

PATTERNS OF NEGRO NONACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT
AT THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS; THEIR
CONSEQUENCES FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

BY

DAVID EDWIN SHULENBURGER
A.B., Lenoir Rhyne College, 1967

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in Labor and Industrial Relations
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois, 1968

Urbana, Illinois

331.113
S694

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

August, 1968

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY DAVID EDWIN SHULENBURGER
ENTITLED PATTERNS OF NEGRO NONACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS; THEIR CONSEQUENCES FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION
BE ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

W. Elmer Holmes
In Charge of Thesis

Martin Wagner
Head of Department

Recommendation concurred in†

Committee
on
Final Examination†

† Required for doctor's degree but not for master's.

NOV 10 1968

PREFACE

7000-19

Although in the United States freedom and justice have traditionally been coupled in thought with great universities, America's universities have often in truth been mere reflectors of the mores and prejudices of their matrix, society. The case in point, the University of Illinois, appears to have far-reaching changes to undertake in the area of its Negro nonacademic employment.

The spring of 1968 has been marked by pressures brought to bear upon the university by groups as diverse as the Black Students Association and the American Association of University Professors to force changes in university employment policies toward Negroes. The University of Illinois, being a child of its environment, has responded to these pressures with programs of change and some actual degree of change. This author's interest in racial justice and a unique set of circumstances have combined to direct this thesis research around university efforts at bringing about change and the need for that change.

The first of these circumstances was the selection of university nonacademic Negro employment as the topic for investigation in the spring, 1968, LIR 492 seminar. This author's involvement in the class's research efforts and the class's research findings sparked an interest in gathering a complete picture of the many facets of the problem. Research produced by this group of students has been used in this paper, and the original term reports are available in the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations library.

An opportunity to investigate nonacademic employment was the second circumstance which is somewhat responsible for the choice of this

topic. An assistantship grant was made by the Office of the President to me so that under Professor W. Ellison Chalmers research in this area could be conducted.

The list of acknowledgments for aid and cooperation in the preparation of this thesis is necessarily long. First, Professor W. Ellison Chalmers, a man with far greater than an academic interest in Negro employment, deserves much credit for the direction of this research and for suggestion of areas of investigation which by and large proved to be quite fruitful.

University officials willingly gave assistance to this project, thus registering their dissatisfaction with the present inequitable situation. Mr. William K. Williams, Office of the President; Mr. Frank Duff, Bureau of Institutional Research; and Messrs. Carl Gates and Paul Hursey, Office of Nonacademic Employment, all have given considerable amounts of aid. Special thanks is due to the Office of the President for making available many hours of secretarial assistance during the tabulating and typing stages of the research.

Finally, very special thanks is due to my wife, Jane. Her help in preparing the various drafts of this thesis is no small contribution. My gratitude for her devotedness and encouragement is only partially expressed here.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
CHAPTER I: Introduction and Problem Area	1
CHAPTER II: Study Design and Methodology	26
CHAPTER III: Patterns of Employment by Families of Occupation	42
CHAPTER IV: Patterns of Employment by Occupational Category	59
CHAPTER V: Patterns of Employment by Authority Units	74
CHAPTER VI: Patterns of Employment by Promotional Sequences	84
CHAPTER VII: Prognosis for University Affirmative Action and Conclusions	90
BIBLIOGRAPHY	109
APPENDIX A: A Brief Review of the Nonacademic Employment Process at the University of Illinois	116
APPENDIX B: Families of Occupation	122
APPENDIX C: Authority Units' Racial Employment Patterns	144
APPENDIX D: Promotional Sequences	211
APPENDIX E: Affirmative Action Workshop	216
APPENDIX F: Affirmative Action Letters	226
APPENDIX G: Chalmers-Shulenburg Report to the Chancellor ..	240

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Classification of University Employees by Race and Occupation	18
2. Distribution of University of Illinois (Urbana Campus) Nonacademic Employees by Race and Families of Occupation .	43
3. Distribution of University of Illinois Nonacademic Status Employment (Urbana Campus) by Race and Pay Code Within the Family of Occupation "No Education-No Experience".....	50
4. Scoring on University Civil Service Selection Tests by Race, Educational Level, and Minimum Educational Requirement of Position Tested For.....	54
5. Distribution of All Status Employees of the University of Illinois (Urbana Campus) by Race and Occupational Category.....	61
6. Proportional Distribution of Negroes by Occupational Categories: In Champaign-Urbana, As U. of I. Job Applicants, and As U. of I. Employees.....	66
7. Proportional Distribution of Negroes as a Percent of U. of I. Job Applicants, of Those Passing Selection Tests and of the U. of I. Work Force by Occupational Category...	68
8. Nonacademic Employment in the Building Trades at the U. of I. by Craft and Race of Incumbent.....	70
9. Nonacademic Employment on the Urbana Campus of the University of Illinois by Major Administrative Unit and Race of Employee.....	77
10. Nonacademic Employment by Type of Administrative Unit and Race of Incumbent at the University of Illinois, Urbana Campus.....	79
11. Selected Food Service Promotional Sequences by Race of Employees at the University of Illinois, Urbana Campus....	85
12. Selected Clerical Promotional Sequences by Race of Employees at the University of Illinois, Urbana Campus....	85
13. University Nonacademic Employment: Referrals and Hiring and Current University Employees.....	102

LIST OF TABLES (Cont'd)

Table	Page
14. Family of Occupation "No Education-No Experience," U. of I., Urbana Campus.....	123
15. Family of Occupation "No Education-Experience," U. of I., Urbana Campus.....	124
16. Family of Occupation "High School-No Experience," U. of I., Urbana Campus.....	127
17. Family of Occupation "High School-Experience," U. of I., Urbana Campus.....	129
18. Family of Occupation "A.B.-No Experience," U. of I., Urbana Campus.....	135
19. Family of Occupation "A.B.-Experience," U. of I., Urbana Campus.....	136
20. Family of Occupation "Master of Arts Degree," U. of I., Urbana Campus.....	139
21. Family of Occupation "Special Degree, U. of I., Urbana Campus.....	140
22. Family of Occupation "No Education-One Year Experience U. of I., Urbana Campus.....	141
23. Family of Occupation "High School-One Year Experience," U. of I., Urbana Campus.....	142
24. Nonacademic Employment at the U. of I. by Race for Major and Minor Authority Units.....	145
25. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College O2-Admissions President.....	150
26. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College O2-Admissions Provost.....	152
27. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College O4-Admissions.....	155
28. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College O5-Admissions: Administrative.....	159

LIST OF TABLES (Cont'd)

Table	Page
29. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 07-Admissions: Nonacademic Personnel.....	161
30. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 10-Health Service.....	163
31. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 15-Agriculture.....	166
32. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 20-Education.....	171
33. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 22-Engineering.....	173
34. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 26-Graduate.....	178
35. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 32-Liberal Arts and Sciences.....	182
36. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 40-Extension Division.....	187
37. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 44-Veterinary Medicine.....	190
38. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 52-Institute of Aviation.....	192
39. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 78-University Press.....	194
40. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 80-Library and Library Science.....	197
41. Nonacademic Employment by Families of Occupation and Race, College 82-Physical Plant.....	199
42. Selected Promotional Sequences of Nonacademic Employment at the U. of I., Urbana Campus.....	212

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Bureau of Institutional Research Identification Card	31
2. Proportional Distribution of Status Nonacademic Employees by Race and Families of Occupation	44
3. Proportional Distribution of University Employed Negroes by Families of Occupation and of the Champaign-Urbana Negro Labor Force by Educational Level	48
4. Proportional Distribution of Status Nonacademic Employees by Race and Occupational Category	62
5. Proportional Distribution of Negroes by Occupational Category: Champaign-Urbana Negro Labor Force and University of Illinois Negro Nonacademic Employment	63

CHAPTER I

Introduction and Problem Area

When measured by the educational, economic, occupational, and social standards of white Americans, the relatively disadvantageous position of the American Negro community is thoroughly documented. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders in its "basic conclusion" that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white--separate and unequal"¹ did not materially add to the fund of knowledge on race in the United States; it merely yielded its influence as a presidentially appointed committee to its foregone conclusion in the hope of impressing the urgency of that fact upon American policy makers.

