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FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE MOBILITY OF BLACKS IN  
AN ELITE CORPORATION; A CASE STUDY OF BLACK  
MOBILITY.

CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, PH.D., 1978

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FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE MOBILITY OF BLACKS IN AN ELITE  
CORPORATION: A CASE STUDY OF BLACK MOBILITY

by

RICHARD L. HUDSON

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate  
Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University  
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1978

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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## ABSTRACT

This study is conducted on a sample of black employees of a large international computer corporation. The objective is to explore the relationship of certain ascriptive, achievement, and belief and attitudinal factors to the mobility of blacks employed in a predominately white organization and within occupations that were previously closed to blacks: managers, salespersons and software engineers. It is hypothesized that the following factors are significantly related to the respondents' occupational status and to their movement into management positions: educational achievement, parents' achievements, sex, skin color, the respondents' beliefs and attitudes about blacks, whites, the corporation, work and business. In particular, it is hypothesized that the belief and attitudinal patterns and skin colors of blacks influence white managers' decisions in their selection of blacks for management positions. The conclusions reached are: education is the major determinant of occupational mobility for blacks. Males and light skinned respondents receive more favorable consideration for management positions than dark skinned respondents and females. Managers have more positive orientations about blacks, whites, the corporation and business in general than the other groups in the sample. Female and non-professional employees express high degrees of alienation and perceived discrimination and a lack of opportunity as the reasons for this alienation. However, a regression model based on these factors indicate that the respondents' beliefs and attitudes are relatively unimportant to their selection for management positions.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION, RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

An area of great interest is the relationship between race and mobility within the American occupational structure. Specifically, the entry of blacks into traditionally segregated bureaucratic structures allows a critical and extensive reevaluation of many of the theoretical premises of bureaucratic organization as well as several new areas of investigation. In particular, there is a persistence in the myth of "ideological equalitarianism" which according to Lipset and Bendix (1959) "plays an important role in facilitating social mobility in the United States" (p. 78). The major tenet of this ideology is the belief that opportunity for upward mobility is dependent only on ability. However, scholars in the field have observed that "American cultural values similarly pay lipservice to the principle that societal rewards should be allocated upon achievement basis (Quinn, Tabor, and Gordon, 1968, p. 1). Examples abound of the monopolization of occupations, and more importantly, of the higher statuses of the different occupations by different ethnic groups. There are some groups, and most notably, the American blacks, who have not shared equally in the distribution of the higher position within the occupational structure.

All of the studies relating to race and mobility have shown that historically race was among the more important factors in determining a

person's economic and social status. Within the last two decades, widespread unrest among blacks led to studies which indicated that a major underlying cause of this unrest was a lack of employment opportunity. This unrest led to legislative, executive and judicial responses designed to eliminate the discrimination against blacks. Several Presidential Orders, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and several other employment rights acts were issued or passed. This body of law made it illegal to discriminate in employment because of race, color, sex, religion, national origin, age and physical condition. Within the last decade, a tremendous body of legal decisions and directives issued by the federal and state courts, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) have established a legal code of rights for blacks--both collectively and individually--in the area of employment. They have given the black population the legal principles and resources which are presently transforming the racial compositions of major corporations and industries.

One of the more significant changes was the response of major corporations in instituting affirmative action policies which were formulated with the objective of increasing the employment opportunities and representations of blacks in corporations. The corporation where this study has been conducted has seriously sought to develop and implement equal opportunity policies, procedures and practices. As a result of these policies, there has been a substantial increase in the number of black workers. This large population of blacks,

many of whom are in non-traditional occupations such as management, allows us to now expand the study of the relationship between race and occupational mobility. The major objective of this study is to understand black mobility by developing several models of factors which affect black mobility. In the next section, I will outline the theoretical basis for these models.

### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

The basic ideology concerning mobility in America is that the occupational structure is based on an achievement system. There is no disagreement that achievements, and more specifically, educational achievements, are the most important factors in determining one's occupational status in this society. However, there is a second school of thought which suggests that other non-achievement factors are important. Hughes (1945) postulated that the ascriptive factors of race and sex were of equal, if not greater, importance to one's mobility. He commented that "there tends to grow up about a status, a complex of auxilliary characteristics which come to be expected of its incumbents" (p. 142). What Hughes was suggesting is that the holder of a particular status in this society must have certain ascriptive characteristics if the holder is expected to be accorded all the privileges of the particular status. Thus, it is the status itself which dictates what kind of individuals should be within the status. The two most important factors which Hughes referred to which were dysfunctional to high occupational aspirations were sex and race. For example, the status of surgeon is historically associated with being a white male. Therefore, when one is confronted with

a black surgeon, the following question arises: Should the white individual react to the surgeon as a surgeon or as a black person? In a society where racial feelings and views are often negative, a white person would have difficulty reacting appropriately to the situation. It is difficult to imagine a white female visiting a black gynecologist.

This distinction between achievement and ascriptive led to the following conceptualization by Linton (1961):

"Ascribed statuses are those which are assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities. They can be predicted and trained for from birth. The achieved statuses are, as a minimum, those requiring special qualities, though they are not necessarily limited to these. They are not assigned to individuals from birth but are left to be filled through competition and individual efforts" (p. 203).

Duncan and Blau (1966) used this construct as the basis for a rather comprehensive model of occupational mobility. This model, which was constructed from the mobility patterns of white and black males showed that many factors, such as educational and occupational achievements, intelligence, creativity, family's SES, etc., were significantly related to occupational mobility. However, Duncan et al. (1966) noted that their model does not accurately describe black mobility because of "... the severe discrimination that the Negro suffers at every step in the process toward achieving occupational success" (p. 241).

In particular, the principle of meritocracy, which ideally the bureaucratic structure is built upon, has been assumed to be the fairest

way of integrating ethnic and racial minorities into the occupational structure. This principle has also been assumed to be the most objective way of evaluating the skills and abilities sought by these corporations. Presumably, only the relevant skills and abilities needed for performance are assessed and evaluated by objective criteria. All other factors are deemed unrelated to one's mobility potentials within these structures. Quinn et al. (1968), recognized the inapplicability of this principle when he commented:

"That rewards in the society are based substantially upon ascriptive criteria, such as race, is difficult to overlook when ascription results in the burning of cities. The American Myth is not that all men are created equally, but that rewards are calibrated solely to achievements" (p. 2).

Studies of organizational processes, and the theories derived from these studies, have shown that the meritocratic system--which is presumed to be a rational system--has a number of non-rational components. Organizational theorists have recognized that mobility patterns and status distributions are based upon complex and non-rational socio-psychological factors located in group and organizational behavior and needs rather than upon any universal recognition of the abilities and achievements of the individual. The literature on bureaucratic organization and occupational stratification postulates a complex social, psychological, and perceptual model of mobility. Therefore, to understand black mobility, the relationship between factors associated with this model must be established. It is those dimensions of mobility associated with the socio-psychological model which are of primary interest, because they are the factors which act to diminish the importance of achievement for blacks.

Turner (1960) formulated these two schools of thought into an ideal-type model. He theorized two basic modes of mobility within the American society, contest and sponsored. He defines these two as follows:

"Contest mobility is a system in which elite status is the prize in an open contest and is taken by the aspirants' own efforts. While the 'contest' is governed by some rules of fair play, the contestants have wide latitude in the strategies they employ... Under sponsored mobility, elite recruits are chosen by the established elite or their agents, and elite status is given on the basis of some criterion of supposed merit" (p. 450).

Under the theoretical paradigm of Turner, contest mobility would consist of the evaluation of the individuals comparative merit based on achievements. Under sponsored mobility, other factors, i.e., ascriptive, social, psychological, organizational, etc., would be considered in the mobility process. Within this paradigm this study will test the general hypothesis that black mobility is influenced by many factors other than achievements. The consensus of the reviewed literature supports the conclusion that the primary mode of mobility within corporation is sponsored. This study will pursue the position that black mobility, in particular, is a sponsored system of mobility.

The thesis consists of six chapters, each devoted to a specific phase of the mobility process as depicted in Figure 1.1. This figure postulates that black mobility is a function of three sets of variables associated with (a) policies and structural changes, (b) achievement and ascriptive factors and (c) belief, attitude and personality factors. Following is a brief review of the literature relative to these perspectives and a summary of the major questions.

## MOBILITY AS A FUNCTION OF POLICY

In Figure 1.1, it is shown that the first step in the mobility process for blacks was the formulation and implementation of strong policies at the federal level and within the organization. It is important to underscore the fact that policies based on goodwill and principles of fairness failed to increase minority representation. It was only through coercive policies that minorities began gaining greater representation. In a study of the banking industries in New York City, Corwin (1970) observed that "there was a dramatic change in the organization of recruitment when the overall employment policy moved from 'a policy of nondiscrimination' to a policy of affirmative action" (p. 45). Kahn et al. (1964) in a study of discrimination against Jews, concluded that the managers' knowledge about the emphasis and direction of policy relating to hiring and promoting, or the use of directives or measurement systems to compel compliance to company policy by those responsible for the hiring and promoting of personnel are important factors in removing discrimination. Within this organization, the company's policies, and the thrust of these policies, continuously changed between the years of 1962 and 1971. Prior to 1962, the organization relied on the goodwill of the gatekeepers, i.e., the managers and recruiters, in insuring that blacks were hired and promoted. Because of a lack of success in meeting specified goals when relying upon the traditional procedures, the company instituted the use of directives by establishing quotas and managers were appraised on their efforts in implementing the equal opportunity policies.

FIGURE 1.1

OUTLINE OF OCCUPATIONAL FACTORS AND VARIABLES TO BE STUDIED

POLICIES

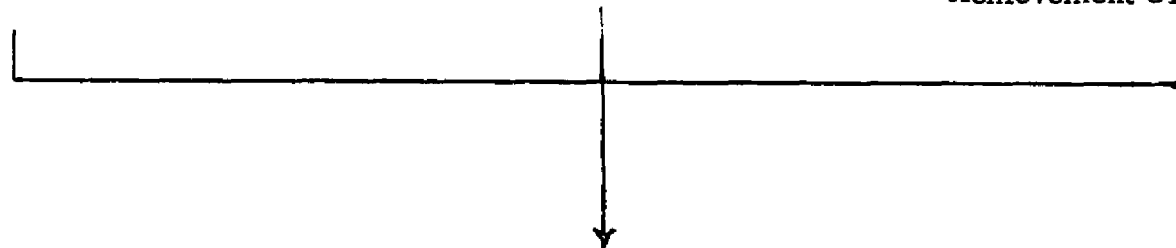
- Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Policies
- Plans For Progress (1962)
- Civil Rights Act of 1964
- Executive Orders (1965 & 1967)
- OFCC and EEOC Guidelines
- Company's Policies/Guidelines
- Directives
- Appraisal System

ACHIEVEMENT/ASCRPTIVE FACTORS

- Sex
- Education
- Parents' Educational & Occupational Attainments
- Skin Color

BELIEF, ATTITUDE AND PERSONALITY FACTORS

- Racial Orientations
- White Orientation
- Black Orientation
- Work Orientation
- Business Orientation
- Achievement Orientation



DEPENDENT VARIABLES

1. Promotion Rate (Measure of Movement Within Organization)
2. Occupational Status (Respondent's Occupational Category)

In Chapter Two, Equal Opportunity Policy and Black Mobility, the objective will be to examine hiring, placement and promotional patterns as they relate to federal policies, legislative acts and executive orders. In particular, the Plans for Progress agreement, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, several executive orders and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC), and the enforcement procedures established by legislative and executive actions will be proven to have had a dramatic influence upon the employment patterns of the sample population. Relevant questions are: In what ways have these policies helped blacks? How did the organization respond to increase employment opportunities for blacks?

Chapter Three, Mode of Mobility: Sponsored or Contest?, will be devoted to an analysis of the promotional process within the corporation with the objective of determining which mode of mobility, contest or sponsored, dominates. The organization utilizes an employee evaluation system which purports to be a contest mobility system. It is my belief that the system more closely approximates a sponsored mobility system. In this chapter, there are three major objectives. The first is to describe the evaluation system and evaluate the question: Is the evaluation system a contest or sponsored system of mobility? The second is to evaluate the respondents' perceptions relative to the question. The final objective is to develop the major dependent variables, Occupational Status and Promotion Rate, which will be used to test the major hypotheses and questions.

## THE ACHIEVEMENT/ASCRPTIVE MODEL OF BLACK MOBILITY

The second phase of the mobility process for blacks consists in understanding what factors are important for entry into the organization. Duncan, et al. (1966) constructed a mobility model representing the process of status attainment in the United States. The basic model predicted male mobility as a function of father's educational and occupational attainments, respondent's education and first job held. Subsequent studies replicating this model indicated that there were serious deficiencies in the basic model. Although the original model was based on white and black males, Porter's (1974) study concluded that because of "intervening and social-psychological variables" associated with the "fact that race is a highly salient ascribed factor in this society," a model based on the assumption of achievement norms may not be appropriate to blacks (p. 303). Other studies noted the lack of research of the status attainment process for females (Sewell, 1970: Scanzoni, 1971: Gurin, 1971). One of the objectives of Chapter Four, The Achievement/Ascriptive Model of Black Mobility, will be to replicate the basic model on the sample population. Within this objective, the purpose will be to understand in what ways the basic model is applicable to blacks in general, and to black females in particular.

Generally, when the reference is to ascriptive factors, the reference is to race or sex. However, for blacks there is one other very important ascriptive factor which has been hypothesized as being important in the mobility for blacks. Many scholars have made the observation that within the black population, lighter colored blacks appear to have more mobility than the darker members of the population (Myrdal, 1944: Edwards, 1952: Dollard, 1957: Frazier, 1957). There have

been relatively few studies which have shown this to be true. Edwards (1952), for example, conducted a study to study the Mulatto hypothesis:

"Some students have contended that with the urbanization of the Negro population, the early advantages enjoyed by the mulattoes in terms of occupational status and education have disappeared, and the dark-skinned personnel now occupy a larger proportion of the high-status positions in Negro life as color prejudices are reduced and opportunities for education have increased" (p. 246).

Edwards' findings were inconclusive. It is my belief from personal observation that these advantages enjoyed by lighter skinned blacks are prevalent. Part of this analysis will be devoted to the investigation of the relationship of skin color to black mobility.

#### THE BELIEF AND ATTITUDE DIMENSIONS OF BLACK MOBILITY

A second approach to understanding mobility is to assess the relationship of racial and psychological factors to mobility. The studies reviewed within this section postulate that mobility within the organization is related to factors such as, (a) one's relationship to the organization in terms of agreement with and conformity to the organization's goals and policies, (b) one's relationship to their group in terms of ethnic or racial identification, (c) one's belief or orientation towards work or work ethic orientation and (d) one's aspirations and drives or achievement orientation. The second objective of this study is to develop a belief and attitude model of black mobility.

In Chapter Five, The Belief and Attitude Dimensions of Black Mobility, the objective will be to analyze the relationship of the type of non-achievement factors discussed in the previous paragraph to the

process of mobility for the sample. For example, many studies of bureaucratic organization have shown that important factors to mobility or promotability within an organization are common ideological orientation to means and goals, compatibility and loyalty, one's business ideology or creed, and esprit de corps among the members (Jackson, 1959; Likert, 1961; Thompson, 1961; March and Simon, 1956). Other studies of executives have identified that they have a similar ideology about the function and role of business in society (Seider, 1974; Pavalko, 1971). An example of this type of ideology is the belief that the primary function of business is to maximize profits. Essentially, this school of thought postulates that an individual's success within a formal organization is a function of his or her business ideology being compatible to the organization. Within this chapter, I will develop this orientation for analysis. Relative to this business orientation, I wish to answer this basic question: How important is loyalty, agreement with the organization's goals and policies, etc., to the mobility of blacks?

A second dimension of this model to be considered is the relationship of racial beliefs and attitudes of blacks to their mobility. Earlier studies of groups found that certain factors were essential to the efficiency of the group. For example, interpersonal factors such as loyalty to one another, high degrees of confidence and trust in each other, the ease of communication among the members, etc., are important to the performance of the group (Likert, 1961; Jackson, 1959). These theories would suggest that an individual's racial attitudes and beliefs would play a major role in how people of various ethnic or racial groups will fare within a competitive work environment.

Studies in recent years have shown this to be true. A study of executive, conducted by Powell (1963), "demonstrated that among the factors influencing the promotability of an individual, many are out of the person's control: family background, kinship and religious affiliation" (p. 3). Bowman (1964) reported that race and national origin figured significantly in the image of the promotable person in the minds of many participants in a study of 2000 managers. Quinn et al. (1968) showed that a primary criterion used in the selection of a salesman and salesmen mobility is membership in the Caucasian race.

Other studies have concentrated on exploring the relationship between an evaluator's race and the ratings given to members of different racial groups (Korman, 1971; Bass and Turner, 1973; Purcell and Cavanagh, 1972; Morris and Flaughner, 1969; Rock and Evan, 1959). Two generalized conclusions have been reached by these studies. First, there is an agreement, as the theories of group behavior predicted, that evaluators have a tendency to rate members of their own racial or ethnic group more positively than members of other groups. The second conclusion is that white evaluators have a tendency to rate black employees on objective criteria when possible and whites on more subjective criteria. Therefore, if a white employee is performing below par based on objective criteria, white managers will utilize subjective factors, such as pleasant personality, initiative, attitudes, etc., to rate the employee higher. The important point here is that whites' racial beliefs and attitudes are related in predictable ways to black performance within an organization.

These studies raise an issue of considerable importance to blacks. In the past, whites with negative attitudes towards blacks have translated their attitudes into approved discriminatory treatment. Now that whites, regardless of their personal beliefs and attitudes, must promote blacks, it is of interest to this study to ascertain whether or not the racial beliefs and attitudes of blacks have any influence upon white managers' decisions. As Paige (1970) noted, "attitudes of withdrawal and distrust would no longer be useful for advancing black interest" since blacks are dependent on recognition by whites for their promotions (p. 70). This suggests that the black individual who is conservative, as opposed to militant, in his or her racial views will enjoy greater mobility within a white organization. It also suggests that the black individual who perceives whites in a more positive way, that is, has positive attitudes about whites, will enjoy greater mobility than the black individual who has negative attitudes about whites. The basic premise is that since whites are primarily responsible for the selection of blacks for mobility, white managers will select those blacks who conform to the principle stated by Jackson (1959). He states "... people have powerful forces acting upon them to direct their communication towards those who can make them feel secure and gratify their needs and away from those who threaten them, making them feel anxious, and generally provide unrewarding experiences" (p. 490).

Relative to the relationship of racial beliefs and attitudes of blacks to mobility, categories representing the black and white

orientations of the sample will be developed. The types of questions to be addressed in this chapter are: How do blacks perceive their progress? What are the perceptions of the nature and influence of racial discrimination to their progress? What are the nature and extent of anti-white and anti-black attitudes among the sample? What are the relationships of these orientations to the differential mobility of the sample population?

The degree of perceived success or lack of success within the organization leads to another important issue to be studied. Several scholars (Burbach, 1973; Weinberg, 1970; Brink and Harris, 1966) have shown that achievements, whether educational or occupational, are related to powerlessness, alienation and identification. These three psychological variables are significant in understanding racial differences and reactions to the organizations and institutions. Thus these studies have shown that powerlessness or lack of control over one's destiny is related to academic achievements and occupational statuses. One consequence of powerlessness is alienation from the institutions of interest. In this study, the suggested hypothesis is that the less successful respondents will have high degrees of alienation because of perceived powerlessness over control of their own destiny. Conversely, the more successful members of the sample will have low degrees of powerlessness and alienation or high degrees of identification with the organization.

In constructing the alienation-powerlessness measures, there is an important part of the promotion process within the organization which plays a significant role in the alienation-powerlessness process. In Chapter Two, the description of the mobility process suggested that the evaluation system is highly dependent on subjective criteria. In effect, mobility for blacks become as dependent on the perceptions of white managers as it does on their, i.e., blacks, ability to perform. This would suggest that since white perceptions are often based on stereotypes, impressions, projections, etc., black promotability is considerably beyond their personal control. Therefore, assuming that alienation or identification is significantly related to mobility, it is important to ascertain the following: Which respondents are alienated? Why they are alienated? What factors within the evaluation system cause alienation and powerlessness? Which respondents identify with the organization? What factors cause this identification?

The final category of interest is to explore the relationship of the achievement-aspiration orientations of the sample to their relative mobility. Relative to the achievement-aspiration orientations, several scholars have noted that the achievement and aspiration patterns among blacks appear to play a major role in their mobility patterns (Duncan and Blau, 1966: Scanzoni, 1974: Gurin, 1972: Edwards, 1959). Generally, high achieving blacks have parents who are also high achievers. These studies suggest that the individuals in this sample should have, as a dominant characteristic, high aspirations and achievement drives. Secondly, these studies suggest that the differential mobility of the individuals within the organization should be related to the different

degrees of these drives. The important questions are: Are achievement drives and aspirations important to the mobility of the black employee? In what ways do these factors influence the mobility of sample population?

The second aspect of the achievement-aspiration issue is the relationship of the hypothesized Protestant Work Ethic orientation to the success of the individual in gaining occupational status within the organization. This ideological orientation is reflected in the belief structure that one's personal success, achievements and subsequent mobility are because of personal characteristics, that is, abilities, drives, motivations and ambitions unique to oneself. This type of belief is reflected in the expressions "I have earned my position through hard work and others should also earn theirs" or "They have not proven themselves yet". This belief structure minimizes or precludes the influences of ascriptive and philosophical factors such as personality, race, sex, religion, ideological or political orientations on their mobility. Again, the interest here is to assess the prevalence of this orientation and its relationship to the mobility process.

In Chapter Six, The Mobility Process for Blacks, the development of an exploratory model of the relationships of these belief, ideological, attitudinal and personality factors to the mobility of the sample population will be undertaken. The responses to selected survey items representing the various orientations, i.e., work ethic, achievement, white and black orientations, etc., will be included in an inferential regression model. Whereas, these factors can be postulated as having preceded the individual's entry into the organization, it is highly probable that the

factors of perceived discrimination, alienation, identification and powerlessness are the result of the individual's success or lack of success within the organization. Therefore, these factors will be included in the model as dependent variables on the mobility variables. In particular, I will present a composite theoretical model for describing the mobility process for black professionals and other non-professional workers within the organization. I will discuss the broader implications and generalization which can be deduced from this study. And finally, I will devote a considerable part of the chapter to a discussion of the suggested areas for research in the future to resolve many of the questions and issues raised by this exploratory study.

#### THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

This study was conducted among black employees of a large international manufacturer of computers, typewriters and office copiers. The corporation consists of 11 divisions with specialized functions. The majority of the sample was selected from two areas, the Computer Marketing Division which is responsible for the marketing of the corporation's major products, and several divisional headquarters and the corporate headquarter location. The geographical location for the selection of the sample is the New York metropolitan area which includes Westchester county where several of the headquarters are located.

There are several reasons for the decision to select the sample from within these areas of the company. A primary objective of this research is to study a highly mobile group of black professionals located within occupational categories which have been historically closed to blacks, such as officials, managers, professionals, sales and technical. The largest concentration of black employees with these

characteristics are located within this geographical area. The Computer Marketing Division is considered to be the elite division in the company. It is devined as the elite division because it is from this division that the "future leaders" of the company are selected. Other characteristics of this division which make it the elite division are that the professional positions are more prestigious, more demanding in ability and have the higher salary ranges. Because its function is to market computers, the majority of its employees are located in large metropolitan areas. The importance of this factor, i. e., the selection of the sample from the elite areas, will become evident in the next chapter.

#### SAMPLE POPULATION

I constructed a list of approximately 600 black employees who worked in this geographical areas from informants. I mailed and distributed more than 500 questionnaires to these black employees. I followed up on all non-return surveys by mail, telephone or personal contact. I received a total of 142 questionnaires, of which 5 were eliminated because the responses were incomplete.

Although the return rate is within the expected range for mailed surveys, there were two other reasons for the low return rate. Many respondents and non-respondents indicated that the survey was too long. However, I think the major reason is a rather extensive distrust of opinion surveys by the employees. For two years, I was responsible for administering the company's opinion surveys in one of their metropolitan location. The company also experienced difficulty in gaining voluntary participation in the program. In order to gain a better understanding of

the low participation rate with the objective of recommending ways to improve the participation, I conducted over 100 personal interviews. One conclusion reached is that a high degree of distrust of the com-

TABLE 1.1

DISTRIBUTION OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

<u>Division Type</u>	<u>Professionals</u>		<u>Non-Professionals</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Elite	77	82	28	64
Non-Elite	16	18	16	36
Totals	93	100	44	100

NOTE: For occupations or job titles within the professional and non-professional categories, see Tables 3.1 and 3.2 in Chapter 3.

pany's management and purpose existed among the employees. I feel that this general climate of distrust of surveys affected the return rate of my survey.

In Chapter 4, responses from 33 white managers and 32 black employees are presented. These data were obtained from a small survey in 1973 of a group of white managers in a management development school and a sample of 32 black employees in the New York City area.

SOME METHODOLOGICAL NOTATIONS

In Chapter 3 there will be two major dependent variables developed, Occupational Status and Promotion Rate. The Occupational Status variable is a measure of the respondent's occupational status, i.e., manager, professional or non-professional. Utilization of this variable will allow

a comparison of the results of this study to be made to other studies which have utilized similar indices of occupational status. The second dependent variable, Promotion Rate, is a measure of the success or lack of success of the respondent in gaining mobility within the organization. Therefore, three groups of professionals will be identified, each characterized as having experienced different degrees of success. This variable will be utilized to ascertain what factors are important to success within the organization.

There is a basic approach to the evaluation of the questions and hypotheses. In Chapter Four, the objective will be to evaluate the relationships of the achievement and ascriptive factors to the respondents' mobility as measured by the two variables, Occupational Status and Promotion Rate. Towards the evaluation of these relationships, the two statistical methods, Chi-Square and Multiple Regression analysis, will be used. Generally, the Chi-Square test of significance will be applied to the sample distributions. This test is useful in ascertaining the significances which exist between the distributions. The Multiple Regression coefficients will be utilized to determine the relative importance of these variables to the dependent variables.

In Chapter Five, the objective will be to evaluate the hypotheses and questions relative to the beliefs and attitudes of the respondents as they relate to the mobility variables. Essentially, these hypotheses postulate that the more successful groups within the sample should have certain types of belief and attitude patterns. More precisely, those groups who have been identified as successful in gaining mobility should

have belief and attitude patterns which are functional for promotability to management. Towards the evaluation of some of these hypotheses, the Pearson Product-Moment correlation coefficient is necessary. This test is useful when the vast majority of the responses fall in one direction, agree or disagree.

The sampling procedure, i.e., a non-random sample designed to have a proportionally large group of black professionals, imposes limitations on the degree of generalization of the findings. The procedure will not allow inferences to be drawn about a larger population. However, certain strong relationships will probably hold true for a larger population and therefore these relationships should be considered as testable hypotheses.

## CHAPTER II

### EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY AND BLACK MOBILITY

The initial phase of the mobility process consists of blacks gaining entry into the organization and within occupational categories which were historically closed to the blacks. Therefore, the first issue of interest to this study is to understand how blacks gained entry into the organization. There are two rather fundamental theories which serve as the basis for this chapter. In multiracial societies, generally the colored minorities occupy the lower socio-economic strata. Members of the colored minorities are generally discriminated against with respect to occupational opportunities. To change the patterns and practices of the exclusion of colored minorities from the higher occupational jobs within a society, vigorous and forceful non-discriminatory policies are necessary. The first theoretical premise of this chapter is that the major cause of the recent increases in equal employment opportunities for blacks is that a major change in the government's policies on discrimination occurred. Prior to the decade of the 60's, government policies on discrimination were weak and lacked in enforcement powers. However, the protest movement and urban disorders led to the Civil Rights act of 1964 and the Executive Order 11246 law. Both of these laws differed significantly from previous laws in

broad mandate and scope of enforcement powers. In this chapter, the objective will be to test the hypothesis that the mobility currently enjoyed by the population was directly the result of these changes in federal politics.

The second theoretical premise postulates that in a multiracial society, members of the white population will be employed in the better jobs and members of the colored group will be employed in the less desirable jobs. In a melting pot society such as America, where there are many white ethnic groups competing with black American for jobs, there are special problems. Although many white ethnics have suffered discrimination, the demand for labor was sufficient to eliminate discriminatory barriers for these groups. However, blacks were not allowed into the industrial mainstream at the higher occupational levels. Special legislative and executive actions were needed to specifically break the barriers as mentioned previously. However, there is one aspect of the entry of new groups into the occupational structure which practically all racial and ethnic groups have in common. Their initial entry into the workforce, or within an industry or organization, will be into the lower occupational levels. In this chapter the general theoretical premise is that a disproportionately greater number of blacks will be located in the lower occupational positions, characterized by lower skills and lower salaries.

#### FEDERAL ACTS PROHIBITING DISCRIMINATION

This country has a long history of legislative acts and executive orders directed towards improving employment opportunities for blacks. In

reaction to black protest, these branches of government have either been enacting bills or issuing orders since the early thirties to eliminate discrimination. For example , the Unemployment Relief Act of 1933 and the National Recovery Act contained policies that prohibited discrimination in employment and housing. As in the case of all civil right actions directed towards eliminating discrimination in employment prior to the 60's, these announcements were of limited effectiveness. "In practice, they amounted to little more than an expression of policy. There were no standards by which discrimination could be determined, and machinery and sanctions for enforcement were rare" (EEOC, Civil Rights Act of 1964, p.2; also see Government Sources).

In 1941, A. Philip Randolph threatened a mass convergence of blacks on Washington unless President Rossevelt secured employment for blacks in the defense industries. In response to this threat, President Roosevelt established a Fair Employment Practice Committee. The committee was an autonomous body reporting solely to the President and considerably broader in scope than any prior civil rights bill. The FEPC was authorized to receive and investigate complaints of discrimination, to take appropriate steps to redress valid grievances, and to recommend to federal agencies and to the President whatever measures it deemed necessary and proper to carry out the purpose of the order" (EEOC, Civil Rights Act of 1964; also see Government Sources).

However, the same weakness that will affect all legislation of this type until the 60's eventually rendered the committee ineffective. It had a staff of only eight members and it lacked enforcement powers.

The FEPC was later transferred to the War Manpower Commission and thereby depriving it of its autonomy. A dispute with the chairman of the Manpower Commission led to the resignation of several of the members and the committee suspended operation in 1943. A second committee was established by an Executive Order with two major improvements. The committee was given a broader jurisdiction than that of its predecessor. Secondly, its budget permitted it to employ a staff of nearly 120 and to open 15 field offices. In the three years of its existence, it processed approximately 8,000 complaints and conducted 30 public hearings. However, it also lacked enforcement powers. It expired in June, 1946.

