. In addition, al-
though Triple C Bank and Deuce Public Utility do not have effec-
tive, strong Affirmative Action Programs, they have issued many
public relations statements which have created the impression

among their white employees, and thus resentment, that Blacks are getting more than equal opportunities. Finally, there has developed in the 1960's and 1970's a general belief among many white Americans that all you have to be is Black and you have got it made.

In sum: all of the firms have experienced internal and external pressures to move toward equal employment opportunities for Blacks.[7] Although all of the firms have written Affirmative Action Programs, they vary greatly. Ace Public Utility has an elaborate AAP with specific goals and timetables. Triple C Bank, in contrast, has a three and one-half page statement simply reiterating the company's long standing policy of hiring and promoting people on the basis of ability and merit, not on the basis of race, creed, color, religion, or national origin. The AAPs of the remaining firms are somewhere in between these two extremes.

B. Recruiting policies

In order to achieve Black employment goals, especially managerial, it is important to have effective recruiting methods and sensitive recruiters and interviewers.

All of the companies, except Triple A Bank, indicated that they do recruit at predominantly Black colleges. Triple A Bank recruited at two Black colleges in 1969; however, it has not recruited at any since then. There were two reasons given for this:

[7]The next section looks into these internal and external pressures in greater detail.

(1) Senior management did not believe that it was or would be profitable because the company could not find the qualified Black managers that it needed. (2) The company has not recruited at any colleges since 1969 because of the economic slowdown.

The other companies which recruit at Black colleges began their recruiting efforts in the mid or late sixties. Two primary reasons were given by the companies for their recruiting efforts at predominantly Black colleges: (1) The civil rights movement and new federal laws and regulations forced the companies to begin looking for Black college graduates. (2) A number of Black colleges have been taking concrete steps toward improving their academic standards in order to compete with Northern, predominantly white colleges.

These seven firms have all recruited at the Atlanta Complex (Atlanta University, Clark College, Morehouse College, Spelman, and Morriss Brown) and Texas Southern. Most of them have recruited at Howard, Southern University, Tuskegee, Fisk, Hampton, and Prairie View. Ace Public Utility and Century Manufacturing indicated that they recruit at approximately twenty-seven predominantly Black colleges.

Aunts Manufacturing explained its rationale for recruiting at only a few select Black colleges in this manner: ". . . we have determined that a concentrated approach to a minimum number of quality growth colleges will produce the best long-range results."

Ace Public Utility is the only firm with specific college
recruiting goals for obtaining Black, other minorities, and women
representation.[8] Since it is the only company with managerial
goals and timetables this would be expected.

In addition to recruiting at predominantly Black colleges,
Ace Public Utility, Triple A Bank, and Aunts, Cousins and Century
Manufacturing Companies use employment agencies to seek Black man-
agers. One agency frequently used is Richard Clark and Associates
which specializes in recruiting Black managers.

All of the firms have contacts and maintain relations with
the National Urban League, the NAACP, and local Black groups as
"recruiting" sources for Black managers.

In addition to these methods, most of the companies adver-
tise in local and minority newspapers. And all of them on occasion,
set up booths at job fairs held by various minority groups.

Table 2 indicates the manner by which the managers who par-
ticipated in the study obtained jobs with their present companies.

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[8]Ajax Manufacturing has just recently set a goal for minor-
ity college recruits to include three Blacks out of every nine man-
agers hired. Also Triple A Bank has recently told its Black man-
agers to recruit and hire a certain number of Blacks for manager-
ial positions. The unique feature of this program is that the
Black manager hires the individual before sending him to Personnel
for processing. Other companies generally leave the hiring deci-
sions up to the Personnel Department. Because of this new method,
the company reached its goals for Black managers four months be-
fore they expected to. Before the company instituted this new
procedure, their goals with respect to minority representation
were very seldom reached primarily because the white managers
would rationalize their lack of success in recruiting Blacks to
the Blacks' lack of qualifications or the Blacks' high salary
demands.

TABLE 2

HOW THE MANAGERS OBTAINED JOBS
WITH THEIR PRESENT COMPANIES

Method by Which Obtained Job	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Applied at Employment Office	43 %	41 %
Recruited by Company at College	18	15
Friends	13	20
Relatives	8	5
Employment Agencies	8	5
News Ad	6	9
State Employment	2	1
Other	2	4
Total	100	100

The most frequent way the managers obtained jobs with their
present companies was by personally applying at employment offices.
Approximately one-fifth of the Black managers and one-quarter of
the white managers obtained employment with their present companies
through friends or relatives. More than double the percentage of
Black managers with four or less years of service, compared to
those with four or more years of service, were referred to their
companies by friends or relatives. This suggests that as the
number of Black managers increases friends and relatives will be-
come an increasingly important recruiting source. Dale L. Hiestand
noted the importance of informal recruiting methods:

> The operations of the labor market are profoundly
> affected by the information and recruiting systems
> used by employers and the information systems used
> by jobseekers. In general, these tend to be highly
> informal, with family connections, word of mouth,
> and the like playing a relatively large role. The
> informal mechanisms work in such a way that white
> workers in better jobs in effect recruit other white
> persons as potential workers and few Negroes show up
> as applicants where they are not already well repre-
> sented. Thus differential employment patterns tend
> to be self-perpetuating.[9]

The third most important source by which the managers ob-

tained employment was recruitment by the companies or through col-

lege placement centers. The recent emphasis on recruiting Blacks

at colleges is illustrated by the fact that more than half of the

Black managers recruited at colleges have four or less years of

service. This compares with less than one-tenth of the white

managers with similar service.

When recruiting managers, all of the companies, except

Ajax Manufacturing, indicated a preference for those individuals

who have business administration degrees. Ace and Deuce Public

Utilities and Cousins, Aunts and Ajax Manufacturing Companies

also have preferences for graduates with engineering backgrounds.

Triple C Bank has a preference for graduates with backgrounds in

economics and Triple A Bank for graduates with backgrounds in

liberal arts. The only one who indicated that his company has no

preferences was the Personnel Director from Ajax Manufacturing who

said, "All we want is people who could become good managers."

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[9]Dale L. Hiestand, Discrimination in Employment (Ann Arbor,
Mich., 197(, p. 26.

Margaret Gordon and Thal-Larsen in a labor study of employ-

ment practices in the San Francisco Bay Area wrote:

> In view of widespread interest in educational
> requirements for managerial workers, we also asked
> several questions relating to the particular types
> of college training preferred. Very few of our
> respondents indicated that they attempted to sel-
> ect, as potential managers, graduates from any
> particular colleges, business schools, or other
> institutions of higher education. There was, how-
> ever, a decided tendency among the establishments
> requiring a college degree to prefer a degree in
> business administration or engineering over such
> majors as the natural sciences or humanities.
> These results are generally consistent with those
> of a nationwide study conducted a decade ago, and
> it appears likely that technological developments
> of the last decade--especially the increasing
> tendency to use computers to provide information
> and analysis relating to managerial decision-mak-
> ing--may well have tended to strengthen prefer-
> ences for degrees in business administration and
> engineering. In fact, the preferences for engin-
> eering and "bus ad" majors often expressed the
> employer's belief that the completion of these
> majors, more than others, was evidence of a com-
> mitment to the business community, and under-
> standing of modern technology, or a demonstration
> of various work habits and other characteristics
> relevant to the selection decision.[10]

Although the majority of the firms in this study, and

according to Gordon and Thal-Larsen's study most other firms, give

preference to candidates with degrees in the sciences and business

administration, it is quite evident from this study that there are

also many opportunities for individuals with degrees in the human-

ities and social sciences and also for individuals without degrees.

In order to have a successful recruitment program, the

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[10]Margaret Gordon and Thal-Larsen, _Employer Policies in
a Changing Labor Market_ (Berkeley, 1969), p. 277.

recruiters and interviewers of the firms or of those agencies used by the firms for recruiting should be carefully selected and trained. The primary reason for this is that regardless of an individual's background the initial impression the individual makes on the recruiter or interviewer is critical. The situation for Blacks when seeking employment becomes further complicated due to the great possibility of the non-Black interviewers or recruiters possessing racial stereotypes and negative attitudes about Blacks. This, of course, would severely handicap the Blacks' chances of making a good impression. Very few of the companies have taken concrete steps to carefully select and train their recruiters and interviewers.

Most of the companies periodically send some of their Black managers to recruit at Black colleges; however, in general, it is done by the predominantly white Personnel Departments.[11] Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies do not have any college recruiters specifically assigned to their small operations. Their managers are recruited by the recruiters at their corporate headquarters.

Only Triple C Bank had a full time Black college recruiter (1969-1971). (The position was abolished in 1972.) His position was developed as a result of great pressures by a group of Black managers several years ago. More specifically, the Black managers became disenchanted with the lack of progress their company was making in the area of Black managerial opportunities; therefore,

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[11]As noted before, Triple A Bank has only recently decided to permit their Black managers to recruit other Blacks for managerial positions.

they formed a group to approach the senior white managers about improving the company's record in hiring Blacks. Numerous meetings took place during which there was an implied threat on the part of some Black managers that they would resign if the company did not take some steps toward improving the number of Black managers. The result of these meetings was the establishment of a Black recruiter.

Recruiter and interviewer bias has been made a little more difficult by federal regulations. The regulations state that the reasons for rejection of a candidate must be specific, job related, and must apply only to the applicant. Vague or unsubstantiated statements such as the following are unacceptable: "better qualified applicants available" (unless such applicants are identified), "personality conflict," "not suitable for our operations," and "personality not suited to departments."

Some of the companies in the study are taking additional steps to assure that their recruiters and interviewers are not rejecting minorities just because they are minorities. For example, Ace Public Utility and Triple A Bank regularly review the hiring records of their recruiters and interviewers.

Although there have been steps taken to eliminate recruiter and interviewer bias, there will never be a totally objective recruiting and interviewing system because it is impossible to develop a completely mechanized system with no human involvement whatsoever.

In sum: most of the firms recruit at some of the well-known Black colleges. The firms also use other methods of recruiting such as newspaper ads, civil rights organizations, and employment agencies; however, there was little agreement on the best methods of recruiting Black managers. In general, the firms, although expressing preferences for managers with business administration and engineering degrees, have a large minority of managers with degrees in the humanities and social sciences. And finally, it was shown that although the firms realize the importance of having knowledgeable, sensitive recruiters and interviewers, in general they have not taken any concrete steps to select qualified recruiters and interviewers--the job is normally left to the generally all-white Personnel Departments.

C. Testing policies

Managerial testing does not seem to be an important part of the companies' evaluation procedures. Only half, Ace Public Utility and Cousins, Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies, indicated they use aptitude and achievement tests to evaluate new managers whether they are college -educated or moving up from non-management to management positions. None of the firms use psychological tests.

Several personnel managers in Triple A Bank and Aunts Manufacturing indicated that their companies do not use tests for college graduates because they have not found tests to be helpful in evaluating management potential or qualifications,

especially with minority managers. Many managers who score high
on tests may not be the best managers of people and/or the best
decision-makers.

The decreased reliance on tests in evaluating potential
managers or managers is also a result of Title VII of the Civil
Rights Act of 1964.

In August 1966, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
(EEOC) issued the following guidelines on employment testing
procedures:

> The Commission accordingly interprets "professionally
> developed ability test" to mean a test which fairly
> measures the knowledge or skills required by the
> particular job or class of jobs which the applicant
> seeks, or which fairly affords the employer a chance
> to measure the applicant's ability to perform a par-
> ticular job or class of jobs. The fact that a test
> was prepared by an individual or organization claim-
> ing expertise in test preparation does not, without
> more, justify its use within the meaning of Title VII.[12]

In August 1970, the EEOC elaborated on the testing guide-
lines. These guidelines demanded that employers using tests have
available: "data demonstrating that the test is productive of or
significantly correlated with important elements of work behavior
comprising or relevant to the job or jobs for which Guidelines
are being evaluated."[13]

In Griggs vs. Duke Power Co., the U. S. Supreme Court
agreed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)

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[12]Griggs vs. Duke Power Co., Number 124-October Term 1970,
p. 9.

[13]Ibid., p. 9.

position.   Chief Justice Burger wrote:

> . . . From the sum of the legislative history
> relevant in this case, the conclusion is ines-
> capable that the EEOC's construction of 703H to
> require that employment tests be job-related com-
> ports with congressional intent.
>
> Nothing in the Act precludes the use of testing
> or measuring procedures; obviously they are useful.
> What Congress has forbidden is giving these devices
> and mechanisms controlling force unless they are
> demonstrably a reasonable measure of job perform-
> ance.   Congress has not commanded that the less
> qualified be preferred over the better qualified
> simply because of minority origins.   Far from dis-
> paraging job qualifications as such, Congress has
> made such qualifications the controlling factor,
> so that race, religion, nationality, and sex be-
> come irrelevant.   What Congress has commanded is
> that any tests used must measure the person for
> the job and not the person in the abstract.[14]

Primarily because of these two reasons, the importance of

testing managers (employees) has been greatly reconsidered by many

firms; however, several giant corporations are still using tests

and strongly support the validity of tests as one criterion in

selecting managers and workers.

D.   Training programs

All of the firms have training programs for employees at

all levels of employment; however, only their management training

programs will be discussed.   None of the companies have special

training programs designed specifically to develop minority

managers.

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[14]Ibid., pp. 11-12.

Training programs are normally designed for three types of
managers: the new college graduate who is just entering the firm,
the new college graduate who has been judged a high achiever, and
the non-management worker promoted into a supervisory position.

The new college graduate training programs attempt to give
the trainee a diverse amount of experience in his first one to two
years with the company. This training normally consists of on-
the-job training and company sponsored classroom training. Gen-
erally during the training period the trainees select, or others
select for them, a specialized area in which they will begin their
first non-training career.

The high risk-high reward program is set up for those
college graduates who have been judged as high achievers. They
are normally given higher salaries and more demanding assignments.
After a short orientation course lasting approximately two to three
weeks, the trainee is given challenging tasks under the close sup-
ervision of a 'sponsor" who is normally two management levels above
the trainee. At the end of the first year the trainee is evaluated
by his "sponsor." If the evaluation is positive, the trainee is
retained and is almost guaranteed to make middle management much
faster than the regular college graduates. However, if the eval-
uation is mediocre or negative, the trainee is asked to resign.
Ace Public Utility, Triple C Bank, and Ajax and Century Manufac-
turing Companies have this high risk-hig! reward training program.

The third training program, whi   1 of the firms have,
is for non-management employees who have   n given the opportunity

to demonstrate their abilities in handling greater responsibility and who have demonstrated managerial potential by performing their duties in an above average fashion. The training program generally consists of the trainees being assigned to a number of management training programs for various lengths of time. After the training sessions, they receive management assignments in the areas they previously worked in as non-managers.

The number of Blacks in these programs is usually quite low--approximately 2-3 percent, primarily because of racial discrimination. Ferman found a similar lack of Blacks in training programs in his study of twenty firms:

> Relatively few Negroes were reported to be in
> . . . formal training programs . . . . Except in
> companies in which the union seniority system plays
> a paramount role in training opportunities, the
> selection of a worker for training is based on the
> personal recommendation of his supervisor. In most
> cases, then, the Negro's immediate supervisor assumes
> a gatekeeper role regarding his admission to training.[15]

Only Ace Public Utility and Century Manufacturing have established goals to improve the number of Blacks in their training programs. Century Manufacturing maintains a list of twenty-five potential managers who are selected from the blue-collar ranks. The company's goal is to include five minorities on the list, including one female.

In conclusion, although most of the firms have three types of managerial training programs, few Blacks participate as trainees.

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[15]Ferman, p. 70.

The small number of Blacks can be attributed in great part to the
negative racial attitudes which exist among white managers. Only
Ace Public Utility, Triple A Bank and Ajax and Century Manufactur-
ing Companies have established goals to increase the number of
Blacks in these programs.[16]

E. Promotional policies

All of the firms in this study have stressed the fact that
the vast majority of their positions are filled from within. One
manager described the promotional process in his company, which
is relevant to all companies, in the following way: "Our company
is a paternalistic organization which moves people from very low
positions to very high positions." In this study, significant
numbers of Black and white managers believe that their companies'
promotional procedures should be more objective. That large num-
bers of Black and white managers would make their companies' promo-
tional policies more objective is not surprising. Promotional de-
cisions will always have a strong subjective element because people
must make the final decision on who will or will not be promoted.
Caplow put it this way:

> The essential element in hierarchic promotion
> is that promotion depends on the judgment, and hence
> on the good will, of one's superiors. Wherever merit
> is appraised by ágencies outside the occupational
> framework--the market, the critics, or the record
> book--the judgment of superiors is of course quali-
> fied by these "objective" factors. But even objec-
> tive achievement usually requires the active cooper-
> ation of occupational superiors.[17]

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[16]Ajax Manufacturing has just recently set a goal to have
Blacks make up 33 percent of its various management training
programs. Triple A Bank is now in the process of setting up sep-
arate training programs for minorities in order that they may be
trained and advanced faster to middle and upper management positions.

[17]Caplow, p. 72.

While all managers are confronted with the problem of biased evaluations by their superior(s), Black managers have the additional problem of racial biases. Thus, in order to reach any affirmative action goals and thereby have an effective Affirmative Action Program, it is essential for the firms to institute procedures which would control the level of evaluation bias. However, only Ace Public Utility has stated officially that it will take action against managers who discriminate against Blacks. The company's Affirmative Action Manual states that if managers use discriminatory criteria to hold Black employees back, they will be subjected to the appropriate disciplinary action up to and including dismissal depending on the severity of the case. Ajax and Century Manufacturing's AAP Co-ordinators said that there is not an officially stated policy to discipline managers who practice discrimination, but that it is an unofficial policy. The remaining five companies explained that because it is impossible to measure racial attitudes, they do not consider an individual's racial attitude as a valid criterion for taking disciplinary action or as a promotional criterion. Even Ace Public Utility which, has an officially stated policy and Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies, whose policies are unofficial, do essentially what the other companies do which is to shift the bigots to a position where there are no or only a few minority employees or to just put up with them. However, many Black managers in this study cited cases where Blacks were fired or reorganized out of their

companies because of "militant" attitudes in the opinions of the whites, i.e., their speaking up about discriminatory company policies. Thus if you are a "militant" Black, watch out; but if you are a racist white, you rarely need to worry about your attitudes getting you fired. These companies are not ready to vigorously and sincerely confront the problem of bigoted white managers.

Some steps are being taken to bring about an understanding between the races. Ace and Deuce Public Utilities, Aunts and Cousins Manufacturing Companies, and Triple A Bank have held various types of management race relations training programs. Ace Public Utility holds some for incoming managers to orient them with the company's affirmative action policies and some ". . . primarily for managers who are directly responsible for the assimilation of new employees from different cultural backgrounds into the work force." In addition, Ace Public Utility and Triple C Bank have sent some of their managers to management sensitivity programs outside of their companies.

The sincerity or priority of the racial understanding programs of some firms may be questioned. For example, the Chairman of the Board and the President of one of the companies strongly supported the idea of a sensitivity training seminar for all the managers; however, less than 20 percent of the top management actually participated. Neither the Chairman of the Board nor the President attended the seminar when scheduled. Because of the poor attendance and a strong protest by the Affirmative Action

Program Co-ordinator, a second one was given with a better attendance.

In sum: the companies' promotional policies typically emphasize promotion from within. Generally the individuals' immediate superiors determine if they will be promoted. The fact that subjective criteria enter into promotional decisions, because individuals must make the final decision on who or who does not get promoted, has made many managers, Black and white, believe that more objective promotional systems should be established in their companies. Except for infrequent race relations training seminars, none of the companies have taken steps to deal with white managers whose negative racial attitudes foster unfair evaluations of Blacks.

F. Structures of the companies'
    Affirmative Action Programs

In order to have an effective Affirmative Action Program there must be an organization which is responsible for implementing the program and assuring compliance. In this section the focus will be on the structures established to implement the AAPs and the managers primarily responsible for the implementation and enforcement of the programs.

The Industrial Relations Manager is the person primarily responsible for Ajax Manufacturing's Affirmative Action Program. The Assistant Manager of Installation and the Personnel Manager are responsible for Century Manufacturing's program. These managers have three or four assistants who are responsible for dealing

with complaints, keeping statistics, filing EEO reports, and re-
vising the program. Because these are small operations, the Af-
firmative Action Co-ordinators report directly to the Corporate
Co-ordinators.

Ace Public Utility has a more elaborate structure, as one
would expect. The Corporate Vice-President of Personnel, responsible
for the company's AAP, reports directly to his immediate superior,
the President. The managers who report to the Corporate Vice-
President of Personnel for the AAP are the Vice-President and
General Manager of each area or regional staff. Each area also
has a regional Assistant Vice-President of Personnel who is dele-
gated the responsibility for administration and implementation of
the program. In addition, to assist the Assistant Vice-Presidents
of Personnel there is a Corporate AAP Co-ordinator and nine area
and regional AAP Co-ordinators. These Co-ordinators are responsible
for the preparation of AAP documents and compliance reviews, the
investigation of discrimination complaints, and progress reviews.

Finally, there are the Urban Affairs Representatives in
each area or company branch. These representatives, among other
duties, recruit, select, hire, and place minorities and women.
In addition, they are available to counsel minorities and women
and/or their supervisors. Their job, basically, is to help the
company in whatever way possible to fulfill its affirmative action
obligations.

In order to co-ordinate the activities of all of these
managers, Ace Public Utility has set up two committees--the

Interdepartmental Personnel Committee and the Interdepartmental

Urban Affairs Committee. The former committee is made up of

middle-upper level managers responsible for personnel matters in

their respective departments. The committee meets regularly to

review and discuss activities related to general personnel matters

and affirmative action.

This committee is charged with the difficult responsibility

to insure that the company's sub-units are complying with the

company's Affirmative Action Program.

The Interdepartmental Urban Affairs committee is composed

of personnel managers who are involved in affirmative action and

urban affair activities. The committee meets at least monthly to

co-ordinate activities in these areas.

Triple C Bank's AAP structure is just the opposite of Ace

Public Utility's. The manager primarily responsible for Triple

C Bank's affirmative action effort (the term effort is used be-

cause this company does not have an official program) is the

Senior Vice-President of Personnel. His primary assistant is

the Human Relations Officer. The latter is responsible for the

preparation and handling of compliance reviews, investigating

discrimination complaints, and the progress reviews on the AAP.

In short, he is responsible for the overall program. When this

manager was interviewed, the writer asked him if he had any as-

sistance in fulfilling his numerous tasks. He said, "Everyone

is my assistant. If I see a problem I tell the parties to

correct it and it is corrected."

Cousins Manufacturing, Triple A Bank and Deuce Public Utility have adopted the position that the individuals primarily responsible for their Affirmative Action Programs are the department, division, and, as is the case with the banks, the branch managers. However, these companies he 'e middle level Corporate AAP Co-ordinators and their assistants who perform various review functions and reporting functions. The Vice-President AAP Co-ordinator for Triple A Bank has a Black Assistant Vice-President as his primary assistant. Deuce Public Utility's Corporate AAP Co-ordinator is Black, who, according to well placed managers in the company, received the position primarily because of his family's influence in national politics.

Cousins Manufacturing has a Black Corporate Affirmative Action Co-ordinator who had several problems when he first assumed his position. He was with the firm only one and one-half years before he became the Corporate AAP Co-ordinator, replacing his white boss who was promoted. Twenty years prior to joining the company he was a member of the U. S. Army, retiring with the rank of Colonel. Many times during the first six months, white managers, who would normally consult the Corporate AAP Co-ordinator about a problem, would either consult his boss to seek a solution to the problem or ask his boss if it would be all right to consult the Black Co-ordinator! Not only did they b ass him because of his race, but it is also possible that they did not have confidence in him because of his short period of time with the firm before he took over a responsible and potentially powerful

position; yet race is probably the most important reason.

Aunts Manufacturing's Corporate AAP Co-ordinator reports directly to the President of the company. He has AAP Co-ordinators at all of the large operations. The plant managers of the smaller operations have the primary responsibility for the Affirmative Action Program at their operations. This company is the only company in the study which separates the Affirmative Action functions from the Personnel functions. Each function is a separate entity with its own organizational structure. In addition, it is the only company which has the AAP Co-ordinator reporting directly to the President. There are several advantages to this type of setup. First, the AAP Co-ordinator is the representative of the President and everyone knows that when he speaks he is speaking for the President. Second, the Affirmative Action Department has its own budget; therefore, it does not have to compete for funds not only with other departments but also with specific groups within a department. A third advantage is independence: the Affirmative Action Department is an "outside" investigator of personnel problems--it is not comprised of personnel people investigating personnel practices.

Although there are various AAP structures--from the very well organized and structured of Ace Public Utility to the very unorganized and unstructured of Triple C Bank--none of the firms have taken any steps to assure that all of the managers, especially the white managers, who are primarily involved in the area of affirmative action, are sensitive and committed to the idea of equal

opportunities for all. Generally the managers are rotated into those positions without any prior evaluation of their racial attitudes or their "qualifications." In addition, these positions are generally filled by individuals who are ineffective in other jobs. In short, these positions are frequently looked upon as undesirable, dead end jobs for incompetent managers.

One should not conclude that Black managers in these programs should not also be carefully evaluated. However, the crucial problem is with the racist attitudes of the whites, since they have the real power to bring about changes.

G. Compliance procedures

All of the companies, except Cousins Manufacturing, use printouts containing information on all of their employees. The information in the printouts normally gives the age, race, length of service, sex, and salary of every employee. Triple C Bank and Aunts Manufacturing have additional information on educational level and date and percentage of last raise.

Triple A Bank described the rationale for the computer printouts in this manner:

> Computer reports are made so that profiles can
> be drawn to determine which Division, District,
> Branch or Department is meeting the requirements.
> Similar reports showing the placement of every
> employee help us determine whether minorities are
> being under-utilized in any job categories. It
> also gives us accurate feed-back and the ability
> to audit the degree of compliance with the bank's
> equal opportunity policy. An additional computer
> report enables us to audit the upgarde advance-
> ment of minroities from the list of all employees

by grade and the date reaching that
grade.[18]

The various types of reports required by each firm are
shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION REPORTS
REQUIRED BY THE FIRMS

Type of Reports	Names of Companies Requiring Reports
EEO-1 Annual Report to the Government	All
Monthly Minority Progress Report	Ace, Triple C, Aunts, Triple A, Ajax, Century, and Deuce
Annual Supervisory and Management Summary	Cousins, Aunts, and Ajax
EEO-1 Employment Data (Semi-annual requirement)	Ace, Cousins, Aunts, Triple A, and Ajax
Quarterly Overall Minority Employment Summary	Ace, Cousins, Aunts, Triple A, and Ajax
Quarterly Supervisory/ Management Summary	Ace, Cousins, Aunts, and Ajax
Quarterly Hard Core Summary	Ace, Cousins, and Aunts

_____

[18]This quotation comes from p. 3 of a short affirmative
action statement put out by the company.

Many of these reporting procedures, while they could be useful in measuring their companies' progress toward more equal and efficient employment of Blacks, are somewhat meaningless since there are no goals to reach and timetables to meet. In addition, there is a general feeling among many Black and some white managers that these reporting procedures are more for show and public relations than for compliance checks. For example, in reviewing one company's AAP printout the writer asked the AAP Co-ordinator to assist him in interpreting the data, but the Co-ordinator was himself unable to interpret the printout.

In sum: it is evident that Ace Public Utility is the only company in this study which has taken the time to develop an elaborate, well defined, constructive Affirmative Action Program. It is also evident that Triple C Bank has not decided, as of yet, to face the fact that in order to assure Blacks equal employment opportunities, affirmative steps must be taken. Most of the Affirmative Action Programs of the remaining companies are in between these two extremes. Several are taking a few steps forward in providing Blacks with equal opportunities and the remaining are still not convinced that the requirements of the laws must be met sooner or later, thus not really attacking the problems of employmen discrimination.

Why the Companies' Affirmative Action
Programs Differ: Introduction

In the previous section it was noted that such factors as
governmental laws and pressures, civil rights groups' activities,
internal pressures from Black employees, and company "commitments"
have all shaped the formulation and implementation of Affirmative
Action Programs. In this section these factors will be evaluated
in more detail in addition to such factors as the riots of the
1960's, the companies' characteristics, i.e., type of industry and
products and locations, the companies' views of what constitutes
measures of success in equal employment, problems anticipated by
the companies, and "key" personnels' attitudes and influence on
the companies' policies.

A. Government influence

Many students of minority employment have pointed out that
the primary motivating force behind the employment of Blacks in
corporations has been governmental laws and regulations. The
firms in this study have been subjected to more than ten Execu-
tive Orders since President Roosevelt issued the first Executive
Order (8802) in 1941 prohibiting racial discrimination in employ-
ment among government contractors.

In 1964, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act was signed. It
was the first comprehensive equal employment opportunity law ever
passed by Congress. This law provided for the establishment of
the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) as its admin-
istrative and enforcement agency; however, the EEOC was given the

right to conciliate, but not the power to compel employers to con-
form to the equal employment opportunity law. The law provides
that if an individual claims an alleged discrimination in viola-
tion of Title VII, he/she may sue after exhausting his rights with
the EEOC. However, in the Spring of 1972, Congress passed a law
giving the EEOC power to bring suits against firms found not in
compliance with Title VII without having to have an employee file
the suit.

> This section establishes the enforcement powers
> and functions of the EEOC and the Attorney General
> to aid in the prevention of unlawful employment
> practices proscrib d by Title VII of the Civil Rights
> Act of 1964.
>
> H. R. 1746 retains the general scheme of the
> present law which enables the EEOC to process a
> charge of employment discrimination through the
> investigation and conciliation stages. In addi-
> tion, H. R. 1746 now authorizes the EEOC; in
> cases where the respondent is not a government,
> govern atal agency or political subdivision to
> file a ivil action against the respondent in
> an appropriate Federal District Court, if it has
> been unable to eliminate an alleged unlawful em-
> ployment practice by informal methods of confer-
> ence, conciliation, and persuasion. The Attorney
> General is authorized to file civil actions against
> respondents that are governments, governmental
> agencies or political subdivisions if the EEOC is
> unable to achieve a successful conciliation.[19]

With regard to the passing of H. R. 1746, William Brown,
Chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, noted:

> Title VII as originally proposed in 1964 did
> contain enforcement powers for the Commission,
> but these were deleted to assure passage of other

---

[19]Analysis by the Bureau of National Affairs, Inc.,
Congressional Record, March 6, 1972, Washington, D. C., p. F-1.

provisions. Thus, from its inception in 1965
until just this year, EEOC labored under the
handicap of no enforcement powers. It is only
fair to say that we intend to use our new powers
to their fullest and the effect of those powers
on the personnel policies of the nation's em-
ployers should not be underestimated. No less
than a new era of activism in the enforcement
of civil rights law has begun.[20]

Although the government has not been a strong, consistent

enforcer of its own laws, federal courts have provided a strong

impetus for equal employment opportunities. As the AAP Co-ordin-

ator of Aunts Manufacturing noted:

Concerning the power of law - in retrospect, the
most significant accomplishment toward achieving
EEO has occurred through the federal courts by
virtue of definition and mandate, or threat of
the same, rather than by any voluntary action on
the part of the government. The examples are
too numerous to mention . . . .[21]

According to him, government actions and pressures have

had the following effect on his firm:

It has been five years since the Corporation
identified Equal Employment Opportunity as a new
and important management responsibility and ob-
jective. The concept was acknowledged as early
as 1963 when the company joined "Plans for Progress."
However, it is clear that the Title VII lawsuit at
. . . in early 1967 (which is still unresolved),
charging us with violation of the Civil Rights
Act, served as the spur to our declaration of
commitment to Equal Employment Opportunity and
the establishment of a corporate function re-
sponsible for directing the implementation of
that commitment.[22]

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[20]From a seminar report prepared by the Affirmative Action
Program Co-ordinator of Aunts Manufacturing Company, p. 5.

[21]Ibid., p. 7.

[22]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Put another way, the government is making the cost of dis-
crimination greater than most companies can afford and/or are
willing to pay. A most notable example of the costliness of dis-
crimination is the EEOC case filed against American Telephone and
Telegraph which was finally settled in mid-January 1973 at a cost
of 38 million dollars. This $38 million does not include millions
of dollars for legal, administrative, and management costs.

Triple C Bank increased its employment of Black female
managers in 1971-72 by 120 percent (17-37) and white female man-
agers by 36 percent (1,325-1,801). This increase took place after
a suit was filed against the company alleging sex discrimination.

Finally, as Chapter IV will show, the firms in this study
only began to make more than token efforts to employ Black mana-
gers in 1967 when the implications of Title VII began to be realized
and understood by the business community. In short, governmental
laws and regulations have been one of the most important factors
in making firms develop programs to assure that Blacks have equal
opportunities; however, the programs developed by these firms are
quite diverse, indicating governmental pressures are having more
effect on some firms than on others. Thus, other reasons are
needed to explain the differences in the companies' employment
policies towards Blacks.

B. Social pressures and riots

The federal government did not take the initiative to
assure Blacks equal employment opportunities without outside

pressure. President Roosevelt issued the first Executive Order
after Black leaders agreed to call off a threatened march on the
nation's capital. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964
can be directly attributed to the social pressures on the govern-
ment from Black civil rights groups an l their white allies. As
John E. Means wrote:

> "White America, with few exceptions, was little
> interested in ameliorating the lot of the Negro
> or in gaining a more sympathetic understanding
> of his needs." Only through militant action was
> better economic opportunity for all minority
> groups to be gained: by demonstrations, protest
> meetings, mass marches.[23]

Probably one of the strongest social pressures which made
many urban corporations take steps to increase their Black employ-
ment in the mid and late 1960's was the urban riots. In this
study, a substantial number of the Black and white managers be-
lieve that the riots of the 1960's had a positive effect on their
companies' employment policies toward Blacks when they were asked
the specific question: How do you believe the ghetto riots of the
1960's affected your company's employment policy for Blacks?

As Table 4 shows the Black managers believe the riots had
a much stronger effect on their companies' employment policies
than the white managers.

Whether the riots had a positive, negative, or no effect
on these companies' employment policies depends on how the managers

---

[23]John E. Means, "Fair Employment Practices Legislation and
Enforcement in the U. S.," in Louis A. Ferman, et al., Negroes and
Jobs (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968), p. 459.

personally perceived the situation. For example, in Ace Public

Utility the riots signaled a need to its management that the

TABLE 4

EFFECT OF RIOTS ON THE COMPANIES'
EMPLOYMENT POLICES

Type of Effect	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Tremendously-Positively	35 %	5 %
Positive Effect	27	37
Awareness-Positively	10	20
No Effect-Negatively	10	2
Affected Only Non-Managerial Positions	4	0
No Effect-Positively	4	16
Indirectly-Positively	1	10
Negative Effect	1	2
Don't Know	8	8
Total	100	100

company must put forth greater efforts in the employment of Blacks.

In Deuce Public Utility the riots did not trigger any significant

positive response from the management to change their employment

policies with regard to Blacks. Some of the typical responses of

the managers follow.

A white lower level banker in Triple A Bank described his

opinion in this way: "They affected everyone's attitude. There

was a realization of the problem. It was an unfortunate way to do it, but it helped. The country has always been violent."

A white middle level manager in Cousins Manufacturing commented: "The riots spurred them (the company) on. I'm sort of glad they happened. They brought to attention the fact that they (Blacks) weren't going to wait around. They made whites realize the frustration and desperation of the Blacks in the ghetto."

A lower level Black manager in Triple C Bank: "They helped a great deal in hiring aspect but not in promotion aspect. The only thing that helped in promotions was an actual confrontation."

Two contrasting views of a white lower level manager and a Black lower level manager from Triple C Bank are as follows: The white manager said, "They affected it emphatically. Prior to this time the bank operated in an 'ivory tower' atmosphere. This awakened them to the need of these Blacks with regard to jobs, living standards, everything." The Black manager said, "They affected it very little. There was no change for the managerial level. There were some changes for the lower levels."

Thus far it has been shown that both governmental pressures and riots have had extremely mixed effects on the c anies' employment policies for Blacks.

The EEO Co-ordinators in all of the companies, except Cousins and Century Manufacturing Companies, indicated that their companies have responded to pressures by various civil rights

groups to improve the Black managers' situation in the corporate

world. It was noted earlier that Triple C Bank made a commitment

to improve their employment of Blacks because of pressures by CORE

and other civil rights groups in 1964. More specifically, beginning

in January 1964, CORE, NAACP, and the Ad Hoc Committee to End Dis-

crimination began a long protracted confrontation with Triple C

Bank. At that time Blacks made up 2.2 percent of the total em-

ployment force of the company and 99 percent of the Blacks were

in the lowest paying, non-managerial positions. After more than

six months of negotiations and demonstrations, an impasse occurred

between the bank and CORE; however, an agreement was reached be-

tween the bank and the California FEPC. However, the only concrete

result of this confrontation was that the bank appointed a well

known Black, with many years of governmental experience, as its

first Assistant Vice-President, which is a middle level management

position. After the pressure from CORE was lifted, the company re-

turned to its previous non-committed policy of employing Blacks.

It was also noted that Triple A Bank established goals

and timetables to hire minorities as a result of pressures from a

coalition of civil rights groups.

In the Summer of 1970, Treasury Secretary David Kennedy

ordered an investigation of Triple A Bank's minority and female

employment policies after it was named in a civil rights suit

filed by minority and women groups and California Rural Legal

Assistance. Although the federal review found Triple A Bank's

employment policies commendable, Triple A Bank reached an agreement

on November 27, 1970, with the civil rights groups to formulate a hiring program with timetables which would reflect the population ratio of the state. The overall goal was to increase their minority work force (Blacks, Chicanos, and Asians) by 20 percent by 1972.

Ace Public Utility and Aunts Manufacturing Company have made commitments to various civil rights groups to establish training programs for minorities entering non-managerial positions. This outside pressure from civil rights groups, while having an impact on the companies' Affirmative Action Programs, has had a minimal effect because there generally has not been continuous pressure on these firms over a long period of time. Once the crisis is over and the pressure has been relaxed, most firms revert back to their previous unfavorable employment policies towards Blacks.

The previous examples concerned the effectiveness of outside pressures in bringing about change in these companies' employment policies for Blacks. With regard to internal pressures, Ace and Deuce Public Utilities, Triple A and Triple C Banks, and Ajax Manufacturing Company have been subjected to pressures from their Black employees.

In Ajax Manufacturing, organized protest by Black workers resulted in the promotion of two Blacks to management positions, the upgrading of Blacks into better blue-collar positions, and a more detailed Affirmative Action Program.

In 1970, Triple A Bank, after a meeting between top management and the Black managers, began to develop innovative methods to improve the number of black managers in the firm and their level

of achievement. As noted before, Triple C Bank set up a position

for a Black recruiter because of pressures from its Black managers.

Finally Ace and Deuce Public Utilities have had a number of meetings

between Black employee groups and management concerning issues of

Black employment and their companies' relationship to the Black

community.

All the firms, except Century Manufacturing, have Black

managers organizing themselves. Since these organizations are just

beginning to be established, their impact on their companies' em-

ployment policies cannot yet be evaluated; however, one could spec-

ulate that well organized, sustained efforts by Black employees to

assure that Blacks are receiving equal treatment, nothing more and

nothing less, will have a great impact on their firms. Seminars

given at the participating firms about the findings of this study

always brought out the surprised remark: "We didn't know our Blacks

were dissatisfied with the company and were forming groups. We

thought we were making real progress." These companies can no

longer insist that their problems are created by outside agitators

when their own employees are organizing to pressure their companies

into providing equal employment opportunities for Blacks.

In concluding this section, it should be remembered that

external and internal pressures have had a minimal effect on these

companies' employment policies with regard to Blacks. In general,

these companies have reacted to the immediate pressures with a

minimum amount of positive change and then have reverted back to

their previous practices or do not take the initiative to improve

the situation any more than is absolutely necessary. Thus, unless social pressures are continuous and determined, their success will be minimal.

C. Industry and firm characteristics

Northrup, et al. argued that the difference between companies in their employment of Blacks can be attributed in part to the industry characteristics. In this study there are four service-oriented firms, the two banks and the two public utilities, and four manufacturing, non-service-oriented firms. It would not be unreasonable to assume that service-oriented firms are less progressive than non-service-oriented firms because of their fear of white customer reactions toward Black employees, yet on the other hand, one could expect them to be more progressive because of their desire to corner the lucrative Black consumer market.

Bernard Anderson wrote: "The nature of customer markets gives the telephone industry a strong residential customer orientation much like that in the electric power and gas utilities . . . ." He continued:

> The burden of public contact rested upon the linemen, meter readers, trouble clerks, and cashiers in the business office. Because the managers of public utility firms were deeply concerned with maintaining a favorable public image, there was widespread reluctance to employ Negroes in "nontraditional" public contact jobs.[24]

[24]Bernard Anderson, The Negro in the Public Utilities (Philadelphia, 1970), p. 54.

Although Anderson was writing about the public utilities industry,
this idea could be applied to the banking industry.

In this study, when the managers were asked if they believe
any of their customers or distributors or management personnel from
other companies would feel in any way uncomfortable if they hired
or promoted a Black person into a management position, almost half
of the Black managers and one-third of the white managers believe
that some of their customers or distributors would feel uncomfortable.
It is interesting to note that a much higher percent of the Black
managers in the two banks believe that some of their customers or
distributors would be uncomfortable, compared to the Black managers
from the other companies--two-thirds. The probable explanation for
this perception by the Black bank managers is that as Black bankers
they have more extensive contact with the public than do the Black
managers from the other firms; therefore, they have had more exper-
iences which would make them respond affirmatively to this question.
However, the white managers in the two banking firms do not deviate
from the average.

With regard to the uncomfortable feelings of management
persons from other companies, half of the Black managers and only
one-fourth of the white managers believe that managers from other
companies would feel uncomfortable about Blacks in management posi-
tions. Again the Black bankers answered this question affirmatively
more often than their Black counterparts in the other companies.

In this study, it is clear that in terms of commitment to
equal employment opportunities as demonstrated by the companies'

Affirmative Action Programs, the two most progressive and two

least progressive firms are service-oriented. Thus, in this study,

whether a firm is service-oriented or not does not seem to shape

its inequality of opportunity.

Another industry distinction which exists in this study

is that Ace and Deuce Public Utilities are regulated monopolies,

while the other six companies are not. A regulated monopoly has

an advantage in that it can pursue equal employment opportunities

as vigorously as it wishes. This is possible because they are

largely immune from customer retaliation; thus, they can hire

Blacks without any great concern over losing their white customers

or they can continue to practice discrimination without any great

concern over losing those customers who favor equal employment of

Blacks. The other firms, on the other hand, can readily lose white

customers who might resent the employment of Blacks or customers

who resent discrimination against Blacks. Furthermore, because of

their monopolistic position, they are more immune to the cost of

discrimination than competitive firms.

Anderson wrote the following with regard to the monopolis-

tic characteristics of the public utilities:

> Because discrimination, in part, imposes addi-
> tional costs on employers, the extent of discrimina-
> tion may be related to the degree of competition in
> the market place. All other things being equal,
> non-discriminators may be expected to have a lower
> unit cost of production, and thus, be able to enjoy
> higher sales or rapid expansion. In terms of econ-
> omic theory, the non-discriminator will maximize
> profits at a lower unit cost than the firm which
> practices discrimination. For this reason, some
> economists have stressed the importance of com-
> petition and the free entry into product markets

> as a means of reducing discrimination and
> broadening the opportunities for blacks.[25]

Comparing the two regulated monopolie ' Affirmative Action

Programs to the AAPs of the remaining six firr , again it seems

that because they are regulated monopolies does not mean their

employment of Blacks is exemplary--Ace Public Utility is the best

and Deuce Public Utility is one of the worst.

Even when one looks at two of the firms in the same in-

dustry, such as the two banks, there is a difference. As will be

seen later, these differences are due primarily to the manner in

which the management perceives, interprets, and responds to the

pressures working for and against providing Blacks with equal em-

ployment opportunities.

Thus far it has been shown that for thirty years all of

these firms have been subjected to pressure by the government re-

quiring them to practice equal employment opportunity and most

have had external and/or internal social pressure applied to them

to practice equal employment. In addition, it was shown that, re-

gardless of the type of industry, there are no specific character-

istics which characterize a progressive or non-progressive firm

in the area of equal employment for Blacks. Thus, there must be

other factors which determine the progressiveness of a firm with

regard to equal employment opportunity.

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[25]Anderson, p. 8.

D. Views of what constitutes a successful
   Affirmative Action Program

An additional explanation for the existence of various

types of Affirmative Action Programs is that the firms have dif-

ferent concepts of what constitutes a successful Affirmative Ac-

tion Program. Eight of the white managers, five who are directly

responsible for the formulation and implementation of their com-

panies' Affirmative Action Programs, and three of the white mana-

gers who work in the Affirmative Action Departments were asked

their views on what constitutes a successful Affirmative Action

Program. Six Black managers were also questioned on this sub-

ject. Two of the Black managers are Corporate AAP Co-ordinators

in Cousins Manufacturing and Deuce Public Utility. The remaining

four Black managers are the higher ranking Blacks in the affirma-

tive action area in their companies. There are no Black managers

involved in Personnel or in the area of affirmative action in the

two small companies, Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies.

The specific question these managers were asked was:

Which one of the following would be considered a major, good,

minor, or no measure of success by your company in a program of

equal employment opportunity?[26]

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[26]See Appendix B, pp. 536-537, for the table distribution of
the managers' responses. The categories the managers were to
rate are: (1) number of Black employees in relation to the
number of Blacks in the community; (2) distribution of Blacks
through job classification; (3) the income level of the Blacks
in the company; (4) the visibility of Blacks in the company;
(5) job mobility of Blacks in the company; (6) the presence of
Black employees in the management, technical, or supervisory
levels of the company; (7) the number of entry level jobs that
have been filled by Blacks; (8) other.

There was general agreement among the Black and white managers that the job mobility of Blacks in the company, presence of Black employees in management, technical or supervisory levels of the company, distribution of Blacks through job classifications, and population parity should be considered as major or good measures of success and that visibility of Blacks should be considered a minor measure of success.

Four of the white managers and one Black manager consider the number of Blacks in entry level jobs as a major measure of success and three white managers and one Black manager consider it a good measure of success. There is less agreement between the Black and white managers on this measure than on any of the other measures.

The second greatest difference between the white and Black managers is in rating the income level of the Blacks in the company. All of the Black managers believe that it should be considered a major or good measure of success, but only half of the white managers concurred. In fact, four of the Black managers and only one of the white managers consider it a major measure of success. There are several possible explanations for this difference. Many Black managers, as do many white managers, realize that income is a good reflection of managerial level and the importance of one's job; therefore, the Black managers consider income level as a good measure of success of their companies' AAPs. Another explanation will become apparent in Chapter VIII. There it will be seen that more Black managers selected higher income than any other factor as the most important factor they would look for if they were choosing a

new job. This emphasis on income is due to the comparatively low salaries of Blacks at all levels of management compared to their white counterparts.

The white managers who consider income level as a minor measure of success could possibly feel that Blacks place too much emphasis on income. One frequently hears white managers say that they would like to hire some qualified Black managers, but because they are in such high demand their salary demands are beyond the limits of their company.[27] In addition, because most of the white managers, compared to the Black managers, who answered these questions make a great deal more money and are not so concerned with their income level, it is easier for them to play down the importance of income as a successful measure of their companies' AAPs. This fact is borne out more in Chapter VIII where a majority of the white managers in contrast to the Black managers believe the most important factors in their choosing a new job would be that the work is interesting and important and gives a sense of accomplishment.

Several important points should be made before concluding this section. The white AAP Co-ordinator for Triple C Bank indicated that reaching population parity with the surrounding community and the visibility of Blacks in the company should be considered good measures of success and that the number of entry level jobs held by Blacks should be considered a major measure of success.

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[27]Chapter V will show that this statement by white managers is incorrect. Black managers make less salary than white managers with similar education and work experience.

However, he indicated that the distribution of Blacks through job
classifications, income level of the Black, job mobility of the
Blacks, and presence of Black employees in the management, tech-
nical, or supervisory levels should be considered as only minor
measures of success. His views reflect his company's weak Affirma-
tive Action Program and are representat : of his company's leader-
ship.[28] The views of this manager are almost completely opposite
from those of the white manager from Ace Public Utility. Signi-
ficantly, Ace Public Utility has the most elaborate Affirmative
Action Program.

The previous discussion points out that the white AAP
Co-ordinators' views on what constitutes a successful AAP are re-
flected in the companies' Affirmative Action Programs, a case
where ideology and practice come together.

E. Views of anticipated problems and
   problems which actually occurred

The differences in the companies' Affirmative Action
Programs are also influenced by the problems these firms anti-
cipated would occur upon implementing an Affirmative Action Pro-
gram, i.e., if they anticipated numerous problems from various
parties, the companies would develop strong Affirmative Action
Programs; if no problems were anticipated, the companies would

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[28]Note that the white manager who answered the questions
for Deuce Public Utility is a young, lower level manager who ad-
mitted that his views differed from those of the senior manage-
ment. The writer, from his personal contact with some of the
senior managers, believes their views are quite similar to those
of the senior managers of Triple C bank, i.e., there are no
problems.

not develop strong Affirmative Action Programs. This seems to
have been the case with these firms, as the AAP Co-ordinators'
responses to the following two questions demonstrate.

> What problems did you anticipate prior to the
> adoption of these minority group employment
> practices to be major, some, minor, or no
> problem in your firm?

> Looking back since the development of your EEO
> Program, which of these problems, if any, did
> occur? Again, please rate them according to
> major, some, minor, or no problem.[29]

There is general agreement among the Black and white AAP

Co-ordinators that resistance to their companies' AAPs by white

workers was anticipated as some or a major problem; however, there

is less agreement between the Black and white managers with regard

to anticipated resistance from supervisors and executives. The

Black managers believe resistance by whites from all levels was

anticipated as a major or some problem, but the white managers

anticipated it as a major or some problem only among the workers

and a minor or no problem among the managerial levels. The Black

managers believe that resistance to their companies' AAPs has ac-

tually occurred at all levels, while the white managers believe

there has been more resistance from the workers than from the

managers.

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[29]The categories from which the managers could select
are: (1) resistance by white workers; (2) lack of qualified
Blacks to fill available jobs; (3) interference with producti-
vity or worker efficiency; (4) community opposition; (5) poor
customer relations where Blacks had to deal with whites; (6)
resistance by supervisors, resistance by executives, Black dis-
satisfaction with available job opportunities.

There is general agreement that community opposition and poor customer relations where Blacks had to deal with whites were anticipated as either minor or not problems and have become either minor or no problems. The same is true with interference with productivity or worker efficiency.

Lack of qualified Blacks to fill jobs available, while generally anticipated as a major or some problem by both the Black and white AAP Co-ordinators, has become a major or some problem in the opinion of three of the six Black AAP Co-ordinators and six of the eight white AA Co-ordinators.

Finally, with regard to anticipated and actual problems, all six of the Black and four of the eight white AAP Co-ordinators believe that Blac' dissatisfaction with available job opportunities was anticipated as some problem and four of the white and three of the Black AAP Co-ordinator believe that it has turned out to be some or a major problem.

Again, when one looks at the two extreme cases, it is seen that whether or not a company anticipated problems in moving their company from a predominantly white male dominated work force to an integrated work force in terms of race and sex will be reflected in their companies' Affirmative Action Program—Ace Public Utility anticipated many problems and thus developed a comprehensive, effective plan and Triple C Bank did not anticipate any problems and thus did not develop much of a program.

F. Views of where Affirmative Action Programs
    meet the most resistance[30]

It was noted that there is general agreement among the

Black and white AAP Co-ordinators that resistance by white workers

was anticipated as a major or some problem and has become some

problem. Thirty-three percent of the white managers in this study

agree that white subordinates would give Blacks unusually diffi-

cult challenges and only 10 percent of them strongly disagree,

while 57 percent disagree. Thus, the AAP Co-ordinators have some

support for their views about white workers resisting the efforts

of the AAPs.

There is less agreement between the Black and white mana-

gers with regard to the anticipated resistance by supervisors and

even less agreement with regard to the anticipated resistance by

executives. All of the Black managers believe that resistance by

whites--from all levels--was anticipated as a major or some prob-

lem; however, the white managers believe that the resistance de-

creased the higher up the occupational ladder the managers are.

And there was considerable disagreement among the Black and white

AAP Co-ordinators as to where the resistance actually occurred.

These differences exist among the entire sample of Black and white

managers in this study.

Table 5 shows the managers' responses to the question:

At which managerial level do you believe your company's AAP meets

the most resistance?

_____

[30]This section deals with the views of all the participating
managers in this study, while sections D. and E. were the views of
official company spokesmen.

TABLE 5

AT WHICH MANAGERIAL LEVEL DO COMPANIES' AFFIRMATIVE
ACTION PROGRAMS MEET THE MOST RESISTANCE?

Level of Management	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Lower Management	25 %	36 %
Middle Management	37	19
Upper Management	42	18
No Resistance	2	22
All Levels	5	3
Resistance Is Individual	0	3
Don't Know	1	5
Total*	112	106

*The total percents are above 100 because some managers
selected more than one level

   A possible explanation for these differences in opinion
between the Black and white managers is that more than 60 percent
of the white managers in this study are middle or upper level man-
agers while more than 71 percent of the Black managers are lower
level managers. Because there is a general tendency to place the
blame on the other guy, one would expect the white managers to
select the lower level of management more than the middle and
upper levels of management. As one upper level manager from Ace
Public Utility said, "We never believe we are the problem; we al-
ways believe it is the other guy's."

When managerial level is used as the control variable, the data show that the Black lower level managers believe there is more than twice the amount of resistance to the AAPs from upper management than from lower management--21 percent of the Black lower level managers believe the resistance is most at the lower level of management, while 38 percent believe their programs meet the most resistance at the middle level of management, and 44 percent believe the most resistance comes from upper management! An equal number of Black middle level managers selected one of the three levels of management.

An equal number of white lower level managers also selected one of the three levels of management; however, the white middle level managers believe the most resistance comes from the lower level of management, 39 percent, the least amount from their level, 11 percent, and 18 percent from the upper level of management.

None of the upper level managers believe there is any resistance to their companies' AAPs at their level. They believe their companies' programs meet the most resistance in the lower level of management. However, four of the AAP Co-ordinators indicated that they had difficulties getting the upper management to pay more than just lip-service to their Affirmative Action Programs. One said that he must continuously struggle to get the senior people to accept any of his programs and once they are accepted, it is in a watered-down form. He believes that they still believe that all they have to do is to make statements and everything will be taken care of.

Again, the middle and upper level managers believe the
most resistance comes from other levels of management because of
a general tendency to project blame on others, i.e., think that
they do not create the problems and do not harbor negative racial
attitudes but others do. Twenty percent of the upper level white
managers, 25 percent of the middle level white managers, and 17
percent of the lower level white managers believe there is no re-
sistance to their companies' AAPs.

When company was used as the control variable, it was
found that the Black managers in Triple A Bank and Ace Public
Utility believe that the least resistance to their firms' AAPs
comes from th upper managerial ranks an ' the most comes from the
middle managerial ranks.

Black managers in Triple C Bank believe that their com-
pany's AAP meets the most resistance from upper management.

The vast majority of the Black and white managers who sel-
ected the lower level of management, 67 percent Black managers and
59 percent white managers, said essentially that there are many
more Blacks competing with whites at the lower level; therefore,
the whites at that level feel more threatened, fear Blacks more,
and become more antagonistic toward Blacks than the middle and
upper level white managers.

A Black lower level manager in Triple C Bank put it this
way: "Most of the Blacks are hired at the lower level, thus there
is more resistance because of the competition. The resistance will
increase as Blacks move up the ladder."

Along the same lines a white middle level manager from
Cousins Manufacturing said: "The lower level managers have the
most day-to-day contact with Blacks. The people at the lower
level have to make the EEO policy work--they are directly involved.
They have a different viewpoint than the people at the top."

This fear of competition was also sighted by the Black
managers as the most frequent reason there is resistance from
the middle level of management.

Most of the white managers who selected the middle level
of management indicated that they believe middle managers are
older and more conservative; thus it would be difficult to change
their attitudes. As a white upper level manager from Aunts Manu-
facturing said: "At the middle level of management you find an
age level which is less capable of handling change. They are not
interested in assuming additional risks or in jeopardizing their
careers. Most of them are harder to get at or to be able to
influence." This statement about age could also apply to the
upper level of management where most of the managers are over forty.

Another white lower level manager from the same company:
"There is an innate discrimination of middle management--their own
personal feelings. Older people are concentrated more at this
level. They have never come to accept Black people--they haven't
changed their ways."

Other than the Black managers believing that the resistance
at the upper level of management is the greatest because of the lack
of Black managers at that level and upper management does not want

to give Blacks real power, there was no reason given more frequently than others; therefore, some of the managers' responses will be put forth in order to give the reader a better understanding of the reasons why the managers selected the upper level of management.

One white middle level manager from Deuce Public Utility who selected the upper level of management commented: "When a minority gets more power to make decisions they get up-tight. They believe in affirmative action until it begins to affect them."

A Black lower level manager from Triple C Bank felt the same way as the previous white manager: "The white man does not want to see niggers making major policy decisions."

The concept of Blacks having to be better than whites to be able to compete was expressed by another Black manager from Cousins Manufacturing: "Blacks must be twice as good as whites-- they must be extremely superior niggers to make it to the top There are fewer jobs and more competition at the upper level and they usually give the break to the white man."

A Black female manager from Deuce Public Utility saw the reason for resistance in a different way: "When the program was described to her it seemed more like it was made up just to pacify the minorities and not because the company really was com- mitted to impro ng the situation. The company is just trying to get people off their back and they won't really do anything."

A white lower level manager from Triple C Bank expressed the old adage about social intercourse: "Social discourse comes in between all large industries and Blacks are not accepted socially

so they will not be promoted to the upper level of management."

In general, those white managers who said there is no resistance indicated that their companies are really committed to affirmative action. However, there were several white managers who indicated there is no resistance to their companies' AAP but they made comments similar to the following one made by a white upper level manager in Cou ins Manufacturing: "It doesn't meet resistance at any level. As the Black people push they will create their own resistance. It is entirely possible that there is more subconscious resistance now than there was ten years ago."

As one can clearly see from the responses of the managers, although there is a difference between the Black and white managers' views as to which level put up the most resistance, their reasons for selecting the different levels are quite similar. The most consistent theme throughout these responses is that as Blacks move up the occupational ladder and begin to compete with white middle and upper level managers the resistance at these levels will increase because Blacks will pose a new threat to their positions.[31]

G. Individual managers as an explanation for the difference in the Affirmative Action Programs of these companies

It has been shown that the major differences in the Affirmative Action Programs of these companies cannot be attributed

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[31]See Appendix B, pp. 539-541,. for the frequency distribution of all the reasons the managers selected the various levels of management for providing the most resistance to affirmative action efforts.

to any specific external and/or internal pressures, thus the writer
believes the differences in these programs can be attributed primar-
ily to how the top management interprets and reacts to pressures
to provide equal employment opportunities. As Quay said: "The
specific policies of corporate management not only adapt to the
social, economic, and political climate, but vary according to
particular managerial desires, inclinations, and insights."[32]

It became quite clear to this writer that Ace Public
Utility has made substantial progress in hiring Blacks since 1968
because a young, senior level manager responded to pressures to
provide Blacks with equal employment opportunities in a positive,
progressive manner. When he was appointed Vice-President of Per-
sonnel, in 1969, he took aggressive steps to develop an elaborate,
effective Affirmative Action Program which anticipated many of
the more recent governmental regulations dealing with equal em-
ployment opportunities. His ability to get the support of the
President and to develop a loyal, aggressive staff has been a major
factor in the company's progress.

In contrast to the senior managers in Ace Public Utility,
the Corporate Personnel Vice-President and top leadership of
Triple C Bank have reacted in most cases in a very defensive,
negative manner. At a seminar conducted by the writer, the Per-
sonnel Vice-President was very defensive about the negative views
the Black managers in his company have about the company's

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[32]William A. Quay, The Negro in the Chemical Industry
(Philadelphia, 1969), p. 1.

employment policies. He questioned the validity of the number of managers who participated in the study and the selection procedure which was used. Another Vice-President in research pointed out to him that many of the Black managers the Corporate Personnel Vice-President participated in the study, and that a relatively large percentage of the company's Black managers were interviewed. He also noted that the company selected the managers through a random selection procedure.