Statistics which substantiate the unequal position of the Negro are readily available. The median family income of Negroes in this country is only 58 per cent of that of the 1966 white family income.² The 1967 Negro unemployment rate was 8.2 per cent, compared it 3.4 per cent for whites.³ Negroes are more heavily concentrated in the lower status occupational categories of service workers and non-farm laborers (36 per cent), while whites are only sparsely involved in these occupations (12 per cent).⁴ Thirty-seven per cent of all Negro households are in poverty as defined by the Office of Economic Opportunity, more than three times the 12 per cent of white homes in similar deprivation.⁵

In educational attainment the Negro is also unequal, with average educational level of blacks over 14 years of age being 9.2 years, while the comparable figure for whites is 12.7 years.⁶ Additionally the education which the Negro receives is not of the quality of that which the white receives, as Negroes who have completed grade 12 have a tested achievement grade level of 9.2, while the level for comparably educated whites is 12.7.⁷ This lesser Negro educational level trend existing over several decades is evidenced by this racial group's illiteracy rate of 7.5 per cent, as compared to the much more moderate rate of 1.6 per cent for whites.⁸ Finally, all of the aforesaid inequities are surmounted by a breakdown in Negro home life: 24.5 per cent of all Negroes are currently born out of wedlock, while only 3.4 per cent of all white children are born into such circumstances.⁹ Since these statistics point out the average, i.e. the central tendency of Negroes' life conditions, it is well to note that there are many Negroes who fall far below these measures and live under circumstances in which the continuance of life is barely possible.

Similar statistics indicating that the Negro has not shared to nearly the degree that the white has in the affluence and abundance of this country, coupled with pressure by organized blacks and white liberals, provided the impetus for persuading the United States government to attempt to put an end to discrimination. This discrimination has denied Negroes an equal access to education and occupational opportunities and was thus felt to be deeply implicated in the unequal status of the black man. By eliminating economic and educational discrimination, some reasoned that the causes of the Negroes' inequality

would be overcome; hence the basic inequality between whites and blacks would disappear. Additional programs which proposed to attack poverty among all Americans through a variety of means ranging from welfare grants to job training were established or continued in operation under no fewer than twenty-three federal governmental units.¹⁰

Yet, in spite of these attempts to alleviate the inequality between whites and Negroes, President Johnson indicated in his February, 1968, Economic Report of the President that the "nonwhite" was one of three American groups that accounted for a disproportionate amount of the nation's poverty.¹¹ In March, 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders arrived at the same but much broader conclusion: in nearly every statistically descriptive facet the Negro's life condition still is not equal to that of the white.¹² In fact, one of the crudest indicators of equality--the ratio of median family income of the Negro to that of the white--indicated that from 1960, when the income ratio (expressed as a percentage) was 55.4 per cent, until 1964, this ratio had increased by only 0.6 percentage points,¹³ indicating very little relative improvement. Such reinforcement of the existing structure of inequality between the races prompted such prominent civil rights spokesmen as Whitney Young, Jr., of the Urban League to request and demand "compensatory action" on the part of government and business "until," as Young expressed it, ". . . such time as Negroes have begun to catch up with whites."¹⁴

Young's request for compensatory action to aid the Negro and the context in which it was made recognize 1) that the Negro is behind, and 2) that without special attention and help the Negro will not catch up. Moreover, this indicates that the mere absence of discrimination on

the basis of race (as demanded of employers of 25 persons or more covered by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, federal contractors, subcontractors, and governmental units under Executive Order 11246, and certain employers in 30 states which have Fair Employment Practice Laws¹⁵) will not be sufficient to overcome inequality and to permit the Negro to "catch up."

A summary of the demands of civil rights groups related to the economic and occupational "catching up" of which Young speaks lays out a three-step program that this process should take: 1) all discrimination against the Negro should be stopped and prevented, 2) the capacities of Negroes should be developed, and 3) preferential treatment of the Negro, as contrasted to treatment accorded whites, should be developed.¹⁶ Acknowledgement that Negro capacities need to be developed and that preferential treatment is essential to irradiate the existing inequalities in no way substantiates the thesis that Negroes are basically inferior to whites. Such an acknowledgement is instead a derived function of the discriminatory treatment which the Negro American has been accorded. As the Moynihan Report expressed it, a "tangle of pathology" entwining the Negro developed from the period of slavery has now become self-perpetuating and holds the Negro back, prohibiting his competing effectively with the white.¹⁷

The breakdown of Negro family life caused by and resulting in the emasculation of the Negro male, which in turn was rooted in slavery and the subsequent generations of discrimination, is the beginning of what some have termed a "vicious cycle" which has served to make the Negro's life opportunities fewer than those of the white.¹⁸ The next step in this cycle is discrimination and lack of family income, which

either prohibits the Negro from acquiring education and training or "forces" him to accept training in the traditional Negro trades: shoe repair, cosmetology, auto repair, carpentry, masonry, etc.¹⁹ Thus when the Negro attempts to enter the labor market, he is suddenly confronted with his lack of skill and given only menial jobs for which he has been permitted to become qualified. Negroes who have acquired skills requisite for more demanding positions may be refused such positions due to discriminatory decisions made by employers. In time such inability to successfully compete in the labor market makes Negroes suspicious of whites and reluctant to participate in that market.

Negro children see such skepticism and pessimism among their elders and acquire the attitude that they cannot succeed in the labor market no matter how hard they try. For this reason these children view education merely as a ritualized experience with no positive function; therefore, they do not make the special efforts to achieve education and training which the labor market needs. Thus the cycle continually repeats itself, being further complicated by tangles of pathology which come to involve disproportionately high rates of crime, disease, illiteracy, and illegitimacy. Due to these cyclical patterns of self-reinforcing inequality measures beyond the mere absence of discrimination ("preferential treatment," as Young would prefer to label it, or "affirmative action," as the more sedate membership of the National Industrial Conference Board insist upon calling such actions)²⁰ are essential for breaking these patterns.

Yet, affirmative action programs in relation to Negro employment did not suddenly spring up in the early 1960's, when the term was invented and civil rights agitation began pointing to the need for it.

Affirmative actions actually began in particular firms about the country as they were pressured to increase the proportions of Negroes on their pay rolls and were confronted with the alarming fact that the mere absence of discrimination in their firms would not be sufficient to bring in Negroes. Such pressure on business to increase Negro work force proportions came partially from the agitation of civil rights groups through picketing, "selective patronage" campaigns, boycotts, and other devices.²¹ Additional pressure came from various governmental units.

The President's Committee on Governmental Contracts indicated as early as 1958 that in spite of functioning merit employment policies which appear to be nondiscriminatory, the absence of Negroes in departments or plants is very strong indicatory of discriminatory activity.²² More recently the federal courts have ruled in an Ohio case that the absence of Negroes on the work forces of subcontractors of Ohio State University is sufficient evidence to indicate discrimination by these subcontractors and their unions.²³ In addition to this legal precedent, administrative precedents which also infer discrimination from the absence of blacks on work forces have been set in Des Moines²⁴ and St. Louis.²⁵

This legal precedent and administrative actions do, in fact, require affirmative action designed to bolster the number of Negroes on the work forces of the defendants; were it not for the common finding that underrepresentation of Negroes in the work force implies the presence of discrimination, which is prohibited by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, there would be no legal ground for requiring affirmative actions or preferential treatment to augment work forces with Negroes. In actuality, Section 703(j), Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

specifically prohibits the United States government from requiring preferential treatment of the Negro by private employers: "Nothing contained in this title shall be interpreted to require any employer . . . to grant preferential treatment to any individual or to any group . . . on account of an imbalance. . ." It is well to note here that this clause restrains only the federal government; it does not prohibit the private employer from undertaking programs of preferential treatment.²⁶

Thus faced with the necessity to integrate work operations more proportionately, it became necessary for employers to develop methods which would break down the discriminatory, structural, and psychological barriers between themselves and potential Negro employees. Peter T. Schoemann, head of the United Association of Plumbers and Fitters, calls such breaking down of barriers "affirmative actions" and goes on to describe such action as a "subsidy," a "domestic aid program." Schoemann characterizes an affirmative action program as a directed program, not concerned with the color blind goal of equal opportunity but concerned with a direct "color conscious" approach.²⁷

The literature reveals a great many problem areas to which a successful program of affirmative action must address itself. The United States Civil Service²⁸ and the federal Plans for Progress Committee²⁹ have established and completed effective affirmative action programs. Richard D. Alexander *et al.*,³⁰ Louis A. Ferman,³¹ and George Schermer³² have each compiled case studies of effectively operating programs of affirmative action in a number of private companies. In addition, numerous authors³³ suggest specific affirmative actions which could supplement the comprehensive programs of action suggested by Ferman, Alexander, and Schermer. The following is a catalogue (drawn

from the sources listed in this paragraph) which should constitute a rather comprehensive outline for a program of effective affirmative action:

I. Establishment and Dissemination of Policy

- A. Formulate a policy committing the firm to affirmative action.
- B. Have the chief executive announce the policy.
- C. Publicize the policy to employees.
- D. Publicize the policy to the Negro and white communities.
- E. Have the firm join Plans for Progress or the National Alliance of Businessmen.