Several committees were established by the next three presidents in the continuous effort to eliminate discrimination. On December 3, 1951, President Truman issued an Executive Order creating a Committee on Government Contract Compliance. The committee made more than 20 recommendations for improving the existing program. Many were directed at the establishment of effective enforcement procedures for the nondiscrimination clause (EEOC, Civil Rights Act of 1964, p. 2; also see *Government Sources*).

On August 13, 1953, President Eisenhower issued an Executive Order replacing the Truman committee with a new committee, the President's Committee on Government Contracts. This committee met with the same fate as its predecessors, i.e., it was ineffective because it lacked in enforcement powers.

Severe unrest among blacks during the decades of the fifties and sixties was caused partly by severe and chronic underemployment and unemployment among this population. The immediate response by the federal government was to initiate social policies with the objective of increasing employment opportunities for blacks.

On March 6, 1961, President Kennedy signed an Executive Order which created a new President's committee on Equal Opportunity charged with the responsibility of effectuating equal opportunity both in government employment and in employment on government contracts. Under this order, not only were government contractors not to discriminate, but were to engage in affirmative actions to ensure that the policy was effective. Besides broadly stating the affirmative actions contractors must take, such as filing compliance reports describing their hiring and employment practices and progress, the major departure from previous efforts was in the power authorized to the committee to effectuate compliance. The committee described a Plans for Progress program which contained the procedures for effecting compliance through cooperation with many business institutions. To encourage compliance, the committee was authorized to:

1. Publish the names of non-complying contractors and unions.
2. Recommend suits by the Justice Department to compel compliance.
3. Recommend criminal actions by the Justice Department against contractors who furnish false information.
4. Terminate the contract of a noncomplying employer.
5. Forbid the contracting agencies to enter into new contracts with those who have discriminated unless they have changed their policies.

As will be shown, this was the beginning of the first serious commitment by the organization of study to give employment opportunities to blacks.

On July 2, 1964, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed by the legislative branch of government. Title VII of the Act made it "unlawful employment practice for an employer to discriminate because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin." This act also established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) as the agency responsible to accept, investigate and initiate action to correct discrimination. This act empowered the EEOC to formulate and issue guidelines to institutions as to what employment practices and procedures were in violation of the act. Many of the subsequent litigated cases led to precedent setting decisions which supported these guidelines and led to new and stronger guidelines. In the next section, the impact of these guidelines will be shown.

On September 24, 1965, Executive Order 11246 was signed into law by President Johnson and subsequently amended by several executive orders which strengthened it. This order established under the Secretary of Labor, Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC). The importance of this order was the power invested in the OFCC. The expressed purpose of the OFCC was to formulate guidelines and procedures for federal contractors as to what must be done by the institution, organization or business in order to be in compliance with this executive order. The failure to comply could lead to the cancellation, suspension or termination of a federal contract with the contractor. As

will be shown, the major importance of this order resided in the affirmative actions commitment requirements of this order and the enforcement powers accorded to the Secretary of Labor.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, and various other legislative acts, such as the Equal Opportunity Act of 1972, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, etc., and the executives orders have as a mandate the obligation to end discrimination in employment. As a practical matter, there are major functional differences as to what the legislative acts and the executive orders were implemented to accomplish. Whereas, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the other legislative acts contained provisions for ending racial and other types of discrimination, the enforcement power of the EEOC was very limited. Therefore, for the EEOC guidelines to be effective, long litigations were usually necessary to resolve charges of discrimination. Essentially, it can be concluded that these legislative acts were directed at institutionalized practices, policies and procedures that resulted in discrimination against minority groups.

For example, the major obstacles confronting minority groups when seeking equal employment opportunities were the recruitment, hiring, placement and advancement systems utilized by all major institutions in the society. To determine qualification for employment, tests and informal and subjective interviews were used to discriminate against blacks. To determine job placement and advancement, seniority systems and subjective merit evaluation systems were used

to disproportionately reject blacks and restrict their opportunities. Under the EEOC guidelines, if an employer discriminated by utilizing any of these systems, the EEOC would first seek to have the employer voluntarily cease the practice.<sup>1</sup> If this action failed to end the practice by agreement, the EEOC was further empowered to assist a complainant in Federal court with the objective of having the court decide whether the practice, policy or procedure was in violation. Because such litigation could take years to be resolved, this act was relatively ineffective in responding to the immediate concerns expressed by blacks during the sixties, one of which was a substantial increase in the number of employed blacks. Although, it will be shown that in some instances, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was significant in increasing the number of blacks, it was primarily because at the time the major institution recognized the necessity to follow the EEOC guidelines without challenging their legality. It became quite apparent early in 1965 that if blacks were to receive equal employment opportunities, further federal action would be required in the form of executive orders.

The use of an executive order and the creation of the OFCC was the government response to this need. The OFCC countered to the dilatory responses and excuses for inaction by the major institutions by issuing directives requiring affirmative action by contractors in seeking out where discrimination existed internally. They were then required by law to formulate and implement plans to correct the discrimination. Fail-

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<sup>1</sup>The Act was ammended March 24, 1972, granting authority to the EEOC to initiate suits on behalf of the EEOC against employers.

ure to comply with the compliance guidelines would lead to the cancellation, suspension or termination of contracts as well as legal action against non-complying parties. The effect of these orders was to effectuate immediate changes in recruitment, hiring, placement and promotion systems of employers. It is this power that has been the most significant factor in increasing opportunity for minorities. In the following section, I will examine the company's responses to the federal policies and their impact upon the recruitment, hiring and placement of blacks in the company.

#### COMPANY'S POLICIES AND THE RECRUITMENT AND HIRING OF BLACKS

The company's first response toward establishing a policy of equal opportunity occurred in 1953. Shortly after President Eisenhower issued an executive order establishing a Committee on Government Contracts, the corporation's president issued a policy letter which stated:

Under the American system, each of the citizens of this country has an equal right to live and work in America. It is the policy of this Corporation to hire people who have the personality, talent and background necessary to fill a given job regardless of race, color or creed.

On September 26, 1961, this policy was reaffirmed in a second policy letter. Both of these policy statements were ineffective in reducing racial discrimination within the organization because there was no real commitment by the corporation beyond the policy statement to end discrimination. Also, there was no recognition that racial discrimination existed within the company by management. One of the more pervasive beliefs that existed within management, as I learned from my experiences in personnel and management development schools, is that the major reason

for the low numbers of blacks in the company was the lack of blacks qualified to work in the company. The validity of this belief will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Social unrest in the fifties and sixties eventually led to the recognition by the company officials that racial discrimination was real. In a statement to managers issued in 1967, the letter stated:

Prior to 1963, our involvement in Equal Employment Opportunity was of a passive nature. We did not unconsciously discriminate, but by the nature of our passivity we brought very few black people into the business. A black face in the company was very rare. Frequently, when you encountered that black face, there were also some black hands holding a broom, washing windows, handling janitorial type assignments.

The company's first real commitment to insure equal opportunity began in 1963 as a result of the company's agreement to participate in the Plans for Progress program. On March 7, 1962, the company issued the policy and guidelines to all managers. The letter stated:

It is our policy to employ applicants without regard to race, creed, color, sex, national origin, or age. We re-assert this policy and joined a number of other companies participating in the Plans for Progress Program set up by President Kennedy's Committee on Equal Opportunity. Each company involved is submitting a statement spelling out its plans to take action to assure equal consideration and equal treatment during employment.

In Table 2.1, an historical profile of the company hiring data for the employee population is given. Prior to 1961, the black employee population was 546 and by the end of 1962, this figure had risen to 750 which was less than 1% of the total employee population. The first significant increase in the black employee population occurred as a result of the

TABLE 2.1

EMPLOYEE POPULATION BY RACE FOR 1961-75

YEAR	TOTAL EMPLOYEE POP.	BLACK EMPLOYEE POP.	NEW BLACK HIRES	% OF TOTAL
1961	70,000	546		0.7
1962	78,900	750	204	0.9
1963	85,500	1,495	745	1.7
1964	98,300	1,951	456	1.9
1965	112,900	2,734	783	2.4
1966	126,500	2,854	120	2.2
1967	137,900	5,087	2,233	3.6
1968	147,500	7,251	2,164	4.8
1969	153,500	7,800	549	5.0
1970	151,300	8,325	525	5.5
1971	150,700	8,857	525	5.8
1972	147,000	9,164	1,364	6.2
1973	154,400	10,944	1,780	7.0
1974	163,000	12,356	1,412	7.5
1975	159,400	12,242	-114	7.7

Plans for Progress Program agreement in 1963. By the end of 1963, the black employee population increased by 100% when the company hired 745 blacks.

Although the hiring rate is significant from 1962 to 1966 when compared to the pre-1962 years, within the context of the severity of the unemployment among the black population, the company's efforts were negligible. For the years of 1967-168, there were dramatic increases in the number of blacks hired. From the end of 1966 to the end of 1968, the black employee population increased by 4397. This rapid growth can be attributed to one major factor.

As indicated earlier, the major factor for the inability of blacks to gain employment was the utilization of institutionalized discriminatory policies, practices and procedures. One of these practices was the use of tests and subjective interviews as a prerequisite for hiring. After the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which sanctioned the use of validated pre-employment tests to screen applicants, there was a rapid increase in the use of tests by employers to screen applicants. The utilization of these tests led to a high rejection rate for blacks seeking employment. On August 6, 1966, the EEOC issued the Testing and Selection Employees Guidelines which effectively minimized the use of tests to screen out blacks. On September 8, 1967, these guidelines were issued to managers within this organization. In 1968, the OFCC issued a directive based upon these guidelines.

Analysis of the employment data for the years of 1967-68 leads to the conclusion that the company suspended the use of tests as a primary

requirement for employment in the organization. This rapid increase in blacks would also lead to the conclusion that the EEOC and OFCC Guidelines on Testing and Selecting Employees were the major factors.

The relative small increase in the black employee population from 1969-71 can be attributed to a contraction within the company because of a general recession in the national economy. It is significant, however, that during this time when there was a decrease in the white population, and an additional 1000 black employees were hired. The employment data for the years of 1972-74 would suggest that the company again increased its efforts to employ blacks. From 1971-74, this population grew from 8,857 to 12,356.

This growth can be traced back to another major federal policy change. On September 1, 1971, the OFCC Revised Order 4 directive was issued to all managers. The directive stated in part:

Based upon the government experience with compliance reviews under Executive Order programs and the contract reporting system, minority groups are most likely to be underutilized in departments and jobs with departments that fall within the occupational categories of: officials and managers, professionals, technicians, sale workers, office and clerical, and craftsmen . . . . Therefore contractors should direct special attention to such jobs in his analysis and goal setting for minorities and women . . .

This directive outlined more stringent requirements for contractors to meet in order to be in compliance. The major thrust was the requirement that contractors were to analyze all major work categories to determine the underutilization of blacks in these categories. Factors to be considered in determining underutilization were:

- (a) The minority population of the labor force in the local community.
- (b) The size of the unemployed minority work force in the surrounding community.
- (c) The percentage of minority work force compared to the total force in the immediate labor area.
- (d) The general availability of minorities having the requisite skills in the immediate labor force.
- (e) The availability of promotable minority employers within the population.

Based upon these types of requirements, to be in compliance, the company required to establish goals, timetables and any other affirmative action commitment designed to correct identifiable deficiencies.

#### COMPANY'S PLACEMENT PATTERNS AND DISCRIMINATION

One thrust of Revised Order 4 was directed at the practice of placing new entry ethnic, racial or other minority group members into the lower skilled occupational categories. Analysis of the data in Table 2.2 reveal that this is the practice in this company. Examples of this practice are indicated by these observations. In the higher occupational categories of official, managers, professionals and sales, in 1975, 83,000 or 52% of the total employee population is white whereas 4,159 or 2.6% of this population is black. Proportionally, the larger percentages of blacks are employed within categories such as office and clerical. Within this category, 3,965 or 31.9% of the total black population is found. For the white population, 22,046 or 14.9% of the total white population is found within the same category. A summary of the data

shows that proportionally and numerically fewer blacks are in higher occupational categories, and when compared to the total employee population, blacks are underrepresented.

TABLE 2.2

EMPLOYEE POPULATION BY OCCUPATION AND RACE: YEAR 1975

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Total Population</u>	<u>% White</u>	<u>Black Population</u>	<u>% Black</u>
Officials/Managers	19,537	13.2	850	6.8
Professionals	50,413	34.3	2458	19.7
Technicians	31,837	21.6	2329	18.7
Sales	9,191	6.2	851	6.8
Office/Clerical	22,046	14.9	3965	31.9
Craftsmen	5,553	3.7	268	2.1
Operatives	7,464	5.0	1375	11.0
Laborers	14	-	6	-
Service	1,067	.72	140	1.1
Total (Black and White)	159,400	92.3	12,424	7.7

An interesting dimension of the placement problem is the practice of placing a higher number of blacks in certain divisions of the company. In the previous chapter, reference was made to the "elite" divisions of the company. For example, there are several separate divisions which share responsibility for the company's major product. Research and Development, Software Development, Manufacturing, Field Servicing and the Sales divisions are responsible for the development, manufacturing, marketing and

maintenance of its computers. Among these, Sales, Research and Development and Software Development divisions would be considered elite divisions. Manufacturing would be considered a non-elite division. From the viewpoint of servicing a product, the Field Servicing division would be considered an elite division when compared to the typewriter servicing area of the Typewriter division. The difference is that a customer engineer in the Field Servicing division is responsible for maintaining a highly technical product, the computer, whereas the customer engineer in the Typewriter division is responsible for maintaining typewriter and copiers. If the practice of hiring and placing new entry minority group employees in the non-elite area of the company, the expectation is that proportionally greater numbers of blacks will be employed in the non-elite divisions. Analysis of the employment data for the various divisions supports this expectation.

To illustrate this, the employee statistics by race for the year of 1969 for the Typewriter and Software Development divisions are shown in Table 2.3. In the Software Development division, of the 13,999 employees, 437 or 3.1% are black. In the Typewriter division, of the 18,566 employees, 1,603 or 7.9% are black.

TABLE 2.3  
BLACK PLACEMENT PATTERN BY DIVISIONS

	<u>Whites</u>	<u>Blacks</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Elite Division (Software Division)	13,999	437	3.1
Non-Elite Division (Typewriter Division)	18,566	1,603	7.9

Even more illustrative of this type of placement pattern is the employee placement data within the non-elite Typewriter division. With reference to Table 2.4, the largest numbers of blacks are located in the administration, manufacturing and customer engineering categories. The lowest numbers are located in the engineering and headquarters areas.

TABLE 2.4

BLACK PLACEMENT WITHIN THE TYPEWRITER DIVISION

<u>Function</u>	<u>White Employees</u>	<u>% of Total</u>	<u>Black Employees</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Sales	3,439 (93.5%)	18.5	236 ( 6.5%)	14.7
Customer Engineering	5,393 (91.4%)	29.0	505 ( 8.6%)	31.5
Office Administration	2,111 (86.6%)	11.3	324 (13.4%)	20.2
Headquarters	1,057 (93.6%)	5.6	72 ( 6.4%)	4.4
Engineering	1,505 (97.0%)	8.1	45 ( 3 %)	2.8
Manufacturing	5,061 (92.3%)	27.2	421 ( 7.7%)	26.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18,566 (92.1%)</b>	<b>91.1</b>	<b>1,603 ( 7.9%)</b>	<b>7.9</b>

NOTE: Percent of category in parenthesis.

## RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF MOBILITY

The employment profile developed shows that blacks have progressed significantly during the last decades. Of interest are the perceptions of the sample population as to their personal progress and the progress of blacks in general. Individually, the respondents respond that they have progress within recent years. For example, 99% respond that they have made from a little to a great amount of progress in recent years and 78% of these respond from some to a great amount. (See Table 2.5). However, they perceive that blacks, in general, have made less progress. Thus, 55% respond that blacks have made some to a great amount of progress. When these results are compared with responses from Brink and Harris' study, a longitudinal view of this progress is obtained. In this study,

TABLE 2.5

### RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF BLACK PROGRESS

	<u>Great Amount</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>None</u>
Black progress in recent years N = 137	12 9%	63 46%	61 44%	1 1%
Personal progress in recent years N = 137	21 15%	86 63%	29 21%	1 1%

---

which was conducted in 1963 and 1966, in 1963, 84% responded that their work situation as about the same to worst off. In 1966, this proportion had decreased to 41%. (Brink and Harris, 1966, p. 222). Based upon the events of the last fifteen years which represent a sharp departure from the historical hiring pattern for blacks, the perceptions of this sample are understandable. That is, this perceived progress is a realistic appraisal of the progress blacks have made within the last decade. The perception of

greater individual progress can attributed to the larger proportion of blacks within this sample who are employed in professional categories and the fact that the respondents are employed within a prestigious company.

## CHAPTER III

### MODE OF MOBILITY: SPONSORED OR CONTEST?

The major thrust of the previous chapter was to show that whatever gains in mobility blacks have experienced, federal policies and actions were essential to this progress. Now that blacks have gained entry into the organization, the interest will focus on understanding mobility within the organization. Toward this objective, I posed the issue earlier in terms of Turner's "contest-sponsored" mode of mobility theory. The remainder of this chapter will be directed at an analysis of the respondents' mobility with the objective of ascertaining which mode of mobility is applicable to black mobility.

The initial step towards this objective is to describe the promotion process within the organization. More importantly, the hypotheses and questions of interest are based on the definition of two dependent variables, Occupational Status and Promotion Rate. A secondary objective is to describe the occupational hierarchy and promotion process upon which these two variables are constructed.

The organization's official policy governing promotions is based upon the principles of merit or "contest mobility". This policy of merit is based on the dominant American ideology, taught and fostered by all of our educational institutions, that there exists a truly competitive system

whereby the highest achiever will be successful in gaining some measure of elite status. The premise to be pursued here is that the organization's system for determining upward mobility is, in fact, a sponsored system of mobility.

Turner's analysis of mobility presents several characteristics of the sponsored mode of mobility which can be tested. He postulated that the elite agents will select a number of individuals on rather specific personal and social attributes and characteristics with the purpose of "training and indoctrinating" or grooming these individuals for future elite status. From this initial group, a few will be chosen early in their career to fill anticipated vacancies. The purpose of this early selection is to "allow time to train or prepare the recruits for their special status". These future elites are in reality freed from competitive struggle and kept under close supervision to be thoroughly indoctrinated in the elite culture. As a result of their training and the conferring of status on the basis of "some supposed merit", the new elite recruits will be loyal to the system and will form considerable identification with the elite. (Turner, 1973, p. 450). I will analyze the organization's promotion process with the objective of showing that (1) the organization has a highly structured system of selection and promotion and (2) the selection process is not based on competition. The remainder of this thesis will be devoted to an analysis of the issue of whether the system is effective in "indoctrination" and in ensuring "loyalty and identification" from the selected ones.

THE OCCUPATIONAL HIERARCHY

There are two types of occupational ladders in the organization, professional and non-professional. Within each type, there are different levels corresponding to the promotional categories. With reference to Table 3.1, the levels ranging from the entry level non-professional occupations to the highest are shown. Level 1 through 13 correspond to occupational categories and titles for non-professional employees. Generally, the occupational designation or description associated with these levels are: service workers, unskilled, semi-skilled, office and clerical. Within the organization,

TABLE 3.1

PROMOTIONAL PROGRESSION FOR NON-PROFESSIONALS

LEVEL	Occupational Positions: Secretary, Administrative Clerk, Receptionist, Computer Technician, Computer Operator, Electronic Technician, etc.
	Example for Secretary
1	Clerk-Typist
2	
3	Secretary Trainee
4	
5	Secretary Specialist
6	
7	Secretary
8	
9	Senior Secretary
10	
11	Executive Secretary
12	
13	Senior Executive Secretary

several examples of job titles associated with these levels are administrative clerk, secretary, clerk-typist, receptionist, electronic technician, computer technician, computer operator, keypunch operator, etc. The employees in my sample who fall within these categories will be the non-professionals in the Occupational Status variable.

With reference to the levels shown in Table 3.1, there are corresponding job titles within the occupational category which reflect increasing degrees of responsibilities and higher salary ranges. For example, within the occupational category of secretary, the job titles corresponding to entry level and above are: clerk typist, secretary trainee, secretary specialist, secretary, senior secretary, executive secretary and senior executive secretary.

In Table 3.2, the levels and titles corresponding to professional occupations are shown. The company's promotional system for professionals are complex. I will simplify it by only showing the major job titles for five divisions in the company.

The entry level for professional employees is 20. High officials and managers, such as directors, presidents, vice-presidents, etc., would begin at a level of 30. Officials and managers are those professionals who are responsible for the formulation and administration of the policies of the company. The other professional categories correspond to occupations which require a college degree or equivalent experiences. The professional employees in my sample within these levels will be divided into two groups, managerial and non-managerial professionals.

TABLE 3.2

PROMOTIONAL PROGRESSION FOR PROFESSIONALS

	Non-Elite Divisions		Elite Division	
Promotional Levels	Job Titles for Manufacturing, Research and Development, Software Development Divisions: Engineer, Programmer, System Analyst, Mathematicians, etc.		Job Titles for Computer Sales Division and Headquarter Locations: Market Representative (Salesperson), System Engineer, etc.	
20	Trainee		Trainee	
21	Junior		Assistant	
22	Associate			
23			Associate	
24	Senior Associate			
	Technical	Managerial		
25	Staff	First Line Manager	Full	
26	Development	Second Line Manager		
27	Advisory	Third Line Manager	Advisory	
			Managerial	Technical
28	Senior	Fourth Line Manager	System Engineer Manager	Senior
29	Consultant		Market Manager	Consultant
30+	Plant Managers, Directors, Vice-Presidents, Presidents and Chairman			

As with the non-professional levels, the levels within the professional paths correspond to increasing degrees of responsibilities and higher salary ranges. An example of this progression for a programmer would be programmer trainee, junior programmer, associate programmer, staff programmer, development programmer, advisory programmer, senior programmer and consultant programmer. These titles would also apply to the other occupational categories, i.e., mathematician, physicist, analyst, etc.

There is another important aspect of this promotion ladder. The company utilizes a dual promotional path for professional employees. The company's policy states that each employee has the opportunity to pursue a technical or managerial career path. The selection of a technical career indicates that the employee wishes to remain within occupational categories with responsibilities and duties which depend on the employee maintaining a high degree of technical competence in his or her profession. Those who follow the managerial career path will be required to acquire managerial and administrative skills. All professional employees will follow a technical career path up to a level 24 in the non-elite divisions and to a level 27 in the elite division. Upon reaching a level 24 in the non-elite divisions, the employee who remains within the technical career path will follow staff to consultant lines. Those employees who are selected for management will become firstline managers. In the elite divisions, the professional employee who remains technical will become a senior at level 28. And again, those who are chosen for management will become managers.

## REAL AND NOMINAL PROMOTIONS

Within the organization, there are essentially two types of promotions, which will be referred to as essential or real promotions and non-essential or nominal promotions. The analysis of the "contest-sponsored" mobility issue, as well as the construction of the dependent variable, Promotion Rate, are based on an understanding of the differences between these two types of promotions. Thus, definitions of these ideal-types of promotions are in order.

Nominal promotions are the types of promotions which are characterized as promotions involving a minimal or no real increases in responsibility. It might be described as a superficial change in job title. A second major characteristic is that there is no authority associated with the position. There are two other important characteristics of a nominal promotion. Nominal promotions generally occur for the low professional and non-professional levels. Secondly, small salary increases are associated with these promotions. In the determination of whether a promotion is nominal, the reason for the promotion assumes importance. An employee will receive a nominal promotion when the individual has reached the top of a salary range associated with a given level. The reason for this is the policy which states that no employee should be paid outside of the salary range for the level and no employee's salary can be frozen because the individual has reached the top of the salary range. Nominal promotions are also given when employees' morale is low because of a perceived lack of opportunity. This is determined by the results of opinion survey or employees' complaints relative

to a lack of opportunity. Essentially, nominal promotions are given to give employees an illusion of mobility.

For example, an employee works as a level 17 employee for many years. Over a period of time, the employee will receive salary increases which will eventually place the employee's salary outside of the level of 17 range. Since the policy is that no employee is to be paid outside of the level's salary range, the employee must be promoted to the next level. Or, if the morale of the employee population is low and the opinion survey indicates that the lack of promotion opportunities is a major factor, the company will initiate many nominal promotions. And as stated, individuals who complain of a lack of promotion opportunities may receive nominal promotions. Again, these promotions usually are one level changes and generally are within the lower levels and ranges.

Real promotions have several major characteristics which differentiate them from nominal promotions. First, real promotions are made to fill high technical positions and all managerial positions. Secondly, these positions are usually in the higher salary ranges which characteristically have considerable amounts of authority and responsibility associated with them and are limited in numbers.

Generally, real promotions involve promotions within the higher professional levels. For example, all employees who are hired in pre-professional positions, i.e., the junior titles, will proceed through the technical promotion level up to a level 24 in the non-elite divisions

and up to a level 25 in the elite divisions. Whether these promotions are nominal or real depends on the rate of the promotions. In general, if the employee moves rapidly up to the hightechnical or into managerial positions, the promotions are considered real. On the other hand, if the employee experiences a significantly long period between his or her promotions to pre-managerial levels or to level 25 in the elite divisions, the employee's promotion will be considered nominal.

Once employees have reached the higher technical or managerial levels, only real promotions will occur. In a programming group for example, the technical slots above level 24, i.e., staff, development, advisory, senior and consultant, are limited in numbers. There may be only one slot available for a staff programmer and one slot for an advisory programmer. In the elite divisions, the professional employee may reach a level 25 before opportunities for promotions significantly decrease. In these divisions, the levels above level 25 are limited and allocated. The result of this process is that the majority of professionals will have few opportunities for promotion beyond level 24 or 25. Only a chosen few will experience real promotion from that point on.

There is another ramification of the type of movement an employee can have. At the point where the dual ladder exists, an employee can move laterally. For example, a manager who fails or is not needed because his function may have been phased out will move laterally to a technically equivalent position. For all managers who fail, this is pro-

bably the limit of his or her upward mobility. For those managers whose functions were phased out, opportunities will continue to exist for future promotions through either path.

Although not previously stated, there is one basic premise underlying nominal promotions. The premise is that there is little or no difference in the skills and abilities to perform at different promotion levels. The justification for this type of promotion is that it gives the illusions of opportunity when, in fact, there is little opportunity. One comment repeatedly made by employees who received nominal promotions is that they were still performing the same duties. Real promotions in theory and generally in practice, involve quantifiable differences in demands upon the individual's skills and abilities. A key point to be emphasized is that only real promotions fall within the "contest-sponsored" mobility question. The crucial question is whether these individuals are selected on merit or whether they are sponsored.

#### THE MANAGERIAL GROOMING PROCESS

Based upon the premise that real promotions are used to fill critical elite positions which are limited in numbers and to select the future leaders of the corporation, the company's procedures are well structured to select employees based upon the management's definition of the type of individual desired by the organization. The assumption here is that those hired in the categories leading to real promotion have met the minimum requirements, both socially and personally, and have potential for elite status. At this point, the organization's promotion process

consists of several components that give management total control over the careers of all the employees regardless of their abilities.

The major premise supporting contest mobility is that employees, through their performance, have considerable control over their future careers. This premise also assumes that all the individuals are able to compete for positions when these positions become opened. In the organization, the policy for notifying employees of available positions precludes this type of open competition. Job opportunities are not posted or publicized to the employee population. The employees have no knowledge of positions which are open and, therefore, are not aware of job openings until after they are filled. Managers, however, are notified of all job openings. It is totally within the managers' power to select the employee of his or her choice for an open position.

The process for the selection of candidates for elite status is well-structured to accomplish the elites' objectives of indoctrinating those selected into the ways of the elite and thereby ensuring loyalty and identification. The company has an Executive Resource Planning Program, which assists in the early identification of employees with management potentials. This program requires managers to identify and submit to the appropriate body, the names of employees who have potential for rapid advancement into management. Based upon this identification, the

employees' assignments are structured to insure maximum visibility, exposure and experience. This grooming process begins immediately upon entry into the organization. Within the elite divisions, all pre-professional employees in the job categories of market representative and system engineer must go through two years of formal and informal training. Though the objective of the formalized educational classes are to teach the product line and sales techniques, a secondary objective is to indoctrinate the employees into the "company's image" and the expectations of the elite. An employee's career is enhanced to the degree that he or she is successful in projecting this image. There are many ramifications to this process. One is that the employees who are identified early in their career will receive preferential treatment over other employees as would be expected from Turner's theory. The second ramification is the relationship of this process to the merit promotional system.

#### THE APPRAISAL SYSTEM: THE MANIFEST FUNCTIONS

The organization employs an appraisal system to rate each employee's performance on an annual basis. The evaluation program's stated functions are to insure that each employee understands what is expected of that employee in the job, to provide a more objective basis for evaluating this performance, to assist employees in their self-development efforts, to assist managers in identifying employees who should be considered for promotion and reassignment opportunities.

Toward these objectives, each employee receives an annual rating on a scale from 1 to 5 representing outstanding to unsatisfactory respectively. The rating is used to determine the employee's percentage of salary increase and the frequency of the increase. Managers are under strict orders not to tell the employee that this is the function of the rating. Yet, I have been informed that this rating is not connected to salary increases. Salary guidelines to managers contained the statement that "you are cautioned that salary levels, salary ranges and grids and timings are classified as company confidential and are not to be divulged to employees for any reason... (and) to avoid any appearance that appraisal ratings are connected to salary by avoiding granting employees anniversary increases."

#### THE APPRAISAL SYSTEM: THE LATENT FUNCTIONS

Ideally, the employee's ability to perform as measured by some objective standards should be the primary criterion in the manager's judgement of the employee. In reality, this merit principle has little relationship to the judgmental process because the appraisal system is designed to accomplish many functions beyond controlling salary increases and promotions. Its principle function is to give management total control over all aspects of the employee's career. The organization does not have a union therefore, there is no collective bargaining by employees. From the management's point of view, this control is functional. From the employees' point of view, it is dysfunctional, because the employees are powerless, having no or a very limited measure of control over their future within the corporation.

For example, according to the policy each employee will receive an appraisal rating of his or her performance. As previously stated, if the employee's performance is rated high, the salary increase is high and the time span between increases is shorter. The controlling factor in determining the relative increases within a group should be within the individual employee's ability to perform as measured by some objective standards. In reality, the rating distribution within a department is determined by factors which are completely beyond the employees' control. During those periods when the economy is good, employee ratings will be high and consequently, they will receive high salary increases on a more frequent basis. When the economy is depressed, the ratings will be lower with a corresponding decrease in salary increases on a less frequent basis.