In January 1973, the writer met with a group of the bank's personnel managers to discuss a survey of all the bank's employees. This "in house" survey found that the vast majority of their Black employees looked unfavorably on the company's employment polic' s towards Blacks. Their study also indicated that white employees of a' levels believe Blacks are getting more than a fair break in employment opportunities. Because the white managers in all levels of management at Triple C Bank believe that Blacks are already getting more than equal employment opportunities, they are inclined to react in a very defensive, negative manner toward external and/or internal pressures to make Black employment opportunities more equitable rather than in a positive, constructive manner.

Summary and Conclusions

All of the firms have written Affirmative Action Programs primarily because of governmental laws and regulations. Even though there has been considerable pressure on these firms to

formulate strong AAPs, only Ace Public Utility has an elaborate
AAP with specific goals and timetables. The remaining companies
have not seriously committed themselves to undertake the very
difficult task of formulating and implementing a strong, elaborate
Affirmative Action Program. William Brown, Chairman of the Equal
Employment Opportunities Commission, stated the general position
of most of the firms in this study when he said:

> Too much of both private industry and the public
> has been concerned not with carrying out the spirit
> of the law but rather with achieving minimum com-
> pliance. Some very ingenious minds, when told that
> discriminatory treatment was unlawful, devised some
> very subtle ways to continue excluding minorities
> and women from the better jobs. They created stand-
> ards which treated everyone equally on the surface
> but which had the effect of disadvantaging and
> screening out certain groups.[33]

Although the firms realize the importance of having sensitive,
objective recruiters and interviewers, none of them have devel-
oped procedures to assure that their recruiters and interviewers
are sensitive and objective. All of the firms, at one time or
another, have recruited at predominantly Black schools. There
was no general agreement among the firms with regard to which re-
cruiting procedures were the most rewarding.

In reference to training, only Ace Public Utility has set
goals and timetables for the number of Blacks to be included in
their training program. Overall, Blacks generally make up 2-3
percent of all the management trainees in the participating

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[33]William H. Brown, "The EEOC's Chairman Comments on the
Persistance of Racism," MBA, Vol. 6, No. 4, January, 1962, p. 161.

companies primarily because of existing racial attitudes.

None of the firms use psychological tests as an evaluating procedure for their managerial candidates or for managerial promotions and only four of the firms use achievement and aptitude tests as evaluating procedures for new management candidates and none of the companies use them as evaluating procedures for managerial promotions.

With regard to promotional procedures, none of the firms have developed special or effective procedures in order to insure that Blacks are not being discriminated against. The Black managers' promotions, as is the case with the white managers', are generally left up to their immediate superiors to determine which again puts the Blacks at a disadvantage because of prevailing racial attitudes among whites.

Finally, Ace Public Utility has set up an elaborate affirmative action structure to attempt to assure that the program is being complied with. The remaining firms generally leave assurance of compliance up to their line managers. Even though Ace Public Utility has an elaborate AAP structure, it has not assured, as the other companies have not, that people who are responsible for the implementation and compliance of the program are unbiased and committed to the formal position of the company regarding equal employment opportunities.

Plainly governmental pressures for over 30 years have been one of the prime movers in getting firms to practice equal employment opportunities for Blacks. Social pressures from civil rights

groups and their wh te allies motivated gover. ental action and
they have also had some impact when directed to specific companies.
The riots of the 1960's were perhaps a major force in opening up
employment opportunities for Blacks by the vast majority of the
Black and white managers in this study. Finally, internal pres-
sures from Black employees have had an impact on their firms' em-
ployment policies. Industry and type of clientele had no consis-
tent effect, nor did location of major facilities.

However, what seems to be the most important determiners
of the differences between the Affirmative Action Programs of the
firms in this study are the companies' views of what constitutes
a successful Affirmative Action Program, the problems they anti-
cipated and believed occurred u. n the implementation of their
program, and the manner in which key personn l reacted to the
various pressures placed on them to provide equal employment
opportunities.

It was argued that Ace Public Utility is the most pro-
gressive of the eight firms because of a dynamic upper level man-
ager who responded positively to various pressures to improve Black
employment opportunities, while at the other extreme, in Triple C
Bank there wa no top level manager who interpreted these forces
in a positive, progressive manner. Thus, one must agree with the
Black managers in this study that the resistance to affirmative
action is greatest at the top and not vice versa, as the white
managers generally believe.

In short, the general overall view of this chapter indicates that, except in one case, the firms in this study either are not committed to providing real equal opportunities for Blacks or they do not realize that unless positive efforts are made to offset the effects of past discrimination, the formal abolition of present discrimination will be only of limited benefit. It is not sufficient just to reiterate one's commitment to the idea of equal employment opportunity--a strong, well developed plan must be formulated, carefully implemented, and closely audited by responsible, sensitive, objective people.

The late Whitney M. Young, Jr., former Executive Director of the National Urban League, has stated the case thusly:

> Neither the Negro nor the Urban League is asking
> for three hundred years of preferential treatment
> such as white citizens have had. We are asking for
> only a decade of dedicated special effort . . . .
> At this point when the scales of justice are so
> grossly unbalanced, it is impossible to balance
> them by simply applying equal weight.[34]

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[34]Quoted in Aunts Manufacturing Company's Affirmative Action Program Director's 1972 Annual Report.

CHAPTER IV

THE PICTURE OF BLACK MANAGERS IN THE PARTICIPATING FIRMS

Introduction

This chapter presents a general picture and comparison
of Black representation in managerial ranks in the participating
firms, and in the general corporate world. It compares the two.
In addition, it will include a short discussion about Black repre-
sentation in the managerial ranks of federal government to gauge
the extent to which the federal government is following its own
laws regarding equal employment opportunities.

This chapter is primarily descriptive. Most of the evi-
dence to support any assumptions made in this chapter will be re-
ported in Chapters V and VI which explain the patterns put forth
in this chapter.

Blacks in Governmental Service

For thirty years the government has been attempting to
enforce equal employment opportunities, but has the government
been totally committed to these efforts? One manner in which one
might test the sincerity of the government is to look at the posi-
tions of Blacks in governmental service.

Samuel Krislov noted that although Blacks make up about
12 percent of all governmental employees, they have been relegated,

until the past few years, to the lowest jobs in th. managerial

and non-managerial ranks. He also noted that those few Blacks who

have made it to higher status jobs are generally in research or

staff positions directly related to interracial relations rather

than in decision-making administrative and supervisory positions.

Although progress is being made, the progress is very slow:

> . . . the Negro is still making slow progress in
> the higher decision-making echelons of the bur-
> eaucracy. The improvements that have occurred
> have hardly placed Negroes on a par with white
> bureaucrats in terms of distribution in positions
> of authority. Negroes still constitute only a
> little over one percent of all those occupying a
> GS 12 through 18 position, and only 3.4 percent
> of those at the 9 through 11 level. They still
> constitute 19 percent of all wage board employees
> and 32 percent of those who receive less than
> $5,000 under other pay plans.[1]

David H. Rosenbloom writin; on the same lines noted:

> Federal EEO began to develop three decades ago,
> but progress--by almost any measure--has been
> very slow. Today, there is a highly significant
> passive under-representation of women and members
> of minority groups in the upper levels of the
> bureaucracy. Thus, as of November 30, 1969,
> 10.7 percent of all employees under the general
> schedule were black, but 21.6 percent of these
> were in the lowest four grades and only 1.0 per-
> cent of all the employees in the highest three
> grades were black.[2]

Krislov's and Rosenbloom's positions were supported by

Clifford Alexander, former Chairman of the Equal Employment

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[1]Samuel Krislov, The Negro in Federal Employment (Minnca-
polis, 1967), pp. 90-91.

[2]David H. Rosenbloom, "Equal Employment Opportunity:
Another Strategy," Personnel Administration Public Personnel
Review, Vol. 1, No. 1, July-August, 1972, p. 38.

Opportunity Commission, who wrote in 1971 that although the govern-
ment has made "loud noises" about doing away with discrimination
in its employment ranks, it has not backed up its "loud noises"
with concrete action. He noted that the Department of Defense
has been one of the government departments making the most
"noises," but has not translated the"noises" into concrete
action. In his own words:

> I looked up the statistics for the Department of
> Defense and the Department of the Army after they
> made those noises. I looked at the supergrade
> category, that is, those who make over $25,000
> in the U. S. government, the G-16's, G-17's and
> G-18's. In the Department of the Army there are
> 362 of them, and there isn't a single black
> amongst them. In the Department of Defense
> there are in the supergrades, 1,093 men. Of
> that number, three are black, far less than
> 1.3 percent.[3]

On June 25, 1972, Ralph Nader issued a report prepared by
the non-profit Public Interest Research Group which claimed that
the Civil Service Commission has done very little to improve the
lot of 2.5 million Blacks, Chicanos, and women in governmental
service. The report charged that most of the Commission's suc-
cesses are in the area of public relations and gimmickry rather
than in the area of concrete significant change. Some of the major
points of the report follow:

> The commission through unwarranted delays has
> discouraged low-ranking minority employees in
> the federal hierarchy from using a complaining
> system to claim job discrimination.

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[3]Clifford Alexander, "Jobs, the Heart of the Problem,"
MBA, Vol. V, No. 5, 1971, p. 7.

>The commission has permitted the Pentagon to virtually ignore President Nixon's order that the government take the lead in improving levels of minority employment.
>
>Though the commission appoints a small number of minority members to "window-dressing" jobs with high rank, the real power within the agency in Washington and in regional offices remains with whites.
>
>When complaints of discrimination are found and acted on supervisors are often given merely a slap-on-the-wrist reprimand.
>
>Statistic reports to Congress and the Civil Rights Commission often conceal what's really happening. Statistics on minority employment, for example, may show dramatic improvement, but they are based upon the almost zero increases of previous years.[4]

Although the government has not made great progress in the employment of Black managers, Wilensky and Lebeaux have correctly noted that most of the gains that Blacks have made in managerial and professional occupations in the past two decades have been in the federal government as opposed to the corporate world.[5] Put another way, even though governmental progress in the employment of Black managers is far from being exemplary, when compared to the corporate world, the government's record is impressive. For example, while the government has had Black managers for many years, it will be seen that five of the eight firms in this study hired or promoted their first Black into a management position in the early 1960's and none of them had Black managers before 1955.

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[4]Weldom M. Brewer, Behind the Promises Equal Employment Opportunity in the Federal Government (Washington, D. C., 1972).

[5]Wilensky and Lebeaux, p. xxxvi.

In addition, in this study, only approximately .4 percent of the
middle level managers are Black, compared to approximately 2.4
percent of those in the federal government. In 1971 there was a
12.5 percent (1,773) increase in the number of Blacks and minor-
ities in the higher paying government jobs, i.e., salaries be-
tween $15,000 and $40,000.

Blacks in the Participating Firms
and in Industry in General

Since the federal government has not followed carefully
the law of the land regarding equal employment opportunities for
all, it is not surprising that the firms in this study and indus-
tries in general have done the same.

The firms which participated in this study are far behind
the government in their employment of Blacks, but most are quite
representative of their particular industry. All the firms are
quite similar in the fact that they have claimed they have always
been equal opportunity employers.

Even though all of the participating firms have been sub-
jected to laws prohibiting racial discrimination, even though all
of the firms have federal contracts which subject them to govern-
mental financial constraints, even though the banks and the two
public utilities are governmentally regulated, and even though
all of the firms claim to have always been equal opportunity em-
ployers and were members of Plans for Progress and are presently
members of the National Alliance of Businessmen, none of them
could substantiate their long time equal employment policies. In

fact, the data indicate that only in the past decade have they made
any worthwhile efforts to practice what they preach. Furthermore,
as was noted in Chapter III, it has only been in the last three
years that some of these firms have undertaken any meaningful ac-
tion. Table 1 gives the date each company hired its first Black
for a non-managerial position and the date each company hired or
promoted its first Black into management ranks.

TABLE 1

DATES WHEN FIRST BLACKS WERE EMPLOYED

Companies	Black Managers	Black Workers
Ace Public Utility	1955	1935
Deuce Public Utility	1957	1945
Triple C Bank	1958	1952
Ajax Manufacturing	1961	1952
Cousins Manufacturing	1963	1942
Aunts Manufacturing	1963	1947
Triple A Bank	1963	1956
Century Manufacturing	1964	1963

In 1955 Blacks represented 0 percent of the managerial ranks in
these eight firms; in 1967, twelve years later, they represented
.7 percent; and in 1971 1.9 percent. Table 2 shows the percentage
the companies' total Black managerial employment increased from
1967 to 1971 and it also shows the increase in the total manager-
ial work force during the same period.

Table 2 also shows that although the overall growth of
the companies' managerial work forces between 1967 and 1971 has
varied from a low of 8 percent for Aunts Manufacturing to a high
of 49 percent for Triple A Bank, all of the companies have in-
creased their Black managerial forces between 100 and over 300
percent during the same period. These increases might seem to
be phenomenal; however, it should be remembered that the com-
panies had very few Black managers in 1967. Thus, even in 1971
after these phenomenal percentage increases occurred, Blacks
still represent only approximately 1.9 percent of the managerial
forces of the eight firms.

Six of the eight companies described their growth as rapid
and their increase in employment as substantial since 1960; there-
fore, if the firms had begun to practice equal employment over
the past twelves years, the numbers of Black managers should be
much greater. Thus, even in a brisk labor market when increasing
the Black managerial work force would create less opposition by
the white employees, Blacks will not be provided with more oppor-
tunities unless the firms are committed to equal employment op-
portunities. In short, expanding labor markets and the increase
in the employment of Blacks, especially in managerial positions,
do not go hand-in-hand.

The small number of Black managers in these firms is even
less excusable because, except for Aunts Manufacturing which has
50 percent of its plants located in areas where Blacks make up
less than 1 percent of the population, the remaining firm are

TABLE 2

INCREASE IN TOTAL MANAGEMENT AND BLACK MANAGEMENT FROM 1967-1971

Companies	Increase in Total Managerial Work Force (1967-1971)	Percent Increase in Total Managerial Work Force (1967-1971)	Black Managers (1967) (#)	(%)	Black Managers (1971) (#)	(%)	Percent Increase of Black Managers (1967-1971)
Ajax Manufacturing	60-85	42%	1	1.7	3	3.5	200%
Ace Public Utility	19666-21434 9%	9	169	.9	508	2.4	201
Cousins Manufacturing	1403-1613 14%	14	8	.6	35	2.2	338
Century Manufacturing	New Function	New Function	1	.6*	2	1.6	100
Aunts Manufacturing	4444-4790 8%	8	33	.7	76	1.5	130
Triple C Bank	6135-7230 17%	17	25	.4	111	1.4	304
Triple A Bank	2171-3238 49%	49	14	.6	47	1.4	236
Deuce Public Utility	3537-4273 21%	21	10	.3	37	.9	270

*Figure is for 1968.

located primarily in the Los Angeles area which has a Black popu-
lation of 17 percent and the San Francisco Bay area which has a
black population of 12 percent. Furthermore, these firms are
located in the state which leads all other states in the number
of Black students enrolled in college--72,000 or approximately
10 percent of all Black college students are attending one of the
best college and university systems in the nation.

These firms are quite representative of their industries
and the corporate world in general. For example, in 1966, when
the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission began to require
statistics on the number of employees for each ethnic group from
firms with 100 or more employees, the banking industry reported
that out of the 98,894 managers, officials, and professionals,
only 426 were Black. Blacks constituted approximately .4 percent
of the banks' managerial forces. This is quite similar to the
banks in this study.[6]

With regard to the gas and electric industry, the Equal
Employment Opportunities Commission wrote in their 1967 Annual
Report:

> Based on a review of the EEO-1 data for 1966
> and 1967, reported by nineteen national industries
> employing half a million or more workers, the
> utilities industry must claim the questionable
> distinction of being the leader in exclusion of
> Black workers. In 1966 in a Northern metropolitan

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[6]Armand J. Thieblot, Jr., The Negro in the Banking
Industry (Philadelphia, 1970), p. 27.

area, for example, Black people made up 15.8 per-
cent of the employees in all industries reporting
but only 1.4 percent in reporting utilities. Over-
all, Blacks held only 3.7 percent of all jobs in
the industry; one in every two utilities establish-
ments--elec:ric, gas and combination companies--
employed no Black people in any job whatever. And
to an even greater extent than most other industries
EEOC has examined, those Blacks who are employed
in the utilities industry are concentrated in the
lower-paying jobs: 20 percent are service workers,
25 percent are laborers and 25 percent operatives.
At the upper strata of employment, they represent
only 0.6 percent of sales workers, 1.4 percent of
professionals, and 0.2 percent of all officials
and managers; among all Negroes employed, only
one in 200 is in a managerial position.[7]

Again this is quite similar to the gas and electric utility in

this study.

In 1969 a U. S. Labor Department report indicated that

there were 118,000 Black salaried executives t of a Black working

force of 8,169,000. In other words, Black salaried executives

represented 1.4 percent of the employed Black worl force. White

salaried executives, on the other hand, accounted for 8 percent

of the white labor force. Calculated another way, Blacks make up

only 2.2 percent of all salaried executives while they constitute

10.7 percent of the entire working population.[8]

From the previous data it is clear that the firms in this

study are quite similar to the corporate world.

Except for Cousins Manufacturing, the writer was able to

obtain data on the length of service of all the Black managers

in the companies. Many Black managers, especially in Ace Public

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[7]Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's 3rd Annual
Report, 1967, p. 26.

[8]U. S. Department of Labor, "Employment and Earnings,"
Vol. 16, No. 6, December, 1969, p. 23.

Utility and Aunts Manufacturing, did not start out as managers
when they were employed by these firms but were promoted from
non-managerial to managerial positions; therefore, their length
of service must be taken into consideration when noting the dates
the companies first hired Black managers. These data give clear
indications of when the companies began to make a little more than
token efforts in employing Blacks into management positions. Table
3 shows the length of service of <u>all</u> the Black managers in these
companies.

TABLE 3

LENGTH OF SERVICE OF <u>ALL</u> THE BLACK MANAGERS
IN THE COMPANIES

Companies	Number of Black Managers	Years in Service*			
		Mean Year(s)	Median Year(s)	Mode Year(s)	Range Year(s)
Ace Public Utility	508	13	11	1 (54)	1-36
Triple C Bank	114	7	4	2 (21)	1-20
Aunts Manufacturing	76	7	5	4 (12)	1-25
Ajax Manufacturing	3	7	6	NONE	6-12
Century Manufacturing	2	7	NONE	NONE	6-7
Deuce Public Utility	37	4	3	2 (11)	1-20
Triple A Bank	47	3	2	1 (11)	1-8
Cousins Manufacturing**	14	3	3	3 (6)	1-10

*All figures are rounded to the nearest year.

**Data is only for the managers who participated in this study.

With regard to only those managers participating in this
study 45 percent of th. Black managers have four or less years of
service with their companies, compared to 9 percent of the white
managers. In addition, 83 percent of the Black managers, compared
to only 26 percent of the white managers, have ten years or less
of service.

When managerial level was used as the control variable,
it was found that 71 percent of the Blacks in middle management
positions were with their firms less than eight years and 38 per-
cent were with their firms less than four years. This compares
with 15 percent white middle managers with less than eight years
and only 6 percent with less than four years of service.[9]

Even though many Black managers have not been with their
firms a long period of time, 72 percent of them, compared to 52
percent of the white managers, have held jobs in other firms which
were directly related to their obtaining jobs with their present
firms. Furthermore, the Black managers were employed in previous
jobs much longer than the white managers. This is especially true
of the Black middle level managers.

Table 4 shows the total number of years of relevant work
experience of the Black and white managers by managerial level.

The fact that Blacks have a great deal of experience
relevant to their present job in other institutions is supported
by their responses to the following questions:

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[9]See Appendix B, pp. 541-542, for the frequency distribu-
tion of the participating managers' length of service with their
present companies.

TABLE 4

TOTAL YEARS OF RELEVANT WORK EXPERIENCE

Years	Black Managers		White Managers		
	Lower (N=84)	Middle (N=34)	Lower (N=47)	Middle (N=79)	Upper (N=30)
1-4	26 %	3 %	15 %	3 %	0 %
5-8	29	18	19	6	0
9-12	21	18	13	14	0
13-16	13	17	13	19	10
17-20	6	15	11	19	10
21-24	4	24	9	14	30
Over 24	1	6	23	25	50
Total*	100	102	101	100	100

*Some percents are over 100 because of rounding errors.

Which, if any, of the following factors helped you attain your present position? Table 5 shows the managers' responses.

Forty-five percent of the white managers, compared to 19 percent of the Black managers, believe experience in their companies was the only factor which was helpful in obtaining their present positions. In addition, almost as many Blacks believe their educational achievement was at least one of the factors helpful in obtaining their present positions as believe experience in their companies was helpful.

TABLE 5

FACTORS WHICH HELPED MANAGERS ATTAIN
THEIR PRESENT POSITIONS

Factors	Black Managers (N=1.5)	White Managers (N=156)
Experience within the Company	60 %	97 %
Experience in another Company	16	21
Experience in the Government	7	3
Experience in the Military	21	17
Experience in Social Agencies	6	3
Experience in the Academic World	55	33
Initiative in Organizing the Company	0	2
Other	26	10
Being Black (Previously listed under "Other")	9	0
Total*	200	186

*The total percentages are over 100 because the managers could select more than one factor.

Nine percent of the Black managers believe being Black helped them attain their present positions; four of the ten are middle level managers. As one Black middle level manager from Deuce Public Utility said, "The company came looking for me. I had the skills they needed, but being Black certainly helped." A Black middle level manager from Triple C Bank said, "I am a Black banker because of the Watts riots. They need Blacks to

put in branches in Black communities." And a Black manager from
Ajax Manufacturing said, "I have this position only because I
helped lead a protest movement which demanded better treatment of
Black employees and more Black managers. I didn't want it, but
they gave it to me to try to shut me up. Being Black helped."

With specific regard to Black and white middle level man-
agers, only 12 percent of the Black managers, compared to 47 per-
cent of the white managers, believe experience in their companies
was the only factor which helped them achieve their present posi-
tions. Eighty-eight percent of the Black middle level managers
believe that experience in one or a combination of the following
positions attributed to their achieving their present positions:
social agencies, government service, military service, professional
positions in academia. Finally, seven of the thirty-four Black
managers believe their experience in other companies was helpful.
These data suggest that many of the Black middle level managers
have been hired in at middle level positions. A possible explana-
tion for this is that the corporate world is beginning to discover
that there are many capable, qualified Black managers who have been
working in governmental social agencies, academic institutions,
public organizations, and/or their own businesses who are poten-
tial management candidates for their firms. Many firms have used
these sources to seek white managers for many years, but they have
been reluctant to seek Black managers from the same sources because
of the firms' general lack of desire to have Black managers.

Thus far the hiring aspects of Black managers in white businesses has been concentrated on. The following paragraphs and data will deal primarily with the promotional aspects--what types of positions the Black managers hold, at what levels, and at what salaries.

While most white businesses are slowly increasing their numbers of Blacks in lower management positions, there are still very few Blacks at the middle levels of management. Only 19 or 2.2 percent of all Black managers who represent only 1.9 percent of all the managers in the participating firms are considered middle level managers and a slightly higher percent are considered lower middle level managers. Put another way, only approximately .4 percent of all middle management positions are filled by Blacks. Remember the thirty-four Black middle level managers in this study represent approximately 80 percent of all the Black middle level managers in these firms. None of the companies have Blacks in the upper levels of management and none of them have Blacks o their Board of Directors.

The companies in our study seem not to be atypical of white businesses in general. Clifford Alexander wrote in 1971:

> Now, the progress I've talked about that's been
> made by some New York firms in the past years re-
> lates to just a certain category of white-collar
> jobs. It is often the entry level and the lower
> middle level white-collar position. The board
> rooms still are pretty lily white. In the re-
> cent survey of the fifty leading corporations
> by the Race Relations Center, it was found that
> of 660 members of the board, only four were
> Black. It also found that the Poor's index of
> leading executives--which includes those who

make the long bread in these companies--listed
2,522 executives from fifty corporations. Of
those 2,522, not a single one was Black. Again,
the talk far outstripped the performance.[10]

In 1969, Raphael F. Nevins and Andrew Merrymen wrote:

One recent study shows hat there are cur-
rently fewer than thirty Black corporate execu-
tives earning more than $30,000 per year. Due
to what is known as "the middle management bar-
rier," most Blacks in corporations never rise
above the lower management level.[11]

In 1972, Charles L. Fields and Evelyn S. Freeman wrote:

Our 1969 article in The MBA carried statis-
tical results from our 1968 survey of 86 Black
MBA's. That group had an average age of 29 years,
and only eight percent earned a salary in excess
of $11,000. Our new sample group of 36 Black
MBA's is the result of data gathered from 1970-71.
The average Black MBA in this study is male, 28
and one-half, married, and has an income of
$14,420. He graduated from a traditionally white
business school in the East and has four and one-
half years of business experience. . . .

Looking at our sample group, 83.4 percent
graduated from the top business schools in the
country. According to a study by MBA Enterprises,
Inc. (cited in the October, 1971 issue of The MBA),
starting salaries for 1971 graduates from the top
schools were in the range of $14,000 to $14,500.
Thus, these Black MBA's with an average of four
and one-half years of business experience are
earning approximately the same as new MBA grad-
uates without significant prior business exper-
ience.

If one assumes that the average MBA starting
annual salary in 1967 was $11,400 and that the
MBA received an average annual salary increment
of 10 percent, in 1971 he would have earned
$16,704 with four years of experience. Our

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[10]Alexander, p. 7.

[11]Raphael F. Nevins and Andrew Merrymen, "The Search for
Black Management, MBA, Vol. III, No. 7, 1969, p. 9.

> sample group of Black MBA's with an average of four
> and one-half years of experience has a mean income
> of $14,420, which reflects a slower career growth
> pattern and, thus, less income. This $2,000 (+)
> difference leads us to hypothesize that the Black
> MBA is significantly behind his white counterparts.
> While white and Black MBA's may receive similar
> entry-level salaries, whites seem to be moving
> ahead farther and faster. Since promotions by
> title carry a more substantial salary increase
> than one would receive from annual salary incre-
> ments in the same position, it is probable that
> limited upward mobility for Blacks accounts for
> the difference.[12]

They found similar discrepancy between Black and white engineers

and lawyers who participated in their study.

Of the 819 Black managers in the eight participating firms

in this study, there are only two Black managers who earn over

$25,000. Only three earn between $22,000 and $23,999.

In the next chapter the regression analysis will show that

the Black manager with similar relevant work experience and edu-

cational achievement make less money than their white counterparts.

This salary difference increases as the length of service increases

which indicates that racial discrimination was greater in the past

than in the present.

The above facts plus the fact that there are few Blacks in

the corporate world above lower level positions leads many Blacks

to believe that Blacks have little chance to advance above lower

level management positions. Seventy percent of the Black managers

in this study agree or strongly agree that most corporations have

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[12]Charles L. Fields and Evelyn S. Freeman, "Black Profes-
sionals: The Gap Is Not Closing," _MBA_, Vol. 6, No. 4, 1972, p. 78.

just shifted the point at which they begin to apply discriminatory practices against their Black managers. They will hire a Black but will not allow him/her to realize his/her full potential.[13]

Some of the representative reasons why the Black managers agree that the point of discrimination has just shifted are as follows.

A Black lower level manager from Triple A Bank: "My evidence is the number of Blacks with college degrees who are working in the post office. I also believe that many Blacks work in 'show-front' jobs."

A middle level Black manager from the same company: "Blacks are not allowed to realize their full potential because they are hired primarily to deal with Black employees and customers; therefore, they are excluded from general company activities---thus promotions."

This manager's position was supported by a lower level Black manager from Triple C Bank: "Blacks are never really promoted on the basis of strict ability and work experience--they are moved up because they are Black and how it will look to the public."

A middle level Black manager from Aunts Manufacturing described his own personal experience as evidence from strongly agreeing that Blacks are not allowed to realize their full potential: "I have a B.S. and I am getting an MBA. I went to a good school and I got good grades. I've applied for many management

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[13]See Appendix B, pp. 543-545, for the frequency distribution of the managers' responses and a detailed breakdown of the managers' reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with the questions.

positions that I'm qualified for and I'm told that I'm doing more

for the company where I am so they won't promote me."

Finally, a Black female who is involved in Ace Public

Utility's AAP said that being in her position it does not seem

like the company has just shifted its point of discrimination.

However, in her talks with other Black managers many seemed very

frustrated; therefore, she agreed with the statement.

Not only has the advancement of Blacks been limited in the

business hierarchy, but those who have advanced to a relatively

high level (for Blacks) are normally put into such positions which

are related to the Black "sphere" such as special markets, indus-

trial relations, AAP Director, urban affairs, community relations,

and personnel. W. Kirk Jackson, Director of Placement and Devel-

opment at Atlanta University, wrote:

> The only dent in this wall of discrimination was
> industry's effort to "capture" the Negro market with
> the institution of "special markets," featuring
> a Negro athlete sponsoring a product after belting
> a home run.[14]

Even those Blacks who are not assigned to positions in the

Black "Sphere" but to technical and professional areas are normally

not put in jobs which are in the direct line of progression for

an executive or administrative position. Walter Fogel addressed

himself to this point in the following manner:

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[14]W. Kirk Jackson, "Placement Director," MBA, Vol. III,
No. 7, 1969, p. 6.

Male Negro workers have been employed in the
office of a large manufacturing plant, but outside
of the line of progression that leads to super-
visory or office manager positions. A large elec-
tronics company employed a number of Negro engin-
eers who were involved in technical functions
rather than administrative assignments that lead
to an executive position. In a retail food chain,
Negro women have been hired into cashiers' jobs
but not into jobs that might lead to a section
managership.[15]

Quay supported Fogel when he wrote:

Negroes are almost nonexistent in this critical
occupational category, which includes all levels
of industrial management from first-line super-
vision to the very top executive positions and
professionals. Most Negroes in this grouping are
at the first level of supervision, working as
plant foremen in charge of racially mixed work
crews, but probably not directing all-white units.

The highest managerial levels achieved by
Negro workers are usually in employee relations
and scientific research departments. . . . There
is not one Negro in the top management of any major
chemical firm known to the author.[16]

This study supports both of these propositions. The two

highest ranking Blacks in the participating firms are Vice-Presi-

dents in the area of Public Relations and Urban Affairs who were

hired in 1964 and 1971 in Triple C Bank. Both of these individuals

had extremely long, distinguished careers in the federal government.

In addition, thirteen of the remaining seventeen middle level man-

agers either hold positions in Urban Affairs and Personnel or

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[15]Walter Fogel, Labor Market Obstacles to Minority Job
Gains, Institute of Industrial Relations, Reprint No. 187 (Los
Angeles, 1968), p. 61.

[16]William H. Quay, The Negro in the Chemistry Industry
(Philadelphia, 1969), p. 36.

positions in which their work is directly related to the Black
market, i.e., branch manager in a Black area or district super-
visors in a Black area. The remaining four middle level managers
hold professional (technical) positions which are not administra-
tive in nature.

An excellent case illustrating what happens to Blacks in
business was given by Charles L. Fields and Evelyn S. Freeman.

> . . . A young Black MBA graduate from a top-rated
> business school accepted employment in marketing
> with a leading trade convention association or-
> ganization. He entered the department along with
> two white MBA's with similar educational backgrounds;
> none of the three had significant prior business ex-
> perience. Shortly after their initial company orien-
> tation, the white MBA's were placed on assignments
> where they interfaced with clients and had the au-
> thority to cement deals involving policy decisions
> and money allocations. They were also sent to major
> professional association meetings with opportunities
> for additional self-development. The Black MBA was
> utilized primarily with Urban League, NAACP, and
> other minority-oriented groups. After a period of
> time, the Black sought involvement with the major
> marketing activities of the organization outside of
> a Black orientation. He found that his white counter-
> parts began to assume that he was not getting getter
> developmental opportunities because he lacked real
> ability.
>
> When approached with this desire, the manager
> expressed his attitude that as the first Black hired,
> it was important for him to initially establish ac-
> ceptance by just being seen around. Underlying his
> statements was the fear that business would be lost
> if clients had to deal with a Black.
>
> The department manager would not concede that
> he was inhibiting the Black's chances for advancement
> by not giving him the same kind of exposure that
> whites enjoyed. Now the Black MBA is discouraged and
> is seeking another position where he can maximize his
> abilities and be offered the same kinds of opportuni-
> ties that whites are given. Unfortunately, this case

is typical. Blacks and whites enter as equals, but
whites get the experience needed for promotions,
while Blacks do not.[17]

A young Black manager's plight in Triple C Bank has simi-
lar roots. He became a branch manager of a new branch in a Black
community established as a result of riots in three and one-half
years--an extremely rapid advancement. After being there for two
and one-half years at a salary much lower than his white counter-
parts, after having many of his decisions reversed, after discover-
ing that white managers could make exceptions while he could not,
after having believed he had done his job and should have been
promoted, and after wanting to become a full banker rather than
just a Black banker, he left his form for another one to become a
district manager for six branch banks at a salary 40 percent higher
than the one he was receiving. His main complaint about his first
job position was not only the low salary and the difficulty in get-
ting his decisions approved, but also the fact that he believed he
would never be a banker for all customers but only a limited Black
banker for Black customers. He realized there was a need to have
Black bankers in the Black community; however, he believed there
should be a sufficient number of Black bankers who could be ro-
tated to branches in the Black community so that the bankers would
not be restricted in their growth. In the coming chapters numer-
ous statements by the Black managers support the stories of this
Black banker and the Black MBA.

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[17]Fields and Freeman, p. 78.

That Black managers do not have important decision-making
positions is supported by the fact that only 24 percent of the
Black middle level managers, compared to 58 percent of the white
middle level managers, control a budget. With regard to the
lower level managers, 10 percent of the Black managers and 23
percent of the white managers controlled a budget.

Not only did few Blacks believe they have control over a
budget, but 64 percent of the Black managers have only five or
fewer subordinates, compared to 31 percent of the white managers.
When managerial level is used as the control variable, it was
found that 24 percent of the Black middle level managers had no
subordinates, compared to 14 percent of the white middle level
managers. Double the percentage of Black lower level managers
had no subordinates, compared to the white lower level managers--
34 percent to 17 percent.[18]

The virtually non-existent decision-making positions of
Blacks more strikingly at middle management are also substantiated
by the following data:

Only 59 percent of the Black middle level managers, com-
pared to 25 percent of the white middle level managers, believe
they have little or no influence over the hiring and promoting
policies of their departments and/or divisions. There is little

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[18]See Appendix B, p. 543, for the frequency distribu-
tion of the number of subordinates the Black and white managers
have.

difference between the Black and white lower level managers--31

percent of the Black and 36 percent white, respectively.[19]

Anticipating the relative powerless positions of the Black

managers, they were asked the question: Do you have the same

power and authority as the white managers who held your position

before you?

In response to the question, 32 percent of the Black man-

agers, approximately equal percentages from lower and middle manage-

ment, said they do not believe they have the same power and author-

ity as the white managers who held their positions before them.

In addition, ten of the Black managers said they do not hold posi-

tions that were previously occupied by white managers; therefore,

they responded affirmatively. More Blacks in Personnel--53 per-

cent--than any of the other managers' areas of work answered this

question negatively. In fact, more than a majority of the Black

managers in Personnel believe they have little or no influence

over their companies' and departments'/divisions' employment

policies.

The two primary reasons the Black managers believe they

do not have the same power and authority as the white managers

are: (1) they must prove themselves before they are given the

same power and authority, whereas the white managers are given

them immediately; and (2) their work is always being checked on

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[19]See Appendix B, p. 545, for the frequency distribu-
tion of the managers' responses with regard to employment influence.

and they are not given the complete power, authority, and lati-
tude that the white managers are given.[20]

Considering the fact that most Blacks are in low level,
non-supervisory positions with little authority and believe Blacks
are limited to low level positions, it is not surprising that
three out of four believe Blacks are just being showcased. Twenty-
four percent of the managers believe Blacks are being showcased
because they have done what their firms have asked them to, such
as attend meetings, dinners and conferences, give speech s, and
have their pictures taken. Another 21 percent said their companies
need to improv their images with the public so 'ey encourage
Blacks to showcase. Another 16 percent said they know of Blacks
in their firms who have performed public relations activities
but they have not done so themselves. And 13 percent said they
have been asked to perform certain functions, but they have refused.[21]

While there is a high percentage of Black managers in all
of the various job classifications who agree that Blacks are used
for showcasing purposes by their firms, the Black managers in Per-
sonnel and Finance are more likely to agree that this occurs than
those in administrative, supervisory, and scientific areas. For
example, 95 percent of the Black managers working in banks as loan
and finance officers and 82 percent in Personnel, compared to 63

[20]See Appendix B, pp. 545-546, for the reasons the man-
agers do not believe they have the same power and authority as
white managers who held their job before them.

[21]See Appendix B, pp. 546-548, for the managers' reasons
for agreeing or disagreeing that Blacks are being showcased.

percent in administration and 67 percent in supervisory positions,
believe Blacks are used for showcasing purposes. In short, gen-
erally the Black managers who are in decision-making positions
supervising people are less likely to believe that Blacks are
being used for showcasing purposes than those in Personnel and
visible non-supervisory positions such as loan officers in banks.

A Black middle level manager from Ace Public Utility said
that he believes all managerial jobs are partly public relations
functions and a Black manager can perform these functions better
in the Black communities.

One Black female lower level manager from the same com-
pany believes that Black managers are really powerless, but that
the public is given the impression that they are not: "Firms at-
tempt to give the public a false impression. They have a few
Black managers so they use them for many jobs. The Black mana-
gers might not have the power to do anything, but the firm attempts
to convey the image that they have all kinds of power."

A Black middle level manager from Deuce Public Utility
indicated that his company tries to make him attend all types of
functions; however, he said he only attends functions in which he
is allowed to talk about the true situation of Blacks in his firm
and he will not attend those in which he is supposed to put forth
the firm's point of view.

Because every time he turns around there is someone with
a camera in his laboratory taking pictures of him to publicize the
"progress" Blacks are supposedly making in his firm, a Black

manager from Aunts Manufacturing strongly agreed with this
statement.

Summary and Conclusions

The present situation of Black managers in white corpora-
tions is not very hopeful. After thirty years of federal and execu-
tive orders, after ten years of Plans for Progress, after seven
years of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, and after many years
of preaching by the corporate world and these particular firms
about their commitment to equal employment opportunities, Black
managers represent only 1.9 percent of the managers in the par-
ticipating firms. It has only been in the past four years that the
corporate world in general and specifically the firms which parti-
cipated in this study have made more than token efforts to hire
and promote Blacks into management positions and this was done
under increasing pressure from the federal government, civil rights
groups, and the riots of the 1960's. The few Black managers who
are employed by these firms are generally in low level management
positions, generally related to the Black "sphere" and have little,
if any, decision-making power.

CHAPTER V

EXPLANATIONS FOR THE PRESENT SITUATION OF
BLACK MANAGERS IN WHITE CORPORATIONS

Introduction

Chapter IV showed that the few Blacks in managerial posi-
tions are primarily in lower level positions normally associated
with the Black consumer market or Black employees. This chapter
reports how the participating managers explain this situation in
their firms and in the corporate world in general.

This chapter is divided into six major sections. The first
section analyzes managers' opinions about the fairness of their
companies' employment policies toward all employees, regardless
of race. The second summarizes their explanations for the sit-
uation of Black managers in the corporate world in general and
in their firms. The next three discuss these explanations in de-
tail. The managers' explanations can be categorized into three
propositions: (1) The cultural proposition used almost exclu-
sively by the white managers, (2) the qualification proposition
used much more frequently by the white managers than the Black
managers, and (3) the discriminatory proposition used more fre-
quently by the Black managers than the white managers. The final
section compares the managers' views of the opportunities available
to Blacks in the corporate world in general and in their firms.

<u>The Managers' Views of the Companies' General</u>
<u>Employment Policies: Introduction</u>

The three questions discussed in this section were designed

to solicit the managers' views of their companies' employment poli-

cies as they relate to all employees, not their companies' employ-

ment policies toward only Blacks.   This was done to see if the

Black and white managers have similar or different complaints

about their companies' employment policies which are not neces-

sarily, but could be, related to race.

A.   <u>Agreement with hiring and promoting policies</u>

When the managers were asked: Are you in agreement with

the hiring and promoting policies of this company?, there was a

vast difference between Black and white managers' responses.

Thirty-seven percent of the Black managers and 82 percent of the

white managers responded affirmatively.

Table 1 lists the reasons the managers agree with their

companies' hiring and promoting policies.

The primary reason the Black managers disagree with their

companies' hiring and promoting policies is that they believe they

are discriminatory--or, if the policies are fair, the individuals

responsible for implementing them are not committed to providing

Blacks equal employment opportunities.   Only one white manager

disagrees with his company's policies because of racial discrim-

ination.

Politics (people hired or promoted not on their ability

and merit but on personal contacts and influence) was almost as

TABLE 1

THE REASONS THE MANAGERS AGREE WITH THEIR
COMPANIES' EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

Reasons	Black Managers (N=42)	White Managers (N=128)
Policies Are Fair	41 %	84 %
Agrees With AAP	29	10
Respondent's Experiences, i.e., He/She Has Been Treated Fairly	12	0
Agrees With Affirmative Action For Women	10	2
Agrees with Policies but They Need Better Implementation	7	2
Agrees with Policies in General but Does not Agree with AAP	0	2
Other	14	5
Total*	103	105

*Total percentages are over 100 because several managers gave more than one reason and also because of rounding errors.

important as racial discrimination in explaining the Black managers' disagreement with their companies' employment policies—28 percent. This was five times the number of white managers who gave politics as an explanation. Here's how a Black lower level manager in Triple C Bank described what he meant by politics: "Individuals are hired and promoted on the basis of who the individuals know rather than on their abilities." A Black lower

level manager in Ace Public Utility said that his company "does not always put the right man in the right place . . . you have to have influence regardless of whether you can do the job or not."[1]

Another area in which there was substantial difference in view between the Black and white managers is the role seniority should play in employment decisions. In general, the Black managers want to de-emphasize the seniority system and the white managers want to emphasize it.[2]

Table 2 lists the reasons given by the managers for their disagreement with their companies' hiring and promoting policies.

B. **Unwritten employment policies**

Because an extremely high percentage of white managers agree with the fairness of their companies' employment policies, it would be expected that an extremely high percentage would not believe there are any unwritten employment policies which realistically affect their companies' employment decisions. But this is not the case. When the managers were asked the open-ended question: In general, what are some important policies which are not written into the formal company employment policies, i.e., practices which may not be written or discussed but that realistically affect decisions?, only half of the white managers and one-fourth of the

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[1]The second most frequent advice Black managers would give to other Black managers entering their firms is to be cautious and aware of corporate politics. This lends additional support to the view that many Black managers believe politics plays a crucial role in their companies' employment policies. See Appendix B, pp. 548-549, for the frequency distribution of the advice Black managers would give to other Blacks entering their firms.

[2]As will be seen later race, not age, accounts for this difference.

TABLE 2

THE REASONS THE MANAGERS DISAGREE WITH
THEIR COMPANIES' EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

Reasons	Black Managers (N=72)	White Managers (N=28)
Discrimination Against Blacks	34 %	4 %
Politics	28	14
Policies Not Carried Out	13	11
Seniority System Should Be De-emphasized	13	4
Agrees With Hiring Policies But Not With Promoting Policies	7	4
Discrimination Against Women	7	0
Does Not Like Testing System	6	4
Seniority System Should Be Emphasized	6	14
Disagrees With Selection and Evaluation Procedures	3	18
Disagrees With Affirmative Action Program	3	25
Other	3	14
Total*	122	112

*Total percentages are over 100 because several managers gave more than one reason and also because of rounding errors.

Black managers said there are none. Table 3 shows their responses.

The most important unwritten policies, as seen by both the Black (42 percent) and white (21 percent) managers, are in the area of conformity in dress, physical appearance and attitude.[3]

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[3]The Black managers' awareness of the pressures to conform

TABLE 3

UNWRITTEN EMPLOYMENT POLICIES WHICH
REALISTICALLY AFFECT DECISIONS

Unwritten Policies	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
None	25 %	50 %
Discrimination	25	2
Conformity	24	8
Politics	21	10
Informal Appearance	9	12
Individual Biases	7	6
Sex Favoritism For Males	7	1
Blacks Must Not Be Militant	7	0
Affirmative Action Program	3	7
Careful Placement Of Blacks	3	2
Sex Favoritism For Females	1	3
Other	12	24
Total*	144	125

*The total percentages are over 100 because the managers
could give as many unwritten policies as they believed existed.

A white middle level manager in Cousins Manufacturing made

these comments: "Some of the unwritten practices are standards

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is illustrated in the advice they would give to Black managers
entering their firm. The most frequent advice they would give is
to be themselves and do not conform to the general corporate view
that the only good Black managers are the "non-militant" "yes"
nigger.

of dress and personal appearance. Also political viewpoints--
individuals must not be too militant or want to change capitalism.
There is not enough room for divergent opinions, so if someone power-
ful likes something the others will agree."

A young, Black female manager from the same company said,
with regard to the type of attitudes Blacks must present: "Race
and sex are unwritten employment policies. Females can't reach
high positions and the same is true for Blacks until they start
recruiting more. Blacks can't be too militant or aggressive."

An informal dress code and discrimination against women
are seen as unwritten employment policies by a white lower level
manager from Ace Public Utility: "Discrimination in the past
against women. It was not apparent and to many people it was not
an obvious policy because of their conditioning. Realistically
they do discriminate against women. There is also an informal
dress code. Someone who dresses rather bizarrely indicates a lack
of maturity and it would be an obstacle to their promotion to man-
agement. This is a conservative company."

A Black middle level manager from the same company sum-
marized the meaning of conformity quite well: "Everyone wants a
clean-cut, all-American boy who won't be a problem."

What the responses to the previous question show is that
a substantial majority of the Black and white managers believe
there are a number of unwritten policies which affect their com-
panies' employment decisions. Many of these unwritten policies,

while affecting all managers, have a more profound effect on Black
man⊷gers because of the role race plays.

C. Promotional changes the managers would make

The managers were asked what changes they would institute
in the promotional policies of their firm. Fifteen percent of the
Black managers, and 38 percent of the white managers said they'd
make no changes at all.

The responses of those who would make changes are directly
related to the reasons they disagree with their companies' employ-
ment policies and the unwritten employment policies they believe .
exist in their firms. For example, one of the major reasons the
Black and white managers do not agree with their companies' em-
ployment policies is because of the differences in views regarding
the emphasis that should be placed on the seniority system. The
most frequently mentioned change cited by Black managers is to de-
emphasize the seniority system; however, the second most frequent
change cited by the white managers is to emphasize the seniority
·ystem.

A Black lower level manager in Cousins Manufacturing said
with regard to the seniority system: "The current criteria is
more or less one of seniority--hierarchy of positions. The next
guy in line is entitled to the job irrespective of qualifications.
People should be allowed to be put in a position of responsibility
on their potential and not after proving they are capable by long
years of service. I would do away with the prior restraints--give
people the opportunity to fail."

A Black manager in Triple C Bank put it this way: "The firm has two different promotional policies—one for Blacks and one for whites. Promotions should be based on potential rather than on seniority. Blacks in the bank are not as high as they should be and there are some whites who are in positions above their capabilities. These positions could have been given to Blacks who have potential."

Table 4 lists the changes the managers would make, if they could, in their companies' promotional policies.

Other than the differences in opinion with regard to the importance of the roles of seniority, politics and racism in the companies' employment policies, the Black and white managers generally would attempt to make the job opportunities more well known, the evaluation procedures more objective, and the recognition and preparation of potential managers more effective.

The following statements present some of the managers' opinions with regard to developing more objective promotional policies and the role politics plays in promotional decisions. What becomes clear in these responses is that the Black and white managers tend to see the same non-ability mechanisms working in their companies' promotional systems for all employees.

A Black lower level manager in Ace Public Utility: "People get screened out because of their ethnic background, long hair, etc. I would select more objective evaluation criteria."

A suggestion to improve the evaluation procedures was offered by a white middle level manager in Cousins Manufacturing:

TABLE 4

CHANGES THE MANAGERS WOULD MAKE IN THEIR
COMPANIES' PROMOTIONAL POLICIES

Changes	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
De-emphasize Seniority	23 %	6 %
None	15	38
Do Away With Politics	15	7
Better Information On Promotional Opportunities	14	8
More Objective Evaluation Procedures	13	8
Do Away With Discrimination	13	1
Better Identification And Preparation Of Potential Managers	8	12
Emphasize Seniority	5	12
Give Females More Opportunities	3	2
Promote On Merit And Not Because Of Being A Female	2	3
Other	4	8
Total*	115	105

*The total percentages are over 100 because the managers could indicate as many promotional changes as they would wish to make.

"The company should have an appraisal of the performance, responsibilities, and abilities of the employees by not less than two department superiors, one might be in personnel. If they only have one he might be prejudiced, etc., and would not let the employees advance."

A Black lower level manager in Ace Public Utility agreed
with the previous manager: "The evaluation program should include
written and oral examinations and interviews by people other than
the individuals' co-workers and immediate superior. The people
who do the evaluations should be in levels above the level of the
individual whom they are evaluating."

A white female lower level manager in Ace Public Utility:
"The promotion policies should be based strictly on an indivi-
dual's merit and ability. In the past they have been based on an
individual's sex. I haven't observed a racial bias, but my sample
has been small. Political factors--what alliances you have--also
play a part."

And a Black lower level manager from the same company:
"The company should give more importance to an individual's per-
formance and not to who you know."

D. Summary and conclusions of the managers' view of
   their companies' general employment policies

Though 82 percent of the white managers agree with their
companies' general employment policies, 50 percent of them believe
there are unwritten policies that realistically affect their com-
panies' employment decisions and 62 percent of them would make
changes in their companies' promotional policies. As for the Black
managers, 63 percent of them disagree with their companies' employ-
ment policies, 75 percent believe there are unwritten employment
policies, and 85 percent would make changes in the promotional
policies of their companies.

Except for the importance of racial discrimination, politics and the degree of emphasis that should be placed on the seniority system, the white and Black managers see similar problems in their companies' employment policies: pressures to conform to company norms and standards in attitudes, dress, and physical appearance, and the need for more objective evaluation procedures.

In response to all three questions almost double the percentage of Black as white managers consider politics as an important and undesirable influence on employment policies. A possible explanation for this consistently large difference is that most Blacks, because of their race, have been prevented from forming relationships on and off-the-job with their white subordinates, peers, and superiors which could be helpful to their careers.

With regard·to the large difference concerning seniority between the Black and white managers, the most reasonable explanation why many Black managers want to de-emphasize the seniority system is that the Black managers who participated in this study are very well educated and have _finally_ received the opportunity to demonstrate their abilities to the business world. They do not want to be held back by a seniority system which they consider to be unfair due to businesses' past closed door policy towards Blacks. This position is supported by the fact that when age is used as the control variable for all of the questions dealing with the managers' views of the seniority system, it becomes clear that there are no large differences among the Black managers of all ages; however, the younger white managers are more likely to want

to de-emphasize the seniority system than the older white

managers.[4]

A white middle level manager in Ace Public Utility expertly

described what many Black male and female managers and white fe-

male managers would like to see develop in their companies: "There

should be a special accelerated promotional program and development

program set up for nonwhites and women. Now they (the firm's man-

agement) are color and sex blind; thus they are still white male

oriented." The reason the system is still white male oriented,

even though the companies are supposedly color and sex blind, is

because the white male has received great advantages in terms of

experience and seniority due to past sexual and racial discrimin-

ation. Since past discriminatory practices are hard to change and

most decisions are still made by white males, the white male will

have the advantage. They will promote the individuals who fit

their images of the most promotable managers which, of course, will

be white males.

One white middle level manager in Triple A Bank put it

this way: "People look for individuals who resemble them; there-

fore if you are different (Black), you are at a disadvantage if

your boss is white which is the case 99.9 percent of the time."

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[4]Note that four of the five Black and white managers
under 30 who would emphasize the seniority system are females.
They believe that many white males have been promoted over them,
even though they are as capable as the white males and have longer
service with their companies.

The most reasonable explanation for white managers desiring to emphasize the seniority system rather than de-emphasizing it than Black managers is because they feel their secure, monopolistic positions are being threatened by the new competition from minorities and women. If the seniority system is emphasized they need not fear losing their promotional opportunities since they have served their companies for a longer period of time. In three of the large firms which participated in this study, women and minorities make up more than 50 percent of the employment work force. Therefore, it is understandable that these white managers would prefer the old seniority system because it gives them an advantage. Another but less important reason most of the white managers prefer to emphasize the seniority system is that many of the minorities and women are better educated than they are; therefore, these managers feel even more threatened since many of them are not as educated as their new competitors. It should be noted that many of these white managers probably feel threatened by any educated person whether the person is a member of a minority group, a woman, or a white male; however, the threat from minorities and women is newer and of greater potential and therefore of greater concern for some white managers.

In sum: Except for the few differences just discussed many Black and white managers see similar problems in their companies' general employment policies, which could or could not be directly related to race, i.e., the employment policies are not perfectly fair for either whites or Blacks; however, the situation

is more difficult for Blacks because not only must they put up
with all the unfair inconsistencies in the employment policies
that whites must put up with, but Blacks must also put up with
racial discrimination which makes their situation a _great deal
more_ difficult than the white managers' situation.

How the Managers Explain the Underutilization of Blacks in Industry and the Incidence of Black Managers in their Companies

As noted in Chapter IV, Black managers represented only
.7 percent of the managerial work forces of the participating
firms in 1967. In 1971 they represented only 1.9 percent of the
managerial work forces.

The vast majority of the Blacks are in lower management
positions. Only 2.2 percent of all the Black managers are in
middle management and a slightly higher percentage are lower mid-
dle level managers. Most of the Blacks who make it to middle man-
agement are either in technical/professional positions with no
supervisory or administrative duties or in positions in such areas
as affirmative action, and public and industrial relations which
are directly and primarily concerned with the Black community.
Lower level Black managers are generally concerned with Black con-
sumer markets and/or deal primarily with Black employees.

The firms in this study are similar to the firms in the
corporate world in general with regard to the number, managerial
levels, and the types of positions of Black managers. Since the
situation is the same in the corporate world and in the partici-
pating firms, do the Black and white managers explain the situation

in the same manner, do they place similar emphasis on the explanations, and which of the explanations is the most valid?

The managers were asked: How do you account for the seeming underutilization of Black managers in industry? With regard to their companies, the managers were asked: How do you explain the incidence of Black managers in your company?

Table 5 lists the reasons given by the managers for the seeming underutilization of Blacks in industry.

Table 6 shows the responses of the managers to the question: How do you explain the incidence of Black managers in your company?

A careful review of these two tables indicates that there are three explanations for the present situation of Black managers. The explanations have been categorized into three major propositions.

One is that the present situation of Black managers can be explained at least in part by racial discrimination. Four out of five of the Black managers and two out of three of the white managers believe that Blacks have been underutilized in corporations at least in part because of racial discrimination. There were three other responses which directly implied that racial discrimination was the major factor. They were: (1) the companies are just beginning to put into effect their Affirmative Action Programs; (2) Blacks' lack of awareness of business opportunities because of past discrimination; and (3) the companies are just showcasing their Blacks.

TABLE 5

THE MANAGERS' EXPLANATIONS FOR THE SEEMING UNDERUTILIZATION
OF BLACK MANAGERS IN THE CORPORATE WORLD IN GENERAL

Explanations	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Racial Discrimination	84 %	62 %
Firms Just Beginning To Practice EEO	9	13
Lack Of Education	8	30
Lack of Awareness Of Business Opportunities Because Of Past Discriminatory Practices	6	6
Lack of Qualifications	5	31
Showcasing	4	0
Different Life-Styles	3	10
Lack of Ambition and Initiative, Undependable	0	12
Blacks Lack Entrepreneurial Attitude	0	10
Other	8	3
Total*	127	177

*The total percentages are over 100 because many managers gave more than one explanation.

TABLE 6

THE MANAGERS' EXPLANATIONS FOR THE INCIDENCE
OF BLACK MANAGERS IN THEIR COMPANIES

Explanations	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Civil Rights And Social Pressures	36 %	12 %
Governmental Pressure	33	12
Racial Discrimination	30	2
Company's AAP, i.e., Fair Employment Policy	19	50
Blacks Are Qualified	14	21
AAP Just Beginning	10	15
Blacks Are Becoming More Interested	4	1
Blacks Are A New Excellent Resource	4	5
Lack of Qualifications	3	12
Blacks Are Not Interested	1	4
Blacks Are Lazy, etc.	0	1
Other	3	4
Total*	157	139

*The total percentages are over 100 because many managers
gave more than one explanation.

Although the white managers feel racial discrimination is a major explanation for the situation of Black managers in the corporate world in general they do not believe this is a major explanation for the situation of Black managers in their firms. Only 2 percent of the white managers attribute the very low incidence of Black managers in their companies, at least in part, to racial discrimination, compared to 31 percent of the Black managers. Fifteen percent of the white and 10 percent of the Black managers believe there are few Black managers in their firms because they are just beginning Affirmative Action Programs.

Many of the Black managers believe their firms would not have hired or promoted Black managers if it were not for governmental and/or social and civil rights pressures. Half of the Black managers selected at least one of these factors to explain the low number of Black managers in their company; almost one-fifth of the white managers concurred. As a Black middle level managers from Aunts Manufacturing said, "The only reason there are any Black managers in this company is because the government has to be satisfied."

Thus, while only about one-third of the Black managers believe racial discrimination is an explanation for the incidence of Black managers in their companies, many of them believe their firms have a small number of Black managers because of external pressures and not because their firms are progressive in providing Blacks with equal employment opportunities.

The second most important proposition used to explain the underutilization of Black managers in industry in general is that Blacks lack the necessary qualifications. Fifty-three percent of the white managers, compared to 12 percent of the Black managers selected this as at least part of the reason.

This proposition is most frequently used by the white managers to explain the incidence of Black managers in their companies. Again very few Black managers use the qualification proposition.

That qualifications is the most important proposition used by the white managers to explain the situation of Black managers in their firms is not absolutely clear from the table.

When the white managers say that their firms have fair employment policies to hire and promote Blacks they are directly or indirectly implying that the Blacks who are now being hired and promoted are qualified and that the reason they were not hired or promoted before is because they were not qualified. For example, one white middle level manager in Triple C Bank said, "Our company has a fair employment policy. The Blacks whom we employ as managers are qualified. If they were not qualified we would not have hired or promoted them."

The Black managers are saying that there are a lot of qualified Blacks and their firms should have more. As one Black female manager in Ace Public Utility said, "Blacks are here because they are just <u>outstanding</u> managers . . . ."

The third proposition given, almost exclusively by the white managers, is the cultural proposition. These respondents hold that Blacks have different life-styles, lack ambition, are lazy, and/or lack entrepreneurial attitudes. This explanation was used much more frequently to explain the underutilization of Black managers in industry in general than to explain the incidence of Black managers in these companies.

In the next three sections each proposition will be carefully and critically analyzed.

The Cultural Proposition

The basis for the cultural proposition stems from the belief that Blacks are not making it in the corporate world because they are culturally different from whites, with a distinct subculture with their own set of values and behaviors. The managers in this study gave three separate, yet closely related, interpretations of cultural differences. First, Blacks are supposedly culturally different from whites because they lack strong "entrepreneurial ethics." Second, Blacks supposedly lack initiative, ambition, and drive. Third, Blacks supposedly possess differ at dress styles, manners of speech, overall personal mannerisms, and social mores than whites.

The writer shall first analyze the "entrepreneurial ethic" interpretation of the cultural proposition. Some of the white managers believe that because most Blacks have not been brought up in an entrepreneurial atmosphere, they have not developed a

strong interest in pursuing business careers. Nine percent of the
white managers and none of the Black managers selected this inter-
pretation of the cultural proposition to explain, at least in part,
the underutilization of Blacks in industry. None of the managers
believe that this interpretation of the cultural proposition could
be used to explain the incidence of Black managers in their firms.

Most Black parents who have attended college in the past
normally pursued degrees in the professional fields such as social
services and teaching rather than degrees in business administra-
tion or the scientific fields. This is evident in this study. In
Chapter II it was shown that the vast majority of the Black parents
with college degrees were clergymen, teachers, lawyers, doctors,
or business owners in Black communities. However, Blacks did not
select social services, teaching professions, and other professions
because they were their personal choices, but out of necessity.
Blacks realized that a college degree in business administration
or business-related subjects would not prove practical because of
the white business community's closed door policy with regard to
the employment of Blacks; however, this does not prove that Blacks
lack an entrepreneurial ethic.