II. Administration of Policy

- A. Appoint a firm-wide affirmative action coordinator.
- B. Establish an information network that will develop an inventory of firm personnel by racial composition.
- C. Set goals or targets (numbers or ratios of Negro employees) by which to gauge effectiveness of affirmative action policy.
- D. Set aside certain jobs to be filled only by Negro employees.
- E. Establish training programs which would qualify unskilled Negroes for jobs in the firm.

III. Recruiting

- A. Advertise openings in both major news media and Negro news media.
- B. Solicit the recruiting cooperation of Negro ministers, community leaders, and organizations (e.g. Urban League, Skills Bank).
- C. Establish a recruiting office in the Negro section of the community.
- D. Hire Negro recruiters.
- E. Publish descriptive accounts of the firm with pictures of Negro employees on the job.
- F. Send recruiters to Negro high schools and colleges.
- G. Establish pre-employment training programs which are designed to qualify individuals for work in the firm.

IV. Selection Techniques

- A. Validate selection tests for minority groups.
- B. Use criteria such as motivation, work experience, and potential for development in addition to test scores as a basis for selection.

- C. Use a "moderator variable" in evaluating Negro test scores.
- D. Use oral tests.
- E. Develop and use practice tests.
- F. Acquaint personnel selection officers with cultural differences of Negro applicants.
- G. Impress upon personnel selection officers the urgency and sincerity of firm affirmative action policy.
- H. When Negro and white applicants appear to be equally well qualified, hire the Negro applicant.
- I. Evaluate and adjust when feasible unnecessarily high minimum educational requirements.

V. Adjustment to Employment

- A. Assign counselors or "buddies" to hard core hires who will acquaint them with work routines, advise them concerning problems which they encounter, and insure their punctuality in getting to work.
- B. Advise fellow employees of the introduction of minority group members to the work force and solicit their co-operation in retaining these persons as employees.
- C. Fire employees who refuse to work with minority group employees for racial reasons.
- D. Educate supervisors about the problems which they may face with minority group employees and teach them how to cope with these problems.
- E. Offer training programs which will qualify all employees for advancement within the firm.
- F. Establish channels through which complaints of discrimination may be voiced and adjudicated.
- G. Establish exit interviews to evaluate the reasons for termination of employment by minority group employees.

VI. Promotion and Upgrading

- A. Maintain equal access for members of every ethnic group to channels of promotion and company-sponsored programs of educational assistance and training.
- B. Encourage qualified minority group employees to apply for upgrading and promotion.
- C. Make efforts to insure the inclusion of minority group members at every level of firm administration.

VII. Other Internal Policies

- A. Analyze technical, clerical, operative, and skilled jobs and break repetitive and routine facets of these jobs down so that little-skilled applicants can perform these jobs.
- B. Make sure that every vestige of segregation is removed from plant facilities.

VIII. Administrative Evaluation of Program's Progress

- A. Require reports concerning ethnic data from each unit of the plant.
- B. Evaluate and require changes where warranted.
- C. Have equal opportunity and affirmative action as an agenda item at staff meetings.

Programs with many of the above facets have been successful³⁴ in increasing both numbers and proportions of Negroes on firm pay rolls. In fact, a program very similar in many respects to the one listed above has been quite successfully conducted by federal agencies staffed by the United States Civil Service Commission. From the 1962 outset of this affirmative action program until 1967, Negro employment covered by civil service increased by 97,757 individuals, an increase of 33.4 per cent. (This represents an increase from 13 per cent of the work force's being Negro in 1962 to nearly 15 per cent of the work force's being Negro in 1967.) Although this increase was more pronounced at lower civil service occupational levels than at high levels, some increase was evident at higher levels as well.³⁵

Various experts in the field view certain aspects of affirmative action as being the most important. Toby Kahr, a personnel officer with experience gained in the area of affirmative action with Ford Motor Company, considers the emphasis and priority given the policy by the chief executive of the firm to be the sine quo non of an affirmative action program.³⁶ Personnel management theory supports the weight which Kahr assigns to top level priorities and support.³⁷ Virgil Martin of Carson Pirie Scott and Company³⁸ and Edwin Berry of the Chicago Urban League³⁹ tend to place a premium upon the development of a personal relationship between the new Negro hard-core type employee and a sponsor

or "buddy" within the firm. Yet, inasmuch as affirmative action is a relatively new program in business, there has not been sufficient time for the use of factor analysis to determine its essential and most productive features. Perhaps for that reason most of the literature on the subject recommends a broad, many-faceted program, and Kahr, Martin, and Berry also recommend other factors beyond those about which they feel most strongly.

Specific Problem Area

Education through research and instruction is the avowed goal of the University of Illinois, and more than 30,000 students and 5,000 academicians attend and staff the Urbana campus of the university in the pursuit of that goal. Education cannot, however, be conducted in a purely academic vacuum. Students must be housed and fed, the physical plant and grounds must be maintained, administrative records must be kept, and research must be recorded and transmitted; over 5,000 individuals--known to the university as "nonacademic" employees--are hired on the Urbana campus to perform these functions.

In a letter dated February 5, 1968, and addressed to deans, directors, and heads of academic administrative departments, Chancellor J. W. Peltason of the Urbana campus of the University of Illinois committed that campus to a policy of "affirmative action" in the employment of minority groups, "especially Negroes." His letter continued to explain that such affirmative action is necessary to "make visible" the university's policy of fair employment practice, which had been operationally impeded through "events in history" and "acts and procedures." His assignment of responsibility for implementing

affirmative action procedures to the Office of Nonacademic Personnel makes it rather clear that the policy statement has particular relevance to nonacademic employment.

The "fair employment practice" policy which Chancellor Peltason's directive superseded was succinctly enunciated by the president of the university, David D. Henry, in a letter dated February 24, 1966, which was also addressed to deans, directors, and head of departments (Urbana and Chicago).

Equality of Treatment of Applicants and Employees Appointments and promotions are made by the University of Illinois solely on the basis of merit and fitness in relation to the reasonable requirements of the job to be filled. University officials will assure that employees are selected and treated during employment without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. The sex of an applicant or an employee will also be disregarded except as the nature of the position or state law requires otherwise.

The recently appointed campus-wide affirmative action officer, Mr. Joseph Smith, expressed the reasoning behind the university's new affirmative action stance as a reaction by the university to the failure of campus administrators to put the stated fair employment policy "into effect on an operational level."⁴⁰ Mr. Smith was accurate in his statement inasmuch as he indicated that the failure to implement university policy was responsible for administrative reaction in the form of an affirmative action policy, rather than nonexistence of such policy. A brief review of university policy for the past two decades indicates the evolution of that policy from a stage of reluctance to the present affirmative action phase.