This process is illustrated by an analysis of the salary administration guidelines during two periods corresponding to a good and a bad economy. In Table 2.1, the data shows that the employee population experienced a decline during the years of 1974-75. During this period, depending on whether the employee's rating was a 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5, the percentage of increase in salary was respectively 13, 11, 9, 7 or 0, and the frequency of increase was 10, 12, 15 or 18 months respectively. During the preceding years of 1970-73, the population increased because of a business recovery cycle. Corresponding to this boom was an improved salary plan. Again, depending on the rating of 1, 2, 3, 4 or 5,

the employee's percentage of increase was 14, 12, 10, 8 or 0, and the time between increases was 8, 10, 12 or 14 months. A number 5 rating corresponds to an unsatisfactory. With such a rating an employee would be ineligible for an increase and subject to dismissal from the company.

One conclusion drawn from the above is that the state of the economy has a greater influence on the rating of an employee than does the employee's performance. Within this framework, it is possible that an employee who received a #1 rating in 1973 would have received a #3 rating in the same job in 1975. The difference in rating can be attributed to formal guidelines to managers imposing lower employee ratings. The result of this new rating in 1975 would be a smaller salary increase on a less frequent basis than in 1973.

A second function of the appraisal system is its utilization as the primary tool for separating employees from the company. The company has a full employment policy which means that it does not lay-off its employees. Although many employees interpret this as meaning security in employment, their job security is not guaranteed in the same way the policy might suggest. During periods when the company is contracting, the organization invokes three policies to address the problem of excessive manpower. The company will retrain and re-distribute employees from one area of the company to another area where the manpower needs are greater. However, this re-training and re-distribution of manpower do not resolve the problem of

excessive headcount. As shown in Table 2.1, in 1969-70 and 1975-76, there were decreases in the employee population. This can be attributed in part to early retirement of senior employees and limiting hiring. The decrease can also be attributed to a policy of forced separation.

The policy of forced separation is an informally transmitted policy. That is, it is transmitted to managers in meetings where all managers are advised to identify "low performers" within their department for the objective of separating these employees from the company. Once this identification is made, the employee will be given a two or three month improvement plan. According to this plan, the employee will inevitably fail for three reasons:

(a) the ratings are based on the subjective opinion of the manager, (b) the manager is allowed to give a general and undefined performance plan and (c) the final decision as to whether the employee has improved is based upon the subjective opinion of the manager.

The third important function of the appraisal system is to legitimate the process of selecting employees for essential or real promotions. Generally, the employees who will have rapid rate of promotions, i.e., those chosen for essential or real promotion, will have been identified early in their career. Invariably, these same employees will receive the higher ratings that are allocated to the department. Important to this selection process are the degree of trust between the employee and the manager, the degree of loyalty shown by the employee to the organization, a willingness to be a part

of the team, and the willingness to carry out the company's policies. This process broadens the definition of merit to include many non-ability factors in the selection process. It is upon this premise that a measure of promotion rate must be developed if a test of this process is to be made.

#### SAMPLE'S PERCEPTIONS OF MOBILITY

Although the description of the organization's hiring and promotion systems has the characteristics of a sponsored system of mobility, the question is whether or not the respondents perceive this to be the case. Utilizing some of Turner's characteristics of the "contest-sponsored" paradigm, a series of statements was constructed to ascertain the perceptions of the sample regarding which mode of mobility is utilized by the organization. An evaluation of their responses to several statements about the relationship of merit to their individual mobility shows that the majority perceive the system to be a sponsored system of mobility.

With reference to Table 3.3, this series of statements was directed at testing the major premise of contest mobility, that elite status is to be gained through competition. If, in fact, a contest system of mobility were in effect, there should be no need for policies or procedures to coerce managers to hire or promote blacks. The majority of blacks perceive their mobility as primarily due to the enforcement of policies formulated to increase opportunity and mobility for blacks. For example, 96.2% respond that "directives should be used to insure that managers implement equal opportunity policies" and 90.3% respond that "corporate directives are primarily responsible for the increase in the number of

black employees and managers". Also, 90.7% respond that "managers should be rated on their performance in implementing equal opportunity policies" and 77.6% respond that blacks have gained some opportunity for this reason. The most succinct statement as evidence supporting the conclusion that a sponsored system of mobility dominates is the sample responses to the statement, "My progress is due to my ability to play the game". An overwhelming 98.3% of the sample respond affirmatively to the importance of "playing the game" to get ahead.

Probably the most crucial element in the sponsored system of mobility is the ability of the elite to control entry into management. The description of the organization's merit system identified the subjective dimensions as the mechanism through which this control is exercised. Relative to this dimension of the system, several statements were con-

TABLE 3.3

PERCEPTIONS OF POLICIES, GAME PLAYING AND MOBILITY

	<u>Percent Agree</u>	<u>Percent Disagree</u>
The fact that managers are now appraised on their performance in the hiring and promoting of blacks is responsible for the increase in black managerial employees.	77.6	22.4
Corporate directives are primarily responsible for the increase in the number of black employees and managers.	90.3	9.7
Directives should be used to insure that managers implement equal opportunity policies.	96.2	3.8
Managers should be rated on their performance in implementing equal opportunity policies.	90.7	9.3
My progress has been due to my ability to play the game.	98.3	1.7

N = 137.

structured to ascertain the sample's perceptions of the subjective and control aspects of the system. Analysis of the responses to these statements supports the conclusion that the evaluation system is a sponsored system which readily lends itself to the objective of exercising total management control over the selection and promotion of candidates to elite status.

The responses to the statements constructed to ascertain the views of this population with respect to the evaluation system revealed three distinct perspectives. With respect to the subjective nature of the system and its utilization by the management, there is a high degree of dissatisfaction. For example, 81% agree that managers have "too much freedom in making subjective evaluations of their performance," 74% agree that managers have "too much power over their promotions," 68% agree that their "evaluations are more dependent on the manager's feelings than on their actual performances," and 91% believe that "there should be alternate ways for an employee to be considered for promotion to a managerial position other than relying totally on the manager's recommendation."

When the statements are addressed as to exactly how they have fared in relation to the evaluation system, there is considerably less agreement and dissatisfaction. For example, 55% agree that "most managers have been fair in appraisals of their performance," 48% agree that their "appraisals over the years have been an accurate assessment of their performance," 49% view their "appraisals as the major reasons for their promotions," and 37% view their "appraisals as the major reasons for their lack of promotions." What is being suggested by these responses is that although many of the sample have received good evaluations and pro-

TABLE 3.4

BLACK PERCEPTION OF THE APPRAISAL SYSTEM

	<u>Percent Agree</u>	<u>Percent Disagree</u>
My appraisals over the years have been an accurate assessment of my performance.	48	52
My appraisal record has been the major reason for my promotions.	49	51
My appraisal record has been the major reason for my lack of promotions.	37	63
The appraisal system gives too much power over my promotions (future mobility) to my manager.	74	26
The appraisal system allows the manager too much freedom in making subjective judgements of my performance.	81	19
The company should institute alternate ways for an employee to become considered for promotion to a managerial position.	91	9
I consider most managers I have had as being fair in their appraisal of me.	55	45
The ratings that I have received are more dependent on my manager's feelings than on the work I do.	68	32
The ratings given out by managers are controlled by guidelines (directives) issued by headquarters.	64	36

N = 137

motions as a result of these evaluations, there is the recognition that inherently, these ratings and evaluations are influenced by factors other than and outside of their personal control. Sixty-four percent agree that "directives are used to control the ratings employees receive."

It must be taken into consideration that the company instituted programs with the expressed purpose of promoting more blacks into management. The existence of an Accelerated Career Development Program for black employees and the fact that managers are rated on their performance in developing minority employees explains why 48% of the sample agree that their appraisals have resulted in promotions. These are the blacks who have benefitted from pressure which top management placed on managers to promote blacks at a fast rate. Since many blacks have fared well since the Accelerated Career Development Program began, and since promotions are highly correlated to good evaluations, it is understandable that these blacks responded that they have benefitted from the system.

One problem inherent to an evaluation system of this type is that they will be used to discriminate against minority groups. It is ironic that a system which is supposed to insure equal opportunity for blacks is at the same time the principle tool for discriminating against them. The reason for this, as already shown, is that it is used for purposes other than merely evaluating performance. To accomplish these other ends requires giving managers great latitude in their judgements about employees. This latitude necessarily allows managers to be

subjective in their appraisal of employees. It is the subjective nature of this system that becomes discriminatory against black employees.

Scholars in this field have long recognized the fact that appraisal systems are subjective by design and, as such, are primarily used to allow management great discretion and control in the distribution of rewards and recognition. (Thompson, 1961, p. 30); Bernard, 1946, p. 59). The most succinct statement of the inherent discriminatory nature of subjective appraisal systems was given by a Federal Court of Appeals. In an astute sociological statement as can be found in law, the court outlined several principles, which if embedded in the appraisal system, are "a ready mechanism for discrimination against blacks". These characteristics are: (a) "The manager's recommendation is the indispensable single most important factor in the promotional process; (b) managers are given no written instructions pertaining to the qualifications necessary for promotion; (c) the standards which were determined to be controlling are vague and subjective; (d) employees are not notified of the qualifications necessary to get jobs; (e) there are no safeguards in the procedure designed to avert discriminatory practices." With these principles enumerated, the court concluded, "We and others have expressed a skepticism that black persons dependent directly on decisive recommendations from whites can expect non-discriminatory actions" (Rowe versus General Motors Corp., 1972). This system accurately describes the company's evaluation system.

The responses to the statements to ascertain the perceptions of the sample relative to this issue show that the majority perceive the system as discriminatory. Thus, with reference to Table 3.5, 96.1% agree that "Black people usually have to be better than others to get ahead", 60.2% perceive the appraisal system as favoring white employees over black employees", 70.4% believe that their "race has affected their rating" and 56.9% believe that if they were white, they would get more recognition.

TABLE 3.5

APPRAISAL SYSTEM AND DISCRIMINATION

	<u>Percent Agree</u>	<u>Percent Disagree</u>
The appraisal system favors white employees over black employees.	60.2	39.8
I feel that race has affected my rating.	70.4	29.6
If I were white, I would get more recognition from my manager.	56.9	43.1
Black people usually have to be better than whites to get ahead.	96.1	3.9

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N = 137

THE MEASURES OF MOBILITY

There are two measures of mobility which are of interest to this study. The dependent variable, Occupational Status, consists of the occupational categories which are traditionally used in occupational or mobility studies. It is a measure of the employee's status within the occupational hierarchy as defined by official government standards, e.g., managers, professionals and non-professionals. In this sample, there are 24 managers,

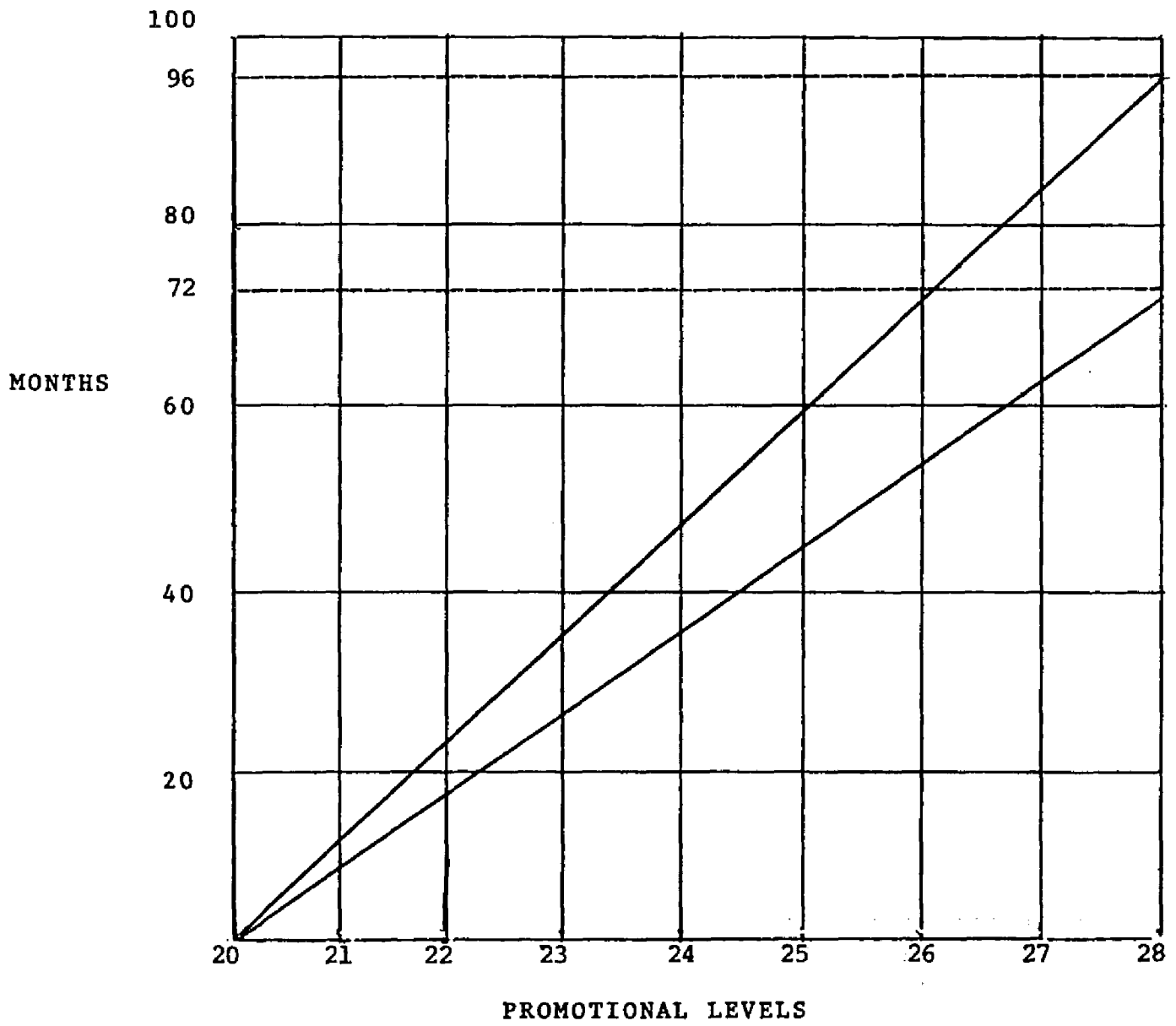
67 professionals and 46 non-professionals. Utilizing the Occupational Status variable, certain conclusions can be applied beyond this sample.

The second variable, Promotion Rate, is an empirically defined and constructed variable designed to measure the rate of promotion for professionals in the sample. The Promotion Rate variable is based on the following assumptions: (a) that there is a grooming process through which the organization indoctrinates chosen employees elite status, and (b) that this process accomplishes its objectives. If these two assumptions are true, then there should exist systematic and predictable differences between those groups measured by the Promotion Rate variable. The Promotion Rate appears to be the best empirical evidence that such a process exists, unless the promotion rates established by the managerial population are chance occurrences. In the following chapter, the validity of the promotion rates in differentiating between the three groups with respect to their relationships to the organization will be shown.

The Promotion Rate variable is constructed from an independent sample of 22 black managers in the elite divisions of the company. Information on 19 black managers was obtained from a company employee data report which contained information on all the black employees (N = 510 of which 154 are professionals and managers) in this division, time and level of entry into the company, and current levels and time of entry into the current level. Three additional managers were added to this sample based on interviews with them.

FIGURE 3.1

PROMOTION RATES FOR BLACK MANAGERS IN AN ELITE DIVISION



In Figure 3.1, a plot of the rates of growth of these 22 managers is shown. In the sample, the two managers with the fastest rate of movement from entry level 20 to the first managerial level of 28 required 72 months. The two managers with the longest time of movement from entry to the first managerial level required 96 months. Assuming that their respective rates were constant or linear, Curve A represents the fastest rate and Curve B represents the slowest rate. All other rates fell between these two rates or between 72 and 96 months. From this graph, I am able to determine that it takes from 9-12 months per level change. The average rate of mobility for black managers in this division is one level change per year or the average time to become a manager is 7 years. By comparison, in a sample of 54 top white managers in the same division, the average time to become a manager is 6.9 years. The fast rate of promotion for black managers is comparable to the promotion rate for white managers. In Table 3.6, the rates are presented for the average time to reach each level.

From this sample, I have mapped all the promotion rates for all pre-managerial black professionals with a minimum of one year's experience against the rates established on the independent sample. They are divided into two groups: high mobility pre-managerial and low mobility pre-managerial employees. Those who have experienced a mobility rate within the range shown in the table by the High Mobility column are considered high mobility pre-managerial professionals. Those who experienced a mobility rate within the range shown in the

TABLE 3.6

## PROMOTION RATES FOR BLACK PROFESSIONALS

<u>Level</u>	<u>High Mobility (Years)</u>	<u>Low/Average Mobility (Years)</u>
21	≤1	>1
23	≤3	>3
25	≤5	>5
27	≤7	>7
28+	≤8	>8

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low mobility column are considered low mobility pre-managerial professionals. The third group associated with the Promotion Rate variable is the managerial group. For the Promotional Rate variable, there are 24 managers, 29 high mobility pre-managerial and 23 low mobility pre-managerial professionals.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE ACHIEVEMENT /ASCRPTIVE MODEL OF BLACK MOBILITY

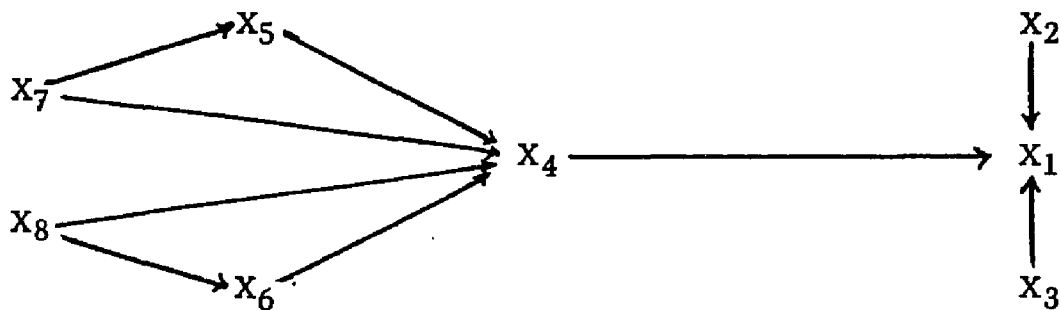
The basic status attainment model developed by Duncan and Blau (1966), and replicated by several others (Porter, 1974; Sewell, et al., 1970), found that educational achievement was the major factor in predicting occupational mobility (see Figure 4.1). Occupational mobility is also significantly related, either directly or indirectly through education, to several other factors. For example, there are studies which show that occupational status and social class status are influenced by parental education and occupational attainment. Other studies have shown that children's occupational references and aspirations are also related to "high parental education and occupational aspirations" (Gurin, 1972; Scanzoni, 1971). Essentially all of these studies indicate that the occupational status of an individual is significantly related to a matrix of factors associated with the family's background.

With reference to Figure 4.1, the diagram illustrates the basic model. The first set of factors is related to the family's means to provide an education for their children. Thus, the parents' educational and occupational achievements are directly related to the family's ability to provide an education for their children. The second set of

factors is related to the achievement orientations of the parents. As Duncan, et al., (1966) recognized, the "achievement orientations that disposes the man to strive to better himself is acquired by the child largely in his parental family "(p. 197).

FIGURE 4.1

THE BASIC MODEL OF BLACK MOBILITY



X<sub>1</sub> = Occupational Status  
 X<sub>2</sub> = Sex  
 X<sub>3</sub> = Skin Color  
 X<sub>4</sub> = Education

X<sub>5</sub> = Father's Occupation  
 X<sub>6</sub> = Mother's Occupation  
 X<sub>7</sub> = Father's Education  
 X<sub>8</sub> = Mother's Education

There are several limitations to this model. Porter (1974) and others (Gurin, 1973) have indicated that the model is inadequate in explaining variances for the black population and for females. In general, these limitations are in part due to undiscovered or unstudied factors associated with the three ascriptive factors of race, sex and skin color among blacks. One of the major objectives of this chapter is to develop an exploratory predictive model. I will go beyond existing studies to ascertain the influences of sex and skin colors on the differential mobility for the sample population. Therefore, with respect to Figure 4.1, I have added the two factors, sex and skin color, to the model.

The second major objective of this chapter is to explore one issue which is a departure from existing studies about black mobility. Throughout this study, there is one central question to be pursued. Within the organization, what are the factors which would account for the differential rates of promotion for this group of black professionals? Based on the premise that the black professionals in the sample will have the same general characteristics with respect to educational achievements, what then are the factors which distinguish the high mobility professional from the low mobility professional? Is it the achievement drive or motivation of the individual? Are there factors within the family of orientation which affect this mobility? Existing studies have not addressed these issues on blacks in predominantly white institutions primarily because, until recently the number of black professionals within these organizations were insignificant.

In line with these objectives, status attainment models will be constructed showing the relationships of the variables to the occupational status and promotion rate of the total population, and also for females and males separately.

#### EDUCATION AND MOBILITY

The single most important factor in mobility is education. For the sample population education appears to be the most important factor also. However, there are two reasons for the high level of education. One of the criteria for the selection of the respondents was a group of blacks who were employed in an organization and within occupational categories which were historically closed to blacks. This criterion led to the selection of a group of blacks who were employed in occupations such as engineering, programming, and management within a

TABLE 4.1

EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS FOR RESPONDENTS, PARENTS AND THE BLACK POPULATION: 1950, 1960 and 1970

	RESPONDENTS	RESPONDENTS' FATHERS	RESPONDENTS' MOTHERS	BLACKS OVER 20: 1970	BLACKS OVER 40: 1970	BLACKS: 1950	BLACKS: 1960
MASTERS AND ABOVE	19 15.7						
COLLEGE/SOME GRADUATE	25 20.6	23 20.0	22 18.7	4.1	3.5	2.2	3.5
COLLEGE DEGREE ONLY	37 30.5						
TECHNICAL/ JR. COLLEGE	10 8.2	4 3.5		7.3	4.1	2.9	4.4
HIGH SCHOOL/ SOME COLLEGE	28 23.1						
HIGH SCHOOL ONLY	12 9.9	43 37.4	66 55.4	49.3	35.1	21.1	32.5
GRADE SCHOOL ONLY NO SCHOOL	0 0	45 39.1	31 25.9	38.2	57.0	70.2	60.7
TOTAL	121 100	115 100	119 100	100	100	100	100

white organization. Since a prerequisite for employment in these types of occupations is a college degree, the findings which show the sample's educational achievements are high are to be expected.

: In Table 4. 1, it is shown that the majority of this sub-sample or 90.9% have completed high school and attended college. Of this group, 77.9% have a minimum of a four-year college degree. Comparing the educational profile for the sample population to the general educational attainments for all blacks above 20 years of age in 1970, it is apparent that the sample is a highly elite group. Of the general population, 11.4% have completed high school and attended college. Of this group, 4.1% have completed college. Therefore, 90.9% of the sample population have been selected from the top 11.4% of the general black population and 77.9% have come from the top 4.1% of the general black population.

Prior to discussing the relative importance of education, there is a second issue of interest. The large proportion of the sample with college degrees raises several questions. During the earlier decades, employers often suggested or stated that the low number of blacks within their organization was due to a lack of qualified blacks. The fact that such a large number of blacks were recruited and hired allows a test of the validity of this reasoning. The relevant questions are: Did the sample respondents receive their degrees as the result of educational opportunities legislated by the Civil Rights Act of 1964? If so, this would give considerable support to the rationale used by employers. Or, were the sample respondents around with their degrees and waiting for the opportunities produced by the act? If so, it would support the argument that it was

racial discrimination which accounted for the low numbers of blacks in these organizations.

To address these questions, an analysis of the sample is necessary to determine the years when their first degrees were earned.

Secondly, what also must be determined is what proportion of the population was qualified by the attainment of a degree prior to the organization seriously implementing its policies to increase the black employee population. Such determinations will indicate whether there was a significant number of qualified blacks who, if it were not for racial discrimination, would have been hired in these non-traditional occupations.

In Chapter Two, it was shown that the first efforts to increase opportunities for blacks occurred between 1963-66. The second, and more serious effort, occurred from 1967-68 to the present. Within this sample, 84 respondents have at least a four year degree. Of this group, 20 or 23.9% earned their first degree prior to 1964. An additional 28 or 33.3% earned their degrees prior to 1968. From this, the conclusion is reached that 57.4% of the sample population were qualified for professional employment prior to 1968. Therefore, when the serious efforts to increase the black population in 1968 began, the organization had little difficulty in accomplishing their goals.

Understanding the degree of generalization that can be made because of the sampling limitations, there is at least the strong suggestion that there existed a large population of blacks who, although qualified, were denied entry into the organization. This would tend to refute the generally held belief and rationalization that the reason for the lack of blacks in non-traditional occupations is due to a lack of qualified blacks to fill these positions.

## FAMILY BACKGROUND FACTORS

The high levels of education of the sample population would suggest that the respondents are from families which foster high achievement orientations and have superior educational and occupational backgrounds (Duncan and Blau, 1966; Scanzoni, 1971; Gurin, 1972; Sewell, 1970). With reference to Table 4.1, the data shows that the parents of the respondents have superior educational backgrounds. For fathers, 20.8% have at least four years or more of college. For mothers, 18.3% have at least four or more years of college. If the educational attainments of the parents are compared to all blacks in 1970 who are 40 or more years older, again the uniqueness of the parents' educational background is shown. I have chosen 40 years or older because the youngest members of the sample are between 20 and 24. More specifically, 93.2% of the sample are 24 years of age or older. This would suggest that the youngest parents would be at least 40 years or older in age. Comparing the parents of the sample with all black males and females over 40 years of age, it is shown that 20.7% of the fathers and 18.3% of the mothers are from the top 3.5% of the black population. With respect to the entire parent population for the sample, the data shows that they have higher educational attainments than the comparable black population. Among the general population, 35.1% attended high school. Respectively, 37.4% and 55% of the fathers and mothers in this sample have attended or completed high school.

The second background variable to be examined for its relationship to the mobility of the sample is parent's occupation during the childhood of the sample population. In Table 4.2, the occupational dis-

TABLE 4.2

RESPONDENTS' PARENTS' OCCUPATIONS AND BLACK POPULATION OCCUPATIONS: 1950, 1960 AND 1970

	RESPONDENTS' FATHERS		RESPONDENTS' MOTHERS		BLACK POPULATION:1950		BLACK POPULATION:1960		BLACK POPULATION:1970	
					MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
PROFESSIONAL/MGR. SELF-PROPRIETOR	25	20.8	15	*20.0	4.3	6.5	4.8	8.1	5.8	12.8
SKILLED/ CLERICAL	21	17.5	10	13.3	12.5	6.0	15.9	9.5	17.9	11.0
SEMI-SKILLED/ UNSKILLED	74	61.7	50	66.7	83.7	87.5	79.3	82.4	76.3	76.2
HOUSEWIFE			50							
	120	100	125	100						

\*PERCENTAGES ARE FOR EMPLOYED FEMALE POPULATION ONLY

tributions are shown for the mothers and fathers of the sample. The distributions show that a significantly high proportion of the parents were employed in the higher occupational categories. For example, 38.3% of the fathers and 20% of the mothers were employed in professional, managerial, technical, self-employed or skilled occupational categories. Generally, these parents were employed in those occupations which were traditionally open to blacks, such as teachers, nurses or self-employed. Of those I was able to determine as employed within the professional or managerial categories, the majority were employed in the public sector, i.e., city, state or federal government.

To gain a comparative picture of the significance of this occupational profile, a comparison of the proportion of parents within these higher occupational categories to the proportions of blacks within these categories for the last three decades is made. In 1950, 1960, and 1970, 4.3%, 4.8% and 5.8% of the total black male population and 6.5%, 8.1% and 12.8% of the total black female population were employed within these higher occupational categories. It can be concluded that, in general, the sample came from families of superior educational and occupational attainments which is in agreement with the findings of other studies of black mobility.

EDUCATION, PARENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

For this population education is the most important factor in the initial phases of the mobility process. In Table 4.3 it is shown that education is highly significant to the employees' occupational statuses, i.e., whether one is a manager, professional or non-professional. Thus, managers have the higher level of educational attainment (16.5 years), professional employees have the second highest level (16.0) of education and the non-professional employees have the lowest level (13.0). This is expected since a minimum requirement for professional employment is a college degree.

TABLE 4.3

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

		High School	Some College	Technical/ Junior College	College Graduate	College + Some Graduate	Master/ Above	Totals
Manager	N	1	1	1	8	5	8	24
	%	4.2	4.2	4.2	33.3	20.8	33.3	100%
Professionals	N		5	3	27	19	11	65
	%		7.7	4.6	41.5	29.2	16.1	100%
Non-Professionals	N	11	22	6	2	2	1	44
	%	25	50	13	4.5	4.5	2.3	100%

---

$X^2 = 80.67, df = 12, p = .001$

Having already determined that the respondents are from families of superior background, the important objective is to determine in what ways the parents' educational and occupational attainments are related to the occupational status and promotion rate of the respondents. With reference to Tables 4.4 and 4.5, it is clear that the educational attainments of the parents are related to the respondent's occupational status. Proportionally, a significantly greater number of professional employees, managers and professionals, have parents with higher educational attainments than the parents of the non-professional respondents.

TABLE 4.4

FATHER'S EDUCATION AND EMPLOYEE'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

		No School	Grade School	High School	College	Totals
Managers	N	1	8	10	3	22
	%	4.5	36.4	45.5	13.6	100%
Professionals	N	3	13	21	19	56
	%	5.4	23.2	37.5	34	100%
Non- Professionals	N	2	19	12	6	39
	%	5.1	48.7	30.8	15.4	100%

$$X^2 = 18.16, df = 8, p = .05$$

These findings confirm those of other studies which show that the educational attainments of the parents are positively related to the occupational status of their children.

TABLE 4.5

MOTHER'S EDUCATION AND EMPLOYEE'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

		No School	Grade School	High School	College	Totals
Managers	N		7	9	5	21
	%		33.3	42.9	23.8	100%
Professionals	N	1	8	34	16	59
	%	1.7	13.6	57.6	27.1	100%
Non- Professionals	N	1	14	23	4	42
	%	2.4	33.3	54.8	9.6	100%

$$X^2 = 16.77, df = 10, p = .06$$

Tables 4.6 and 4.7 also show that parents' occupational attainments are significantly related to employees' occupational status. For example, there is the predicted trend that higher parental occupations will lead to higher occupational status for the children.