When the data on fathers' occupations collected in this
study were collapsed into broader occupational categories, it was
found that 27 percent of the white managers' fathers were business
managers at various levels, 18 percent were owners of small or
moderate size businesses, and 18 percent were professionals.
This clearly indicates most white managers come from families

with entrepreneurial backgrounds. However, 21 percent of the Black

managers' fathers were skilled laborers, 20 percent were unskilled

laborers, 8 percent were railroad dining room waiters, and 6 per-

cent were small farmers. The figures suggest that sons of skilled

and unskilled Black fathers are selecting business careers even

though they have not been brought up in an entrepreneurial atmos-

phere. This is because Blacks, especially young Blacks, are fin-

ally obtaining limited opportunities to improve their occupational

status, many of them are breaking away from the unskilled and

skilled occupations of their parents and seeking employment in

the corporate world as managers. One should not forget that be-

cause the Protestant ethic and capitalistic system so thoroughly

dominate American society, the vast majority of Blacks have been

inculcated with the entrepreneurial ethic. Blacks have always

been able to see the vast financial rewards and other benefits

which whites receive for being members of the corporate world,

especially members of the managerial ranks, and Blacks have al-

ways had the desire to work and to receive those rewards; however,

discrimination has been the major barrier preventing Blacks from

achieving their goals in the business world. Finally, for Blacks

to survive and progress in the hostile atmosphere which existed

in this country and which still exists, demonstrates that they

have developed the knowledge and expertise to become worthwhile

and important members of any institution.

One of the middle level Black managers aptly summarized

this interpretation of the cultural proposition: "There is an

opinion or myth that only sons of businessmen can make it. There

is an association of Caucasians with the business world and with

the attitude that Blacks can't make it because their fathers never

made it in the business world."

The second interpretation of the cultural proposition is

that Blacks are not making it in the corporate world, either in

terms of being hired or promoted, because they have bad work

habits, lack initiative and ambition, and are undependable.

Twelve percent of the white managers in the study selected this

interpretation of the cultural proposition as at least part of

the explanation for the underutilization of Blacks in industry.

One middle level white manager in Century Manufacturing said,

"Caucasians are the most ambitious--Blacks aren't interested in

becoming a part of the business world." Another white middle level

manager in Triple C Bank said, "There are a lot of things we take

for granted that we better not take for granted when we bring

Black people to work here. Most of these people are not initially

ready to take on the discipline of a job. The culture and knowledge

are different. We expect certain work habits from the white em-

ployees that can't be taken for granted from the Black employees."

As one would expect, none of the Black managers selected

this interpretation. Only one percent of the white managers sel-

ected this as an explanation for the incidence of Black managers

in their companies.

Randall Collins summarized sociological literature which

discusses "superior" values of children from middle and upper class

families. This is essentially what the white managers in this study

are saying Blacks lack:

> Since many of the family patterns which foster such
> high aspirations and values are found more widely
> in the middle class than in the lower class, moti-
> vation for high educational and occupational achieve-
> ment is more widespread in middle-class children,
> who are therefore more likely to rise into higher
> positions or to hold their parents' occupational
> level, than are lower-class children to win these
> middle-class positions.[5]

Although the majority of the Black managers in this study

and the majority of Black people in general do not come from a

"superior" family background, Black pride, which has been develop-

ing at a slow but increasing pace since before the Civil War, has

created within the Black community a need and desire to succeed.

This Black pride has created in its own way "superior" values,

goals, and standards.

Some of the white managers who participated in the study

tend to support the previous proposition. Almost one-fifth said

that some of the good characteristics they have observed about

Black managers in their companies are dedication, confidence,

ambition, and high motivation. In addition, one-fifth said they

do not see any real differences between the Black and white managers.

These "superior" ethics Blacks possess due to the long de-

velopment of Black pride are well illustrated in the Black mana-

gers' remarks to some of the questions such as : What advice would

you give an individual Black person with regard to the best possible

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[5]Randall Collins, "Employment and Education, A Study in the
Dynamics of Stratification" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Uni-
versity of California, Berkeley, 1968), p. 42.

strategy to follow in this society in order to live a prosperous, free life?, and What would you say is the best way for a young Black to achieve high managerial positions in the business world?

In general, the managers suggest that Blacks become well educated, develop their skills, set and pursue high goals and priorities, work hard and do their job well, stand up for their rights and be proud.[6]

This counter proposition is further supported in Chapter VIII by the fact that the goals and ambitions of the Black and white managers are quite similar. If anythinp, the Black managers are more ambitious. In addition, Blacks are much more likely to select new jobs because of chances of advancement and salary increases than whites who are more interested in the aesthetic characteristics of a job, i.e., its interest and sense of worth.

Thus, even though most Blacks were not brought up in what the white managers believe is the necessary cultural environment to obtain "superior" values, goals, ambitions, and standards, Blacks have developed these "superior" ethics through increasing Black awareness and pride. Additional support for this position comes from Goodwin's study on welfare mothers and poor people. He noted that there was a very strong desire on the part of welfare mothers and their sons to get a good education and to pursue a good career.[7]

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[6]See Chapters IX and X for a more detailed discussion of these two questions.

[7]Leonard Goodwin, Do the Poor Want to Work? (Washington, D. C., 1972).

Ferman, _et al_. put forth a more reasonable argument regarding this second interpretation of the cultural proposition:

> . . . the Negro is confronted by a restricted
> opportunity structure that denies him access--
> intentionally or unintentionally--to adequate
> jobs, training, education, and housing. It is
> not that the Negro does not have the proper goals,
> values, or motivations, but rather that these
> exist, unlike in the case of whites, within the
> framework of an opportunity structure that ren-
> ders impossible the fulfillment of these basic
> social drives.[8]

The pattern of the attitudes of the white managers about Blacks' values and ambitions is ironical. Some of the Black and white managers in this study indicated that many whites complain about Blacks being lazy, lacking ambition, aggressiveness, and initiative; however, they pointed out that they have heard the same whites complain that Blacks are too aggressive, too ambitious, too confident, and too independent. For some whites Blacks will never have the "right" attitudes--another reason to question the validity of the proposition that Blacks are not and have not been making it in the corporate world because they lack initiative and are undependable and unambitious.

The third version of the cultural proposition used primarily to justify the almost complete lack of Black representation in the middle and upper managerial levels is that because Blacks have a different culture which produces different dress styles, manners of speech, overall personal mannerisms, and social mores, they would not be able to effectively interact in the higher business

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[8]Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and J. A. Miller, _Negroes and Jobs_ (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968), p. 109.

circles where many major business decisions are made at social

functions outside of work. Ferman stated this cultural argument

in the following way:

> Some Negroes may have the adequate technical pre-
> paration but lack necessary social skills needed
> in the job. The major thrust of this argument is
> that Negroes come from a "different" cultural back-
> ground and do not possess the verbal cues of white
> middle-class people. Therefore, this "culture gap"
> will interfere with the job performance of the
> Negro, especially if the job involves extensive
> contact with whites.[9]

In this study two of the Black managers and 10 percent of

the white managers selected this interpretation of the cultural

proposition to explain the underutilization of Black managers in

industry. None selected it to explain the incidence of Black man-

agers in their firms.

White managers can find support for their contention that a

culturally homogeneous group of managers is necessary for an or-

ganization to function smoothly. Chester Barnard in his book,

Functions of the Executive, suggested that in order for business

to function smoothly it is necessary to have a homogeneous group

of managers who have the same life-style, culture, values, and

norms, which will make it easier for them to understand one

another not only at work, but at social activities which play an

important part in the business world. There has been some empir-

ical evidence to support Barnard's contention. For example, Sayles

and Strauss noted that 90 percent of the managers in seventy-six

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[9]Ferman, p. 66.

large corporations who had their jobs terminated were terminated

because of personality traits and not because of technical and/or

professional incompetence.[10]

Vance Packard wrote this excellent evaluation of Barnard's

rationale:

> An early rationale for confining executive selection
> to a homogeneous group was developed in the late
> thirties by telephone executive Chester I. Barnard
> in his still widely read, The Functions of the Execu-
> tive. Barnard listed as incentives to get executives
> to work more smoothly together the possibility of
> "communion" and "social compatibility" and "comfort
> in social relations." From such concepts he leaped
> into the idea that often "men cannot be promoted or
> selected, or even must be relieved because . . .
> the do not fit," even where there is no question of
> formal competence. This question of "fitness" in-
> volves such matters as education, experience, age,
> sex, personal distinctions, prestige, race, nation-
> ality, faith, politics, sectional antecedents; and
> such very specific personal traits as manners, speech,
> personal appearance, etc. That was quite a mouthful,
> and some believe that whatever his intention, the
> statements have had a profound influence in serving
> to encourage the WASPs in their conviction that fellow
> WASPs make the best colleagues for the executive suite.[11]

This version of the cultural proposition must be dismissed

as being invalid because such books as Franklin Frazier's Black

Bourgeoisie have pointed out that there are many Blacks who have

adopted the life-style, mores, dress style, and manners of speech

of the white middle-class to the nth degree; these Blacks are more

WASP than the WASPs.[12] The writer is not saying that this is good

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[10]George Strauss and Leonard R. Sayles, Personnel (Engle-
wood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1960), p. 443.

[11]Packard, p. 36.

[12]Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (New York, 1957).

or bad; he is simply pointing out that there are many Blacks who could fit perfectly into the WASP executive world, except in color. Furthermore, as Charles A. Valentine has argued, in order for Blacks to survive in this society they must be bi-cultural.

> . . . it becomes clear that what has been required
> for Afro-Americans to sustain coherence and contin-
> uity in group life goes beyond divided identity con-
> sciousness or awareness of dual cultural systems.
> What has also been developed is a measure of double
> cultural competence. Afro-Americans must not only
> be conscious of two ethnic worlds; they must also
> be able to behave with a certain effectiveness in
> terms of the standards prescribed by both worlds.
> This is a major reason why all images of Black
> Americans which portray only cultural distinct-
> ness, inconsistency, or opposition to Euro-Ameri-
> can patterns . . . are incomplete to the point of
> extreme distortion.[13]

A. Summary and conclusions of the cultural proposition

Although only a relatively small percent of the white man-
agers selected one of the various interpretations of the cultural proposition to explain the present situation of Black managers in white corporations, overall three out of ten of them selected at least one of the three interpretations of the cultural proposition, i.e., Blacks lack the entrepreneurial ethic, Blacks are undependable, lack ambition and initiative, and Blacks have a different cultural background in terms of mores, life-styles, dress, and speech. Chap-
ter VI findings will reveal that nine out of ten of the white man-
agers made some negative stereotype remarks about Blacks and/or

[13]Charles A. Valentine, Black Studies and Anthropology:
Scholarly and Political Interests in Afro-American Culture
(Reading, Mass., 1972), p. 145.

agreed with negative stereotypes about Blacks which are directly
based on some aspect of the cultural proposition.

Several of the responses of the white managers summarize
the three primary interpretations of the cultural proposition.

A lower level manager from Ace Public Utility: "Most
industries are basically white. The values and culture of whites
have been an obstacles to Blacks--it is more than just skin pig-
ment. In the past there has been a real bias, this has compounded
this difficulty of values. Most Blacks don't have the necessary
background to assimilate in the white business world. A Black
individual has to be really talented to make it; the difficulty
lies with the average Black."

A middle level manager from Cousins Manufacturing: "Many
of the white college graduates are raised in a cultural world that
has a bearing on their business ability. The environment in which
many Blacks are raised doesn't contribute to their understanding
of the business world."

The main problem with the entire cultural proposition is
that it is used in a racial manner rather than in a class manner
which would be more appropriate. But it cannot even be used in a
class manner because there are numerous variations of life-styles
and attitudes in neighborhoods and even among families. Thus it
would be unfair to attribute specific cultural styles to all mem-
bers of a certain class let alone a race. One could make a state-
ment that generally a poor, uneducated, lower-class, Black ghetto
dweller would not be able to function properly in the corporate

world because of his/her background, but the same applies to a white with similar background. Another statement which can be made is that, in general, there are many more similarities in culture and attitudes between the various Black and white social classes than there are differences.

It is not that Blacks, especially those aspiring to become managers, possess cultural differences which would hinder their becoming a part of the business world, rather because of white society's racial barriers Blacks have not been allowed to interact with whites in the business world; therefore they have not been able to demonstrate their interest, ambition, and abilities to the white business world. Furthermore, it is not that Blacks are unable to interact with whites because every day they are forced to do so in this society, but that some whites live such isolated, sheltered lives that they are culturally disadvantaged and psychologically unable to interact with Blacks or any other group of people regardless of color who are not exactly like them.

As one white middle level manager in Cousins Manufacturing said: "The white community considers Blacks to be different without really knowing them; therefore, they categorize Blacks into one group. Their lack of inter-social contact and business contact with Blacks has tended to segregate them in their own minds."

Valentine expertly states the argument against the cultural proposition being used as a valid explanation for the present situation of Black managers in white corporations. He writes:

The collective behavior and community life of
Afro-Americans can best be understood as bicul-
tural in the sense that people regularly draw
upon both an ethnically distinctive repertoire
of beliefs and customs and, at the same time,
make use of behavior patterns from the Euro-
American cultural mainstream. Learning both
cultural systems begins at an early age and
continues throughout life. Patterns from both
sources are of great, though not nessarily equal,
importance in all individual Afro-American lives.
It is not just that Black people can and must
learn about White behavior and expectations as
they grow and move beyond the parental family
or ethnic community narrowly defined. Nor are
we dealing here only with the fact that histor-
ical necessity has forced the Black man bent
on survival to be a keen observer of the White
oppressor. All these things are both true and
important, but they are not the whole story.

Beyond all this, it is also the case that
growing into being an Afro-American person means,
from the beginning, receiving Euro-American
standards, values, habits of thought, and pat-
terns of belief. These come to the Black child
from sources as diverse as the conscious or un-
conscious behavior of Black parents and the sys-
tematic propaganda of the black-and-white or
color TV. In spite of everything, for example,
the American dream of comfort, respectability,
and security as rewards for conventional indi-
vidualist effort still stirs the souls of ghetto
folk. This does not at all negate the fact that
each individual is simultaneously exposed to a
clearly distinctive ethnic heritage.

. . . Because of the way Euro-American institutions
operate--from schools to employment to the housing
market or the court system--most Black people are
prevented from activating or actualizing their
lifelong socialization into White patterns, the
same patterns which so many Euro-Americans easily
use to achieve affluence and ease. Most Blacks
are reduced to peripheral manipulations around
the edges of a system which might have crushed
them entirely long ago if they had not acquired
and developed such multiple competences as they
could.[14]

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[14]Ibid., p. 33.

In conclusion, it is sufficient to say first that, in general, basic similarities far outweigh any observed differences between Blacks and whites. In addition, there are marked differences within the Black and white races; therefore, the cultural proposition as it is presently believed and used by the white managers in this study is very questionable.

The Qualification Proposition

The qualification proposition uses one or a combination of the following factors to explain the present situation of Black managers in industry: Blacks lack education, technical knowledge, professional knowledge, scientific knowledge, and/or experience. In this study this was the second most important proposition used by the white managers to explain the seeming underutilization of Blacks in industry and the most frequent proposition used by the white managers to explain the incidence of Black managers in their companies. Also, in general, the white business community and most white writers who have written about Blacks in white corporations have used the qualification proposition as their primary explanation for the dismal state of Blacks in the corporate world, especially in management positions.[15]

A white upper level manager's comments from Ace Public Utility are quite typical: "My department (engineering) is unable to find any colored fellows to hire--they are not qualified.

[15]For example, see: Garda W. Bowman, "The Image of a Promotable Person in Business Enterprise" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1962). Garda W. Bowman, "What Helps or Harms Promotability?," Harvard Business Review, 42, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb., 1964), 6-26, 184-196. William H. Quay, The Negro in the Chemical Industry (Philadelphia, 1969). Richard Rowan, The Negro in the Banking Industry (Philadelphia, 1970).

We are under pressure to find colored people and minorities and we would like to get some. There just aren't many colored people in engineering. I am going to have a terrible time trying to fill my affirmative action quota. We have one colored summer student who I would like to keep, but these people are in great demand by other companies too."

Very few Black managers believe that Blacks are not making it in the corporate world because they lack the necessary qualifications. The vast majority of the Black managers believe that Blacks do have the qualifications and are only lacking the opportunities to display them, while a majority of the white managers believe the opportunities are there but the Blacks are lacking the qualifications.

The major problem with the qualification proposition is that, in most cases it is very difficult to define what is meant by qualifications, to evaluate qualifications, and to determine what qualifications are necessary to be able to perform a specific job well.[16] For example, some jobs require specific technical or professional skills and some do not. One does not put a social worker into a position which requires expertise in chemical engineering. Most people can agree that the social worker would not be qualified to deal with complex chemistry problems; however, it becomes more difficult to determine who is most qualified when one has a number of chemical engineers to select from and/or when one has to select managers for non-technical positions.

After one selects a person on such criteria measuring the specific technical or professional skills needed to do the job, one

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[16]In the first section of this chapter the managers' comments about unwritten employment policies and promotional changes they would make give strong support to this statement.

has no assurance that this manager will make correct decisions in
less well defined situations. The selector is basing his/her de-
cision on what he/she expects the person will do, and more spe-
cifically, on what he/she expects the person to do in certain
situations. Another part of judging a person's qualifications,
based on expectations, is how socially acceptable the person will
be. The individual's social acceptability might determine how
well he/she can do the job. If the individual is not acceptable,
it is quite possible that his/her peers, subordinates, and sup-
eriors could make it impossible to perform the job satisfactorily.
In short, it is very difficult to define and evaluate qualifications
and then to determine which qualifications are necessary to perform
the job well.

While it is difficult for white managers to evaluate ob-
jectively the qualifications of other white managers, it is even
more difficult when they attempt to evaluate the qualifications of
Black managers. Gourlay addressed himself to this problem:

> Prior to the recent furor over employment prac-
> tices, few managers considered themselves discrim-
> inatory or irrational and subjective in their sel-
> ection policies. Most managers had given very
> little thought to the problem but assumed that
> they were objective. Certainly, few Northern
> businessmen have justified, refusal to hire qual-
> ified Negroes. The problem was that of defining
> qualification. At least unconsciously many man-
> agers felt that certain jobs were not suited for
> Negroes, just as some jobs are not suited for
> women or for old men. There was a great deal of
> blindness or selective perception here--which
> Myrdal calls the "convenience of ignorance"--
> and even intellectual laziness and moral co-
> wardice. Management just did not see the

Negro applicant as a potential skilled tradesman, salesman, or executive.[17]

Another aspect regarding the evaluation of an individual's qualifications is that firms tend to require Blacks to be more qualified.[18]

For example, the managers were asked their degree of agreement with the first statement and whether or not they believe the second question is true:

> Blacks must be a little better than others to get ahead in this company.

> Do you believe your firm is more careful in promoting Black employees than white employees because it wants to be certain that Blacks will succeed before promoting them?

From the managers' responses to previous questions in this chapter, it would seem reasonable to expect that the vast majority of the white managers would strongly agree with the first statement and respond negatively to the second, while the vast majority of the Black managers would respond in the opposite manner.

With the statement that Blacks must be a little better than others to get ahead in their companies, only 10 percent of the white managers strongly disagreed, 54 percent disagreed, 35 percent agreed, and 1 percent strongly agreed.[19]

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[17]Gourlay, p. 12.

[18]See also: Ferman, p. 74. Stuart Taylor, "The Black Executive and the Corporation: A Difficult Fit," MBA, Vol. 6, No. 4, Jan., 1972, p. 92.

[19]Quinn, et al., from whose study the first statement was taken, said that if the managers believed their company was completely fair, they would strongly disagree with the statement.

The lower level white managers, who have the most on-the-job contact with Blacks, believe more frequently (49 percent) that Blacks must be a little better than others to get ahead in their companies than the middle (34 percent) and upper level (23 percent) white managers. The responses of the white lower level managers are probably more correct and knowledgeable than the responses of the middle level managers and the responses of the upper middle level managers because the higher up the managerial ladder the managers are, the further away they are from the actual supervision and evaluation of Black managers. Of course this is due to the fact that there are few Black managers in the middle level of management and none in the upper level of management. Therefore, it is more likely that the middle and upper level managers are expressing what should be the situation in their firms rather than what actually is the situation.

Only one Black manager strongly disagreed, 10 percent disagreed, 41 percent agreed, and 47 percent strongly agreed with the statement.

The responses to this statement tend to support the Black managers' proposition that Blacks must be "super-niggers" or over-qualified before they are hired or promoted and tend to invalidate the white managers' proposition that Blacks are not/were not hired or promoted because they lack the necessary qualifications.

With regard to the question: Do you believe your firm is more careful in promoting Black employees than white employees

because it wants to be certain that Blacks will succeed before promoting them?, more than two-thirds of the Black managers and more than one-fourth of the white managers responded in the affirmative.

When managerial level is used as the control variable, 37 percent of the white upper level managers, 22 percent of the white middle level managers, and 26 percent of the white lower level managers answered this question affirmatively. Five of the eleven white senior managers believe that it would be a big disservice to Blacks and the company if Blacks were promoted into management and did not succeed, four said they answered affirmatively because Blacks have a much higher success record, and two said that their company has a policy for the present time of being more careful in promoting Black employees because they believe it is essential for the first Black managers to succeed if their Affirmative Action Program is to be successful.

An upper level white manager from Aunts Manufacturing put it this way: "I only think that they want to be right when they put a Black in a position. It is too important to get Blacks into positions and to not be careless in promoting them—they can't turn out to be failures."

Several of the managers' responses as to why the managers believe their firms are more careful will help illustrate their reasoning.[20]

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[20]See Appendix B, pp. 549-551, for the reasons the managers believe their firms are more careful in promoting Blacks.

A white middle level manager from Cousins Manufacturing: "Blacks are more competent than their white counterparts. I am more careful with my Black managers."

A Black lower level manager from the same company gave his own personal experience as a reason: "I was placed in a temporary promotion for four months.before I was made a senior salesman. My white peers have spent at most six weeks in the training program--but I was the first Black."

A white manager again from the same company corroborated the Black manager's story when he said: "At the present time we have a few Blacks in Inside Sales, but we won't put them into Out-side Sales until we are completely sure they can handle the job--we would put a white in there first because he could handle the job better."

A similar experience to the previous Black managers was expressed by a Black manager in Triple C Bank: "They (the company) were very skeptical to move me. I was a supervisor before I was promoted and I was kept there for five years which is an abnormally long time. I was told I wasn't promoted because there was no one to replace me--probably being Black was the cause."

Another Black manager from Triple C Bank: "I know a Black who knows his job, but when his superior left he was replaced by a white man from a different field who the Black had to train."

Finally, a white middle level manager from Ace Public Utility: "Most Black executives are super-Blacks--mediocrity is the privilege of the white male."

A potentially dangerous reason many white managers believe their firms are not more careful in promoting Blacks than whites is that Black employees are given unfair advantages. Many of the white managers believe their companies are practicing reverse discrimination in favor of Blacks, while most of the Black managers believe their companies still have discriminatory policies in favor of whites.[21]

A white middle level manager from Triple C Bank expressed the white managers' general position: "It is the other way around now--they (Blacks) are given promotions faster than they are worthy of them."

A Black lower level manager from Aunts Manufacturing expressed the Black managers' position in this manner: "They are more careful but not because they want Blacks to succeed. They are more careful because they are wary of putting Blacks into managerial positions."

Fifty-three percent of the white managers believe Blacks must be better than whites to get ahead and/or that their firms are more careful in promoting Blacks than whites; however, 92 percent of them believe their firm is not paying lip service to the idea of equal employment opportunities for Blacks. Only 27 percent of the Black managers concurred.

Because education is the cornerstone of the qualification proposition, a few specific comments should be made about educational

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[21]It should be noted that throughout the interviews there was a general belief on the part of most white managers that if you are Black you have it made.

requirements for managerial jobs. Many writers concerned with

educational achievement, its correlation to success in business,

and its necessity to perform many jobs have questioned the great

amount of emphasis being placed on education, especially college

degrees. In general, these writers have concluded that education

is more of a socializing function and that requiring educational

credentials to perform acceptable work is being over-emphasized

because most of the training needed to perform a job is learned

on-the-job rather than in school.[22]

Melville Dalton wrote:

> This tie between education and rank in the line
> suggests that training was related to managerial
> skills and was, therefore, probably a criterion
> for advancement. However, the data showed that
> only a minority of the managers were in positions
> relevant to their schooling, while at least 62
> percent were engaged in duties not related to
> their formal training. For example, the indus-
> trial relations department was headed by officers
> with degrees in aeronautical and chemical engin-
> eering; a divisional superintendent had special-
> ized in medicine; a superintendent who majored
> in law was in charge of mechanical processes; etc.
>
> In some cases mere quantity of schooling may
> have been a rough criterion for advancement. If
> so, it became obscured in the play of personal
> relations. A more realistic hypothesis might be
> that greater schooling contributed to increased
> desire for status and a higher style of life as
> a result of growing knowledge and association
> during college years with those of higher socio-
> economic status. At the same time, the psycho-
> logical mobility of education probably weakened
> the group-centered values acquired in childhood
> and strengthened the readiness with which many

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[22]See also Collins, p. 109. Robert A. Gordon and James E.
Howell, _Higher Education for Business_ (New York, 1959), p. 121.

of the managers seized advantages and created
impressions favorable to their personal success.[23]

Wilensky has noted that the average worker in America

holds twelve major jobs during the normal 46 year work life and

only one-fifth remain within the same general occupational cate-

gory throughout his/her work life. From these facts Wilensky

concludes that specialized educational training in schools is not

likely to be of indispensable value to the average worker. The

value he sees in education is that it develops analytical and

verbal skills and skills of adaptability.[24]

The findings in this study tend to support Dalton's and

Wilensky's findings that most managers during their careers hold

positions which are not directly related to their major field of

study in college. There were many examples of white managers who

were trained in engineering and other physical sciences placed in

financial areas and white managers who were trained in social

sciences placed in production and technical areas. This occurs

primarily because the firms in this study generally transfer

their white managers into new positions, usually in different

areas, every two or three years. This is done especially with

those managers who are considered to be high achievers and are

thought to be upper management candidates.

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[23]Melville Dalton, "Informal Factors in Career Achieve-
ment," American Journal of Sociology, 56 (March, 1951), 410.

[24]Harold L. Wilensky, "Careers, Counseling, and the
Curriculum," Journal of Human Resources, 2 (Winter, 1967),
32.

It should be noted that the previous paragraph referred to white managers and not to Black managers. Black managers, especially those in the middle level of management, are almost exclusively placed in the fields in which they receive their college training. For example, 96 percent of the Black middle level managers with college degrees work in the areas in which they received their degrees, compared to 57 percent of the white middle level managers. In addition, the 24 percent of the Black managers with degrees in technical or scientific areas are all working in the areas in which they received their degrees; this is not the case with the white managers. Also all of the Black females and five of the six white females are working in the areas in which they received their degrees.

A. Summary and conclusions of the qualification proposition

In the previous section it was shown that the white managers in this study, in business in general, and many white writers concerned with the Black employment situation believe that the primary reason Blacks have not made it in the corporate world and in their firms is because they lack the necessary qualifications in terms of education, training, and experience. Very few Black managers agree with this point of view.

While nine out of ten of the white managers believe their firms are not paying lip-service to providing Blacks with equal opportunities, more than one out of two of them believe Blacks must be better than whites to get ahead in their firms and/or

their firms are more careful in promoting Blacks than whites be-
cause the firm wants to be certain that Blacks will succeed before
promoting them.

There are some obvious contradictions in the white managers'
position. If Black managers must be above average and if they are
more carefully evaluated because their firms want to be certain
that they will succeed before promoting them, these companies are
discriminating against Blacks and their firms cannot honestly
claim to be equal opportunity employers. These practices are ex-
tremely futile and extremely unfair to Blacks primarily because no
one can be certain that any manager, regardless of color, will
succeed before promoting him/her. In addition, requiring Blacks
to be over-qualified could lead firms to institutionalize dual
selection and evaluation systems which would set unrealistic
standards for Blacks. In other words, if the firms require Blacks
to be over-qualified, they will soon begin to expect Blacks to have
superior records. Anything below superior would be considered un-
acceptable. Again, this would be a far cry from offering equal
employment opportunities. True equal employment opportunities
will be when an average Black can secure a job with the same ef-
forts as an average white. Blacks must have the chance to fail
or succeed by the same rules and criteria that govern whites. Un-
til this happens, no firm can truly be considered an equal oppor-
tunity employer. Furthermore, requiring Blacks to be over-qual-
ified can have harmful effects on the attitudes of the Black man-
agers toward themselves and their work. If Blacks believe they

must be better than whites in qualifications and job performances,
their work attitudes can deteriorate to the point where qualified,
capable Blacks because of the pressure placed on them by this dual
system could become ineffective, frustrated managers and many of
them will leave their firms. In Chapter VIII evidence is presented
which supports this position.

There were several general explanations given by some of
the Black and white managers which help explain why many of the
white managers believe Blacks are getting hiring and promotional
advantages: (1) many companies use a great deal of public rela-
tions strategy in the area of equal opportunities which presents
an image that the companies are doing everything in their power to
give Blacks equal employment opportunities; (2) any movement to-
ward more equitable employment policies is considered by many
white managers to be giving Blacks an unequal advantage; and (3)
there is a general belief in white society that Blacks are getting
all the advantages, while whites are being pushed into the background.

In the last part of this section, evidence was presented
which questioned educational credentials as a requirement for
performing acceptable work. It should be noted that this writer
and the other writers quoted are not saying that educational achieve-
ment is not important in separating those who are more trained,
better motivated, and better socialized from those who are not,
but what is being said is that educational achievement does not
insure that individuals acquire the professional, technical and
managerial competence which are required in business. A great

deal of knowledge required to do the job is learned on-the-job and
not in the classroom. This point was supported by the fact that
many managers, especially whites, are in areas in which they did
not obtain their college degrees and the fact that many white man-
agers have never attended college but have become successful man-
agers. Thus the claim that Blacks do not have the educational re-
quirements is questionable or as R. M. Mahoney, Manager of Indus-
trial Relations Development, Union Carbide Corporation, noted in
Bowman's study of 2,000 managers, the number of Blacks with the
proper type of education is relative. He wrote:

> I do not agree that "very few" minority group
> members have the education needed by successful
> managers. Consider the major minority group--
> Negroes. Relative to whites, for a variety of
> reasons, there are substantially smaller percen-
> tages of college-trained individuals in disci-
> plines in the widest demand in the general labor
> market. For example, Union Carbide Corporation
> is interested in substantial numbers of engin-
> eers and scientists. Negroes, constituting
> about 10.5% of the population, make up only
> about 1.5% of the current college graduates.
> Nonetheless, they number 5,000 to 6,000 per
> year, and this is increasing. The 1960 census
> reported about 350,000 nonwhite college grad-
> uates 25 years and older.
>
> Everything is relative. Although the per-
> centage of nonwhite college graduates is about
> one-half that of whites, there are significant
> and enlarging numbers of nonwhite college grad-
> uates in curricula needed for achievement in
> business management.[25]

In concluding, one must seriously question the entire
qualification proposition as the main explanation for the Black

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[25]Bowman (1964), p. 188.

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managers' situation in the corporate world. The validity of this proposition has been greatly over-emphasized by the white business community.

The Discriminatory Proposition: Introduction

The previous pages indicate that the cultural proposition is invalid and the qualification proposition has only a trace of validity for explaining the present situation of Black managers in white corporations. This section will present substantial evidence that past and present racial discrimination is the major reason for the present dismal situation of Black managers in the corporate world and in the participating firms.

A. Multiple regression analysis and analysis of variance

That being white is a helpful characteristic for promotion to supervisory positions and beyond in business in general and being Black is harmful is strongly supported by the following multiple regression analysis and analysis of variance.

First the multiple regression analysis will be discussed. The writer attempted to see what effect nine factors had on the salary and managerial levels of the Black and white managers. (Since managerial level and salary have a correlation coefficient (R) of .898 the regression analysis will discuss only the effect of these factors on salary.) They were: race (R), job duration at present firm (JD), length of job experience at other firms related to present job (OJD), age (A), education achievement (ED),

special training (ST), mothers' and fathers' educational achievement (MED, FED), and fathers' occupational achievement (FO). The relationship of these factors to salary would be as follows:

Salary = f(R, JR, OJR, A, ED, ST, MED, FED, FO).

One would expect the above factors to have essentially an additive effect on salary; therefore, the regression formula would be:

$$\text{Salary} = B_1 + B_2 R + B_3 JD + B_4 OJD + B_5 A + B_6 ED + B_7 ST + B_8 MED + B_9 FED + B_{10} FO.$$

In the above formula B_1 is the constant term and the remaining B's are partial correlation coefficients which measure the effect of a unit change in the independent variable (R, JR, OJR, etc.) on the dependent variable salary. For example, if the regression coefficient of job duration is .69, an increase from 0 to 1 years in job duration would change the manager's salary by .69 which would be translated into $1,380 per year. All of the variables were assigned coded values; for example: race received the value 0 for Blacks and 1 for whites, job duration received the values of 0-21, education received the values of 0-9, and work experience in other companies directly related to present job received the values of 0-21.

After running several regressions using the above variables, it became apparent that race, job duration at present firms, work experience at other firms related to present jobs, and educational levels were the only significant factors in the general regression equations. These factors were found significant using the T-score for each of the regression coefficients. The T-score is the ratio

of the regression coefficient to its standard deviation. Using a
one-tailed test at the .01 level of significance, the estimate
coefficient will be significantly different from zero if the T-
score exceeds 2.326. All the factors dropped out of the equation
were not significant at the .10 level and those remaining were
significant at the .01 level. It should be noted that age was
significant when job duration in present firm and work experience
in other firms directly related to present job were removed from
the equation, but was not when they were included; therefore, age
was removed from the equation because it is apparently an index
of the two other variables which offer more explanatory power than
age. Thus the equation which will be used for the discussion in
the next few pages is:

$$\text{Salary} = B_1 + B_2 R + B_3 JD + B_4 ED + B_5 OJD.$$

This equation is for the entire sample of Black and white managers.
Separate equations will be used for the Black and white managers
after this initial discussion. These four factors explain 46 per-
cent (R^2) of the variance in the salary level of all the managers.
See Table 7 for the correlation coefficients (R) and the amount of
explained variance (R^2). The F-score is significant at least at
the .001 (P) level indicating the equation taken as a whole has
significant explanatory power. The estimated equation with its
partial correlation coefficient is as follows:

$$\text{Salary} = -4.4 + 2.3R + .47JD + .81ED + .16OJD.$$

Notice how much stronger race is in determining salary than the
other factors combined.

TABLE 7

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AND EXPLAINED VARIANCE

Variables	Race	Total		Blacks Only		Whites Only	
		Managerial Level	Salary	Management Level	Salary	Management Level	Salary
Race							
R	1.000	.440	.485	NA	NA	NA	NA
R²	100.0 %	19.4 %	23.5 %	NA	NA	NA	NA
Managerial Level							
R	.440	1.00	.898	1.00	.829	1.00	.899
R²	19.4 %	100.0 %	80.6 %	100.0 %	68.7 %	100.0 %	81.0 %
Length of Service							
R	.564	.440	.464	.180	.218	.277	.271
R²	31.8 %	19.4 %	21.5 %	3.2 %	4.6 %	7.7 %	7.3 %
Salary							
R	.485	.898	1.00	.829	1.00	.899	1.00
R²	23.5 %	80.6 %	100.0 %	68.7 %	100.0 %	81.0 %	100.0 %
Education							
R	-.117	.187	.176	.361	.379	.236	.254
R²	-1.3 %	3.5 %	3.1 %	13.0 %	14.4 %	5.6 %	6.5 %
Other Work Experience							
R	-.119	.152	.144	.325	.370	.187	.242
R²	-1.4 %	2.3 %	2.1 %	10.7 %	13.7 %	3.5 %	5.9 %

Using this equation one can predict the salary levels of managers with a combination of characteristics. For example, a Black manager (0) with two years of work experience (0), a college degree (8), and no other work experience would make $8,160 per year. This sum is obtained in this manner:

Salary = -4.4 + 2.3(0) + .47(0) + .81(8) + .16(0) = 2.08

which when converted into dollars = $8,160.

A white manager with similar characteristics would make $12,740, i.e.,

Salary = -4.4 + 2.3(1) + .47(0) + .81(8) + .16(0) = 4.38.

As one can see there is a $4,580 difference in salary between the white and Black managers with the same characteristics.

It would be instructive to analyze a Black and white manager who both have a college degree, eight years of work experience at their present firms, and four years of work experience at other firms directly related to their present jobs. The equation for the Black manager would read:

Salary = -4.4 + 2.3(0) + .47(3) + .81(8) + .16(4) = $12,260.

Changing race to 1 which equals whites would give the white manager a salary of $16,720 for a differential of $4,460. The regression equation for the entire sample of Black and white managers clearly indicates that race plays a very important role in the salaries of Blacks. However, this equation masks the fact that job duration, etc., relate differently to the salary levels of Black and white managers. It was thus necessary to run separate regression equations for Blacks and whites.

Again using a one-tailed test at the .01 level for whites and at the .01 level for Blacks the estimate coefficient will be significantly different from zero if the T-score exceeds 2.326. For white managers R^2 (amount of explained variance) was 34 percent and for Blacks 37 percent. The F-score for both equations were significant at the .001(P) level. The two equations follow:

Salary (Blacks Only) = -1.2 + .36(JD) + .48(ED) + .09(OJD)

Salary (Whites Only) = -4.9 + .52(JD) + 1.0(ED) + .31(OJD)

A quick glance at the partial correlation coefficients clearly shows that for a unit change in any of the independent variables means a greater increase in salary for whites than for Blacks.

Inserting the same characteristics which were discussed in the first regression equation, one would get this equation for the Black managers: Salary = -1.2 + .36(0) + .48(8) = .09(0). Thus a Black with a college degree and no work experience would make $9,200.

Inserting the same variables in the equation for the white managers one gets: Salary = -4.9 + .52(0) + 1(8) + .31(0). After doing the necessary calculations, one finds that a white manager would make $10,200. It is clear from the above results that a college degree means about $1,000 more for whites than for Blacks. In addition, 1 unit change in job duration (two years) means an increase of $360 for Black managers and $520 for white managers per year. The white managers would also earn $220 more per year than Black managers for each additional year of work experience in other companies related to the present job.

If the Black and white managers had eight years of work experience at present firm, a college degree, and four years of work experience at other companies, it is obvious that the salary difference will increase between the Black and white managers because job duration and other work experience have a greater impact on the salaries of white managers than on the salaries of Black managers. As the partial correlation coefficients show and as the above examples clearly demonstrate, by substituting the appropriate values in the equations one gets the following equations:

Black Manager's Salary = $-1.2 + .36(3) + .48(8) + .09(4) =$

$$\$14,020$$

White Manager's Salary = $-4.9 + .52(3) + 1.0(8) + .31(4) =$

$$\$15,800$$

The above equations clearly indicate that Blacks with similar education, job experience, and other work experience make less money than their white counterparts and that these salary differences increase as the length of service with present firm and other related work experience increase, i.e., discrimination is greatest among older, experienced managers.

Another manner in which to look at the effect of race, education, job duration and other work experience on the salary of Black and white managers is to use analysis of variance. This will allow the readers to see how much these four individual factors explain the variance in salaries and how significant they are.

When just race and salary were correlated—race as the independent variable and salary as the dependent variable, it was

found that race accounted for 24 percent of the variance and this
was significant at better than the .01(p) level using an F test
with appropriate degrees of freedom. That the sex of the respond-
ents adds explanatory power is noted by the fact that 30 percent
of the variance in salary is explained by race and sex; it is also
significant at the .01(P) level.

When salary is still the independent variable, but job
duration the control variable, only 8 percent of the variance in
Black managers' salaries, compared to 26 percent for white managers,
is explained by job duration. In addition, the mean salary level
of all the white managers with similar job duration as the Black
managers is higher except in one case--the two Black managers with
16 + (08) years of service make $17,000, compared to $15,200 for
the nine whites with similar job duration. For whites this equa-
tion was significant at the .01 level and for Blacks at the .05
level. It should also be noted that the difference between the
Black and white managers with less service is much smaller for the
first six years, but over that the white managers with similar job
duration generally have a mean salary level almost twice that of
Black managers while under six years of service it is only about
one-third more than that of the Black managers.

After job duration was replaced by education as the in-
dependent variable, it was found that education accounted for 29
percent of the variance in the salaries of the Black managers,
significant at more than the .01 level. And it accounted for 12
percent of the variance in the salaries of the white managers,

significant at the .01 level. Except in the cases of those two

Black and three white managers with 15 years of school completed

where the mean salary levels were $16,000 and $16,666. At every

educational level the Black managers earned less income than their

white counterparts with similar educational achievement.

When age is included as a measure of overall work experience,

it is found that age accounts for 32 percent of the variance in the

salaries of the Black managers and 20 percent of the variance in

the salaries of the white managers, both significant at the .01

level. Again in all of the groups the Black managers' mean salary

is less than their white counterparts of similar age. The biggest

difference between the Black and white managers is between the ages

of 31 and 45 and the smallest difference is between those under 30

and those between the ages of 46 and 50. The primary reason for

this is that firms are attempting to improve their employment poli-

cies for Blacks, thus there is more equitable pay for Blacks who

are younger. In addition, many older Black managers have been re-

cently brought in as middle level managers from governmental and

social services at fairly decent salaries; therefore, that helps

explain the smaller differences in earned salaries between the

Black and white managers in the 46-50 age group than for the age

group 31-45.

Finally, when work experience in other firms was used as

the independent variable, 23 percent of the variance in the Black

managers' salaries can be attributed to job duration in other

firms; however, this is not statistically significant ($p > .05$).

Because of a "bug" in the program this variable cannot be analyzed for white managers.[26]

In sum: the regression analysis and analysis of variance vividly demonstrate the fact that race is the most powerful factor explaining the present situation of Black managers in white corporations. They also showed that education, work experience in present firm and other related work experience produced more in salary (managerial level) for white managers than for Black managers. However, the data also gave some indication that racial discrimination is decreasing. The next section discusses the managers' views about the opportunities that exist for Blacks today.

The Managers' Overall Views of the Corporate World and Their Firms with Regard to Opportunities for Blacks

Throughout Chapters III and IV and the previous sections of Chapter V, the Black and white managers' responses to numerous questions have been discussed individually. These questions were all directly concerned with the central question: How fair and equal do the managers in these firms view the general white business community's and their firms' employment policies toward Blacks? In order to obtain an overall view of the managers' opinions about the corporate world's and their companies' employment policies towards Blacks indexes were formed of the negative responses of the managers.[27]

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[26]See Appendix C, pp. 559-565, for complete tables on the analysis of variance.

[27]Combining individual questions into an index has a number of advantages. Responses to an individual question are never completely

The questions which make up the index on the managers'
overall views of the corporate world are listed below and the
responses which would give the respondent a score of one for each
question are shown in parentheses. Those managers who did not
respond as indicated received no score.

> How do you explain the seeming underutilization
> of Blacks in industry? (Racial Discrimination)
>
> Are there any reasons why Blacks can't make it
> in the corporate world? (Yes--Racial Discrimination)
>
> Is being Black a harmful, helpful, or irrelevant
> factor for promotion in business in general'
> (Harmful)
>
> Is being white a harmful, helpful, or irrelevant
> factor for promotion in business in general?
> (Helpful)

Table 8 shows how many Black and white managers answered
negatively to all four of the questions, 3, 2, 1, or none of them.

Table 8 shows that a substantial majority of the white
managers and all but one of the Black managers do not believe
that business in general has been completely fair in their employ-
ment practices toward Black managers. Thus, although there are
some variations in responses to the individual questions, overall
the managers in these firms hold critical views of the corporate
world's commitment to equal employment opportunities for Blacks.

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reliable. The responses can be influenced by such things as the
managers' misunderstanding the question, their desire to give the
"right" answer, idiosyncratic factors, and the interviewer could
record the answer improperly. Therefore, an index measures the
general pattern of the managers' responses and thus gives a more
valid interpretation of the managers' views.

TABLE 8

THE MANAGERS' OVERALL VIEWS OF THE FAIRNESS OF THE CORPORATE WORLD'S EMPLOYMENT POLICIES TOWARDS BLACKS

Number of Questions Answered Negatively		Black Males (N=93)	Black Females (N=23)	White Males (N=133)	White Females (N=23)
Corporations Are Completely Fair	0	1 %	0 %	16 %	22 %
	1	15	0	23	17
	2	18	30	23	22
	3	34	17	29	26
Corporations Are Extremely Unfair	4	32	53	9	13
Total		100	100	100	100

The questions which were used to form an index on the managers' overall views of their companies' employment policies are listed below and the responses which would give the managers a score of one for each question are shown in parentheses.

> How do you explain the incidence of Black managers in your company? (Responses related to discrimination)
>
> Do you believe your firm is more careful in promoting Black employees than white employees because they want to be sure the Blacks will succeed before promoting them? (Yes)
>
> At the present time, how far up the executive ladder do you believe a qualified Black can go in your company? (Lower or Middle Level)
>
> Blacks must be a little better than others to get ahead in this company. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

In general, this company is only paying lip-service
to the idea of equal employment opportunities for
Blacks. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

Is being Black a helpful, harmful, or irrelevant
factor for promotion to supervisor and beyond in
your firm? (Harmful)

Is being white a helpful, harmful, or irrelevant
factor for promotion to supervisor and beyond in
your firm? (Helpful)

Table 9 shows that while there are wide varieties of

opinions among the Black and white managers, the Black managers,

as a group, generally have extremely negative opinions of their

companies' employment policies and the white managers have rather

position opinions. However, it is significant that only 31 percent

of the white managers believe their companies are completely fair

in their employment of Blacks.

Talbe 9 also shows, as does Table 8, that overall the

Black and white females are more critical of employment policies

towards Blacks than their male counterparts.

The most plausible explanation for the more critical views

of the Black females is that they have had to face both sexual and

racial discrimination. The white females might be more critical

of their companies' employment policies because they have suffered

sexual discrimination; therefore they sympathize more with the

Black situation than the white males.

When age is used as the control variable on the overall

index, it becomes quite clear that the younger Black and white

managers are much more critical of their companies' employment

policies than the older managers. Similar differences occur in

TABLE 9

THE MANAGERS' OVERALL VIEWS OF THE FAIRNESS OF THEIR
COMPANIES' EMPLOYMENT POLICIES TOWARDS BLACKS

Number of Questions Answered Negatively		Black Males (N=93)	Black Females (N=23)	White Males (N=133)	White Females (N=23)
Companies Are Completely Fair	0	8 %	0 %	29 %	39 %
	1	3	0	29	22
	2	8	4	17	9
	3	13	9	14	0
	4	11	17	5	17
	5	22	17	3	13
	6	18	23	2	0
Companies Are Extremely Unfair	7	18	30	2	0
Total*		101	100	101	100

*Some of the total percentages are over 100 because of
rounding errors.

the managers' views of the corporate world's employment policies

towards Blacks.

The difference in the responses of the white managers from

various age groups can be attributed in part to the more conserva-

tive views of many of the middle and upper level white managers

who have benefited from past discriminatory practices and have been

successful under such a system. With regard to the Black managers

the younger Blacks are more aware of the injustices they face be-

cause of their Blackness and are more willing to speak up against

these injustices than the older Blacks, many of whom have learned
to put up with the "system" and who are probably less critical
because they can remember much worse injustices being perpetrated
on Black people.

The more educated the Black and white managers are the
more likely they are to be critical of their companies' employment
policies toward Blacks. This is due to the fact that the more
educated Black and white managers are generally younger, but also
because more educated people are generally, but not necessarily,
more critical and more aware of social injustices than less edu-
cated people. Also with regard to the educated Black managers'
views, they have the necessary credentials to succeed and their
goals and aspirations are not being fulfilled; thus, these mana-
gers become more critical and militant. Wilensky supports this
position in his "consolation prize" hypothesis:

> An important qualification to my consolation-
> prize hypothesis concerns education. The most
> alienated men in my study are Negro High-school
> graduates on relief; in table after table these
> men, whose educational opportunities exceed the
> place allotted to them, are the most diaffected.
> If educational opportunity whets the appetite for
> a better life but does not lead to job opportunity
> and income, it serves less as a compensatory reward
> than as a source of resentment. Thus, as their edu-
> cational opportunities exceed their economic re-
> wards and living standards, American Negroes will
> become more militant. Educated whites already
> receive roughly congruent rewards and their po-
> litical discontents are kept within manageable
> proportions; uneducated whites, if they are un-
> lucky in the labor market, at least have a chance
> to escape lower ethnic or religious origins or
> marry up. In countries both rich and poor, cases
> similar to that of the educated American Negro on
> relief appear: displaced engineers in the most

> modern sectors of West coast defense industries; rootless "intellectual" proletarians in the modernizing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that are long on education but short on job opportunity.[28]

When managerial level is used as the control variable, it is interesting to note that only 30 percent of the white upper level managers believe their firms have completely fair employment policies toward Blacks.

Considering that the younger, female managers are generally lower level managers, it is not surprising that overall the lower level Black and white managers are more critical of their companies' employment policies than the middle and upper level Black and white managers.

When the white managers' overall views of their companies' employment policies are correlated with their frequency of contact with Blacks on-the-job, it is found that generally those white managers who have the most frequent contact with Blacks on-the-job are more likely to have more negative views of their companies' employment policies toward Blacks and those white managers who have the least frequent contact with Blacks on-the-job are more likely to have more positive views.

In addition, the white managers who are involved in personnel, affirmative action, and industrial relations are more critical of their companies' employment policies toward Blacks than the white managers in any other work area.

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[28]H. L. Wilensky, "Measures and Effects of Social Mobility," in Neil J. Smelser and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development (Chicago, 1966), p. 133.

The opinions of the white managers who have the most contact with Blacks on-the-job and the managers who are in personnel, affirmative action, and industrial relations are probably more correct and realistic than those who do not have any contact with Black managers and those who work in other areas.

Another manner in which to compare the responses of the white managers is by their overall contact with Blacks not only at work, but outside of work. Again there is a general tendency for those white managers who have more overall contact with Blacks to have more critical views of their companies' employment policies toward Blacks.

It is also interesting to note at this time that the Black managers who do not believe in integration and assimilation are more critical of their companies' employment policies than those who believe in assimilation.

Table 10 shows the average percentage of the Black and white managers who have overall negative views about the opportunities that exist for Black managers in the corporate world in general and in their firms.

The table also shows that, in general, the Black managers do not see that much difference between the opportunities that exist for Blacks in the corporate world and those that exist in their firms. The white managers, overall, have a much more positive view of their companies' employment policies toward Blacks than those they think exist in the corporate world in general.

TABLE 10

A COMPARISON BETWEEN NEGATIVE VIEWS OF THE CORPORATE
WORLD'S AND THE PARTICIPATING COMPANIES'
EMPLOYMENT POLICIES TOWARDS BLACKS

Companies	Black Managers (N=116)		White Managers (N=156)	
	Firm	Business	Firm	Business
Ace Public Utility	50 %	80 %	20 %	52 %
Triple A Bank	55	77	19	54
Aunts Manufacturing	61	70	28	65
Cousins Manufacturing	63	70	36	43
Triple C Bank	63	70	13	37
Deuce Public Utility	72	74	21	49
Ajax Manufacturing	77	85	33	58
Century Manufacturing	88	85	8	35
Overall Mean	61	73	21	49

The primary reasons for the white managers' views are:
(1) most of the white managers are not ready to criticize a
system in which they have made it because by doing so they would
be admitting that they have made it in an illegitimate system;
(2) another is the old adage that the other guy is unfair but we
are not; and (3) loyalty plays a greater role in the white mana-
gers' responses than in the Black managers' responses and thus
the white managers do not want to degrade their firms' policies.
The more realistic views are those regarding the opportunities
that exist for Blacks in the corporate world in general and not

those regarding the fairness of the white managers' particular companies' employment policies--responses which most directly reflect the bias of favored position.

In sum: A majority of the Black managers plainly believe that their companies do not have sincere, effective Affirmative Action Programs. Initially the vast majority of the white managers indicated that their firms' employment policies are fair for all employees; however, with further probing it was discovered that there were some important inconsistencies in their responses. Only 31 percent of the white managers believe their firms are completely fair to Blacks and only 6 percent of the Black managers concur.

Summary and Conclusions

The data clearly indicate that although 82 percent of the white managers agree with their companies' hiring and promoting policies, 50 percent believe there are unwritten policies which realistically affect employment decisions such as conforming in attitudes, dress, and mannerisms and political influence. In addition, 62 percent of the white managers would change their companies' promotional policies if they had the power to, especially in the area of selection and evaluation procedures.

Only 37 percent of the Black managers agree with their companies' hiring and promoting policies, 75 percent believe there are unwritten policies which realistically affect employment decisions such as conforming in attitudes, dress, and mannerisms, political influence, and racial discrimination, and 85 percent

would make promotional changes in their companies' policies if they
had the power to, especially in the area of selection and evaluation
procedures.

There were three main propositions given by the managers
to explain the present situation of Black managers in the corporate
world in general. The most important and the most valid reason put
forth by the vast majority of the Black managers and a substantial
majority of the white managers was the discriminatory proposition
which essentially states that Blacks have not made it in the cor-
porate world because they have not been given the opportunities
to demonstrate their skills and abilities.

The second most important proposition used primarily by
the white managers and by only a small number of Black managers
was that Blacks have not made it in the corporate world because
they lack the necessary qualifications. It was pointed out that
this proposition cannot justify the terrible state of Black mana-
gers in white businesses. One reason was the difficulty in de-
termining and evaluating an individual's qualifications. Another
reason was that Blacks generally are required to be better qualified
than their white counterparts.

The third proposition which was used almost exclusively by
the white managers was that Blacks are culturally different; there-
fore, they would not be able to become successful managers in white
dominated corporations. This proposition is the most invalid one
of the three primarily because it is used in a racial manner and

not in a class manner. It should be noted that it is even ques--
tionable if one can correctly use the cultural proposition in a
class manner.

The two primary explanations the white managers gave for
the incidence of Black managers in their companies were either
that their companies have Black managers because the Blacks were
qualified for the positions or that their companies do not have
many Black managers because they lack the necessary qualifications
to merit the positions. The white managers generally did not use
racial discrimination as an explanation for the incidence of Black
managers in their companies as they did to explain the underutil-
ization of Blacks in the corporate world. The primary explana-
tions the Black managers gave for the incidence of Black managers
in their companies were outside pressures from the government,
civil rights groups and social groups. Although 82 percent of
the white managers agree with their companies' employment poli-
cies, primarily because they believe the policies are fair and
equitable and 92 percent believe their companies are not paying
lip-se.vice to the idea of equal employment opportunities for
Blacks, 53 percent of the white managers indicated that Blacks
have to be more qualified and/or capable than whites to get ahead
in their companies. Only 6 percent of the Black managers and 31
percent of the white managers believe their firms are completely
fair with Black managers.

The younger, more educated Black and white managers are
more critical of their firms' and the corporate world's employment

policies than the older, less educated managers. In addition, the Black and white females are more critical of their companies' employment policies than the males, especially the Black females.

The most important evidence which supports the contention that Blacks are not and were not receiving equal employment opportunities in the participating firms is the regression analysis which shows that just being white adds over $4,000 to the salary of the white managers per year. It also shows that a college education means about $1,000 more per year for white managers than for Black managers, two years of work experience at the present company adds $160 more per year for white managers and outside work experience $220 more per year for white managers.

In concluding, it is quite obvious that real equal employment opportunities for Blacks still do not exist. A vast amount of time, effort, and money have been spent in order to affirm the American myth that people, of any race, creed, color, religion, or national origin, get ahead solely because of their abilities, but little time and effort has been spent to turn that myth into a reality, especially for Blacks.

CHAPTER VI

RACIAL ATMOSPHERE AND COMPLIANCE

WITH EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

Introduction

As noted in Chapter V, the vast majority of the Black

managers and a significant minority of white managers do not be-

lieve that real equality of opportunity for Blacks exists in their

firms because of racial discrimination in various forms, i.e.,

overt discrimination, looking for the "right" type of Black, or

overqualified Blacks, and being more careful in promoting Black

employees than white employees.

Because corporate policies can be changed and distorted

through complex networks of social relationships as the policies

are applied at lower levels of the occupational hierarchy, any ef-

fective Affirmative Action Program will depend a great deal on the

attitudes of the white managers who control and run the corpora-

tions. If at any level of management the white managers are op-

posed to the Affirmative Action Programs cf their companies, they

can in many cases make the programs extremely ineffective in prac-

tice, even though the programs may be strong elaborate ones on

paper. There must be strong enforcement procedures to create an

atmosphere in which these racist attitudes will not lead to dis-

criminatory behaviors. The white managers' attitudes will determine

to what extent Black managers are allowed to participate in and
receive the benefits of the "psychology of group life." If the
whites are generally hostile and if the Blacks are excluded from
playing a part in the network of social relationships, this could:
(1) hinder the Blacks' job performance and progress by limiting
the cooperation and information needed to carry out specific as-
signments; (2) limit the Blacks' opportunities to make those per-
sonal impressions on subordinates, peers, and superiors which are
essential for any individual's progress.

Because of the crucial role white attitudes play in pro-
viding equal employment opportunities for Blacks, this chapter
will be primarily concerned with: (1) the racial atmosphere, i.e.,
the attitudes, feelings, and remarks of the white employees, which
the Black and white managers believe exist and hear in their firms;
(2) the racial attitudes of the white managers who participated in
this study toward Black people in general and more specifically
toward the Black managers in their firms; and (3) the Black and
white managers' attitudes about deviating from the formal employ-
ment policies of their firms and how they would deviate or have
deviated.

The Managers' Views of the Racial Atmosphere
In order to give the reader a concise view of the racial
atmosphere which exists in the firms an index was formed consisting
of four questions:

> Are you aware of any carryover into the work
> situation of negative white attitudes towards
> Blacks?
>
> Would any of your peers and subordinates feel
> in any way uncomfortable if you hired or pro-
> moted someone who was Black into a management
> position?
>
> Would your immediate superior feel in any way
> uncomfortable if you hired or promoted someone
> who was Black into a management position?
>
> Would any of the managers above your immediate
> superior feel in any way uncomfortable if you
> hired or promoted someone who was Black into
> a management position?

A score of one was given for each affirmative response.
Those managers who answered none of the questions affirmatively
believe the racial atmospheres in their companies are free of any
racial hostility, and those managers who answered all four of the
questions affirmatively believe the racial atmospheres, in their
companies are quite hostile to Blacks. Table 1 shows the fre-
quency distribution of the managers' responses.

This table indicates that a substantial majority of the
Black and white managers are aware of negative racial attitudes
and/or uncomfortable feelings towards Blacks. Only 20 percent
of the managers in this study, both Blacks and whites, believe
they are working in an area where at least some whites do not seem
to have any negative racial attitudes.[1]

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[1]If the white managers' responses to the question: "Do
you hear derogatory remarks about Blacks in your company?" was
included in the index, only 17 percent of the white managers be-
lieve their firms are free of negative racial attitudes. Also of
interest is that 47 percent of the upper level white managers in-
dicated that they hear derogatory remarks about Blacks from their

TABLE 1

THE MANAGERS' OVERALL VIEWS OF THE RACIAL ATMOSPHERE
IN THE PARTICIPATING COMPANIES

Number of Questions Answered Affirmatively		Black Males (N=93)	Black Females (N=23)	White Males (N=133)	White Females (N=23)
No Racial Hostility	0	10 %	9 %	27 %	31 %
	1	25	17	28	39
	2	25	35	33	13
	3	24	26	12	13
Extreme Racial Hostility	4	16	13	0	4
Total		100	100	100	100

When managerial level is used as the control variable, it becomes evident that the upper level white managers are more aware of negative racial atmospheres in their companies than the middle and lower level white managers: 17 percent of the upper level white managers, 32 percent of the middle level white managers, and 29 percent of the lower level white managers answered none of the questions affirmatively.

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peers and 30 percent hear them from their superiors. These derogatory remarks about Blacks are not limited to lower levels of management. Only 50 percent of the white managers who hear derogatory remarks about Blacks express their dislike for such remarks to their peers and subordinates and only 20 percent to their superiors. Those who do not express their dislike for such remarks generally believe individuals are entitled to their opinions.