The Evolution of University Nondiscrimination Policy On September 25, 1946, the Board of Trustees of the university voted

" . . . to continue a policy which will favor and strengthen attitudes and social philosophies which are necessary to create a community atmosphere in which racial prejudice cannot thrive." This statement was made in response to agitation by a campus group which was pressing for university support of community integration. The resolution became the first written statement of university nondiscriminatory policy.⁴¹

In 1948 the same campus student group began to pressure the university to integrate the segregated washroom facilities which it maintained for employees of the Illini Union. Reluctant to integrate these washrooms, Mr. Donald E. Dickason, Director of the Office of Nonacademic Employment, in consultation with the Chairman of the Psychology Department hired a graduate student to function as an incognito participant-observer employee of the Illini Union in the hope of ascertaining whether there was employee dissatisfaction with segregated facilities. After three months of observation, the graduate student concluded that the employees, both black and white, were " . . . entirely satisfied with the dressing room accommodations." Director Dickason, anxious to know first hand the feeling of the Negro employees on this matter, summoned four Negro employees to his office and asked them for opinions of the situation. He reported from this conversation that there existed " . . . no sense of unfair discrimination in the minds of colored employees." As a result, Dr. Stoddard, president of the university, developed the strategy that contingent upon the request from the Negro employees for integrated washrooms, these facilities would be integrated. Such a request never came, and only after the university received a legal opinion stating that under Illinois law such segregation was illegal did Vernon L. Kretchmer, Director of the Illini Union, on September 13, 1948,

integrate the washrooms.⁴² This incident provides a glimpse at the informal policy of the university, a markedly different one from the stated policy of the Board of Trustees.

The 1950's did not see major changes in university formal policy. Perhaps the degree of discrepancy between policy and practice was diminished as the university dormitory building program got under way, and the units were filled on an integrated basis. Then in 1962 the Board of Trustees acted to make discriminatory practices of off-campus housing units a reason for not approving these units for housing university undergraduates. At this time the board also affirmed ". . . its traditional policy of non-discrimination in all of its operations. . . ." ⁴³

In spite of the board's affirmation of nondiscriminatory policy, the Human Relations Commission of Champaign noted in 1961 that alleged cases of discrimination in employment at the University of Illinois were occurring. Perhaps out of a sense of obligation to abide by the Board of Trustees' policy statement, the university cooperated with the Human Relations Commission at this time in setting up procedures. ". . . to assist in the uniform application of its (the University of Illinois') merit employment policy." ⁴⁴

President Henry reported to the president of the Student Senate on October 2, 1963, concerning actions which were being taken to reinforce the university's nondiscrimination policies. Among those actions reported were the following: 1) the Executive Vice President and Provost had taken action to insure equality in nonacademic employment, and 2) the university was acting within a "limited area of authority" to rid its contractors of discriminatory policies. ⁴⁵

"We remain pledged to administer our affairs so that the merit principle at all times governs employment, promotion, and educational policies. This itself is, of course, a principle which excludes the irrelevant considerations such as race and insures our determination that no aspect of our work will be stained by discrimination."

This was the policy statement of President Henry to the Board of Trustees in October of 1965. During this year (1965) a first affirmative stance of the university policy developed, as the university employed William K. Williams as a full time staff associate ". . . to work in the area of intergroup relations. . . ." Part of Mr. Williams' duties was to seek "positively" ways and means of improving the operation of the merit principle and conditions of nonacademic employment at the University of Illinois.⁴⁶

A 1965 action taken by the university and authorized by the Board of Trustees was the collection of ethnic data relating to faculty and nonacademic staff. This policy move was affirmative in that the board authorized the use of the collected data for reporting statistics required by the federal government and for evaluating carefully ". . . the various questions which have to do with the experience of minority group members on our campuses." This collection of data was not, however, initiated by the university, for it was required of the university by an Executive Order.⁴⁷

The first action to promote the employment of Negroes was made in 1966, when as a result of pressures applied to the university by civil rights groups, i.e. Committee for Community Integration and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the University of Illinois successfully attempted to get the University Civil Service System to establish a new test for janitors and to offer a practice exam

for persons interested in that position. Moreover, 1966 saw 1) President Henry restate university nondiscriminatory policy, 2) publication of university position openings for circulation to those members of the minority community who might find minority applicants for those positions, and 3) the establishment in Urbana of an Equal Opportunity Committee to serve as advisor to the Director of Nonacademic Personnel.⁴⁸

University policy assumed a more affirmative stance in 1967 under the direction of the new chancellor. In September of that year, a Negro personnel officer began actively recruiting Negro employees in the Negro community itself. Also, a small trainee program was organized, and several Negro girls were given basic clerical training.

On February 5, 1968, Chancellor Peltason formally committed the university to a policy of affirmative action which, as he stated, involved two things: 1) the university's development of a program to help applicants who had been retarded by socio-economic conditions and lack skills to do work to overcome those disadvantages and 2) the communication of the policy to nonacademic employees and supervisors.⁴⁹

On May 2, 1968, Associate Chancellor for Administration, John W. Briscoe, interpreted the chancellor's affirmative action policy into certain activities: 1) a review and realistic adjustment of the formal education and experience requirements of every nonacademic position, 2) the establishment of more entry level positions, 3) the establishment and use of learner and "trainee" programs, 4) the appointment of an affirmative action officer for each administrative unit, 5) a commitment to hire the Negro if he is one of the persons referred to the department by the Office of Nonacademic Personnel, and 6) the establishment of learner programs for positions for which there are no qualified Negro

applicants.⁵⁰ The university was required to reword this statement on May 13 as the result of a charge of "reverse discrimination." This reworded statement did not specifically mention the Negro minority group, but inserted a requirement that written reason be given for the selection of every applicant.⁵¹ Concurrently, William K. Williams speaking for the chancellor issued an informal university policy statement noting that even though the word Negro had been omitted from the written statement, the implementation of the policy would be undertaken as though it were written there.⁵²

On May 11, 1968, the University also issued a joint public statement with the Contractors Association and the union of the Building Trades Council setting forth a program of affirmative action in the building trades. The program enunciated includes 1) recruitment, 2) motivation, 3) inventory of available skills in the Negro community, and 4) preapprenticeship training.⁵³

The Situation in Fact The above catalogue of policy substantiates the administration's claim that there has been no lack of formal nondiscriminatory policy on campus, and it further reveals a policy evolution from a posture of hesitant agreement to a somewhat aggressive posture of affirmative action. Nevertheless, examination of university-collected ethnic data on most of its Urbana campus employees (academic, nonacademic, status, and nonstatus) appears to disclose a possible discrepancy between university policy and university employment practices.

TABLE 1: Classification of University Employees by Race and Occupation
(December 1, 1967)

Occupational category	Total Employees	Negro Employees	% (N/T)
Officials and Managers	502	15	2.99
Professionals	8,590	86	1.00
Technicians	445	13	2.92
Sales Workers	12	0	----
Office and Clerical	2,517	70	2.78
Craftsmen (skilled)	676	9	1.33
Operatives (semi-skilled)	215	0	----
Laborers (unskilled)	529	126	23.82
Service Workers	986	131	13.29
Totals	14,472	450	3.11

Source: "Equal Employment Opportunity, Employment Information Report, EEO-I," as filed with the Joint Reporting Committee by the University of Illinois, March, 1968.

Table 1 indicates that 3.11 per cent of all university employees are Negro; this compares with 8.2 per cent of the Champaign-Urbana labor force which the 1960 census classified as Negro.⁵⁴ The smaller proportion that is employed by the university may denote inequality in the employment of Negroes by the university or the lack of an existing supply of Negroes in the community that are qualified for university employment. In addition, the disproportionate proportions of Negroes that are employed by the university in the laborer and service worker categories suggest either that the Negroes who have been hired by the university are qualified for service and laborer jobs or that the university discriminately hires Negroes primarily for service and laborer occupational categories.

Chancellor Peltason stated that "affirmative action means that when we find that socio-economic conditions have retarded a person's development of skills required to do useful work, the university develop programs to help applicants to overcome these disadvantages."⁵⁵ Thus if the disproportionate number of Negroes employed by the university is due to a lack of skills caused by "socio-economic conditions," then the university policy is to ". . . help the applicant overcome these disadvantages." If, on the other hand, the disproportionate employment of Negroes is due to past or present discriminatory hiring practices, university policy, as we have seen, presents a mandate prohibiting the continuance of such practices.

[Not explicitly stated by the university but implicit within any program of affirmative action is the premise that the mere discontinuance of discrimination will not bring improvement to the situation in which Negro employees find themselves. Affirmative action means that efforts will be made to alter the frozen system of employment and promotion which has kept the Negro from attaining equal status with the white employee in such a way that the black employee of the University of Illinois will benefit.]