TABLE 4.6

FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYEE'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

		Professional/ Manager or Self-Proprietor	Technical	Unskilled Menial	Totals
Managers	N	5	6	11	22
	%	22.7	27.3	50.00	100%
Professionals	N	15	12	31	58
	%	25.9	20.7	53.4	100%
Non- Professionals	N	5	3	32	40
	%	12.5	7.5	80.0	100%

$$X^2 = 9.19, df = 4, p = .05$$

For example, 50% of the managers and 46.6% of the professionals have fathers who were employed in the professional, manager or self-proprietor and technical or skilled occupations. For the non-professional, 80% of their fathers were employed in the unskilled or menial occupations. For the mothers of the respondents, there are two patterns. Managers (22.7%) and professionals (25%) were more likely to have mothers who were employed in the two higher occupational categories than the non-professional respondents (11.7%).

TABLE 4.7

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYEE'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

		Professional, Manager or Self-Proprietor	Technical/ Skilled	Unskilled/ Menial	Housewife/ Unemployed	Totals
Manager	N	3	2	5	12	22
	%	13.6	9.1	22.7	54.5	100%
Professionals	N	10	5	20	25	60
	%	16.7	8.3	33.3	41.7	100%
Non-Professionals	N	2	3	22	16	43
	%	4.7	7.0	51.2	37.2	100%

$$X^2 = 14.81, df = 8, p = .05$$

Secondly, managers (54.5%) had a greater proportion of their mothers at home when they were growing up than the professional (41.7%) and the non-professional respondents (37.2%).

EDUCATION, PARENTAL ACHIEVEMENTS AND PROMOTION RATE

The second issue of interest is to determine the relationship of the respondents' education and their parents' achievements to the respondents' movement or promotion rate in the organization. The data in Table 4.8 shows that the respondent's education is not significantly related to their promotion rate. The data in Tables 4.9-4.12 also shows that the absence of any significant relationships between the parents' education and occupational achievements.

It is appropriate to discuss these findings within the context of the contest-sponsored paradigm. The fact that there are no significant relationships that could be taken as evidence to support either mode of mobility. Under contest mobility, the aspirant's education should only affect one's initial entry into the organization. Afterward, it

TABLE 4.8

EDUCATION AND PROMOTION RATE

	High School	Some College	Tech./ Junior College	College Graduate	College/ + Some Graduate	Master/ Above	Totals
Manager	N	1	1	8	5	8	24
	%	4.2	4.2	33.3	20.8	33.3	100%
High Mobility Professionals	N		2	15	6	5	28
	%		7.1	53.6	21.4	17.9	100%
Low Mobility Professionals	N	3		8	9	3	23
	%	13.0		34.8	39.1	13.0	100%

$X^2 = 17.02, df = 12, p = n.s.$

TABLE 4.9

FATHER'S EDUCATION AND EMPLOYEE'S PROMOTION RATE

		No School	Grade School	High School	College	Totals
Managers	N	1	8	10	3	22
	%	4.5	36.9	45.5	13.6	100%
High Mobility Professionals	N	1	5	9	12	27
	%	3.7	18.5	33.3	44.4	100%
Low Mobility Professionals	N	2	6	8	9	20
	%	10.0	30.0	40.0	20.0	100%

$$X^2 = 11.66, df = 10, p = n.s.$$

TABLE 4.10

MOTHER'S EDUCATION AND EMPLOYEE'S PROMOTION RATE

		No School	Grade School	High School	College	Totals
Managers	N		7	9	5	21
	%		33.3	42.9	23.8	100%
High Mobility Professionals	N		3	17	9	29
	%		10.3	58.6	31.0	100%
Low Mobility Professionals	N	1	3	12	5	21
	%	4.8	14.3	57.1	23.8	100%

$$X^2 = 7.13, df = 6, p = n.s.$$

TABLE 4.11

FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYEE'S PROMOTION RATE

		Professional, Manager or Self-Proprietor	Technical/ Skilled	Unskilled/ Menial	Totals
Managers	N	5	6	11	22
	%	22.7	27.3	50.0	100%
High Mobility Professionals	N	9	3	16	28
	%	32.1	10.7	57.1	100%
Low Mobility Professionals	N	4	9	9	22
	%	18.2	40.9	40.9	100%

$$X^2 = 6.23, df = 4, p = n.s.$$

TABLE 4.12

MOTHER'S OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYEE'S PROMOTION RATE

		Professional, Manager or Self-Proprietor	Technical/ Skilled	Unskilled/ Menial	Unemployed/ Housewife	Totals
Managers	N	3	2	5	12	22
	%	13.6	9.1	22.7	54.5	100%
High Mobility Professionals	N	4	4	9	12	29
	%	13.8	13.8	31.0	41.4	100%
Low Mobility Professionals	N	4	1	7	10	22
	%	18.2	4.5	31.8	45.5	100%

$$X^2 = 2.202, df = 6, p = n.s.$$

should be the respondent's ability to perform within the organization which determines his or her promotion rate. Under sponsored mobility, educational achievements should have no influence on the respondent's promotion rate.

Although these conclusions have been reached, further analysis will show that the inclusion of sex into the same distribution acts as a suppressor variable. Therefore, when the influence of sex is controlled for, several significant relationships between these factors and promotion rate of the respondent will surface. An analysis of the regression coefficients for males and females respectively will show that some of these factors are directly or indirectly related to the promotion rate of the respondents.

#### THE ASCRIPTIVE DIMENSION OF SEX AND MOBILITY

The previous discussions have indicated that there are intervening factors which may be suppressing some of the significant relationships predicted. The composite model shown in Figure 1 suggests that the factors of sex and skin color may be these intervening variables which distort the true relationship when the analysis is done on the total sample. The implication is that the mobility process differs significantly for females and males. Therefore, if the true or accurate picture of the mobility process is to be described, the influence of the variable sex must be controlled for. Presently, an analysis of the influence of sex will be presented.

There is a considerable lack of information about black females from the literature. Current studies uniformly agree that

the double negative statuses of being black and female are dominant and controlling in mobility opportunities for females. Epstein (1971) concisely stated the obstacles faced by black females when she said "The ascribed sex (female) and race (black) statuses are dominant: they are visible and immutable and impose severe limits on individuals' capacities to alter the dimensions of their world and attitudes of others toward them. Black women, for example, because of their two negatively evaluated statuses, are situated at the bottom of the occupational pyramid" (p. 151).

When an analysis of the sample is done by sex, the emerging pattern fully supports the "double negative" thesis. With one exception to be discussed, the black female's equality of opportunity in terms of occupational mobility is considerably less than it is for black males. This pattern of inequities in opportunities begins with the organization's hiring patterns for blacks. When the organization began its initial thrust to hire blacks, males were the principal beneficiaries of this opportunity. This pattern is illustrated by the data in Table 4.13 which shows length of time in the company by sex. The data shows that prior to ten years ago, of the limited number of blacks hired, a significantly greater proportion were males. Of those black employees with more than ten years in the company, 34.8% are males and 9.1 are females. Only within the last ten years has there been a significant increase in the number of black females hired.

TABLE 4.13  
SEX AND LENGTH OF TIME IN THE COMPANY  
 (Years in the Company)

		1	1-2	2-4	6-9	10-14	15	Totals
Males	N		3	8	34	19	4	68
	%		4.4	11.8	50.0	22.9	5.9	100%
Females	N	5	6	9	41	6		67
	%	7.5	9.0	13.4	61.2	9.0		100%

Chi-Square = 17.4, df = 5, p = .003.

This hiring trend reflects two forces. The first force which accounts for this differential access to employment opportunities is sex discrimination which confronts all females. When the social unrest of the last two decades brought the issue of race discrimination as a major social problem to the forefront, the immediate response was to treat employment discrimination exclusively in racial terms. In a traditionally male oriented and male dominant society, the formulators and implementors of policies to combat discrimination proceeded to attack the problem as if black men were the most repressed group in society. The second force is directly attributable to the composition of the black population involved in the social unrest of that time. When it became apparent that high rates of underemployment and unemployment among black males were the major causes of this unrest and that black males were the major group engaging in this destructive behavior, the thrust of the policy became directed towards this group.

TABLE 4.14

RESPONDENT'S SEX AND ENTRY LEVEL EDUCATION

		High School	Some College	Technical/ Junior College	College Graduate	College Some Graduate	Master/ and Above	Totals
Males	N		14	4	20	16	14	68
	%		20.6	5.9	29.4	23.5	20.6	100%
Females	N	12	14	6	17	10	6	65
	%	18.5	21.5	9.2	26.2	15.4	9.2	100%

$$X^2 = 18.9, df = 5, p = .001$$

Therefore, the immediate thrust of the equal employment opportunity was to hire black males because they represented the greatest threat to society.

Among those females hired, "their own education is the strongest predictor of their own job position" (Scanzoni, 1971, p. 70). An analysis of the educational distribution of the sample shows that black females, in general, have lower educational attainments than the black males. With reference to Table 4.14, of the male group, 73.6% have a college degree or advanced educational attainments. For females, 50.8% have equivalent educational attainments. At the high end of the educational attainment scale, i.e., advanced study beyond the college degree, 44.1% of the males and 24.6% of the females are situated. When it is considered that "black females exceed black males in educational attainments, whether the indicator be literacy, median years of school completed, or high school or college graduation", the implications are clear (Scanzoni, 1971, p. 229).

The organization apparently was not seeking out black females with advanced education. Hence, black females are at a major disadvantage at the initial stage of competition, i.e., at entry. It is predictable, since education for the sample is the major determinant of occupational status, that black females will be disproportionately located in the lower occupational categories. After they have entered the organization, a second principle is operating in how and where black females are placed. Just as there are positions which are historically closed to blacks, there are many more occupations which have been closed to females regardless of race. The placement pattern of black females would suggest that the ascribed factor of being a female was just as important as race in their placement. The majority of females are employed in traditionally female occupations, i.e., secretarial or administration.

TABLE 4.15  
RESPONDENT'S SEX AND OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

		<u>Manager</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Non-Professional</u>	<u>Totals</u>
Males	N	19	36	13	68
	%	27.9	52.9	19.1	100%
Females	N	5	31	33	69
	%	7.2	44.9	47.8	100%

---


$$X^2 = 17.22, df = 2, p = .001$$

(See Table 4.15). The pattern most revealing this type of placement is illustrated by the data which shows that 47.8% of the females are employed

in non-professional occupations and only 7.2% are managers. In comparison, males are concentrated in the professional occupations. Thus, 27.9% are managers and 52.9% are professionals.

It was noted earlier that there was one exception to the pervasiveness of discrimination faced by black females. In 1972, the Equal Pay Act of 1972 and Revised Order IV discussed in Chapter Two, produced a thrust toward removing discriminatory barriers within the higher occupational categories. The analysis of the differential promotion rates for the two groups in Table 4.12 shows the impact of this thrust. The low number of black female managers indicates that in the past this particular path of mobility was restricted for females. However, the current high proportion of females, 44.9%, who are experiencing a high promotion rate would suggest that black females are experiencing equal promotional opportunities for these higher level

TABLE 4.16

RESPONDENT'S SEX AND PROMOTION RATE

		Manager	High Mobility Professional	Low Mobility Professional	Totals
Males	N	19	16	16	51
	%	37.3	31.4	31.4	100%
Females	N	5	13	7	25
	%	20.0	52.0	28.0	100%

$$X^2 = 3.51, df = 2, p = n.s.$$

positions. As a matter of fact, the low mobility group consists disproportionately of males which suggests another problem which confronts black employees within the organization. It suggests that whatever gains are experienced by black females are at the expense of black males.

As suggested earlier, these results show that sex is a major factor in understanding the mobility patterns of the respondents. Thus, it would suggest that such factors as parental achievements may be related in different ways based on the respondent's sex. Therefore, the models constructed at the end of this chapter will be addressed to understanding how the parental factors influence mobility differently for males and females.

#### THE ASCRIPTIVE DIMENSION OF SKIN COLOR AND MOBILITY

The second major ascriptive factor represented in the model affecting the mobility of the respondents is skin color. Within the American society, the pervasiveness of the influence of skin color upon opportunity is often understated. Historically, the favored position of the light-skinned or caucasian-like black is well documented (Myrdal, 1944; Edwards, 1952; Dollard, 1957; Frazier, 1957). More recent studies (Clark, 1947; Holtzman, 1973; Butts, 1963; Vontress, 1963; Sciara, 1975; Fichter, 1964) have given us greater knowledge of the complex relationships of color as it pertains to black awareness, achievement orientation, occupational and social mobility. All of these studies agree that skin color and facial features are very important in a society where the standard of the "beautiful American is a blond,

blue-eyed, and very white" (Holtzman, 1973, p. 92). However, I have been encountering the general belief from many blacks within the organization that darker skins and Negroid features are advantageous characteristics because these are the characteristics now being sought by the large corporations. The belief is based on the assumption that the emphasis on "black is beautiful" influenced the perceptions and behavior of whites relative to the factors of skin color and "negroidness" in appearance. Therefore, presently conscious efforts are being made to minimize the influence of having a dark skin and negroid features. Although many blacks believe this to be true, my observations suggest that it is untrue.

The primary hypothesis to be tested is that within this organization, skin color influences employment and mobility opportunities. In particular, to the degree that one has light skin color, his or her chances or opportunities are greater than those of the darker members of the population. To establish the relationship of skin color to upward mobility within the organization, the variable Skin Color is constructed. The Skin Color variable is a measure of skin color based upon the respondents completion of statement 95. Each respondent was asked to respond to the following statement: If you were describing your skin color, which of the following would you resemble most closely? (1) Adam C. Powell, (2) Lena Horne, (3) Harry Belafonte, (4) Flip Wilson, or Sidney Poitier or Nat King Cole.

The respondents who ranked themselves as 1 or 2 are considered as light skinned in color. All others, i.e., those who ranked them-

selves as 3, 4, or 5 are considered as medium or dark-skinned in color. This group would be more representative of the skin colors among the black population than the group with light skins. Based upon this ranking, 27% are considered as light and 73% are considered as medium to dark.<sup>1</sup>

#### PERCEPTION OF SKIN COLOR TO MOBILITY

In a preliminary study a black sample of 32 employees, 17 males and 15 females, was asked whether they believe that skin color and facial characteristics hinder one's chances for promotion. By a response of 60.0% to 28.0% the black sample felt that color was an important factor in the promotional process (see Table 4.17). This finding is significant from two perspectives. First, the fact that a majority of this black sample perceived color as important is significant. The second point of significance is seen when these responses are compared to the results of a previous study. In a study by Fichter, black college graduates were asked whether having a light skin color would be helpful. Of the population 6% responded that having a light skin color helps a great deal and 27% responded that it helps a little (Fichter; 1964, p. 164). Comparing these responses to those of this study, which show that 60% responded favorably leads to the conclusion that, as a black person moves out into the larger society, the perception of the relative importance of color changes significantly. That is, at an earlier age black youths are probably

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<sup>1</sup>The color distribution among this sample compares favorably with other studies. Edward's (1952) study, conducted among a black professional population in Washington, D. C., showed that approximately 23.4% of his sample had light skin. Holtzman's (1973) study, conducted among black college students in St. Louis, Mo., showed that 27.6% of her sample was rated light. These remarkable agreements suggest that among unique populations of blacks, i.e., black professionals or college students, the color ratio of light to medium and dark is approximately one to three.

TABLE 4.17

BLACK RESPONSES TO COLOR AND FACIAL CHARACTERISTICS QUESTIONS

		Certainly or Probably	Not Sure	Probably Not or Certainly Not	Totals
Color Hinders Chances for Promotions	N	19	4	9	32
	%	60	12	28	100%
Facial Characteristics Hinders Chance for Promotions	N	24	1	7	32
	%	71.8	6.2	21.8	100%

more idealistic in their beliefs about the contribution of their ability to their subsequent mobility than blacks currently in the market place. However, once into the occupational work arena, their perceptions of this factor change.

The second part of the color/characteristics hypothesis is the relationship of one's facial characteristics chances for promotions. A test of the relationship of facial characteristics was not done. With reference to the influence of facial characteristics, 71.8 percent believed that they are important. In interviews with some of the respondents, there was unanimous agreement that "good" looks based upon a caucasian model would enhance one's mobility opportunity (see Table 4.17).

More important are the responses of 32 white managers to three questions relating to skin color and facial features among blacks. With reference to Table 4.18, 31 of 32 managers acknowledged that they noticed skin color differences among blacks, 12 of 32 or 37% believed

that degrees of skin color could hinder the black employee's chances for promotion, and 15 or 48% responded that a black's facial features could hinder a black employee's chances. These responses, to say the least, should be disconcerting to many blacks, especially when in at least 75% of this population skin color varies from medium to very dark. And although we have no measure of "Negroidness" within the population, it is fair to say that most blacks will have Negroid features. I also think it can be understood why blacks perceive so much more discrimination than whites are willing to admit exists.

TABLE 4.18

WHITE MANAGER'S RESPONSES TO COLOR AND FACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

QUESTIONS

		Yes	No	Totals
Notice Color Differences?	N	31	1	32
	%	94	6	100%
Color Hinders?	N	12	21	33
	%	37	63	100%
Facial Characteristics Hinder?	N	16	17	33
	%	48	52	100%

N = 32

RELATIONSHIP OF SKIN COLOR TO MOBILITY

In addressing the hypothesis that skin color is significantly related to the occupational status and promotion rate of the individual, analysis of several distributions supports the proposition that light skin is functional to mobility. There is a predictable relationship between the black employee's status and his or her skin color. The relationship is that the lighter the skin color, the more probable that the individual is a managerial or non-managerial professional employee. Table 4.19 shows that 45.8% of the managers, 27.3% of the non-managerial professionals have light skin colors and only 20% of the non-professionals are ranked as light.

TABLE 4.19

RELATIONSHIP OF SKIN COLOR TO OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

		Very Light/ Light	Medium to Very Dark	Totals
Managers	N	11	13	24
	%	45.8	54.2	100%
Professionals	N	18	48	66
	%	27.3	72.7	100%
Non-Professionals	N	9	36	45
	%	20.0	80.0	100%

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$$X^2 = 5.21, df = 2, p = .07, r = .186, p = .01$$

TABLE 4.20

RELATIONSHIP OF SKIN COLOR TO PROMOTION RATE

		Very Light	Light	Medium	Dark	Very Dark	Totals
Managerial	N	6	5	7	3	3	24
	%	25	20.8	29.2	12.5	12.5	100%
Pre-Managerial High Mobility	N	1	8	13	6	0	28
	%	3.6	28.6	46.4	21.4		100%
Pre-Managerial Low Mobility	N		5	7	6	4	22
	%		22.7	31.8	27.3	18.2	100%

$$X^2 = 14.81, df = 8, p = .06, r = .242, p = .01$$

The identical trend is true for the promotion rate of the professionals. Again, 45.8% of the managers, and 32.1% of the high mobility professionals are light. Significantly, only 21.7% of the low mobility pre-managerial professionals are light (Table 4.20). This finding suggests that whites utilize skin color in their decisions about blacks. The implication is that during the initial recruitment and grooming process, skin color acts as a perceptual indicator which tends to alleviate whites' apprehensions or stated differently, whites can relate better to lighter skinned blacks.

TABLE 4.21

RESPONDENT'S SKIN COLOR AND FATHER'S OCCUPATION

		Very Light	Light	Medium	Dark	Very Dark	Totals
Professional, Manager or Self-Proprietor	N	3	9	9	3	0	24
	%	12.5	37.5	37.5	12.5		100%
Technical/Skilled	N	1	4	5	8	3	21
	%	4.8	19.0	23.8	38.1	14.3	100%
Unskilled/Menial	N	6	10	32	19	6	73
	%	8.2	13.7	43.8	26.0	8.2	100%

$$X^2 = 13.75, df = 8, p = .08$$

Data also exist which shows that in the past lighter skinned blacks enjoyed favored advantages over their darker skinned peers. In Table 4.21, it is shown that the lighter skinned respondents have fathers who were more likely to be located in a higher occupational category than the fathers of the darker skinned respondents. Thus, 50% of the fathers who were professionals, managers or self-proprietors have sons or daughters who are light in skin color. If we assume that the lighter skinned respondents' fathers are probably light skinned themselves, this would strongly support the observations about past advantages enjoyed by the lighter skinned blacks.

#### THE REGRESSION MODELS: ACHIEVEMENT AND ASCRIPTIVE DIMENSIONS

The previous analyses have shown the many significant relationships between the respondents' mobility and certain achievement and ascriptive factors. A summary of these relationships are: (1) The respondents are a unique group in terms of educational and occupational attainments. (2) Their parents generally have superior educational and occupational backgrounds than their parents' peers. (3) Education is the most important factor in the determination of the respondents' occupational statuses. (4) Education is not directly related to the respondents' movements within the organization. (5) The parents' educational attainments are related to the respondents' occupational status but not to their promotion rates within the organization. (6) The parents' occupational attainments are related to the respondents' occupational status but not to their promotion rates within the organization. (7) The respondents' sex is a major determinant of the respondents' occupational statuses and promotion rates. (8) There is a relationship between the respondent's skin color and their mobility opportunities.

At this point, it should be stated that these findings and conclusions are only generalized statements which can be made about the respondents' mobility. Subsequent analyzes will show that these conclusions must be modified, sometimes extensively, to accurately reflect the mobility patterns of the respondents. There are many questions raised by these findings. For example, what are the relative influences of these factors on the mobility process? Is it accurate to say that the parents' occupations are insignificantly related to the respondents' mobility within the organization?

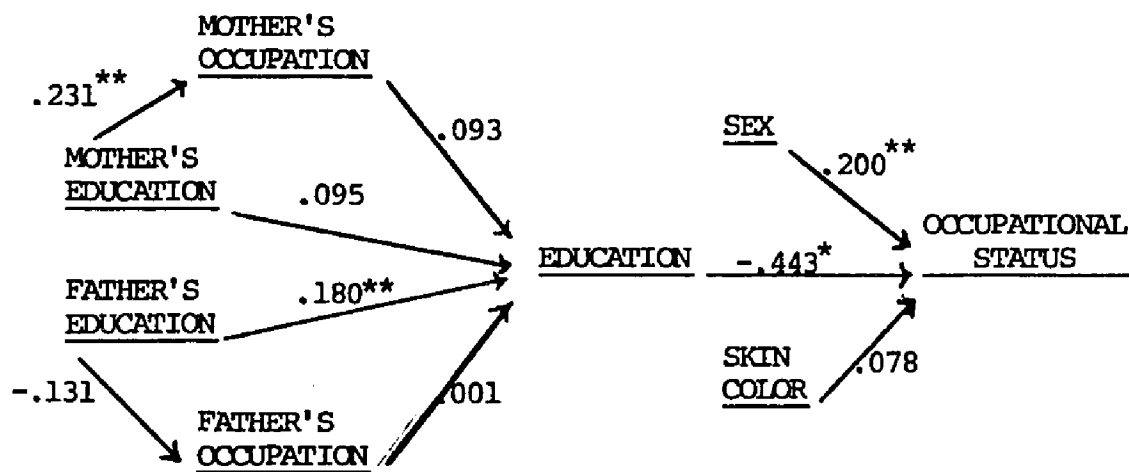
To address these kinds of questions, the approach will be to construct several regression models of the type in Figure 4.1. Through the construction of two composite models, an Occupational Status model for the total population and individual models for males and females, and individual models for Promotion Rate, a more detailed understanding of the mobility process will be possible. In this way, valuable insights will be gained into the relationship of these factors to each other as well as their relative importance to the respondents' mobility.

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS MODEL

In Figure 4.2, the regression model for the total sample is presented. This model shows that education is responsible for 33% of the variances in the respondent's occupational status (See Table 4.22). The only other factor which has a direct influence on the occupational status of the respondent is sex. The positive path of influence indicates that females are more likely to be located within the lower occupational categories than males. These findings support the conclusion presented earlier.

FIGURE 4.2

STATUS ATTAINMENT MODEL FOR TOTAL SAMPLE: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS



NOTE: N = 137, \*p = .01, \*\*p = .05

The other factor which is indirectly related to the respondent's occupational status is father's education. A significant path of influence exists between the respondents' education and their father's education. The relationship is that children of fathers with higher levels of education will also have higher levels of education. This finding is in disagreement with Duncan, et al. (1966), who concluded in their study on white and black

males and those of Scanzoni's (1971) study which found that the fathers' occupation had by "far the stronger influence on males and females educational attainments" (p. 96). Why this is so is unclear. However, a reasonable explanation is that the educational opportunities for blacks have changed during the last decade. In the past, the parents' occupations have provided the means for the respondents in the cited studies to gain advanced education. Many of the respondents in this study have received additional education as the result of the affirmative action programs implemented by colleges in conformity with the law. Therefore, the finding of this study reflect the transitory phenomenon of affirmative action.

Several other observations should be made relative to the parental achievement factors. The non-significant and very weak paths of influence between the parents' occupations and the respondents' occupational status indicate that these parental factors have no direct influence on the occupational statuses of the respondents. Duncan and Blau (1966) and Scanzoni (1971) concluded that the son's occupations were directly influenced by the fathers' occupations. These different findings illustrate the dynamic rise in occupational choices available to the respondents. These respondents represent a generation of blacks who have experienced a major leap in occupational status when compared to their parents. Thus, it is to be expected that parents' occupation will have little direct influence on the respondents' occupational statuses.

Analysis of the relationships between the parental factors themselves provide some insights into the prior patterns of discrimination which

existed among the black population. The mother's education is significantly related to her occupational level. This corroborates Scanzoni's (1971) conclusion that "among those females who are employed, their own education is the strongest predictor of their own job position" (p. 170). However, the father's education is insignificantly related to the father's occupational status. This pattern is reflective of the same conclusion Duncan and Blau came to relative to the influence of black males education on their occupational status in the past. Their finding showed "the college-educated Negro to be slightly less disadvantaged than the one who discontinued his education at high school graduation" (Duncan and Blau, 1966, p. 211).

The data suggest that black males faced greater degrees of discrimination than black females in the past. As Epstein (1971) recognized, "historically, black women have had more access to white society than black men" (p. 155). One reason given is that black males have always represented a threat to white men. Thus, white professional males perceived black females as less of a threat. Consequently, black females were allowed into the professional world, albeit in female occupations, whereas black males were restricted.

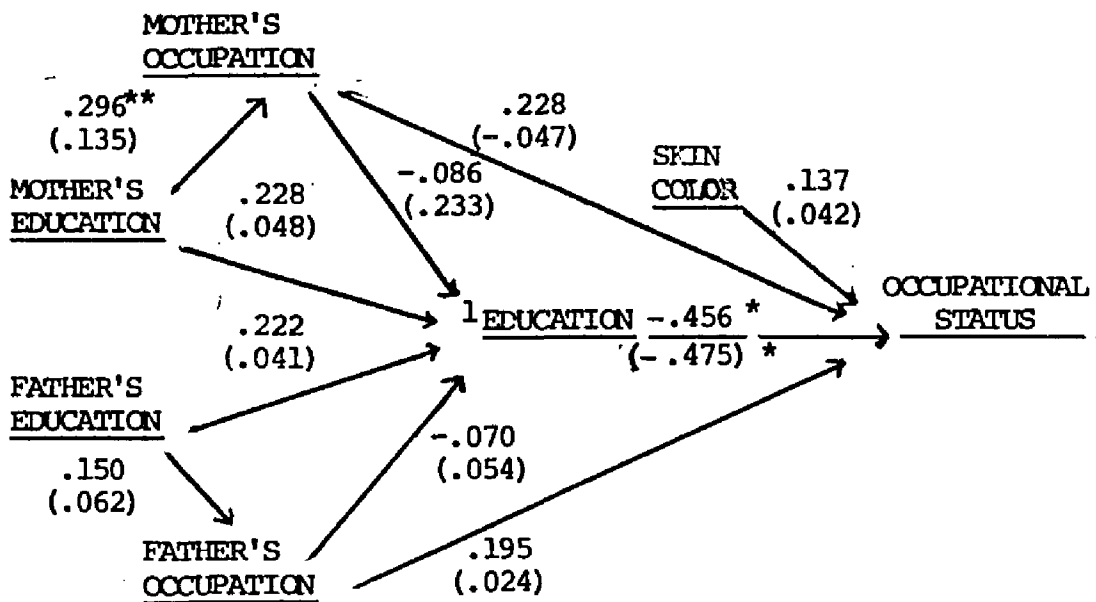
#### OCCUPATIONAL STATUS MODELS: MALES AND FEMALES

The composite model shows that the respondent's sex is the second most important factor in the determination of one's occupational status. And as stated, the major difference in mobility between the males and females in this sample is that presently black females are confronted with a greater degree of discrimination. There are, however, several

important relationships among the sample which cannot be attributed to discrimination. Analyses of the regression paths in Figure 4.3, which represent the respondents' occupational statuses controlled for by sex, will allow the data to be interpreted more precisely and meaningfully.

FIGURE 4.3

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS MODEL FOR MALES AND FEMALES



NOTE: BETA COEFFICIENTS WITHIN PARENTHESIS ARE FOR MALES  
 MALES (N = 68)  
 FEMALES (N = 69)  
 \*p = .01  
 \*\*p = .05

<sup>1</sup>Because of the orientation of the variables to each other, the reader must rely on the text to gain the proper relationship between the variables. For example, the negative signs associated with the influence of education to occupational status is because education was ranked on a scale from low to high (0-8) and occupational status from high to low (1-3). Therefore, a negative sign indicates a positive relationship between the two variables.

As has been emphasized, education is the major determinant of the respondents' occupational statuses regardless of sex. In Figure 4.3, the path coefficients from respondents' educational attainments and their occupational statuses show that education accounts for the major proportion of the variances in the occupational status variable. This indicates that the organization does not deviate from its standards relative to the educational requirements for a given occupational category. Or, regardless of whether the individual is a male or female, a degree is required for employment in professional occupations and a minimum of a high school diploma is required for non-professional occupations.

There is a second observation that warrants a discussion. The path coefficients for skin color show that the skin color of the female is more positively related to the female's occupational status than for males.<sup>2</sup> Generally, the higher the female's occupational status, the more likely she has a light skin color. This path of influence supports my observation that the black female managers and professionals are more likely to be light skinned. Furthermore, my personal observation suggests that even if the black female has a dark skin color, if she occupies a professional or managerial position, she is likely to have caucasian features rather than negroid ones. This finding would suggest that a third dimension must be added to Epstein's (1971) thesis of the

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Even though the path coefficients are statistically insignificant, they are valuable in comparing the relative importance of skin color to the mobility of males and females. Furthermore, the relationships shown here conform to my observation of this phenomenon. I will address this issue with respect to the promotion rate of males to further illustrate the effect of skin color to black mobility.

"double negative status". My observation, and the finding here, would suggest that skin color acts as the third ascriptive factor that affects one's mobility. Rarely will one encounter a black female with thick negroid lips and a dark skin in predominantly white organizations of the type studied here.