With regard to the differences in the Black managers' responses, the lower level managers are more aware of a negative racial atmosphere than the middle level managers. Twenty-nine percent of the lower level Black managers, compared to 44 percent of the middle level Black managers, ans:.ered only one or none of the four questions affirmatively. This is due primarily to the age differences of the managers: 22 percent of the Black managers under 30, 36 percent between the ages of 31 and 40, and 56 percent over 40 answered none or only one of the questions affirmatively.

In order to discuss the attitudinal differences by company, the average responses of the Black and white managers from each company will be used. The first two columns in Table 2 show the average responses to the questions about negative attitudes and uncomfortable feelings of only peers and subordinates. The third column shows the white managers' average responses to the two previous questions plus the question regarding derogatory remarks.

Table 3 shows the average responses of the managers to the questions about negative attitudes, the uncomfortable feelings of peers and subordinates, and also the uncomfortable feelings of their superiors and their superiors' bosses.

If one considers the companies' Affirmative Action Programs and the managers' views of the racial atmosphere in their companies, some interesting facts become apparent. For example, in the case of Ace Public Utility it seems that some Black managers believe that while whites hold racist attitudes some are not able to translate these feelings into actions because their

TABLE 2

THE MANAGERS' VIEWS OF THE RACIAL ATTITUDES
AMONG THEIR PEERS AND SUBORDINATES

Companies	Black Managers	White Managers	White Managers (Includes Derogatory Remark Responses)
Triple C Bank	60 %	45 %	43 %
Cousins Manufacturing	62	50	57
Aunts Manufacturing	71	57	56
Ace Public Utility	73	57	56
Deuce Public Utility	73	55	57
Triple A Bank	74	71	67
Ajax Manufacturing	83	64	69
Century Manufacturing	100	54	58
Overall Mean	69	55	56

TABLE 3

THE MANAGERS' VIEWS OF THE RACIAL ATTITUDES
AMONG THEIR PEERS, SUBORDINATES, SUPERIORS,
AND SUPERIORS' BOSSES

Companies	Black Managers	White Managers	White Managers (Includes Derogatory Remark Responses)
Triple C Bank	47 %	26 %	29 %
Cousins Manufacturing	48	30	37
Ace Public Utility	51	31	36
Triple A Bank	54	46	47
Aunts Manufacturing	57	34	38
Deuce Public Utility	60	32	37
Ajax Manufacturing	66	37	45
Century Manufacturing	75	30	37
Overall Mean	53	32	38

company's emphasis on equal employment opportunities has created
an atmosphere in which it is more difficult for them to discrim-
inate against Blacks. This view is not held by the Black managers
in many of the other companies but it is held by most white managers.

Another interesting finding is that good affirmative action
might sharpen conflicts and increase racial hostilities in the
short run. This is demonstrated by the Black and white managers'
responses, in Ace Public Utility, Triple A Bank, and Ajax Manufac-
turing. In Chapter III (especially in Table 2), it was pointed

out that Black employees in these companies have pressured them into taking concrete steps to improve Black jobs and advancement opportunities.

A final interesting finding is that Ace Public Utility and Triple A Bank recorded the greatest percentage decrease in the Black managers' responses to the questions regarding the general negative racial atmospheres which exist in their firms when the questions about their superiors and superiors' superiors were averaged in to obtain the overall racial atmosphere. This is testimony to the greater confidence these Black managers have in their upper level managers than those in the other companies have in theirs. The decrease is smallest in Triple C Bank and Deuce Public Utility whose Affirmative Action Programs leave something to be desired and whose Black managers believe there is a great deal of resistance to equal employment opportunities in the upper level of management.[2]

The following are personal experiences some of the managers have had to become aware of derogatory remarks, negative attitudes, and feelings of whites about Blacks in their companies. These experiences indicate the psychological problems which racism has created in the white population.

A white upper level manager from Aunts Manufacturing:

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[2]One out of three of the Black managers either believe their immediate superiors have racial attitudes which would make them feel uncomfortable about Blacks being in management positions or they are not certain about their immediate superiors' attitudes.

"The people who work for me have prejudiced attitudes and I talk to them about it. You run into it (prejudiced attitudes) in the same percentage in the company as you do on the streets."

The most frequent type of attitude the managers are personally aware of is the stereotype belief that Blacks are lazy, dumb, slow, etc.

For example, a white lower level manager from Triple C Bank said, "Many whites who claim they are not prejudiced frequently say that Blacks are slow, but they never say that about other whites."

A Black lower level manager from Ace Public Utility put it this way: "Being Black you have to do things four times better than a Caucasian. Still some of my peers express the opinion that because I am Black I am not as smart as them (whites)."

The following is the experience of an upper level white manager from Triple A Bank: "Some of my white subordinates treat Blacks badly. They are very curt with them and do not take the time to explain things to them because they assume they are too dumb to learn."

A white middle level manager from the same company: "Blacks are stereotyped as being lazy. When people are looking for a reason to find fault they will use anything."

And finally, a Black lower level manager from Cousins Manufacturing: "People express the belief that Blacks are not able to qualify for top positions and that Blacks should work hard like Jackie Robinson to get what they want. Some of my

co-workers believe that Blacks eat watermelon with their hands and have loose morals."

The second most frequently mentioned response related to the managers' experiences of hearing whites express negative attitudes about Blacks being given better opportunities than whites. In other words, these whites believe that reverse discrimination is taking place and they dislike it. Chapter V showed without a doubt that whites are still given tremendous advantages over Blacks.

Some of the representative statements of this attitude are:

A Black lower level manager from Deuce Public Utility: "In my department you hear whites say that Blacks are taking over. You also hear whites say that they dislike militant Blacks or Blacks that come on too strong. They always say Blacks do not do their jobs correctly or they don't have the ability.",

A lower level Black manager from Triple A Bank put it this way: "I hear the old sayings like 'we don't see why you niggers want so much' or 'you Blacks are getting all the breaks.'"

A white middle level manager and a white lower level manager from Cousins Manufacturing made these statements: "I hear comments about reverse discrimination, caustic comments about the term Black is Beautiful, and comments about the toughness of getting jobs for whites in the labor market because of Blacks. There is hostility and resentment among the whites. I hear whites complain about being forced into situations in which they have to hire Blacks who cannot do the job. You also hear remarks that until the welfare system came, people had to be concerned about their superiors' opinions."

Another frequent type of response by the white and Black managers was that some white managers have said openly that they do not want Black employees in their departments or that they will not work with them and/or they will not promote them.

A white lower level manager in Ace Public Utility said, "I have associates who are definitely prejudiced. They would not promote a Black person."

A white middle level personnel manager from Cousins Manufacturing said he has received requests by some of the white managers not to send them any more Blacks: "There are pressures on Personnel people to come up with a balance in the rate of candidates--in other words some of the white managers say 'please send us some whites too.'"

A Black lower level manager from the same company supported the white manager's experiences: "One white manager in lower level sent a written memo to Personnel saying that he didn't want any more Blacks in his department because they were lazy and didn't want to work. The situation is manifested by each department--they say they have their quotas and don't want any more."

Some of the Black managers indicated that their relationships with their superiors and/or subordinates are hindered because of the white employees' negative attitudes about Blacks. For example, two Black lower level managers from Triple A Bank related these experiences: "One employee wouldn't talk to me even though it was his job." The other manager said: "When I first got here, even though I was an Assistant Manager, my authority was questioned by my subordinates."

A Black lower level manager from Aunts Manufacturing had a similar experience: "When I became an Accountant Supervisor my boss did not introduce me to anyone in the department and he did not assist me in any way."

A final response by a Black manager gives some insight into what conversations go on among whites: "Because most people believe I am white (he has light skin, straight hair, and blue eyes), they express all types of negative attitudes about Blacks to me; however, when I disagree with them and point out that I am Black they don't know how to act or what to say. They usually say that they really didn't mean what they said and that they have colored friends, went to school with them, etc."

A. Summary and conclusions of the managers' views of the racial atmosphere

This section has shown that a majority of the white and Black managers believe that many whites in their firms possess negative racial attitudes and feelings about Blacks and that many whites express these feelings and attitudes. It was pointed out that the upper level white managers are more aware of negative racial atmospheres in their firms than the lower level managers and the lower more so than the middle level managers.

A possible explanation for this is that many of the senior levels of management have been made more sensitive by governmental and civil rights pressures of the need to correct past discriminatory policies; thus, they are more aware of the difficulties created by negative white attitudes and feelings in their attempts

to formulate and implement their AAPs. In addition, they are better educated and more politically aware. A probable explanation for the middle level managers' lack of awareness of a negative racial atmosphere in their companies is that they are the most isolated group of white managers because there are few Blacks at that level, compared to the lower level, and they are isolated from the governmental and civil rights pressures. Thus, competition from Black managers, supervising Blacks, and being continuously pressured from internal and external groups to improve the employment of Blacks which bring out into the open such remarks, attitudes, and feelings, are less in the middle levels of management than in the other levels of management.

It was also pointed out that the younger Black managers are much more aware of an anti-Black atmosphere in their companies than the older Black managers. An explanation for this difference is that the younger Black managers have been brought up in an atmosphere of more intense Black pride and racial awareness than the older Black managers. This makes them more sensitive to negative white attitudes and more willing to be critical of them than many of the older Black managers who have had more difficult times in the corporate world and in white society in general. These older Black managers probably have become immune to negative white attitudes and/or believe things hav. improved to such a degree that the negative white attitudes that presently exist are nothing compared to past attitudes; therefore, they do not believe these attitudes exist sufficiently to say they are aware of them.

Another important finding in this section is that many
managers, especially the white managers, believe that negative
racial attitudes of whites are not translated into negative be-
havior toward Black employees. This position would be more ac-
ceptable if the firms all had strong, well-developed AAPs with
appropriate implementation, compliance, and disciplinary proce-
dures, which would assure that white managers who hold racist at-
titudes will not translate those attitudes into discriminatory be-
havior against Blacks. This is not the case; thus the consequences
of such attitudes can only mean that the firms' AAPs will bc dis-
torted, revised, and/or not carried out.

Kenneth Clark makes several significant points about
white racial attitudes:

> In a society, it can become fashionable to
> dislike some group of people for various rea-
> sons: "Everyone else dislikes Jews and Negroes.
> I can't be different. I must dislike them,
> too. If I don't, my friends will reduce me
> somewhat to the status of these disliked
> people." In time, these ideas and attitudes
> become ingrained in the individual, accepted
> as a normal, natural way of life, and become
> more and more intense in motivational value.
> They become an aspect of life style, enmeshed
> in status, privileges and personal aspirations.
> Any attempted change in this pattern of racial
> habit appears as a definite threat to the in-
> dividual and to the group from which he ob-
> tains his subjective, if not actual, stability.
>
> Rarely, it appears, can one view this prob-
> lem in terms unencumbered by the dominant and
> subtle tendencies and racial attitudes of Amer-
> ican background and culture. When an indivi-
> dual does appear to have succeeded in freeing
> himself from these attitudinal and behavioral
> determinations, it is quite likely that he

> will lose his status or have his prestige or
> power modified in the white group. In order to
> regain it, he must make concessions, however
> subtle, in the direction of the crystallized
> pattern of racial attitudes. Few personalities
> are able to withstand these permeating pressures.[3]

Another consequence of such racial attitudes is that the

Black managers will be excluded and will not be able to benefit

from the informal work networks which play very important roles

in a manager's success and job performance. In addition, be-

cause of such racial attitudes, Blacks will be excluded from

the social networks outside of work which are also very impor-

tant for success in business.

The White Managers' Personal Opinions About Blacks

The previous section discussed the white managers' opinions

about other white employees' racial attitudes, feelings and remarks

about Blacks. This section will discuss their own personal views

and attitudes about Blacks. One would expect the white managers

to be more willing to admit that other employees have negative

racial attitudes and feelings than themselves; therefore, one

would expect a smaller percentage of white managers admitting

and/or expressing negative racial attitudes about Blacks. Yet

it will be seen that only 9 percent of the white managers in

this study did not make any negative racial comments about Blacks

and/or agree to any such statements.

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[3]Kenneth B. Clark, "A Psychologist Looks at Discrimination
Patterns," MBA, Vol. 6, No. 4, Jan., 1972, p. 34.

One manner in which the managers' racial views were solicited was to ask them their degree of agreement with a number of stereotype statements about Blacks. The frequency distribution of the responses to each of the five stereotype statements is shown at the end of each statement in Table 4.

Quinn, et al. indicated in their study, using almost the same stereotype questions about Jews, that if a person was absolutely not in agreement with any of the questions they would strongly disagree. As can be seen by the managers' responses, the intensity of their disagreement falls short of what one would expect of whites who are completely free of negative racial attitudes.[4]

The overall percent of white managers who agree with each statement is quite small; however, almost one in three agree with at least one of the statements.

What is interesting about these responses is that 46 of those managers who agreed with at least one of the statements are male and only one female agreed with one of the statements. This supports the general contention that white females do not hold as many or as strong negative racial attitudes as white males.

If one considers a manager who agrees that he/she could hardly imagine himself/herself marrying a Black as having a racist attitude and if it is included with the previous five questions

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[4]See Quinn, et al., p. 8.

TABLE 4

THE WHITE MANAGERS' DEGREE OF AGREEMENT WITH NEGATIVE
STEREOTYPE STATEMENTS ABOUT BLACKS

Stereotype Statement About Blacks	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Other
There may be a few exceptions, but in general Blacks are pretty much alike.	39 %	54 %	5 %	1 %	1 %
Even though there are some exceptions, most Blacks have annoying and offensive faults.	29	67	3	1	0
Most Blacks who aspire to become managers in the business world do not have the personal characteristics needed to become successful management persons in this company.	24	64	10	2	0
In general, Blacks have low I.Q.'s and less technical and analytical competence.	26	57	15	2	0
In general, Blacks are pushy, loud, argumentative, arrogant, obnoxious, and aggressive.	33	63	4	0	0

in a new index, three out of four of the white managers agree
with at least one of these statements. See Table 5 for the
frequency distribution.

TABLE 5

INDEX OF WHITE MANAGERS WHO AGREED WITH
NEGATIVE STATEMENTS ABOUT BLACKS

Number of Questions Agreed With		Percent of White Managers Who Agreed
No Negative Views of Blacks	0	24 %
	1	51
	2	17
	3	6
Extreme Negative Views of Blacks	4	2
Total		100

When various variables are controlled for, it is found that
the manager most likely to hold these negative stereotype attitudes
about Blacks is a white, middle/upper level male, with limited
education, over 40, and has contact with Blacks only at work and/or
civic and/or business organizations. These characteristics de-
scribe many of the managers who are in responsible, influential
and powerful positions in these firms.

The previous questions dealt with general stereotypes
which one frequently hears about Blacks in our society. The

next question attempts to evaluate the white managers' opinions

about Black people's fight for equality. The primary reason for

including this type of question is that there is a general be-

lief among many white Americans that Blacks are pushing too hard

and too fast for equality. Since this attitude, if possessed

by many white managers in the corporate world, could seriously

affect the opportunities available for Blacks in their firms, it

is important to find out how prevalent this attitude is among the

white managers in the participating firms. The specific question

the managers were asked was: Do you believe that Blacks are pres-

sing their case too hard? Forty-four percent of the white males

and 30 percent of the white females answered affirmatively.

Younger, more educated, white managers are less likely than older,

less educated, white managers to believe that Blacks are pressing

their case too hard.

Thirty percent of the white managers who believe that

Blacks are pressing too hard qualified their statements by saying

they believe the militants are pressing too hard but the moderates

are not. Here the problem arises in defining who are moderates

and who are militants. Some managers might believe someone who

peacefully pickets a company is a moderate; however, if their

company is the subject of the picketing they might believe the

person is a militant. In addition, a non-militant Black to many

whites might be a Black who always agrees with the whites.

Several of the other reasons the white managers believe

Blacks are pressing too hard are as follows: 17 percent believe

Blacks are pressing too hard because of the violent tactics they sometimes use; 21 percent believe that Blacks are too impatient and they want everything now; and 14 percent believe that Blacks just want things because they are Black. The white managers who gave these last two reasons definitely will have problems dealing with Black employees.

Some of the white managers' typical responses to why they believe Blacks are pressing too hard follow:

A white lower level manager from Triple C Bank replied: "They are going overboard. They had the riots and got the attention they wanted. Now Blacks are demanding respect and that's one thing you can't demand. You have to work for it."

A white lower level manager from Ajax Manufacturing: "I believe Blacks are pressing their case too hard in the educational area. I believe money is being wasted on Black Studies. We are being forced to educate them all at once."

Another white manager from the same company: "Blacks have more publicity on T.V. and in the papers than whites. White political leaders are taking advantage of the Black vote. The government should not force industry to hire Blacks.".

A white bank manager who is located in a predominantly Black neighborhood: "I am called all types of names because I won't give someone a loan and I'm threatened. I have changed my policy because of the large losses--now I won't cash checks for non-depositors. This bank has been bombed five times."

A white middle level manager from Triple A Bank made a

statement which shows white peoples' ignorance of Black people
and the Black movement and thus a tendency to distort the truth:
"The militants are pressing too hard and the non-militants are not.
Some organizations that are trying to improve the Black man's
image are pushing too hard like the Muslims. The only image I
have of the Muslims is what I read in the newspaper and see on
television. Even though I don't know much about them I have a
negative image because I see how they have located themselves in
houses with big gun arsenals." The fact of the matter is that
the Black Muslims have clearly adopted many aspects of the Pro-
testant ethic. In fact last year they received a $20 million
loan from several white banks to continue in their business
endeavors.

Another white lower level manager from Triple C Bank:
"The extreme groups are pressing too hard--they feel that just
because they are a minority race they should be given everything
whether they are qualified or not. They don't want to work for it."

Ambivalent feelings were expressed by an upper level white
manager from Aunts Manufacturing: "There is ample evidence that
equality is not achieved through evolution. Human nature must be
pushed. But I don't agree with all the tactics."

Finally, a white middle level manager from Deuce Public
Utility: "When the Blacks are criticized they will yell discrim-
ination--they will use it even if it's not there. The company is
guilty even before they are proven innocent." This manager's

statement is representative of the feelings of a substantial minority of the white managers. Even though they did not indicate it as a reason why they believe Blacks are pressing too hard, they did indicate their agreement with this manager's position when they were asked to what degree they agreed with the following statement: A Black once promoted could not be demoted even if inadequate in his new role without undeserved charges of discrimination. One out of three agree and only one out of ten strongly disagree.

When the white managers' contact with Blacks on-the-job was correlated with their responses to the statement about undeserved charges of discrimination, there were no great differences in responses between the managers who had very frequent, fairly frequent, not very frequent, and no contact at all with Blacks on-the-job. What can be concluded from this is that even though many of the white managers do not have much contact with Blacks on-the-job--and therefore cannot base their responses on personal experiences--they believe that Blacks cry discrimination frequently and unjustifiably. There is further support for this argument when the white managers' overall contact with Blacks at work, at organizations, and social activities is correlated with their responses to the statement about undeserved charges of discrimination. The data clearly show that white managers who have no contact with Blacks at all are more likely to agree with the statement than those who have a great deal of contact with Blacks.

In short, many whites who agree with this statement do so without any personal experiences; it is simply conjecture on their part. This of course leads to the problem that they will, if put in the situation, never look closely at legitimate Black complaints.

Going back to the question about Blacks pressing too hard, many of those white managers who do not think that Blacks are pressing their case too hard gave reasons that are quite similar to those that the white managers gave who think that Blacks are pressing too hard. For example, 37 percent believe that in general Blacks are not pressing too hard but that the militant Blacks are. Another 10 percent believe that Blacks are pressing too hard when they use violent tactics. However, 17 percent of the white managers said that if Blacks do not pressure white society there will be no change.

As one white manager from Ajax Manufacturing said: "I think about the Indians who are being peaceful and not getting anywhere, so Blacks would not be getting anywhere if they were not pressing . . . ."

Thus far in this section two main areas have been reviewed—the white managers' agreement with several stereotype attitudes about Blacks and their attitudes about Black peoples' efforts to achieve equality. The white managers' responses to an open-ended question which gave them the freedom to express their feelings about the Black managers with whom they have had direct contact will now be reviewed. The managers were asked: What are some of the good and bad characteristics you have observed about Black managers?

More than one out of five of the managers could not answer
this question because they have had very little or no contact with
Black managers. Another one out of five said that there are no
outstanding good or bad characteristics which they have observed
about Black managers which they have not observed about white
managers.

The most frequently mentioned good characteristics are:
Black managers try harder to get along with and understand people
and Blacks are hard workers, dedicated, confident, and ambitious.

Ferman in his study also found that white managers do
praise Black managers. He wrote:

> The greatest satisfaction was expressed with
> Negroes in technical or professional employment.
> Frequently, their performance was described as
> "above average," and they were "able to hold
> their own."[5]

With regard to bad characteristics, the white managers
generally expressed the old stereotype attitudes such as Blacks
are arrogant and aggressive, yet they are lazy and not dependable,
lack confidence, and are culturally different.

Table 6 shows the good characteristics of Black managers
mentioned by the white managers and Table 7 the bad characteristics.

Some of the white managers' responses are:

A white middle-level manager from Triple A Bank: "They
have an above-it-all attitude. They do have the technical ability
to do their jobs and some of the best Blacks have a practical ap-
proach to the problems of business."

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[5]Ferman, p. 73.

TABLE 6

GOOD CHARACTERISTICS OF BLACK MANAGERS

Good Characteristics	Percent of White Managers Observing these Characteristics (N=156)
Blacks are nicer to people than are whites; they have a greater understanding of people; they try harder to get along with people.	28 %
Blacks are dedicated, confident, ambitious; they try extremely hard; they have a high motivation; they have a genuine interest to really want to succeed and show the world they have what it takes.	27
Can't answer; doesn't work with Black managers or has very little contact with Black managers.	22
No difference; there are no outstanding good or bad characteristics that the respondent hasn't observed in white managers.	21
No general good characteristics observed about Black managers, but they do have some bad characteristics.	5
Most Blacks are slightly better qualified.	3
Blacks have firm characters and are good decision makers; they have good judgment.	3
Blacks are fairer with people.	3
Other	4
Total*	116

*The total percent is over 100 because the managers could give as many good characteristics as they wished.

TABLE 7

BAD CHARACTERISTICS OF BLACK MANAGERS

Bad Characteristics	Percent of White Managers Observing these Characteristics (N=156)
No general bad characteristics observed about Black managers, but they do have some good characteristics.	17 %
Blacks are too independent, arrogant, and aggressive; they have a chip on their shoulder attitude; too impatient.	8
Blacks tend to back away from confrontations with both Black and white employees; Blacks lack assurance and confidence.	7
Blacks take advantage of their Blackness in the work situation, i.e., they blame everything on race.	6
Blacks have a lazy attitude; they are not dependable or reliable; they are late and never return calls.	5
Blacks have a different culture, i.e., language, life-style, values, attitudes, personality, etc.	5
Blacks are less likely to express legitimate complaints because they fear whites will think they are too sensitive.	1
Blacks tend to test whites when they really don't have to.	1
Blacks are slow learners.	1
Other	11
Total*	62

*The total percentage does not equal 100 because not all of the white managers believe Black managers have bad characteristics and some believe they have more than one.

With regard to Blacks working hard and trying hard, a white middle level manager from Ace Public Utility: "They are trying exceptionally hard to be exceptionally good managers. Blacks try harder than most of their white peers. They know they have a tougher road--this is more of an incentive. I know of no bad characteristics."

An upper level manager from the same company: "Blacks tend to back down in confrontations. Their Blackness gets in the way of their courage and convictions. Some of their good characteristics are honesty, cheerfulness, humility, and sensitivity."

A white middle level manager from Aunts Manufacturing mentioned these conflicting characteristics: "In some cases an over-awareness of being Black, therefore they are less confident in making decisions or, on the other hand, an over-arrogance because they are Black."

A white upper level manager from Triple C Bank made these comments: "They have a genuine interest to want to succeed to show the world they have what it takes. They understand each other better than whites understand each other. They are reluctant to face distasteful situations--they don't want to counsel bad employees. They are a little less profit motivated."

Finally, a white middle level manager from Triple A Bank observed: "They can relate to the Black community like no one else can. The young Blacks won't talk to me. Some of the Black managers feel that they don't have to produce because they are Black and the company will promote them anyway."

Overall White Racist Attitudes

Up to this point, the managers have had the opportunity to discuss their views of Black people directly and indirectly in such questions as: How do you explain the seeming underutilization of Blacks in industry?, and How do you explain the incidence of Black managers in your company? In order to check the managers' overall racial attitudes, an overall racial index was formed. The index included fourteen questions which either directly or indirectly allowed the managers to express racial attitudes. The questions and responses required to receive a score of one follow:

How do you explain the seeming underutilization of Blacks in industry? (Negative stereotype responses)

How do you explain the incidence of Black managers in your company? (Negative stereotype responses)

Why Blacks can or cannot make it in the corporate world today. (Negative stereotype responses)

Why Blacks are pressing too hard. (Negative stereotype responses)

A Black, once promoted, could not be demoted, even if inadequate in his new role, without undeserved charges of discrimination. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

There may be a few exceptions, but in general Blacks are pretty much alike. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Black. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

Even though there are some exceptions, most Blacks have annoying and offensive faults. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

I probably would not choose a Black person for promotion if an equally qualified non-Black were available. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

In general, I am reluctant to hire and promote
Blacks into important management positions. (Agree
or Strongly Agree)

Most Blacks who aspire to become managers in the
business world do not have the personal character-
istics needed to become successful management
persons in this company. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

In general, Blacks have low I.Q.'s and less technical
and analytical competence. (Agree or Strongly Agree)

In general, Blacks are pushy, loud, argumentative,
arrogant, obnoxious, and aggressive. (Agree or
Strongly Agree)

What are some of the bad characteristics you have
observed about Black managers? (Negative stereotype
responses)

The responses of the white managers by sex are shown in
Table 8.

Although there were fourteen questions which allowed the
managers to express racial attitudes about Blacks--nine of the
questions specifically related to soliciting such attitudes and
five which did not specifically seek out racial attitudes--none
of the managers responded negatively to more than ten. Because
only two of the white managers expressed racist attitudes on
seven or more of the questions, one should not consider that in
general the white managers have favorable views toward Blacks.
If this index is compared to the index of six stereotype state-
ments about Blacks, it becomes clear that the white managers are
less likely to agree with direct stereotype questions about Blacks
and more likely to express stereotype remarks to open-ended questions.

Only 9 percent of the white managers did not express or
agree with any racist remarks about Blacks. If the question

TABLE 8

WHITE MANAGERS' OVERALL RACIAL ATTITUDES

Number of Anti-Black Responses		White Males (N=133)	White Females (N=23)	Total (N=156)
No Anti-Black Responses	0	8 %	13 %	9 %
	1	20	17	20
	2	25	44	27
	3	23	· 17	22
	4	8	9	8
	5	8	0	7
	6	6	0	5
	7	1	0	1
Extreme Anti-Black Responses	10	1	0	1
Total		100	100	100

regarding marrying a Black is taken out of the index, 19 percent of the white managers did not express some type of racist attitudes about Blacks. Table 8 also shows that the white females have less racist attitudes than the white males.

Whether the managers expressed racist views or not did not appear to depend on the race of the interviewer. For example, 28 percent of the white managers interviewed by the writer, 31 percent interviewed by the white female interviewer, and 29 percent interviewed by the white male interviewer scored 0-1. In

addition, all the interviewers had approximately 20 percent of the white managers scoring 4-10.

The index of the six questions specifically looking at negative racial attitudes of the white managers which was discussed in the first part of this section indicated that the less educated white, middle/upper level male managers over 40 who had some contact with Blacks held the most racist attitudes.[6] Would these characteristics still describe the typical managers with the most racist attitudes when eight more questions are added to the index?

Although there is wide variation in each age group, the younger managers tend to express the least negative racial attitudes. Forty-four percent of the managers 30 or younger scored 0-1, compared to 35 percent of the managers between the ages of 31 and 40 and 26 percent between the ages of 41 and 50. None of the managers over 50 scored 0 and only 16 percent scored 1.

While there is a tendency in the first index of six questions that the more educated managers are least likely to agree with direct steroetype questions about Blacks, there is no clear tendency in the index presently under discussion.

It seems that while educated white managers are less likely to agree with direct stereotype questions about Blacks, they are more likely to make negative stereotype statements about

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[6]Family origins did not seem to have any relationship to the managers' racial attitudes. This finding was supported by Angus Campbell. See Campbell, p. 53.

Blacks in open-ended questions, which allow them to justify their responses.

When managerial level is used as the control variable, it becomes obvious that there are white managers who have racist attitudes in every managerial level. Even though the managers in the top level of management represent less than 20 percent of our sample, they make up 40 percent of those ten white managers with the most extreme racist attitudes (score 6-10). Furthermore, only 3 percent of the top managers did not express some type of racist attitude, compared to 9 percent of the middle level managers and 13 percent of the lower level managers.

Because an unequal number of upper level managers were interviewed from each company, it should be remembered that the upper level management views generally are those from Ace Public Utility, Triple A and C Banks, and Aunts Manufacturing. No great differences occur in the racial attitudes of the upper level managers from the various companies; however, the upper level managers in Ace Public Utility scored just slightly lower on the racial index. As noted earlier, this might be an indication that although some managers harbor negative racial attitudes, if there are continuous forceful external and/or internal pressures on the managers to practice equal employment opportunities their racial views might not greatly affect their treatment of Black managers.

When the index on the white managers' frequency of contact with Blacks is correlated with the index on racist attitudes, it is found that the white managers with a great deal of contact with

Blacks are more likely to have positive racial attitudes than those

white managers with no contact at all and those white managers with

no contact at all are more likely to have positive racial attitudes

than those white managers with only little contact with Blacks,

which is generally at work. This point should not be exaggerated:

Many of those white managers who have a great deal of contact

with Blacks do hold racist attitudes. They are generally less

strongly held than the racist attitudes of those white managers

who have little or no contact with Blacks. Campbell provides con-

sistent evidence from a national sample:

> Although this relationship is sizable, it is
> apparent that many white people have attitudes
> toward racial integration which have no relation
> to their own interracial contacts. It is par-
> ticularly impressive that a substantial number
> of those people who claim to have had Negro
> friends respond negatively to our proposals of
> various forms of contact with Negroes. Assuming
> these friendships to be real, they seem to be
> regarded by these people as purely idiosyncratic,
> having no relevance to the larger issue of inter-
> racial contact.[7]

Thus, business executives and government officials should

not believe that all they have to do is expose their white em-

ployees to Blacks and their white employees will develop positive

attitudes toward Blacks. Contact with Blacks can either produce

better or worse attitudes among whites, depending on the cir-

cumstances.

Interestingly, those managers who consider themselves

liberals are generally less racist than those who consider themselves

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[7]Campbell, p. 10.

moderates and the moderates are less racist than the conservatives. Because of the fact that Democrats generally consider themselves more liberal or moderate than Republicans, it is not surprising that they are less racist than Republicans. The eight white managers who consider themselves Independents are even less racist than the Democrats.

A careful review of the interview schedules of those fourteen white managers who expressed no negative racial attitudes and those ten white managers who expressed the most negative racial attitudes produces no general characteristics which could distinguish either group. The only fact which appears is that those white managers with less racial attitudes are generally more confident about their chances of achieving their desired career goals than those white managers who expressed the most racist attitudes.

A. Summary and conclusions of the overall
    white racist attitudes

This section has illustrated that only one out of ten of the white managers in this study do not possess any negative racial attitudes about Blacks. Although white managers of all ages, educational levels, managerial levels, and sexes hold racist attitudes, the most racist views are concentrated among the white, middle/ upper level male managers, over 40, who are very religious,[8] and

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[8]In Chapter II it was pointed out that the most religious managers generally hold the most racial attitudes.

who have little contact with Blacks. Campbell supports this:

> From this array of questions and answers we see
> something of the general configuration of white
> attitudes in the cities. It is apparent that
> the white population varies greatly in its feel-
> ings about race and that no "typical" person can
> be identified who might be said to represent the
> total. The safer t conclusion we can draw from
> the distributiors we have presented is that white
> Americans in the cities are not predominantly
> located at ei,her extreme of our scales of racial
> atiitudes. . . . In between are those numerous
> people whose perceptions are attitudes are ambi-
> guous and conflicted, who are variously fair-
> minded, apprehensive, resentful, defensive, ill-
> informed, and indifferent.[9]

How the Managers Deviate from the Formal
Policies of Their Companies

Keeping in mind the white managers' racial attitudes and
the complaints which both the Black and white managers have about
their companies' employment policies, it would be of interest to
see what, if any, relationships exist between these views and
attitudes and the manner in which the managers deviate from the
formal policies of their companies.

The vast majority of the Black and white managers believe
Blacks should be hired and promoted on the same basis as everyone
else.

There is a subtle difference between the interpretations
of the Black and white managers who agree that Blacks should be
hired and promoted on the same basis as everyone else. The Black
managers are essentially saying that all they want are equal op-
portunities and they will be able to make it, while the white

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[9]Campbell, p. 19.

managers are essentially saying that Blacks should not be given

any advantages--in other words, they oppose reverse discrimination.

As has been noted before, since whites are so used to having the

advantage, they might believe any movement towards equal opportun-

ities is reverse discrimination.

All of the Black and white managers, about one in five,

who disagreed said they would give advantages to the Blacks until

they have "caught up" with the whites.

Although one out of eight of the white managers said they

believe Blacks should be promoted on the same basis as everyone

else, they indicated that either they would not promote an equally

qualified Black, if an equally qualified white were available, or

they would not promote a Black into an important management position.

Anticipating the fact that there would be a general belief

among the managers that everyone should be promoted on the same

basis, an attempt was made to try to determine which other factors,

if any, the managers would consider when evaluating the promotabi-

lity of a management candidate besides lack of experience and job

knowledge. Table 9 shows the managers' responses to the following

question: What are the kinds of things about a management candi-

date that might make you hesitate to hire or promote him/her,

other than his/her lack of experience and job knowledge?

Only 10 percent of the Black managers and 5 percent of

the white managers indicated all they would look for is experience

and job knowledge. There is general agreement among the Black and

white managers that an individual should be able to relate and get

TABLE 9

THINGS ABOUT A MANAGEMENT CANDIDATE THAT MIGHT MAKE THE
MANAGERS HESITATE TO HIRE OR PROMOTE HIM/HER OTHER
THAN HIS/HER LACK OF EXPERIENCE AND JOB KNOWLEDGE

Things Managers Consider Detrimental to Hiring and Promoting Opportunities	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Lack of ability to relate and get along with people	56 %	55 %
Lack of hard work, resourcefulness, initiative, ambition, aggressiveness, etc.	26	30
Lack of leadership ability and/or good judgment	17	23
Lack of personal hygiene and neatness	9	7
Lack of self confidence	6	3
Lack of maturity, stability, responsibility	6	1
Lack of loyalty, commitment, or identification with the company	5	15
Lack of respect for minorities, i.e., bigotry, racism, prejudice	5	2
Lack of ability to express oneself verbally and written	4	6
Over-aggressiveness, too arrogant, cocky, too militant, chip on shoulder attitude, etc.	4	9
Lack of conformity to a conservative appearance, i.e., long hair, beards, loud dress, etc.	3	5
Lack of honesty, integrity, ethics, sincerity, morality, etc.	3	5
Other	3	3
None	11	5
Total*	158	169

*The total percentages are over 100 because many managers gave more than one response.

along with people, have written and verbal skills, be a hard, re-
sourceful, ambitious worker, be neat and clean, wear "proper"
dress, have leadership ability and good judgment, and have con-
fidence. There are large differences on such things as company
loyalty and attitudes. The previous responses suggest that many
factors other than qualifications, i.e., specific job knowledge
and work experience, are taken into consideration when an indi-
vidual is being evaluated for a managerial position.

While many of the above factors such as leadership, ambi-
tion, initiative, and ability to get along with people are essen-
tial for success in some positions in the business world, the
problem arises when one attempts to decide how such criteria can
be rationally and objectively evaluated. It is extremely difficult
to determine how essential factors such as conformity in dress and
attitudes are to perform a job well.

Even though the companies have written employment policies,
many Black and white managers feel they can freely deviate from
their companies' policies but only about one-third of them actually
do.

The primary manner in which the Black managers deviate from
the policies is that they overlook work experience (seniority) if
the individual has the educational background and/or initiative
and drive. This would be expected since the seniority system is
the most frequent change the Black managers would make in their
companies' promoting policies. The primary manner in which the
white managers deviate from the policies is that they overlook

educational experience if the individual has seniority and/or

ambition and drive. Again, some white managers want to put more

emphasis on the seniority system; however, there are almost as

many white managers who would overlook seniority if the indivi-

dual had the educational background.

Table 10 lists the ways in which the managers deviate

from their companies' hiring and promoting policies.

What is interesting here is that none of the white mana-

gers indicated that they deviate because of an individual's race,

even though nine out of ten have various degrees of anti-Black at-

titudes and one out of eight said they would not hire or promote

an equally qualified Black if a white were available and/or would

not promote a Black into an important management position. This

indicates that white managers will not freely admit that they

will discriminate against Blacks because at the present time it

isn't the proper thing to admit.

Another manner in which it was attempted to find out if

the managers deviate from their companies' employment policies was

by asking them to what extent they would take into consideration

the feelings of those customers and distributors, management per-

sonnel from other companies, peers and subordinates, immediate

superiors, and managers above their immediate superiors who would

feel uncomfortable if they hired or promoted a Black into a man-

agement position.

Quinn, ⸺ al. noted that many managers in their study

based their employment decisions on how they believed certain

TABLE 10

HOW THE MANAGERS' EMPLOYMENT DECISIONS DEVIATED
FROM COMPANIES' EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

Types of Deviations	Black Managers (N=32)	White Managers (N=69)
Overlooked educational requirements, if the individual had work experience and/or drive and initiative.	45 %	13 %
Hired and promoted individuals when others recommended against it.	33	11
Overlooked work experience (seniority), if the individual had the educational background.	21	6
Overlooked seniority, if the individual had drive and ambition.	9	17
Gave higher salaries than policies indicated.	9	8
Promoted equally qualified Blacks before whites.	9	0
Did not rely on tests as much as the company policy indicated they should.	6	8
Gave people a second chance.	6	3
Really can't say deviated because the policies are so broad and general.	3	34
Other	0	6
Total*	120	100

*Some Black managers deviated in more than one way; therefore, the total percentage is over 100.

other third parties would act.   They wrote:

> In an earlier study of the criteria affecting
> personnel decisions, many supervisors reported
> that nonability criteria were important in judg-
> ing a managerial candidate.   When asked why they
> were important, a frequent argument was that even
> though the manager was not prejudiced against a
> minority, the man he hired might have to deal with
> many people who were prejudiced.   In deference to
> their wishes, he felt obliged to discriminate
> against the minority.   Such a reply embodies the
> "third party" argument.   The logic used by those
> employing it was described thus:
>
> > "The decision . . . is not based solely on
> > the behavior of the worker and the judgments
> > of his superior; the second-guessed opinions
> > and reaction of others whom the worker may
> > encounter are also honored."[10]

It is striking that the Black managers indicated that they would

take into consideration the feelings of those third parties such

as customers, distributors, management personnel from other com-

panies, subordinates, peers and superiors more than the white

managers on some questions, and almost as much on others.   For

example, 33 percent of the Black managers and 23 percent of the

white managers who said that their customers and distributors

would feel uncomfortable about having Blacks in management posi-

tions would take into consideration their feelings, at least to

some extent.

In attempting to find out why the Black managers would

take into consideration the racial attitudes of others, the typi-

cal response was that Blacks must face the reality that their

firms are not truly committed to their AAPs; therefore, they must

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[10]Quinn, et al., pp. 34-35.

take into consideration the feelings of these various groups,
whether the Black managers like it or not, in order to place
Black managers in positions where they will be most effective and
have the best opportunities to demonstrate their abilities and
achieve their objectives. Once the firms are really committed to
equal employment opportunities for Blacks this will not be necessary.

The influence of senior management in directing change in
employment policies can be seen by the fact that the lower level
managers, Black and white, are more likely to take into considera-
tion the feelings of managers in the level above them; therefore,
if top management makes it known without a doubt that they want
all employees to receive equal treatment, the managers in the lower
levels of management are more likely to comply with the orders.

While this question does not tell us what final action
would be taken by the managers, i.e., if they would or would not
hire or promote a Black, it is probably safe to assume they would
not favor Blacks in view of their racial attitudes, the racial
atmospheres which exist in these firms, the weak Affirmative Action
Programs, and the seeming lack of commitment from top management.

The managers were further asked if they would have answered
differently any of the questions about the uncomfortable feelings
of the customers and distributors, management personnel from other
companies, peers and subordinates, immediate superiors, and mana-
gers above their immediate superiors ten years ago. Four out of
five of the Black managers and three out of four of the white man-
agers would have answered the questions differently ten years ago.
The reasons for this are in Table 11.

TABLE 11

WHY THE MANAGERS WOULD HAVE TAKEN MORE INTO
CONSIDERATION OTHER GROUPS' FEELINGS
ABOUT BLACKS TEN YEARS AGO THAN NOW

Reasons	Black Managers (N=100)	White Managers (N=114)
Would not have been able to answer the questions ten years ago because would not have had this position then because of the firm's discriminatory practices.	32 %	0 %
Was not conscious of himself/herself as a Black man/woman ten years ago, i.e., was apathetic; might have attempted to overlook whites' negative attitudes toward Blacks.	26	0
White attitudes have changed, i.e., corporations and white society in general have more positive attitudes toward Blacks.	27	52
The company now has an Affirmative Action Program, but in the past discriminated against Blacks.	12	21
Would have been more influenced by negative white attitudes of workers and customers ten years ago; therefore, would have been careful in hiring and promoting Blacks.	5	13
Was not aware of the racial situation and/or did not have as much knowledge about racial issues ten years ago.	0	22
Would not have been able to answer the questions ten years ago because few, if any, Blacks were employed in management positions in the company.	0	7
Other	0	6
Total*	102	121

*The total percentages are over 100 because some managers gave more than one reason.

The responses tend to suggest that there has been a change not only in the corporate world's and white people's attitudes, but also in Black people's images of themselves.

The most interesting response is that 26 percent of the Black managers indicated they are more aware of themselves as Black people and are more willing to stand up for their rights because they believe that standing up for their rights will have some good effect and it will not be useless and jeopardize their careers; therefore, they would not take into consideration third parties' feelings as much as they would have ten years ago.

All of the managers' responses to this question clearly show that their impressions of how other people feel about Blacks in management positions have and will affect their employment decisions with regard to the hiring and promoting of Blacks into management.

Some of the individual managers' responses follow:

A Black female from Ace Public Utility: "There has been a change in attitude, some of it is forced, yet there has been a change. Also some whites have appeared to change their attitudes because someone above them told them to."

Two Black bankers, one a female and one a male, from Triple C Bank gave these reasons for changing their attitudes: (The female) "I would have been harsher as far as hiring and promoting Blacks." (The male) "I wasn't a militant ten years ago. I have been placed in a situation where I see the obvious problems of racism."

Two white middle level managers from the same company responded in the following manner: "There is no way ten years ago a Black would be a supervisor in the bank." "People have changed their attitudes. It is no longer sociably acceptable to express derogatory opinions. This conduct would not be accepted now and would have been ten years ago. People are better informed now."

An upper level white manager from Century Manufacturing: "Ten years ago people just hated the color of Negroes and if you promoted one of them you were looked on as a nut by your peers and your subordinates."

And lastly, a white upper level manager from Aunts Manufacturing: "Ten years ago the company would have been more concerned about their customers' feelings. Ten years ago the company didn't recognize the problem and didn't have any real thoughts about bringing Blacks into management."

The reasons why the managers would not have answered the questions differently ten years ago are listed in Table 12.

Summary and Conclusions

There is substantial evidence that the racial atmosphere in which the Black managers must work is hostile. Only 10 percent of the Black managers and 17 percent of the white managers indicated that they are not aware of any negative white attitudes toward Blacks, do not hear any derogatory remarks about Blacks, and do not believe any of their peers, subordinates, superiors,

TABLE 12

WHY THE MANAGERS WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN MORE CONCERNED WITH
THE NEGATIVE RACIAL ATTITUDES OF OTHERS TEN YEARS AGO

Reasons	Black Managers (N=16)	White Managers (N=42)
Whites' attitudes have not changed; the situation is the same, just more covert.	84 %	7 %
Respondent's attitudes have not changed; has always believed in equality for all races.	11	62
Did not know anything about race relations.	0	14
Other	5	17
Total	100	100

or managers above their immediate superiors have uncomfortable
feelings about the hiring and promoting of Blacks into manage-
ment positions.

Only 9 percent of the white managers in this study did not
express any negative racial attitudes. The following character-
istics quite frequently describe the manager who is most likely
to express such attitudes: white, male, middle/upper level, con-
servative, Republican, over 40 years of age, no specific educa-
tional achievement, very little contact with Blacks, and very
religious. Even though there is the tendency for this group to
hold the most racist attitudes, it is quite clear that many
whites, at every level of age, education, and social background,
hold racial attitudes.

Because of the racial attitudes in the firms, Black man-
agers will not be afforded equal opportunities not only because
of overt racial discrimination, but also because they will never
be completely accepted into the informal work groups and social
activities which are so important to success and which are dom-
inated by white managers with negative feelings about Blacks.

Finally, the analyses show that both the Black and white
managers would take other things into consideration before hiring
and/or promoting a management candidate besides work experience
and job knowledge. A number of Black and white managers would
deviate from their companies' hiring and promoting policies
primarily in terms of educational requirements, seniority, and
salaries. Finally, a significant minority of Black and white man-
agers would take into consideration the uncomfortable feelings of
third parties.

This chapter adds additional information to support the
claim that the primary factor affecting the Black managers' careers
is racial discrimination.

CHAPTER VII

THE MANAGERS' IMAGES OF THE PROMOTABLE MANAGER

Introduction

The questions and ideas of this chapter are based on

Garda W. Bowman's Ph.D. dissertation titled "The Image of a

Promotable Person in Business Enterprises," written in 1960-61,

and her article in the Harvard Business Review, Jan.-Feb., 1964.

In the former study she interviewed 315 employees--36 top man-

agers, 58 middle level managers, 44 first level supervisors,

168 professionals and technicians, and 9 who did not give their

positions. Fifty-six percent of the 315 employees were over 35

years of age and approximately 66 percent had at least bachelors

degrees. Two hundred and eighty-eight were white, 20 were Blacks,

5 Asians, and 2 did not indicate their racial background. There

were no data indicating the sex of the participants. This study

was done in New York City.

In the latter study which had 2,000 participants, 48 per-

cent were top managers, 16 percent were upper middle managers, 19

percent lower middle level managers, 11 percent non-management

personnel, and 6 percent professionals. These managers came from

all types of industries and from all over the country. Eighty-

three percent had at least bachelors degrees and 99 percent were

male. No percentage breakdown of the managers' races was given;

however, Bowman indicated that very few participants were Black.

Bowman summarized the basic hypothesis of her dissertation

and study in the following manner:

> The assumptions, conscious or unconscious, on
> which criteria for promotion are based form an
> "unwritten law" which often has a greater impact
> upon actual promotion practice than a statement
> of company policy, no matter how clearly and
> impressively the latter may be expressed. If
> it is assumed within a given company that a
> certain type of person will be selected, it is
> likely to be assumed in course of time that such
> a person should be selected, despite the narrow
> range from which he may be drawn. The image of
> success, once established, tends to be self-
> perpetuating.[1]

In order to find out what the prevailing image of the pro-

motable manager was in business, she asked the managers ideally in

their opinions which of a list of seventy-two characteristics should

be harmful, helpful, or irrelevant for an individual's promotion

to supervisor and beyond. In addition, she asked the managers how

they actually believe these characteristics affect an individual's

chances for promotion to supervisory positions and beyond in their

firm and in business in general.

She made the following statements with regard to the

various images of the promotable manager:

> The degree to which the "business ideal" has
> been achieved in actual practice is represented in
> this study by two images: the respondents' image
> of promotability in (1) their own firms, and (2)
> common business practice. The former is workable
> and may or may not be ideal. It might be distorted
> either by excessive loyalty to the firm and result-
> ant defensiveness, or by a personal sense of injury

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[1]Bowman (1962), p. 44.

regarding the respondents' degree of advancement.
However, by and large, it reflects actual exper-
ience rather than a projection of the respondents'
own feelings about promotability.

On the other hand, the image of a promotable
person in common business practice may indeed
be a projection of the respondent's own opinion
and may reflect more accurately his own degree
of readiness to accept promotion on the basis of
individual merit than his professed ideal image,
or his image of his own firm. However, whether
this image is distorted by personal values and
expectations or not, it has an immediate and
powerful impact upon recommendations for promo-
tion; selection and placement of personnel;
training opportunities; the choice of a career,
particularly for disadvantaged groups; and work
incentive. The mental picture of the reality
situation both reflects and, to an extent, per-
petuates that situation. It is the base from
which we start in movement toward objective
criteria for promotion on merit alone.[2]

To discover the image of the promotable manager in the

minds of the managers who participated in this study permits us

(1) to explore further the fairness of the companies' employment

policies, (2) to see what, if any, changes have occurred in the

attitudes of managers over the past decade, and (3) to compare

the managers' views of present discrimination against other min-

ority groups such as Asians, Chicanos and women.

The first section of this chapter discusses the partici-

pating managers' ideal images of a promotable person, i.e., in

the managers' own opinions, should the characteristics listed in

the table be harmful, helpful, or irrelevant to an individual's

promotion to supervisor and beyond. The second section will discuss

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[2]Ibid., pp. 29-30.

what the managers' images are of those people who actually do get ahead in their firms and in business in general. The third section will discuss what the managers' images are of those people who do not get ahead in their firms and in business in general. And the fourth section will analyze the views of the managers by companies, managerial levels, educational levels, and age groups.

While Bowman had seven value clusters in her study--efficiency, self-advancement, creativity, management styles, personal development, integrity, and equality of opportunity--plus several other items she believed did not fit into any value cluster--for a total of seventy-two items, this chapter deals only with twenty-five of these items. Because of the writer's interest in equality, all seventeen items included in Bowman's equality of opportunity value cluster such as age, national origin, race, religion, sex, and social status (such as attendance at an Ivy League school and membership in a local country club) plus three items which are indirectly related to ability--college education, graduate training in business adminis-tration, and technical knowledge of a specific job to be done--were included. Another criterion used which is sometimes consid-ered an ability criterion is seniority; however, an individual could have many years of service with the firm and still be a very incompetent manager. The following factors were also included: spouse who is helpful to career, pull with top management, artis-tic and cultural interests, and community interests and activities. None of these measure ability; they measure non-ability criteria or ascriptive criteria which have been found to greatly affect the career patterns of managers.

The Participating Managers' Ideal Images
of the Promotable Manager

In Chapter VI when the managers were asked: What are the
kinds of things about a management candidate that might make you
hesitate to hire or promote him, other than his lack of experience
and job knowledge?, none of the managers selected such things as
race, religion, sex, or age. Most of the managers selected factors
related to ability criteria such as ability to relate and get along
with people, lack of hard work, resourcefulness and initiative, and
lack of leadership ability and/or good judgment. There was also
a substantial minority who selected such things as loyalty to com-
pany and conformity to company standards in terms of dress, atti-
tudes, and physical appearance--which may be code words for class,
sex, ethnic, racial and/or religious origins.

It was also noted in Chapter VI that none of the managers
who indicated that they deviate from their companies' employment
policies said they deviate by selecting managers who are of a
certain age, race, sex, or religion; they generally said that
they deviate in terms of educational requirements, seniority, and
salary. However, in Chapter VI there was some indication that
some Black and white managers would be influenced by the uncom-
fortable feelings of third parties with regard to Blacks in man-
agement positions.

When the managers were asked which factors they ideally
believe should be irrelevant for a manager's promotional opportun-
ities to supervisor and beyond, it became evident that some of the

managers in this study would take into consideration other non-
ability factors such as race, religion, age, sex, and national
origin.

A. Ideally irrelevant facts

Before looking at those factors which the managers con-
sider should be helpful ideally in their opinions for promotion
to supervisory positions and beyond, the factors which 80 percent
or more of either the Black or white manaʷers or both believe
should be irrelevant will be analyzed. These are shown in Table 1.
The responses of the managers in Bowman's two studies are included
for comparison.

This table clearly indicates that both the Black and white
managers in this study and in Bowman's studies believe that reli-
gious affiliation should be the most irrelevant factor when con-
sidering an individual for promotion. The table also indicates
that more of the white managers in this study consistently be-
lieve that race and national origin should be irrelevant than
the Black managers. This is also the case with regard to the
factors which are considered to represent status such as attending
an Ivy League school and belonging to a country club. However,
more of the Black managers than white managers believe sex, espe-
cially male, should be irrelevant than the white managers.

When the white managers in the three studies are compared,
it is seen that the white managers in this study tend to believe
the previous factors should be more irrelevant than those in

TABLE 1

FACTORS WHICH THE MANAGERS BELIEVE SHOULD
IDEALLY BE IRRELEVANT FOR PROMOTION

Factors	Bowman's[3] Ph.D. (1962) (N=315)	Bowman's[4] HBR Study** (1964) (N=2000)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)
Catholic	96 %	92 %	97 %	95 %
Jewish	95	83	96	93
Protestant	92	86	94	93
Church Attendance	62	65	84	91
White	64	53	92	90
Asian	86	67	92	88
Foreigner	91	77	87	85
Ivy League School	84	81	88	84
Country Club Membership in Prominent Social Clubs***	90	63	94	84
Chicano, Puerto Rican***	76	62	87	83
Male	50	35	65	82
Black	83	62	89	81
Female	67	50	76	80
U. S. Citizen	63	46	80	73

*Only those factors which 80 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe should be irrelevant are included.

**HBR stands for Harvard Business Review.

***Bowman used Membership in Prominent Social Clubs rather than Country Club in her second study and Puerto Rican in both of her studies rather than Chicano.

[3]Bowman (1962), pp. 99-99B.   [4]Bowman (1964), pp. 16-22.

New York (Bowman's Ph.D.,1962) and those in New York tend to believe the previous factors should be more irrelevant than those through-out the U. S. (Bowman's Harvard Business Review article, 1964).

The most significant differences between the white man-agers in these three studies lie in the areas of race, especially with regard to Blacks and whites, sex, attendance at religious services, U. S. citizenship, and club membership.

The differences in the white managers' responses can be attributed to: (1) the sample make-up, and (2) the time element. More specifically, because of the regional characteristics of Bowman's Ph.D. (New York), this study (California), and Bowman's HRB study (nation-wide), one would expect more liberal views for samples of New Yorkers and Californians than one which includes Southerns and Mid-Westerners. In addition, this study had 15 percent white females who are more likely to consider race and sex characteristics irrelevant than the white males.

Since Bowman's studies, the civil rights movement and the women's movement have had their influences on white managers' views, the white managers in this study have more equal opportun-ity views, i.e., consider such things as race and sex as more irrelevant to promotions than those managers in Bowman's studies.

With regard to attendance at religious services the dif-ference can be attributed to the decrease in importance of reli-gion among many people, as was noted in Chapter II.

B. Ideally helpful facts

Table 2 shows those factors which 50 percent or more of
either the Black or white managers or both believe should be
ideally helpful to a manager's promotional opportunities.

Although the differences are small, Table 2 shows that in
this study more of the Black managers believe the three factors
relating to ability should ideally be helpful than the white man-
agers. When the Black managers' responses are compared with the
white managers' responses in Bowman's studies on these items,
they are quite similar except with regard to the MBA. More of
the white managers in all of the studies believe the three fac-
tors relating to non-ability criteria should ideally be helpful
than the Black managers. One possible reason the Black managers
place more emphasis on ability criteria is that they are more
educated and generally more qualified than their white counter-
parts. Another possible explanation is that many of the white
managers in this study are middle and upper level managers. At
these managerial levels community and cultural interests and a
helpful spouse become more important and necessary items.

Thus far, according to the participating managers' ideal
opinions, religion, race, national origin, sex, and belonging to
a country club should generally be considered as irrelevant fac-
tors for promotions. A college education, technical skills, cul-
tural and community activities, and a helpful spouse should gen-
erally be considered as helpful factors for promotions.

TABLE 2

FACTORS WHICH THE MANAGERS BELIEVE SHOULD
IDEALLY BE HELPFUL FOR PROMOTION*

Factors	Bowman's[5] Ph.D. (1962) (N=315)	Bowman's[6] HBR Study (1964) (N=2000)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)
College Education	94 %	94 %	88 %	95 %
Technical Knowledge	86	90	86	90
Community Interest	71	71	72	67
Graduate Work in Business Administration	78	80	61	62
Cultural Interests	75	71	66	53
Helpful Spouse	60	No Data**	53	50

*Only those factors which 50 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe should be helpful are included.

**This information was not available in Bowman's second study.

[5]Bowman (1962), pp. 99-99B.

[6]Bowman (1964), pp. 16-22.

C. Ideally harmful facts

Now it would be appropriate to see what in the managers'
opinions should be considered ideally as harmful factors. Table 3
shows those factors which at least 10 percent or more of the Black
or white managers or both ideally believe should be harmful to an
individual's promotional opportunities.[7]

Although approximately 80 percent of the managers in this
study believe that being a female and from a foreign country should
be irrelevant, one still finds that there is a significant minor-
ity of managers who believe these factors should be harmful to
an individual's promotional oppoitunities. In addition, 35 per-
cent of the white managers and 18 percent of the Black managers
believe that being male should ideally be a helpful factor for
promotion. This compares to 65 percent of the males in Bowman's
Harvard Business Review study who indicated that ideally they be-
lieved being male should be helpful to an individual's promotion
and approximately 50 percent of those who participated in her study
for her Ph.D. dissertation. These figures clearly suggest that
either federal laws and social pressures against sex discrimination
are having an effect on the beliefs of white male managers or many
of these managers are saying the "right" things as a result of laws

[7]Bowman's data were not presented in such a manner that one
could compare it exactly with the data in this study; however, she
did present data which can be used as a basis of comparison. These
data show the percentage of managers who believe certain factors
should and do hinder promotions. In addition to those factors
listed in the table, Bowman found that 15 percent of the white man-
agers believed being Puerto Rican should and did hinder promotions
and 9 percent believed being Black, Oriental, and under 30 should
and did hinder promotions.

TABLE 3

FACTORS WHICH THE MANAGERS BELIEVE SHOULD
IDEALLY BE HARMFUL FOR PROMOTION[*]

Factors	Bowman's[8**] Ph.D. (1962) (N=315)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)
Over 45	15 %	31 %	25 %
Female	19	18	13
Foreign	6	12	12
Seniority	No Data	4	11
Pull With Top Management	No Data	16	4

[*]Only those factors which 10 percent or more of either the
Black or white managers or both believe are harmful are included.

[**]No data was available in Bowman's HBR study.

and pressures, i.e., females are not really afforded equal oppor-

tunities but the managers believe they are because they have been

conditioned to by social and governmental pressures. The impact

of governmental and social pressures seems also to affect the par-

ticipating managers' opinions with regard to age.

The differences between the Black and white managers with

regard to how they rated seniority are similar to the findings

discussed in Chapter V, where it was pointed out that, generally,

the Black managers would de-emphasize the seniority system if they

had the power to make promotional changes and the white managers

would emphasize it. Eleven percent of the Black managers and only

[8]Bowman (1962), p. 71.

4 percent of the white managers believe seniority should ideally
be considered a harmful factor and 9 percent of the Black managers
and 21 percent of the white managers believe it should be a help-
ful factor for promotion.

There is also a big difference in opinion between the
Black and white managers regarding the role politics (pull with
top management) should play in promotional opportunities. Thirty
percent of the Black managers and only 14 percent of the white man-
agers believe it should be helpful.

In Chapter V it was noted that one of the major complaints
of the Black managers about their companies' employment policies
is that politics plays too great a role in the implementation of
the policies; yet, 30 percent of the Black managers believe ideally
it should be helpful to an individual's promotional opportunities.
A possible explanation for this inconsistency was offered by a Black
middle level manager from Triple C Bank who said, "I indicated that
pull with top management should be helpful in my ideal opinion be-
cause the fact of the matter is that people tend to favor those
people they know. If a manager does not know you, you don't have
pull--if he does, you do." The Black managers are probably ex-
pressing what they believe is actually taking place, while the
white managers are being more "idealistic." Part of the differ-
ences might also be attributed to the different manners of inter-
preting pull with top management, i.e., managers can have pull
if they have a senior manager sponsoring them or if they have
personal contacts or they can have pull through their own efforts
and abilities.