Hypotheses, Key Questions, and Goals

This study will not be an attempt to demonstrate discriminatory employment behavior on the part of the university. It will instead attempt to analyze the patterns of nonacademic employment at the University of Illinois, Urbana campus, as they relate to race and then pose hypothetical explanations for the existence of these patterns as they presently prevail.

The basic question which will be dealt with is this: Is the employment position of the Negro at the University of Illinois basically unequal with that of the white? (It is this author's hypothesis that the Negro in Champaign-Urbana has been denied access to education and opportunity to gain experience in skilled jobs; therefore, the Negro qualifies for--and gets--the unskilled university jobs. The study will also make a brief attempt at matching the skills required for work at the university and the skills available among the Negro community in Champaign-Urbana. Similarly, it will investigate the extent to which entrance level positions are available in university employment.]

Other relevant questions concern structural inquiries which have to do with the Negro's ability to gain and keep employment at the university. Does he score well enough on qualifying tests to gain employment at the university? Is he accepted by his peers at work? Do employees who have no contact with the Negro at work wish to continue workplace segregation? Does the unionization of certain jobs at the university make it difficult for the Negro to be employed in those positions?

A final set of key questions deals with the possibilities for changes in the racial patterns of employment at the university in the future. Will more Negroes be employed? Will more Negroes be employed in the higher occupational categories? What changes in the employment system of the university would be conducive to changes in the patterns of Negro employment?

Assumptions and Values

This author is very much involved personally in the area of race relations, having utilized much of his period of graduate study to

investigate the problems immanent in this area and also having supported the cause of racial justice. Equality of the races is indeed an integral part of his value system.

An assumption of this paper is that the university, i.e. its high-ranking administrators, wants an end to discrimination on this campus and the development of programs that will have a compensatory effect upon the life conditions of Negroes who have been harmed by discrimination within the university and in the Champaign-Urbana community. It is also an assumption of this author that the pressures being applied to the university by the Citizens for Racial Justice, the Committee for Community Integration, the NAACP, and the federal government to fully integrate university work forces are very real pressures with which the University of Illinois feels it must cope. It is further assumed that the affirmative action programs being developed by the university represent honest attempts to increase the number of Negroes on the university staff and to give such Negroes positions at least commensurate with their abilities; these programs are assumed not to be merely tactics to relieve pressure without solving the problems that created those pressures.

FOOTNOTES--Chapter I

¹National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, Inc., 1968), p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 251.

³Ibid., p. 253.

⁴Ibid., p. 254.

⁵U. S. President and Council of Economic Advisers, The Economic Report of the President and the Council of Economic Advisers: 1967, p. 140.

⁶U. S. President, Manpower Report of the President, April, 1968, p. 259.

⁷U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Social and Economic Conditions of Negroes in the United States (Report 332), 1967, p. 49.

⁸U. S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 99, p. 5.

⁹U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, op. cit., p. 193.

¹⁰U. S. Congress, Subcommittee on Economic Progress of the Joint Economic Committee, Federal Program for the Development of Human Resources, Joint Committee Print (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966).

¹¹U. S. President and Council of Economic Advisers. The Economic Report of the President and the Council of Economic Advisers: 1968, p. 142.

¹²National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder, op. cit., pp. 236-278.

¹³U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, op. cit., p. 138.

¹⁴George Schermer, Employer's Guide to Equal Opportunity (Washington: The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1966), p. 13.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 68-75.

¹⁶W. Ellison Chalmers, "The Limited Potential for Negro-White Job Equality" (Champaign: Institute of Labor, 1967), p. 19. (mimeographed)

¹⁷Congressional Quarterly Service, Revolution in Civil Rights 3rd ed.; Washington: Congressional Quarterly Service, 1967), p. 25.

FOOTNOTES--Chapter I (Con't.)

¹⁸Speech by Edwin L. Berry, Director of Chicago Urban League, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations Seminar, Champaign, Illinois, March 15, 1968, and Congressional Quarterly Service, op. cit.

¹⁹Office of Career Development, U. S. Civil Service System, "Equal Employment Opportunity Training; A Program for Affirmative Action" (Washington: Office of Career Development, 1964), p. 1. (mimeographed.)

²⁰National Industrial Conference Board, Company Experience with Negro Employment ("Studies in Personnel Policy," Vol. I, No. 201; New York: National Industrial Conference Board, 1966), p. ii.

²¹See Hannah Lees, "The Not-Buying Power of Philadelphia Negroes," The Reporter, XXIV (May 11, 1961), 33-35; Eric Lincoln, "The Strategy of a Sit-In," The Reporter, January 5, 1961, pp. 20-22; "More Race Pressure on Business," Business Week, May 12, 1962, pp. 130-131; and "Negro Buying Power," Ebony, XXI (September 11, 1966), 56.

²²Bernard Karsh and Kenneth Downey, "Merit Employment in Champaign" (Urbana: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations and the Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, 1959), pp. 6-7. (mimeographed.)

²³"Ohio Sets a Precedent for Equal Opportunity," Engineering News-Record, CLXXX (March 4, 1968), 54-55.

²⁴"Racial Issue Makes Builders Edgy," Engineering News-Record, CLXXVII (August 25, 1960), 69-70.

²⁵"Administration Hardens Stand Against Job Bias," Business Week, February 12, 1966, p. 95.

²⁶George Schermer, loc. cit.

²⁷"Schoemann Urges 'Affirmative Action,'" John Herling's Labor Letter (Washington), March 30, 1968, p. 2.

²⁸U. S. Civil Service Commission, Federal Practices Manual, Bulletin No. 300-9, p. 11 and attachment, p. 713-3 and Office of Career Development, op. cit., pp. 1-15.

²⁹Bureau of National Affairs, Fair Employment Practices: Labor Policy and Practice. (Binder 6) (Washington: Bureau of National Affairs (loose leaf) 1968) p. 490:31.

³⁰Richard D. Alexander et al., The Management of Racial Integration in Business (New York: Mc Graw-Hill, Inc., 1964).

³¹Louis A. Ferman, "The Negro and Equal Employment Opportunity: A Review of Management Experience in Twenty Companies" (Ann Arbor: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Michigan, 1966). (mimeographed.)

³²George Schermer, op. cit.

³³Philip Ash, "Discrimination in Hiring and Placement," Personnel, XLIV (Nov., 1967), 8-17; Eugene Rowan and Stephen N. Shulman, "Hire and Train Minority Groups? Two Views on Why You Should," Factory, CXXVI (August, 1967), 14-15; W. Ellison Chalmers, op. cit.; George Schermer, "The Demand for Equal Rights," The Personnel Job in a Changing World, ed. Jerome W. Blood (New York: American Management Association, 1964), pp. 320-338; National Industrial Conference Board, op. cit., Vol. I, No. 201; and Joe L. Russel, "Changing Patterns in Employment of Non-white Workers," Monthly Labor Review, LXXXIII (May, 1966), 503-509.

³⁴For examples see Richard Alexander et al., loc. cit., Louis A. Ferman, loc. cit., and George Schermer, Employer's Guide to Equal Opportunity.

³⁵John W. Macy, Chairman of U. S. Civil Service System, "Memorandum to Heads of Departments and Agencies" (Washington: U. S. Civil Service Commission, April 24, 1968).

³⁶Toby Kahr, Interview as reported by W. Ellison Chalmers, Urbana, Illinois, March 7, 1968.

³⁷R. C. Davis, "Business Policy," Selected Readings for Industrial Administration 448, ed. D. R. Day (Champaign: University of Illinois 1967). (mimeographed.)

³⁸Speech by Virgil Martin, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations Seminar, February 23, 1968.

³⁹Edwin L. Berry, loc. cit.

⁴⁰"Officers Appointed to Advise Affirmative Action Program" Campus Report from the Office of the Chancellor, Vol. I, No. 6 (June 1, 1968), 3.

⁴¹Cathie Hutton, "The U. of I. and the Drive for Negro Equality, 1941-1951" (unpublished graduate seminar paper, University of Illinois, 1966), p. 8.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 20-21.

⁴³"Policy Concerning Student Housing," Faculty Letter from the Office of the President, No. 96 (April 30, 1965), 2.

FOOTNOTES--Chapter I (Con't.)

⁴⁴Aaron Morris Bandman, "Minority Collective Action Against Local Discrimination" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, 1961), p. 7.