### THE PROMOTION RATE MODEL<sup>3</sup>

The Promotion Rate Model is based on the premise that the organization employs a sponsored system of mobility which utilizes non-ability factors in the decisions of which blacks are promoted into management positions. If this is true, the expectation is that the achievement factors should assume little importance in the respondents' rates of promotion. Ascriptive factors, such as skin color and sex, and belief and attitude factors should assume a greater influence on the respondents' rates of promotion. In Figure 4.4, the promotion rate model for males and

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<sup>3</sup> This is an appropriate time to remind the reader that these models represent an initial exploration into a new phenomenon, the movement of blacks within an elite organization and within elite occupations. Notwithstanding the limitations imposed by the size of the sample and the sampling techniques, there are additional factors which must be considered about the predictability of these models. First, this model represents a phenomenon which has many external influences and constraints imposed upon it. For example, the affirmative action policies and guidelines have effectively superseded the organization's normal process of recruiting, hiring and promoting of employees. The organization has yielded a considerable degree of their control over which blacks were hired or promoted. Ideally, the organization would have preferred to continue its recruitment efforts at the Ivy League schools or other major business or engineering institutions. However, policy and goals dictated that the major recruitment effort would extend to the small black colleges in the south. The types of students produced by these institutions are not exactly those the organization would prefer. Secondly, the thrust to increase the number of black female managers dictated that many black females, who under normal circumstances would not have been considered for management, became managers. For reasons of this type, the Promotion Rate path coefficients will be presented even when they are statistically insignificant. They will provide some valuable insights into the phenomenon and certainly suggest many areas of future research.

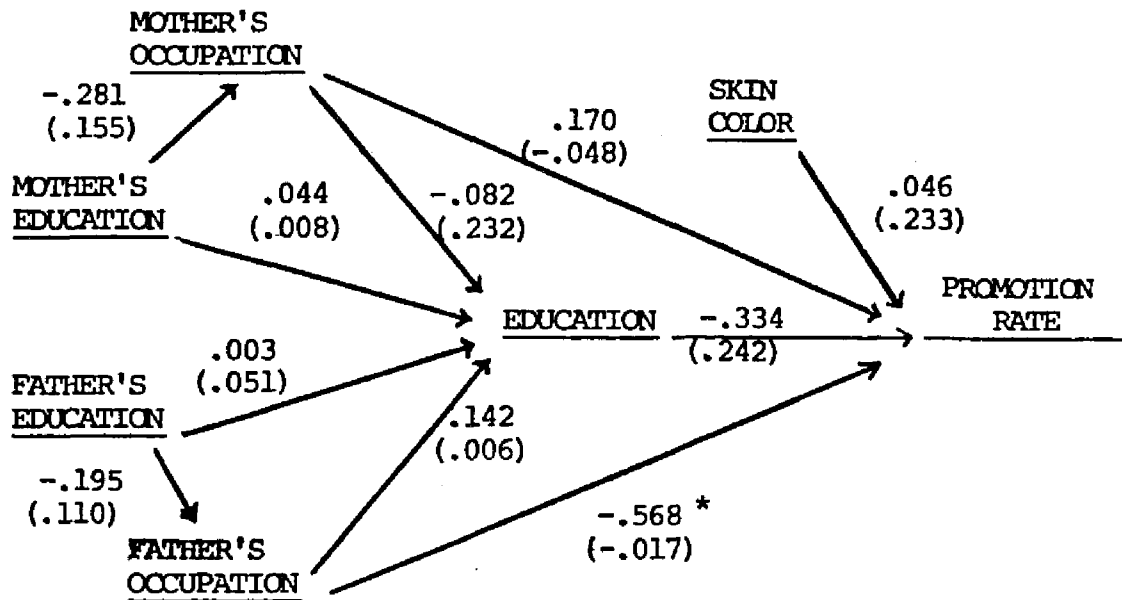
and females are presented. The path coefficients in these models indicate that with one exception, all the factors are statistically insignificant. In particular, the weak paths between education and promotion rate for the respondents indicate that their relative educational achievement are unimportant to the rates of promotion.

The path of influence between the father's occupation and the females' promotion rates is highly significant. This highly negative path suggests that black females whose fathers have low occupations are more likely to have a high promotion rate. The implication of this is that females from poor families, if the father's occupation is considered a measure of their economic status, appear to have stronger motivation to get ahead. Scanzoni (1971) also reached the same conclusion. He states, "For these black wives, as for males in the sample, rejection of parents (especially fathers as reference people and mothers as role models) leads to higher individual occupational achievement . . ." (p. 181).

With reference to the factor of skin color, it was shown that skin color was more important to the females occupational status than for males. Figure 4.4 shows that skin color has the second strongest (though statistically insignificant) path of influence on the males' promotion rates. This would support the conclusion that skin color is important to the differential promotion rates of black males into management positions. That is, lighter skin colored males are more likely to enjoy greater mobility than darker males. Does this mean that skin color is unimportant for the black females movement into management?

FIGURE 4.4

PROMOTION RATE MODEL FOR MALES AND FEMALES



NOTE: BETA COEFFICIENTS WITHIN PARENTHESIS ARE FOR MALES  
 MALES (N = 53), FEMALES (N = 28)  
 \*p = .01

The answer is no. As previously determined, a light skin color was important to the female's occupational status. Therefore, the female sample upon which the Promotion Rate model is constructed consists of a high proportion of light skinned females. Thus, the decision is which of these light skinned females will enjoy movement into management positions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup>For example, 24 of the 69 females (35.3%) are ranked as light. For males, 14 of 68 (20.9%) are ranked as light. The correlation coefficient is significant at the .03 level. Females in the organization are more likely to be light than males.

## CHAPTER V

### THE BELIEF AND ATTITUDE DIMENSIONS OF MOBILITY

In the previous chapter the primary interest was to understand the mobility process in terms of achievement and ascriptive factors. The data thus far support the thesis that the organization's mode of mobility is sponsored rather than contest. The implication which follows is that there is a grooming process whereby the organization carefully selects blacks for management based on a very specific model of the type of individual desired. Theoretical and empirical studies have isolated the major characteristics of this management model. I wish now to extend the basic mobility model developed in the previous chapter to include some of these additional factors.

As noted earlier in the introduction, the tremendous role which race plays within an interracial environment suggests that the racial orientation of blacks is a factor considered in their promotability into management. It was shown earlier that skin color is significantly related to the black employee's opportunity within the organization. This would support the conclusion that whites will utilize certain objective measures indicative of differences among blacks in their decisions about blacks. There is also reason to believe that whites will utilize other factors, such as the black individual's

racial beliefs and attitudes, in their decisions about blacks. Relative to racial orientation factors, there are two hypotheses to be evaluated in this chapter. In comparing the degree of anti and pro-black orientations among the sample, the following black orientation hypothesis will be tested: the more conservative black individual, as measured by an expression of a negative black orientation, will have greater upward mobility than the militant black individual, as measured by an expression of a positive black orientation. With respect to the degree of anti and pro-white orientation, the white orientation hypothesis states: a positive white orientation by the black respondent as measured by a rejection of the statement, "I do not particularly like white people," will have greater upward mobility than the individual who expresses a negative white orientation, as measured by an agreement with the above statement.

In Chapter IV several unanswered questions were posed. It was shown that different factors relative to the family's background, such as parents' educational and occupational attainments, corresponded to the mobility of males and females in significantly different ways, indicating that perhaps male achievement drives are influenced by the fathers' educations whereas the female achievements drives are influenced more by the fathers' occupations. There is one school of thought which suggests these conclusions are valid. Closely related to this school of thought is the belief that these achievements and aspiration patterns are influenced by the Protestant work ethic of hard work and success.

Using these two schools of thought the achievement-aspiration hypothesis and the work ethic hypothesis will be evaluated. The achievement-aspiration hypothesis states: the achievement and aspiration orientations of the individual are the most important attitudinal factors in the differential mobility for blacks within the organization. The work ethic hypothesis states: the positive work ethic is positively related to upward mobility and conversely, a negative work ethic is negatively related to upward mobility.

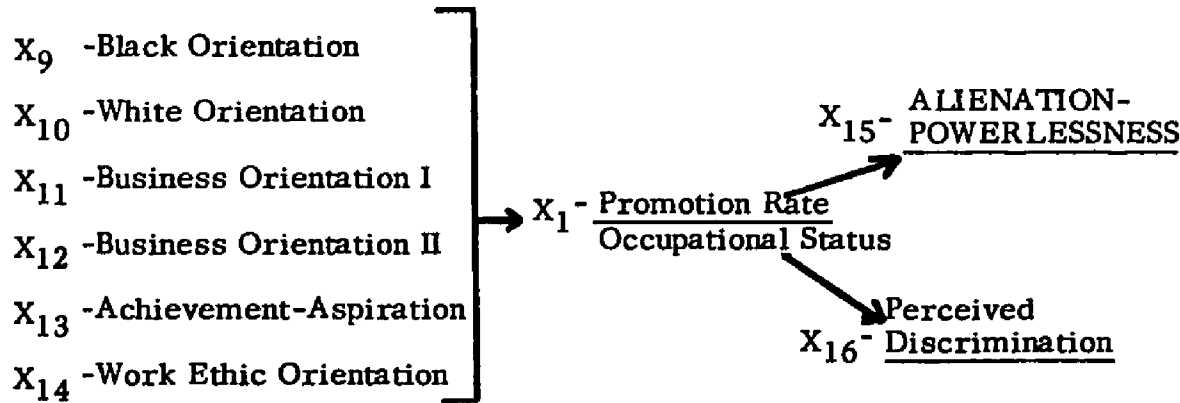
The third category of interest is derived from studies which show that an individual's beliefs and attitudes about business in general and the organization in particular, are important considerations in decisions about the individual's potential for advancement. Specifically, Turner's theory suggests that the elites screen the selected individuals on their attitudes about business in general. If the candidates share the basic ideology, it is easier to train them in the ways and expectation of the organization. It can be expected that to the degree that the individual has those beliefs and attitudes conducive to mobility, the individual will have a high rate of mobility under a sponsored system of mobility. If the grooming process accomplishes its desired ends, the more successful individuals in terms of upward mobility, will have a high degree of loyalty and identification to the organization. Conversely, to the degree that the individual is unsuccessful in gaining recognition or rewards from the organization, the individual will be alienated from the organization. The

identification-alienation hypothesis states: identification with the organization and an agreement with its policies and goals are functional to upward mobility within the organization. To the degree that the individual is unsuccessful, the individual will be alienated from the organization.

The Figure 5.1, the hypothesized relationship between these factors is shown. The model hypothesizes that an individual's business, work ethic, achievement-aspiration, and black and white racial orientations will have a causal relationship to the occupational status and promotion rate of the individual. The two factors, alienation and identification, are the results of the success or lack of success of the individual within the organization. There is another relationship represented by the variable perceived discrimination. The perceived discrimination hypothesis states: to the degree that the individual does not experience success, the individual will perceive discrimination as the major reason.

FIGURE 5.1

THE BELIEF AND ATTITUDE REGRESSION MODEL



## CONSTRUCTION OF THE RACIAL INDICES

To test the two racial orientation hypotheses and the related questions, a series of statements was constructed to ascertain the degree and dimension of the black sample's racial beliefs and attitudes. The statements fall into two categories. There are those statements which are a direct and concrete measure of the particular racial orientation. Hence, the responses to the statement, "I do not particularly like white people", is a direct and precise indication of an anti-or pro-white orientation. The second category of statements is constructed to show a subtle anti-white orientation. Although many blacks may not have an expressed dislike of whites, many blacks have varying degrees of dislike for whites in different situations. The statement, "I feel uncomfortable around whites" will give a different measure of anti-white orientation.

The measurement of anti and pro-black orientations is considerably more difficult. In a pre-test of several black orientation statements it was found that blacks overwhelmingly reject any statements which could be considered derogatory or disparaging to blacks simply because of being black. Therefore, blacks rejected the statement, "One of the major reasons why black neighborhoods become rundown and dirty is because blacks do not take care of their own housing." However, when this same statement was posed in terms of social class, by substituting the term "low income blacks" for "blacks", their responses changed significantly. In the following section it is evident that whereas blacks will reject statements posed

in terms of race only, their responses will change when the factor of social class is included.

### THE IMPORTANCE OF RACIAL ORIENTATIONS

Many studies have shown that the efficiency of groups or organizations is significantly related to how the members of the group relate to each other and to the organization, the ease of communication among the members, the trust which exists among the members, the loyalty among members, and a sharing of a common ideology. It follows that the inclusion of blacks into white groups or organizations which were traditionally white has several implications relative to the type of blacks which can be integrated into the organization with the least amount of conflict. This is especially important when some organizations have explicit guidelines and policies concerning the characteristics to be sought in selecting their employees. For example, several corporations have as criteria for selection of potential managers such requirements as, "loyalty; supports company policies and management decisions" "identifies with its (the organization)goals and purposes, "demonstrates team spirit" (Lazer and Wikstrom, 1977).

These types of criteria pose a dilemma for blacks, and in particular for those blacks selected for potential management. Within an organization where a "primary prerequisite" for certain managerial and non-managerial positions is the requirement that the "incumbent be dedicated to the (organization's) policies and practices and supportive of the (organization's) management and management system", how does an

organization ensure loyalty when its policies and practices may be in conflict with the black individual's best interest? Turner (1960) recognized this when he postulated that: "The most conspicuous control problem is that of insuring loyalty in the disadvantaged classes towards a system under which they receive less than a proportional share of society's goods" (p. 451). This suggests that a black individual who expresses critical views of the organization or anti-white views or strong pro-black views about the lack of equal opportunity will have difficulty in such an organization. Thus, blacks selected within the organization are expected to develop a dual loyalty, one to their group and one to the elite white group. The black individual in this case is in a dilemma as to whether to be loyal to the organization or to the quest for equality.

There are many studies which show that whites' perceptions of blacks do in fact play crucial roles in their selection of blacks. Purcell and Cavanagh (1970) showed that white managers generally viewed blacks as less promotable than whites and others (Korman, 1971; Bass and Turner, 1973; Rock and Evan, 1959; and Farr et. al. (1971) concluded that white managers will utilize subjective criteria to rate white employees favorably, whereas, they will utilize objective factors, such as attendance, punctuality, etc., in their decisions to rate black employees. These studies indicate that when whites are seeking or selecting candidates for promotion to certain types of positions, such as management, the racial orientation of the black candidates is most probably considered. Paige (1970) stated, "Anti-white attitudes would be inconvenient since the admission of talented blacks to predominantly white institutions

depends on the sympathy of white liberals" (p.79). The thesis is that a more conservative orientation about blacks will be conducive to upward mobility for blacks. If this is true, there are several serious implications for aspiring blacks. The recent civil rights movement produced a new awareness of black rights and racial pride. If, as a result of this movement, an aspiring black individual expresses views which are considered militant by the decision makers, it is probable that the black individual will have difficulty moving up within the organization. The pragmatic approach for the aspiring black is to be conservative in his or her black orientation, and to have a positive orientation towards whites.

#### BLACK ORIENTATION HYPOTHESIS

An evaluation of the black orientation statements is important to an evaluation of the black orientation hypothesis. With reference to the degree of anti and pro-black beliefs and attitudes about blacks, the sample responses fall into two categories. There is a distinct minority that appears to have a strong rejection of blacks. This is evidenced by the responses to the statements in Table 5.1 which were constructed to measure the degree and intensity of their orientations. Seventeen percent respond that they would move if their neighborhood became mostly black. Twenty-six percent agree that "all people have a right to send their children to white schools because they are safer than black schools." Twenty-two percent agree that, "with all the crime and drugs, I sometimes can understand why white people feel the way they do about blacks." The

TABLE 5.1

ACCEPTANCE AND REJECTION OF BLACK ORIENTATION STATEMENTS

	<u>Percent Agree</u>	<u>Percent Disagree</u>
If my neighborhood becomes mostly black, I will probably move.	17	83
One of the major reasons why black neighborhoods become rundown and dirty is because low-income blacks do not take care of their own housing.	51	49
The government is wrong in requiring busing in order to achieve racial integration.	37	63
All people have a right to send their children to white schools because they are safer than black schools.	26	74
With all the crime and drugs, I sometime can understand why white people feel the way they do about blacks.	22	78
Blacks can do a lot more to help themselves.	88	12
People have a right to protect their property value by keeping down the numbers of low-income blacks in their neighborhood.	37	63
One reason why blacks are less successful in business and school is because of low class background, attitudes and behavioral patterns.	46	54

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NOTE: N = 137.

responses, which are indicative of an acceptance of some of the rationalizations presented by white Americans in their justification for maintaining segregation, suggest that approximately seventeen to twenty-five percent of the sample share these beliefs.<sup>1</sup> When the statements are expressed in class terms, there is a dramatic increase in the numbers of the sample subscribing to the position that (a) there are such things as class attitudinal and behavioral patterns and that (b) these patterns are related to subsequent successes in life.<sup>2</sup> Forty-six percent agree that blacks are less successful in school and in business because of low-class background attitudinal and behavioral patterns. Fifty-one percent agree that one of the major reasons why black neighborhoods become rundown and dirty is because low-income blacks do not take care of their own housing. In ascertaining the part blacks played in their relative poverty, 88% agree that blacks can do a lot more to help themselves. A follow-up on these

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<sup>1</sup>All of these statements were cross tabulated against one another. It is accurate to state that the 17.1% who agreed with the statement, "If my neighborhood becomes mostly black, I will probably move", also agreed with the other statements which indicated a negative black orientation.

<sup>2</sup>This view does not advocate the position that there do not exist distinctly identifiable patterns of attitudes and behaviors along class lines. However, the implication of accepting a rigid position is to give these patterns an inherent quality as opposed to learned. If they are inheritable, then blacks are unlikely to be able to overcome these obstacles. If they are learned, which is my position, they can be unlearned. Secondly, this position does not take into account that many of the behavioral and attitudinal patterns are dysfunctional because white norms have decreed them to be so. An example of this dual standard, is that white and black southerners have a tendency to speak poorly by northern standards. However, whereas we will accept poor speaking habits from whites, blacks must be clearly articulate to escape criticism.

questions yielded several responses. The two most common responses were (a) "we should get more education and be prepared to take advantage of these new opportunities and (b) "we should try to get together to form group actions toward common goals."

TABLE 5.2

RESPONSES TO: "WITH ALL THE CRIME AND DRUGS, I SOMETIMES CAN UNDERSTAND WHY WHITE PEOPLE FEEL THE WAY THEY DO ABOUT BLACK PEOPLE."

	Promotion Rate			Occupational Status		
	Managers	High Mobility	Low Mobility	Managers	Prof.	Non-Prof.
Agree	5 (22.7)	7 (25)	6 (27.3)	5 (22.7)	15 (26.9)	6 (13.9)
Disagree	17 (77.3)	21 (75)	17 (72.7)	17 (77.3)	43 (73.1)	37 (86.1)
N	22/100	28/100	22/100	22/100	58/100	42/100
Chi-Square df/p	11.84/8/.15			13.24/10/21		
r/p	-.1996/.04			.0052/.47		

With this general overview, the relevant inquiry is to evaluate the black orientation hypothesis that the more conservative black will have greater upward mobility than the militant black individual. Analysis of selected black orientation statements which show significant differences, i.e., the correlation coefficients and Chi-Squares are significant, suggests that the black orientation hypothesis is incorrect.

In Table 5.2, the responses to the statement, "With all the crime and drugs, I sometimes can understand why white people feel the way they do about black people," are presented. Although the majority of all the groups reject

the statement, the following pattern exists: managers show the strongest rejection of this statement; the low mobility professional have the lowest intensity of rejection of the statement; the intensity of rejection of the high mobility professionals falls between the other two groups. With reference to Table 5.3, the identical pattern is observed. Thus, it is the managers who show the strongest rejection

TABLE 5.3

RESPONSES TO: "ALL PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO SEND THEIR CHILDREN TO WHITE SCHOOLS BECAUSE THEY ARE SAFER THAN BLACK SCHOOLS."

	Promotion Rate			Occupational Status		
	Managers	High Mobility	Low Mobility	Managers	Prof.	Non-Prof.
Agree	4 (18.1)	9 (33.3)	5 (25)	4 (18.1)	18 (29.5)	11 (25.2)
Disagree	18 (81.9)	18 (66.7)	17 (75)	18 (81.9)	43 (70.5)	31 (73.8)
N	22/100	27/100	20/100	22/100	61/100	42/100
Chi-Square df /p	18.90/10/.04			10.91/10/.36		
r/p	-.1888/.06			-.0710/.21		

of the statement, "All people have a right to send their children to white schools because they are safer than black schools."

TABLE 5.4

RESPONSES TO: "ONE OF THE MAJOR REASONS WHY BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS BECOME RUNDOWN AND DIRTY IS BECAUSE LOW-INCOME BLACKS DO NOT TAKE CARE OF THEIR OWN HOUSING."

	Promotion Rate			Occupational Status		
	Managers	High Mobility	Low Mobility	Managers	Prof.	Non-Prof.
Agree	9 (42.9)	7 (25.9)	13 (59.1)	9 (42.9)	25 (39.7)	30 (71.4)
Disagree	12 (57.1)	20 (74.1)	9 (40.9)	12 (57.1)	30 (60.3)	12 (28.6)
N	21/100	27/100	32/100	21/100	63/100	42/100
Chi-Square df /p	12.77/10/.23			16.77/10/.07		
r/p	-.1696/.08			-.2113/.008		

The responses to the statement, "One of the major reasons why black neighborhoods become rundown and dirty is because low-income blacks do not take care of their own housing," is a more vivid illustration of this pattern. A minority of managers (42.9%), and a smaller minority of the high mobility professionals (25.9%) reject this statement, whereas a majority of the low mobility professionals (59.1%) agree with it.

At this point in the analysis, the conclusion is that the more successful blacks have a more positive orientation towards blacks than the less successful blacks. However, this conclusion will be modified in the section titled Racial Orientation and Mobility.

#### WHITE ORIENTATION HYPOTHESIS

The high degree of anti-black attitudes among whites has been shown to be positively related to the adverse treatment of blacks. This suggests that a black individual with an anti-white orientation, whether expressed by the black individual or perceived by the white individual, will experience difficulty in gaining mobility within a white structure. The implication is that white people will tend to withdraw from those who make them feel uncomfortable. This suggests that blacks who have been identified for potential management positions have a pro-white orientation or expressed a pro-white orientation or have mastered the techniques necessary to make whites feel comfortable regardless of their personal attitudes about whites. It is this type of thought upon which the white orientation hypotheses is based.

To test this hypothesis, a series of statements was constructed to measure the existence and the intensity of these orientations.

TABLE 5.5

ACCEPTANCE AND REJECTION OF WHITE ORIENTATION STATEMENTS

	<u>Percent Agree</u>	<u>Percent Disagree</u>
I do not particularly like white people.	30	70
I often feel uncomfortable in the company of white people.	28	72
Most whites are too impersonal and unfeeling.	43	51
I do not think you can trust most white people.	64	36
I think most white people are prejudice against black people.	69	31
Most whites cannot understand what blacks have to put up with.	93	7
I find it difficult to communicate with white managers.	30	70
I think my manager feels uncomfortable when speaking to me.	66	34

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N = 137

With reference to Table 5.5, the degree of white orientation of the respondents vary according to the type of social interaction involved. Thus, 30% of the sample agree with the primary indicator of white orientation, "I do not particularly like white people." Approximately the same proportion expressed some degree of negative orientation when the involvement is through interacting or communicating with whites.

Twenty-eight percent agree that they "often feel uncomfortable in the company of whites," and 30% agree that they "find it difficult to communicate with white managers. Sixty-six percent respond that they "think the manager feels uncomfortable when speaking to me." At the level involving trust and empathic responses, a greater proportion of the sample expressed anti-white feelings. Forty-

TABLE 5.6  
RESPONSES TO: "I DO NOT PARTICULARLY LIKE WHITE PEOPLE".

	Promotion Rate			Occupational Status		
	Managers	High Mobility	Low Mobility	Managers	Prof.	Non-Prof.
Agree	5 (20.9)	12 (42.9)	5 (23.8)	5 (20.9)	21 (36.4)	11 (26.9)
Disagree	19 (79.1)	16 (57.1)	16 (76.2)	19 (79.1)	46 (63.1)	30 (73.1)
N	22/100	28/100	21/100	22/100	57/100	41/100
Chi-Square df/p	10.84/10/.36			8.41/10/.58		
r/p	.0840/.23			-.0514/.28		

three percent respond that "whites are too impersonal and unfeeling," sixty-four percent respond that "whites cannot be trusted," 69% that "most white people are prejudice," and 93% respond that "whites cannot understand what black people have to put up with."

To evaluate the white orientation hypothesis, an analysis is made of the statement, "I do not particularly like white people." The responses

in Table 5.6 show that there are no significant relationships between mobility and employee occupational status or promotion rate. Blacks who express a dislike of whites are equally likely to be within any of the groups within the sample. However, an analysis of the responses to the statements involving social interacting or communicating show that these aspects of interaction between whites and blacks are important. There is a pattern which indicates that the more successful

TABLE 5.7  
RESPONSES TO: "I THINK MY MANAGER FEELS UNCOMFORTABLE  
WHEN SPEAKING TO ME."

	Promotion Rate			Occupational Status		
	Managers	High Mobility	Low Mobility	Managers	Prof.	Non- Prof.
Agree	9 (42.9)	16 (55.1)	15 (68.2)	9 (42.9)	35 (59.4)	21 (51.3)
Disagree	11 (57.1)	13 (44.9)	7 (31.8)	11 (42.9)	24 (40.6)	20 (48.7)
N	20/100	29/100	22/100	20/100	59/100	41/100
Chi-Square df/p	15.32/10/.12			18.27/10/.05		
r/p	-.1607/.08			-.0886/.16		

group, managers, reject those statements which indicate a distrust in communicating with a white manager. The responses to the statement in Table 5.7, "I think my manager feels uncomfortable when speaking to me," show that a majority of managers disagree, and a majority in each of the other groups agrees. The responses in Table 5.8 to the statement, "I find it difficult to communicate with white managers," reinforce the conclusion that managers

have less difficulty in their relationships with white managers. Specifically, black managers do not report difficulty in communicating with white managers, as shown by the fact that 91.4% reject the statement. This low proportion of managers who reject this statement differs significantly from all other groups in the sample.

TABLE 5.8

RESPONSES TO: "I FIND IT DIFFICULT TO COMMUNICATE WITH WHITE MANAGERS."

	Promotion Rate			Occupational Status		
	Managers	High Mobility	Low Mobility	Managers	Prof.	Non-Prof.
Agree	2 (8.6)	11 (39.3)	6 (27.2)	2 (8.6)	20 (34.4)	15 (37.5)
Disagree	21 (91.4)	17 (60.7)	16 (72.8)	21 (91.4)	38 (65.6)	30 (62.5)
N	23/100	28/100	22/100	22/100	58/100	45/100
df/p	15.47/10/.11			18.64/10/.04		
r/p	-.2209/.03			.2582/.002		

As with the black orientation hypothesis, the white orientation hypothesis proves to be incorrect. The finding here does not support the statement that an anti-white orientation is dysfunctional to black mobility. This conclusion will be re-evaluated in the next section.

#### RACIAL ORIENTATIONS AND MOBILITY

In the previous two sections, the following findings and conclusions were reached: (1) Black managers have a more positive black orientation than the other respondents; (2) An anti-white orientation was not significantly related

to the respondent's success or lack of success within the organization;

(3) Some degree of distrust may be related to the respondent's mobility. From these findings, can we conclude that Paige's (1970) insightful thesis which indicates that "anti-white feelings would be dysfunctional to black success within the predominantly white institutions" is correct? Can we also conclude, that a black individual's positive orientation towards blacks is not detrimental to the individual's opportunity within the organization? I think not. What these findings suggest is that the relationship between the various factors is considerably more complex than postulated.

With reference to the black orientation hypothesis, it must be concluded that it was not stated accurately. The fact that the group with the highest level of education should have the more positive black orientation only confirms what is known about educational attainment and racial identification among blacks. The more educated members are more likely to have a greater awareness of racism and self-hate. They are, therefore, more likely to reject negative statements indicative of self-hate (Paige, 1970). Thus, as postulated, the black orientation is not correctly formulated or stated. There is a considerable difference between one having a positive black orientation or being a vocal advocate of strong affirmative action programs. There is evidence to be presented next which indicates that to be an advocate of greater opportunities for blacks is detrimental to the individual's mobility in the organization.

In assuming that white management will react negatively to the black employee who expresses a strong commitment to affirmative action, or

at least consider that individual as threatening there is a possibility that this individual's commitment will be perceived as an anti-white orientation. Also, assuming that the organization does engage in discriminatory practices, then there is a potential exposure of these practices if access to certain positions is not controlled. It is reasonable to conclude therefore that black individuals or white individuals selected for positions in management, personnel or equal opportunity administration will be subjected to a screening process in order to keep out blacks or whites who may be disloyal to the organization.<sup>2</sup> Interviews with several managers and administrators who have positions in equal opportunity administration and documents support the premise that the black individual's commitment and loyalty to the organization or to the racial group is a major consideration in the decision about that black candidate.

A personal example will illustrate this point. I have been rejected for positions in management development, management, personnel and equal opportunity administration. According to several officials in the company, I am ineligible for these positions because I have "basic systemic differences" with the organization's policies and practices. These "systemic differences" involve the position which I voiced through the organization's grievance procedures that the appraisal system, although neutral in its intention, discriminates against minority groups. As the sample responses in Chapter Two show, the majority of the sample share this perception. The fact is that my voicing this complaint led to the organization's position which removed me from future consideration in certain positions because I am a "security risk."

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<sup>2</sup>I have documents - such as management briefings and memoranda between several employees and management - which contain the various quotations cited in this section.

The careers of two other respondents were similarly affected. One individual was rejected for a position in equal opportunity administration because of his position as the president of the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter would have placed him in a position of divided loyalty and "a potential conflict of interest." The second respondent was rejected for a similar position because her strong commitment to affirmative action was interpreted as not "supportative of management and management practices."

The remarks of two black respondents who were managers in the equal opportunity administration serve to further illustrate the points which these three cases expose. One manager stated that "any black who takes a job in equal opportunity and believes that he or she can accomplish something for blacks is only fooling himself." The second manager stated that he was "only trying to last out his assignment because he was not allowed to do anything constructive. Even when I see glaring cases of discrimination, and attempt to take action, I am overruled by higher management."