D. Summary and conclusions

An important observation in this section has been that
all of the Black and white managers in this study believe that
more of the ascriptive factors should ideally be irrelevant for
promotions than the predominantly white managers in Bowman's
studies. Another important observation is that although the
managers in this study, as noted in Chapter VI, did not mention
that they would take into consideration such things as age, sex,
race, and national origin in their evaluation of a manager who
has work experience and job knowledge, it is quite clear from
their responses in this section that a substantial minority of
them would take these things into consideration.

It can be said that the Black and white managers gener-
ally agree on which factors should ideally be helpful, harmful,
or irrelevant for promotion to supervisor and beyond. As shall
be seen in the next section covering who actually gets ahead in
their firms and in business in general, the Black and white man-
agers do not agree as much as they do with regard to which fac-
tors should ideally be helpful to promotion to supervisor and
beyond.

Who Actually Gets Ahead

If one only looks at those factors which 50 percent or
more of either the Black or white managers or both believe are
helpful for promotion in their firms, one finds that there are
eleven factors which the Black managers believe are helpful for

promotion in their firms and six factors which the white managers believe are helpful.

Fifty percent or more of the Black managers believe that the manager who gets ahead in their companies is a white, college-educated, technically oriented, male, under 45 years of age, who has an MBA, seniority, a helpful spouse, pull with top management, and is interested in community activities.

Fifty percent or more of the white managers believe that the manager who gets ahead in their companies is a college-educated, technically oriented, male, under 45 years of age, who has an MBA and is interested in community activities. The white managers in Bowman's studies saw the same type of manager getting ahead in their firms ten years ago as the white managers in this study see getting ahead now.

The majority of the Black managers see a manager who gets ahead in business in general with essentially the same characteristics as the manager who gets ahead in their firms. However, the manager would also have artistic and cultural interests and belong to a country club. As Table 4 indicates, the majority of the white managers in this study and in Bowman's HBR study generally agree with the Black managers that this would be the type of manager who gets ahead in business in general.

Table 4 lists the factors which 50 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe should be/are helpful for promotion in their ideal opinions, actually in their firms, and actually in business in general. In addition, it shows

TABLE 4

POSITIVE IMAGE[*]

Factors	Ideally in Opinion			Actually Firm			Actually Business		
	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's HBR (N=2000)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's HBR (N=2000)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's HBR (N=2000)
College Education	95 %	88 %	94 %	85 %	92 %	83 %	94 %	97 %	93 %
Grad. Work Bus. Adm.	62	61	80	58	68	50	75	81	75
Technical Knowledge	90	86	90	74	80	85	81	86	86
Seniority	--	--	--	61	43	--	70	59	ND**
Under 30	--	--	--	--	--	--	49	50	ND**
Under 45	--	--	70	60	59	69	60	63	76
White	--	--	-.-	67	31	--	78	53	74***
Male	--	--	65	76	62	79	90	72	87

TABLE 4 (continued)

Factors	Ideally in Opinion			Actually Firm			Actually Business		
	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's HBR (N=2000)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's HBR (N=2000)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's HBR (N=2000)
Cultural Interests	53 %	66 %	71 %	--	--	51 %	60 %	47 %	64 %
Community Interests	67	72	71	66	72	51	67	67	64
Country Club	--	--	--	--	--	--	66	61	ND**
U. S. Citizen	--	--	54	62	42	80	62	33	76***
Pull	--	--	--	79	46	--	82	62	ND**
Helpful Spouse	50	53	ND**	52	49	ND**	60	70	ND**

*Only those factors which 50 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe are helpful are included.

**ND means no data available in Bowman's studies.

***Data from Bowman's Ph.D. study.

9Bowman (1964), pp. 16-22.

the responses of the managers who participated in Bowman's <u>Harvard</u> <u>Business Review</u> study. No similar overall data were available from Bowman's Ph.D. study.

This table shows, once again, that the white managers in this study are generally under the impression that their own companies are much better than those in business in general. As Bowman noted, the managers' responses regarding their companies can be influenced by firm loyalty and/or by personal dissatisfaction with one's job and career opportunities.

The managers' responses regarding business in general are more realistic in terms of what the situation actually is in the corporate world and in their own firms. In addition, as Bowman said, the white managers' views about business in general might be a projection of what the managers really believe the situation ideally should be rather than how they rated the items ideally in their opinions.

Table 4 also points out that little change has occurred over the past ten years in the white managers' views with regard to who gets ahead in the corporate world. The white, college-educated, male, under 45, born in the U. S. is still the image of the promotable manager in the minds of a substantial majority of Black and white managers.

Table 5 lists the items and the differences between the percentage of managers who ideally consider them helpful factors and the percentage who actually believe them to be helpful factors for promotion in their firms and in business in general.

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TABLE 5

DIFFERENCE IN PERCENT OF CRITERIA SEEN AS MORE IMPORTANT
TO PROMOTIONS IN THE MANAGERS' FIRMS AND BUSINESS THAN
THE MANAGERS BELIEVE SHOULD IDEALLY BE THE CASE*

Factors	Difference Between Managers' Ideal Opinions and What Actually Happens in Firms		Difference Between Managers' Ideal Opinions and What Actually Happens in Business	
	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Ivy League	22 %	16 %	37 %	33 %
Seniority	42	22	51	38
White	58	23	69	45
Male	58	27	72	37
Country Club	36	22	55	58
U. S. Citizen	37	22	37	13
Pull	49	32	52	48
Protestant	11	2	28	16

*No comparative data was available from Bowman's studies
and there was no way of determining it.

The greatest discrepancies between what the Black managers
believe are helpful factors ideally, actually in their firms, and
actually in business in general occur with the two factors white
and male.

The greatest discrepancies between what the white managers
believe are helpful factors in their firms occur with the two fac-
tors male and pull with top management; however, the greatest dis-
crepancies between what the white managers believe are helpful

factors ideally and actually in business in general occur with the three factors: country club membership, pull with top management, and white.

When one controls for sex, it becomes evident that female managers generally believe being a white male is more helpful both in the corporate world and in their firms than the male managers. They also believe that being Black, Asian, or Chicano is less helpful both in the corporate world and in their firms than the males. None of the females believe that being a female is a helpful factor for promotion in their firms or in business in general.

Who Does Not Get Ahead

In this section the managers' images of who does not get ahead in their firms and in business in general will be discussed.

Three of the six items which 30 percent or more of the Black managers believe are harmful for promotion in their firms are racial characteristics, i.e., Chicano, Black, and Asian. A small percent of the Black managers believe being Chicano is more harmful for promotion than being Black. Another harmful factor was being from a foreign country. A majority of the Black managers believe being female is the most harmful factor for promotion in their firms. Table 6 shows only those factors which 30 percent or more of the Black or white managers or both believe are harmful for promotion in their firms.

TABLE 6

FACTORS WHICH MANAGERS BELIEVE ARE HARMFUL
FOR PROMOTION IN THEIR FIRMS*

Factors	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Female	61 %	44 %
Chicano	56	21
Black	54	11
Over 45	47	52
Oriental	41	10
Foreigner	39	15

*Only those factors which 30 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe are harmful are included. No comparative data from Bowman's studies is available.

As one would expect, the Black managers believe that these six factors are also harmful for promotion in business in general; however, 30 percent of the Black managers also believe being Jewish is harmful.

Table 7 lists the items which 30 percent or more of the Black or white managers or both believe are harmful for promotion in business in general.

Notice that while 30 percent or more of the white managers selected only two items, over 45 and female, as being harmful for promotion in their firms (Table 6), 30 percent or more of them selected six of the seven items which the Black managers

TABLE 7

FACTORS WHICH MANAGERS BELIEVE ARE HARMFUL
FOR PROMOTION IN BUSINESS IN GENERAL[*]

Factors	Bowman's[10] Ph.D. (1962) (N=315)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Bowman's[11] HBR Study (1964) (N=2000)
Female	58 %	72 %	68 %	77 %
Chicano (Puerto Rican)	71	68	55	77
Black	77	68	58	87
Over 45	54	67	49	No Data
Oriental	68	52	38	75
Foreigner	No Data	40	38	No Data
Jewish	No Data	30	23	No Data

[*]Only those factors which 30 percent or more of either the Black or white managers or both believe are harmful are included.

selected as being harmful for promotion in business in general (Table 7).

When comparing the responses of the managers in this study to those of the managers in Bowman's two studies, it is interesting to note that in the minds of both the white and Black managers in this study being female has replaced being Black as the most harmful factor to an individual's promotional opportunities in

[10]Bowman (1962), p. 61.

[11]Bowman (1964), pp. 16-22.

business in general whereas the predominantly white managers in Bowman's two studies believed that being Black was the most harmful factor.

The fact that only 1 percent of the managers in our randomly selected sample are Jewish clearly indicates that being Jewish is more harmful to an individual's promotional opportunities in business in general and in these firms than what the Black and white managers in this study believe.

Comparison of Select Items by Various Characteristics

Table 8 shows the managers' responses to some of the select items with regard to their harmfulness or helpfulness for promotion in their particular firms.

Table 8 shows that the Affirmative Action Programs of Ace Public Utility and Triple A Bank have created among their Black managers the most positive overall views of the promotional opportunities which exist in their companies not only for Blacks but also for Asians, Chicanos, and women. The white managers in these companies also have more positive views of the promotional opportunities which exist for Blacks, Asians, Chicanos, and women in their companies than the white managers in most of the other companies.

Only in Ace Public Utility were the Black managers consistent in their views of the helpfulness or harmfulness of being Black or white and in none of the companies were the white managers consistent in their views. For example, 50 percent of the

TABLE 8

RESPONSES TO SELECTED FACTORS BY COMPANIES

Items		Ace Public Utility	Triple C Bank	Cousins Manu.	Aunts Manu.	Triple A Bank	Ajax Manu.	Century Manu.	Deuce Public Utility	Total
Negro -*	Black	50 %	48 %	62 %	68 %	36 %	67 %	100 %	60 %	54 %
	White	8	0	27	9	6	33	0	20	11
White +	Black	46	72	85	74	50	100	100	80	67
	White	23	20	47	41	31	53	13	27	30
Chicano -	Black	50	52	62	68	43	67	100	60	56
	White	15	7	33	27	19	40	20	20	21
Asian -	Black	37	44	39	53	37	33	100	33	41
	White	0	3	13	14	6	40	0	13	9
U.S.A. +	Black	58	56	54	74	57	100	100	67	62
	White	35	33	53	55	50	33	40	40	42
Male +	Black	50	80	92	93	57	100	100	87	77
	White	46	47	93	100	63	87	60	40	62

Companies

TABLE 8 (continued)

Items		Ace Public Utility	Triple C Bank	Cousins Manu.	Aunts Manu.	Triple A Bank	Ajax Manu.	Century Manu.	Deuce Public Utility	Total
Female –	Black	50 %	60 %	69 %	67 %	43 %	100 %	100 %	67 %	61 %
	White	15	7	67	74	38	87	60	40	44
Under 30 +	Black	62	28	39	47	29	0	100	33	41
	White	73	40	20	55	31	60	67	0	46
Under 45 +	Black	69	52	54	68	64	33	0	60	60
	White	54	63	67	77	36	53	53	47	58
Over 45 –	Black	77	32	46	53	36	33	100	27	47
	White	73	20	33	77	44	87	80	7	52
Jewish –	Black	30	20	8	11	21	33	0	27	20
	White	12	3	20	5	6	7	7	7	7
Ivy Type +	Black	31	36	8	42	64	100	0	20	33
	White	27	17	47	9	31	33	7	20	23

Companies

TABLE 8 (continued)

Items	Ace Public Utility	Triple C Bank	Cousins Manu.	Aunts Manu.	Triple A Bank	Ajax Manu.	Century Manu.	Deuce Public Utility	Total
Country Club +									
Black	46 %	36 %	39 %	39 %	71 %	33 %	100 %	60 %	47 %
White	8	17	13	42	19	33	7	27	14
Pull w. Top +									
Black	77	84	69	40	93	100	100	80	79
White	58	40	40	68	38	60	40	53	46
Negro +									
Black	23	12	0	21	29	0	0	27	18
White	42	20	40	23	25	20	20	27	27

*The (+) or (-) after the name of the item indicates whether the managers believe the item is helpful or harmful for promotion in their firms.

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Black managers in Ace Public Utiltiy believe that being Black is harmful for promotion and 46 percent believe that being white is helpful for promotion; however, 48 percent of the Black managers in Triple C Bank believe that being Black is harmful, but 72 percent believe that being white is helpful! The greatest inconsistencies in the white managers' views occur in Aunts Manufacturing-- only 9 percent said being Black is harmful but 41 percent said being white is helpful.

Another important point is that the white managers in Cousins, Aunts, and Ajax Manufacturing Companies almost unanimously agree that being male is a helpful factor for promotion in their firms. Many of the managers in these firms say that the type of work their company does is not suitable for women; however, what is interesting is that Ajax Manufacturing has recently hired ten females in jobs which were supposedly only suitable for males. Thus it seems that women are suited for many of the jobs available in these firms, but are simply not given the opportunities to demonstrate this.

While there is consistency in the opinions of the white managers in Ajax and Century Manufacturing Companies and Deuce Public Utility in that they believe being male is helpful and being female is harmful, there are inconsistencies in the opinions of the white managers in the other companies. The most glaring inconsistencies are in the opinions of the white managers in Ace Public Utility and Triple C Bank. For example, 47 percent of the white managers in Triple C bank believe being male is helpful

for promotion, but only 7 percent believe being female is harmful.
The former percentage is probably the true representation of the
situation in their firms, while the latter percentage probably
represents only what the managers believe the proper response
should be.

Table 8 by comparing the views of the managers by company
indicates that a strong Affirmative Action Program does modify the
image of the promotable manager in the minds of the managers from
the white male image to a more heterogeneous image.

Table 9 shows the managers' responses to selected items
by their managerial level, age group, and educational level.

From this table it becomes apparent that the younger, lower
level, Black managers feel more than the older, middle level, Black
managers that being Black is harmful for promotion in their firms
and being white is helpful. This is also true with regard to
their responses to the factor Chicano. There also seems to be a
pattern among the younger, more educated, lower and middle level
white managers to believe that being Black is a harmful factor
compared to the older, upper level white managers. These gener-
al attitudes are those which have been seen throughout the previous
chapters.

Notice that only approximately 13 percent of the white
managers of all age groups, managerial levels, and educational
levels believe that being Black is harmful for promotion in their
firms; yet almost 30 percent believe that being white is a helpful
factor. Even though more of the lower level white managers believe

TABLE 9

RESPONSES TO SELECTED FACTORS BY MANAGERIAL LEVEL, AGE GROUP, AND EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

	Managerial Level			Personal Characteristics Age				Education		
	Lower	Middle	Upper	Under 30	30-40	40-50	Over 50	High School	Some College	BA +
Negro –										
Black	57 %	47 %	0 %	73 %	45 %	35 %	0 %	30 %	62 %	54 %
White	11	13	7	17	12	12	7	8	6	15
White +										
Black	70	62	0	76	62	65.	0	30	73	71
White	40	28	24	56	26	28	29	23	27	36
Chicano –										
Black	56	56	0	73	49	35	0	30	62	57
White	22	22	17	33	19	22	16	13	18	26
Asian –										
Black	42	38	0	51	38	24	0	10	46	43
White	7	11	7	11	12	8	7	3	9	12
U.S.A. +										
Black	59	71	0	67	57	71	0	40	70	62
White	44	40	45	61	43	45	37	35	39	46

TABLE 9 (continued)

Personal Characteristics

		Managerial Level			Age				Education		
		Lower	Middle	Upper	Under 30	30-40	40-50	Over 50	High School	Some College	BA +
Male +	Black	77 %	77 %	0 %	80 %	76 %	76 %	0 %	30 %	76 %	85 %
	White	76	54	62	83	61	63	55	50	61	69
Female -	Black	60	65	0	67	58	59	0	40	60	66
	White	48	44	35	61	44	48	26	28	30	57
Under 30 +	Black	39	44	0	42	38	41	0	50	38	40
	White	33	48	59	33	37	50	55	55	49	40
Under 45 +	Black	59	60	0	64	55	65	0	20	70	60
	White	54	65	45	61	61	57	52	60	42	63
Over 45 -	Black	46	47	0	47	47	53	0	60	51	43
	White	57	48	55	61	58	45	55	55	49	52
Jewish -	Black	17	30	0	18	19	29	0	0	24	21
	White	7	8	7	11	7	5	10	5	0	11

that being white is a helpful factor than the middle and upper level white managers, 24 percent of the top managers believe this to be true. The Black and white managers believe that being Asian is not as harmful as being Chicano or Black.

When one looks at the managers' attitudes about their companies' policies toward sex, notice the high percentage—62 percent—of top managers who believe that being male is helpful, while only 35 percent believe being female is harmful.

The differences in the responses of the upper level white managers can be attributed to the fact that they can't help but admit that being male is helpful to an individual's promotional opportunities because there are no females, or very few, in the upper level of management, but many will not admit that being female is harmful because of the laws forbidding sexual discrimination.

One final important fact is that the middle level, older, Black managers who have college educations believe that being Jewish is more of a harmful factor for promotion than any of the other managerial groups. This might be due to the fact that the older Black managers can remember times when many Blacks and Jews were suffering under even more extreme discrimination.

Summary and Conclusions

This chapter supports many of the positions in the previous chapters. It also shows that even though changes have occurred in the image of the promotable manager in corporations during the

past ten years, these changes have not been great.

Most of the Black and white managers believe the three ability factors--college education, technical knowledge of the specific job to be done, and MBA--are essential both in principle and in practice for promotions; however, many of the Black and white managers believe factors such as race, sex, age, and national origin in fact play crucial roles in the promotional opportunities of managers. In essence the managers are saying that a college education and technical knowledge of the specific job to be done are important provided the manager is a white male, under 45, who was born in the U.S.A.

The consequences of this image for business means that as long as substantial majorities of the managers believe that the promotable person is a young, white, college educated, Protestant, male, he will be the one who will receive the special training and promotional considerations. Thus a strong Affirmative Action Program for minorities and women will be needed to assure them equality of opportunity.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MANAGERS' ASPIRATIONS, WORK ENVIRONMENT,

AND JOB SATISFACTION

Introduction

This chapter discusses: (1) the managers' views of their

progress in their companies and their goals and aspirations; (2)

things which bother them in their work, such as being unclear

about the scope and responsibility of their jobs, not being able

to satisfy conflicting demands of various people over them, and

having to do things on the job which are against their better

judgment; and (3) the managers' satisfaction with their work

group, type of work, salary, and company in general.

Many studies in sociology and psychology have discussed

the functions of work and the crucial role it plays in individuals'

lives. For example, a recent study conducted for the Department

of Health, Education, and Welfare noted that work is at the center

of most adults' lives, giving them a sense of identity, self-

esteem, and order:

> . . . Work offers economic self-sufficiency, status,
> family stability, and an opportunity to interact
> with others in one of the most basic activities of
> society. Consequently, if the opportunity to work
> is absent or if the nature of work is dissatisfying
> (or worse), severe repercussions are likely to be

experienced in other parts of the social
system.[1]

Sayles and Strauss saw three primary social needs an
individual tries to fulfill in the work situation: (1) friend-
ship, (2) feeling of identification with informal work groups,
and (3) helping others and being helped by others. They also
saw social needs being fulfilled by the subordinate-superior
relationship:

> Another set of social needs develops out of the
> subordinate's relationship to his supervisor.
> Naturally the subordinate wants to be treated
> fairly: He wants a fair hearing when he thinks
> his supervisor has made a wrong decision, and
> he wants the right to appeal over the supervisor's
> head. Most people like praise when they do some-
> thing well . . . . The average worker also ex-
> pects acceptance from his supervisor--that is,
> understanding and consideration when he makes
> a mistake. Finally, he wants to know where
> he stands.[2]

Work fulfills not only social but egoistic needs of which
the most important is fulfillment in terms of accomplishment via
importance of work, rate of progress, completion and productive-
ness. Jobs considered to be of high prestige offer more satis-
faction than low status jobs.

Accomplishment in terms of progress and completion means
that people like to measure their progress and be told and/or
know about the satisfactory or unsatisfactory progress of their

---

[1]Work in America, Report of a Special Task Force to the
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare (Cambridge, Mass.,
1973), p. 1.

[2]Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, Human Behavior in
Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1960), p. 10.

assignment and to see their assignments completed. This leads

to the needs of people to feel that they are productive, i.e.,

that they are turning out work which is useful.

Robert Blauner who has developed a theory of job aliena-

tion noted: (1) jobs which do not allow the employees to con-

trol their immediate work environment result in a sense of power-

lessness; (2) jobs which do not allow for development of relation-

ships between individual acts and the "broader life program" fail

to create situations in which the individual role is seen "as

fitting into the total system of goals of the organization"--a

sense of meaninglessness results; and (3) jobs which are boring,

monotonous and as a result do not provide the opportunities for

personal self-growth, i.e., when jobs become means rather than

fulfilling ends, employees develop a feeling of self-estrangement.

Likewise jobs where employees are excluded from numerous informal

work groups give employees a feeling of social isolation. All

this leads in turn to alienation.[3] In his words:

> Alienation exists when workers are unable to
> control their immediate work processes, to develop
> a sense of purpose and function which connects
> their jobs to the over-all organization of produc-
> tion, to belong to integrated industrial communi-
> ties, and when they fail to become involved in
> the activity of work as a mode of personal self-
> expression.[4]

Wilensky and Lebeaux noted other types of behaviors

besides alienation which could result in a non-productive work

---

[3]Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom (Chicago, 1964),
pp. 15-34.

[4]Ibid., p. 15.

environment (although they are talking about factor workers,

their statements can be applied to all employees of corporations):

> . . . Small wonder that investigators report
> sharp disaffection and class-conscious political
> attitudes among some factory workers--the feeling
> that work is oppressive and meaningless; that
> "success" is a matter of luck, pull, having the
> right connections . . . .
>
> While there is little evidence on this point,
> it seems possible that the frustrations of the
> work routine on the assembly line place a heavy
> hand on the worker's off-the-job thought and
> feeling, that the deadening rhythms of the fac-
> tory tend to be repeated in his leisure time.
> Lacking satisfaction on the job, he may seek
> synthetic substitutes in passive consumption
> of the standardized products of "mass culture"
> off the job. If this passive exposure to TV,
> film, comics, and sports arena itself offers
> insufficient release of tension, it may help
> to explain the explosiveness of life in a
> factory city like Detroit--the race riots and
> bar brawls, the passionate hostility to manage-
> ment shown in work-place and union meeting . . . .[5]

Addressing the concept of participation, John R. P.

French, Jr., and Robert D. Caplan noted:

> Participation refers to the extent to which a
> person has influence on decision processes of
> the organization. To the extent that people's
> knowledge, opinions, and wishes are excluded
> from such decision processes, we say that they
> have low participation . . . .
>
> Early experimental research has shown that lack
> of opportunities to participate in such decisions
> can create strain in the person and even adversely
> affect productivity . . . .
>
> Our study of forty-four such organizations re-
> vealed that high participation was associated
> with high satisfaction with the job and the
> organization, high self-esteem, low alienation,
> high commitment to work and to the organization,

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[5]Wilensky and Lebeaux, pp. 111 and 61.

more innovation for better ways of doing the job, doing more extra work, reading more books and magazines related to work, a higher performance evaluation by one's manager, and lower absenteeism.[6]

In conclusion, the main reason for including sections on the managers' views of their working environment and their job satisfaction is to see how Black and white managers differ in their views. This will be helpful to firms who want to improve their Affirmative Action Programs. No company will have a successful Affirmative Action Program if their Black managers believe they are limited in interacting in their firms, believe they are being rejected, believe they will not be able to satisfy their needs, goals, and aspirations, believe their work environment is unsatisfactory, and believe their overall work experience is unsatisfactory. Those Black managers who feel this way will not readily identify with the company and will not perform to the fullest extent of their capabilities.

The Managers' Attitudes about Their Past Progress in Their Companies

This section will deal primarily with the managers' attitudes about their progress in their companies. Considering that the majority of the Black managers have pessimistic attitudes about the opportunities that exist in their firms and in the corporate world in general, one would expect dissatisfaction on the part of a majority of the Black managers with their past progress.

[6]R. D. Caplan and John R. P. French, Jr., "Organizational Stress and Industrial Strain," in Alfred J. Morrow, ed., The Failure of Success (New York, 1972), pp. 49-50.

This is not the case. When the managers were asked the question:
Have you progressed as rapidly as you think you should in this
company?, two-thirds of the Black managers and four-fifths of
the white managers answered affirmatively. The Black and white
female managers are more dissatisfied with their progress than
the males are, as Table 1 shows.

TABLE 1

HAVE THE MANAGERS PROGRESSED AS RAPIDLY
AS THEY THINK THEY SHOULD?

Response	Black Males (N=93)	Black Females (N=23)	White Males (N=133)	White Females (N=23)
Yes	69 %	52 %	82 %	74 %
No	29	48	18	26
Other	2	0	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100

Approximately 42 percent of the Black managers are not
satisfied with their progress or feel that they are not really
certain because of their short periods of employment with their
firms. The Black managers with more than four years of service
are more likely to be dissatisfied with their progress than those
with four or less years of service. For example, 72 percent of
those with four or less years of service, compared to 60 percent
of those with more than four years of service, are satisfied with
their progress. Furthermore, only 45 percent of those with more

than eight years of service expressed satisfaction with their progress. There were no observable differences among white managers with various lengths of service.

The reasons the managers are satisfied with their progress in their companies are listed in Table 2.

Some of the individual comments of the Black managers which follow will show that the short time most of the Black managers have been with their firms is a major factor in explaining why 66 percent of them have been satisfied with their past progress.

For example, a Black middle level manager from Cousins Manufacturing who has been with his firm for three years: "In the time I have been here I have received four promotions and related salary increases." However, he rated his chances of achieving upper management as poor because of the "ultra-conservative" racist attitudes which exist in his firm.

A middle level Black manager who has been with the same company only nine months: "In terms of entry level positions I am satisfied--the future is unknown."

A Black lower level manager from Aunts Manufacturing, although satisfied with his progress, believes that he could handle more responsibilities: "I have only been with the company for three years. I think I am more than capable of handling a larger job, but I have progressed as rapidly as I should have. I set goals and I'm on the way to reaching them."

TABLE 2

REASONS THE MANAGERS ARE SATISFIED
WITH THEIR PROGRESS

Reasons	Black Managers (N=76)	White Managers (N=126)
Short period of time with the firm and has achieved the position faster than most people.	28 %	8 %
Goals and aspirations are being achieved either on schedule or faster than was anticipated.	20	25
Company has fair promotional opportunities; therefore, has progressed as rapidly as most people.	15	22
Can't really say because of the short period of time with the firm, but seems to be progressing all right thus far.	11	0
Has progressed faster than most people.	6	13
Limited amount of education but has progressed.	5	11
Limited amount of experience but has progressed; has progressed according to capabilities; abilities are being fulfilled.	5	16
At first did not, but now is progressing.	1	4
Other	9	1
Total	100	100

Finally, a Black who made middle management in Ace Public

Utility after two and one-half years under the high risk-high reward

program said, "I came in under the MAP program. After I had been

in it for one year I was evaluated as being able to assume a dis-

trict level position in five years. I have been advanced quite

rapidly--I reached district level in two and one-half years."

Table 3 lists the reasons the Black and white managers are

not satisfied with their progress.

Some of the individual statements of the managers will

give insights about their dissatisfaction.

A white middle level manager from Deuce Public Utility,

who has been with his firm twenty-four years: "I have been here

twenty-four years and I have the ability to do the top job in my

department. It is open now and has not been filled--I believe I

should be promoted into the job since I have the ability and sen-

iority, but maybe I am not political enough."

A white female manager from Triple C Bank, who only had

a high school degree but has taken numerous banking courses for a

total of six of her twenty years at the bank: "I have been with

the company twenty years and have taken many courses. I have been

held back because I am a woman. I even took a managers' training

program six years ago."

A white middle level manager from Ajax Manufacturing gave

these reasons for not being satisfied with his progress: "Up until

two years ago I developed as rapidly as possible, but because of

the turnover in our staff I have fallen into bad graces with the

TABLE 3

REASONS THE MANAGERS ARE NOT SATISFIED
WITH THEIR PROGRESS

Reasons	Black Managers (N=38)	White Managers (N=30)
Progress hindered due to race.	57 %	3 %
Has experience and qualifications, but others with less experience and qualifications have been promoted over respondent.	18	10
Not given a chance to prove ability or fulfill potential	15	17
At first did not, but now is progressing.	5	7
Lacks political influence.	5	7
Not willing to move from the area.	3	7
Lack of education.	3	10
Progress hindered due to sex, i.e., being a female.	0	13
Superiors have held respondent back.	0	10
Came in under the old promotional system, i.e., began at the lowest level rather than where respondent belonged.	0	7
Other	5	20
Total*	111	121

*The total percentages are over 100 because some managers gave more than one reason for their dissatisfaction with their progress.

Vice-President of Industrial Relations and I didn't get promoted into a couple of the openings that I should have been."

A white middle level manager from Ace Public Utility: "I have been at the same level for the past seventeen years--I wouldn't take a job so it was held against me way back when."

A lower level Black female manager who has been with the same company for fourteen years: "I knew I had the ability but when I came to the company in 1958 they weren't promoting Blacks.

A Black middle level manager with a law degree from the same company tells how a supervisor can either help or hinder your progress: "My first boss indicated that I would be where I am now one year ago. When I changed bosses I got a racist boss who held me back."

A Black middle level manager in Aunts Manufacturing who only makes $14,500 even though he has an engineering degree, an MBA, and five years of work experience, said: "For my experience and background I am not being promoted fast enough. They say that I'm too young. The real reason that I'm not getting any promotions is because I'm Black and the company is afraid of employee and customer reaction."

In general, these statements by the Black managers indicate either that they have been with their firms for long periods of time and feel they have not progressed because of racial dis- crimination or that they have been with their firms short periods of time but do not believe they have been placed in positions which reflect their qualifications. In addition, the previous

responses show that, in general, the few white managers who are

dissatisfied with their progress believe politics has played

a role.

In sum: while the vast majority of both Black and white

managers are satisfied with their progress, there are some in-

dications that the Black managers will become more dissatisfied

as their length of service increases.

The Managers' Attitudes about Selecting New Jobs, Their Future Progress in Their Companies, and Their Goals

This section will discuss the managers' views about

important factors in their selecting a job, their future progress,

their goals, and how compatible they think their goals are with the

progress they foresee for themselves.

A. Important and unimportant factors in selecting a new job

The recent HEW study on work listed eight factors workers

believe are most important with regard to their jobs. The study

said:

> This unique and monumental study, to which we often
> refer in this report, is based on a representative
> sample of 1,533 American workers at all occupational
> levels. When these workers were asked how important
> they regarded some 25 aspects of work, they ranked
> in order of importance:
>
> 1. Interesting work
> 2. Enough help and equipment to get the job
>   done
> 3. Enough information to get the job done
> 4. Enough authority to get the job done
> 5. Good pay

6. Opportunity to develop special abilities
7. Job security
8. Seeing the results of one's work.[7]

The managers' responses to the next three questions,
especially the white managers', generally support the findings
of the Labor Department study. One question the managers were
asked was: Just supposing you were going to choose a new job,
which one of these things would be most important to you?

High Income
No Danger of Being Fired; Security
Lots of Free Time
Chances for Advancement
The Work is Important and Gives a Sense of
    Accomplishment
The Work is Interesting
The Work Gives Lots of Chances to Meet People
Other

Fifty percent of the Black managers and 73 percent of the
white managers selected, as being the most important, either the
work is important and gives a sense of accomplishment, or the
work is interesting. The Black females are closer to the white
managers in their responses than the Black males. For example,
65 percent of the Black females, compared to 46 percent of the
Black males, selected either the work is important and gives a
sense of accomplishment, or the work is interesting. Another dif-
ference which occurs between the Black males and females is that
three times the percentage of Black males than females selected
chances of advancement as the most important factor--26 percent
of the Black males and 9 percent of the Black females. The
Black males and females are quite similar with regard to the

_____

[7]Work in America, p. 13.

importance they place on salary--22 percent of the Black males
and 19 percent of the Black females selected salary as the most
important factor.

The white males' and females' selections of the most
important factors when choosing another job are quite similar.

When age is used as the control variable, 94 percent of
the white managers 30 or younger selected as most important the
interest and importance of their work, while only 41 percent of
the Black managers 30 and younger selected these factors. Only
cne white manager 30 and younger selected income, compared to 24
percent of the Black managers. Sixteen percent of the Black man-
agers in this age group selected advancement and none of the white
managers. Similar differences but less severe are noticed among
the 30-40 age group and even less in the over 40 age group.

The managers' selections of the most important factor
when choosing a new job supports the proposition put forth in the
introduction to this chapter that many employees need to feel that
their work is important, gives a sense of accomplishment, and is
interesting.

The 23 percent difference between the percent of Black
managers and white managers who selected the work is important
and interesting can probably be attributed to the fact that most
of the white managers in this study are in secure, well-paying,
middle and upper level management positions, while most of the
Black managers are in low-paying, low level management positions;
therefore, the white managers are more concerned with more aesthetic

needs and the Black managers are more interested in practical
needs such as money and chances for advancement.

Another reason the white managers select the importance
of work and the sense of accomplishment more than the Black man-
agers is that many of the white managers might be assuming that
salary increases and chances for advancement will be a part of
any job they have, while the Black managers cannot make such
assumptions.

Table 4 shows which of these factors the managers believe
would be most important if they were looking for another job.

When the managers were asked to indicate which of the
remaining things would be second in importance and of least im-
portance, the differences between the responses of the Black and
white managers become increasingly smaller.[8]

B. Goals and aspirations

Not only do the Black managers consider advancement and
salary more important than the white managers, but they also
want to advance faster and reach the same levels of management
as those to which the white managers aspire, if not higher levels.

Chart 1 shows the differences between the expected and
desired times for promotion. This chart clearly indicates substan-
tial differences between the Black and white managers' expected
and desired times for their next promotions. For example, 43

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[8]See Appendix B, p. 555, for the frequency distribu-
tion of the managers' responses to these two questions.

TABLE 4

WHICH FACTOR WOULD BE THE MOST IMPORTANT
WHEN SELECTING A NEW JOB

Factors	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
The Work is Important and Gives a Sense of Accomplishment	42 %	60 %
Chances for Advancement	22	8
High Income	20	12
The Work is Interesting	8	13
No Danger of Being Fired; Security	3	2
The Work Gives Lots of Chances to Meet People	1	2
Lots of Free Time	1	1
Other	3	2
Total	100	100

$p \leq .05$

percent of the Black and 28 percent of the white managers want

to be advanced immediately, while no Black managers and only one

white manager believe they will be advanced immediately.   Also

72 percent of the Black and 48 percent of the white managers want

to be promoted within at least one year, but only 35 percent of

the Black and 23 percent of the white managers believe they ac-

tually will be advanced within the next year.

In general, the younger lower level Black and white mana-

gers want to be promoted sooner than the older middle and upper

level managers.

CHART I

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EXPECTED AND DESIRED TIMES FOR PROMOTION

Desire Black Man

Desire White

Expectation Black Man

Expectation White Man

71.5

70

60

50

40

30

20

10

0

6m   12m   18m   24m
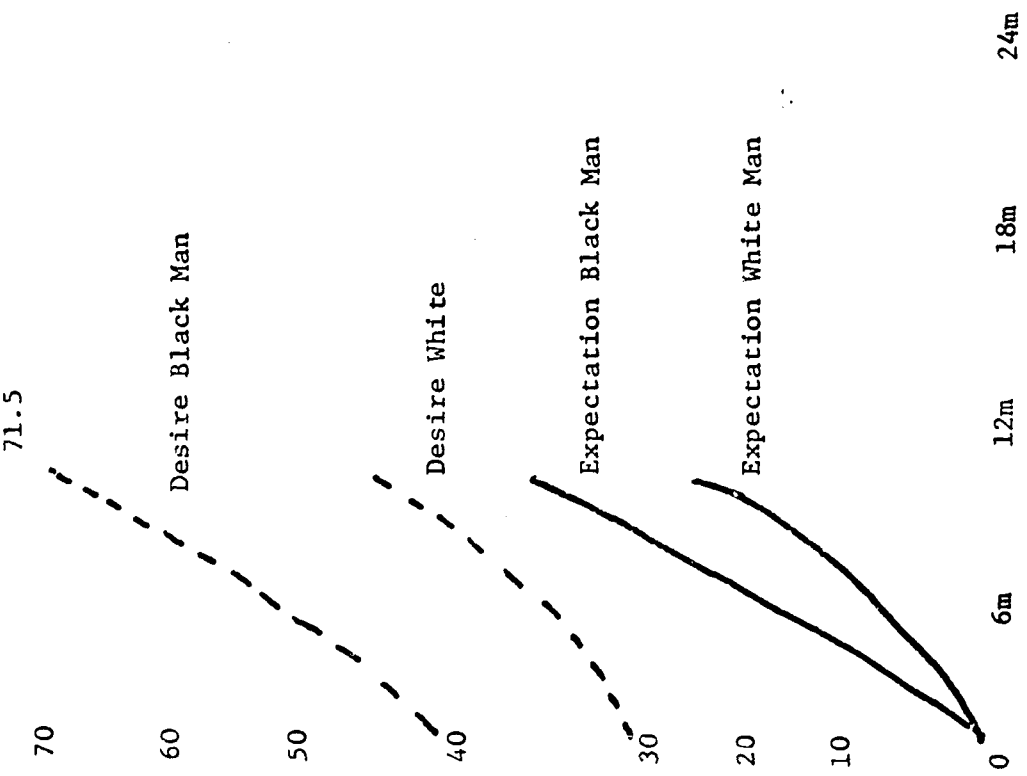
Time to Promotion

As Table 5 shows, the level of management the Black and white managers would like to achieve is quite similar.

TABLE 5

LEVEL OF MANAGEMENT THE MANAGERS
WOULD LIKE TO ACHIEVE

Level	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	White[*] Managers (N=156)
Lower Level[**]	2 %	6 %	9 %
Middle Level[9]	29	22	26
Upper Level	53	52	58
President	14	7	7
Stay at Present Level	2	13	0
Total	100	100	100

[*]This column includes the percentage of white managers who want to remain at their present levels.

[**]Even though all participants in this study were at least at lower level management, those who selected this level as their goal did so because they still have a number of steps within this level to which they could advance.

To this point, it has been shown that the Black managers

(1) place much more emphasis on high income and chances for

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[9]There is a realistic attitude on the part of the less-educated Black managers with regard to their goals and aspirations in white corporations at this time. They realize that for Blacks to make upper management positions they must be super-qualified. They also realize that firms are placing greater emphasis on their managers' possessing college degrees. These factors explain why twenty-four of the twenty-nine Black managers who do not have bachelors degrees only want to achieve middle management positions and it also explains why 52 percent of the Black females, all of whom do not have college degrees, selected the middle level of management.

advancement than white managers, (2) would like to be promoted
sooner than white managers, and (3) would like to achieve slightly
higher positions than white managers. Thus, contrary to many of
the white managers' stereotype beliefs, the Black managers are
ambitious and in fact somewhat more ambitious than the white
managers in this study.

It is important to look in more detail at possible reasons
why the goals and aspirations of the managers are only slightly
different or, if anything, why the Black managers are more ambi-
tious, considering the fact that more than 60 percent of the
Black managers come from working class backgrounds and more than
60 percent of the white managers come from middle and upper class
backgrounds.

As was pointed out in Chapter II, many studies[10] have
shown that middle class people have higher occupational aspira-
tions than lower class people primarily because of more counsel-
ing and encouragement from parents. While this explanation applies
to the white managers, it does not seem to pertain to the Black
managers' situation.

When the managers' aspirations are correlated with the
mothers' and fathers' educational achievement and fathers'

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[10]Harry J. Crochett, Jr., "Psychological Origins of
Mobility," in Neil J. Smelser and Seymour M. Lipset, eds.,
Social Structure and Mobility in Economic Development (Chicago,
1966), pp. 280-309. Eli Ginzberg, et al., Occupational Choice
(New York, 1951), p. 78. Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhart Bendix,
Social Mobility in an Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los
Angeles, 1958).

occupational achievement, it is found that those white managers
whose fathers and/or mothers were highly educated and those white
managers whose fathers were in high professional and/or manager-
ial positions have higher aspirations than those managers whose
parents did not possess these characteristics. For example, 84
percent of those white managers whose fathers had at least bach-
elors degrees, compared to 57 percent of those whose fathers had
only a high school diploma or less aspire to be or already are
upper level managers.

With regard to the Black managers this trend is not as
clear as it is for the white managers. Sixty-five percent of
the Black managers whose fathers had only a high school diploma
or less and 68 percent whose fathers had at least bachelors
degrees aspire to become upper level managers.

The primary reason that Blacks from the lower class have
similar aspirations to those from the middle class is that even
though their parents were not from the middle class, their parents
have expected them to get an education, work hard, and make some-
thing of themselves. Goodwin found support for this contention
when he noted that poor people hold just as strong work ethics
as the middle class. He also noted that poor Black children whose
families were on welfare had a much more positive work ethic at-
titude than white middle class children.[11]

Another possible influence on the Black managers' goals
and aspirations is how far they perceive Blacks can go in their

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[11]Goodwin, passim.

companies. It is quite probable that if Black managers believe

the highest a Black can go in their companies is the middle level

of management, they might at first want to become members of the

upper level of management but after a time they might either revise

their goals downward because they believe it is impossible to

achieve upper management or they might leave their companies.

As Wilensky and Lebeaux said:

> Thwarted mobility aspirations may lead to quite
> different adjustments, however. Chinoy . . .
> reports the reactions of a group of auto workers
> (mostly Census "semi-skilled") to the disparity
> between the promises of the American Creed and the
> realities of their own experience. He suggests
> that these workers have redefined "getting ahead":
> they scale down their ambitions to small goals
> obtainable in the shop; they include security and
> material possessions in the concept of "getting
> ahead" . . . .[12]

In analyzing how far up the occupational ladder the Black

managers believe a Black can go in their companies and the desired

positions the Black managers want to achieve, 63 percent of those

Black managers who will remain with their firms desire to achieve

positions in the upper level of management. More than half of

them believe a Black can make it to at least upper management

positions; of the 35 percent who desire to achieve positions

up to the middle level of management, only one-quarter believe

Blacks can make it to upper managerial levels. From these fig-

ures it seems that some Black managers might base their goals

and aspirations at least in part on their impressions of how

far a Plack can go in their companies. Twenty-one of the

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[12]Wilensky and Lebeaux, p. 111.

twenty-four Black managers who said they might leave their firms[13]

believe a Black can only go to middle management and nineteen of

them want to achieve at least upper management positions. This

suggests that many Black managers, especially if they are edu-

cated and have high ambitions, will leave their firms if they

believe there is a barrier at some low level of management over

which they cannot cross.

C. Major obstacles

Many of the Black and white managers believe there are

major obstacles preventing them from achieving their desired

goals--56 percent and 47 percent, respectively.

There are no large differences between those managers

who believe there are obstacles and those managers who do not

when the positions the managers eventually would like to achieve

are correlated with whether they believe there are major obstacles

preventing them from achieving their positions.

Many of those Black managers who indicated that there are

not any major obstacles believe this because they believe in them-

selves and their abilities. For example, one Black lower level

female manager from Triple C Bank rated her chances of obtaining

an upper middle management position as good and does not feel

there are any major obstacles in the way of her obtaining this

position on the basis of her experience and qualifications, but

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[13]Twenty-one percent of the most educated, generally
younger Black managers who are the most ambitious indicated
that they intend to leave their firms.

she said that "other things might hinder my progress." The most probable "other thing" hindering her position is discrimination. She along with 65 percent of the Black managers in this study wants to achieve upper management positions, but only 33 percent believe that their firms will allow qualified Blacks to reach upper management.

Table 6 lists the obstacles the managers believe are hindering their chances for advancement.

Some interesting comments with regard to what the managers believe are the major obstacles hindering their progress follow:

A Black lower level female manager from Ace Public Utility who rated her chances as fair for reaching middle management: "I lack a college degree. If you asked me three months ago I would have said that being Black and a female would go against you; however, now they go for you."

A white lower level manager from the same company rated his chances of reaching upper management as fair and believes the major obstacles is his company's new emphasis on promoting women: "A numbers game is being played with regard to the employment of women since in the past they have been discriminated against. It will probably just be 'window-dressing'--a little more than tokenism. They will probably put a woman where I would be promoted to."

A white middle level manager from Triple C Bank wh wanted to become an upper middle level manager rated his chances of

TABLE 6

MAJOR OBSTACLES THE MANAGERS BELIEVE ARE
HINDERING THEIR CHANCES FOR ADVANCEMENT

Major Obstacles	Black Managers (N=65)	White Managers (N=73)
Race, i.e., being Black	44 %	0 %
Lack of education	32	36
Great competition; only a few jobs at that level; only a few positions and those holding them are not about to retire	9	12
Sex, i.e., being female	7	4
Lack of seniority	7	1
Lack of specific technical, scientific, or professional skills; not being in the specific area to get the position	6	8
Age, i.e., too old	3	14
Lack of diverse experiences	3	11
Age, i.e., too young	1	3
Lack political influence	0	8
Other	14	21
Total*	126	¨18

*The total percentages are over 100 because some managers
believe there are a number of major obstacles.

getting a position at that level as excellent, but he believes
his lack of a college degree would be a major obstacle to his
achieving that level.

Finally, a Black middle level manager from Cousins Manu-
facturing who rated his chances as poor for reaching upper man-
agement said the major obstacles are "the apathy and ultra-racist
conservatism of private institutions" such as his firm. Inciden-
tally, he is satisfied with his progress thus far.

D. Summary and Conclusions of the Managers' Attitudes
    about Selecting New Jobs, Their Future Progress in
    Their Companies and Their Goals

Several important facts were discussed in this section
which have significant implications for the business community.
The first is that many of the Black managers are presently sat-
isfied with their progress primarily because of their short per-
iods of time with their firms.

The second is that the Black managers, as do the white
managers, place a great deal of importance on a job being inter-
esting and the work being important and giving a sense of accomplish-
ment, but many Black managers also place a great deal of emphasis
on salary and chances for advancement, indicating they are more
ambitious than whites.

The third is that overall the Black managers expect and
desire to be promoted sooner than the white managers. The fourth
is the long range goal of 67 percent of them to become members of
the upper level of management but only 33 percent believe their

firms will allow them to reach upper management. The fifth is
that 21 percent of the Black managers--75 percent of whom are
college educated--plan to leave their firms primarily because
they do not believe their firms are equal opportunity employers.

The important implication these facts have for firms is
that since many firms are not sincerely committed to equal employ-
ment opportunities, it is quite obvious that Black managers, es-
pecially the young college educated Blacks, will soon become dis-
satisfied with their immediate progress and with their companies
in general. These dissatisfied managers will either leave their
firms or become very disenchanted, dissatisfied managers who either
will not be able to perform their jobs properly because of their
dissatisfcation or will purposely not perform their jobs properly
because of their dissatisfaction. It is more likely they would
leave their firms. For example, 92 percent of those managers
leaving their firms answered at least five of the seven questions
about their companies' employment policies toward Blacks negatively,
compared to 55 percent of those who will stay with their firms.

It is clear that no firm will be able to achieve any reason-
able affirmative action goals, if they have a 25 percent turnover
rate of Black managers, especially the highly educated and moti-
vated Blacks. Put another way, while these firms will retain many
average Black managers, as they do whites, they will never be able
to build up a pool of highly talented Black managers from which
they can select Blacks to be promoted to higher managerial positions.

It is also clear that the overall difference between the expected and desired times for advancement can create a serious problem for firms, especially with the more rigorous enforcement of equal employment laws. It was noted in Chapter III that with the present economic slowdown and overstaffing at middle and upper management, many Black and white managers have become disenchanted with their progress. Because the emphasis on affirmative action coincided with the economic slowdown, and the discovery of overstaffing at the middle and upper levels, many white managers are grumbling that they are not being promoted because only Blacks are being promoted and many Blacks who expected to be promoted attribute their lack of promotional opportunities only to continuous racial discrimination in their firms. This situation can lead to direct confrontation, if not dealt with properly.

In concluding, corporations should not place Black managers, or any managers for that matter, in unimportant, uninteresting, low-paying jobs with little chances for advancement because it will lead to dissatisfied managers who will probably leave their firms and/or will become problem employees. As Richard J. Campbell noted for all managers, "mobility is the mark of success for the new breed of manager—if advancement is slow, he/she should and will seek greener pastures."[14]

[14]R. J. Campbell, unpublished article, AT&T, "Attitudes, Expectations, and Career Mobility." See also Robert J. Albrook, "Why It's Harder to Keep Good Executives," Fortune, Nov., 1968, pp. 137-180; Eugene Emerson Jennings, The Mobile Manager (Ann, Arbor, Mich., 1967).

The Managers' Work Environment

Chris Argyris wrote in the introduction to Alfred J.

Morrow's book, The Failure of Success:

> Problems are equally severe at management levels,
> where incompetent organizational structures create
> executive environments lacking in trust, openness,
> and risk taking. The attitudes that flourish best
> in such environments are conformity and defensive-
> ness, which often find expression in an organiza-
> tional tendency to produce detailed information
> for unimportant problems and invalid information
> for important ones. This tendency ensures inef-
> fective problem solving, poor decision making,
> and weak commitment to the decisions made.[15]

In the past twenty years psychologists and sociologists

have stressed the importance of good working relationships,

which are enhanced by the lack of role ambiguity, as important

factors in improving and/or maintaining organizational efficiency.[16]

More explicitly, if on the one hand a manager does not

have a good work relationship[17] with his immediate work group

(subordinates, peers, and superiors), his/her organizational

role will be ambiguous primarily because the lack of trust, support,

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[15]Chris Argyris, "A Few Words in Advance," in Alfred J. Mor-
row, ed., The Failure of Success (New York, 1972), pp. 3-4.

[16]For example, see: Chris Argyris, "T-Groups for Or-
ganizational Effectiveness," Harvard Business Review (March-
April, 1964), 60-74. Rensis Likert, The Human Organization:
Its Management and Value (New York, 1967). Rensis Likert,
New Patterns of Management (New York, 1961). Douglas McGregor,
The Human Side of Enterprise (New York, 1960).

[17]Good working relationships are characterized by high
trust, high supportiveness, and high interest among and between
subordinates, peers, and superiors in solving problems which
confront organizational members.

and interest will lead to a lack of necessary information for the
manager. On the other hand, if a manager is in an ambiguous role
(he/she lacks adequate information about his/her roles, the extent
of his/her responsibilities and information necessary to carry
them out), this ambiguity will lead to poor work relationships
and conflicts which lead to job dissatisfaction.[18] Caplan and
French concluded:

> We have already mentioned a variety of other
> stresses, in addition to that of low participation,
> which are also accompanied by low job satisfaction
> and/or job-related threat. These stresses include
> poor relations with others, role conflict, role
> ambiguity, and quantitative and qualitative over-
> load. Of all the stresses we have considered, low
> participation has the greatest harmful effect on
> job satisfaction and threat. This means that par-
> ticipation is a relatively important determinant
> of psychological well-being.
>
> Since participation is also significantly
> correlated with low role ambiguity, good relations
> with others, and low overload, it is conceivable
> that its effects are widespread, and that all the
> relationships between these other stresses and
> psychological strain can be accounted for in terms
> of how much the person participates. This, in
> fact, appears to be the case. When we control or
> hold constant, through statistical analysis tech-
> niques, the amount of participation a person re-
> ports, then the correlations between all the above
> stresses and job satisfaction and job-related threat
> drop quite noticeably. This suggests that low par-
> ticipation generates these related stresses, and
> that increasing participation is an efficient way
> of reducing many other stresses which also lead to
> psychological strain.[19]

Because of the important role participation plays in the
managers' satisfaction with their jobs, in this section the managers'

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[18]Robert D. Caplan and John R. P. French, "Organization
Stress and Individual Strain," in Morrow, p. 51.

[19]Ibid., p. 51.

responses to questions about their general work environment will be discussed with special emphasis placed on the managers' views of their job responsibilities, their power and authority to make and influence decisions and their relationships with their superiors.

Rather than discuss each question separately, which would be confusing and time-consuming, the managers' responses to each question will be listed, and an overall index of six of the major questions will be analyzed.

The central proposition put forth to the managers was: All of us occasionally feel bothered by certain kinds of things in our work. Listed below are a number of examples of things that sometimes bother people. We would like you to respond to each example in terms of how frequently you feel bothered by each of them. Table 7 shows the managers' responses.

As one can see from the responses, the Black managers are generally bothered more by these things in their work environment than the white managers. This is not surprising, but it is surprising that in view of their extremely negative views of their companies' employment policies towards Blacks and the racial atmosphere which exists in their firms an even higher percentage of Black managers are not bothered by these factors.

In order to obtain a more concise and consistent view of the managers' responses to six of the most important questions regarding factors which bother the managers in their work environment, an index was formed. The six questions which make up the index are:

TABLE 7

WHAT BOTHERS THE MANAGERS IN THEIR WORK ENVIRONMENT

Examples	Never		Rarely		Rather Often		Nearly All the Time	
	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
The possibility of losing your job. p≤.30	53 %	63 %	42 %	34 %	5 %	3 %	0 %	0 %
Not knowing what your superior thinks of you, how he evaluates your performance. p≤.05	31	31	43	54	16	13	10	2
Feeling that you may not be liked and accepted by the people you work with. p≤.01	51	32	42	66	5	2	2	0
Thinking that the amount of work you have to do may interfere with how well it gets done. p≤.05	28	14	41	44	27	38	5	4
The fact that you can't get information needed to carry out your job. p≤.05	31	30	41	53	22	16	5	1

TABLE 7 (continued)

Examples	Never		Rarely		Rather Often		Nearly All the Time	
	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Being unclear on just what the scope and responsibilities of your job are. p≤.02	33 %	30 %	44 %	59 %	20 %	11 %	3 %	1 %
Feeling that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you. p≤.01	28	16	36	68	32	15	4	1
Feeling unable to influence your immediate superior's decisions and actions that affect you. p≤.01	21	11	56	74	17	14	6	1
Feeling that you have to do things on the job that are against your better judgment. p≤.01	22	27	48	62	23	10	6	1
Thinking that you'll not be able to satisfy the conflicting demands of various people over you. p≤.01	34	12	53	68	12	19	2	1

How frequently are you bothered by feeling that you
have too little authority to carry out the respon-
sibilities assigned to you?

How frequently are you bothered by being unclear
on just what the scope and responsibilities of
your job are?

How frequently are you bothered by thinking that
you'll not be able to satisfy the conflicting
demands of various people over you?

How frequently are you bothered by not knowing
what your superior thinks of you, how he eval-
uates your performance?

How frequently are you bothered by feeling un-
able to influence your immediate superior's
decisions and actions that affect you?

How frequently are you bothered by having to
do things on the job that are against your
better judgment?

Tables 8 and 9 show the percentage of managers by race,
sex, and managerial level who answered the questions unfavorably.
A score of one is given for a response of rather often or nearly
all the time and no score is given for a response of never or
rarely.

These two tables show more concisely that overall the
Black managers are bothered by more things in their work en-
vironment than the white managers. Also the female managers
in lower level positions are the most bothered by their work
environment. In analyzing more defined groups, which in some
cases have relatively few numbers in each cell, it is found
that white females in middle and upper management positions,
all of whom are over 30, and Black middle level managers 30

TABLE 8

THE BLACK MANAGERS' OVERALL VIEWS OF
THEIR WORK ENVIRONMENT

Overall Views	Black Males		Black Females	
	Lower (N=60)	Middle (N=33)	Lower (N=22)	Middle (N=1)
Not at all Bothered (0)	38 %	38 %	29 %	0 %
Somewhat Bothered (1-2)	43	36	39	0
Most Bothered (3-6)	19	26	32	100
Total	100	100	100	100

TABLE 9

THE WHITE MANAGERS' OVERALL VIEWS OF
THEIR WORK ENVIRONMENT

Overall Views	White Males			White Females		
	Lower (N=33)	Middle (N=72)	Upper (N=28)	Lower (N=16)	Middle (N=5)	Upper (N=2)
Not at all Bothered (0)	50 %	55 %	58 %	44 %	60 %	100 %
Somewhat Bothered (1-2)	40	39	39	13	40	0
Most Bothered (3-6)	10	6	3	43	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

and younger are least frequently bothered by their work environ-
ment. (All are involved in managing people.)

After the young white and Black females in lower manage-
ment positions, the most bothered group with their work environ-
ment are the older Black middle level managers with four or less
years of service in their present company, all of whom have had
a great deal of experience in outside jobs. Most of them are
involved in staff jobs related to Black consumer markets and/or
employees. The few older white managers in middle management
are not bothered by very much in their work environment.

There are more similarities between the Black and white
lower level managers than there are between the Black and white
middle level managers. It seems that as whites move up the exec-
utive ladder, they are bothered by fewer things in their work en-
vironment, while there is a tendency for Blacks to be more both-
ered as they move up the executive ladder. This is a result of
most Blacks who make it to middle management positions being
placed in non-administrative, non-decision making positions with
little or no responsibility. In contrast, as most whites move up
the ladder, they receive administrative and decision making posi-
tions with more responsibility and authority than they had at
lower management positions.

Several studies have noted that as white managers move up
the occupational hierarchy, their job satisfaction increases.[20]

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[20]See also: G. Gurin, J. Veroff, and S. Feld, _Americans
View Their Mental Health_ (New York, 1960. L. W. Porter, "A Study

For example, Campbell, et al. noted:

> In organizations, managers typically report higher
> general job satisfaction than nonmanagers. In
> fact, taking the labor force as a whole, the only
> group to show consistently higher satisfaction is
> that made up of members of the professions . . . .
> Higher level managers also tend to report more
> satisfaction than lower level managers . . . .[21]

Forty-one percent of the Black managers who intend to

leave their firms are bothered by at least three of the six

situations, compared to 17 percent of the Black managers who

intend to remain with their firms. They also make up eight of

the fourteen or 57 percent of those who are bothered by four or

more of the factors in their work situations. From these fig-

ures it is clear that firms must make the work environment more

agreeable, if they intend to keep their young, educated black

managers.

It is interesting to note that the Black managers who are

bothered by more of the work environment situations are those

Blacks who are in such areas as personnel and urban affairs, fol-

lowed by those in the scientific areas and accounting and com-

puter science areas. The most satisfied Black managers are those

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of Perceived Need Satisfactions in Bottom and Middle Management
Jobs," Journal of Applied Psychology, 45 (1961), 1-10. L. W.
Porter, "Job Attitudes in Management. I. Perceived Deficiencies
in Need Fulfillment as a Function of Job Level," Journal of Applied
Psychology, 46 (1962), 375-384. V. H. Vroom, Work and Motivation
(New York, 1964). V. H. Vroom, Motivation in Management (New
York, 1965).

[21]John P. Campbell, Marvin D. Dunnette, Edward E. Lawler,
and Karl E. Weich, Managerial Behavior, Performance, and Effect-
iveness (New York, 1970), p. 379.

in administrative and banking positions. The Black managers in
the former positions have very little, if any, decision making
power and influence, while the Blacks in the latter areas have
more decision making power and influence because it is inherent
in their positions.

When the responses of the Black and white managers to the
six questions are averaged for each company, some interesting
comparisons become evident. The Black and white managers in
Triple A Bank have, on the average, similar overall feelings
about their work environment. The biggest differences between
the Black and white managers occur in the two companies with the
weakest Affirmative Action Programs, Triple C Bank and Deuce Pub-
lic Utility. In fact the white managers in these companies are
the least bothered with their work environment and the Black man-
agers among the most bothered. The white managers in Ace Public
Utility are the most dissatisfied group of white managers.

The smallest difference between the Black and white man-
agers' responses occurs in Ace Public Utility, a large part of the
managers' being bothered by these situations could be attributed
to the company's characteristics, i.e., there could be an overall
management style which makes both the Black and white managers
feel bothered by their work environment.