⁴⁵"The University and Civil Rights," Faculty Letter from the Office of the President, No. 66 (October 15, 1963), 2.

⁴⁶"University Action in the Area of Human Relations and Equal Opportunity, 1964-65," Faculty Letter from the Office of the President, No. 129 (November 1, 1966), 1.

⁴⁷William K. Williams, "Collection of Ethnic Data at the University of Illinois, 1965-66," Faculty Letter from the Office of the President, No. 121 (May 26, 1966), 2.

⁴⁸"University Action in the Area of Human Relations and Equal Opportunity, 1965-66," Faculty Letter from the Office of the President, No. 129 (November 1, 1966), 1-3.

⁴⁹Jack Peltason, Chancellor, Letter to Deans, Directors, and Heads of Departments, Urbana, February 5, 1968.

⁵⁰John W. Briscoe, Assistant to the Chancellor for Administrative Affairs, Letter to Directors, Deans, and Heads of Academic and Administrative Departments, Urbana, May 2, 1968.

⁵¹John W. Briscoe, Assistant to the Chancellor for Administrative Affairs, Letter to Deans, Directors, and Heads of Academic and Administrative Departments, Urbana, May 13, 1968.

⁵²Linda Picone, "CRJ Locates 18 Jobs," The Daily Illini (Urbana), May 16, 1968, p. 3.

⁵³University of Illinois, Champaign County Contractors Association, and Champaign County Building Trades Council, "Public Statement" (Urbana: University of Illinois May 11, 1968). (mimeographed.)

⁵⁴U. S. Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States, 1960: Characteristics of the Population, XV, 104.

⁵⁵J. W. Peltason, loc. cit.

CHAPTER II

Study Design and Methodology

Negro Patterns of Employment

Four basic racial patterns of employment will be developed in this survey: 1) the pattern of employment within the nine occupational category groupings, i.e. officials and managers, professionals, technicians, sales workers, office and clerical, craftsmen, operatives, laborers, and service workers, which the Joint Reporting Committee requires that employers covered by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, certain government contractors and subcontractors, and Plans for Progress signatories use when reporting the racial composition of their work forces;¹ 2) the pattern of employment by groupings of University Civil Service established minimum requirements of education and experience necessary to be employed into each position on campus (a) for the campus as a whole and (b) for individual units on campus which employ a minimum of sixty individuals; 3) the pattern of employment by individual authority units within the Urbana campus of the university; and 4) the pattern of employment by selected promotion lines. Only status non-academic employees (those employees entitled to such benefits as sick leave, retirement, and vacation) will be included in these analyses, inasmuch as information concerning ethnic characteristics of nonstatus employees is incomplete and highly unreliable.

Occupational Categories Patterns developed using the nine occupational categories will follow roughly the same format as the compliance report required of the university by the Joint Reporting

Committee. In 1965 the Bureau of Institutional Research compiled a listing of nonacademic positions within the university, carefully assigning each to one of the nine occupational categories which the Joint Reporting Committee required. As its guideline for this position assignment, the bureau used descriptions of job categories which the committee itself furnished. (A copy of these job category descriptions is found in the appendix of this paper.) This researcher utilized this list in patterning the data, diverging only when the listing was incomplete due to a failure to maintain it as new positions were added on the campus. In such cases, however, the researcher was very careful to adhere to the same guidelines which were used when the list was originally compiled.

"Families of Occupation" The "family of occupation" patterning idea grew out of the necessity to 1) analyze university employment in such a way that the characteristics required for employment at the university could be matched or contrasted with the characteristics of the Champaign-Urbana Negro population and 2) to compare and contrast the job positions of university Negro employees with that of university non-Negro employees. In this process it was found that in every job specification² there were listed two minimum requirements which were necessary for being employed into the position: the attainment of a specific level of education and a certain number of years of experience. Other minimum requirements, e.g. "ability to do manual labor," "knowledge of book-keeping," "ability to meet people," and "ability to type 30 words per minute," were not considered in constructing the occupational patterns, for 1) exclusive families incorporating every minimum requirement would be so numerous as to make the grouping concept of "families" worthless, 2) there exist no data (census or of another nature) which would permit

comparison and contrast of minimum requirements for working at the university (other than that pertaining to education and experience) with the characteristics of the Negro population in the area; and 3) minimum requirements other than education and experience would be somewhat implicit in the listing of the individual job titles in each of the occupational families, e.g. the job title "Clerk-Stenographer III" is readily reasoned to require not only a high school education and a number of years of experience but also skills in typing and stenography.

There are no university positions requiring any specified level of education of more than one but not less than twelve years. (Education here means formal education, i.e. elementary, junior high, senior high, or above. The completion of an apprenticeship program is not considered educational attainment, but falls instead into the category of experience.)

The families of occupation grouped according to minimum education and experience requirements are as follows: 1) no education--no experience, 2) no education--experience, 3) no education--one year of experience, 4) high school education--no experience, 5) high school education--experience, 6) high school education--one year of experience, 7) Bachelor of Arts/Science degree--no experience, 8) Bachelor of Arts/Science degree--experience, 9) Master of Arts/Science degree--experience and no experience, and 10) special degree (a miscellaneous category covering technical and medical education and business school graduation requirements). The total of all job categories within each family minus the positions in the families "no education--one year of experience" is equal to the total number of job categories on campus. With the exception of those two families just cited, which are included in the

families "no education--experience" and "high school education--experience," respectively, each category of occupations is exclusive; no job category is in two families.

A part of each job specification which the "families of occupation" do not take into consideration is qualifications which are listed as being "additionally desirable", i.e., an additional desirable qualification for the job of janitor is high school graduation. These qualifications were not included in the development of the families, for possession of them is not a prerequisite for employment as is the possession of the minimum acceptable qualifications. Possession of these "desirable" qualifications, however, is significant, for bonus points are added to the applicant's employment selection test score for them. These qualifications will be considered in Chapters II & III.

Selected Promotional Sequences Promotional sequence data for selected promotion lines, as are spelled out in the civil service handbook, will be compiled in order to determine the equal or unequal distributions of Negro employees at various levels of employment. Such patterns of employment will also serve to indicate the number of entrance positions which are available to unskilled or little-skilled potential employees.

Authority Unit Groupings Racial patterns of employment by colleges is an attempt to relate these patterns to the meaningful authority unit, which is responsible for employment of one of the three applicants sent to it by the Nonacademic Employment Office. Only major campus divisions, i.e. academic, administrative, and maintenance units will be dealt with, for smaller divisions make statistical analysis meaningless. Such analyses will also indicate something of the structure of the demand in departments in which there are few Negroes.

Ethnic Data Relating to University Employees

There are two basic sources for obtaining data on the ethnic groupings of university employees. One of these is a listing maintained by the Bureau of Institutional Research, which depends upon voluntary racial self-description of the applicant, while the other listing, maintained by the Office of Nonacademic Personnel, depends upon supervisory identification for its accuracy. The two listings, it must be noted, however, do not coincide in their assignment of the race Negro to certain individuals. The description of each of the listings which follows reveals some of the basic reasons for this divergence.

Bureau of Institutional Research Listing In May, 1964, Dr. Eugene Scoles, Special Assistant, Office of the President, recommended to President D. D. Henry that a ". . . consistent procedure be established for obtaining the (ethnic) data for the university." On July 21, 1965, the Board of Trustees authorized that the collection of such data relating to university employees be assigned to the Bureau of Institutional Research and that the bureau collect the data and maintain it in strictest confidence, permitting access to it only by bona fide researchers. In the fall of 1965 the bureau mailed to each employee through university mail the card shown in Figure 1. Response was obtained from 94.7 per cent of all employees.³

This collection of data has been continued for the years 1966 and 1967, being most recently compiled December 1, 1967. Yet, these data have several weaknesses, one of the most major of which is incompleteness. An unknown number of nonstatus employees has been excluded from the survey at the request of the departments in which they work due to difficulty in locating these person.⁴ Although all

Figure 1: Bureau of Institutional Research Identification Card

Side A

Instructions for Academic and Nonacademic Staff

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, AT THE REQUEST OF THE UNIVERSITY COMMITTEE ON HUMAN RELATIONS AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY, HAS AUTHORIZED THAT ALL EMPLOYEES OF THE UNIVERSITY BE SURVEYED TO SECURE INFORMATION CONCERNING MINORITY GROUP MEMBERSHIP. THIS INFORMATION IS NEEDED TO PREPARE PERIODIC FEDERAL COMPLIANCE REPORTS REQUIRED BY THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY, AND TO ASSIST THE UNIVERSITY IN ITS OWN CONTINUING STUDY OF EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY.