The evidence suggests that loyalty and commitment of the black employee to the organization are important factors. However, this loyalty and commitment are through coercion and not through identification. The organization insures loyalty by paying high salaries to blacks in management, to the effect that these blacks cannot command similar salaries outside of the organization.<sup>3</sup> In the equal opportunity administration area, managers are not

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<sup>3</sup>This same statement holds true for many white managers. However, white employees have a significant greater bargaining power in the marketplace than their black counterparts.

required to have college degrees. The typical black manager in this area will have larger salaries than would be expected to be paid employees without a college degree. This employee will find that he or she could not get an equivalent salary outside of the organization. This high salary and the policy which makes these managers subject to dismissal for the release of unauthorized or company confidential information, insures that most managers will be loyal.

The white orientation hypothesis can also be shown to be inaccurate. It is based on the assumption that blacks who dislike whites manifest anti-white behavior. It is also based on the assumption that whites are perceptive of this behavior. In the concluding paragraph of this section, I will outline why these assumptions are erroneous.

Although the white orientation as originally formulated is rejected, there are findings which indicate that "distrust within communication process," is related to the respondents' mobility. However, a knowledge of the communication process within the organization would suggest a non-racial basis for this distrust.

The organization has a vast amount of information which it withholds from its employees. Employees receive no career guidance information, are not allowed to review career guides, job opportunity listings or the policy manual. Employees are only given job titles. They are not given any information regarding salary levels, ranges or job descriptions. They are advised that their personal salaries are company

confidential information, which means that the employee should not discuss his salary with anyone except those with a need to know. Violation of rules of confidentiality can lead to dismissal from the company. In effect, the high degree of distrust of the non-managerial employee is reflective in a communication process in which managers are compelled to withhold information. Black managers, however, will have the same information given to white managers. Therefore, they should have considerably less difficulty in communication and less distrust since the major reason for the distrust has been removed.

A more accurate statement of the racial orientation phenomenon is found in an understanding of the dynamics of race relations in this society. Blacks, in a society where open expressions of anti-white feelings or pro-black orientations carry severe sanctions, have been taught that their true feelings about race must not surface if these orientations are not acceptable to whites. When placed in a social situation with whites, blacks will assume postures of friendliness to minimize any potential adverse reactions from whites in positions of authority.<sup>4</sup> Thus, a more accurate statement of this phenomenon is that blacks, regardless of their orientations, will adapt to the organization if the ends justify their personal goals. Paige is probably correct in this belief, but has failed to consider the additional dimension of the "role playing ability" of blacks in situations involving potential danger. Thus, it is to the degree that the individual is willing to play the

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<sup>4</sup>In the section, Business Ideology, Identification and Mobility, it will be shown that managers are very pragmatic. They will conform to the company's policies if there is a conflict between their personal ideology and the company's policy.

game that the individual can minimize the negative impact of anti-white views or pro-black views.

#### BUSINESS IDEOLOGY, IDENTIFICATION AND MOBILITY

Probably the most documented theoretical idea about mobility within bureaucratic organization is that an individual's identification with the organization, and an agreement with its policies and goals, are important to the individual's success within the organization. For the purpose of this study, this hypothesis consists of two parts. The first part is that the more successful individual will have a basic ideological agreement with the organization. Here, the reference is to a rather broad ideological category which is referred to as a belief in the capitalist philosophy of business enterprise. Most recently, a controversy has emerged in the form of defining the role of business institution within the overall society. Generally, businessmen express a strong view that the function of business is to maximize profits for the stockholders. Over the last three decades many have challenged this view by claiming that the responsibilities of corporations and businesses extend beyond the narrow bounds of the profit motive. This opposing view argues that corporations and businesses by virtue of their status and power have a social responsibility to help combat other social problems. The basic identification hypothesis suggests that individuals hired into the organization with potential for management are screened on that philosophy. The most efficient way of ensuring that these selected individuals share the corporation's philosophy is to hire from major business schools which have reputations for producing this type of

individual. The first objective of this section is to study this part of the hypothesis, i.e., the degree to which a positive business orientation prevails within the sample and the relationship it has to their mobility. The second part of this hypothesis consists of testing the success of the grooming process in "indoctrinating" the individual and gaining "loyalty" from those selected for management. The second objective is to determine the degree of identification with and loyalty to the organization in the sample population and the relationship of these factors to the differential mobility rates.

The basic premise of the business ideology which is considered to be functional to mobility is that the primary purpose of the company is to make a profit. The social responsibility advocates maintain that corporations and businesses have a greater responsibility than concentrating on maximizing profits. Thus, when the riots of the last two decades erupted, the social responsibility advocates criticized the business world for neglecting to hire blacks into the mainstreams of employment. The businessmen responded that it was not the responsibility of the corporations or businesses to make any special or preferential efforts to help members of minority groups. Their position was that the hiring of "unqualified" members of minority groups would negatively affect the profits. It thus follows from this perspective that it is the function of other institutions in this society to "qualify" these groups and then the business world would hire them.

This ideological orientation is the product of an historical perception of the relationship between corporations and society. Seider (1974), in

an analysis of the speeches of executives of the major large companies, classified this dichotomy of ideology into the classical creed and the social responsibility creed (Pavalko, 1971; Brenner, et.al., 1977). His findings indicated that a majority of the executives accepted the classical creed and rejected the social responsibility creed. Within this organization the classical creed prevailed until this decade as official policy. In the latter half of the sixties, the company instituted new policies which stated that the corporation had an official social responsibility policy. The interest here is to ascertain the black sample's orientation to this dichotomous perspective.

Several statements were constructed with the purpose of ascertaining the sample's business orientations. In Table 5.9 it is shown that the majority of the sample agrees with the major indicator of the classical creed. Sixty-two percent agree that the "company's first responsibility is to its stockholders." An even greater majority, 80% agree that "an employee's agreement with the company's goals and policies is an important consideration for the promotion of that employee." Follow-up statements, however, show that the majority of the sample perceived the organization as having a social responsibility. Therefore, when the issue is posed in terms of the "rights of people" against "profitability," the majority reject the classical ideology. Thus, seventeen percent reject the statement, "If the company's efforts to advance the civil rights of minority groups affects the profits of the company, then the efforts should be decreased," and 74% reject the statement "management should not be asked to remake society; its responsibility does not extend into crusading for other peoples rights."

TABLE 5.9

SAMPLE'S CLASSICAL AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY PERCEPTIONS

	<u>Percent Agree</u>	<u>Percent Disagree</u>
The company's first responsibility is to its stockholders.	62	38
The company has little responsibility in advancing the civil rights of others.	20	80
If the company's efforts to advance the civil rights of minority groups affect the profits of the company, then efforts should be decreased.	17	83
Management should not be asked to remake society; its responsibility does not extend into crusading for other peoples rights.	26	74
The fact that an employee may agree with the company's goals and policies is an important consideration in the promotion of the employee.	80	20

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N = 137

One conclusion reached from an analysis of the responses is that there is an acceptance of the basic classical ideology. However, it is an acceptance of what the group perceives the situation in fact to be, i.e., corporations will act in the interest of the stockholders and do expect loyalty from employees, as opposed to what the majority perceive as their own personal ideology. Their overwhelming rejection of the position which places the profit motive as more important than the civil rights of people is reflective of their personal ideology. This particular social responsibility orientation is to be expected in view of the recent activities of civil rights and environmental groups within the last two decades challenging the validity of the classical creed. Since members of the sample are also members of a subordinate minority, it is to be expected that theirs would be a rejection of the classical creed.

The relevant question now is whether the hypothesis, "Identification to the organization, and an agreement with its policies and goals, are functional to mobility" is true as suggested by the sponsored theories of mobility. Analysis of these statements supports the hypothesis. In Table 5.10, the responses to the statement, "The fact that an employee

TABLE 5.10

RESPONSES TO: "THE FACT THAT AN EMPLOYEE MAY AGREE WITH THE COMPANY'S GOALS AND POLICIES IS AN IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION FOR THE PROMOTION OF THAT EMPLOYEE."

	Promotion Rate			Occupational Status		
	<u>Managers</u>	<u>High Mobility</u>	<u>Low Mobility</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Non-Prof.</u>
Agree	20 (83.4)	23 (85.2)	16 (76.2)	20 (83.4)	51 (70.9)	33 (76.6)
Disagree	4 (16.6)	4 (14.8)	5 (23.8)	4 (16.6)	12 (29.1)	10 (23.4)
N	24/100	27/100	21/100	24/100	63/100	43/100
Chi-Square						
df/p	12.89/10/.22			8.16/10/.61		
r/p	.1407/.11			.0691/21		

may agree with the company's policies and goals is an important consideration for the promotion of that employee," show that the majority of all groups agree with the statement. Additional support is given to this hypothesis by an analysis of the responses to the statement, "The company's first responsibility is to its stockholders." (Table 5.11). Examination of the Occupational Status variable shows that a large majority of managers, 83.4%, and non-managerial professionals by a slightly smaller majority, 77.2% agree with the statement, whereas the non-professional employees (58.2%) reject the statement.

TABLE 5.11

RESPONSES TO: "THE COMPANY'S FIRST RESPONSIBILITY IS TO ITS STOCKHOLDERS."

	Promotion Rate			Occupational Status		
	<u>Managers</u>	<u>High Mobility</u>	<u>Low Mobility</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Non-Prof.</u>
Agree	20 (83.4)	16 (59.2)	16 (72.7)	20 (83.4)	43 (77.2)	19 (41.8)
Disagree	4 (16.6)	11 (40.8)	6 (27.3)	4 (16.6)	21 (22.8)	25 (58.2)
N	24/100	27/100	22/100	24/100	64/100	43/100
Chi-Square df/p	7.08/10/.71			18.69/10/.04		
r/p	.1152/.16			.3303/.0002		

The best indication that the classical creed is important to one's mobility is the fact that all of the groups identified by the Promotion Rate variable respond affirmatively to the classical creed statements regardless of their differential rates of mobility. This suggests that the black professionals within this sample have strong pro-business orientations. However, among these groups the managers have the strongest classical orientations. This is illustrated by the groups' responses to the statement, "If the company's efforts to advance the civil rights of minority groups affect the profits of the company, then these efforts should be decreased," shown in Table 5.12. Whereas the majority of all the groups reject the statement, a greater number of managers, 34.7%, agree with the statement. The fact that only four percent of the high mobility pre-managerial professionals and 14.3% of the low mobility pre-managerial professionals agree suggests the possibility that the indoctrination process is responsible for the high

numbers of managers who take the position of the classical creed school. This would also suggest that there are those among the high mobility pre-managerial group who will probably change their position when promoted to management.

TABLE 5.12

RESPONSES TO: "IF THE COMPANY'S EFFORTS TO ADVANCE THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF MINORITY GROUPS AFFECT THE PROFITS OF THE COMPANY, THEN THESE EFFORTS SHOULD BE DECREASED."

	Promotion Rate			Occupational Status		
	Managers	High Mobility	Low Mobility	Managers	Prof.	Non-Prof.
Agree	8 (34.7)	1 (4)	3 (14.3)	8 (34.7)	7 (12)	5 (11.9)
Disagree	15 (65.3)	24 (96)	18 (85.7)	15 (65.3)	51 (88)	37 (88.1)
N	23/100	25/100	21/100	23/100	58/100	42/100
Chi-Square						
df /p	9.60/8/.29			13.55/10/.19		
r/p	.2186/.03			.1569/.03		

IDENTIFICATION AND ALIENATION WITHIN THE ORGANIZATION

The second part of the identification-alienation hypothesis consists in showing that the more successful groups will identify with the organization and the group. This identification process should be a dynamic one, as suggested by the sponsored theory of mobility. Having shown that there is a strong positive business orientation among the professionals, the elite's grooming process should inculcate a sense of identification and loyalty within those chosen for elite status. This suggests that generally

a low degree of identification will exist, both to the organization and to the group. However, this degree of identification should increase as the individual perceives favorable treatment within the organization. If the individual fares well or receives rewards such as promotions and high salary increases, the individual should develop a stronger sense of identification with the organization.

Related to this process of identification is the factor of alienation. Just as identification is positively correlated to the factors of success, trust, confidence, etc., alienation is negatively correlated to these factors (Burbach, 1974; Brink and Harris, 1966). Alienation is also related to a feeling of powerlessness (Weinberg, 1970). It is expected, as previously noted, that because of the historical conditions of race relations, a low degree of identification and a high degree of alienation should exist among blacks within a predominantly white organization.

A more accurate formulation of the alienation-identification hypothesis must include the dynamic dimensions of this process. Hence, a more accurate hypothesis of this process is that the individual will have a tendency to identify with the organization based upon ideological patterns fostered through our colleges and universities, that is, the individual will have a positive business orientation. This initial identification will become stronger if the individual's experiences are positive, or the individual will become alienated if his experiences are negative.

The responses to the statements constructed to measure the identification and alienation dimensions within the sample suggest that the group perceives two levels of identification and alienation; alienation

to and identification with the organization, and alienation and identification to the groups within the organization. That is, there is a structural identification or alienation and a personal identification or alienation. At the structural or organizational level, the majority of the population express favorable views. Fifty-six percent "felt a part of the company" and eighty-four percent "have a great deal of interest in the company and its future." When the statements are directed towards the interpersonal factors such as trust, confidence, fairness and honesty, the majority respond negatively (see Table 5.13). It is found that 72% agree that a "lot of backstabbing" exists, and 37% "have little trust or confidence in the honesty and fairness of management." The responses to the major indicator of alienation, "I have little opportunity

TABLE 5.13

BLACK ALIENATION TO AND IDENTIFICATION WITH THE ORGANIZATION

	<u>Percent Agree</u>	<u>Percent Disagree</u>
I have little opportunity to use my abilities in this company.	39	61
I really feel that I am a part of this company.	56	44
There is a lot of backstabbing around here to get ahead.	72	28
I have confidence in the fairness and honesty of management.	37	63
I have a great deal of interest in this company and its future.	84	16

N = 137

to use my ability in this company," shows that a majority of the sample is alienated with respect to their opportunity.

A preliminary analysis and comment about these responses suggest that a high degree of identification with the organization will exist regardless of the success or lack of success one enjoys within the organization. The implied conclusion is that the individual's interests in the organization are principally a function of security of employment rather than how much success one enjoys. However, the high degree of alienation to the groups, more specifically to the white groups, suggests that many blacks will experience difficulty if trust, confidence, esprit de corps, are as important as the literature suggests. This will be true unless the invocation of specific equal opportunity policy directives minimizes the importance of identification to the group.

Further insights are gained when an analysis of the hypotheses is forwarded with respect to the dependent variables. In support the identification-alienation hypothesis, those groups who have been identified as the more successful are expected to show higher degrees of identification to the organization than those groups who have not been successful. With reference to Tables 5.14 and 5.15 the responses to the statements constructed to measure the degrees of identification and alienation to the organization are shown. The most important finding is that managers overwhelmingly agree with the statements, "I really feel that I am a part of the company" and "I have a great deal of interest in this company and its future." Significantly, the majority of all groups, with the exception of females and high mobility pre-managerial professionals, feel that they

TABLE 5.14

RESPONSES TO: "I REALLY FEEL THAT I AM A PART OF THE COMPANY."

	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Promotion Rate</u>		<u>Occupational Status</u>			
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>High Mobility</u>	<u>Low Mobility</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Non-Prof.</u>
Agree	45 (69.2)	27 (42.9)	19 (86.7)	12 (41.3)	11 (50)	19 (82.7)	28 (46.7)	25 (55.6)
Disagree	20 (30.8)	36 (67.1)	4 (17.3)	17 (58.7)	11 (50)	4 (17.3)	32 (53.3)	20 (44.4)
N	65/100	63/100	19/100	29/100	22/100	19/100	60/100	45/100
Chi-Square df/p	14.72/5/.01		17.42/10/.06		17.16/10/.07			
r/p	.3142/.0002		.2131/.03		.1951/.01			

TABLE 5.15

RESPONSES TO: "I HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF INTEREST IN THIS COMPANY AND ITS FUTURE."

	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Promotion Rate</u>		<u>Occupational Status</u>			
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>High Mobility</u>	<u>Low Mobility</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Non-Prof.</u>
Agree	59 (89.4)	44 (77.2)	23 (100)	21 (77.8)	18 (81.8)	23 (100)	46 (79.3)	34 (81)
Disagree	7 (10.6)	13 (22.8)	0	6 (22.2)	4 (18.2)	0	12 (20.7)	8 (19.0)
N	66/100	51/100	23/100	27/100	22/100	23/100	58/100	42/100
Chi-Square df/p	6.07/5/.30		14.18/10/.16		13.57/10/.19			
r/p	.1677/.03		.2538/.01		.1584/.04			

are a part of the company. Since females are the least successful and the most alienated, these responses support the hypothesis. The fact that a majority of high mobility pre-managerial professionals do not feel a part of the company would suggest that the hypo-

thesis is invalid. However, this deviation can be attributed to the fact that of this group many are professional black women who are the most highly alienated.<sup>5</sup> Even though many of these females are now enjoying greater opportunities, this has not removed a feeling of alienation which females in the professional world sense.

The hypothesis also suggests that non-professionals show greater degrees of alienation from the organization than found here. With reference to both statements, non-professionals show the same proportion identifying to the organization as professional employees. Although, it is suggested that non-professionals are not alienated from the organization, responses in subsequent sections will show that non-professionals, along with females, are highly alienated. These responses will be re-evaluated in the next section.

#### CAUSES OF ALIENATION: POWERLESSNESS AND PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION

Having identified that some groups are highly alienated, the relevant inquiry is to determine the reasons for this alienation. Analysis of several statements shows that the major reasons for this alienation fall into the following categories: (a) a lack of opportunity in the company, (b) a lack of fairness by managers in evaluating their performance which results in a lack of recognition and (c) race and sex discrimination.

Relative to the perception of opportunity in the company, in Table 5.16, the responses to the statement, "I have little opportunity to use my ability in the company," are presented. The majority of females and non-professionals

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<sup>5</sup>Of the thirty professional females, eighteen rejected the statement, "I really feel that I am a part of the company".

agree with this statement. All other groups reject this statement. Significant correlations are shown for all the variables in the predicted direction which would be expected from the Identification/Alienation hypothesis.

TABLE 5.16

RESPONSES TO: "I HAVE LITTLE OPPORTUNITY TO USE MY ABILITY IN THE COMPANY."

	Sex		Promotion Rate		Occupational Status			
	Males	Females	Managers	High Mobility	Low Mobility	Managers	Prof.	Non-Prof.
Agree	20 (30.3)	20 (50)	6 (26.1)	8 (29.6)	10 (43.9)	6 (25.1)	21 (35.7)	22 (52.4)
Disagree	46 (69.7)	29 (50)	17 (73.9)	19 (70.3)	13 (56.6)	17 (73.9)	38 (64.3)	20 (47.6)
N	66/100	58/100	23/100	27/100	23/100	23/100	59/100	42/100
Chi-Square								
df/p	14.94/5/.01		9.16/10/.51		11.97/.10/.28			
r/p	-.2636/.001		-.1720/.07		-.2477/.002			

Analysis of the Promotion Rate variable shows the predicted trend. Managers show the highest proportion (77.3%), the high mobility pre-managerial professionals show the next highest proportion (69.5%) while the low mobility pre-managerial professionals show the lowest proportion (56.4%) agreeing that they have opportunities in the company. This would tend to support the analysis that the high mobility pre-managerial professional employee receives grooming, which includes job opportunities conducive to the utilization of their abilities. This finding is even more significant when it is noted that a majority of the high mobility group (60%) do not feel a part of the company.

TABLE 5.17

RESPONSES TO: "THE APPRAISAL SYSTEM GIVES TOO MUCH POWER OVER MY PROMOTIONS (FUTURE MOBILITY) TO MY MANAGER."

	Sex		Promotion Rate		Occupational Status			
	Males	Females	Managers	High Mobility	Low Mobility	Managers	Prof.	Non-Prof.
Agree	43 (67.2)	44 (73.4)	13 (6.19)	18 (69.3)	14 (66.7)	13 (61.9)	41 (67.8)	32 (78)
Disagree	21 (32.8)	16 (26.6)	8 (38.1)	8 (30.7)	7 (33.3)	8 (38.1)	21 (32.2)	9 (22.0)
N	64/100	60/100	21/100	26/100	21/100	21/100	62/100	41/100
Chi-Square								
df /p	17.78/5/.003		9.72/10/.46		7.78/10/.65			
r/p	-.1495/.04		.0134/.45		-.1352/.06			

As to the reasons for this high degree of alienation by females, and to a lesser degree non-professionals, the responses in Tables 5.17 and 5.18 are revealing. Significantly, black females and non-professionals show the largest majorities responding that the appraisal system gives too much power to managers over their future mobility. Managers (55%) show the lowest proportion agreeing with the statement. However, the female group is the only group in which the majority believe that they have not received recognition for their performance.

TABLE 5.18

RESPONSES TO: "MY APPRAISALS OVER THE YEARS HAVE BEEN AN ACCURATE ASSESSMENT OF MY PERFORMANCE ."

	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Promotion Rate</u>			<u>Occupational Status</u>		
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>High Mobility</u>	<u>Low Mobility</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Non-Prof.</u>
Agree	40 (59.8)	27 (42.4)	12 (52.1)	13 (48.1)	13 (56.4)	12 (52.1)	34 (52.3)	21 (48.9)
Disagree	27 (40.2)	37 (57.6)	11 (47.9)	14 (51.9)	10 (43.6)	14 (47.9)	31 (47.7)	22 (51.1)
N	67/100	64/100	23/100	27/100	23/100	23/100	65/100	43/100
Chi-Square df/p	13.65/5/.01		4.07/10/9.4			10.95/10/.36		
r/p	.1638/.03		.0233/.42			.0295/.36		

In Table 5.19 the responses to the statement, "I have confidence in the fairness and honesty of management," show that in all groups the majority reject this statement. Again, it is the female group that has the largest proportion (75.9%) responding that they do not trust management.

TABLE 5.19

RESPONSES TO: "I HAVE CONFIDENCE IN THE FAIRNESS AND HONESTY OF MANAGEMENT."

	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Promotion Rate</u>			<u>Occupational Status</u>		
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>High Mobility</u>	<u>Low Mobility</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Non-Prof.</u>
Agree	33 (50.8)	15 (24.2)	9 (42.9)	10 (41.6)	9 (39.1)	24 (39.4)	15 (34.1)	
Disagree	32 (49.2)	47 (75.8)	12 (57.1)	14 (58.4)	14 (60.9)	41 (60.6)	29 (65.9)	
N	65/100	62/100	21/100	24/100	23/100	61/100	44/100	
Chi-Square df/p	19.44/5/.001		13.12/10/.21			15.10/10/.12		
r/p	.2876/.001		.1985/.04			.1102/.10		

THE FACTOR OF RACE DISCRIMINATION

In all groups the majority agree that the appraisal system favors white employees. With reference to Table 5.20 females and non-professionals show the highest proportion agreeing to the statement, "If I were white, I would receive more recognition." Notably, the majority of all groups with the exception of managers perceive race discrimination as affecting their mobility. This exception, i.e., a majority of managers rejecting the statement, is probably reflective of an accurate perception by the managerial group that they have enjoyed a fast rate of promotion which is comparable to the mobility enjoyed by white managers.

TABLE 5.20

RESPONSES TO: "IF I WERE WHITE, I WOULD RECEIVE MORE RECOGNITION."

	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Promotion Rate</u>			<u>Occupational Status</u>		
	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>High Mobility</u>	<u>Low Mobility</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>Prof.</u>	<u>Non-Prof.</u>
Agree	34 (53.1)	34 (60.8)	10 (43.4)	17 (68.6)	10 (47.5)	10 (43.4)	32 (55.1)	26 (66.6)
Disagree	30 (46.9)	22 (39.2)	13 (56.6)	12 (31.4)	11 (52.3)	13 (56.6)	26 (44.9)	13 (33.3)
N	64/100	56/100	23/100	29/100	21/100	23/100	58/100	39/100
Chi-Square df/p	5.05/5/.40		6.92/10/.73			10.77/10/.57		
r/p	-.0804/.09		-.0050/.48			-.1182/.09		

There is additional evidence to support the hypothesis that the perception of discrimination will be influenced by the respondent's success within the organization. This is particularly true when the responses are compared for the Occupation Status variable. Hence, 55.1% of the professionals

and 66.6% of the non-managerial professionals perceive discrimination as having influenced their recognition.

#### PERCEPTIONS OF WORK ETHIC TO MOBILITY

Weber's Protestant work ethic postulates that one's work ethic is important to subsequent mobility and success within the economic sphere of activity in our society. If credence is given to the expressed belief that one's orientation toward work is important to the mobility process, then the conclusion is reached that Weber is correct. By work ethic, reference is being made to the expressed belief or attitude that one's personal mobility, achievements and successes are primarily the results of abilities, drives, and ambition which are unique to oneself. This belief or attitudinal structure precludes or minimizes the impact that one's personality, race, sex, etc., may influence one's mobility or achievements. Within the organization, it is a common occurrence to hear that the major reason for the relatively low numbers of high mobility blacks and females is the lack of qualified members within these populations. With reference to blacks it is rather significant that this lack of qualification is usually defined in terms of one not having the right attitudes and drives to achieve in management.

It can be understood why many whites may adopt this belief pattern with respect to their own progress, and then offer it as a reason for why blacks are unsuccessful. It is easier for them to accept this reasoning pattern than to admit that their own progress may be due to their receiving more favorable opportunities than others. It is to be expected that blacks reject

this premise in face of the pervasiveness of discrimination which they have faced. However, responses to the work ethic statement, "Any man with ability and willingness to work hard has a good chance of being successful regardless of race," show that a small majority agree with the statement. For example, 52.7% of the respondents believe that ability and hard work can overcome race discrimination.

The work ethic hypothesis states that a positive work ethic is functional to upward mobility. If in fact this hypothesis is true, the more successful groups within the sample, males, managers and the high mobility pre-managerial professionals should have significantly higher agreement with the statements. However, the responses in Table 5.21 show that the hypothesis should be rejected.

TABLE 5.21

RESPONSES TO: "ANY MAN WITH ABILITY AND WILLINGNESS TO WORK HARD HAS A GOOD CHANCE OF BEING SUCCESSFUL REGARDLESS OF RACE."

	Sex		Promotion Rate		Occupational Status			
	Males	Females	Managers	High Mobility	Low Mobility	Managers	Prof.	Non-Prof.
Agree	39 (59.2)	26 (44.1)	9 (40.9)	11 (45.8)	13 (59.1)	9 (40.9)	30 (53.2)	24 (58.6)
Disagree	27 (40.8)	33 (59.9)	13 (59.1)	13 (54.2)	9 (40.9)	13 (59.1)	31 (48.8)	17 (41.4)
N	66/100	59/100	22/100	24/100	22/100	22/100	61/100	41/100
Chi-Square								
df/p	4.23/5/.51		4.29/10/.93		7.59/10/.66			
r/p	.1492/.04		-.1287/.13		-.1261 (.08)			

Although not statistically significant, the trend here are contrary to the predicted trends. The expectation was that a greater proportion of managers would agree with the work ethic statement. Instead, the managerial group has the lowest proportion agreeing with the statement. This trend suggests that some valuable insight can be gained when it is analysed within the context of an observation by Scanzoni (1971).

He noted:

"Protestant work and success ethos is a matter of debate. Some social observers argue that the ethos of achievement and success is held only weakly, if at all, by those segments of society (many blacks, for instance) that have been excluded from the opportunity structure. Others contend that these values are distributed rather uniformly throughout the class structure, but that expectations concerning their attainment vary directly with the degree of opportunity (p. 74-75)."

However, these results suggest that these beliefs or values among blacks are inversely related to the degree of opportunity. Managers (40.9%) and highly mobility professionals (45.8%) have the lowest proportion agreeing with the statement. A majority of the other groups disagree with the statement. This suggests that those who have had the greatest degree of opportunity have the lowest degree of belief in these values. The inference is that managers have more awareness of the mobility process and know that many non-ability factors are essential to the promotability of the individual. One explanation is that these managers, having worked hard to gain success, have not gained their expected rewards and are indicating that "their hard work have not brought them success," or at least not the same success they would have received if they had been white.

## THE ACHIEVEMENT-ASPIRATION ORIENTATION AND MOBILITY

One major finding which has emerged from recent studies concerning aspiration and achievement patterns among blacks is that irrespective of their social origin or social class, blacks have high expressed aspirations and achievement orientations (Gurin, 1972; Scanzoni, 1971).

In general, these high aspirations and achievement drives did not materialize into actual achievements. According to these studies, the lack of actual achievement was attributed to forces outside of the influence of the family or the individual, such as those social forces which severely limit employment opportunities for blacks. Nevertheless, based upon the literature and the fact that the sample population is superior in terms of educational attainments, there should be extremely high expressions of aspirations and achievement drives among the sample. Additionally, this pattern should be functional to upward mobility.

The responses to a series of statements constructed to measure the aspiration and achievement orientations of the groups support the predicted findings. To those statements which are indicative of a high aspiration or achievement drive, better than 90% of the sample agree with all the statements (see Table 5.22). For example, 94% respond that they "would like to be recognized as an authority in some field or position," 91% "would like to be able to do things better than others," 94% "strives to be the best in my present area of responsibility," and 95% "feel that they are able to influence people."

TABLE 5.22

RELATIONSHIP OF ACHIEVEMENT-ASPIRATION FACTORS TO MOBILITY

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Promotion Rate</u>	<u>Occupational Status</u>
I would like to be recognized as an authority in some field or position.	94	6	.1966 (.01)	.1629 (.08)	.1427 (.05)
I would like to be able to do things better than other people.	91	9	.2408 (.004)	.0630 (.29)	.1585 (.03)
I strive to be the best in my present area of responsibility.	94	6	.0783 (.19)	.2295 (.02)	.0817 (.18)
I feel that I am able to influence people.	95	5	.1826 (.02)	.1023 (.19)	.1534 (.04)

NOTE: Correlation Coefficients and Levels of Significance.

With reference to Table 5.22 analysis of the statements and their correlation coefficients show that the hypothesis is supported. The conclusions suggested by these positive correlations are: (a) males have stronger aspirations and achievements drives than females; (b) managers have the strongest achievement orientations than all the other groups, (c) the high mobility pre-managerial professionals have stronger achievement orientations than the low mobility pre-managerial professionals, and (d) professionals, both managers and pre-managerial professionals, have stronger achievement orientations than non-professionals. When consideration is given to the high degree of perceived discrimination which exists within the sample, these findings suggest that the more successful individual will be a high achiever regardless of his recognition that racial discrimination affects opportunity and future success.

What is it that can be stated about the relationships between blacks' mobility and their beliefs and attitudes? Although there is evidence to support the racial orientation hypotheses, the results of this study reject the importance of these orientations. The conclusion reached is that because of the complexity of this phenomenon, further study is suggested. Also, the results of this study reject the validity of the Work ethic hypothesis. The respondents' work ethos have no significant relationship to their mobility.