A. Summary and Conclusions of the
    Managers' Work Environment

In sum: Approximately one-third of the Black managers,
compared to more than half of the white managers, are completely

satisfied with their work environment. On the negative end of
the scale, i.e., those managers who are most bothered by things
in their work situation, more than double the percent of the
Black managers compared to white managers fit into this category.
The young Black and white females are more bothered by things in
their work environment than the males. There is also a great deal
more dissatisfaction among the older Black middle level managers
than among their white peers. Finally, much more dissatisfaction
exists among the Black lower and middle level managers who have
been with their firms less than four years than those who have
been with their firms for longer periods of time. This creates
a very serious problem for the firms. As was noted before, these
educated Black managers are the ones the firms indicate they are
depending on to fulfill their Affirmative Action Programs. The
consequences of a bothersome work environment, as has been pointed
out before, will make the managers dissatisfied and disgruntled
employees who either will not perform their jobs as best as they
could or will leave their companies. Thus, the firms will never
be able to achieve any affirmative action goals beyond the lower
level of management.

The Managers' Satisfaction with Several
Important Factors

In this section the managers' satisfaction with their
work group, the type of work they are doing, their salaries, and
their companies in general will be discussed.

The questions and responses will be presented in the same
format as the questions and responses in the previous section.
The general proposition was: Please answer the following ques-
tions in terms of how satisfied you are with each. Table 10
lists the questions and responses.

When one considers the Black managers' views of their
companies' employment policies and their satisfaction, it is
surprising that a higher percentage of Blacks are not satisfied
with their work group, the work they do and their company in
general.

There are greater differences between the white and
Black managers on these questions than those questions dealing
with what situations bother them in their work environment. More
than double the percentage of white managers than Black managers
are completely satisfied with their progress, salary, work group,
type of work, and company in general.

Once again it would be helpful to obtain an index consis-
ting of the managers' responses by race, sex and managerial level
to their satisfaction with their progress, work group, type of
work, salary and company in general. Tables 11 and 12 show the
percentage of managers who answered not very satisfied or not
satisfied at all on the five questions, i.e., those managers who
gave the previous answers received a score of one and those who
did not received no score.

In general, both the Black and white females are more
dissatisfied than the males with the previous factors, as was the

TABLE 10

THE MANAGERS' SATISFACTION WITH SELECTED ITEMS

Selected Items	Completely Satisfied		Very Satisfied		Not Very Satisfied		Not at All Satisfied	
	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
With the group you work with.	14 %	13 %	56 %	80 %	0 %	7 %	0 %	0 %
With the type of work you do.	22	33	60	59	17	7	1	1
With your salary.	7	16	35	59	47	23	12	3
With your company in general.	12	24	57	68	26	8	5	0

TABLE 11

THE BLACK MANAGERS' OVERALL SATISFACTION
WITH THEIR JOB SITUATION

| Overall Views | Black Males | | Black Females | |
	Lower (N=60)	Middle (N=33)	Lower (N=22)	Middle (N=1)
Completely Satisfied (0)	23 %	36 %	23 %	0 %
Satisfied (1-2)	45	36	53	0
Not Very Satisfied (3-5)	32	28	24	100
Total	100	100	100	100

TABLE 12

THE WHITE MANAGERS' OVERALL SATISFACTION
WITH THEIR JOB SITUATION

| Overall Views | White Males | | | White Females | | |
	Lower (N=33)	Middle (N=72)	Upper (N=28)	Lower (N=16)	Middle (N=5)	Upper (N=2)
Completely Satisfied (0)	39 %	55 %	93 %	50 %	100 %	50 %
Satisfied (1-2)	45	42	7	31	0	50
Not Very Satisfied (3-5)	16	3	0	19	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

case regarding the questions about their work environment, except the differences between the sexes of the same race are not as large as they are with regard to the work environment. Both the Black males and females were more dissatisfied than their white counterparts.

The most educated white managers are the most satisfied, while the most educated Black managers are the least satisfied. This difference is caused by the fact that the educated white managers can look forward to their education providing them better opportunities than the uneducated white managers on the educated Black managers, while the educated Black man... :s are generally given less opportunities than the uneducated white managers and much less opportunities than the educated white managers.

Those lower and middle level Black managers with four or less years of service make up the highest percentage of dissatisfied Black managers. For example, of the nineteen Black males in lower management who were most dissatisfied, 59 percent have been with their firms less than four years and five of the eight middle level Black male managers who were most dissatisfied have been with their firms less than four years. However, the Black female managers with more than four years of service are the most dissatisfied group of managers. Five of the six Black females who were most dissatisfied have between four and twelve years of service.

With regard to more specifically defined groups, the white lower level female managers 30 and younger are the most

dissatisfied group of managers with the previous five factors
along with the Black middle level managers 30 and younger. While
the former group is also the most dissatisfied with their work
environment, the latter group is one of the most satisfied groups.
The white males in middle management who are 30 and younger are
very satisfied, as are the white female managers in middle and
upper management positions.

Even though older Black middle level managers are more
satisfied with their company, etc., than the Black lower level
managers, they are much more dissatisfied than the older white
middle level managers.

In the previous section on work atmosphere, it was dis-
covered that Triple A Bank has the most satisfied Black managers.
Again, this is true for overall job satisfaction. The second most
satisfied group of Black managers comes from Ace Public Utility.
The most dissatisfied Black managers are in Cousins and Aunts
Manufacturing, the two sister companies. Eighty percent of the
Blacks in these two firms have at least bachelors degrees and
half have advanced degrees. This clearly indicates that the
educated Black managers are the most dissatisfied with the cor-
porate world.

Summary and Conclusions

One of the most important findings in this chapter is that
the Black managers are not as dissatisfied with their work envir-
onment and jobs in terms of progress, type of work, work group,
salary, and company in general, as one might expect from their

negative views about the fairness of their companies' employment
policies. The primary reason most of the Black managers are sat-
isfied with their progress is that many of them have not been with
their firms for long periods of time and have been satisfied with
their progress thus far. The writer noted that dissatisfaction
among Black managers will increase because most of the firms in
this study are not committed to equal employment opportunities.
While 67 percent of the Black managers who intend to remain with
their firms want to achieve at least upper managerial positions,
only 34 percent believe that Blacks can achieve such positions
in their firms due to barriers created by racial discrimination.

Those Black managers who do not intend to remain with their
firms, 21 percent, are generally very well educated and have very
negative views of their companies' employment policies toward
Blacks. They do not believe they will be able to fulfill their
goals and aspirations in their present companies.

With regard to the things that bother managers in their
work environment and their job satisfaction in terms of type of
work, work group, salary, and company in general, the younger,
more educated Black managers are the most dissatisfied. Again
they are the most likely to leave their firms. Overall only 16
percent of the Black managers, compared to 39 percent of the
white managers, are not bothered with things in their work en-
vironment and are completely satisfied with their job and company.

The fact that the younger, more educated Black managers
who have high goals and ambitions, who are bothered by many things

in their work environment, and who are dissatisfied with their

general job situation are most likely to leave their firms supports

Friedlander and Walton's findings based on a study of white mana-

gers. They found that decisions to remain with companies are

based primarily on perceived opportunities for self-development,

personal growth, and challenging assignments.

The younger lower level female managers both Black and

white are generally more dissatisfied with their present overall

work situations. The HEW study noted:

> Much of the work that women currently do outside
> their homes deflates their self-images. The
> majority of the worst white-collar jobs probably
> are held by women: keypunch operators, telephone
> company operators, and clerical workers. Women
> are also over-represented on assembly-lines--the
> worst jobs in the economy. Yet, as the Survey of
> Working Conditions showed, women tend to derive the
> same satisfaction as men do from the intrinsic re-
> wards of work--when they are available. The Survey
> also found, however, that women are nearly twice
> as likely as men to express negative attitudes
> toward their present jobs. The cause of this dis-
> satisfaction seems to lie in the discrepancy be-
> tween women's high expectations about work and
> the actual low social and economic statuses of
> their jobs. Education is another important var-
> iable. A recent study of The Quality of Life
> shows that college educated women are most happy
> if they have jobs, and less happy if they don't
> (presumably because they tend to have more inter-
> esting jobs); married women without college edu-
> cations are not necessarily less happy if they
> don't have jobs (presumably because of the less
> interesting jobs that are available to them).[22]

Finally, there is a negative relationship between the

level of management the Black managers have achieved and their

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[22]Work in America, p. 58.

overall satisfaction with their work environment, while the
contrary is true for the white managers. Campbell noted:

> The results show that middle management men have
> more positive attitudes than lower level managers.
> If only year eight data were available, we might
> conclude that since middle managers generally
> have more responsibility, higher pay, and status
> that this alone accounts for their higher personal
> satisfaction, job satisfaction, etc.[23]

The most important implication of the findings in this
chapter is that none of the firms will be able to build a large
pool of Black managers from which to select those to promote to
higher managerial positions unless they truly begin to be equal
opportunity employers. Those young, educated Black managers
whom many firms will have to depend on to become middle and
upper level managers will not remain with their firms if they
are dissatisfied with their general job situation and believe
their opportunities are limited.

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[23] R. Campbell, p. 10.

CHAPTER IX

MINORITY MANAGERS IN A MAJORITY SETTING

Introduction

This chapter deals with being Black in a virtually all white bureaucracy and the effect that has on the Black managers' relationship with their community.

That corporations can create strong pressures to conform to bureaucratic cultures and the enterprise way of life is plain. That these pressures to conform are often offset by the loyalties and values employees bring to the work place from outside is equally plain.

Wilensky and Ladinsky note that there is a general paradox in modern social order. On the one hand, modern bureaucratic organizations create much occupational specialization and social heterogeneity, but on the other hand, modern bureaucratic organizations draw people away from their race, ethnic, religious and local ties into the national mainstream. In their words:

> In analysis of the shape of the modern social order, the paradox of increasing heterogeneity and increasing homogeneity is prominent. Economic growth everywhere increases occupational and organizational specialization and makes for greater social heterogeneity; separate worlds of workplace and occupational group multiply. At the same time, older sources of diversity--the parochial loyalties of race, religion, ethnicity,

and locality--recede in the face of powerful means of communication and transportation and greatly increased rates of social mobility; Everyman shares in the common culture.

The ways in which modernization affects the hold of religion, ethnicity, race, and locality are little known. We have neither base-line data from which to measure change nor any systematic knowledge of the relative strength of various group ties as they play out in the lives of persons variously located. Yet a central issue in the understanding of modern societies remains-- under what conditions and in what groups and strata do occupational cultures (rooted in common tasks, work schedules, job training, and career patterns) and corporate cultures (rooted in the organizational context of work) overcome other sources of behavior? When does work shape social life more than ethnic-religious cultures (sustained by common descent and early socialization) or class cultures (sustained by common occupational stratum and similar levels of income and education) or "community" and "neighborhood" cultures (sustained by demographic and ecological features of the locality)?[1]

Wilensky and Ladinsky hypothesized:

. . . we would expect successful minority men (Jews and Catholics) who find themselves in majority contexts--occupations and workplaces dominated by established Protestant elites--to epitomize the process of structural assimilation; in their ties to kin, friend and formal association, they should be escaping from the religious community of origin and moving into the occupational or corporate community of destination . . . .[2]

They found substantial evidence of such structural assimilation among lawyers, professors, and engineers in

[1]Harold L. Wilensky and Jack Ladinsky, "From Religious Community to Occupational Group: Structural Assimilation Among Professors, Lawyers, and Engineers," _American Sociological Review_, 32 (August, 1967), 241-242.

[2]_Ibid._, p. 245.

six work settings:

> If our deviant ethnics minority men in a
> majority setting are typical, this (mixing of
> ethnic groups) will not be the social and
> cultural blending of the "melting pot," nor
> the autonomy of "cultural pluralism," but old-
> fashioned Anglo-Conformity, which remains the
> most common form of assimilation, in practice
> if not in ideology. For the new men in higher
> circles, occupation will not merely be a way of
> life; it will be the death of the religious
> community.[3]

Using data on the careers of middle level Canadian civil

servants, the Francophone minority and Anglophone majority, C. F.

Beattie specified and elaborated on the Wilensky-Ladinsky hypo-

theses about the type of manager who is most likely to assimilate

and the conditions which foster this assimilation process. He

found that men in technical tasks are less likely to become

"organizational men" than those in "high-flying creative fields."

He suggested three explanations: First, managers in technical

and supervisory activities can separate their work activities

from their outside social activities, friends, and kin more

easily than managers in administrative, human relations, or

community relations positions. Second, technical work requires

dependable consistent performance; a "pleasing personality" is

not very important. And third, promotions in such technical

areas are "awarded to the few who demonstrate technical proficiency

in a relatively open contest." Thus, he concluded that these

technical jobs allow the Francophones to maintain their ethnic

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[3]Ibid., pp. 558-559.

identity because of the general lack of pressure to conform to the majority Anglophone community.[4]

In addition to these forces inside the "economic sphere," Beattie noted three other factors affecting ethnic identity. First, if minority people are able to live in an ethnic neighborhood, or be geographically close to a large ethnic neighborhood of their origins, it will be easier for them to maintain ties with their own ethnic group, whatever the pressures for conformity to majority ways at work are. Another was that the more negative reactions people receive about their ethnic background, the more likely they will try to assimilate into the majority setting, i.e., the more likely they will try to play down their ethnic origins. The final factor which he believed affects the minority-majority relationship is the role the government plays in enhancing and approving more close relationships.

Because of these four factors shaping majority-minority relations Beattie cautioned social scientists not to generalize Wilensky and Ladinsky's conclusions about the strong assimilation tendencies of Jews and Catholics in Protestant dominated workplaces and apply them to other religious-ethnic groups.

Even though Wilensky and Ladinsky aimed at general propositions about religious minorities, they also made the important observation that structural assimilation of different ethnic

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[4]C. F. Beattie, "Minority Men in a Majority Setting: Middle Level Francophones at Mid-Career in the Anglophone Public Service of Canada" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1970).

and racial groups varies greatly and that because of the unique

situation of Blacks their structural assimilation is problematic.[5]

To grasp the Black managers' situation in a majority setting,

one must begin with the emergence of a new mood in the 1960's.

In the 1960's the Black Power and Black Separatist Movements

gained great momentum. After 100 years of attempting to inte-

grate into white society, with little success, many Blacks de-

cided that integration was not an achievable or even a desirable

goal at the present time or in the near future. Also in the 1960's

some corporations began to make more than token efforts to hire

Blacks for professional and managerial positions.

These two developments of the mid-1960's created a poignant

dilemma for Black people. On the one hand, Blacks were finally ob-

taining a few opportunities to participate in the corporate world;

on the other hand, some Blacks denounced other Blacks for taking

advantage of their new opportunities. Many Black Power advocates

and Separatists believe that Black people working in corporations

are undermining the Black movement's aim of developing viable

Black economic institutions. They say that corporations physically

and psychologically remove Black people from their communities;

as a result the Black communities are deprived of the knowledge,

technical skills and expertise possessed by the Black corporate

officials that are so vitally needed for Black economic development.

The Black managers' dilemma reflects the more general di-

lemma of upwardly mobile marginal men and women everywhere. E. C.

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[5]Wilensky and Ladinsky, pp. 560-561.

Hughes notes that everyone who enters a profession, a corporation,
or even a new position must conform to its norms to some degree.
However, the Black professionals face this dilemma in sharpened
form:

> If he accepts the role of the Negro to the extent
> of appearing content with less than full equality
> and intimacy with his white colleagues, for the
> sake of such security and advantage as can be so
> got, he himself and others may accuse him of sac-
> rificing his race. Given the tendency of whites
> to say that any Negro who rises to a special posi-
> tion is an exception, there is a strong tempta-
> tion for such a Negro to seek advantage by foster-
> ing the idea that he is unlike others of his race.
> The devil who specializes in this temptation is a
> very insinuating fellow; he keeps a mailing list
> of "marginal men" of all kinds and origins. In-
> cidentally, one of the by-products of American
> mores is the heavy moral burden which this tempta-
> tion puts upon the host of Americans who have by
> great effort risen from (sic) groups which are
> the objects of prejudice.[6]

In this study, a white middle level manager expressed concern
of many other white managers about Black managers' relationships to
their communities. He sees a conflict between their community loy-
alties and their business loyalties: "They demonstrate a humanis-
tic outlook--they are keenly aware of the plight of their subor-
dinates. There seems to be a conflict between the Black managers'
relationship to their communities and their loyalties to their
companies which could take away from their overall effectiveness."

Like Beattie, Alvin F. Poussaint, a well-known Black psy-
chiatrist, observed that if an ethnic group is looked down upon,

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[6]E. C. Hughes, _Men and Their Work_ (New York, 1958),
p. 113.

the members are more likely to attempt to assimilate into the

majority setting:

> Most psychiatrists and psychologists would agree
> that the Negro American suffers from a marred self-
> image, of varying degree, which critically affects
> his entire psychological be'ng. It is also a well-
> documented fact that this negative self-concept
> leads to self-destructive attitudes and behavior
> that hinder the Negro's struggle toward full equal-
> ity in American life. Civil rights leaders have
> long been aware of the need to build a positive
> sense of identity in the Negro masses . . .
>
> Not only have Black men been taught that
> Blackness is evil and Negroes "no-good," they
> have, in addition, been continually brainwashed
> that only "white is right." It was the light-
> skinned Negroes with straight hair who were al-
> lowed to elevate themselves in America. Of course,
> the white people suggested, and Negroes came to be-
> lieve, that such Negroes were better because they
> had much "white blood." And there are still cliques
> of light-skinned Negroes in our communities who re-
> ject their darker brothers. Black men were taught
> to despise their kinky hair, broad nose, and thick
> lips. Our "black" magazines pushed the straighten-
> ing of hair and bleaching cream as major weapons
> in the Negro's fight for social acceptability and
> psychological comfort.[7]

Because of the natural conforming forces of bureaucracies

and the psychological oppression Blacks have lived under in this

country, many people, Black and white, believe that Blacks who

become members of the corporate world will leave the Black com-

munities and attempt to assimilate completely into the dominant

white culture.

But this idea applies to only a small fraction of Black

managers. There are several reasons for this position. First,

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[7]Alvin F. Poussaint, "The Negro American: His Self-Image
and Integration," in Floyd B. Barbour, ed., The Black Power Re-
volt (Boston, 1968), pp. 94, 96.

Blacks can never assimilate completely into white society be-
cause white society will never allow Blacks to forget that they
are Black first and American citizens second. Racial minorities
are different from ethnic-religious minorities: religious affil-
iation and ethnic origin can, in most cases, be easily hidden,
but an individual's color cannot. Second, discrimination against
Blacks is caused not only by visibility, but by the legacy of
slavery. Blacks are not new arrivals in this country. The his-
tory of racism is 400 years old, not 40 or 50 years old, and more
importantly is dominated by the institution of slavery. This his-
tory has brought about psychological problems in Black-white re-
lationships which are deeper and more serious than psychological
problems between white ethnic groups. Third, especially in the
past 30 years and despite centuries of physical and psychological
oppression, most Blacks have developed very positive views of
their Blackness and a sense of commitment to other Black people.
They realize that as long as any of their Black brothers and sis-
ters are oppressed they too will be oppressed. Moreover, the vast
majority of the Black managers are generally in jobs which deal
with the Black community and/or Black employees; therefore, those
Black managers who may wish to assimilate completely into white
society can never do so because if their white brothers and sis-
ters allow them to fool themselves, which is unlikely consider-
ing the white managers' racial attitudes and the racial atmosphere
in their companies, the Black community and other Black workers
will not allow them to forget their origins.

Black managers generally work in corporations which are located in cities with large Black populations. Equally important, they live in either all Black areas or, typically, in integrated neighborhoods with large Black populations; therefore, as Beattie noted, they are more likely not to assimilate. Finally, the federal government does not seem to be fostering Black assimilation into white society, especially with regard to residential desegregation. For these reasons one cannot expect Blacks to repeat the cycle of social mobility and assimilation which other ethnic groups have followed.

The following pages will present substantial data which will support the position that while there are some integrationist tendencies among many Black managers, only a very small number seem to desire to integrate and assimilate completely into white society. A review of some supportive evidence which was presented in Chapters II, V, and VI will be helpful.

In Chapter II it was noted that 91 percent of the Black managers live in neighborhoods where other Blacks live. More specifically, only 25 percent of the Black managers live in neighborhoods where Blacks make up only 10 percent or less. On the other hand, 66 percent of the Black managers live in areas where Blacks make up 46 percent or more of the neighborhood.

The responses when categorized into managerial, educational, and age levels, and length of service are quite similar. In other words, there is no apparent trend which suggests that the older, college educated, Black middle level managers who make higher

salaries and who have been with their firms for long periods of time are further removed from the Black community than the younger, less educated, Black lower level managers who have been with their firms for only a short time. It should be pointed out that most of the Black managers who live in areas with few or no Black neighbors do so primarily because they live in neighborhoods located close to their jobs.

In Chapter II it was also pointed out that the younger, lower level Black managers are more likely to belong to all-Black organizations than the older, middle level Black managers. In addition, Black females belong to more racially homogeneous groups than Black males.

Fifty-five percent of the Black managers have very or fairly frequent contact with Blacks at social functions not related to work and only 13 percent have no contact with whites at social functions not related to work. Again, the younger, lower level Black managers, especially the females, have the least amount of social contact with whites outside of work.

With regard to overall contact with whites, a Black female who is a lower level manager, who does not have a college degree, and who is 30 years or younger will have less contact with whites than a Black male who is a middle level manager, who has a college degree and who is over 30.

When marriage was discussed in Chapter II, it was pointed out that up until the late 1960's there was very little opposition to interracial marriages in the Black community; however,

in the past six to eight years many Blacks, especially the young

and women, have voiced strong opposition to interracial marriages

generally on the grounds that any Black who marries a white is

psychologically oppressed and brainwashed by white America. In

this study, 74 percent of the Black females, compared to only

27 percent of the Black males, could hardly imagine themselves

marrying a white person--a striking difference. In addition,

50 percent more of the Black managers 30 or younger than those

over 30 could hardly imagine themselves marrying a white person.[8]

Chapter II also noted that Black managers who have very

frequent contact with whites, especially at social activities,

are more likely to feel that they could imagine themselves marry-

ing a white person than those who have fairly frequent, not very

frequent, or no contact at all with whites. Approximately 55 per-

cent of the managers in the latter three categories and 89 percent

of the managers in the first category could imagine themselves

marrying a white person.[9] Considering the fact that only one of

the Black managers is married to a white person, it is obvious

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[8]One should remember that the managers' overall attitudes
about interracial marriages are quite similar to those found in
the Gallup Survey (see Chapter II).

[9]Several additional comments on the Black managers' views
about marrying whites follow:
Black male managers from working class backgrounds are
less likely to feel they could marry a white woman than Black males
from middle class backgrounds; however, the Black females from all
classes hold similar views.
Black managers, males and females, from the South are far
more likely to say they could marry a white person than those from
other parts of the country.

that the Black managers are not attempting to assimilate into white society through matrimony. What this does indicate is that they can imagine themselves marrying anyone to whom they are attracted—that color is unimportant.

This same reasoning—that the Black managers are not opposed to associating with whites simply because they are white—is the most valid explanation for the fact that the majority of the Black managers have very or fairly frequent social contact with whites outside of work and many belong to integrated social and political groups.

In Chapter VII the Black managers' responses to two questions gave some indication of their degree of assimilation into white society. One was the managers' responses to the question: What advice would you give a Black manager entering your firm? Thirty-eight percent of them said that Blacks should stand up for what they believe is right, be their own man, and be themselves. Only two gave comments that could be considered "Tomish," i.e., Blacks should forget their color and not be color conscious.

When the Black managers were asked: (1) if they would consider the feelings of whites who would feel uncomfortable about having Blacks in management positions, and (2) would they have answered the questions differently ten years ago, 26 percent said they would have answered the questions differently ten years ago because they were not conscious of themselves as Black people, they were apathetic, and they would tend to overlook negative white attitudes toward Blacks. Five percent said they would

have been more influenced by negative white attitudes ten years
ago.

All these data suggest that Black managers, while living
rather integrated lives and holding liberal integrationist views,
are not attempting to lose their Black identity. The following
pages will lend further substance to this position. In addition,
data will be presented which suggest that overall these Black man-
agers' views are not very different from the general views of the
Black population in America--even though they seem to integrate
into white society somewhat more than the general Black population.

With What Segments of the Black Community Do the Black Managers Have Good Communications?

Not only was the writer interested in the racial composition
of the managers' neighborhoods, their organizational affiliations,
and their social contact with whites outside of work, but also
the segments of the Black community with which the Black managers
have good and bad communications. The managers were asked these
two questions: With what segments of the Black community do you
have good communications?, and With what segments of the Black
community do you have bad communications? The managers were al-
lowed to categorize the different segments of the Black community
in any manner they wished. Most of the managers categorized the
segments either in terms of class or political philosophy.

Tables 1 and 2 show the managers' responses to the
communications questions.

TABLE 1

THE SEGMENTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY WITH WHOM THE
BLACK MANAGERS HAVE GOOD COMMUNICATIONS

Segments	Black Managers (N=116)
All Segments	36 %
Moderates	33
Middle Class	16
Lower Class	7
All Except Militants and Revolutionaries	4
Conservatives	3
Upper Class	3
All Except Upper Class	2
Militants	1
Revolutionaries and Extremists	1
No Segments	1
Other	4
Total[*]	111

[*]The total percentages in Tables 1 and 2 are over 100
because some managers indicated that they had good or bad com-
munications with more than one segment.

TABLE 2

THE SEGMENTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY WITH WHOM THE
BLACK MANAGERS HAVE BAD COMMUNICATIONS

Segments	Black Managers (N=116)
No Segments	38 %
Militants	32
Revolutionaries and Extremists	17
Upper Class	11
Lower Class	4
Conservatives	3
Middle Class	2
All Except Militants and Revolutionaries	1
Other	5
Total	113

When sex is used as the control variable, it is found that
only 17 percent of the Black females, compared to 41 percent of
the Black males, indicated that they have good communications
with all segments of the Black community. The Black females
tend to believe they have better communications with the mod-
erates and middle class than the Black males--70 percent of the
Black females, compared to 44 percent of the Black males. This
is somewhat surprising because, in general, Blacks who identify
with the Black moderate middle class are more assimilative in
attitudes and behavior than those who identify with all segments

of the Black community. However, as will be seen, most Black females while believing they have good communications with the Black moderate middle class, are not very assimilative in attitudes and behavior. Thus, one cannot categorically say that Blacks who are from and identify with the Black moderate middle class identify less with the Black community than those who might feel they identify with the masses of Black people.

In general, the younger, more educated Black male managers from all social backgrounds who live in predominantly Black areas are more likely to believe they have good communications with all segments of the Black community than the older, less educated, Black male managers who live in areas which are not predominantly Black. There are no such distinguishing characteristics of the Black females.

The Black managers who consider themselves radicals are more likely to get along with all segments of the Black community than the liberals, the liberals more than the moderates and the moderates more than the conservatives. The Black managers who have no religious preferences are most likely to get along with all segments of the Black community than those who have religious preferences. Baptists are more likely to have good communcations with all segments than the Blacks who belong to high status Protestant religions such as the Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Lutherans, who generally come from the middle class and are more conservative than Baptists.

There are few differences between the Black males and females with regard to the groups with whom they have bad communcations; however, young, educated Black managers are more likely no_t to have bad communcations with any segment of the Black community than older, less educated Black managers.

Having located the patterns of communication, good and bad, how can they be explained? Table 3 lists the reasons the Black managers believe they have good communcations with certain segments of the Black community.

The responses in Table 3 indicate that many of the Black managers, as other groups of people regardless of color, have good communications with those people with whom they think alike, have more in common, and agree with on certain goals and means of achieving them. From this table it also becomes clear that a majority of the Black managers are moderate in their views. Many readers might wonder how can such moderate managers have such negative views about the opportunities that exist for Black managers in the corporate world; however, the data just substantiate the point that Blacks, whether moderates or militants, do have the common belief that Blacks are not treated equally and fairly in the corporate world because of racism.

Table 4 lists the reasons the managers believe they have poor communications with various segments of the Black community.

Some of the individual managers' responses are revealing:

A Black lower level bank manager from Triple C Bank:

TABLE 3

WHY BLACK MANAGERS HAVE GOOD COMMUNCATIONS WITH
CERTAIN SEGMENTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Reasons	Black Managers (N=116)
All Segments: Respondent knows and associates with people from all segments; tries to learn from all.	28 %
Moderates: Most of the respondent's friends are from this background; can communicate and talk with them; they think on the same lines.	25
All Segments: Blacks are all looking for the same thing--equality.	9
Middle and Lower: Respondent comes from this background; therefore, understands their needs and desires.	7
Middle Class: Most of respondent's friends are from this class; they have more in common.	6
Moderates: They have the best methods to achieve goals, freedom, and equality; they don't believe in violence or bloodshed.	6
All Segments Except Militants, Extremists, and Revolutionaries: Respondent does not like violence.	4
Moderates: They just want what they deserve and work for.	2
Middle and Conservative: They have nice paying jobs, they play golf, join clubs, etc.	2
All Segments Except the Upper Class: Respondent is sympathetic to their goals and desires.	2
Other	9
Total	100

TABLE 4

WHY BLACK MANAGERS HAVE POOR COMMUNICATIONS WITH
CERTAIN SEGMENTS OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Reasons	Black Managers (N=83)
Militants, Revolutionaries, and Extremists: Respondent does not believe in violent methods.	26 %
Militants: Respondent does not agree with their philosophy.	21
Upper Class: Respondent believes that they have not done anything for Blacks; they are snobs, callous, half-asses.	15
Militants: Respondent does not like their attitudes and treatment of other Blacks who do not agree with them.	14
Militants: Respondent has not been exposed to them.	14
Militants, Revolutionaries, and Extremists: Respondent does not believe in Black separatism.	8
Conservatives: Respondent does not agree with their attitude that everything is peaches and cream as long as you work hard.	5
Middle Class: Respondent doesn't have much in common with the Black middle class; Frazier's Black Bourgeoisie.	3
Other	15 ·
Total*	121

*The total percentage is over 100 because some managers
have bad communications with more than one segment and gave
more than one reason for this.

"I've got good communications with the moderates. I have friends in this group. I can talk and communicate with them. They accept my ideas even though they might not agree with me. I've got bad communications with the militants because I don't know that many and I'm not exposed to them that often."

A Black female manager from Ace Public Utility: "I have good communications with all segments except the upper class. I can't stand upper class Blacks because they are so damn half-ass and snobbish. They just can't relate to Black people."

Another Black female manager from the same company explained her feelings this way: "I communicate better with middle class Blacks than with lower class Blacks. This is due to my own lack of drive to get to know different types of Blacks. I'm an armchair revolutionary. The Blacks who are exposed to poverty, etc., I don't know very well--I'm lazy. I don't know what's happening with the lower class Blacks."

A Black manager from Cousins Manufacturing who could easily pass for a white because of his light skin, straight hair, and blue eyes: "I get along with the moderate, middle class Blacks because I try to avoid types of situations where I would draw attention to myself and my family. I don't get along with the militants because they have abused me about my light skin and blue eyes."

A Black lower level manager from Aunts Manufacturing: "I get along with activists whether they are militant or moderate/middle class or lower class. I have friends in all groups, but

I don't get along with the conservative Black entrepreneur types and the fraternity and social club types because I don't accept a lot of their values--such as attempting to assimilate completely into white society and not really trying to help their own kind."

In short, Black managers, generally moderate in their views, typically cannot relate to the violent tactics and revolutionary philosophy of the militants/revolutionaries. However, there is a substantial minority--primarily young, educated, Black male managers who believe they are able to communicate with all segments of the Black community.

Do the Black Managers Believe that Blacks Are Pressing Their Case Too Hard?

Some readers might get the impression that because many of the Black managers are moderates and dislike violence they believe that Blacks are pressing their case too hard. This is not the case--96 percent do not believe Blacks are pressing their case too hard. Table 5 lists the reasons the Black managers do not believe Blacks are pressing their case too hard.

The general tenor of the Black managers' remarks about why they believe Blacks are not pressing too hard is that Blacks have been and are still being oppressed; therefore, they have a right to press for their equal rights in society. Many of them believe that they will not obtain their lawful rights unless they apply pressure on white society.

Some individual responses lend understanding to why the managers don't believe Blacks are pressing their case too hard.

TABLE 5

WHY BLACK MANAGERS DO NOT BELIEVE BLACKS
ARE PRESSING THEIR CASE TOO HARD

Reasons	Black Managers (N=111)
White society will not change except under continuous pressure; if there is no pressure, there will be no change.	29 %
When people are pressing for civil and human rights, i.e., equality, they can't press too hard.	22
There has been relatively little positive change; thus, respondent does not believe that Blacks are pressing hard enough.	19
Blacks are late in asserting their rightful position in this society which has been denied them too long.	14
Blacks who are qualified aren't making it; therefore, Blacks aren't pressing too hard.	9
The militant Blacks are pressing their case too hard, but in general most other Blacks are not.	5
Blacks have a right to use pressure in order to achieve their fair share and equality in this country.	4
Respondent personally opposes violent tactics, but believes that they are helpful.	1
Blacks are pressing too hard when they use violent tactics.	1
Total*	104

*The total percentage is over 100 because of rounding errors.

A Black middle level manager from Triple A Bank: "I don't think Blacks are pressing hard enough. Most Blacks are still under the psychological hangups caused by racism. The younger Blacks are aware of this."

A Black bank manager from Triple C Bank: "If we don't press it will still remain a token society and job discrimination will persist. Whites are satisfied as long as Blacks don't push them and they are able to change things at their own pace."

A middle level Black manager from Aunts Manufacturing: "I don't think Blacks are pushing hard enough. We must press for our rights. If a man shows you a house and you want to buy it and he won't sell it to you, then burn it down."

A Black bank manager from Triple C Bank: "I see an element of complacency in some Blacks. They get somewhere and forget where they came from. The doors have been opened to super-niggers, but not to the average Blacks."

A Black female manager from Ace Public Utility: "There have been so many qualified Blacks who haven't gotten the chance to make it. The only reason there are some Blacks making it is because of the pressures."

Finally, a Black female manager from the same company: "If given a chance, most of us can make it. Blacks should get organized and do their thing. I don't like extreme militancy. Have a revolution, but get it together first. The company will not accept change except by pressure."

Are the Black Managers Called Uncle Toms and/or Sellouts Because of Their Positions in These Firms?

There are some Blacks who believe that a Black who enters the business world is an Uncle Tom and/or a Sellout--a traitor-- to the Black movement. If Black managers are continuously called Uncle Toms and are under the pressure to conform to their firms' standards, this could bring about serious conflicts in the Black managers' identities. In order to see if the managers had been labeled in these ways, they were asked the following question: Have you ever been categorized in the Black community as an Uncle Tom or Sellout, a traitor to Black people and the Black movement in general because of your position in this firm? Only 9 percent of the females and 28 percent of the males answered this question affirmatively.

In general, the younger, less educated, lower level Black male managers from companies, who come from middle class back-grounds, have just moderate aspirations, and have good communica-tions with mainly the moderate middle class segment of the Black community are called Uncle Toms more than any other group of Black managers.

Furthermore, 30 percent of the Black managers who have the most integrationist attitudes and only 13 percent who have the least integrationist attitudes are called Uncle Toms. Oddly, the degree of segregation of the areas the managers live in does not have any bearing on whether or not they are called Uncle Toms; however, where the managers work and the type of work they do does.

For example, 50 percent of the managers who have been called Uncle Toms come from the two banks. The writer noted earlier that most of the Black bankers are placed in branches located in Black communities. As a result, many of these Black managers are called such names as Uncle Tom and Sellout because they will not approve a loan and/or check. The following responses are examples of this type of situation:

A Black lower level manager from Triple A Bank: "I have been called those names when I did not approve a loan for a Black customer."

A Black lower level banker from Triple C Bank: "I get called names all the time. Many Blacks don't understand why I am working in the system--I do because I want to get aid for my brothers and I'm a representation that there are job opportunities in the bank for Blacks. I'm accused of looking, dressing, and talking like whites and not understanding the Black problem . . . ."

Another Black manager from the same company indicated that he was not only called an Uncle Tom by other Blacks, but also by some whites. He said, "I am always questioned about being an Uncle Tom. Sometimes a white will ask me too. Many white women have asked me the question."

Finally, a Black lower level banker from Triple A Bank: "I was called an Uncle Tom when I fired a Black because he was a poor worker."

Typical responses of Black managers who have been called Uncle Toms or Sellouts, but who are not bankers follow:

A Black lower level manager in Aunts Manufacturing: "I used to live on 99th Avenue in East Oakland but after I was ripped-off, I moved to the Lake District--a predominantly white middle class area. Even though I frequently go back to East Oakland because of friends and relatives, some of them call me a Black bourgeoisie. But they are still friendly."

An older middle level manager from Cousins Manufacturing: "I am called names on any occasion when I do not agree with the militant segment of the community."

And lastly, a middle level Black manager from Deuce Public Utility: "I'm called names when people don't know me or what I do when I speak in the Black communities or at various meetings."

In short, the young, Black managers who work in service-oriented jobs like banking and who have integrationist views are quite likely to be called such names as Uncle Tom and Sellout. The effect of the name calling on their performances in the corporate world was not explored in this study, but being labeled a traitor to one's race cannot have improved their morales.

Do White Corporations Psychologically and Physically Remove Blacks from the Black Community?

The managers were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: Many Black people, especially separatists or Black nationalists, believe that Black people working in corporations are undermining the Black movement toward developing viable Black economic institutions; they say that corporations

physically and psychologically remove Black people from their communities; thus, Black people are deprived of the knowledge, technical skill, and expertise of Black managers.

Only 11 percent of the Black managers agree with the statement, and another 3 percent agree with only the first part of the statement.

The responses of some of the managers who agree are quite revealing:

One Black lower level female manager in Ace Public Utility agrees with Wilensky's hypothesis about the assimilation effect of the corporate world: "I have been thinking about this a great deal. Right now I am of the opinion that anyone who associates with a group of people, such as Blacks do in the work situation, begin to take on their values, mannerisms, etc. A Black must be very strong to work against this assimilation process."

A Black middle level manager from the same company: "It takes the energy and talent the Black managers have away from the Black problem areas and this is not healthy for the Black movement in general."

A Black female from the same company: "I am somewhat guilty of this myself. If you work with whites and you get along with them you tend to forget that they would oppose working with more than one Black."

Finally, a Black middle level manager from Triple C Bank: "The Black executive is compromised into the white corporate image of an officer. The true Black executive has yet to be molded."

Table 6 lists the managers' reasons for disagreeing with
the statement.

TABLE 6

WHY BLACK MANAGERS DO NOT BELIEVE CORPORATIONS
REMOVE BLACKS FROM THE COMMUNITY

Reasons	Black Managers (N=101)
Before Blacks can help the Black community they need to work in white corporations to get the skills, training, and money needed.	35 %
It is not the case with the Black people these respondents know; they have goals and objectives to help the Black people and they do live in Black areas.	20
Respondents do not believe in separatism.	17
The only way Blacks can really make it in this society is through the corporate world.	10
Only those Blacks who are Toms or show-casing will leave the community.	5
Blacks have to work and the jobs that are available are mostly in white firms.	4
The problem is that many times people are with or against and nothing in the middle.	3
Other (Includes mere repetition of disagreement with the statement)	13
Total*	107

*The percentage is over 100 because several managers
gave more than one reason.

Some of the typical responses of the managers follow:

A Black female manager from Ace Public Utility: "I don't agree with the Nationalists' philosophy. I am still interested and a part of the community and I do my share. The militants talk, but I prefer to go out and show whitey that I am together-- my actions speak louder than the militants' words."

A lower level Black manager from Deuce Public Utility put it this way: "I disagree because I work in a large corpora- tion and one day I'll be in a position to help some other Blacks. I'm not undermining the movement because I will be able to help them economically. I refuse to work outside of the Black commun- ity, so I'm not removed from it."

A Black female manager from the same company concluded: "It is not the corporations who are removing people, it is the Nationalists who are trying to move people away from the community. People must live together. There should be equal opportunities to live where we want to--either in all-Black neighborhoods or whatever. People should have the right to do what they want to."

Another Black female manager from the same company put it this way: "When a Black is hired he is going to do the job he is there for and not forgetting that there are other qualified Blacks, he is going to make that point apparent to the people he works for and with. The Black won't forget his people--he only wants a job and compensation for it. He's not going to change his race."

These responses show that the vast majority of Black managers do not believe corporations physically and psychologically remove Blacks from the Black community. Their reasons for disagreeing are quite rational and valid. Blacks have developed a sense of pride and positive identity. They do not want to leave their community and their pride and positive identity will not allow them to be psychologically removed from the community. A possible explanation for Blacks not becoming physically and psychologically removed from the community is that they work in areas which have large numbers of Black workers or in areas in which they are directly involved in the employment of Blacks, such as in affirmative action or in areas in which they deal directly with the Black community; therefore, it is more difficult for the managers to forget their ties and origins to the Black community.

Would the Black Managers Move to a
Small White City or Town?

Even though the vast majority of the Black managers do not believe corporations psychologically and physically remove Black managers from the Black community, more than a majority of them would accept a transfer to a small white city or town.. More specifically, the managers were asked: Would you accept a transfer to a plant located in a small white city or town? Fifty-six percent of them said that they would accept such a transfer. The young, lower level Black managers are least likely to accept such a transfer; there are no differences by sex or education. Table 7 shows the managers' responses by their age group.

TABLE 7

WOULD BLACK MANAGERS ACCEPT A TRANSFER TO A
SMALL WHITE CITY OR TOWN?

Response	Black Managers' Ages		
	30 and Under (N=45)	31-40 (N=53)	Over 40 (N=18)
Yes	48 %	59 %	67 %
No	52	41	33
Total	100	100	100

Such factors as the managers' social class, the percent of Blacks living in their neighborhoods, with whom they have good and bad communications, and their aspirations have no effect on their acceptance of such a transfer. However, the Black managers who grew up in the South are more likely to accept a transfer than those who grew up in other parts of the U. S. The Black managers from the South who would accept a transfer probably believe that since they grew up in a racist, segregated part of the country, they could live and work in any white setting.

Table 8 lists the reasons the managers would accept a transfer.

Three of the managers' comments essentially sum up the thinking of the Black managers who would accept a transfer to a small white city or town.

A Black lower level female manager from Ace Public Utility: "I would be able to make changes. I would bring more Blacks in.

TABLE 8

WHY THE BLACK MANAGERS WOULD ACCEPT A TRANSFER
TO A SMALL WHITE CITY OR TOWN

Reasons	Black Managers (N=64)
Would go in order to show whites that Blacks are qualified and capable; to educate whites about Blacks and change their stereotypes.	42 %
Would go as long as it was a promotion and offered viable opportunities.	24
Would go because feels he/she could function in any type of environment; would be able to overcome many obstacles.	17
Respondent already operates in such an environment.	8
Would not matter.	8
Would go to any place except the South.	5
Would go because believes pressures are the same anywhere in a white society.	2
Total[*]	107

[*]The total percentage is over 100 because some managers gave more than one reason.

I would increase the standards. A small white community does not

frighten me--I could out-think them."

A Black lower level female manager from Triple C Bank

put it this way: "I would go if it was a promotion. If they

gave me the opportunity, I could do the job well. It's surprising

when white people find out that Blacks don't just want to socialize

with whites, that they don't want to be in a white society and that

they just want the right to be equal. I would welcome the oppor-
tunity so people could see that I am qualified and a person . . . ."

A Black male manager from the same company concluded: "My
pride is the fact why I believe I can succeed wherever I am,
regardless of the population ratio. I never want to place a limita-
tion on myself. I would meet all pressures eagerly and enthusiastically."

The managers' responses as to why they would accept such
a transfer do not suggest that they want to leave the Black commun-
ity; they do suggest, however, that they have pride and confidence
in their ability to succeed in any type of environment.

Table 9 lists the reasons why the Black managers would not
accept such a transfer.

Some of the responses of the managers who would not accept
a transfer to a small white city or town are as follows:

A Black lower level manager from Cousins Manufacturing based
the reasons for his negative answer on the treatment his father and
brothers received in a small white town: "I come from a small
white city and I saw the abuse that my father and brothers took at
a small plant--refusal of positions. The company said it was due
to their lack of qualifications."

A Black bank manager from Triple A Bank: "I would not go
because of my family. I feel that Blacks should not be isolated
in an all-white community."

A Black manager from Ace Public Utility said simply:
"I would not go because I want to be around my own people."

TABLE 9

WHY THE BLACK MANAGERS WOULD NOT ACCEPT A TRANSFER
TO A SMALL WHITE CITY OR TOWN

Reasons	Black Managers (N=52)
Would be too much pressure; would not be able to do a good job.	38 %
Would be too much pressure for his/her family to put up with.	38
Would not be able to grow within the company; opportunities would be limited.	30
Would not go because wants to live near a Black community; wants to stay here to help the Black community.	26
Does not like small white cities or towns.	21
There are enough pressures here.	4
Other	2
Total*	159

*The total percentage is over 100 because many of the managers gave more than one reason.

These managers, who are generally younger, believe that racial discrimination would be so strong that they and their families would be adversely affected. These responses also indicate that many of the Black managers do not see themselves being accepted by white society; therefore, this would work against any desire they might have to assimilate.

What Do the Black Managers Think is the Best Path
for Blacks to Pursue in This Country?

Most of the Black managers are liberal in their views
about interacting socially with whites and they are, on the whole,
moderate in their political views. Thi. is not to say that most
Black managers are for complete assimilation into white society.
Even though in general the Black managers hold integrationist
attitudes, interact frequently with whites, and believe that
housing, jobs, schools, and public facilities should be deseg-
regated, the vast majority do not believe in complete assimila-
tion into white society and they are not trying to lose their
Black identity or cultural ties. They are essentially espousing
a middle ground which at once affirms cultural pluralism and op-
poses all forms of discrimination and forced segregation; but are
in favor of Blacks forming strong social, political, and economic
organizations and believe that every other minority has the right
to fight for their equality. Further evidence of this orientation
appears in the managers' responses to the following question: As
a group, what is the best path for Blacks to pursue in this country?
Only 12 percent of the Black managers--13 males and 1 female--be-
lieve that Blacks should assimilate and integrate completely into
white society and only 5 percent--5 males and 1 female--want to
separate from white society. Seventy-four percent of the males
and 83 percent of the females believe that Blacks should form
strong social, political, and economic organizations; however,
10 percent of these managers believe that complete integration

into white society would be the final goal for Blacks to achieve

but that Black culture and white culture should merge, taking the

best of both.   Table 10 shows the managers' responses to the

question.

TABLE 10

WHAT THE BLACK MANAGERS BELIEVE IS THE BEST PATH
FOR BLACKS TO PURSUE IN THIS COUNTRY

Reasons	Black Managers (N=116)
Form strong social, political, and economic organizations to pressure white society into assuring Blacks equal opportunity and freedom in the larger society.	76 %
Assimilate and integrate completely into white society.	12
Form their own separate Black nations.	3
Withdraw into the urban areas and form separate all-Black communities.	2
Other	7
Total	100

Fourteen of the Black managers said that Blacks should

assimilate into white society and eleven said that this should

be the ultimate goal of Blacks.   Of these twenty-five Black man-

agers, only one is female.   She is under 30 and from the working

class.   While there are not many differences between the Black

managers 30 and younger and those between the ages of 31 and 40,

there are between these two groups and the Black managers who are over 40. Twenty-one percent of those in the first two age groups, compared to 56 percent in the over 40 age group, selected assimilation into white society.

When education is used as the control variable, it becomes apparent that those Black managers with advanced degrees are much more likely to believe complete assimilation into white society is the best path for Blacks to pursue in this country than those with bachelors degrees or no college degrees--45 percent of the Black managers in the former and approximately 20 percent of the Black managers in the latter two groups.

More than double the percentage of Black managers from the middle class than those from the lower class believe in complete assimilation.

Although where the managers lived until they were 18 has no relationship to their views regarding assimilation, only 6 percent of the Black male managers who live in areas where Blacks make up more than 50 percent of the population, compared to 31 percent who live in areas where Blacks make up less than 50 percent of the population, believe complete assimilation is the best path.

Lastly, Black males who have good communications with only the middle class and moderates are more likely to believe in complete assimilation than those who have good communications with all segments of the Black community.

Here are several typical reasons why the Black managers selected integration:

A Black lower level bank manager from Triple A Bank: "The trend of everything is that way; it is inevitable. There will always be some intermingling and I think it would be for the better to have it all broken down. I think forming strong organizations has been somewhat a failure--you can pressure white society until you are blue in the face. The Black community doesn't have a lot of money so there can be no real pressure."

A Black middle level manager from Aunts Manufacturing: "I don't believe you can go very far if you don't interact. We are in a multiracial society and we must live that part . . . ."

A number of other typical comments for other choices are:

A Black manager from Cousins Manufacturing who believes that forming strong social, political, and economic organizations and then integrating into white society is the best path for Blacks put it this way. "We must start by forming strong organizations and then go on to integrating into white society. If you deal with white society from a power position, you will finally become integrated."

A Black manager who selected only forming strong Black organizations as the best path: "By doing this we are not isolating ourselves and letting whites corral us. We are being forceful."

A Black female manager from Ace Public Utility gave these reasons for her belief that Blacks should withdraw into the urban

areas and form separate all-Black communities: "Blacks have the responsibility of taking care of their own kind. We must pressure Blacks and not whites--we have to use our own resources and get our own thing together."

Table 11 shows the reasons the managers selected the formation of strong Black social, political, and economic organizations as the best path.

In concluding, multivariate analysis shows that the older, well educated Black male managers from the middle class, living in well integrated neighborhoods, and communicating with moderate, middle class Blacks are much more inclined to believe in complete assimilation than younger, less educated Black males from working class families, living in predominantly Black neighborhoods, and communicating with all segments of the Black community.

The Advice the Black Managers Would Give Other Blacks with Regard to the Best Possible Strategy to Follow in this Society in Order to Live a Prosperous, Free Life

In order to see what advice the Black managers would give to individual Blacks as opposed to the best path for Blacks as a group to pursue in this country, the managers were asked: What advice would you give an individual Black person with regard to the best possible strategy to follow in this society in order to live a prosperous, free life? Table 12 lists the advice the managers would give to other Black people. Notice that only 10 percent of the Black managers believe that Blacks cannot lead a free, propserous life in this country at this time. Most of the advice

TABLE 11

WHY THE BLACK MANAGERS BELIEVE FORMING STRONG SOCIAL,
POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS IS
THE BEST PATH FOR BLACKS TO PURSUE

Reasons	Black Managers (N=88)
Statements which suggest that this is the most effective way to bring about social change in the U. S.; whites understand social, economic, and political pressures.	51 %
Blacks must be in a position of strength; the only way they can be accepted as equals is through unity.	26
For the present this is the best path; Blacks must start from a power position, but believe that assimilation into white society would be the ultimate.	13
There are no advantages in a separate Black nation; the ghetto is already an all-Black community with little improvements; Blacks don't want to lose their identity which would happen if we assimilated completely into white society; thus, forming strong organizations is the best path.	11
Blacks do not have the money or resources to form their own separate Black nations or to withdraw into the urban areas and form separate all-Black communities.	6
Blacks just want a chance; they do not want separatism.	1
Not certain that this is the best path, but thinks so.	1
Total*	109

*The total percentage is over 100 because some of the managers gave more than one reason.

TABLE 12

ADVICE THE BLACK MANAGERS WOULD
GIVE TO OTHER BLACKS

Advice	Black Managers (N=116)
Blacks should become well educated and develop their skills.	50 %
Blacks should be independent, believe in themselves, stand up for their rights, and have pride in themselves.	25
Blacks should set goals and standards, then vigorously pursue them.	16
Blacks should work hard at whatever they are doing or want to do; they should always do the job well.	15
Blacks cannot lead a free, prosperous life in this country at this time.	10
Blacks should find something they will be happy doing.	9
Blacks should have flexible attitudes in order to be able to function in different situations.	6
Blacks should be self-employed.	4
Blacks should learn as much as they can about their company, i.e., the goals, organization, policies, etc.	3
Blacks should be highly critical of themselves; they should learn their abilities and limits.	3
Blacks should join large, progressive firms.	1
Blacks should use their color; Black is beautiful now, but it might not be later.	1
Total*	143

*The total percentage is over 100 because many managers
had several things they would advise Blacks to do.

is solid, worthwhile advice which most people would give to others.
In an indirect way the responses to this question imply that most
Black managers believe there are opportunities available for Blacks
in the corporate world; however, as the responses to previous ques-
tions in Chapters VI and VIII indicated, the Black managers are
optimistic mainly because they believe that their continuous
struggle and pressure on white society for equality and their
confidence in their ability as Black men and women will prove
fruitful and not because they have faith in white society changing
on its own.

Some of the managers' responses are quoted below:

A Black lower level female manager from Ace Public
Utility: "Blacks should get an education. They should go out
and try to enter into work in their desired field. They should
not get discouraged. And they should prove themselves, thus giving
their brothers a chance."

A Black middle level manager from Ace Public Utility:
"Be proud of yourself as a Black man and believe that you are,
equal to any man. Try to adopt whatever practices and tendencies
are the most successful in the white world and eliminate those
that are the most oppressive and still compete in that system."

A Black middle level manager from Cousins Manufacturing
gave this advice: "Blacks should get an education. If there is
something you want to do qualify yourself and then go where this
type of job is offered. Once you go there and are rejected then

this is where the place to fight starts. The only reason you

could be rejected is because you are Black and not because of

lack of qualifications, etc. Then you have something to fight

for. There will always be some companies and management that will

be on your back--it takes a long time and a strong individual to

overcome these things."

And finally a Black lower level manager from the same

company who wanted to know if the writer was serious about this

question said: "I would tell another Black person to get out.

In order to lead a prosperous, free life a Black couldn't be

happy--he would lose his individuality. He would have to be an

all-American boy, go to school, get a degree, work for a defense

contractor, and wave the flag."

The managers' responses, on the whole, indicate neither

separatist nor assimilationist attitudes, but a strong commitment

to a work ethic and individual development.

Introduction to the Black Managers' Overall Non-Assimilative Indices

In order to give the reader a more concise view of the

non-assimilative attitudes and behaviors of the Black managers,

two overall indices will be evaluated. The first will look at

the managers' non-assimilative attitudes, and the second will

look at the managers' non-assimilative behaviors. The responses

of each question which make up the indices are weighted appropriately

so that the managers received a specific score. For example,

when the managers were asked their degree of agreement with the

statement: I could hardly imagine myself marrying a white person, if they strongly disagreed they received a score of 0, if they disagreed a score of 1, if they agreed a score of 2, and if they strongly agreed a score of 3.

A. The Black Managers' Overall Non-Assimilative Attitude Index

Three questions went into the non-assimilative index. They are:

> I could hardly imagine myself marrying a white person.
>
> As a group, what is the best path for Blacks to pursue in this country?
>
> Would you accept a transfer to a plant located in a small white city or town?

Table 13 shows the assimilative attitude of the Black managers by sex and age.

From this table three conclusions can be drawn: (1) overall the Black males of all age groups have more assimilative attitudes than the Black females of all age groups; (2) the older Black males hold stronger assimilative attitudes than the younger Black males; however, (3) the Black females of various ages are quite similar in their assimilative attitudes.

While the social backgrounds of the Black females do not give any indication as to how assimilative their attitudes might be, the Black males from the working class are less likely to hold extreme assimilative attitudes than those from the middle class.

TABLE 13

THE BLACK MANAGERS' OVERALL ASSIMILATIVE
ATTITUDE INDEX

Assimilative Attitudes	Age			
	30 and Under		Over 30	
	Black Males (N=32)	Black Females (N=13)	Black Males (N=61)	Black Females (N=10)
Most Assimilative (3-5)	41 %	15 %	54 %	20 %
Moderately Assimilative (6-8)	50	70	41	70
Least Assimilative (9-11)	9	15	5	10
Total	100	100	100	100

Where the managers lived until they were 18 had no relation-
ship to their assimilative attitudes; however, the Black managers
who now live in predominantly Black areas (50 percent or more)
have less assimilative attitudes than those who live in predom-
inantly white areas.

The Black managers who have good communications with all
segments of the Black community and bad communications with none
and those who are less likely to be called Uncle Toms generally
have less assimilative attitudes.

One might expect the most ambitious Black managers to
have the most assimilative attitudes because they might over-
conform to the white power structure into which they hope to

move. This is not the case. The data show it is just the opposite. In addition, the data do show that the Black males in middle management have more assimilative attitudes than Black males of the same age group in lower management.

In sum: The older, middle level Black managers who are from middle class backgrounds and who live in predominantly white areas have the most assimilative attitudes. While some readers might believe that the previous statement suggests that as Blacks get older and rise in the hierarchy their views will become more assimilative, this writer cautions the reader not to apply this generalization to many of the young Black managers who have been brought up in an era of Black awareness and pride and thus have a stronger identification with Blackness.[10]

B. The Black Managers' Overall Non-Assimilative Behavior Index

The questions which make up the non-assimilative behavior index are as follows:

> How frequently do you have contact with whites at social functions not related to work?
>
> Do Blacks live in your neighborhood?
>
> About what percentage of Blacks live in your neighborhood?
>
> To what types of non-social organizations do you belong (all-Black or integrated)?

[10]The Black managers who have the least assimilative attitudes are the most critical of their companies' employment policies.

Similar scoring procedures to the assimilative attitude index were used. Table 14 shows the assimilative behaviors of the managers by sex and age.

TABLE 14

THE BLACK MANAGERS' OVERALL ASSIMILATIVE
BEHAVIOR INDEX

Assimilative Behaviors	Age			
	30 and Under		Over 30	
	Black Males (N=32)	Black Females (N=13)	Black Males (N=61)	Black Females (N=10)
Most Assimilative (3-8)	41 %	31 %	48 %	20 %
Moderately Assimilative (8-12)	43	54	41	40
Least Assimilative (12-18)	16	15	11	40
Total	100	100	100	100

When one compares the assimilative attitudes and behavior tables it is clear that the Black males under 30 and over 30 have more similarities in assimilative behaviors than attitudes, but it is just the opposite for Black females. The personal characteristics which describe managers with the most assimilative attitudes are the same for those who have the most assimilative behaviors. However, as Table 15 shows, the relationship between assimilative attitudes and behaviors is far from perfect. In other words, while many Black managers have non-assimilative attitudes, they do have assimilative behaviors and vice versa.

TABLE 15

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BLACK MANAGERS'
ASSIMILATIVE ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIORS

Assimilative Attitudes	Assimilative Behaviors					
	Most		Moderately		Least	
	Black Males	Black Females	Black Males	Black Females	Black Males	Black Females
Most Assimilative	52 %	0 %	35 %	50 %	13 %	50 %
Moderately Assimilative	44	31	46	50	10	19
Least Assimilative	0	33	67	33	33	33

In carefully reviewing the characteristics of the Black

managers who fall into the extreme groups, i.e., most and least

assimilative in attitudes and behaviors, one finds that the most

assimilative managers are generally over 30 years of age, from

the middle class, with various educational backgrounds, and many

are in middle management positions. The least assimilative Black

managers are generally 30 and under, from the lower class, and

well educated.

In different words, older Black managers who were brought

up in a different era of Black pride and identity, who have made

it to middle management and are generally working in staff jobs

in which they have very frequent contact with whites, especially

at corporate headquarters, have strong integrationist tendencies,

because of their age and their positions in these white corpora-

tions. Young Blacks moving rapidly in white corporations, but

in almost exclusively Black settings, have the least assimilative
attitudes and behaviors. Again, this can be attributed to their
age and their positions in these firms. It remains to be seen
if they will continue to possess these same non-assimilative
attitudes and behaviors as they move further up the corporate
ladder and work in predominantly white work settings.

Summary and Conclusions

It has been shown that, in general, the Black managers
in this study are moderate in their racial views. They seem to
be slightly more assimilative in their attitudes and behaviors
than the general Black population. For example, Campbell found
that the vast majority of Black Americans favor desegregation, as
do the managers in this study. However, the Black managers in
this study tend to live in more integrated neighborhoods and they
seem to have more overall contact with whites than the general
Black population. This is due to their unique positions in white
corporations. Campbell wrote with regard to the general Black
population:

> . . . the very great degree to which friendships
> in the United States are confined within racial
> lines. The great majority of white people say
> all their friends are white; Black people are
> much more likely to report cross-racial friends
> but most of them report most or all of their
> friends as Black. This demonstration of racial
> separation is impressive but at least as impres-
> sive is the fact that the number of people of
> both races who count their friends exclusively
> within their own race has declined over the
> past six years.[11]

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[11]Campbell, pp. 134, 143, 146-147.