YOU ARE ACCORDINGLY REQUESTED TO FILL OUT THE REVERSE SIDE OF THIS CARD. THE DATA COLLECTED WILL REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL AND WILL BE USED ONLY UPON SPECIFIC AUTHORIZATION AND FOR STATISTICAL AND RESEARCH PURPOSES RELATED TO EMPLOYMENT OF MINORITY GROUPS. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NAME AND MINORITY GROUP MEMBERSHIP IS NEEDED PRIMARILY TO AVOID HAVING TO REQUEST THE SAME INFORMATION OF A GIVEN PERSON YEAR AFTER YEAR.

AFTER YOU HAVE COMPLETED THE CARD, PLEASE RETURN IT IN THE ENVELOPE PROVIDED--SEALED AND WITH YOUR NAME PRINTED ON THE OUTSIDE--TO YOUR ADMINISTRATIVE HEAD, WHO WILL IN TURN FORWARD IT TO THE BUREAU OF INSTITUTIONAL RESEARCH. QUESTIONS SHOULD BE DIRECTED TO YOUR ADMINISTRATIVE HEAD.

YOUR COOPERATION IN THIS MATTER IS GREATLY APPRECIATED.

Side B

EMPLOYEE NUMBER	EMPLOYEE NAME	ACCT. NO.
<p>SURVEY OF MINORITY GROUP MEMBERSHIP UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS STAFF</p> <p>NOTE. See reverse side for complete instructions Directions. Please indicate your sex in the space provided, then check one of the six categories in the right hand column. If uncertain as to the appropriate classification, it is suggested that choice 6 (other racial or ethnic group) be checked and the exact group specified.</p>	<p>SEX</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Male</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Female</p>	<p>1 <input type="checkbox"/> American Indian</p> <p>2 <input type="checkbox"/> Caucasian</p> <p>3 <input type="checkbox"/> Negro</p> <p>4 <input type="checkbox"/> Oriental</p> <p>5 <input type="checkbox"/> Spanish American (Latin American, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Spanish)</p> <p>6 <input type="checkbox"/> Other racial or ethnic group: (specify) _____</p>

status employees receive cards, not all of these workers return them--and no record of the number of nonresponses has been kept beyond that first year the survey was taken. Also, some employees who do return the questionnaire refuse to indicate their ethnic status. Since there is no sound basis for interpreting a nonresponse or a refusal to indicate one's ethnicity as being from any particular ethnic group, this further complicates the interpretation of the data as a whole.

Perhaps the most serious, but yet unmeasurable, fault of the data is, however, that it is not known how many individuals purposely indicated on their questionnaires that they are members of an ethnic group to which they do not in fact belong. No follow-up study has to date been done to indicate the accuracy of this self-identification system.

It should be noted that the Joint Reporting Committee officially discourages ". . . eliciting information as to the racial or ethnic identity of an employee by direct inquiry."⁵ The United States Civil Service changed its method of ethnic data collection from the visual survey, which it utilized in 1965, to a self-identification procedure in 1966. A nonidentification rate of 11.8 per cent was recorded for total employment in that year's survey,⁶ and in 1967 the United States Civil Service returned to its former visual survey method, the only comment about the move being a caution that the change in survey methods made the data for 1966 and 1967 incomparable.⁷ The Director of the Bureau of Inspection of the Civil Service Commission later reported, however, that a major factor in this return to the visual survey was the concern for the privacy of the individual employee and "the fear in some quarters that supervisors might coerce employees into filling out the questionnaires."⁸ If these same fears and concerns which prompted the Civil Service

Commission to avoid self-identification procedures and the Joint Reporting Committee not to recommend them are applicable to the university situation (which they do appear to be), considerable doubt is cast upon the accuracy of this data.

Office of Nonacademic Personnel Listing This listing was compiled by visual survey methods and includes only status university employees. On May 29, 1968, this listing was terminated, as its existence violated the policy of the Board of Trustees that only the Bureau of Institutional Research would be permitted to collect and maintain ethnic information about university employees.⁹ This study nevertheless benefited from access to the list prior to its destruction.

Historically, four sources of visual ethnic identification of employees were used in compiling this nonacademic personnel listing.

- 1) Until the middle 1950's the personnel card of each employee had written on it by the personnel officer at the time of the entrance interview the race of the employee.
- 2) Immediately after the cessation of the use of the previously mentioned method of identification, the personnel officer at the time of the entrance interview coded the race of the applicant onto his personnel card by clipping off a corner of the cards of Negroes.
- 3) In the late 1950's or early 1960's, a policy was established that no ethnic data would be collected by the personnel office.
- 4) In September, 1964, a consultative opinion was sought and received from the Fair Employment Practices Commission concerning the legality of coding ethnic identification of current employees on automated personnel cards. Upon confirmation of the legality of such a process, the ethnic identification of each employee was coded onto his card at the time he became a university employee. Ethnic identification

of the employees who were at the university when earlier ethnic identifications were made was transferred from those personnel cards onto the automated cards. Employees who had been hired in the intervening years when there was no ethnic data collection were identified ethnically by supervisors and personnel officers who were familiar with them, and this information was, in turn, recorded on the automated cards. A comprehensive listing was completed as of March 31, 1968.¹⁰

Reconciliation of the Differences Between the Two Sources An initial step in the reconciliation of these two sets of data was to compare the lists name by name for each nonacademic Negro employee. The Bureau of Institutional Research had listed 111 individuals as Negro which the Nonacademic Office had not listed as Negro; the Nonacademic Office, on the other hand, had listed as Negro 73 employees whom the Bureau of Institutional Research data did not list as Negro.

Second, a decision was made to exclude nonstatus employees from the study, as the Bureau did not have a comprehensive listing of these persons by race. This exclusion lowered the number of employees which were on the Bureau of Institutional Research list but not on the Nonacademic Personnel list from 111 to 54.

Third, the Bureau of Institutional Research listing (compiled as of December 1, 1967) was checked against a complete listing of all employees to ascertain whether some of these 54 employees had resigned prior to March 31, 1968, the date of the Nonacademic Office listing. Seventeen employees were found to have terminated their association with the university, thus lowering the actual Bureau of Institutional Research listing discrepancy to 37 employees.

Fourth, a judgmental decision was made to solicit the aid of individuals in the Office of Nonacademic Personnel who were familiar either with the Negro community or with the employees in the work areas in which those individuals in question were employed. These persons reviewed the Bureau of Institutional Research list (keeping it in strictest confidence), applying the definition which the Joint Reporting Committee approved for defining "Negro," i.e. "an employee may be included in the minority group to which he or she appears to belong, or is regarded in the community as belonging,"¹¹ to each individual on the list. Their final judgment was that 5 of these employees were white, and the remaining 32, Negro.

At this point it was decided to consider the 5 individuals who had self-identified themselves as Negro but who were identified by this "reputational" method as being white to be Negro. The rationale behind this is that an individual who identifies himself as Negro but is regarded by the community as being white is probably by ethnic origin partially Negro, but has Negro features that are recessive and not very recognizable.

Fifth, another adjustment was made in the data to reflect those Negro employees who came to work after December 1, 1967, and were thus included in the Nonacademic Office data but not in Bureau of Institutional Research data. This procedure reduced the actual discrepancy from 73 to 37 employees.

Sixth, an attempt was made to match these 37 employees with the Bureau of Institutional Research listing of all employees in order to determine if they responded to the self-identification process by indicating their ethnic status as being other than Negro, if they had

refused to indicate their ethnic grouping, or if they had refused to return the questionnaire. The results of this check revealed that of the employees whom the Nonacademic Office alleged were Negro, 9 had indicated that they were white, 2, that they were American Indians; 17 refused to indicate an ethnic identity, and 9 failed to return their questionnaires. The 11 individuals that had indicated that they were members of an ethnic grouping other than Negro were then judged for the purposes of this survey not to be Negro; this adjustment was made using the rationale that the individual who does not choose to identify himself with the Negro community is therefore in operational consequence not a Negro. The 76 individuals who did not self-identify themselves as belonging to any ethnic grouping were judged to be Negro on the basis of their assignment to that grouping by knowledgeable persons.