The responses to the identification-alienation hypothesis support the predicted trends. However, there are several important issues raised by these findings. As indicated, there is a high subscription to the "necessity of identifying" and "loyalty to the organization" by the professional population. It was also concluded that this high degree of acceptance reflects an acceptance of the status quo, as opposed to a personal belief or commitment to the ideology. Also, whatever loyalty exists is probably due to a coercive policy whereby the employment of elite employees, i.e., black and white managers, is contingent on a strict adherence to the policies governing information and the dissemination, especially that which can be considered embarrassing or threatening to the organization. In this way, the organization is able to compel loyalty from employees who have divided loyalties.

Whether this loyalty is coerced or the identification is necessary, there is a significant trend which shows that professional employees in general, and managers in particular, express greater degrees of

loyalty and identification. The fact that the other professionals responses are similar suggests that the description of the grooming process must be modified. The fact that the managers' responses to the various identification and loyalty statements were significantly stronger than for the other professionals also suggests that the acceptance of these positions occurs after one has become a manager. This process of indoctrination occurs within the manager's education in management development schools and by association with their peers. Thus, the grooming process consists of the initial screening of candidates with favorable views on business, the structuring of a career which either produces or reinforces a positive achievement orientation within the aspirant, and then the management training which structures the manager's relationship to the organization.

The factors of powerlessness and alienation are related to the individual's success or lack of success within the organization. The degree of powerlessness and alienation are also apparently rooted in the perceptions of discrimination by blacks which transcend the organization. The historical fact of discrimination, both race and sex, dictates that regardless of success, blacks in general will perceive discrimination as having an influence on their opportunities to compete. Significantly, within the organization, black managers perceive less discrimination. They express less alienation, and also have greater opportunities to use their abilities. Significantly, females, and even those who express the view that they are able to use their abilities and are experiencing a high rate of mobility, are still the most alienated.

As predicted, the achievement and aspiration orientations of the respondents are high. The intensity of these factors is significantly correlated to the degree of success the individual has experienced within the organization. There is an additional dimension to this hypothesis which suggests that the intensity of the achievement drive is the most important attitudinal factor in the determination of which blacks experience a high rate of mobility and which do not.

#### THE OCCUPATIONAL STATUS MODEL: BELIEF AND ATTITUDE FACTORS

The objective now is to re-examine these relationships within the context of regression models to determine their relative importance to the mobility of the respondents. From the previous analysis, several statements have been selected to represent a particular belief, attitude or personality variable. They are as follows:

- X<sub>9</sub> -Black Orientation: responses to the statement, "One of the major reasons why black neighborhoods become run-down and dirty is because low-income blacks do not take care of their own housing."
- X<sub>10</sub> -White Orientation: responses to the statement, "I do not particularly like white people."
- X<sub>11</sub> -Business Orientation I: responses to the statement, "The fact that an employee may agree with the company's policies and goals is an important consideration for the promotion of that employee."
- X<sub>12</sub> -Business Orientation II: responses to the statement, "The company's first responsibility is to its stockholders."
- X<sub>13</sub> -Achievement Orientation: responses to the statement, "I would like to be recognized as an authority in some job or position."
- X<sub>14</sub> -Work Ethic Orientation: responses to the statement, "Any man with the ability and the willingness to work hard has a good chance of being successful regardless of his race."

X<sub>15</sub>- Perceived Discrimination: responses to the statement, "If I were white, I would get more recognition from my manager."

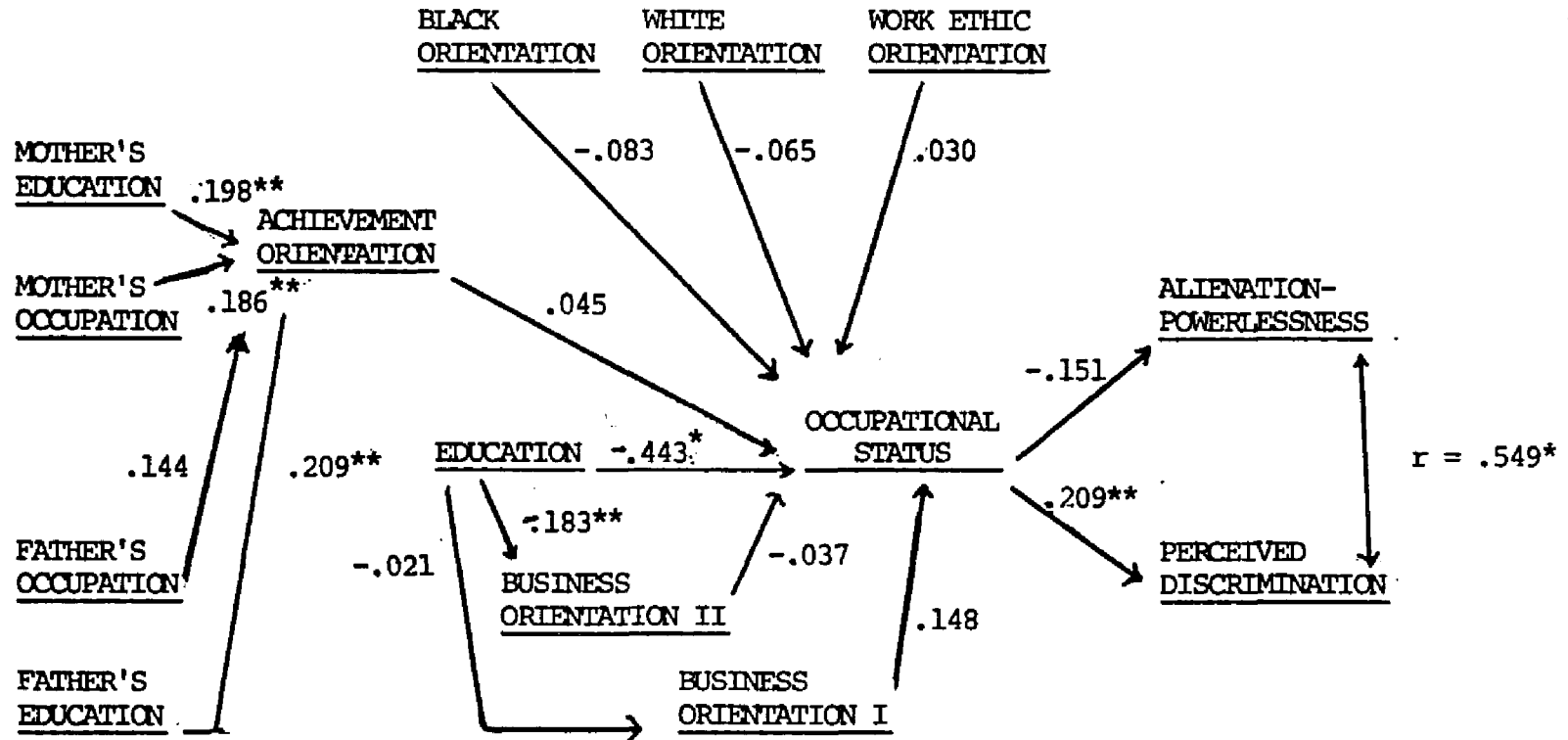
X<sub>16</sub>- Alienation/Powerlessness: responses to the statement, "I have little opportunity to use my abilities in this company."

With reference to Figure 5.2, there are several observations made relative to the importance of the belief, attitude and personality factors on the occupational status of the respondents. The factor of the respondent's business orientation, as measured by the responses to the statement, "The company's first responsibility is to its stockholders," is significantly related to the respondent's occupational status. This validates the conclusion reached previously, that managers and professionals have high degrees of agreement with this position. This orientation is significantly influenced by the respondent's education. The path of influence confirms the fact that the higher the respondent's education, the higher will be his subscription to this ideological orientation. This also confirms the speculation that the educational institutions are instrumental in cultivating this orientation.

The path coefficients from the parental factors of father's occupation, mother's occupation and education to the achievement orientations of the respondents show that these parental factors are significant to the intensity of the respondents' achievement drives. As previous studies have found, this confirms the respondents' achievement orientations as being directly influenced by their parents. It is also worth noting that the degree of the achievement drive is insignificant to the occupational status of the respondents.

FIGURE 5.2

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS MODEL WITH BELIEF AND ATTITUDE FACTORS: TOTAL SAMPLE



\*p = .01, \*\*p = .05, N = 137

The third important relationship is indicated by the path of influence which show that the occupational status of the respondent is significantly related to the degree of alienation and powerlessness of the individual. Again, verification of the previous conclusion which stated the alienation and powerlessness would vary according to the degrees of perceived opportunity and success is observed.

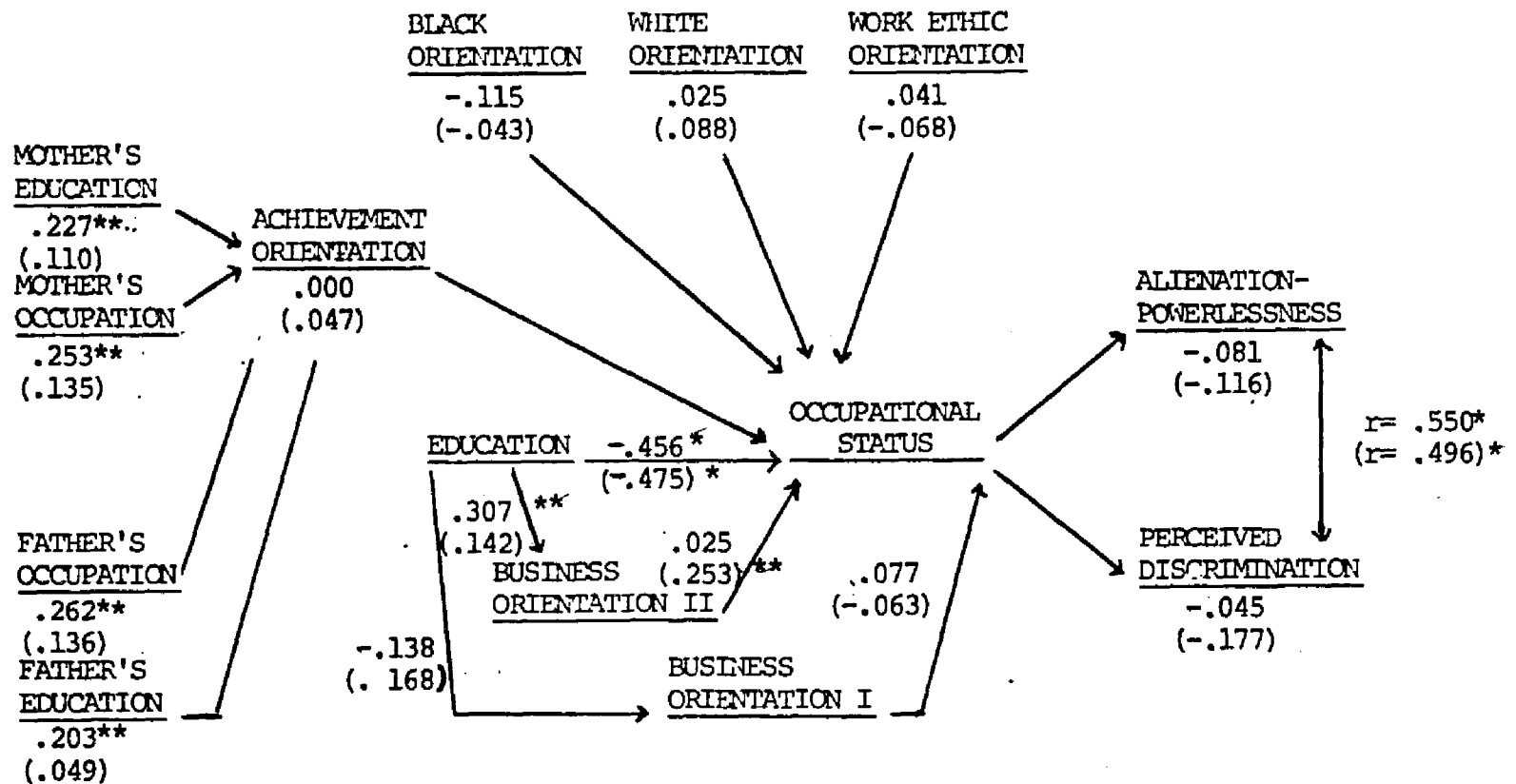
When the analysis is conducted on . males and females separately, several significant patterns emerge. The generalized statement can be made that for females, belief, attitude and personality factors are unimportant to their occupational status. With reference to Figure 5.3, it is shown that the majority of variance in the female's occupational status can be attributed to the achievement factor of education (30.2%).

The belief, attitude, etc., factors which were hypothesized as being important account for only 1.8% of the remaining unexplained variance. Thus it is concluded that the belief, attitude and personality factors incorporated in this study are not considered in the selection of the female for employment. This is not unexpected since the respondents' levels of education and skin color are the basis for the selection and placement of black females within this organization.

For males, education is again the most important factor in determining their status, and 24.1% of the variance is attributed to this factor. However, the second most important factor in the determination of their occupational status is their business orientation as measured by their

FIGURE 5.3

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS MODEL WITH BELIEF AND ATTITUDE FACTORS: MALES AND FEMALES



FEMALES (N = 69), MALES (N = 68), \*p = .01, \*\*p = .05

responses to the statement, "The fact that an employee may agree with the company's goals and policies is an important consideration for the promotion of that employee." This variable accounts for 6.9% of the variance in the occupational status of the respondents. The remaining factors account for a total of 4.5% of the unexplained variance.

With respect to the importance of the business orientation factor on the male's occupational status and the lack of importance of any of the belief, attitude or personality factors on the occupational status of the females, the question arises as to what can account for this difference? This lack of influence on the female's occupational status is quite possibly the result of the recent pressures brought upon the organization to move females into management more rapidly which has suspended the control and discretion that the managers would normally exercise through the grooming and indoctrination process. On the other hand, the fact that the program to move black males into management has been in place for a longer period of time would suggest that the grooming and indoctrination process has been relatively effective in grooming the male managers. It is quite likely that the female managers and professionals' business orientations will become important as their movement into management approaches the normal process.

In Tables 5.23, 5.24 and 5.25 the summary of the influences of the variables are shown. For the total population, 41.4% of the variance in the sample's occupational statuses can be explained by these variables. For the male and female models, respectively, 35.6% and 38.7% of the variances in their occupational statuses can be attributed to these factors.

FIGURE 5.23

BETA COEFFICIENTS, COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION FOR OCCUPATIONAL STATUS: TOTAL SAMPLE - (N = 137)

	X <sub>1</sub>	X <sub>4</sub>	X <sub>5</sub>	X <sub>6</sub>	X <sub>11</sub>	X <sub>12</sub>	X <sub>13</sub>	X <sub>15</sub>	X <sub>16</sub>
X <sub>1</sub> Occupational Status								-.151	-.209
X <sub>2</sub> Sex	.200								
X <sub>3</sub> Skin Color	.078								
X <sub>4</sub> Education	-.443				-.021	-.183			
X <sub>5</sub> Father's Occupation	.097	.001					.144		
X <sub>6</sub> Mother's Occupation	.049	.093					.186		
X <sub>7</sub> Father's Education	.078	.180	-.131				.209		
X <sub>8</sub> Mother's Education	.033	.095		.231			.198		
X <sub>9</sub> Black Orientation	-.083								
X <sub>10</sub> White Orientation	-.065								
X <sub>11</sub> Business Orientation I	.148								
X <sub>12</sub> Business Orientation II	-.037								
X <sub>13</sub> Achievement Orientation	.045								
X <sub>14</sub> Work Ethic Orientation	.030								
X <sub>15</sub> Perceived Discrimination									
X <sub>16</sub> Alienation/Powerlessness									
R <sup>2</sup>	.443	.046	.017	.053	.003	.033		.023	.043

FIGURE 5.24

BETA COEFFICIENTS, COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION FOR OCCUPATIONAL STATUS: FEMALES  
(N = 69)

	X <sub>1</sub>	X <sub>4</sub>	X <sub>5</sub>	X <sub>6</sub>	X <sub>11</sub>	X <sub>12</sub>	X <sub>13</sub>	X <sub>15</sub>	X <sub>16</sub>
X <sub>1</sub> Occupational Status								-.045	-.081
X <sub>3</sub> Skin Color	.137								
X <sub>4</sub> Education	-.456				-.138	.307			
X <sub>5</sub> Father's Occupation	.195	-.070					.262		
X <sub>6</sub> Mother's Occupation	-.049	-.086					.253		
X <sub>7</sub> Father's Education	.048	.222	.150				.203		
X <sub>8</sub> Mother's Education	-.095	.228		.296			.227		
X <sub>9</sub> Black Orientation	-.115								
X <sub>10</sub> White Orientation	.025								
X <sub>11</sub> Business Orientation I	.077								
X <sub>12</sub> Business Orientation II	.025								
X <sub>13</sub> Achievement Orientation	.000								
X <sub>14</sub> Work Ethic Orientation	.041								
X <sub>15</sub> Perceived Discrimination									
X <sub>16</sub> Alienation/Powerlessness									
R <sup>2</sup>	.383		.022	.088	.020	.094		.002	.006

FIGURE 5.25

BETA COEFFICIENTS, COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION FOR OCCUPATIONAL STATUS: MALES  
(N = 68)

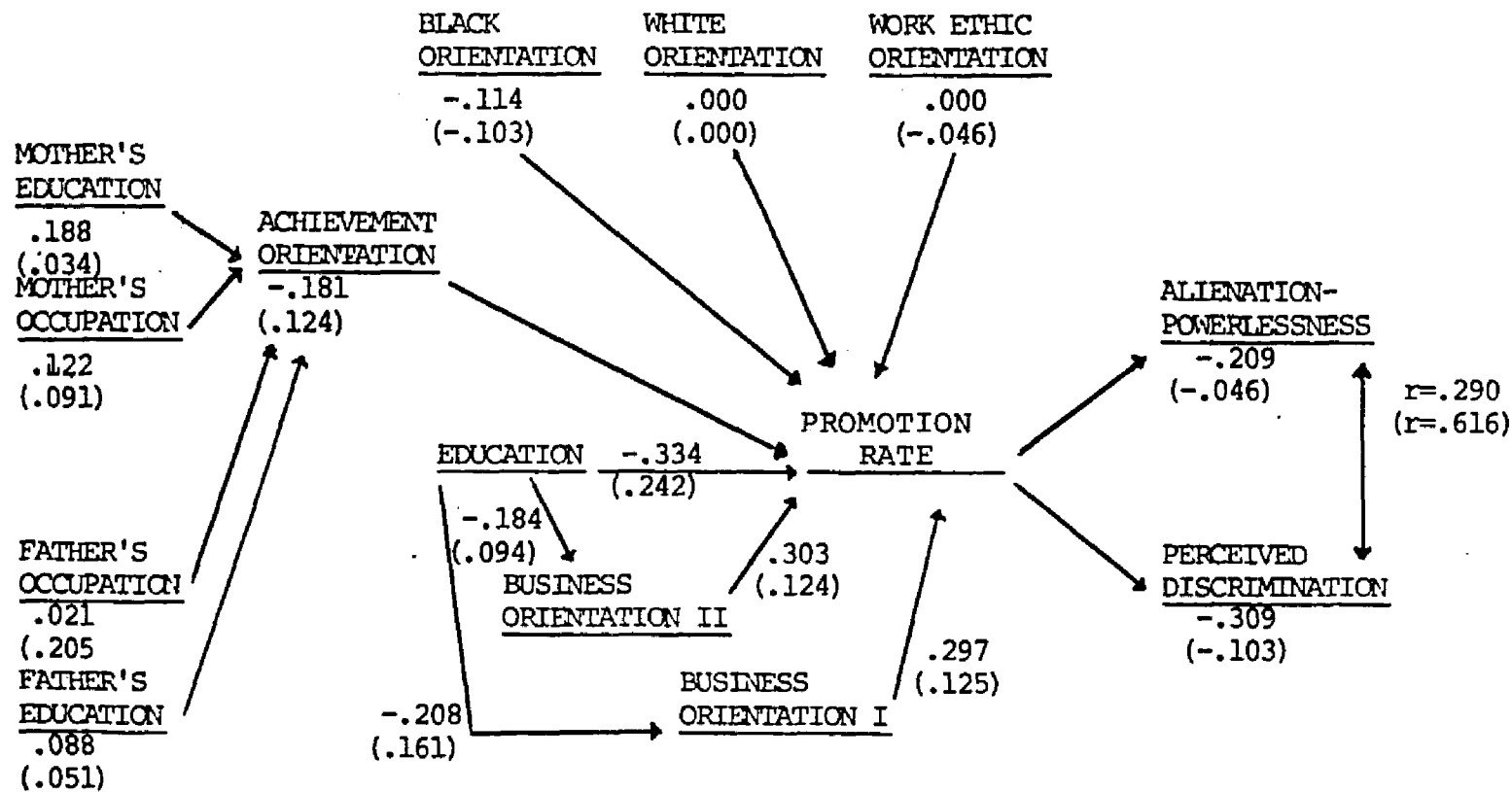
	X <sub>1</sub>	X <sub>4</sub>	X <sub>5</sub>	X <sub>6</sub>	X <sub>11</sub>	X <sub>12</sub>	X <sub>13</sub>	X <sub>15</sub>	X <sub>16</sub>
X <sub>1</sub> Occupational Status								-.177	-.116
X <sub>3</sub> Skin Color	.042								
X <sub>4</sub> Education	.475				.168	.142			
X <sub>5</sub> Father's Occupation	.024	.054					.136		
X <sub>6</sub> Mother's Occupation	.111	.223					.135		
X <sub>7</sub> Father's Education	-.094	.048	.062				.049		
X <sub>8</sub> Mother's Education	.136	-.041		.135			.110		
X <sub>9</sub> Black Orientation	-.043								
X <sub>10</sub> White Orientation	.088								
X <sub>11</sub> Business Orientation I	-.063								
X <sub>12</sub> Business Orientation II	.253								
X <sub>13</sub> Achievement Orientation	.047								
X <sub>14</sub> Work Ethic Orientation	-.068								
X <sub>15</sub> Perceived Discrimination									
X <sub>16</sub> Alienation/Powerlessness									
R <sup>2</sup>	.356	.034	.003	.018	.027	.020	.047	.031	.013

## THE PROMOTION RATE MODEL: BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

The final question remaining is to determine the relative importance of these beliefs and attitudinal patterns to the promotion rates of the respondents. Analysis of the path coefficients in Figure 5.4 shows that the belief and attitudinal factors are not significantly related to the respondents' promotion rates. Does this prove that these patterns are unimportant in the decisions as to which blacks are selected for management? I think that it does not. First, as previously noted, the low predictive power of the model is due to the fact that many external factors presently influence the normal selection and promotion process. Secondly, the organization's recruitment and hiring process has apparently been quite successful in selecting many black individuals with the appropriate business and organizational orientations. This suggests that while the proper business and organizational orientations may be functional, for this population at least, they are not the major determinants in the selection and promotion process.

FIGURE 5.4

PROMOTION RATE MODEL WITH BELIEF AND ATTITUDE FACTORS: MALES AND FEMALES



FEMALES (N = 28), MALES (N = 53), \*p = .05

FIGURE 5.26

BETA COEFFICIENTS, COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION FOR PROMOTION RATE:

MALES  
(N = 53)

	X <sub>1</sub>	X <sub>4</sub>	X <sub>5</sub>	X <sub>6</sub>	X <sub>11</sub>	X <sub>12</sub>	X <sub>13</sub>	X <sub>15</sub>	X <sub>16</sub>
X <sub>1</sub> Promotion Rate								.086	.043
X Skin Color	.233								
X <sub>4</sub> Education	.242				.161	.094			
X <sub>5</sub> Father's Occupation	-.017	.006					.205		
X <sub>6</sub> Mother's Occupation	-.048	.232	.110				.091		
X <sub>7</sub> Father's Education	-.020	.051		.155			-.094		
X <sub>8</sub> Mother's Education	-.028	.008					.034		
X <sub>9</sub> Black Orientation	-.103								
X <sub>10</sub> White Orientation	.000								
X <sub>11</sub> Business Orientation I	.125								
X <sub>12</sub> Business Orientation II	.124								
X <sub>13</sub> Achievement Orientation	.218								
X <sub>14</sub> Work Ethic Orientation	-.046								
X <sub>15</sub> Perceived Discrimination									
X <sub>16</sub> Alienation/Powerlessness									
R <sup>2</sup>	.1887	.055	.012	.024	.025	.008	.056	.007	.001

FIGURES 5.27

BETA COEFFICIENTS, COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION FOR PROMOTION RATE:

FEMALES  
(N = 28)

	X <sub>1</sub>	X <sub>4</sub>	X <sub>5</sub>	X <sub>6</sub>	X <sub>11</sub>	X <sub>12</sub>	X <sub>13</sub>	X <sub>15</sub>	X <sub>16</sub>
X <sub>1</sub> Promotion Rate								-.309	-.209
X <sub>3</sub> Skin Color	.046								
X <sub>4</sub> Education	-.334				-.208	-.184			
X <sub>5</sub> Father's Occupation	-.568	.142					.021		
X <sub>6</sub> Mother's Occupation	.170	-.082					.122		
X <sub>7</sub> Father's Education	-.248	.003	-.195				.088		
X <sub>8</sub> Mother's Education	.000	-.044		-.281			.188		
X <sub>9</sub> Black Orientation	-.114								
X <sub>10</sub> White Orientation	.000								
X <sub>11</sub> Business Orientation I	.297								
X <sub>12</sub> Business Orientation II	.303								
X <sub>13</sub> Achievement Orientation	-.181								
X <sub>14</sub> Work Ethic Orientation	.000								
X <sub>15</sub> Perceived Discrimination									
X <sub>16</sub> Alienation/Powerlessness									
R <sup>2</sup>	.338	.021	.038	.079	.038	.034	.044	.095	.043

## CHAPTER VI

### THE MOBILITY PROCESS FOR BLACKS

What are the conclusions reached from the findings of this study? More specifically, what statements can be made about black professionals in elite organizations and within elite occupations of the types studied here? What are the characteristics of high mobility black professionals? To answer these questions, a summary of the findings of this study is presented.

#### THE HIGH MOBILITY BLACK

In Chapter Three a description was given of a selection and grooming process utilized by the organization to select and train potential managers. The results of this study suggest that one of the criteria that an applicant must possess to be hired for these potential elite positions is the proper image based on the "Madison Avenue Executive" model. This model is used regardless of race. Therefore, it is not surprising that this study shows that the black individual's skin color plays a significant part in the process of selecting blacks for potential management. As was shown earlier, many white managers notice color differences among blacks. Many responded that a black employee's skin color would affect their mobility. It is rather easy, given the hiring model described, for managers or other hiring agents for the organization to consciously or

subconsciously select potential black managerial candidates by using the black individual's skin color in their decisions. The finding which shows that lighter skinned color blacks enjoy advantages over darker skinned blacks would be the logical consequence of this selection process, since lighter skinned blacks are more likely to be caucasian-like in appearance.

A second characteristic, which also holds true for white applicants, is that the individual has a high achievement orientation. The organization's initial screening for this type of individual is quite effective. This is illustrated by the high proportion of the respondents in this sample who have high achievement drives.

There appears to be one other major factor which is considered in the initial hiring process for professionals. The finding that the total professional sample, regardless of their status, expressed a positive business orientation suggests that the recruiters are very effective in recruiting certain types of blacks. Once within the organization, the intensity of this orientation becomes stronger if the employee is successful within the organization.

### THE GROOMING-INDOCTRINATION PROCESS

Having effectively recruited the desired type of black employee for marketing, the organization has a two year training program consisting of several intensive formalized classes. This two-year program has two purposes: (1) to train all the new employees in marketing and (2) to select from among these employees those who are to be groomed for management. It is during the 3-4 months of formalized and highly structured classes that certain employees are selected for

positions. In these classes the students are evaluated by a team of instructors on such factors as: image and appearance, leadership ability, ability to work in a team, superficial impressions about the employee's beliefs about business, etc. After several weeks in school the employee returns to the work location where the manager will begin to structure the employee's assignments.

The assignments are designed to maximize the potentials and exposure of the selected individual. Having been accorded this favored status, these chosen few will receive faster promotions and higher performance ratings than their peers. From an organizational perspective these rewards are functional in creating and maintaining the illusion of a merit system. These selected employees, having received the recognition of the system, will have a tendency to believe that a merit system is in effect primarily because it reinforces a positive self-image of being a high achiever. This would explain the findings which indicated that managers are the least critical of the appraisal system. It also explains why many professionals have high degrees of identification. And from the organization's standpoint, who would be the best type of individual to implement the company's policies than those who have positive views of these policies?

#### IMPLICATIONS AND QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Noting that these findings are only test hypotheses and generalizations, there are many questions and issues raised by these findings which should be replicated and expanded upon in future studies. For example, it was found that the respondents are unique in terms of educational attainments. Is this sample representative of the types of

blacks presently hired by large corporations in prestigious occupations? If so, does this suggest that education will continue to be the key to the participation of blacks in the American dream? Secondly, how do the background of black professionals compare with their white counterparts? Previous studies have documented the fact that blacks in the past did not receive compensation, rewards or occupational status equivalent to whites with comparable education. And presently there is a loud outcry of reverse discrimination which suggests that blacks are receiving preferential treatment over whites. Based on information from informants, black managers in this organization have higher levels of education than their white peers. Future studies should address this point to answer whether or not whites are justified in their belief on the existence of reverse discrimination.

It has also been shown that certain predicted relationships about the importance of beliefs and attitudes to mobility failed to materialize. The literature, which has essentially dealt with white mobility, suggests that the identification and loyalty patterns are the result of a "common sharing of goals and ideologies." This study shows that identification and loyalty patterns for blacks are adopted as a means of gaining personal goals rather than a sharing of goals and ideologies. Are we to conclude that this is a true difference between blacks and whites? Is it possible that the blacks in this sample are only reflecting a different ideological relationship to the organization which may now also exist among the white population.

<sup>1</sup>Recent studies do suggest that whites are also evaluating corporations, and their relationships to the corporations, differently. Thus, the observation here is that this difference in orientation may be a reflection of a current way of relating to organization and not due to race. This is an issue for further research.

Closely related to this thesis is the dilemma of the black manager within the organizations which demand loyalty. Though many blacks in management see "game playing" as an essential part of their success, how functional is this to their personal behavior and life? It must be stated that many of these blacks who have enjoyed success have had to compromise some of their convictions and principles. At what point, though, will the black professional cease playing the game? Will he or she cease playing the game when the recognition is made that he or she cannot go any higher up the corporate ladder? Or will the black manager cease playing the game when the recognition is made that the corporation's policies and goals are detrimental to blacks? These questions should be addressed.