In sum: There seems to be a tendency for the older,
middle level Black male managers from the middle class to have
more assimilative attitudes and behavior than the other groups
of Black managers by sex, age, managerial level and social back-
ground. This might indicate that as Black managers move up the
occupational ladder they will become more integrationist in
their attitudes and behaviors. The degree to which this will
happen will depend on the types of jobs the Blacks hold, the
opportunities they are afforded to move up the corporation lad-
der, the racial attitudes of white America in general, and the
government's action on integration in housing, schooling, and
employment. If Blacks begin to work in areas not related to
the Black consumer market and Black employees, if they are really
given equal opportunities, if white society begins to accept
Blacks as neighbors, colleagues, and friends, and if the govern-
ment pushes for integration and equality of opportunity, Black
managers will be more inclined to follow an integrationist path
than a separatist path.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Introduction

The first section of this chapter will discuss the major
problem hindering Black managers from fully participating in the
corporate world--racism. The second will analyze what the par-
ticipating managers believe should be done to improve the present
situation of Black managers in the corporate world. In the final
section the writer's views regarding what must be done and what
should be done in order for corporations to provide equal employ-
ment opportunities will be presented.

The Major Problem--Racism

This study has demonstrated that racism is the major
problem confronting Blacks in their employment in corporations.
While most white managers believe racial discrimination exists in
the corporate world, many are reluctant to admit and/or are blind
to the fact that a great deal of racial discrimination exists in
their own companies.

Corporate racism is no longer the overt, unsophisticated
form of racism (where Blacks are simply not hired or promoted be-
cause they are Black), but a more covert, sophisticated form of
racism which has its collective attitudinal and institutional
components.

Recently a number of writers such as Harold M. Baron, Robert Blauner, Harvey Molotch, and Linda Wolf have put forth the proposition that too much emphasis has been placed on the individual racial attitudes of whites as a barrier to Blacks receiving equal opportunities and that not enough emphasis has been placed on the role of institutional racism in denying Blacks equal opportunities, i.e., racism which excludes Blacks by conventional procedures, rules, and regulations.

For example, Baron wrote:

> Maintenance of the basic racial controls is now less dependent upon specific discriminatory decisions. Such behavior has become so well institutionalized that the individual generally does not have to exercise a choice to operate in a racist manner. The rules and procedures of the large organizations have already pre-structured the choice. The individual only has to conform to the operating norms of the organization and the institution will do the discriminating for him.[1]

Blauner concurred with Baron's viewpoint:

> The men of goodwill and tolerance who identify racism with prejudice can therefor exempt themselves from responsibility and involvement in our system of racial injustice and inequality by taking comfort in their own "favorable" attitudes toward minority groups.
>
> The error in this point of view is revealed by the fact that such men of goodwill help maintain the racism of American society and in some cases even profit from it. This takes place because racism is institutionalized. The processes that maintain domination--control

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[1]Harold M. Baron, "The Web of Urban Racism," in Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitts, eds., _Institutional Racism in America_ (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1969), pp. 142-143.

of whites over non-whites--are built into the
major social institutions. These institutions
either exclude or restrict the participation
of racial groups by procedures that have become
conventional, part of the bureaucratic system
of rules and regulations. Thus there is little
need for prejudice as a motivating force. Be-
cause this is true, the distinction between
racism as an objective phenomenon, located in
the actual existence of domination and hierarchy,
and racism's subjective concomitants of preju-
dice and other motivations and feelings is a
basic one.[2]

When elaborating on his concept of institutional racism,

Blauner said that the most elementary definition of institutional

racism was "the exclusion of people of color from equal partici-

pation in society's institutions." Essentially, Blauner means

that this can happen, and presently does happen, more through

conventional procedures, rules, and regulations than by indivi-

dual actions. In other words, at the present time, institutional

racism is more non-intentional and indirect than otherwise.

Another definition of institutional racism, according to Blauner:

The fact that institutional racism is the
result of such chains of "unwitting" actions
and circumstances has made its existence rela-
tively easy to overlook or deny; this is why it
is such an important idea today.

The trial[3] provided a concrete example of one
further meaning of the concept of institutional
racism; that the contingencies of social position
or institutional role are more significant than
individual attitude or personality in determining
those actions and decisions that make a difference
with respect to racial realities.[4]

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[2]Robert Blauner, _Racial Oppression in America_ (New York,
1972), pp. 9-10.

[3]Huey P. Newton's trial.   [4]Blauner, p. 186.

Molotch and Wolf, in their study of institutional racism primarily at the University of Santa Barbara, concentrated on the day-to-day routines of the university which intentionally or unintentionally excluded Blacks and other minorities. They placed a great deal of emphasis on the inability of minorities to meet certain white, middle class requirements which are considered necessary for entrance into the academic community at various levels. They also placed a great deal of emphasis on the conventional recruitment procedures which have unintentionally excluded larger numbers of minorities. Their study leaves one with the uneasy feeling that all minorities need special consideration and that all that has to be changed to insure Blacks equal opportunities are the conventional procedures, rules, and regulations. They placed very little importance on the role white racist attitudes play in the exclusion of Blacks.[5]

Blauner wrote the following with regard to the position that individual white racial attitudes are most important in denying Blacks equal opportunities:

> Social science experts assumed that this movement toward equality depended primarily on the reduction of prejudice in the white majority, rather than upon the collective actions of the oppressed groups themselves or upon basic transformations in the society. Here sociologists were reflecting the general ethos of American culture, which minimizes a consciousness of, and concern with, group power--with the structure of institutions and their constraints--

[5]Harvey Molotch and Linda Wolf, "Racism in Dominant Organizations: Scheme for Instituting Change" (unpublished paper, Santa Barbara, 1972).

emphasizing in their stead the ideas and attitudes
of individuals.[6]

After indicating that opinion polls and attitude surveys
showed that white racist attitudes have decreased, Blauner noted
that:

> The continuing deepening of racial crisis
> and conflict made it more and more apparent that
> white attitudes were _peripheral_ rather than pri-
> mary determinants of racial arrangements. There
> were still sociologists celebrating the impressive
> decline in racial attitudes at the very moment
> that Watts burst into flames.[7]

From the previous discussion it is clear that Baron,
Blauner, Molotch, and Wolf place a great deal more emphasis on
institutional racism in terms of conventional procedures, rules,
and regulations than on individual white racist attitudes as
playing the dominant role in keeping Blacks from obtaining equal
opportunities. Hardy Frye, Assistant Professor at Sacramento
State College, in a heated discussion with the writer, aptly
summed up Baron's, Blauner's, Molotch's, and Wolf's position:
"The white peoples' attitudes are not important, the primary
factors of importance are the institutional structures which
exclude Blacks. You can't change the attitudes of whites, but
you can change the structures."

This writer agrees that conventional procedures, rules,
and regulations are serious and important barriers to Blacks
obtaining equal opportunities in the corporate world. It is

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[6]Blauner, p. 8.

[7]_Ibid_., p. 9.

true that there are some Blacks just like there are some whites who are not able to meet certain requirements for many positions within the various institutions and it is also true that certain conventional procedures are barriers to Blacks participating fully in society's institutions; however, what is just as true and just as important is the fact that many Blacks who are not deficient in meeting these requirements and who are not hindered by conventional procedures are excluded from participating fully in society's institutions. This suggests that other forms of racism are playing a crucial role in the exclusion of Blacks.

At the present time there are sufficient governmental laws to insure Blacks equal opportunities, if they are enforced. These laws have made illegal all rules and regulations excluding Blacks solely on the basis of color. As noted in Chapter III, the government has issued regulations which require tests to be validated before being used. Other regulations require that the denials for hiring and promoting people be based on "objective" criteria which are directly related to the position for which the individual is being considered. Still other regulations require institutions to take affirmative action to increase the number of Blacks in their employment.

Several points should be made with regard to the last two types of governmental regulations: (1) even though the government has required corporations to set objective qualification criteria for each position, these regulations are quite general

and are most effective for entry level positions; therefore, there is a great deal of leeway in interpreting the qualification criteria for other than entry level positions; and (2) the government requires affirmative action for corporations to be made in "good faith." The term "good faith" is a very general term which leads to many interpretations.

In sum: Although the government has taken steps to combat institutional racism, as defined by Blauner and others, there is still a tremendous amount of vagueness in the rules, regulations, and procedures of institutions which leaves room for a great deal of personal interpretation.

Since this is a racist society operated almost exclusively by and for white people, it is more likely than not that individual whites will interpret the vagueness in rules, regulations, and procedures, consciously or unconsciously, to the detriment of Blacks. Thus, individual white racist attitudes are still very important factors in denying Blacks equal opportunities.

This type of discrimination Blauner calls "neoracism":

> Despite the Kerner Report, it is still difficult
> for most whites to accept the unpleasant fact that
> America remains a racist society. Such an awareness
> is further obscured by the fact that more sophis-
> ticated, subtle, and indirect forms, which might
> better be termed neoracism, tend to replace the
> traditional, open forms that were most highly
> elaborated in the old South.[8]

In short, this writer suggests that there are two important forms of racism which are working to exclude Blacks

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[8]_Ibid._, p. 141.

from society's institutions. These forms are institutional racism

and neoracism. While these forms of racism are working in the

corporate world at all levels, this writer suggests that their

degree of importance in the exclusion of Blacks varies among

each of the hierarchical levels.

Troy Duster, writing about university directors, noted

that because of their advanced ages, high status, and predominantly

Protestant business backgrounds, they are a very conservative

group:

> . . . social science theory, with empirical
> support, holds that the social-economic position
> of the individual is highly related to his social
> thought and social actions. For example, we know
> empirically that there is marked tendency for
> those with the highest status in a society to
> support the most traditional and conservative
> institutions. The higher one's social status,
> the more likely he is to believe that the world
> is a just world where men get what they deserve
> and deserve what they get.[9]

This statement can also apply to directors of corporations.

Thus in all probability, many are convinced that Blacks have not

made it in the corporate world because they do not deserve to.

This attitude is a form of neoracism.

Institutional racism, as put forth by Blauner and others

at the Board of Directors level is embedded in the self-perpetuat-

ing characteristics of this level. This characteristic is an

enormous barrier because of a neoracist ideology which states

that because Blacks have a different culture which produces

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[9]Troy Duster, "Aims and Control of the Universities:
A Comparative Study of Sweden and the U. S." (unpublished paper,
Berkeley, Calif., 1971), p. 24.

different dress styles, manners of speech, overall personal mannerisms, and social mores, Blacks would not be able to effectively interact in the higher business circles where many major business decisions are made at social functions outside of work and not at the business establishment. As noted in Chapter V, some writers have suggested that in order for organizations to function smoothly, especially at the upper levels of management, a culturally homogeneous group is necessary.

While the neoracist attitudes of many white directors who believe that Blacks lack the personal characteristics necessary to "fit in" the business community and the self-perpetuating characteristics of the Boards are of primary importance in explaining the absence of Blacks at the Board level, the fact that there are no general qualifications for directors also leaves a great deal of room for the neoracist ideology regarding the "lack of super-qualified" or "acceptable" Blacks to play a significant role.

The Presidents of corporations are generally selected by the Directors and are directly responsible to the Directors for the overall operation of the corporations. The remaining top officials who are assistants to the President and responsible for major operations of the organizations are generally selected by the President and approved by the Directors.

It is reasonable to assume that the upper level managers, because they are similar to the members of the Board in terms of sex, age, and social status and are approved by the Board, will

possess similar neoracist attitudes.

The fact that all but a few Blacks have been excluded from management positions in the corporate world until recently has changed the conventional, slow procedure of promoting from within the organization into a form of institutional racism which excludes Blacks from upper management. In addition, when attempting to fill a position with someone outside of the organization, the upper level managers seek candidates through friends and contacts. Because the vast majority of upper level managers are white and because their friends and contacts are generally white, and they probably have little contact with Blacks, their recommendations will generally be individuals who are white. Thus, Blacks are excluded from top management by another conventional procedure.

However, even if the above forms of institutional racism did not exclude Blacks, two of the forms of neoracism which exclude Blacks from the Board level also exclude Blacks from upper management.

As was the case with the Directors, the most important form of racism which exists at this level is the neoracist ideology which excludes Blacks because they are not seen to be socially compatible at this level of management, thus not acceptable colleagues.

Many white and Black managers in this study believe that Blacks cannot make it to upper managerial positions in part because whites are not ready to accept Blacks as social equals and thus Blacks would be prevented from participating in many of the business decisions which take place in the social arena.

Also at this level the neoracist ideology which excludes Blacks because they do not have the "proper qualifications" begins to play a more important role than it did at the Board level. This is because at the Board level no specific "qualifications" have ever been set down to elect members to the Board; however, many upper management positions require certain skills and experiences. Thus, there becomes a greater need to develop a rationale for the virtually total exclusion of Blacks in upper managerial positions based on their lack of qualifications.

Considering the lily white nature of the upper levels of management, the various forms of racism which exist at that level, and the great amount of power and influence the individuals at this level have, one would suspect that their racial attitudes and ideologies permeate the institutional structures. To an extent this is true; however, as one moves down the hierarchy to middle and lower management positions the neoracist ideology-- based on the belief that Blacks are unable to interact properly with whites because of their different cultural backgrounds and/or that Blacks are not socially acceptable because the smooth functioning of executives depends on social homogeneity--becomes less important. This is because the role of outside social interaction becomes less and less important the lower one is on the occupational ladder.

The form of neoracism which becomes most important at the lower levels of management is that related to determining who is

"qualified" or who is the "most" or "best qualified" individual.
No longer do many white managers hold the view that all Blacks
are incapable of performing management jobs; however, many do
believe Blacks can only perform certain types of managerial jobs
which are related to the Black consumer market and/or Black per-
sonnel. In addition, while many corporations realize that Blacks
can no longer be totally excluded from management positions, corpor-
ations have adopted the policy that if Blacks must be brought into
management positions, they must be overly qualified in order to
merit those positions which would normally be occupied by only
average whites. Chapter V showed that 92 percent of the white
managers believe that Blacks receive fair and equal treatment in
their firms; however, 53 percent believe that Blacks must be better
than whites to get ahead in their companies and that they are more
careful in promoting Blacks than whites because they want to be
certain that Blacks will succeed before promoting them.

Of course institutional racism in the form of conventional
rules, regulations, and procedures becomes more important at lower
levels of management; however, Gronnemeier correctly noted that
individuals who harbor neoracist attitudes generally interpret
these rules, regulations, and procedures to the detriment of
Blacks. He noted:

> The job descriptions mean in practice that
> application of qualification requirements is
> at the wide discretion of the hiring agent.
> The hiring agent's selection between available
> candidates is not presently subject to higher

> scrutiny but, even if it were, the looseness
> of the qualification standards would allow
> the hiring agent adequate means to conceal
> racially-discriminatory decisions so that
> they could not be discovered or proven in
> any objectively-demonstrable manner.[10]

From variations in types of racism at various occupational levels, this writer suggests that Blacks in the corporate world are confronted less frequently by overt, unsophisticated racist attitudes and acts than by institutional racism and the various forms of neoracism.

Chapter VI showed that only 9 percent of the white managers in this study did not express any negative racial attitudes about Blacks and that the vast majority of both the Black and white managers are aware of negative racial atmospheres within their companies. The regression analysis in Chapter V, which showed that being white is worth $4,300 more a year, is evidence that these various forms of institutional racism and neoracist attitudes have been translated into discriminatory acts against Blacks. This is due primarily to the fact that the firms participating in this study have not taken concrete, determined steps to assure Blacks equal opportunity. In addition, they have not taken any concrete steps to eliminate institutional racism.

In sum: The major problem facing Black managers and white corporations is to confront the more subtle forms of racism in the corporate world so that Blacks can truly receive equal employment opportunities.

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[10]Dale Gronnemeier, "the Union White Paper on Racial Discrimination in Employment" (unpublished paper, University of California, Berkeley, 1968), p. 20.

What the Participating Managers Believe Should Be Done
to Provide Equal Employment Opportunities for Blacks

In the interviews the participating managers were given
the opportunity to express their opinions about what should be
done, if anything, in the area of affirmative action in order
to assure Blacks equal employment opportunities.

In general, the vast majority of the Black and white man-
agers believe that corporations should take public positions re-
garding civil rights--the Black managers taking a stronger stand
than the white managers.

One Black middle level manager from Triple C Bank said:
"Corporations by discriminating against Blacks are taking public
positions regarding civil rights--they are taking a negative
position."

A Black female manager from Ace Public Utility feels that:
"Corporations make decisions every day which influence social at-
titudes. They take public stands and try to influence attitudes
on issues which they believe will help or harm their firms, but
very few will take a strong public stand regarding civil rights
because they do not realize that the progress of civil rights
can have a helpful or harmful effect on their firm. Corporations
are afraid of being the leaders in the business community's efforts
for civil rights or just do not want to take positive public stands
on civil rights."

A white upper level manager from the same company believes
the corporate world must take "rational and worthy" stands regard-
ing civil rights because "corporations are an integral, powerful

force in society and they can no longer ignore social problems."

An integral part of taking public positions regarding civil rights is for the firms to set an example in providing Blacks with equal opportunities. As the managers' responses to the next two questions show, most Black and many white managers believe their firms should take steps to provide Blacks with equal employment opportunities. The problem with some of the white managers' responses to these questions is that they generally believe their firms are already providing Blacks with equal employment opportunities but other firms are not; therefore, their responses generally apply to what they believe other firms should do rather than to what their firms should do. The first question the managers responded to was: Many companies indicate that they want to do "the right thing" about hiring and promoting Black managers. But what does doing "the right thing" involve?

Table 1 shows which of the six factors the managers believe should be the most important "right thing" to do in the employment of Black managers.

The managers were given six choices. If they selected more than one, they were to indicate the order of importance of their choices.

When one looks at the second and third most important right things firms should do, one finds that more than a majority of the Black and white managers believe firms should do more than hire and promote strictly on the basis of qualifications, especially

TABLE 1

THE MOST IMPORTANT RIGHT THING COMPANIES SHOULD DO
TO PROVILE BLACKS EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES

Right Thing to Do	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Make special recruiting and training efforts among Blacks.	50 %	44 %
Hire and promote strictly on the basis of qualification for the job.	22	41
Give careful attention to the promotion of qualified Blacks.	12	11
Practice positive (reverse) discrimination.	9	1
Do nothing.	7	3
Other.	0	0
Total	100	100

in the area of recruiting and training. Many of the managers

believe that after firms recruit and train Black managers they

should give careful attention to the promotion of qualified

Blacks; this was the most frequent second and third choice.[11]

When the three most important selections are combined,

it is found that 45 percent of the Black managers and 57 percent

of the white managers believe that "doing the right thing" means

in part hiring and promoting strictly on the basis of qualifications

[11]See Appendix B, pp. 556-557, for the frequency distribution of the managers' second and third choices.

for the job. Eighty-one percent of the Black managers and 69

percent of the white managers believe "doing the right thing"

includes making special recruiting and training efforts among

Blacks. Fifty-eight percent of the Black managers and 44 percent

of the white managers believe careful attention should be given

to the promotion of qualified Blacks. Finally, 25 percent of

the Black and 13 percent of the white managers believe reverse

discrimination should be practiced as part of "doing the right

thing."

In sum: Very few of the Black managers, 10 percent, and

approximately 25 percent of the white managers believe that firms

should only hire and promote strictly on the basis of qualifica-

tions for the job. The vast majority of the managers believe

that special efforts should be made in the area of recruiting,

hiring, training, and promoting Blacks; however, very few of them

believe reverse discrimination should be part of firms' employ-

ment programs.

Finally, the managers were asked for their own personal

suggestions about what should be done to provide equal employment

opportunities for Blacks. The question was: Do you have any sug-

gestions to further reduce barriers to Black managerial employ-

ment? Table 2 shows the managers' responses.

Some of the typical managers' responses follow:

One Black female from Ace Public Utility gave a very

pessimistic response: "There is no way to reduce barriers as

TABLE 2

THE MANAGERS' SUGGESTIONS TO FURTHER REDUCE
BARRIERS TO BLACK EMPLOYMENT

Suggestions	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Companies should adopt and enforce Affirmative Action Programs with specific goals, timetables, and standards.	23 %	12 %
Whites should be educated and made more aware and sensitive; they should learn about Black history, culture, etc.; they should have actual contact with a number of Black people so their stereotype of Blacks can be overcome.	12	9
No suggestions.	11	25
Establish and/or place more Blacks into management training programs.	11	11
Discipline the white racists, by weeding them out, firing them, etc.	11	1
Companies should improve the caliber of their recruiters, employ more Black recruiters and improve their recruiting methods.	7	6
An undeniable, known commitment from top management to other managers and to the community.	7	4
There should be more interaction between Blacks and whites so that both groups could begin to understand and respect each other more.	5	9
Blacks should prepare themselves, i.e., get an education, training, skills, etc.	5	7

TABLE 2 (continued)

Suggestions	Black Managers (N=116)	White Managers (N=156)
Blacks should not become complacent; they should continue to pressure firms from the inside and outside.	5 %	0 %
Blacks, themselves, can be the most effective in eliminating barriers by doing outstanding jobs in their present positions.	4	5
Blacks must have more positive attitudes toward themselves.	3	3
Doesn't believe there are any barriers.	1	5
Time will break down the barriers.	1	2
Do not practice reverse discrimination.	0	5
Corporations should become more involved in cooperating with and assisting educational institutions to educate Blacks.	0	5
It is the Blacks' own fault that they haven't made it; their attitude is bad, i.e., they are lazy, don't want to work, etc.	0	2
Other	5	10
Total*	111	111

*The total percentages are over 100 because some managers gave several suggestions.

long as you have the same kind of people (WASPs) running corporations. Corporations attract the same kind of people who are generally conservative white racists . . ."

A Black lower level male from the same company suggested that: "White supervisors should be made resonsible for their actions on the job. Their promotions and raises should be dependent on their ability to treat all people fairly."

A white upper level manager again from the same company: "Whites should make a determined effort to interact more with Blacks. Blacks should be less sensitive about what whites say and do. The whites normally don't know or understand what they are saying or doing."

Another upper level white manager from Aunts Manufacturing suggested that: "The most significant thing to do to reduce barriers is to get management to understand that all of the concepts involved in this change process of minority involvement is not only the hiring process. You can force industry to hire but it is more difficult to force them to promote."

Lastly, a white lower level male from Ajax Manufacturing: "There is nothing stopping them (Blacks). There has been a push for giving them the opportunity to obtain a higher education and this has given them a shot in the arm. It is their own fault for not having the necessary education to get jobs. This is true for women too."

The responses of the managers to the previous questions clearly suggest that the vast majority of them believe that industry should take special steps in order to provide equal employment opportunities for Blacks. The most serious problem with the

white managers' responses is that they are probably more likely
to support affirmative action to improve the Black managers'
situation just as long as those actions do not affect their own
careers. This was evident in Chapter III where it was noted that
many of the Black and white managers believe that resistance to
equal employment opportunity is greatest in the managerial ranks
where there are Blacks competing with whites. In addition, even
though the white managers believe other firms should take action
to insure Blacks equal opportunities, they generally believe that
their own firms afford Blacks equal employment opportunities and
thus do not need to take affirmative steps.

The Advice the Black Managers Would
Give to Other Blacks

In order to give the reader some insight into the Black
managers' views as to what Blacks should do to get ahead in cor-
porations, the managers were asked several questions. One ques-
tion was: Would you advise a young Black man or woman just out
of school or college to enter the business world? Ninety-four
percent of the Black managers would advise young Blacks just out
of school or college to enter the business world. This is some-
what surprising because the vast majority of the Black managers
believe the corporate world in general and their firms have biased,
hostile, frustrating atmospheres and provide limited opportunities
for Black manag˜rs.

The prim.˜ry reason for this seeming inconsistency is that
most of the Black managers believe racism exists in all institutions

(government, academic, and business) because this is basically a racist society. Thus they believe Blacks have similar opportunities in the business world as they do in governmental service or the academic world.

The managers were then asked: What would you say is the best way for a young Black to achieve high managerial positions? Their advice was to develop skills, do a good job, work hard, always strive for more, set goals, and don't let people deal with you unfairly. Much of this advice is based on the Black managers' realization that they must be better qualified than whites to get ahead in the corporate world. It should be noted that none of the Black managers suggested that the young Blacks should try to get things just because they are Black, which many white managers believe is the case.[12]

The advice the Black managers would give to young Blacks to achieve high managerial positions is much more idealistic than the advice the managers would give to Blacks entering their firms. In general, the advice most frequently mentioned by the Black managers that they would give to other Blacks entering their firms is to stand up for what they believe is right--be your own man. This is not surprising since it was learned in Chapter V that conformity to company standards in terms of dress, physical appearance, and attitudes are strong forces in these companies. Many Blacks believe that when whites say Blacks must conform to company standards

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[12]See Appendix B, pp. 557-558, for advice the Black managers would give young Blacks to achieve high managerial positions.

they mean that Blacks should be "yes" niggers.

The second most frequently mentioned advice was to be aware and cautious of corporate politics and be able to use corporate politics to their advantage. Again this advice is consistent with the Black managers' opinions concerning the important role politics plays in the hiring and promoting policies of their companies.

Other important advice the Black managers would give to incoming Black managers is: to pursue the best education possible, to keep abreast of your job, and to work hard and always do your job well.

In short, the advice the Black managers would give to other incoming Black managers is a warning to the Black managers to be suspicious and cautious because they are entering hostile atmosphere.

In sum: The advice the Black managers would give to other Blacks who are considering the world as a place for employment is that they must realize that in order to succeed they must be more "qualified" than whites, make few, if any, mistakes, watch out for politics, and stand up for their rights.

What Can and Should Be Done to Provide Equal Employment Opportunities for Blacks--A Personal Note

This section offers the writer's suggestions as to what the corporate world and Blacks as a group and as individuals shou'ld and can do in order to assure that Blacks will be provided with equal employment opportunities.

First, white executives and officials must recognize
that racism exists in the corporations at all managerial levels.
Because this racism is deeply embedded, special efforts must be
made to assure that Blacks are afforded equal employment oppor-
tunities. Corporations should realize that these special efforts
and steps do not constitute a program of favoritism, preferential
treatment, or reverse discrimination, but that they must be taken
in order for firms to achieve a non-discriminatory policy.

Blauner makes the case that "preferential treatment" is
not reverse racism:

> The idea of reverse racism is often used to dis-
> credit various projects for "preferential treat-
> ment." In the university context this means
> special admissions programs for minority students
> and deliberate efforts to hire third world fac-
> ulty and other employees. The pure liberal posi-
> tion holds that color and ethnicity should be ir-
> relevant to all decisions and that the elimina-
> tion of overt discrimination is as far as any
> institution should move toward the goal of ra-
> cial equality. The mistake of this position is
> its assumption that patterns of racial subjuga-
> tion, the exclusion of people of color from an
> equitable share of social opportunity, can be
> eliminated by simply ending discrimination.
> Since much of racial exclusion is the present-
> day reflection or residue of past racial dis-
> crimination and the disadvantages suffered by
> people of color earlier in their lives, special
> efforts and energies must be extended to actively
> reverse inequality. Preferential treatment is
> not racism in reverse because its purpose and
> goal is not to turn our racial order on its head
> so that nonwhites will be in the position of
> dominance . . . . I must also note that the cry
> of reverse racism is not only raised by white
> liberals who have been personally dedicated to
> civil rights and integration; it is more and

more raised by conservatives, including professors,
who have never raised a finger in the past about
the society's predominant white racism.[13]

As early as 1964, Charles E. Silberman adopted a similar

position:

> Most of the discussion of Negro demands for pre-
> ferential treatment, and for "reverse quotas"
> have missed the essential point. The object is
> not compensation in the sense of making it up to
> the Negro for past injustices; it is to overcome
> the tendencies to exclude the Negro which are
> built into the very marrow of American society
> . . . . A formal policy of non-discrimination,
> a policy of employing people "regardless of
> race, color, or creed," however estimable,
> usually works out in practice to be a policy
> of employing whites only . . . . As soon as we
> agree that special measures are necessary to
> overcome the heritage of past discrimination,
> the question of number, of how many Negroes
> are to be hired, in what job categories in-
> evitably arises. Not to use numbers for a
> yardstick for measuring performance is, in
> effect, to revert to "tokenism."[14]

On August 4, 1972, the American Jewish Committee came out

strongly against quotas and both Presidential candidates, Nixon

and McGovern, sent letters to the American Jewish Committee agree-

ing with its stance. The September 18, 1972, issue of _Time_ pub-

lished an article which essentially said that the quota system

(goals and timetables) to improve the situation of minorities

(Blacks) is the sleeping and most explosive issue in the presi-

dential campaign. The article quoted Nathan Glazer as saying:

> It's good when people are informally aware that
> major segments of the population must be repre-
> sented in key areas of society . . . . But it's

---

[13]Blauner, _Racial Oppression in America_, p. 261.

[14]Charles E. Silberman, _Crisis in Black and White_ (New York, 1964), p. 241.

bad when you start arguing over specific percentages
to assign to each area. The process of trading off
efficiencies for arbitrary percentage equality ul-
timately loses sight of merit almost entirely.
It's tragic that we should see the emergence of
quotas at the very time the figures are showing
great progress without them.[15]

But Glazer's assumptions are mistaken. To set specific

percentages in order to meet certain objectives is not to trade

off efficiency for equality. His statement is based on the

racist assumption that Blacks are less qualified and/or there

are few qualified Blacks.

Carl Rowan in an article entitled "A Defense of Job Quotas"

wrote:

It is going to come as a wry shock to millions of
hungry, miserable Black Americans that they have
been getting so many of the goodies of American
life that the white majority feels discriminated
against.

Honest officials have simply noted that the
bureaucracy does not respond to general orders
to end discrimination. You have to spell out a
"goal." Only then will personnel departments cut
out the nonsense where a Black college graduate
is adjudged scarcely capable of cleaning spitoons.

Now--about this college bit. As a trustee
of a couple of fair-to-middlin' institutions,
I've learned how the system works. Grades are
just one factor in determining who gets in. Lead-
ership potential is, and ought to be, every bit
as important as book-wormish qualities. The child
of a prominent alumnus with a B-plus has a leg up
on another applicant with straight A's. The off-
spring of a generous donor has an advantage. A
strong recommendation from a respected teacher
or principal will make a lot of C's and B's look
like A's.

_____

[15]_Time_, Sept. 18, 1972, p. 39.

> Good colleges don't want to be country clubs;
> they would be lesser educational facilities if
> they were. So they need minorities. Why shouldn't
> they consider some other-than-grades factors to
> make their student bodies more representative of
> the nation?[16]

The resentment whites feel toward the special efforts
which must be taken to assure equal employment opportunities for
Blacks will only lead to greater tensions between whites and
Blacks which will eventually have to be overcome. The longer
these steps are put off, the greater the cost and the harder it
will be to overcome the problems. Companies should remember that
change from racist, unequal systems to equitable ones cannot occur
without personal and social trauma; therefore, cries of preferen-
tial treatment and reverse discrimination should be viewed as
what they are--fear on the part of the white males that they are
no longer in privileged positions.

The first step a company should take in order to assure
that Blacks are provided with equal opportunities is to establish
goals and timetables for all departments/divisions/sections.
These goals and timetables should not only be directed to the
overall number of Blacks in the company, but to the number of
Blacks in specific levels of the hierarchy and job areas.

As the company develops its goals and timetables, it
should begin to do three things: (1) develop the organizational
structure necessary to insure compliance with the programs; (2)
recruit and train Black managers; and (3) develop a reward system

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[16]Carl Rowan, "A Defense of Job Quotas," San Francisco
Examiner, Sept. 6, 1972, p. 9.

system which would give pormotional and salary increases to those managers who are meeting their equal employment goals and demotions and/or dismissals to those who are not.

Some readers may believe the last suggestion is ridiculous; however, goals and timetables are set for many other managerial activities and managers are rewarded or not according to their ability to meet these goals and timetables. Therefore, this system should also apply to equal employment opportunity goals. The sooner companies begin to really practice equality in employment, the less time and money they will spend in answering discrimination charges and more time and money can be spent on making a profit.

In addition to developing strong, effective Affirmative Action Programs which will assure that all employees are treated equally, firms can insure the following management program that all employees have more satisfying and rewarding jobs, that all employees are evaluated by more objective criteria, and that the potential and career planning of all employees is realistically and objectively evaluated. The end result of a strong, effective Affirmative Action Program in conjunction with the following managerial program will greatly assist firms in combatting the fear among their white managers of Black competition and the concern among Blacks that they will not be treated in an equitable manner. In addition, these programs will help increase the effective operation of the company.

The three main concepts of the program are: job enrich-
ment, joint target setting (management by objectives), and assess-
ment through assessment centers. Many firms already use these
three main concepts; however, they are not used throughout the
entire organization and not in any systematic related manner.

Briefly, this program would insure that all jobs, where
practical, be re-evaluated to make certain that they are "whole"
jobs or work modules with specific, well-defined responsibilities,
and that the individuals responsible for carrying them out have
the necessary decision making powers to successfully perform the
jobs. The design of "whole" jobs or work modules should be a
mutual task between bosses and the subordinates. Once the job
(work module) is designed, the boss and subordinate should mutually
develop and agree on the major targets (goals) and how these tar-
gets are to be measured. Subordinates' performances will be judged
on how well they do in meeting the targets and not on subjective
criteria such as race, sex, dress, personality, etc. It is obvious
that in order for bosses and subordinates to mutually develop and
agree on targets which the subordinate will be held accountable
for and evaluated on, the job must be well designed. Finally, to
assist the bosses in evaluating their subordinates, the bosses
should be trained on validated assessment techniques which would
also assist them in developing jobs which would make it easier
for them to evaluate their subordinates' performance and potential.
In addition, all managers in middle and lower management should

attend assessment centers which would evaluate their managerial

potential, so that a check could be made on their bosses' evalua-

tion of their potential, so that more systematic career planning

could be carried out.

More specifically, in order to institute the previous

porgram, corporations should train their managers to enrich jobs.[17]

Robert Ford has noted that one of the biggest troubles with a job

is that no one has full responsibility for a total job; therefore,

one of the main characteristics of a good job is that it is a

module. In creating a module the boss should initially fit the

job to the subordinate and not the subordinate to the job. Ford

wrote the following with regard to modules:

> The modules of most jobs can be improved, we
> have concluded. Responsibilities or tasks that
> exist elsewhere in the shop or in some other shop
> or department need to be combined with the job
> under review. This horizontal loading is neces-
> sary until the base of the job is right. However,
> I have not yet seen a job whose base was too broad.

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[17]See the following books and articles which deal with
job enrichment:
    J. F. Biggane and Paul A. Stuart, Job Enlargement: A
Case Study, Research Series 25, Bureau of Labor and Management,
College of Business Administration, State University of Iowa
(Iowa City, Ia., 1963). Robert Blauner, Alienation and Freedom:
The Factor Worker and His Industry (Chicago, 1964). Louis E.
Davis, "Toward a Theory of Job Design," Journal of Industrial
Engineering, VII (1956). Robert N. Ford, Motivation Through the
Work Itself (New York, 1969). Robert N. Ford, "Job Enrichment
Lessons from AT&T," Harvard Business Review, 51, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb.,
1973), 96-106. Fred K. Foulkes, Creating More Meaningful Work
(New York, 1969). F. Herzberg, Work and the Nature of Man (Cleve-
land, 1966). Alfred J. Marrow, David G. Bowers, and S. E. Sea-
shore, Management by Participation (New York, 1967). Leslie
Stephens, "A Case for Job Enlargement," Personnel Management,
Sept., 1963. Victor H. Vroom, Work and Motivation (New York, 1964).

> At levels higher than entrance grade, and
> especially in management position, many respon-
> sibilities can be moved to lower grade levels,
> usually to the advantage of every job involved.
> This vertical loading is especially important
> in mature organizations.[18]

Another important component of a good job, Ford believes,

is to let the subordinates have control of other job modules,

that is, subordinates should have decision making authority to

carry out their responsibilities. He gave the following example:

> In the directory-compilation case cited--which
> was a typical assembly-line procedure, although the
> capital investment was low--the supervisors found
> that they could safely permit the employee to say
> when sales of advertisements in the yellow pages
> must stop if the ads were to reach the printer
> on time.
>
> Employees of South Central Bell Telephone
> Company, who set their own cutoff dates for the
> New Orleans, Monroeville, and Shreveport phone
> books, consistently gave themselves less time
> than management had previously allowed. As a
> result, the sale of space in the yellow pages
> one year continued for three additional weeks,
> producing more than $100,000 in extra revenue.
>
> But that was only one element in the total
> module and its control. The directory clerks
> talked directly to salesmen, to the printer,
> to supervisors in other departments about pro-
> duction problems, to service representatives,
> and to each other as the books moved through
> the production stages.[19]

Ford's final component of a good job is that the sub-

ordinate receive sufficient feedback about his/her performance:

[18]Ford, "Job Enrichment Lessons from AT&T," p. 96.

[19]Ibid., pp. 98-99.

> Definition of the module and control of it are
> futile unless the results of the employee's
> effort are discernible. Moreover, knowledge
> of the results should go directly to where it
> will nurture motivation--that is, to the em-
> ployee. People have a great capacity for mid-
> flight correction when they know where they
> stand . . . .

> When the module is right, you get feedback
> "for free"; it comes directly from tne customer/
> client/task. During the learning period, how-
> ever, the supervisor or teacher should provide
> the feedback.[20]

Ford's book and article give the impression that the boss

does all the deciding on the work module, control, and feedback.

Job enrichment with only the boss making the decisions generally

will not lead to the following conclusion of Ford because decisions

made solely by the boss about the subordinate's job will not lead

to a total commitment on the part of the subordinate. This is

where job enrichment and joint target setting are tied together.

Ford wrote:

> When the work is right, employee attitudes are
> right. That is the job enrichment strategy--
> get the work right.[21]

It is obvious that new employees will not be able to con-

tribute much to decisions about their job design and their initial

responsibilities, means of measurement and targets; however,

bosses should begin at the initial meeting to initiate the joint

target setting or management by objectives procedures. Henry L.

Tosi, et al. give this general definition of management by

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[20]Ibid., p. 101.

[21]Ibid., p. 106.

objectives or joint target setting:[22]

> Management by objectives is a process in which
> memb.rs of complex organizations, working in con-
> junction with one another, identify common goals
> and coordinate their efforts toward achieving
> them. It emphasizes the future and change, since
> an objective or target is an end state, or a con-
> dition to be achieved or have in effect at some
> future time. The emphasis is on where the organ-
> ization is going--the what and the how of its in-
> tended accomplishments. Objectives can be thought
> of as statements of purpose and direction, formal-
> ized into a system of management. They may be
> long-range or short-range. They may be general,
> to provide direction to an entire organization,
> or they may be highly specific to provide de-
> tailed direction for a given individual.[23]

Defined another way, joint target setting or management
by objectives is a continuous process whereby bosses and subor-
dinates periodically define and agree on the subordinates' re-
sponsibilities, agree on means of measuring the responsibilities,
agree on target levels and use these agreed-upon targets as guides

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[22]See the following books discussing joint target setting
or management by objectives:
Robert R. Blake and Jane S. Mouton, The Managerial Grid
(Houston, Tex., 1964). John P. Campbell, Marvin D. Dunnette,
Edward E. Lawlor, and Karl E. Weick, Managerial Behavior, Per-
formance, and Effectiveness (New York, 1970). Peter F. Drucker,
The Practice of Management (New York, 1954). Peter F. Drucker,
Managing for Results (New York, 1964). Frederick Herzberg,
Work and the Nature of Man (New York, 1966). Charles L. Hughes,
Goal Setting (New York, 1965). Rensis Likert, New Patterns of
Management (New York, 1961). Douglas McGregor, The Human Side
of Enterprise (New York, 1960). George S. Odiorne, Management
Decisions by Objectives (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1969). George
S. Odiorne, Management by Objectives (New York, 1965).

[23]Henry L. Tosi, et al., "Setting Goals in Management by
Objectives," California Management Review, III, No. 4 (Summer,
1970), 70.

for reaching organizations' goals and for assessing the subordinate's contribution to reaching these goals.

The advantages of the subordinate and boss agreeing on the subordinate's major responsibilities, means of measurement, and targets are: (1) there will be a clear understanding between boss and subordinate about the subordinate's responsibilities and target levels; (2) the subordinate will have a stronger commitment to completing the job successfully and on time, i.e., there is control through commitment; (3) the subordinate will know how well he/she is performing at all times; (4) the boss will have some objective criteria upon which to evaluate the subordinate's performance; (5) the subordinate will be able to challenge, if necessary, the boss's evaluation of his/her performance based on objective criteria; and (6) if a subordinate is not promoted or is terminated and files a discriminatory complaint against the company, the company will have objective documented proof to support their case.

The final component of this managerial strategy is assessment procedures and centers.[24]

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[24]See the following articles:
D. W. Bray, "The Assessment Center Method of Appraising Management Potential," in J. W. Blood, ed., The Personnel Job in a Changing World (New York, 1964), pp. 225-234. D. W. Bray and R. J. Campbell, "Assessment Centers: An Aid in Management Selection," Personnel Administration, 30 (1967), 6-13. D. W. Bray and R. J. Campbell, "Selection of Salesmen by Means of an Assessment Center," Journal of Applied Psychology, 52 (1968), 36-41. D. W. Bray and D. L. Grant, "The Assessment Center in the Measurement of Potential for Business Management," Psychological Monographs, 80 (1966), 17. D. W. Bray and D. L. Grant, "Contributions

Although writing about women, Douglas W. Bray, one of the leading experts on assessment, made some very relevant comments about changes occurring in the employment of women (minorities):

> That situation (discrimination) is now changing, thanks to strong legal and social pressures. But effective change requires both motivation and method. Motivation to provide greater opportunity for women there is in abundance, not only in legislation and unrest among female employees, but in management's growing awareness of the tremendous hidden waste incurred in the failure to let women use their full potential. Method, however, is something else. Good intentions alone won't go far to correct imbalances and injustices that have been years in the making. Programs and techniques are needed.[25]

Continuing, he noted that even white males who encounter no attitudinal resistance are quite frequently not properly utilized because of internal organizational barriers which inhibit free

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of the Interview to Assessment of Management Potential," _Journal of Applied Psychology_, 53 (1969), 24-34. D. W. Bray, D. L. Grant, and W. Katkovsky, "Contributions of Projective Techniques to Assessment of Management Potential," _Journal of Applied Psychology_, 51 (1967), 226-232. D. W. Bray and J. L. Moses, "Personnel Selection," _Annual Review of Psychology_ (1972), 23. W. C. Byham and G. C. Thornton, "Assessment Centers: A New Aid in Management Selection," _Studies in Personnel Psychology_, 2 (1970), 21-35. W. E. Dodd, "Summary of IBM Assessment Validations," paper presented as part of the symposium, "Validity of Assessment Centers," at the 79th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 1971. J. L. Moses, "Assessment Center Performance and Management Progress," paper presented as part of the symposium, "Validity of Assessment Centers," at the 79th Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association, 1971. P. F. Wernimont and J. P. Campbell, "Signs, Samples and Criteria," _Journal of Applied Psychology_, 52 (1968), 372-376.

[25]Douglas W. Bray, "The Assessment Center: Opportunities for Women," _Personnel Magazine_, Sept.–Oct., 1971, p. 30.

movement of employees from department to department. Some of the barriers, according to Bray, are "the inability to identify employees with unrealized potential, the reluctance of a department head to accept a transferee on somebody else's say-so or to part with a good employee, and candidates' lack of relevant experience to qualify for transfer." He suggested that if it is difficult for white males to move in the organization, it is even more difficult for women, and one could say minorities. He foresaw great difficulty in convincing managers that women have the ability to perform those jobs which have been associated with males. With regard to blacks, one could argue that it will be difficult to convince white managers that Blacks have the ability to perform in white jobs, i.e., jobs which are not related to the Black consumer market or Black employees.

Bray also noted that women (minorities) may have bosses who are skeptical to promote them because many of the jobs they presently hold do not allow them to demonstrate their real potential. Thus he concluded what is needed is solid evidence that women (minority) candidates have the necessary qualities for the lateral or promotional position.[26] He wrote:

> A thorough evaluation of potential is needed not
> only as a persuader, but to determine that the
> candidate actually does have the abilities needed.
> A program of fuller utilization of women will pro-
> ceed much more quickly if those who are transferred
> or advanced do well in their new assignments; too
> many poor choices would constitute a major setback.

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[26]Ibid., p. 31.

The answer may be the management assessment center, which has been demonstrated to be both an accurate method of evaluating potential and one that line managers are ready to accept. Introduced a little over a decade ago, this method is now being widely utilized in fifteen large companies, including the Bell System, where it was designed, General Electric, IBM, and Sears, Roebuck and Company, as well as several government agencies.[27]

At assessment centers managers are put through standardized performance situations which allow the assessment center staff to evaluate the managers' managerial abilities and potential primarily through simulated exercises. Some of the important managerial dimensions which the trainers are able to evaluate are leadership, flexibility, communications skills, planning and organizing, aptitude, decisiveness, and motivation.

Bray described the workings of the assessment center in the following manner:

All exercises at the assessment center are observed by members of a trained staff, who pool their observations at a meeting in which each candidate is intensively reviewed. The candidate is rated on a number of management factors and a final judgment is then made about both the degree of management ability possessed and future developmental needs. A summary of these deliberations is sent to the appropriate level of management and face-to-face feedbacks to the individual participants are given within a week or two, often handled by the assessment staff members themselves.[28]

William C. Byham noted the following advantages of assessment centers:

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., p. 32.

*

> The exercises used are designed to bring out the
> specific skills and aptitudes needed in the posi-
> tion(s) for which a group of candidates is being
> assessed.
>
> Since the exercises are standardized, assessors
> evaluate the candidates under relatively constant
> conditions and thus are abl to make valid com-
> parative judgments.
>
> The assessors usually do not know the candidates
> personally; so, being emotionally disengaged, they
> are unbiased.
>
> The assessors are shielded from the many inter-
> ruptions of normal working conditions and cay p-y
> full attention to the candidates' behavior in
> the exercises.
>
> The procedures focus their attention on the primary
> kinds of behavior they ought to observe in evaluating
> a promotion candidate.
>
> They have been trained to observe and evaluate these
> kinds of behavior.[29]

An advantage which Byham does not indicate is that evalua-

tions are more objective, when more than one person is involved.

However, if assessment centers are going to assess minorities and

women, their staffs should include minorities and women to assure

that racist and sexist attitudes do not hinder a fair evaluation.

In addition, the assessors should be aware of racist and sexist

views of assessees which might hinder a minority or women oppor-

tunities to demonstrate their true ability.

Bray noted that he was not arguing that assessment centers

will solve all the problems of giving women (minorities) equal

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[29]William C. Byham, "Assessment Centers for Spotting Future
Managers," Harvard Business Review (July-Aug., 1970), 151.

opportunities, but he does believe they would go a long way in providing equal opportunity for women (minorities) in the shortest possible time.

This writer believes that not only will it be helpful to send managers to assessment centers for evaluation, but that all managers should be taught assessment techniques. Not only would this assist the managers in objectively evaluating their subordinates' potential, but it would also assist them in developing work modules and setting targets which would allow them to measure additional supervisory skills.

The writer suggests that if firms develop the systematic, planned managerial program which was just discussed, many of the fears of both the Black and white managers will disappear; however, it will not in itself afford Blacks true equal employment opportunities because many of the white managers will find it very difficult to deal with Blacks in the mutual manner which is necessary to agree on job enrichment and joint target setting.

In order to assure that most white managers with negative racial attitudes will not translate their attitudes into actions, firms must have well developed Affirmative Action Programs and effective compliance procedures. Chapter III puts forth some ideas about what constitutes an effective Affirmative Action Program.

In concluding this study, the writer would like to say that Black managers or Blacks in general must face up to the fact

that they cannot only depend on the government or any other force to assure them equal employment opportunities. Those Blacks who are in corporations must realize that not only must they continuously stand up for their rights to be treated fairly, but they must also assist other Blacks in their companies in receiving equality of opportunity.

Furthermore, the Black population in general should adopt the boycott techniques used by the Rev. Jesse Jackson to force white corporations to provide Blacks with equal employment opportunities. As Clifford Alexander noted:

> . . . Blacks have a tremendous purchasing power, variously estimated from $21 to $40 billion, that they spend on a large number of products. This, of course, could make or break certain kinds of products. It has been said that in the beer industry, for example, 26 percent of the consumption is by Blacks. This is one example. There are other consumer products where the percentages are even higher.[30]

In short, what Blacks must remember is that whites will not concede anything to Blacks unless Blacks demand and struggle for their fair share. As Frederick Douglass noted in 1849:

> Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them; and these will continue till they have resisted either with words or blows or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they suppress.[31]

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[30]Alexander, p. 7.

[31]Black Scholar, Oct., 1970, p. 15.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Interview Schedule[1]

Introduction

All information reported in this interview schedule
will be held in strict confidence. No information from these
sources will be published in such a manner that data relating
to the interviewee or to his company can be identified. In ad-
dition, no information reported in this interview schedule will
be released to the interviewee's firm in a manner which would
allow his firm to identify him as the source of information.

Firm Name _____

Interviewee's Code Number   1/ ____

                             2/ ____

                             ,' ____

                             4/ ____

                   Card # 5/1

---

[1]The writer used many comments from the 1969-1972 issues
of MBA to develop questions for this study. He also borrowed many
questions from Robert P. Quinn, et al., The Decision to Discriminate:
A Study of Executive Selection (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1968).

Part 1. (QUESTIONS ABOUT JOB EXPERIENCES)

First, we would like to ask you several questions about your promotional opportunities, goals, and career pattern.

6-12/1. Which, if any, of the following factors helped you attain your present position? (SHOW CARD 1) (CAN SELECT MORE THAN ONE)

0. ___ Experience within the company

1. ___ Experience in another company

2. ___ Experience in the ꞏ ꞏrnment

3. ___ Experience in t. .litary

4. ___ Experience in social agencies

5. ___ Experience in the academic world

6. ___ Investment in the company

7. ___ Inheritance or family influence

8. ___ Initiative in organizing the company

9. _____ Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)

13/2. Have you progressed as rapidly as you think you should in this company?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF NO)

2a. Why do you say this? _____

_____

_____

_____

14-17/3. Approximately how many years or months do you think it will be before you are advanced to a position at a higher level?

14/a. ___ years   15/b. ___ months

16/c. ___ never   17/d. ___ don't know

18-19/4. Approximately when would you like to be advanced to a position at a higher level?

18/a. ___ years   19/b. ___ months

20/5. If things go according to your greatest expectations, will you stay with this company?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

20a. What position in this company would you like to end up with? _____

_____ Name of Position

(IF NO)

20b. What position would you like to end up with? _____

_____ Name of Position

21/6. How would you rate your chances of getting this position?

0. ___ Excellent

1. ___ Good

2. ___ Fair

3. ___ Poor

22/7. Are there any major obstacles which are preventing you from achieving this position?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

What are the major obstacles? _____

_____   _____

_____

_____

8. If you had the power to make any improvements you wished to make, what changes would you institute in the promotion policy of your firm? _____

_____   _____

_____

_____

_____

23/9. On this card are different reasons people may have for choosing a certain job. (SHOW CARD 2) Just supposing you were going to choose a new job, which one of the things on this card would be <u>most important</u> to you?

0. ___ High income

1. ___ No danger of being fired; security

2. ___ Lots of free time

3. ___ Chances for advancement

4. ___ The work is important and gives a sense of accomplishment

5. ___ The work is interesting

6. ___ The work gives lots of chances to meet people

7. _____ Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)

24/9a. Which of the remaining things on the card is <u>second</u> in

importance?

      0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 (CIRCLE ONE)

25/9b. Which of the things listed here would be of <u>least</u>

importance to you?

      0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 (CIRCLE ONE)

26/10. If you wanted to leave your position with this company,

how difficult do you believe it would be to obtain a

comparable position somewhere else with similar income

and fringe benefits? (SHOW CARD 3)

0. ___ Very difficult

1. ___ Fairly difficult

2. ___ Not very difficult

3. ___ Not difficult at all

10a. Why do you believe this? _____

_____

_____

_____

    All of us occasionally feel bothered by certain kinds of

things in our work. Listed below are a number of examples of

things that sometimes bother people. We would like you to

respond to each example in terms of how frequently you feel bothered by each of them. (SHOW CARD 4) Please do not bother to take much time with each statement; your first impression is perfectly all right.

27/11. Feeling that you have too little authority to carry out the responsibilities assigned to you.

0. ___ Never

1. ___ Rarely

2. ___ Rather often

3. ___ Nearly all the time

28/12. Being unclear on just what the scope and responsibilities of your job are.

0. ___ Never

1. ___ Rarely

2. ___ Rather often

3. ___ Nearly all the time

29/13 The possibility of losing your job.

0. ___ Never

1. ___ Rarely

2. ___ Rather often

3. ___ Nearly all the time

30/14. Thinking that you'll not be able to satisfy the con-

flicting demands of various people over you.

0. ___ Never

1. ___ Rarely

2. ___ Rather often

3. ___ Nearly all the time

31/15. Not knowing what your superior thinks of you, how he

evaluates your performance.

0. ___ Never

1. ___ Rarely

2. ___ Rather often

3. ___ Nearly all the time

32/16. The fact that you can't get information needed to carry

out your job.

0. ___ Never

1. ___ Rarely

2. ___ Rather often

3. ___ Nearly all the time

33/17. Feeling that you may not be liked and accepted by the

people you work with.

0. ___ Never

1. ___ Rarely

2. ___ Rather often

3. ___ Nearly all the time

34/18. Feeling unable to influence your immediate superior's

decisions and actions that affect you.

0. ___ Never

1. ___ Rarely

2. ___ Rather often

3. ___ Nearly all the time.

35/19. Thinking that the amount of work you have to do may

interfere with how well it gets done.

0. ___ Never

1. ___ Rarely

2. ___ Rather often

3. ___ Nearly all the time

36/20. Feeling that you have to do things on the job that are

against your better judgment.

0. ___ Never

1. ___ Rarely

2. ___ Rather often

3. ___ Nearly all the time

The following questions deal with things your immediate

superior might or might not do. Please indicate the one alterna-

tive that best describes the person who supervises you. (CONTINUE

SHOWING CARD 4)

37/21. Lets those he supervises set their own work pace.

    0. ___ Never

    1. ___ Rarely

    2. ___ Rather often

    3. ___ Nearly all the time

38/22. Checks on the work of his/her subordinates.

    0. ___ Never

    1. ___ Rarely

    2. ___ Rather often

    3. ___ Nearly all the time

Please answer the following questions in terms of _how satisfied_ you are with each. (SHOW CARD 5)

39/23. With the group you work with.

    0. ___ Completely satisfied

    1. ___ Very satisfied

    2. ___ Not very satisfied

    3. _ Not at all satisfied

40/24. With the type of work you do.

    0. ___ Completely satisfied

    1. ___ Very satisfied

    2. ___ Not very satisfied

    3. ___ Not at all satisfied

41/25. With your salary.

    0. ___ Completely satisfied

    1. ___ Very satisfied

    2. ___ Not very satisfied

    3. ___ Not at all satisfied

42/26. With your company in general.

    0. ___ Completely satisfied

    1. ___ Very satisfied

    2. ___ Not very satisfied

    3. ___ Not at all satisfied

27. What type of work would you try to get into if you could start all over again? _____

_____

_____

(IF DIFFERENT FROM PRESENT TYPE OF WORK)

28. Why would you prefer this to the work you are doing now?

_____

_____

_____

43/29. If you could begin working over again, would you choose this company as a place to work?

    0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

Next we would like to find out about the jobs you've had.
Let's start with the earliest.

30. What was/is your job title (before this)? (RECORD COL. I)

31. For what company are/were you working? (RECORD COL. II)

32. Would you please indicate in a word or two how you found your
    position, i.e., recruited by a company, employment agencies,
    friends, etc. (RECORD COL. III)

33. When did you first get this job and when did you leave it?
    (RECORD COL. IV)

	I Job Title	II Company	III How Found Job	IV Duration of Job
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				

34. What kind of work do/did you do at this job? (RECORD COL. V)

35. Did you take any test for this position? If so, what type of test, i.e., skills, achievement, psychological? (RECORD COL. VI)

36. What is the size of the budget you directly control? (RECORD COL. VII)

37. How many people are directly under your supervision? (RECORD COL. VIII)

38. Approximately what was your hourly wage, weekly or monthly salary when you started and left your position? (IF CAN'T GET SALARY, GET SALARY SCALE) (RECORD COL. IX)

(REPEAT Q30-38 FOR ALL JOBS LISTED)

V Type of Work	VI Test Taken	VII Size of Budget	VIII Number of Subordinates	IX Salary
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				
6				
7				
8				
9				

PART II.   (MANAGER'S RELATIONSHIP TO THE COMPANY'S HIRING AND
PROMOTING POLICIES IN THE AREAS OF INFLUENCE, UNDERSTANDING,
AND PRACTICE)

This next section is about your relationship to your
company's hiring and promoting policies.

46/39.   How much influence do you feel you have over the hiring
and promoting policies of this company?   (SHOW CARD 6)

0. ___ A very great deal

1. ___ A great deal

2. ___ A little

3. ___ No influence

47/40.   How much influence do you feel you have over the hiring
and promoting policies that affect this department
and/or division?

0. ___ A very great deal

1. ___ A great deal

2. ___ A little

3. ___ No influence

48/41.   To what extent is your understanding of this company's
hiring and promoting policies based on memos, job de-
scriptions, or other kinds of written communications?
(SHOW CARD 7)

0. ___ A very great extent

1. ___ A great extent

2. ___ A little

3. ___ Not at all

49/42. To what extent is your understanding of these policies based on your own personal observations?

0. ___ A very great extent

1. ___ A great extent

2. ___ A little

3. ___ Not at all

50/43. Are you in agreement with the hiring and promoting policies of this company?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

43a. Why is this? _____

_____

_____

44. What are the kinds of things about a management candidate that might make you hesitate to hire or promote him, other than his lack of experience and job knowledge?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

51/45. In making a decision to hire or promote someone to a management position, how free do you feel to deviate from the formal policies of this company? (SHOW CARD 8)

0. ___ Very free

1. ___ Fairly free

2. ___ Not very free

3. ___ Not at all free

52/46. How often would you say you have actually deviated from the hiring or promoting policies? (SHOW CARD 9)

0. ___ Very often

1. ___ Fairly often

2. ___ Not very often

3. ___ Never

(IF NEVER SKIP TO QUESTION 47)

46a. Would you give some examples of how your decisions tend to deviate from these policies? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

47. In general, what are some important policies which are not written into the formal company policy, i.e., practices which may not be written or discussed but that they realistically affect decisions? _____

_____

_____

48. Would you please discuss specific cases where Black

    manage.;s were hired and/or not hired, promoted and/or

    not promoted. (PROBE TO GET AT WHAT WENT INTO EACH

    DECISION) _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

49. Now we would like to get your views as to how several

    groups might feel about the hiring or promoting of

    Black people into management positions in the company.

    (SHOW CARD 10) First . . .

    A. . . . would (READ "a" BELOW) feel in any way uncom-

    fortable if you hired or promoted someone who was Black?

    (REPEAT FOR GROUPS "b" THROUGH "e")

		0 YES	1 NO
53/a.	. . . any of your (CUSTOMERS OR DISTRIBUTORS) . . .	___	___
54/b.	. . . any (MANAGEMENT PERSONS FROM OTHER COMPANIES) . . .	___	___
55/c.	. . . any (PEOPLE AT OR BELOW YOUR LEVEL IN THE COMPANY) . . .	___	___
5'./d.	. . . your (IMMEDIATE SUPERIOR) . . .	___	___
57/e.	. . . any of the (PERSONS ABOVE YOUR IMMEDIATE SUPERIOR) . . .	___	___

    (IF YES TO ANY OF QUESTION 49)

50. In making a hiring or promotional decision, to what extent

    must you take into account the feelings of these/this

(READ "a" BELOW). Must you take account of their feelings
to a very great extent, a great extent, some extent, a
little extent, or not at all? (SHOW CARD 11) (REPEAT
FOR GROUPS "b" THROUGH "e")

	0 VERY GREAT EXTENT	1 GREAT EXTENT	2 SOME EXTENT	3 LITTLE EXTENT	4 NOT AT ALL
58/a. CUSTOMERS OR DIS- TRIBUTORS	___	___	___	___	___
59/b. MANAGEMENT FROM OTHER COMPANIES	___	___	___	___	___
60/c. PEOPLE AT OR BELOW YOUR LEVEL	___	___	___	___	___
61/d. IMMEDIATE SUPERIOR	___	___	___	___	___
62/e. PERSONS ABOVE IMMEDIATE SUPERIOR	___	___	___	___	___

63/51. Would you have answered any of the previous questions

differently ten years ago?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

51a. Why would you have done so? _____

_____

_____

_____

PART III. (BLACK AND WHITE MANAGERS' VIEWS AND ATTITUDES)

Now we would like to get your views about Black managers and their position in business.

52. How do you account for a seeming underutilization of Blacks in industry? _____

_____

_____

_____

53. How do you explain the incidence of Black managers in your company? _____

_____

_____

_____

54. At what managerial level (lower, middle, or upper) do you believe your company's Equal Employment Opportunity Program meets the most resistance? (PROBE) _____

_____

_____

_____

66/55. Do you believe your firm is more careful in promoting Black employees than white employees because it wants to be certain that Blacks will succeed before promoting them?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

55a. What is the evidence? _____

_____

_____

_____

56. In your company, how far up the executive ladder do you believe a Black can go? _____

_____

56a. Why is this? _____

_____

_____

67-71/57. May companies indicate that they want to do "the right thing" about hiring and promoting Black managers. But what does doing "the right thing" involve? (SHOW CARD 11) (CAN SELECT MORE THAN ONE IF NECESSARY. IF SELECTS MORE THAN ONE, INDICATE BY 0-4 WHICH IS MOST IMPORTANT, 0 BEING MOST IMPORTANT)

0. ___ Hire strictly on the basis of qualification for the job

1. ___ Make special recruiting and training efforts among Blacks

2. ___ Practice positive (reverse) discrimination

3. ___ Give careful attention to the promotion of

qualified Blacks

4. ___ Do nothing

5. _____ Other (PROBE)

72/58. Are there any reasons why Blacks can't make it in the

corporate world?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

58a. What are some of the reasons? _____

_____

_____

_____

59. How do you believe the ghetto riots of the 1960's affected

your company's employment policy for Blacks? _____

_____

_____

_____

60. Do you believe that Blacks today are pressing their case

too hard?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

60a. Why do you believe this? _____

_____

_____

_____

73/70. Are you aware of any carryover into the work situation of negative white attitudes toward Blacks?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

70a. What personal experiences have you had to become aware of this situation? _____

_____

_____

_____

71. Do you have any suggestions to further reduce barriers to Black managerial employment? _____

_____

_____

_____

PART IV. (WHITE MANAGERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS BLACKS)

Now I am going to read a series of statements you sometimes
hear people make. For each statement please tell me your degree
of agreement. Please do not bother to take much time with each
statement; your first impression is perfectly all right. (SHOW
CARD 12)

74/72. A Black, once promoted, could not be demoted, even if

inadequate in his new role, without undeserved charges

of discrimination.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

75/73. A Black would be accepted by white subordinates only

after he had been given unusually difficult challenges

in order to prove himself.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

76/74. There may be a few exceptions, but in general Blacks

are pretty much alike.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

77/75. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Black.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

78/76. Even though there are some exceptions, most Blacks have
annoying and offensive faults.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

I.D. # 1/ ___

   2/ ___

   3/ ___

   4/ ___

Card # 5/2

6/77. Blacks should be hired and promoted on the same basis as
everyone else.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

7/78. I probably would not choose a Black person for promotion
       if an equally qualified non-Black were available.

    0. ___ Strongly disagree

    1. ___ Disagree

    2. ___ Agree

    3. ___ Strongly agree

8/79. In general, I am reluctant to hire and promote Blacks
       into important management positions.

    0. ___ Strongly disagree

    1. ___ Disagree

    2. ___ Agree

    3. ___ Strongly agree

9/80. Most Blacks who aspire to become managers in the business
       world do not have the personal characteristics needed to
       become successful management persons in this company.

    0. ___ Strongly disagree

    1. ___ Disagree

    2. ___ Agree

    3. ___ Strongly agree

10/81. A Black person usually has to be a little better than
        others to get ahead in this company.

    0. ___ Strongly disagree

    1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

11/82. In general, this company is only paying lip-service to the idea of equal opportunity employment for Blacks.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

12/83. Management should not be asked to influence social attitudes; its responsibility does not extend into taking public positions regarding civil rights.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

13/84. In general, Blacks have low I.Q.'s and less technical and analytical competence.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

14/85. In general, Blacks are pushy, loud, argumentative, arrogant, obnoxious, and aggressive.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

Now we would like to ask more general questions about your attitude towards Blacks.

87. What are some of the good and bad characteristics you have observed about Black managers? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

16/89. Do you hear derogatory remarks about Blacks in your company?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

What has been your response to such remarks:

89a. With your subordinates? _____

_____

_____

89b. With your peers? _____

_____

_____

89c. With your superiors? _____

_____

_____

(ASK NEXT QUESTION ONLY IF YOU DO NOT HAVE A CLEAR OR
DEFINITE PICTURE OF THE MANAGER'S ATTITUDES ABOUT BLACKS)

90. In talking to various persons, we've found that some re-
port less favorable feelings toward Black people than
do others. Drawing from your own personal feelings,
what is your general impression of Black people? _____

_____

_____

_____

Now we would like to ask you several questions about your
personal contacts with Blacks. (SHOW CARD 13)

17/91. How frequently do you have contacts with Blacks on your
job?
0. ___ Very frequently
1. ___ Fairly frequently
2. ___ Not very frequently
3. ___ Never
(IF NEVER SKIP TO QUESTION 92)

91a. Would you please elaborate on the type and recency of
your contacts. _____

_____

_____

18/92. How frequently do you have contacts with Blacks at social functions not related to work?

0. ___ Very frequently

1. ___ Fairly frequently

2. ___ Not very frequently

3. ___ Never

(IF NEVER SKIP TO THE NEXT SECTION)

92a. Again, would you please elaborate on the type and recency of these social contacts. _____

_____

_____

PART IV.   (BLACK MANAGERS' ATTITUDES ABOUT THE BUSINESS WORLD AND THEIR PERSONAL EXPERIENCES)

Now we are going to ask you more specific questions about your attitudes about Black managers and questions about your own personal experiences.   (SHOW CARD 12)

19/93.   Blacks should be hired and promoted on the same basis as everyone else.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

20/94.   A Black person usually has to be a little better than others to get ahead in this company.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

21/95.   In general, this company is only paying lip-service to the idea of equal opportunity employment for Blacks.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

95a. Would you give me some reasons for your answer? _____

_____

_____

22/96. Management should not be asked to influence social

attitudes; its responsibility does not extend into

taking public positions regarding civil rights.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

23/97. I could hardly imagine myself marrying a white person.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

24/98. Whites are superficially evaluated for promotion while

Blacks are carefully and thoroughly evaluated.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

98a. Do you have first hand knowledge to support your answer?

_____

_____

_____

25/99. All that really has changed in the past few years is that corporations have shifted the point at which they begin to apply discriminatory practices against their Black managers. They will hire a Black but will not allow him to realize his full potential.

0. ___ Strongly disagree

1. ___ Disagree

2. ___ Agree

3. ___ Strongly agree

99a. What is your evidence? _____

_____

_____

_____

26/100. Is governmental pressure needed to force industry to really practice equal employment for Blacks?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

100a. What kind of governmental pressure? _____

_____

_____

_____

27/101. Is governmental pressure needed to force your company to really practice equal employment for Blacks?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

101a.   What kind of governmental pressure? _____

_____ __

_____

_____

102.   What incidental pressures must a Black put up with that

whites do not have to put up with?   (PROBE ABOUT DIS-

CRIMINATION IN FIRM) _____

_____

_____

_____

28/103.   Would you accept a transfer to a plant located in a small

white city or town?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

103a.   Could you tell me more about your attitude towards a

transfer of that kind? _____

_____

_____ _____

_____

29/104.   If you hold a position previously held by whites, do you

believe you have the same power and authority as the

white person had?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF NO)

104a. Why do you believe you do not have the same power and

authority? _____

_____

_____

_____

Here is a statement written by a Black Executive Vice

President of a white firm. (SHOW CARD 13)

Even those Blacks who are hired for jobs which are not
specifically public relations oriented (for example, chemists,
accountants, engineers, marketing researchers, data processing
systems analysts and lawyers) find that they are expected to spend
a good deal of their time "showcasing" for their corporate masters.
These Black employees are required to attend numerous public rela-
tions type meetings, race relations dinners, and equal employment
opportunity-urban affairs conferences, spreading the gospel of
their respective companies. In effect, they perform two jobs, one
for which they were hired and the other for public relations.

30/105. Do you generally agree or disagree with this statement?

0. ___ agree   1. ___ disagree

105a. Would you please make a few comments about this statement?

_____

_____

_____

31/106. Do you generally agree or disagree with this statement?

(SHOW CARD 14)

Many Black people, especially separatists or Black nation-
alists, believe that Black people working in corporations are under-
mining the Black movement toward developing viable Black economic
institutions. They say that the corporation physically and psycho-
logically removes Black people from the community; thus, Black people
are deprived of the knowledge, technical skill, and expertise of
the Black manager.

0. ___ agree   1. ___ disagree

106a. Why do you (AGREE OR DISAGREE)? _____

_____

_____

_____

32/107. Have you ever been categorized in the Black community

as an Uncle Tom or Sellout, a traitor to Black people

and the Black movement in general because of your posi-

tion in this firm?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

107a. On what occasion? _____

_____

_____

33/108. As a group, what is the best path for Blacks to pursue

in this country?   (SHOW CARD 15)

0. ___ Form their own separate Black nations

1. ___ Withdraw into the urban areas and form separate
       all-Black communities

2. ___ Form strong social, political, and economic or-
       ganizations to pressure white society into assur-
       ing Blacks equal opportunity and freedom in the
       larger society

3. ___ Assimilate and integrate completely into white society

4. _____

_____ Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)

108a. Why do you believe this is the best path? _____

_____

_____

_____

109. What advice would you give an individual Black person with
regard to the best possible strategy to follow in this
society in order to live a prosperous, free life? _____

_____

_____

_____

110. With what segment of the Black community do you have
good communications (for example, militant, moderate,
revolutionary, etc.)? _____

_____

110a. Why do you have good communications with them? _____

_____

_____

111. With what segments of the Black community do you have
poor communications? _____

_____

111a. Why do you have poor communications with them? _____

_____

_____

34/112. Would you advise a young Black man or woman just out of school or college to enter the business world?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF NO)

112a. Why not? _____

_____

_____

_____

(IF YES)

112b. What would you say is the best way for a young Black to achieve high managerial positions? _____

_____

_____

_____

113. What advice could you give to a Black manager entering your company? _____

_____

_____

_____

Now we would like to ask you several questions about your personal contacts with whites. (SHOW CARD 16)

35/114. How frequently do you have contacts with whites on your job?

0. ___ Very frequently

1. ___ Fairly frequently

2. ___ Not very frequently

3. ___ Never

(IF NEVER SKIP TO QUESTION 115)

114a. Would you please elaborate on the type and recency of

your contacts. _____

_____

_____

_____

36/115. How frequently do you have contacts with whites at social

functions not related to work?

0. ___ Very frequently

1. ___ Fairly frequently

2. ___ Not very frequently

3. ___ Never

(IF NEVER SKIP TO THE NEXT SECTION)

115a. Again, would you please elaborate on the type and recency

of these social contacts. _____

_____

_____

_____

PART V. (IMAGE OF A PROMOTABLE MANAGER. TO BE GIVEN TO R TO

FILL OUT)

We would like you to complete this chart which has ques-

tions which are related to your image of a promotable manager.

What is your ideal image of a promotable person (COL. I) and

what are your images of the person who actually is ahead in your

firm (COL. II) and in business generally (COL. III)?

Please grade EACH ITEM in ALL THREE COLUMNS below, thus:

0 Mark PLUS (+) for items you deem HELPFUL for promotion
TO SUPERVISOR AND BEYOND
1 Mark ZERO (0) for items you deem IRRELEVANT for
promotion TO SUPERVISOR AND BEYOND
2 Mark MINUS (-) for items you deem HARMFUL for promotion
TO SUPERVISOR AND BEYOND

| | | HOW ITEMS RATE IN MY IDEA OF A PROMOTABLE PERSON | | |
	ITEMS	A I. Ideally IN MY OPINION	B II. Actually IN MY FIRM	C III. Actually IN BUSINESS GENERALLY
37/a.	EDUCATION AND TRAINING College Education			
38/b.	Graduate Work in Business Administration			
39/c.	Graduate of "Ivy League" College			
40/d.	Technical knowledge of specific job to be done			
41/e.	Seniority			
42/f.	PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS Age: Under 30			
43/g.	Under 45			
44/h.	Over 45			
45/i.	Race: Negro			
46/j.	Oriental			
47/k.	White			
48/l.	Sex: Male			
49/m.	Female			

HOW ITEMS RATE IN <u>MY IDEA</u> OF A
PROMOTABLE PERSON

ITEMS	A I. Ideally IN MY OPINION	B II. Actually IN MY FIRM	C III. Actually IN BUSINESS GENERALLY
SOCIAL FACTORS			
50/n. Artistic, cultural interests, wide reading			
51/o. Community interests and activities			
52/p. Membership in local country club			
53/q. National origin: Continental USA			
54/r. Chicano			
55/s. Foreign country			
56/t. "Pull" with top management			
57/u. Regular attendance at a house of worship			
58/v. Religion: Catholic			
59/w. Jewish			
60/x. Protestant			
61/y. Spouse who is helpful to career			

PART VI.   (COMPANY'S EMPLOYMENT POLICIES)

Section A.   Employment Data

62/117.   How would you describe your company's growth in the
past eleven years?

0. ___ Phenomenal

1. ___ Rapid

2. ___ Moderate

3. ___ Slow

4. ___ Very slow

5. ___ Nil

63/118.   How has your total employment changed since 1960?

0. ___ Has increased substantially

1. ___ Has increased slightly

2. ___ Has decreased substantially

3. ___ Has decreased slightly

4. ___ Has been relatively stable

5. ___ Has fluctuated, but with little net change

119.   If total employment has changed appreciably in size
since 1960, please indicate the main reasons. _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

120. We would like to have the position titles, area of work, and salary levels of all your Black executives.

Position Title	Area (Finance, Personnel, etc.)	Salary Level
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

121. When was the first time that your company hired a Black for a non-managerial position? _____ Date

122. When was the first time that your company hired or promoted Blacks into management positions? _____ Date

123. Which departments or divisions are without Black managers?

_____

_____

_____

124. What is the main reason for the absence of Black managers in those departments or divisions? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Section B.   General Employment Questions

125.   Who is in charge of your employment policies?

Name   Position Title

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

64/126.   Does this policy vary from one part of the country to

another?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no   2. ___ not applicable

(IF YES)

126a.   In what manner and in what part of the U. S. does it vary?

_____

_____

_____

65/127.   Is this policy written?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

66/128.   Is this policy ever reviewed?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

128a.   How frequently? _____

_____

_____

_____

(IF POLICY REVIEWED)

129. Who reviews the policy?

Name	Position Title
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

130. In the administration of an employment program in your company, what is the usual procedure of policy enforcement?

_____

_____

_____

Section C.   Recruiting

67/131.   In general, do you recruit at colleges and universities?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

I. D. # 1/ ___

        2/ ___

        3/ ___

        4/ ___

Card # 5/3

6/132.   Do you recruit at colleges and/or universities whose students are predominantly members of minority groups?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

132a.   Which major universities or colleges? _____

_____

133.   When did you start recruiting at the minority colleges/
        universities? _____ Date

7/134. Do you attempt to select, <u>as potential managers</u>, appli-
        cants with particular majors or courses of study in their
        educational backgrounds such as business administration,
        engineering, natural sciences, social sciences or the
        humanities?

        0. ___ yes   1. ___ no
        (IF YES)

134a.   What majors or courses of study do you favor? _____

_____

_____

8/135. Do you use employment agencies for recruiting potential
        managers?

        0. ___ yes   1. ___ no
        (IF YES)

135a.   What are the names of the agencies? _____

_____ _____

_____

140. What other recruiting mechanisms do you use to recruit

potential managers? _____

_____

_____

_____

141. What is the most important and productive managerial

recruiting source for your company? _____

_____

_____

_____

141a. Why is this? _____

_____

_____

_____

142. Do you have any other general remarks concerning your

management recruiting methods? _____

_____

_____

_____

Section D. Training Programs

9/143. Does your company have training programs for managers?

0. ___ yes   1. .___ no

(IF YES)

143a.   What type of program and what are the average number

of participants?

Type of Program   Average No. of Participants

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

144.   What has been the average number of Blacks in these

programs? _____ #

Section E.   Promoting and Hiring

145.   What % of your vacancies are filled from within? _____ %

9/146.   Does your company use tests to help determine which people

are _hired_ for managerial positions?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

146a.   What types of tests are used?   (i.e., psychological,

aptitude, etc) _____

_____

_____

10/147.   Does your company use tests to help determine which

managers are _promoted_?   ·

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

147a. What types of tests are used? (i.e., psychological,

aptitude, etc.) _____

_____

_____

11/148. Is a manager's racial attitude a factor in promotion?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

148a. Why do you believe this is so? _____

_____

_____

_____

PART VII. (EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM)

12/150.   Has any municipal, state, or federal agency contacted

your company to review your practices with respect to

minority employment?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

150a.   In what manner? _____

_____

13/151.   Has your company been the target for any picketing,

selective buying campaigns, etc., with the purpose of

forcing your company to change its employment policy

towards Blacks?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

151a.   Could you give me more details as to the date, nature,

length of time, etc.? _____

_____

_____

_____

14/152.   Does your company have an active policy of encou·aging

their managers to involve themselves in Black community

affairs?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

15/153. Did your company participate in the Plans for Progress Program?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

153a. When did it become a member? _____ Date

16/154. Is your company a member of the National Alliance of Businessmen?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

154a. When did it become a member? _____ _____ Date

17/155. Do you require people or firms you deal with to have an equal employment policy orientation?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

155a. Why is this? _____

_____

_____

_____

(IF ANSWER TO QUESTION 155 IS YES)

155b. How do you know the company or people are actually following an EEO Program? _____

_____

_____

_____

156. In January 1970, Secretary of Labor, George P. Schultz, amended Title 41 of the Code of Federal Regulaticns, to require each firm with fifty or more employees and a contract of $50,000 or more to submit a written Affirmative Action Compliance Program. When did your company first implement is Affirmative Action Program? (NOTE: IT COULD BE BEFORE JANUARY 1970) _____ Date

157. If your program was developed before January 1970, were

there any special circumstances that led to the Equal

Emplryment Opportunities Program? _____

_____

_____

_____

158. Who are the people in the corporate headquarters primarily responsible for the administration of your EEO Program?

      Name   Posizion

      _____   _____

      _____   _____

      _____   _____

      _____   _____

18/159. Does the top administrator of the program report to a

higher authority?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

159a. What is the title and department of the higher authority?

_____

19/160. Does more than one department share responsibility for

the program?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

160a. What departments? _____

_____

20/161. Are there any special formal procedures used to check

the enforcement of your EEO Program?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

161a. What are they? _____

_____

_____

21/162. Are there any informal procedures used by corporate

headquarters to check compliance in the divisions?

(i.e., telephone conversations, informal chats, etc.)

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

162a. Would you be more specific about the informal procedures?

_____

_____

_____

162b. How frequently are these informal checks made? _____

_____

22/164. Is setting targets an essential element in an affirmative action program (EEO)?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

164a. Would you please explain your answer? _____

_____

_____

_____

23/165. Have any of the procedures that you developed initially in implementing your EEO Program been modified since that time?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

165a. For each change, can you indicate the type of change, the approximate date of change, and the major considerations that led to the change?

	Type of Change	Date
1.	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____

Major Considerations

1. _____

_____

2. _____

_____

3. _____

_____

4. _____

_____

5. _____

_____

6. _____

_____

166. Which one of the following would be considered a major, good, minor, or no measure of success by your company in a program of equal employment opportunity?

		0 MAJOR MEASURE	1 GOOD MEASURE	2 MINOR MEASURE	3 NO MEASURE
24/a.	Number of Black employees in relation to the number of Blacks in the community	____	____	____	____
25/b.	Distribution of Blacks through job classifications	____	____	____	____
26/c.	The income level of the Blacks in the company	____	____	____	____
27/d.	The visibility of Blacks in company jobs	____	____	____	____
28/e.	Job mobility of Blacks in the company	____	____	____	____
29/f.	The presence of P ack employees in the management, technical, or supervisory levels of the company	____	____	____	____

	0 MAJOR MEASURE	1 GOOD MEASURE	2 MINOR MEASURE	3 NO MEASURE
30/g. The number of entry jobs that have been filled by Blacks	___	___	___	___
31/h. _____				
_____				
_____				
_____ Other (SPECIFY)	___	___	___	___

167. What problems did you anticipate prior to the adoption of these minority group employment practices to be major, some, minor, or no problem in your firm?

	0 MAJOR PROBLEM	1 SOME PROBLEM	2 MINOR PROBLEM	3 NO PROBLEM
32/a. Resistance by white workers	___	___	___	___
33/b. Lack of qualified Blacks to fill available jobs	___	___	___	___
34/c. Interference with productivity or worker efficiency	___	___	___	___
35/d. Community opposition	___	___	___	___
36/e. Poor customer relations where Blacks had to deal with whites	___	___	___	___
37/f. Resistance by supervisors	___	___	___	___
38/g. Resistance by executives	___	___	___	___

	0 MAJOR PROBLEM	1 SOME PROBLEM	2 MINOR PROBLEM	3 NO PROBLEM
39/h. Black dissatisfaction with available job opportunities	____	____	____	____
40/i. _____				
_____ Other (SPECIFY)	____	____	____	____

168. Looking back since the development of your EEO Program,
which of these problems, if any, did occur? Again,
please rate them according to major, some, minor, or
no problem.

	0 MAJOR PROBLEM	1 SOME PROBLEM	2 MINOR PROBLEM	3 NO PROBLEM
41/a. Resistance by white workers	____	____	____	____
42/b. Lack of qualified Blacks to fill available jobs	____	____	____	____
43/c. Interference with pro- ductivity or worker efficiency	____	____	____	____
44/d. Community opposition	____	____	____	____
45/e. Poor customer relations where Blacks had to deal with whites	____	____	____	____
46/f. Resistance by supervisors	____	____	____	____
47/g. Resistance by executives	____	____	____	____
48/h. Black dissatisfaction with available job opportunities	____	____	____	____
49/i. _____				
_____				
_____ Other (SPECIFY)	____	____	____	____

169. Looking back on your own experiences with a non-dis-
criminatory policy, what advice would you give a com-
pany that was just beginning to hire Blacks for man-
agerial positions, especially advice in the area of
employment and policy procedures? _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

PART VIll.   (PERSONAL BACKGROUND)

Now just a few more minutes on some questions about your personal background and we'll be through.

170.   First, what is your date of birth? _____
                                         Mo.   Day   Year

171.   In what state did you live most of the time you were

growing up--until you were about eighteen years old?

_____ State

_____ Other country (SPECIFY)

172.   In what state have you lived most of your adult life?

_____ State

_____ Other country (SPECIFY)

173.   Would you please tell me what city or town you live in?

_____ Name

52/173.   Do Blacks live in your neighborhood?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

173b.   About what % of Blacks live in your neighborhood? _____ %

53/174.   What is your present marital status?

0. ___ Single

1. ___ Married

2. ___ Divorced

3. ___ Widowed

4. ___ Separated

(IF MARRIED)

54/175. Does your spouse work?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

175a. What is your spouse's occupation? _____

175b. What is the name of the firm or organization that he/she

is working for? _____

175c. Number of hours per wekk? _____

55/176. What was the highest grade of school or college you

completed? (CIRCLE ONE)

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

4 or less   5-8   9 10 11 12/ 13 14 15 16/
                  High School   College

Graduate Training

(IF 4 YEARS OF COLLEGE OR MORE)

176a. What college degrees do you have? (RECORD COL. I)

176b. What was your major field? (RECORD COL. II)

176c. What was the name of the institution you received it

from? (RECORD COL. III)

I Degree(s)	II Major Field	III Institution(s)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

56/178. Did you ever take any special courses or formal training--

things like trade school, business school, a correspondence

course, or a job training program?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

178a. What type of training? (RECORD COL. I)

178b. How long was the training? (RECORD COL. II)

178c. Where did you obtain the training? (RECORD COL. III)

I Type of Training	II Length	III Place of Training
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

57/179. How necessary is your scientific, technical, or profes-

sional training in your present position?

0. ___ Not very necessary

1. ___ Very necessary

2. ___ Absolutely necessary

3. ___ I have no such training

58/180. Is there any formal scientific, technical, or profes-

sional training you lack which you feel would be

especially helpful in your position?

0. ___ yes   1. ___ no

(IF YES)

180a. What type of training? _____

_____

_____

59/181. What was the highest grade of school or college your

spouse completed? (CIRCLE ONE)

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

4 or less   5-8   \9   10   11   12/   \13   14   15   16/
                  High School   College

Graduate Training

(IF 4 YEARS OF COLLEGE OR MORE)

181a. What college degrees did she/he receive? (RECORD COL. I)

181b. What was her/his major field? (RECORD COL. II)

181c. What was the name of the institution she/he received

it from? (RECORD COL. III)

I Degree(s)	II Major Field	III Institution(s)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

60/182. How many years of school did your father complete?

(CIRCLE ONE)

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9

4 or less   5-8   \9   10   11   12/   \13   14   15   16/
                  High School   College

Graduate Training

61/183. How many years of school did your mother complete?

(CIRCLE ONE)

0   1   2   3   4.   5   6   7   8   9

4 or less   5-8   9   10   11   12   13   14   15   16
                     High School   College

Graduate Training

184. When you were a teenager what was the best job your

father had? (BE SPECIFIC) _____

185. When your spouse was a teenager what was the best job

his/her father had? (BE SPECIFIC) _____

62/186. What is your religious preference?

0. ___ Catholic

1. _____Protestant (SPECIFY DENOMINATION)

2. ___ Jewish

3. _____Other (SPECIFY)

63/187. Approximately how frequently do you attend religious

services?

0. ___ More than once a week

1. ___ Once a week

2. ___ Once or twice a month

3. ___ A few times a year

4. ___ Never

66/188. Politically do you consider yourself a:

0. ___ Radical

1. ___ Liberal

2. ___ Moderate

3. ___ Conservative

4. ___ Right winger

5. _____ Other (SPECIFY)

67/189. What is your political affiliation?

0. ___ Democrat

1. ___ Republican

2. ___ Independent

3. _____ Other (SPECIFY)

4. ___ No interest in politics

68-69/190. Now here is a list of clubs and organizations that many

people belong to. Please look at this list (SHOW CARD

17), and tell me which of these kinds of organizations

you belong to, if any. (CHECK BELOW)

68/0. ___ Church-Connected Groups

1. ___ Fraternal Organizations or Lodges

2. ___ Veteran's Organizations

3. ___ Business or Civic Groups, Service Clubs

4. ___ Neighborhood Clubs or Community Centers

5. ___ Organizations of People of the Same Race and/or
Nationality

6. ___ Civil Rights Organizations (NAACP, CORE, Urban League, Black Panthers, etc.)

7. ___ Country Clubs

8. ___ Professional Groups

9. ___ Political Clubs or Organizations

69/0. ___ Social Clubs

1. ___ Charitable and Welfare Organizations

2. _____ Other (SPECIFY)

3. ___ None

(IF INTERVIEWEE BELONGS TO NO ORGANIZATIONS, THE INTERVIEW IS

OVER. QUESTIONS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE ASKED OF EACH GROUP R IS

IN. REPEAT QUESTIONS FOR EACH ORGANIZATION UNTIL ALL ARE COVERED.)

191. What is the name of (TYPE OF GROUP)? (IF NOT CLEAR: as you see it, what are the main things it does?)

192. What year did you join?

193. Would you say you are strongly interested in this group, somewhat interested, or not very interested in it?

194. Why do you feel this way?

195a. (FOR WHITES ONLY) Are there any Black members?

195b. (FOR BLACKS ONLY) Are there any white members?

INTERVIEWER DATA EVALUATION FORM   (TO BE COMPLETED IMMEDIATELY

AFTER THE INTERVIEW)

69/197.   Racial background of interviewee:

    1. ___ Black Male

    2. ___ Black Female

    3. ___ White Male

    4. ___ White Female

70/198.   Is this interview of questionable value, generally

adequate, or high quality?

    0. ___ Questionable

    1. ___ Generally adequate

    2. ___ High quality

(IF QUESTIONABLE)

71/198a. Why?   (CHECK EACH WHICH APPLIES TO RESPONDENT)

    0. ___ Evasive, suspicious

    1. ___ Confused by frequent interruptions

    2. ___ Confused--didn't understand questions

    3. _____ _____ Other (SPECIFY)

72/199.   How was rapport with R?

    0. ___ Excellent throughout

    1. ___ Average

    2. ___ Poor throughout

    3. ___ Started good, became poor

    4. ___ Started poor, became good

73/200. What was R's interest in the interview?

      0. ___ High

      1. ___ Average

      2. ___ Low

201. Was there any indication that length of interview affected rapport? _____

_____

202. What was the interview setting? _____

_____

203. Who else was present during the interview, and what effect did this have?

    ___ Only R Present

Persons Present	How Long	What Effect
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX B

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF RELEVANT TABLES

1. In what state did you live most of the time you were growing up--until you were about eighteen years old?

	Black Managers	White Managers
CALIFORNIA	22 %	50 %
NEW ENGLAND STATES: Mass., R.I., Conn., Vt., N.H., Maine	3	5
NORTHEASTERN STATES: N.Y., N.J., Pa., Ohio	11	14
MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES: Va., W. Va., Del., Md., Wash. D.C.	5	3
SOUTHEASTERN STATES: Tenn., N.C., S.C., Ga., Ala., Florida	12	1
CENTRAL STATES: Wis., Mich., Ill., Ind., Ky.	11	5
NORTH CENTRAL: N.D., S.D., Minn.	0	0
PRAIRIE STATES: Neb., Iowa, Mo., Kansas	6	3
SOUTH CENTRAL: Okla., Ark., La., Miss., Texas	21	2
MOUNTAIN STATES: Idaho., Mont., Wyo., Utah, Nev., Colo.	2	2
SOUTHWESTERN STATES: Ariz., N. Mexico	1	5
NORTHWESTERN STATES: Oregon, Wash.	1	2
OTHER	5	2

2. In what state have you lived most of your adult life?

	Black Managers	White Managers
CALIFORNIA	65 %	88 %
NEW ENGLAND STATES: Mass., R.I., Conn., Vt., N.H., Maine	3	3
NORTHEASTERN STATES: N.Y., N.J., Pa., Ohio	5	1
MIDDLE ATLANTIC STATES: Va., W. Va., Del., Md., Wash. D.C.	3	1
SOUTHEASTERN STATES: Tenn., N.C., S.C., Ga., Ala., Florida	3	0
CENTRAL STATES: Wis., Mich., Ill., Ind., Ky.	5	5
NORTH CENTRAL: N.D., S.D., Minn.	0	1
PRAIRIE STATES: Neb., Iowa., Mo., Kansas	2	0
SOUTH CENTRAL: Okla., Ark., La., Miss., Texas	2	0
MOUNTAIN STATES: Idaho, Mont., Wyo., Utah, Nev., Colo.	1	1
SOUTHWESTERN STATES: Oregon, Wash.	0	1
OTHER	10	9

3. What college degrees do you have?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Bachelors Degrees	67 %	50 %
Bachelors and at least 1 year of Graduate Work completed	1	6
Bachelors and Teaching Credentials	1	2

	Black Managers	White Managers
Bachelors and Masters	17 %	20 %
Bachelors and BMA	7	13
Bachelors and Law Degree	6	5
Bachelors, MBA, and Law Degree	0	1
Bachelors, Masters, and Ph.D.	0	2

4. What was your major field?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Business Administration	24 %	34 %
Engineering: Mechanical, Industrial, Electrical, Civil	10	21
Accounting	10	5
Sociology, Anthropology	9	6
Political Science, History	7	8
Law	6	6
Chemistry	6	1
Math	6	1
Economics	4	14
Social Sciences	4	4
Education	4	2
English, Speech, Journalism	3	6
Biology, Zoology	3	2
Philosophy	3	2
Art, Music Drama	3	1

	Black Managers	White Managers
Home Economics	3 %	0 %
Psychology	1	7
Religion	1	1
Other	3	0

5. What was the name of the institution you received degree(s) from?

	Black Managers	White Managers
IVY LEAGUE SCHOOLS: Harvard, Dartmouth, Columbia, Cornell, Univ. of Pennsylvania	1 %	7 %
SELECT PROVIATE UNIVERSITIES/ COLLEGES: Univ. of Chicago, Smith, Occidental, Claremont, Rutgers, Stanford, MIT, New York Univ., Northwestern	3	13
SELECT PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES/ COLLEGES: U.C. Berkeley, Univ. of Michigan, Univ. of Wisconsin, UCLA	7	31
SELECT BLACK UNIVERSITIES/ COLLEGES: Lincoln Univ., Hampton Institute, Tuskeegee, Morehouse, Fisk, Howard, Morgan State	21	0
OTHER PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES/ COLLEGES: Washington Lee, Univ. of Pacific, Purdue, Whittier, U.S.C., Suffolk Univ., Univ. of Pugeout Sound, Golden Gate College, Geneva College, Sul Ross College, Miami of Ohio, Williams College	21	16
OTHER PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES: Ohio Univ., Univ. of Colorado, Univ. of Okla., Univ. of Pittsburgh, Univ. of Md., Arizona Univ., Univ. of Iowa	8	20

	Black Managers	White Managers
STATE COLLEGES: Cal. State, L.A., Long Beach, Hayward, San Jose, San Francisco State, Sacramento State, Penn State, S. Carolina State, Weber State, Arizona State, Washington State, Oregon State, Florida State	28 %	22 %
OTHER BLACK UNIVERSITIES/COLLEGES: Prairie View College, Wiley College, Grambling, Southern Univ., Toogaloo College, Texas Southern Univ.	14	0
PRIVATE RELIGIOUS COLLEGES: Loyola of Chicago, U.S.F., Providence College, S.F. College for Women, St. Mary's, Boston College, St. Peter's College	7	14
OTHER UNIVERSITIES/COLLEGES: Pasadena School of the Playhouse, Univ. of Hiedelberg	0	2
JUNIOR COLLEGES: Compton Jr. College, Santa Rosa, City College of S.F.	3	2

6. What is your present marital status?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Single	11 %	11 %
Married	74	82
Divorced	13	5
Widowed	0	1
Separated	2	1

7. What was the highest grade of school or college your spouse completed?

	Black Managers	White Managers
8 or Less	0 %	1 %
9 Years	0	0
10 "	1	0
11 "	1	2
12 "	31	38
13 "	17	10
14 "	21	18
15 "	5	8
16 "	24	25
16 + "	0	0

8. When your spouse was a teenager what was the best job his/her father had?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Unskilled Laborer	18 %	10 %
Skilled Laborer	17	18
Small Business Owner	6	15
Medium Business Owner	2	2
Low Level Supervisor/Manager	0	4
Middle Level Supervisor/Manager	1	6
Upper Level Supervisor/Manager	0	2

	Black Managers	White Managers
Professional: Engineers, Real Estate, Accountant, Publisher/ Editor, Statistician	2 %	14 %
Lawyer or Doctor	0	4
Clergyman	1	0
School Principal or Professor	6	2
School Teacher or Counselor	3	1
Governmental Service	13	8
Farmer of Own Large Farm	1	1
Farmer of Own Small Farm	1	1
Doesn't know	21	3
Didn't Have a Father	6	2
Other	1	2

9. Which one of the following would be considered a major, good, minor, or no measure of success by your company in a program of equal employment opportunity?

	MAJOR MEASURE		GOOD MEASURE		MINOR MEASURE		NO MEASURE	
	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.
Number of Black employees in relation to the number of Blacks in the community	4	4	1	3	1	1	0	0
Distribution of Blacks through job classifications	5	5	1	2	0	1	0	0
Income level of the Blacks in the company	4	1	2	3	0	4	0	0

	MAJOR MEASURE		GOOD MEASURE		MINOR MEASURE		NO MEASURE	
	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs
Visibility of Blacks in company jobs	1	0	1	2	3	5	1	1
Job mobility of Blacks in company	3	3	3	2	0	3	0	0
Presence of Black employees in the management, technical, or supervisory levels of company	5	3	1	3	0	2	0	0
Number of entry level jobs that have been filled by Blacks	1	4	1	3	2	1	2	0

10. What problems did you anticipate prior to the adoption of these minority group employment practices to be major, some, minor, or no problem in your firm?

	MAJOR PROBLEM		SOME PROBLEM		MINOR PROBLEM		NO PROBLEM	
	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.
Resistance by white workers	2	2	4	3	0	1	0	1
Lack of qualified Blacks to fill available jobs	2	1	4	3	0	4	0	0
Interference with productivity or worker efficiency	0	0	2	0	3	4	1	4
Community opposition	1	0	1	0	2	1	2	7
Poor customer relations where Blacks had to deal with whites	2	0	1	1	2	1	1	6

	MAJOR PROBLEM		SOME PROBLEM		MINOR PROBLEM		NO PROBLEM	
	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.
Resistance by supervisors	2	1	4	3	0	3	0	1
Resistance by executives	1	0	5	1	0	4	0	3
Black dissatisfaction with available job opportunities	0	0	6	4	0	4	0	0

11. Looking back since the development of your EEO Program, which of these problems, if any, did occur? Again, please rate them according to major, some, minor, or no problem.

	MAJOR PROBLEM		SOME PROBLEM		MINOR PROBLEM		NO PROBLEM	
	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.	Black Mgrs.	White Mgrs.
Resistance by white workers	0	1	4	4	2	1	0	2
Lack of qualified Blacks to fill available jobs	1	1	2	5	2	1	1	1
Interference with productivity or worker efficiency	0	0	0	1	3	2	3	
Community opposition	0	0	0	0	4	1	2	7
Poor customer relations where Blacks had to deal with whites	0	0	0	0	4	2	2	6
Resistance by supervisors	1	1	3	3	2	2	0	2
Resistance by executives	0	0	4	1	1	2	1	5
Black dissatisfaction with available job opportunities	0	1	3	3	2	4	1	0

11. At what managerial level (lower, middle, or upper) do you
     believe your company's Equal Employment Opportunity Program
     meets the most resistance?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Lower Management	25 %	36 %
Middle Management	37	19
Upper Management	42	18
No Resistance	2	22
All Levels	5	3
Resistance is Individual	0	3
Don't know	1	5

11A. Why resistance is most at
      Lower Level.

There are many more Blacks competing with whites at the lower level; therefore, the whites feel more threatened, fear Blacks more, and become more antagonistic toward Blacks than middle and upper level white managers.	67	59
Because of the relatively low level of education of the individuals. Lower management is the least enlightened management level which leads to greater racial hatreds.	23	32
It is hard to communicate and obtain the acceptance of the AAP by the lower level of management.	7	18
The middle and upper levels of management are not threatened because there are few, if any, Black managers at those levels; however, they will begin to resist the AAP when Blacks begin to compete with them.	7	7

11B. Why resistance is most at Middle Level

	Black Managers	White Managers
Middle management is the most prejudiced managerial level because most of the white managers have leveled off in their careers; thus, they are concerned with protecting their positions from Black managers who could displace them; there are relatively fewer middle management positions; thus, this level fears Black competition more than the other levels.	35 %	17 %
The paucity of Black managers in the middle level indicates that it is at this level that Blacks meet the most resistance.	30	13
Middle management is older, more conservative, and has more rigid attitudes than other levels; therefore, they are least likely to accept change in the area of equal employment opportunities.	21	53
Middle management distorts the company's AAP because upper management does not insure that it is being properly carried out.	9	7
Individuals in the upper level of management are alert, receptive, and innovative and the individuals in the lower level of management are younger and feel less threatened; therefore, the middle level of management is the level at which Blacks meet the most resistance.	5	10

11C.   Why resistance is most at Upper Level.

	Black Managers	White Managers
The fact that there are no Blacks in upper management suggests that it is at this level where Blacks meet the most resistance.	29 %	24 %
Upper management does not want Blacks to have real power to make policy decisions.	24	14
Upper management is really not committed to a non-discriminatory employment policy.	12	14
Blacks are at a disadvantage because subjective criteria and politics play a greater role for the few upper management positions; Blacks are not acceptable at this level because social discourse and interaction play a very important role.	10	14
Upper management is generally older, more conservative, and more rigid in their attitudes than lower and middle management; thus, they are more racist.	8	10
There are extremely few upper management positions; thus, the great competition for these positions brings out the white racist attitudes.	6	7
Other	10	17

12.   Length of total service with present company.

	Black Managers	White Managers
0 - 2 years	17 %	4 %
2(+) - 4 years	28	5
4(+) - 6 years	16	6

	Black Managers	White Managers
6(+) - 8 years	15 %	5 %
8(+) - 10 years	8	7
10(+) - 12 years	3	11
12(+) - 14 years	5	7
14(+) - 16 years	6	11
16(+) - 18 years	2	6
18(+) - 20 years	1	5
20(+) - 22 years	1	7
22(+) - 24 years	0	4
24(+) - 26 years	0	10
26(+) - 28 years	0	5
28(+) - 30 years	0	3
30(+) - 32 years	0	2
32(+) - 34 years	0	1
Over 34 years	0	4

13. Do you directly control a budget in your present position?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Controls a budget	14 %	54 %
Does not control a budget	86	46

14. How many people are directly under your supervision?

	Black Managers	White Managers
0	31 %	13 %
1 - 5	33	19
6 - 30	24	28
31 - 80	8	13
81 - 180	3	9
181 - 380	1	7
381 - 780	0	5
781 - 1580	0	3
Over 1580	0	4

15. All that really has changed in the past few years is that corporations have shifted the point at which they begin to apply discriminatory practices against their Black managers. They will hire a Black but will not allow him to realize his full potential.

	Black Managers
Strongly disagree	3 %
Disagree	28
Agree	48
Strongly agree	22
Other	1

15A. What is your evidence? (Strongly disagree; Disagree)

	Black Managers
Respondent's personal experiences	24 %
This company has a firm commitment to an AAP.	15

	Black Managers
Respondent cannot really agree with the statement because most companies are only in the first stages of an Affirmative Action Program; the progress of Blacks cannot be measured yet.	15 %
There has been some change, but not a substantial change; corporations need to make greater efforts.	12
Respondent knows of Blacks above him/her at the present time and/or Blacks who have been promoted.	9
Most corporations only want Blacks as show pieces or token niggers, but there are a few who are not.	9
Most corporations have a firm commitment to equal employment opportunities.	6
Other	12

15B. What is your evidence? (Agree; Strongly agree)

	Black Managers
Respondent personally knows of Blacks in the company who are qualified to be at higher levels, but are not promoted.	21 %
Respondent's personal experiences.	15
Most corporations still practice discrimination.	12
No evidence; just a general feeling.	10
Most corporations put limits on Blacks by keeping them in a Black "bag" and limiting their power.	7

	Black Managers
Respondent believes that the company should have Blacks at higher levels.	7 %
Respondent knows of cases where Blacks were promoted only to a certain level but not higher, even though they were qualified, because the company felt it was not the "right" time.	6
Tokenism; companies promote only a few Blacks for show.	5
Corporations are not ready to employ Blacks at high levels of management.	4
Other	6

16. How much influence do you feel you have over the hiring and promoting policies that affect this department and/or division?

	Black Managers	White Managers
A very great deal	12 %	34 %
A great deal	22	33
A little	29	24
No influence	35	7
Other	3	2

17. If you hold a position previously held by whites, do you believe you have the same power and authority as the white person had?

	Black Managers
Yes	68 %
No	32

17A. Why do you believe you do not have the same power and authority?

	Black Managers
Respondents are always being checked on; they are not given the same power, authority, and latitutde that whites are given.	46 %
Respondents feel they have to prove themselves before they are given the power and authority, whereas whites are given them immediately.	41
Whites do not accept Blacks' mental reasoning ability; they feel Blacks are mentally inferior.	14
Whites are unable to relate to Blacks; they bypass them and go to their superiors.	11
Respondents have not had many opportunities to exercise their power and authority so they can't answer the question specifically.	5
Respondents' hiring power has been limited; they feel they should have more authority to say who is going to work for them.	3
White customers won't accept Blacks with a great deal of power	3
Respondents feel they might have the same power, but just being Black makes them paranoid.	3

17. Even those Blacks who are hired for jobs which are not specifically public relations oriented (for example, chemists, accountants, engineers, marketing researchers, data processing systems analysts and lawyers) find that they are expected to spend a good deal of their time "showcasing" for their corporate masters. These Black employees are required to attend numerous public relations type meetings, race relations dinners, and equal employment opportunity-urban affairs conferences, spreading the gospel of their respective companies.

In effect, they perform two jobs, one for which they were hired and the other for public relations.

Do you generally agree or disagree with this statement?

	Black Managers
Agree	78 %
Disagree	22
Doesn't know	0

17A. Would you please make a few comments about this statement? (Agree responses)

	Black Managers
Respondents' personal experiences where they have done what the firms asked such as attend meetings, dinners and conferences, give speeches, and have their pictures taken.	24 %
Companies need to improve their image with the public so they encourage Blacks to showcase.	21
Respondents have not been asked to perform public relations functions, but they do know of people in the firm who do perform these functions.	16
Respondents have been asked to attend conferences, give speeches to Black groups, etc., but they would not do it.	13
Firms show-boat their Blacks because of governmental pressures.	12
Respondents know that it does not happen in their firms, but know of cases in other firms.	6
All management positions are in effect public relations positions.	6

	Black Managers
It is a good thing, if it is actually showing what the company is doing, but it is bad, if the company isn't really doing anything.	4
Other	7

17B. Would you please make a few comments about this statement? (Disagree responses)

	Black Managers
Respondents have not experienced that kind of a situation in their companies.	57 %
It is not required, but the company would like Blacks to go along with their requests to attend conferences, make speeches, etc.	11
For the most part companies are interested in work efficiency; if they wanted a public relations person, they would hire a Black to perform the functions.	7
Respondents think it is good to let people know what's happening on a voluntary basis.	7
Other	18

19. What advice could you give to a Black manager entering your company?

	Black Managers
Blacks should stand up for what they believe is right; be their own men; Blacks should be themselves.	38 %
Blacks should be wary of corporate politics and play along with them.	26

	Black Managers
Blacks should always work hard at whatever they are doing and do it well.	24 %
Blacks should pursue an education-- they should get the best education available.	24
Respondent would give no advice.	16
Blacks should promote themselves, i.e., they should get to know their supervisors and let them know their goals, aspirations, and feelings about their job situation; they should use their personal initiative; they should be aggressive.	12
Blacks should watch their backs, be skeptical and careful.	8
Blacks should stay abreast of corporate and business happenings and developments.	7
Blacks should be aware that they have to do their jobs better than the white man.	6
Blacks should forget about their color; they should not be color conscious.	2
Other	12

20. Do you believe your firm is more careful in promoting Black employees than white employees because it wants to be certain that Blacks will succeed before promoting?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Yes	67 %	26 %
No	33	74

20A.   What is the evidence?   (Yes responses)

	Black Managers	White Managers
Respondent believes the Blacks are screened and investigated much more carefully than whites; Blacks are given more tests (written or on-the-job) and are observed more than whites.	22 %	7 %
Black managers' personal experiences.	20	0
Respondent's knowledge of qualified and deserving Blacks being held back while less qualified and less deserving whites are promoted over them.	19	2
No evidence; just a feeling.	15	12
There are only a few Blacks above low level managerial positions.	9	2
Respondent believes that only the "right" type of Black is promoted, i.e., Blacks who do not speak out, who are not too militant and not too aggressive.	4	0
Blacks have a much higher success record than white .	3	29
The firm is more c reful in promoting Blacks because it would be a big disservice to Blacks and to the company to promote a Black who could not do the job.	1	15
White managers' personal involvements or first hand knowledge that the company is more careful with Black employees than with white employees.	0	20
Other	8	18

20B.   What is the evidence?   (No responses)

	Black Managers	White Managers
No evidence; just a feeling.	28 %	17 %
Everyone is promoted on the same basis.	19	39
Blacks are promoted as a matter of convenience to governmental and outside social pressures.	14	6
The company had such a practice several years ago, but now it does not.	8	2
If everything is equal, Blacks are given the advantage over whites; the company's policy is just the opposite--it is less careful in promoting Blacks than whites.	6	30
Respondent's personal experiences.	5	0
Other	19	7

21.   In your company, how far up the executive ladder do you
       believe a Black can go?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Lower Management Level	17 %	3 %
Middle Management Level	44	17
Upper Management Level	26	30
Top; President; All the way; No limit	10	47
Doesn't know	2	3

21A. Why is this? - Lower Management Level

	Black Managers	White Managers
The company is not committed to an AAP; therefore, its employment policies are still discriminatory.	45 %	80 %
There aren't any Blacks above the lower level because the firm is only practicing tokenism because of governmental pressures and laws.	28	0
The lack of Blacks above the lower level indicates that Blacks can only go this far.	14	0
Whites do not want Blacks to have a great deal of power; thus, they will not promote Blacks above the lower managerial level.	9	20
Other	14	0

21B. Why is this? - Middle Management Level

	Black Managers	White Managers
The company has unfair employment policies for Blacks; thus, middle management is the limit; the company will promote a few Blacks to middle management as a token gesture because of governmental and social pressures.	32 %	4 %
The company is not ready to accept Blacks socially and to give Blacks a great deal of power, thus, middle management is the limit.	32	26
Blacks have only been with the company for a short period of time; therefore, they don't have the qualifications needed for higher managerial positions.	16	37

	Black Managers	White Managers
Respondent has not seen Blacks above this level and those at this level are few.	10 %	7 %
The company has an effective AAP, i.e., fair hiring and promotional policies for all managers.	2	15
Other	2	2

21C. Why is this? - Upper Management Level

	Black Managers	White Managers
Blacks can make it to the lower level of upper management because of an acceptance of the gradual change, but they can't make it to senior upper level positions because attitudes haven't changed that much.	33 %	20 %
The "right" Black (not militant, outspoken or aggressive, but a super-nigger) can make it to upper management; a few Blacks can make it to the upper level of management so that the firm can say, "Look what we did," i.e., tokenism and showcasing.	27	13
The company has an effective AAP, i.e., fair hiring and promotional policies for all managers.	20	39
Blacks can make it to the upper level of management, but not to extremely senior positions because of the few number of positions available at that level which require proven loyalty, experience, and dedication to the firm.	7	11

	Black Managers	White Managers
Because Blacks are not considered social equals they can't make it to extremely senior positions because social intercourse becomes very important at this level.	7 %	0 %
Blacks can make it to the upper level of management, but not to the Presidency because of opposition from the stockholders, or Board of Directors, or some customers with large accounts, or any combination.	3	13
Blacks can make it to the upper level of management because they have the ability, intelligence, and knowledge to do so.	3	4

21D. Why is this? - President	Black Managers	White Managers
The company has an effective AAP, i.e., fair hiring and promotional policies for all managers.	39 %	93 %
Blacks can go to the top, even the Presidency, because they have the ability, intelligence and knowledge.	39	1
Blacks can make it if they are super-niggers; Blacks must be much better than whites.	15	1
Social and governmental pressures combined with the success of Blacks makes it possible for Blacks to reach the top level; the present trend in social pressures is toward having Blacks; therefore, they have unlimited opportunities.	8	3
Other	8	0

22. Which of the remaining things on the card is <u>second</u> in importance?

	Black Managers	White Managers
The work is important and gives a sense of accomplishment.	26 %	17 %
High income.	23	14
The work is interesting.	21	37
Chances for advancement.	19	21
The work gives lots of chances to meet people.	6	6
No danger of being fired; security.	3	3
Lots of free time.	3	3

22A. Which of the remaining things on the card would be of <u>least</u> importance to you?

	Black Managers	White Managers
Lots of free time.	53 %	55 %
No danger of being fired; security.	28	30
The work gives lots of chances to meet people.	11	11
High income.	6	3
Chances for advancement.	3	2
Other	0	1

23. Many companies indicate that they want to do the "right thing" about hiring and promoting Black managers. But what does doing "the right thing" involve? (First right thing)

	Black Managers	White Managers
Hire and promote strictly on the basis of qualification for the job.	22 %	41 %

	Black Managers	White Managers
Make special recruiting and training efforts among Blacks.	50 %	44 %
Practice positive (reverse) discrimination.	9	1
Give careful attention to the promotion of qualified Blacks.	12	11
Do nothing.	0	0
Other	7	4

23A. Many companies indicate that they want to do "the right thing" about hiring and promoting Black managers. But what does doing "the right thing" involve? (Second right thing)

	Black Managers	White Managers
Hire and promote strictly on the basis of qualification for the job.	13 %	10 %
Make special recruiting and training efforts among Blacks.	22	20
Practice positive (reverse) discrimination.	6	5
Give careful attention to the promotion of qualified Blacks.	32	22

23B. Many companies indicate that they want to do "the right thing" about hiring and promoting Black managers. But what does doing "the right thing" involve? (Third right thing)

	Black Managers	White Managers
Hire and promote strictly on the basis of qualification for the job.	10 %	6 %
Make special recruiting and training efforts among Blacks.	9	5

	Black Managers	White Managers
Practice positive (reverse) discrimination.	9 %	8 %
Give careful attention to the promotion of qualified Blacks.	14	11

24. Would you advise a young Black man or woman just out of school or college to enter the business world?

	Black Managers
Yes	96 %
No	4

24A. What would you say is the <u>best way for young Blacks to achieve high managerial positions</u>?

	Black Managers
Blacks should always work hard at whatever they are doing and do it well; Blacks must be better than whites.	38 %
Blacks should set priorities and goals, then vigorously pursue them; Blacks should always strive for more and not be complacent and satisfied--they should use their personal initiative and be aggressive.	22
Blacks should obtain degrees in business, law, etc.	18
Blacks should become well-educated and develop their skills.	18
Blacks should not allow whites to deal unfairly with them; Blacks should realize what is expected of them without losing their identity.	11

	Black Managers
Learn the rules of the game and play them.	11 %
Blacks should select large, progressive, liberal companies.	7
Blacks should know and stay abreast of their business.	5
Blacks should set up their own companies—they should be self-employed.	4
Blacks should learn their limits and abilities.	2
Doesn't know	6
Other	10

APPENDIX C

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE TABLES

ALL MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Race & Sex = Independent Variables

Independent Variables Race & Sex	Number of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
Black Males	93	4.032	1.820
Black Females	23	2.696	1.329
White Males	133	8.489	4.584
White Females	23	4.478	3.160
Total	272	6.136	4.217

Total Sum of Squares = 4819

Between Means Sums of Squares = 1483

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 3336

ETA = .55 for Four Groups

ETA Squared = .31

$F_{(3268)}$ = 39710

Salary Code

00 = Under $5,999
01 = $6,000 - $7,999
02 = $8,000 - $9,999
03 = $10,000 - $11,999
04 = $12,000 - $13,999
05 = $14,000 - $15,999
06 = $16,000 - $17,999
07 = $18,000 - $19,999
08 = $20,000 - $21,999
09 = $22,000 - $23,999

10 = $24,000 - $25,999
11 = $26,000 - $27,999
12 = $28,000 - $29,999
13 = $30,000 - $31,999
14 = $32,000 - $33,999
15 = $34,000 - $35,999
16 = $36,000 - $37,999
17 = $38,000 - $39,999
18 = $40,000 - $41,999
19 = Over $42,000

BLACK MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Job Duration = Independent Variable
Race = Control Variable

Independent Variable Job Duration	Number of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
0-2 Years	20	3.250	2.337
2(+) - 4	32	3.719	1.486
4(+) - 6	18	3.500	1.689
6(+) - 8	17	3.941	2.015
8(+) - 10	9	3.444	.726
10(+) - 12	3	4.000	1.000
12(+) - 14	6	4.500	1.761
14(+) - 16	7	4.429	2.507
16(+) - 18	2	6.500	.707
18(+) - 20	1	5.000	0.000
20(+) - 22	1	4.000	0.000
Total	114	3.754	1.822

Total Sum of Squares = 375

Between Means Sums of Squares = 30

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 346

ETA = .28 for Nine Groups

ETA Squared = .08

F (8105) = 1.121

WHITE MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Job Duration = Independent Variable
Race = Control Variable

Independent Variable Job Duration	Number of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
0-2 Years	6	4.333	2.503
2(+) - 4	8	5.125	2.997
4(+) - 6	9	4.556	2.404
6(+) - 8	7	6.857	5.699
8(+) - 10	10	7.200	3.521
10(+) - 12	17	7.176	2.856
12(+) - 14	10	7.900	4.358
14(+) - 16	17	9.824	4.927
16(+) - 18	9	5.556	2.651
18(+) - 20	8	8.750	4.652
20(+) - 22	10	10.700	6.075
22(+) - 24	6	12.500	3.332
24(+) - 26	15	8.467	5.153
26(+) - 28	8	10.625	4.596
28(+) - 30	5	8.400	3.209
30(+) - 32	3	3.667	1.528
32(+) - 34	1	6.000	0.000
34(+) - 36	4	13.500	5.916
36(+) - 38	1	3.000	0.000
38(+) - 40	1	2.000	0.000
Missing Data	1	4.000	0.000
Total	152	8.007	4.624

Total Sum of Squares = 3229

Between Means Sums of Squares = 826

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 2403

ETA = .51 For Seventeen Groups

ETA Squared = .26

$F_{(16135)} = 2.902$

BLACK MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Education = Independent Variable
Race = Control Variable

Independent Variable Education	Number of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
High School Diploma	10	3.100	1.101
One Year of College	10	2.900	1.287
Two Years of College	25	3.000	1.658
Three Years of College	2	6.000	2.828
Bachelors Degree	46	3.522	1.260
Graduate School	22	5.545	2.087
Missing Data	1	6.000	0.000
Total	115	3.748	1.806

Total Sum of Squares = 372

Between Means Sums of Squares = 109

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 263

ETA = .54 for Six Groups

ETA Squared = .29

F (5109) = 9.040

WHITE MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Education = Independent Variable
Race = Control Variable

Independent Variable Education	Number of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
8th Grade	1	10.000	0.000
9th Grade	1	10.000	0.000
10th Grade	1	12.000	0.000
High School Diploma	38	6.447	4.032
One Year of College	12	5.417	3.801
Two Years of College	18	6.833	3.601
Three Years of College	3	6.333	1.155
Bachelors Degree	41	8.098	4.821
Graduate School	41	10.146	4.948
Total	153	7.843	4.647

Total Sum of Squares = 3282

Between Means Sums of Squares = 390

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 2892

ETA = .34 for Six Groups

ETA Squared = .12

F (5147) = 3.965

BLACK MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Age = Independent Variable
Race = Control Variable

Independent Variable Age	Number of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
21-25 Years	15	2.200	.775
26-30	30	3.033	1.299
31-35	32	3.656	1.335
36-40	21	4.905	2.189
41-45	10	4.500	1.581
46-50	7	6.000	1.826
56-60	1	6.000	0.000
Total	115	3.748	1.806

Total Sum of Squares = 372

Between Means Sums of Squares = 121

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 251

ETA = .57 for Six Groups

ETA Squared = .32

F (5109) = 10.495

WHITE MANAGERS

Equation: Salary = Dependent Variable
Age = Independent Variable
Race = Control Variable

Independent Variable Age	Number of of Participants	Dependent Variable Salary Mean X	Standard Deviation
21-25 Years	3	7.000	5.196
26-30	15	3.333	1.718
31-35	14	6.000	2.038
36-40	29	7.345	4.038
41-45	29	8.828	4.089
46-50	32	8.250	3.510
51-55	24	10.250	6.074
56-60	7	11.857	7.151
Over 60	1	2.000	0.000
Not Given	2	6.500	3.536
Total	155	7.935	4.610

Total Sum of Squares = 3273

Between Means Sums of Squares = 649

Within Groups Sums of Squares = 2624

ETA = .46 for Nine Groups

ETA Squared = .20

F (8146) = 4.517

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