The implication of the results which show that skin color is important to the black respondent's mobility is a distressful one for many blacks. The suggestion has been made that many dark skinned blacks will be rejected simply because of their dark skins. To what degree is this true? The suggestion has been made that "negroid features" are detrimental to a black individual's mobility. To what degree is this true?

<sup>1</sup>The reference here is to the recent work by Brenner, et al. (1977) which is a review and update of the ideological orientation of managers.

The results of this study conclude that a black individual's racial beliefs and attitudes do not negatively affect their mobility. However, interviews and other documentation support the contention that certain racial views are dysfunctional to mobility. Future studies should address this issue by defining more sophisticated measures of racial orientation and establishing their relationship to the mobility of blacks within these types of organizations.

APPENDIX A

APPENDIX A

CORRELATIONS, MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS (N = 137)

	Mean	S. D.	X <sub>1</sub>	X <sub>3</sub>	X <sub>4</sub>	X <sub>5</sub>	X <sub>6</sub>	X <sub>7</sub>	X <sub>8</sub>	X <sub>9</sub>	X <sub>10</sub>	X <sub>11</sub>	X <sub>12</sub>	X <sub>13</sub>	X <sub>14</sub>	X <sub>15</sub>	X <sub>16</sub>	X <sub>17</sub>
X <sub>1</sub> Occupational Sts.	2.16	.699	1.000	.143	-.575	.101	-.008	-.097	-.017	-.153	-.096	.028	.257	.135	-.106	-.151	-.209	.354
X <sub>3</sub> Skin Color				1.000	-.143	.183	.002	-.087	-.067	-.049	-.094	.082	.024	.116	.051	.024	.190	-.143
X <sub>4</sub> Education	4.60	1.81			1.000	.025	.116	.180	.117	.188	.114	-.021	-.183	-.096	.207	.097	.120	-.345
X <sub>5</sub> Father's Occ'pn.	2.10	1.10				1.000	.377	.131	.211	-.082	.257	.044	.045	.228	.105	.286	.250	-.126
X <sub>6</sub> Mother's Occ'pn.	3.19	1.66					1.000	.234	.231	-.051	.220	.033	-.058	.232	.197	.068	.180	-.163
X <sub>7</sub> Father's Educ.	2.43	1.34						1.000	.671	-.015	.262	-.000	-.035	.171	.272	.236	.225	-.127
X <sub>8</sub> Mother's Educ.	2.63	1.18							1.000	-.067	.287	.001	-.001	.241	.270	.218	.314	-.034
X <sub>9</sub> Black Orient'tn.	3.44	1.90								1.000	-.084	.018	.127	-.031	.222	-.009	.068	.078
X <sub>10</sub> White Orient'tn.	3.62	1.82									1.000	.144	.011	.226	-.020	.521	.408	-.154
X <sub>11</sub> Bus. Orient'tn. I	2.40	1.46										1.000	.239	.073	-.170	.047	.171	.047
X <sub>12</sub> Bus. Orient'tn. II	2.99	1.63											1.000	.058	-.078	.052	.008	.192
X <sub>13</sub> Achievement Ort.	1.70	1.11												1.000	.263	.171	.171	.067
X <sub>14</sub> Work Ethic Ort.	3.22	1.87													1.000	-.095	.135	.010
X <sub>15</sub> Perceived Discr.	3.07	1.65														1.000	.549	-.175
X <sub>16</sub> Alien./Powerl's.	3.40	1.80															1.000	-.333
X <sub>17</sub> Sex	1.50	.50																1.000

APPENDIX A

CORRELATIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS FOR FEMALES (N = 69)

	Mean	S. D.	X <sub>1</sub>	X <sub>3</sub>	X <sub>4</sub>	X <sub>5</sub>	X <sub>6</sub>	X <sub>7</sub>	X <sub>8</sub>	X <sub>9</sub>	X <sub>10</sub>	X <sub>11</sub>	X <sub>12</sub>	X <sub>13</sub>	X <sub>14</sub>	X <sub>15</sub>	X <sub>16</sub>
X <sub>1</sub> Occupational Sts.	2.40	.62	1.000	.297	-.549	.211	.042	-.113	.132	-.254	.002	.152	.224	.070	-.101	-.081	-.045
X <sub>3</sub> Skin Color	1.62	.51		1.000	.297	.053	-.099	-.173	-.158	-.127	-.177	-.161	.196	.132	.005	-.004	.178
X <sub>4</sub> Education	3.98	1.90			1.000	-.045	-.018	.210	.202	.281	-.009	-.138	-.307	.004	.248	.079	-.032
X <sub>5</sub> Father's Occ'pn.	1.97	1.97				1.000	.450	.150	.200	-.095	.381	.065	.082	.293	.139	.354	.251
X <sub>6</sub> Mother's Occ'pn.	2.92	1.68					1.000	.290	.296	-.068	.314	-.179	-.169	.320	.200	.051	.190
X <sub>7</sub> Father's Educ.	2.26	1.31						1.000	.677	-.034	.335	-.010	-.115	.242	.361	.260	.309
X <sub>8</sub> Mother's Educ.	2.59	1.35							1.000	-.053	.401	.054	-.078	.303	.405	.398	.364
X <sub>9</sub> Black Orient'n.	3.59	1.90								1.000	.157	.127	.176	-.051	.134	-.103	.071
X <sub>10</sub> White Orient'n.	3.34	2.07									1.000	.117	-.066	.297	.110	.477	.431
X <sub>11</sub> Bus. Orient'n. I	2.47	1.48										1.000	.333	.139	.334	.232	.242
X <sub>12</sub> Bus. Orient'n. II	3.30	1.72											1.000	.066	-.083	.114	.132
X <sub>13</sub> Achievement Ort.	1.78	1.35												1.000	.334	.232	.242
X <sub>14</sub> Work Ethic Ort.	3.24	2.06													1.000	.061	.278
X <sub>15</sub> Perceived Discr.	2.44	1.89														1.000	.550
X <sub>16</sub> Alien./Powerl's.	2.81	1.92															1.000

CORRELATIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS FOR MALES

(N = 68)

	Mean	S. D.	X <sub>1</sub>	X <sub>3</sub>	X <sub>4</sub>	X <sub>5</sub>	X <sub>6</sub>	X <sub>7</sub>	X <sub>8</sub>	X <sub>9</sub>	X <sub>10</sub>	X <sub>11</sub>	X <sub>12</sub>	X <sub>13</sub>	X <sub>14</sub>	X <sub>15</sub>	X <sub>16</sub>
X <sub>1</sub> Occupa'l. Status	1.91	.68	1.000	.122	-.491	.099	.065	.011	.156	-.139	-.109	-.118	.190	.209	-.139	-.116	-.177
X <sub>3</sub> Skin Color	1.76	.460		1.000	-.179	.329	.071	-.009	-.060	.060	-.030	.009	-.134	.124	.121	.003	.116
X <sub>4</sub> Education	5.23	1.48			1.000	.020	.177	.038	-.049	.169	.204	.168	.142	-.262	.189	-.019	.073
X <sub>5</sub> Father's Occupation	2.25	.983				1.000	.255	.062	.223	-.047	.005	.033	.056	.136	.058	.148	.174
X <sub>6</sub> Mother's Occupation	3.47	1.60					1.000	.119	.135	-.006	.036	-.106	.145	.135	.206	.026	.060
X <sub>7</sub> Father's Educ.	2.60	1.14						1.000	.664	.033	.083	.027	.150	.049	.135	.153	-.005
X <sub>8</sub> Mother's Educ.	2.67	.98							1.000	-.083	.061	-.068	.141	.110	.040	.175	-.048
X <sub>9</sub> Black Orienta'n.	3.29	1.91								1.000	.040	-.099	.044	-.015	.333	.133	.142
X <sub>10</sub> White Orientah.	3.91	1.49									1.000	.212	.221	.108	-.242	.563	.294
X <sub>11</sub> Bus. Orientah. I	2.33	1.46										1.000	.119	-.042	-.308	.218	.284
X <sub>12</sub> Bus. Orientah. II	2.67	1.49											1.000	.011	-.080	.053	-.004
X <sub>13</sub> Achievement Ort.	1.63	.808												1.000	.122	.101	.017
X <sub>14</sub> Work Ethic Ort.	3.20	1.68													1.000	-.326	-.068
X <sub>15</sub> Perceived Discr.	3.07	1.60														1.000	.496
X <sub>16</sub> Alien./Powerl's.	4.01	1.46															1.000

## CORRELATIONS, MEANS, AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS: PROMOTION RATE FOR MALES (N = 53)

	Mean	S. D.	X <sub>1</sub>	X <sub>3</sub>	X <sub>4</sub>	X <sub>5</sub>	X <sub>6</sub>	X <sub>7</sub>	X <sub>8</sub>	X <sub>9</sub>	X <sub>10</sub>	X <sub>11</sub>	X <sub>12</sub>	X <sub>13</sub>	X <sub>14</sub>	X <sub>15</sub>	X <sub>16</sub>
X <sub>1</sub> Promotion Rate	1.86	.899	1.000	.210	-.231	.100	-.061	-.058	-.010	-.085	.108	.128	.065	-.191	-.152	.086	.043
X <sub>3</sub> Skin Color	1.75	.434		1.000	-.042	.406	.075	-.050	.013	.093	-.055	-.040	-.028	.051	.070	-.043	-.049
X <sub>4</sub> Education	5.67	1.22			1.000	.008	.231	.053	.027	.017	.059	.161	.094	-.021	.251	-.168	-.012
X <sub>5</sub> Father's Occupation	2.20	.94				1.000	.229	.110	.244	-.020	-.060	-.010	.016	.194	.046	.076	-.018
X <sub>6</sub> Mother's Occupation	3.45	1.68					1.000	.084	.155	-.022	-.117	-.147	.128	.096	.232	.032	-.022
X <sub>7</sub> Father's Educ.	2.66	1.23						1.000	.700	.038	.047	.029	.229	-.072	.167	.132	.044
X <sub>8</sub> Mother's Educ.	2.64	1.07							1.000	.019	.144	-.032	.235	.048	.025	.245	-.037
X <sub>9</sub> Black Orienta'n.	3.52	1.83								1.000	-.160	-.182	.070	.156	.355	.004	.128
X <sub>10</sub> White Orienta'n.	4.01	1.40									1.000	.260	.223	.172	-.368	.555	.348
X <sub>11</sub> Bus. Orienta'n.I	2.43	1.50										1.000	.122	-.019	-.332	.250	-.228
X <sub>12</sub> Bus. Orienta'n.II	2.62	1.43											1.000	.063	.021	.075	.002
X <sub>13</sub> Achievement Ort.	1.52	.74												1.000	.153	.142	.109
X <sub>14</sub> Work Ethic Ort.	3.28	1.67													1.000	-.399	-.223
X <sub>15</sub> Perceived Discr.	3.18	1.56														1.000	.616
X <sub>16</sub> Alien./Powerl's.	4.11	1.36															1.000

## CORRELATIONS, MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS: PROMOTION RATE FOR FEMALES (N = 28)

	Mean	S. D.	X <sub>1</sub>	X <sub>3</sub>	X <sub>4</sub>	X <sub>5</sub>	X <sub>6</sub>	X <sub>7</sub>	X <sub>8</sub>	X <sub>9</sub>	X <sub>10</sub>	X <sub>11</sub>	X <sub>12</sub>	X <sub>13</sub>	X <sub>14</sub>	X <sub>15</sub>	X <sub>16</sub>
X <sub>1</sub> Promotion Rate	1.85	.931	1.000	-.009	.125	-.313	.080	-.132	.125	-.067	-.204	.120	.025	-.107	-.309	-.209	-.309
X <sub>3</sub> Skin Color	1.46	.576		1.000	-.056	.201	-.111	-.221	-.015	.031	-.216	.091	.091	.049	.037	.158	.493
X <sub>4</sub> Education	5.17	1.49			1.000	.143	-.070	-.031	-.020	.146	-.008	-.208	-.184	-.013	.237	-.080	-.063
X <sub>5</sub> Father's Occupation	2.07	.978				1.000	.180	-.195	-.295	.160	-.185	.126	.347	-.004	-.020	.065	.026
X <sub>6</sub> Mother's Occupation	3.28	1.56					1.000	.062	-.281	.241	-.137	.246	.030	.069	-.153	-.180	-.201
X <sub>7</sub> Father's Educ.	2.71	1.24						1.000	.312	.270	.238	.180	-.018	.084	-.047	.226	.380
X <sub>8</sub> Mother's Educ.	3.32	.722							1.000	-.062	-.066	.137	.202	.153	.147	.444	.185
X <sub>9</sub> Black Orienta'n.	3.92	1.92								1.000	-.161	.173	.201	.061	.429	-.370	.151
X <sub>10</sub> White Orienta'n.	3.92	1.80									1.000	-.050	-.175	.251	-.384	.212	.029
X <sub>11</sub> Bus. Orienta'n. I	2.10	1.13										1.000	.036	.104	.024	-.083	.033
X <sub>12</sub> Bus. Orienta'n. II	2.75	1.57											1.000	.086	.196	.191	.144
X <sub>13</sub> Achievement Ort.	1.92	1.21												1.000	.016	.150	-.037
X <sub>14</sub> Work Ethic Ort.	3.92	1.60													1.000	-.443	.082
X <sub>15</sub> Perceived Discr.	3.07	1.65														1.000	.290
X <sub>16</sub> Alien./Powerl's	3.35	1.87															1.000

**APPENDIX B**

RICHARD L. HUDSON  
678 Warburton Avenue  
Apartment 2-H  
Yonkers, New York 10701

Dear Fellow Black Worker:

Presently, I am a Ph.D. candidate in Sociology at the City University of New York (CUNY). As a final requirement for the degree, I must complete my dissertation which is entitled Black Perception of Mobility Within a Bureaucratic Structure: A Case Study of Black Mobility. It is to be a case study of mobility patterns for Black workers in the company. Towards fulfilling this requirement, I am in great need of your help. Attached is a survey which I wish to distribute to all Black workers in the Metropolitan and Westchester areas. I would be indebted to you if you would participate in this survey. Will you complete the survey and return it to me in the self-addressed envelope. If you should choose to do so, you may remain anonymous by not signing your name or in the case of managers, omit answering questions that you feel may identify you. All responses will be grouped and absolutely no attempts will be made to identify respondents. I would also like to assure you that I will write the thesis so that no one can be identified. Upon completion of this work, I will make available to all of the Black workers in the area the results of this study because I feel strongly that it may be of value to all of us. Please return the survey promptly. If there are any additional questions or information you would like, please contact me at: (914) 423-0673.

I wish to thank you in advance.

Yours truly,

Richard L. Hudson

An important aspect of this survey is the statistical analysis of survey items for groups of employees with varying previous experiences and background. To do this your answers to the following questions are needed. Anonymity and confidentiality is assured. First, I would like some background information.

1. Sex            A. Male \_\_\_\_\_ B. Female \_\_\_\_\_

2. How old are you?            (a). Younger than 20  
  (b). 20-24  
  (c). 25-29  
  (d). 30-34  
  (e). 35-39  
  (f). 40-49  
  (g). 50-54  
  (h). 55 or older

3. a. Where were you born? City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

b. If in another country, where? \_\_\_\_\_

c. Where did you grow up? (If different from your birthplace).

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

d. How would you classify where you grew up?

- (1). Rural or country.
- (2). A small town.
- (3). A moderate size city.
- (4). A big city.

4. How much education have you had? Circle one:

- (1). Grade school or some high school
- (2). High school or equivalent diploma.
- (3). Some College.
- (4). Technical school or junior college graduate.
- (5). College degree graduate.
- (6). College degree graduate and some graduate study.
- (7). Masters Degree (M.A., M.S., MBA., etc.).
- (8). Engineering Degree.
- (9). Doctorate or more.

5. What degrees have you earned and at what college (university) did you earn it?

Degree \_\_\_\_\_ Year Earned \_\_\_\_\_ College \_\_\_\_\_

Degree \_\_\_\_\_ Year Earned \_\_\_\_\_ College \_\_\_\_\_

Degree \_\_\_\_\_ Year Earned \_\_\_\_\_ College \_\_\_\_\_

6. a. When you were growing up, what was your father's occupation?

\_\_\_\_\_

b. When you were growing up, what was your mother's occupation?

\_\_\_\_\_

c. What was your famil's financial status when you were growing up?

- (1). Very well off.
- (2). Comfortable.
- (3). Just made ends meet but were not comfortable.
- (4). Poor: couldn't make ends meet but not desperate.
- (5). Very poor.

7. a. Was your father born in the United States? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

If no, where? \_\_\_\_\_

b. Was you mother born in the United States? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_

8. How much education did your father (mother) have? (Give grade if grade school or high school)

Father		Mother
_____	No Grade School	_____
_____	Grade School	_____
_____	High School	_____
_____	College	_____
_____	Technical School	_____
_____	Other (Specify)	_____

Now, I would like some information about your career and employment history?

9. How long have you been employed by the company?

- (a). Less than 6 months.
- (b). Between 6 months and 1 year.
- (c). More than 1 year but less than 2 years.
- (d). Between 2 years and 4 years, 11 months.
- (e). Between 5 years and 9 years, 11 months.
- (f). Between 10 years and 14 years, 11 months.
- (g). Between 15 years and 24 years, 11 months.
- (h). 25 years or more.

10. a. What is your present position or job title? \_\_\_\_\_

In which division are you in? \_\_\_\_\_ Department? \_\_\_\_\_

In what year were you promoted or transferred to your present position? \_\_\_\_\_

b. What position or job title did you have prior to your present position? \_\_\_\_\_ In which division were you in? \_\_\_\_\_

Department? \_\_\_\_\_ In what year were you promoted or transferred to your present position? \_\_\_\_\_

c. What was your first position or job title when you were hired in the company? \_\_\_\_\_ In which division were you hired?

\_\_\_\_\_ Department? \_\_\_\_\_ What year were you hired? \_\_\_\_\_

d. Now for all other positions in between, please give the following information.

Position or Job Title	Year Promoted or Transferred to Position	Div.	Dept.
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

11. Prior to joining the company, list the job or position titles you have had and the years you were in the position.

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_
4. \_\_\_\_\_

Listed below are a series of statements concerning you and the company. Please indicate the extent to which you personally agree or disagree with each of these statements:

SCALE:            1 - Strongly Agree  
                     2 - Agree  
                     3 - Slightly Agree  
                     4 - Slightly Disagree  
                     5 - Disagree  
                     6 - Strongly Disagree.

12. The fact that an employee may agree with the company's policies and goals is an important consideration for the promotion of that employee.
13. The company's first responsibility is to its stockholders.
14. The company has little responsibility in advancing the civil rights of others.
15. If the company's efforts to advance the civil rights of minority groups affect the profits of the company then the efforts should be decreased.
16. Most people in the company I know fully support the company's Equal Opportunity Programs.
17. Management should not be asked to remake society; its responsibility does not extend into crusading for other people's rights.
18. The fact that managers are now appraised on their performance in the hiring and promoting of blacks is primarily responsible for the increase in the number of black employees in management positions in the company.
19. The increase in the number of black qualified applicants is responsible for the increase in the number of Black employees and managers in the company.
20. Directives should be used to insure that managers implement Equal Opportunity policies.

SCALE:

- 1 - Strongly Agree
- 2 - Agree
- 3 - Slightly Agree
- 4 - Slightly Disagree
- 5 - Disagree
- 6 - Strongly Disagree.

- 21. Managers should be rated on their performance in implementing Equal Opportunity policies.
- 22. My appraisals over the years have been an accurate assessment of my performance.
- 23. My appraisal record has been the major reason for my promotions.
- 24. My appraisal record has been the major reason for my lack of promotions.
- 25. The appraisal system gives too much power over my promotions (future mobility) to my manager.
- 26. The appraisal system favors white employees over Black employees.
- 27. The appraisal system allows the manager too much freedom in making subjective judgements of my performance.
- 28. I would be reluctant to use the Open Door grievance process because it would be harmful to my future with the company.
- 29. The company should institute alternate ways for an employee to become considered for promotion to a managerial position, i.e., other than relying totally on the manager's recommendation.
- 30. I consider most managers I have had as being fair in their appraisal of me.
- 31. I feel that my race has affected my rating.
- 32. The ratings that I have received are more dependent on my manager's feeling than on the work I do.
- 33. The ratings given out by managers are controlled by guidelines (directives) issued by headquarters.
- 34. If I received a number 1 or 2 rating, according to my understanding of the appraisal program, I should be promotable to the next level.
- 35. Corporate directives are primarily responsible for the increase in the number of Black employees and Black managers.

SCALE:

- 1 - Strongly Agree
- 2 - Agree
- 3 - Slightly Agree
- 4 - Slightly Disagree
- 5 - Disagree
- 6 - Strongly Disagree.

- 36. I am fully knowledgeable of the company's current Equal Opportunity policies and goals.
- 37. I have a great deal of interest in this company and its future.
- 38. I have little opportunity to use my abilities in this company.
- 39. I really feel that I am a part of this company.
- 40. I have confidence in the fairness and honesty of management.
- 41. There is a lot of backstabbing around here to get ahead.
- 42. I have to look out for myself in this world.
- 43. I believe that most people are not out for themselves.
- 44. To what degree would you say that your progress has been due to your ability to play the game.  

(1) A Great Degree      (2) To Some Degree      (3) To No Degree

Now I would like your opinions and feeling about White people. Please read the statements and answer in terms of how strongly you agree or disagree by circling the alternative that best describes how you feel.

- 45. I often feel uncomfortable in the company of white people.
- 46. Most whites are too impersonal and unfeeling.
- 47. Most white people cannot really understand what Blacks have to pu up with.
- 48. I do not particularly like white people.
- 49. I think most white people are prejudice against Black people.
- 50. I do not think you can trust most white people.
- 51. It is important to socialize with whites off the job if I am to get ahead in the company.
- 52. I find it difficult to communicate with a white manager.

SCALE:

- 1. Strongly Agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Slightly Agree
- 4. Slightly Disagree
- 5. Disagree
- 6. Strongly Disagree.

53. I think my manager feels uncomfortable when speaking to me.
54. If I were white, I would get more recognition from my manager.
55. Do you feel a part of your work group? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_
56. How friendly are you with your fellow workers?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Very Friendly \_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat Friendly \_\_\_\_\_ Not Friendly
57. Of those that you are friendly with, how many are white?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ All \_\_\_\_\_ Some \_\_\_\_\_ None
58. (a) Is your manager White or Black? \_\_\_\_\_ White \_\_\_\_\_ Black  
 (b) In your group, how many other Blacks are there? \_\_\_\_\_  
 (c) In your group, how many Whites are there? \_\_\_\_\_
60. Do you (or did you ever) work with your white friends here in the company?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No
61. On your lunch hour, how would you describe the group that you generally eat with?

- \_\_\_\_\_ All White
- \_\_\_\_\_ Mostly White
- \_\_\_\_\_ Half and Half
- \_\_\_\_\_ Mostly Black
- \_\_\_\_\_ All Black

FOR BLACK MANAGERS ONLY, PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING. EVERYONE ELSE SKIP TO QUESTION 67.

62. (a) How many Whites are reporting to you? \_\_\_\_\_  
 (b) How many Blacks are reporting to you? \_\_\_\_\_
63. How friendly are you with the workers reporting to you?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Very Friendly \_\_\_\_\_ Somewhat Friendly \_\_\_\_\_ Not to Friendly

Using the following scale, indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements.

SCALE:

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Slightly Disagree
5. Disagree
6. Strongly Disagree

64. I feel that the white workers reporting to me resent my authority.
65. I feel that the Black workers reporting to me resent my authority.
66. I feel uncomfortable when giving orders to white workers.

Now I would like your response to some general questions and statements about Black people. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with the following statements.

67. If my neighborhood becomes mostly Black, I will probably move.
68. One of the major reasons why Black neighborhoods become rundown and dirty is because low-income Blacks do not take care of their own housing.
69. Black people usually have to be better than others to get ahead.
70. The government is wrong in requiring busing in order to achieve racial integration.
71. All people have a right to send their children to white schools because they are safer than black schools.
72. With all the crime and drugs, I sometimes can understand why white people feel the way they do about black people.
73. Blacks can do a lot more to help themselves.
74. People have a right to protect their property value by keeping down the number of low-income Blacks in their neighborhood.
75. One reason why Blacks are less successful in business and in school is because of low-class background attitudes and behavioral patterns.
76. Some people say Blacks have made a lot of progress in the last few years. How much progress do you think that Blacks have made?

\_\_\_\_\_ A Great Amount    \_\_\_\_\_ Some    \_\_\_\_\_ A Little    \_\_\_\_\_ None

77. How much progress have you made personally?

\_\_\_\_\_ A Great Amount    \_\_\_\_\_ Some    \_\_\_\_\_ A Little    \_\_\_\_\_ None

79. Now I would like to list some general characteristics. Please indicate how typical you feel each of the following characteristics is of the average Black person.

SCALE:

- 1 - Very Typical
- 2 - Fairly Typical
- 3 - Somewhat Typical
- 4 - Not at all Typical.

Industrious

Intelligent

Materialistic

Ambitious

Power Seeking

Alert

Efficient

Aggressive

Individualistic

Superstitious

Happy-go-lucky

Musical

Pleasure loving

Sensitive

Arrogant

Friendly

Pushy

Humane

80. For these same characteristics, I would like to know how typical they are of the average White person.

SCALE:

- 1 - Very Typical
- 2 - Fairly Typical
- 3 - Somewhat Typical
- 4 - Not at all Typical

Industrious

Intelligent

Materialistic

Ambitious

Power Seeking

Alert

Efficient

Aggressive

Individualistic

Superstitious

Happy-go-lucky

Musical

Pleasure loving

Sensitive

Arrogant

Friendly

Pushy

Humane

81. How do you think your manager would rate these characteristics when judging a white employee for promotion or hire?

SCALE:

- 1 - Very Important
- 2 - Fairly Important
- 3 - Somewhat Important
- 4 - Not at all Important

Education

Ability

Aggressiveness

Integrity

Submissiveness

Honest

Trustworthiness

Decisiveness

Achievement

Has a good clean-cut appearance

Has a pleasant personality

Has high moral values

Has high self-control

Has the right social background

Is cooperative, spirit of teamwork

Is willing to accept criticism

Is willing to take risks

Looks like a manager

82. If you were judging an employee (black or white) for promotion or hire, how important would you rate the following characteristics?

SCALE:

- 1 - Very Important
- 2 - Fairly Important
- 3 - Somewhat Important
- 4 - Not at all Important

Education

Ability

Aggressiveness

Integrity

Submissiveness

Honesty

Trustworthiness

Decisiveness

Achievement

Has a good clean-cut appearance

Has a pleasant personality

Has high moral values

Has high self-control

Has the right social background

Is cooperative, spirit of teamwork

Is willing to accept criticism

Is willing to take risks

Looks like a manager

83. How do you think your manager would rate the following characteristics in importance when judging a black employee for promotion?

SCALE:

- 1 - Very Important
- 2 - Fairly Important
- 3 - Somewhat Important
- 4 - Not at all Important

Education

Ability

Aggressiveness

Integrity

Submissiveness

Honesty

Trustworthiness

Decisiveness

Achievement

Has a good clean-cut appearance

Has a pleasant personality

Has high moral values

Has high self-control

Has the right social background

Is cooperative, spirit of teamwork

Is willing to accept criticism

Is willing to take risks

Looks like a manager

Again, using the following scale, indicate your agreement or disagreement in the following statements.

SCALE:

1. Strongly Agree
2. Agree
3. Slightly Agree
4. Slightly Disagree
5. Disagree
6. Strongly Disagree.

84. I would like to be recognized as the best in my present job.
85. I would like to be recognized as an authority in some job or position.
86. I would like to be able to do things better than other people.
87. Any man with ability and willingness to work hard has a good chance of being successful regardless of his race.
88. I strive to be the best in my present area of responsibility.
89. I like to find out what great men have thought about in dealing with various problems in which I am interested.
90. I like to praise someone I admire.
91. I do not mind accepting the leadership of people I admire or respect.
92. I like to be independent of others in deciding what I want to do.
93. I like to be able to come and go as I want to.
94. I like to avoid situations where I am expected to do things in a conventional way.
95. I will disobey authority when I feel I am right on an issue.
96. I believe I can do just about any job if I am given the authority.
97. In a group, I rather be the chairman or leader.
98. I would like to supervise and direct others on my jobs.
99. I feel that I am able to influence people.
100. I like to be regarded by others as a leader.

Just two final questions. If you were describing your color, which of the following would you resemble most closely?

1. Adam C. Powell
2. Lena Horne
3. Harry Belafonte
4. Flip Wilson
5. Sidney Poitier or Nat King Cole.

And finally, considering everything about the company, i.e., promotional opportunities, policies and benefits, etc., how would you rate the company in relation to other companies you have worked or heard about?

1. The Best
2. One of the Best
3. Average
4. So-So
5. Poor

APPENDIX C

THIS SURVEY IS CONDUCTED TO STUDY MOBILITY  
FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH BLACK MOBILITY. ALL  
INFORMATION IS CONFIDENTIAL. PLEASE DO NOT  
SIGN YOUR NAME.

A. Rank the following characteristics in their order of importance for promotability.

Blacks

Characteristics

White

education  
ability  
integrity  
aggressiveness  
submissiveness  
honesty  
trustworthiness  
decisiveness  
achievement

B. Do you feel that degrees (shades) of color hinder one's chances for promotion?

1. Certainly
2. Probably
3. Not sure
4. Probably not
5. Certainly not

C. If you described your color, who would you resemble most closely?

1. Adam C. Powell
2. Muary Wills or Lena Horne
3. Harry Belafonte
4. Flip Wilson
5. Sidney Poitier or Nat King Cole

D. Do you feel that facial characteristics hinder one's chances for upward mobility?

1. Certainly
2. Probably
3. Not Sure
4. Probably not
5. Certainly not

E. How would you best describe your facial characteristics?  
(Answer best you can)

1. Negroid
2. American Black
3. African Black
4. Mulatto
5. Caucasoid

F Name some prominent person you resemble.

1. In color \_\_\_\_\_
2. Facial Characteristics \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX D

Rank the following characteristics in their order of importance for promotability for each group.

<u>Blacks</u>	<u>Characteristic</u>	<u>Whites</u>
	1. education	
	2. ability	
	3. aggressiveness	
	4. integrity	
	5. submissiveness	
	6. honesty	
	7. trustworthiness	
	8. decisiveness	
	9. achievements (performance)	

Do you feel that degrees (shades) of color hinders the Black individual opportunity for promotion?

Yes      No

Do you feel that facial characteristics hinders the Black individual opportunity for promotion? (i.e., Negroid features or Caucasoid features)

Yes      No

Do you notice any difference in the color of Black individuals?

Yes      No

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