Finally, the names of all employees that had been ascertained to be Negro were compiled into one listing, which totaled 330 individuals and was current as of March 31, 1968. (After utilization for the purposes of this research only, this list was placed under restriction in the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations Library in order to maintain security and confidentiality of the ethnic identification of the Negro employees involved.)

Development of the Actual Patterns by Families of Occupation

A listing of the number of status employees in each job category (pay code) on campus (a total of 5,594 employees) was obtained from the Office of Nonacademic Personnel as a first step in developing this patterning. A corresponding listing of the 330 Negro employees was then categorized by the pay codes to which each of the Negro employees

belonged. From these two listings it was possible to compute a Negro-total ratio for every pay code within each family of occupation and for each family of occupation as a whole.

Development of the Actual Patterns by Administrative Unit

The President's Report (prepared by the Bureau of Institutional Research), a computerized listing of each administrative campus unit and its subunits broken down by the pay codes and numbers of nonacademic employees in each pay code (a grand total of 5,962 persons) was the basic set of data used to develop these patterns. A corresponding listing of the 330 Negro status employees by administrative unit and subunit was made. Using both of these lists with simple computation, Negro-total employee ratios were developed for each administrative unit and for those administrative subunits which were contained in units with more than 60 employees.

A caution is inserted here indicating that these figures relating to administrative units, which were taken from The President's Report, slightly overstate the total number of non-Negro employees in these units. This is true because 368 nonstatus, non-Negro employees are included in The President's Report (the precise number per administrative unit is unascertainable because there exists on campus no catalogue of the numbers of nonacademic employees by their status of appointment for each administrative unit) due to the fact that the report was compiled from the Bureau of Institutional Research collected data. While no correction factor can be produced to adjust the administrative unit totals to include only status employees, a general rule in interpreting the data is that the error this inclusion of nonstatus employees represents is

probably small in all cases, with its proportional size varying inversely with the size of the administrative unit.

Development of the Actual Patterns by Selected Promotional Sequences

Basically the two listings of employment by totals and by race which were used to develop the families of occupation data were utilized to complete these promotional patterns. The component pay codes which constituted specific gradients in specific promotional sequences were taken from the Illinois University Civil Service System Handbook. With the use of both listings and the listings of promotional sequences and their component pay codes, Negro-total ratios were computed for each pay code within the promotional sequence, as was also done for the promotional sequence as a whole.

Development of the Actual Patterns by Occupational Categories

The basic listings of employment data used in this patterning were the listings of total status employees by pay code and of Negro status employees by pay code, which were used to develop the families of occupation data. The number of employees, Negro and total, in each pay code was assigned to the occupational category which the aforementioned adjusted Bureau of Institutional Research catalogue assigned it. Through this procedure Negro-total numbers and ratios were provided for each occupational category.

Study Design

The basic patterns of employment which have been described in this chapter are considered in this survey to be analytical devices which can be used effectively to investigate possible explanations of the employment situation of blacks on the Urbana campus of the University

of Illinois. The patterns are developed in such a way that the effect which these variables--educational attainment and occupational status in the Negro community, the structure of university labor demand by administrative unit, the comparative ability of Negroes and whites to score well on civil service tests, and the relative inability of low-skilled and uneducated individuals to get into university promotion lines--have upon black employment can be investigated.

Statistics relating to both the educational level and occupational status of the Champaign-Urbana Negro community, which are used in evaluating the university's employment of Negroes, are taken from a 1964 study of the Negro community which was conducted by Joel Beak¹² rather than from the 1960 census for two reasons. 1) Local Negroes made considerable occupational and educational gains between 1960 and 1964, and the Beak data reflect these gains. (Undoubtedly considerable gains have also been made since 1964, but unfortunately no comprehensive survey from which these gains can be ascertained has been conducted since that date.) 2) The 1960 census does not analyze in detail the occupational and educational position of the local Negroes as a group, giving instead analyses for the broader category nonwhite; the Beak data deals only with Negroes. (Nonwhite is roughly synonymous with Negro nationwide as only 0.5 per cent of nonwhites are non-Negro.¹³ Yet, due to the presence of the university and the Oriental population attracted to it, nonwhite in this particular locality is not, however, equivalent to Negro. Moreover, the sizeable nonwhite, non-Negro population here is particularly well educated, and, therefore, is a heterogeneous entity apart from the local Negro population.)

Statistics relating to the attainment of Negroes on university civil service selection tests, Negro employee recruitment, and the attitudes of white University of Illinois employees toward working with Negroes are taken from three research papers prepared in an Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations 492 seminar.¹⁴ All of these papers are quite current (1967-1968).

Each pattern of employment will be investigated thoroughly by using available data to indicate whether that pattern reflects full utilization of the available supply of Negro labor. "Full utilization" is used here to indicate the assumption that the laws of supply and demand, unhindered by discrimination or abhorrence of working for the university, or other interferences, are in effect and, therefore, that the university proportionally employs all ethnic groups relative only to those groups' occupational status and level of educational attainment. "Full utilization" also is used to indicate the placing of individuals in university employment in positions which require the skills and level of educational attainment which the employees have attained.

When particular patterns of employment indicate under- or over-utilization of the Negro labor supply available to the university, the variables felt relevant to explaining these patterns will be catalogued. Those variables about which data exist will be presented with that data, but no attempt will be made to assign anything more than relative weights to the effect of these variables, as the majority of them have not been quantified, e.g. prejudices and cultural biases.

FOOTNOTES--Chapter II

¹Joint Reporting Committee, "Equal Employment Opportunity, Employer Information Report EEO-I" (Jefferson, Indiana: Joint Reporting Committee, 1967), p. 8.

²University Civil Service System of Illinois, Class Specifications (Urbana: University Civil Service System (loose leaf), n.d.).

³William K. Williams, "Collection of Ethnic Data at the University of Illinois, 1965-66," Faculty Letter from the Office of the President, No. 121 (May 26, 1966), 2-3.

⁴Interview with Franklin Duff, Urbana, Illinois, March 12, 1968.

⁵Joint Reporting Committee, op. cit., p. 7.

⁶U. S. Civil Service Commission, Study of Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government, 1966, p. 1.

⁷U. S. Civil Service Commission, Study of Minority Group Employment in the Federal Government, 1967, p. 1.

⁸Letter from Gilbert A. Schulkind, Washington, D. C., May 19, 1968.

⁹Oscar Smith, Letter to Carl Gates, Champaign, Illinois, May 29, 1968.

¹⁰Interview with Carl Gates, Champaign, Illinois, April 11, 1968.

¹¹Joint Reporting Committee, loc. cit.

¹²Joel Beak, "The Employability of the Champaign-Urbana, Illinois Negro" (unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1964).

¹³U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Negroes in the United States (1966), p. 64.

¹⁴David Gottlieb, Thomas Guzzo, and Robert Henderson, "Affirmative Action and the University of Illinois Civil Service System" (unpublished term report completed for a graduate seminar in Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, May 29, 1968); Steve Schaffer, "Expanding Minority Group Employment at the University of Illinois: Recruiting" (unpublished term report completed for a graduate seminar in Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, May 30, 1968); David Shulenburger and David Weiner, "Nonacademic Employee Resistance to Integration at the University of Illinois" (unpublished term report completed for a graduate seminar in Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, May 27, 1968).

CHAPTER III

Patterns of Employment by Families of Occupation

Five and nine-tenths per cent of all University of Illinois status nonacademic employees are Negro. This percentage compares unfavorably with a Champaign-Urbana Negro labor force proportion of 8.2 per cent.¹ The task of this chapter will be to explore the variables which are related to the levels of educational attainment of the local Negro population and their relation to this disproportionately low proportion of the University of Illinois work force which is composed of blacks.

Table 2 summarizes the total number of university employees and the number of Negro employees by 8 families of occupation groupings and also gives the Negro-total employee ratios for each grouping. Perhaps the most striking feature of this table is its indication that Negroes constitute by far a greater segment of the family "no education-no experience" (18.5 per cent) than they do of any other family.

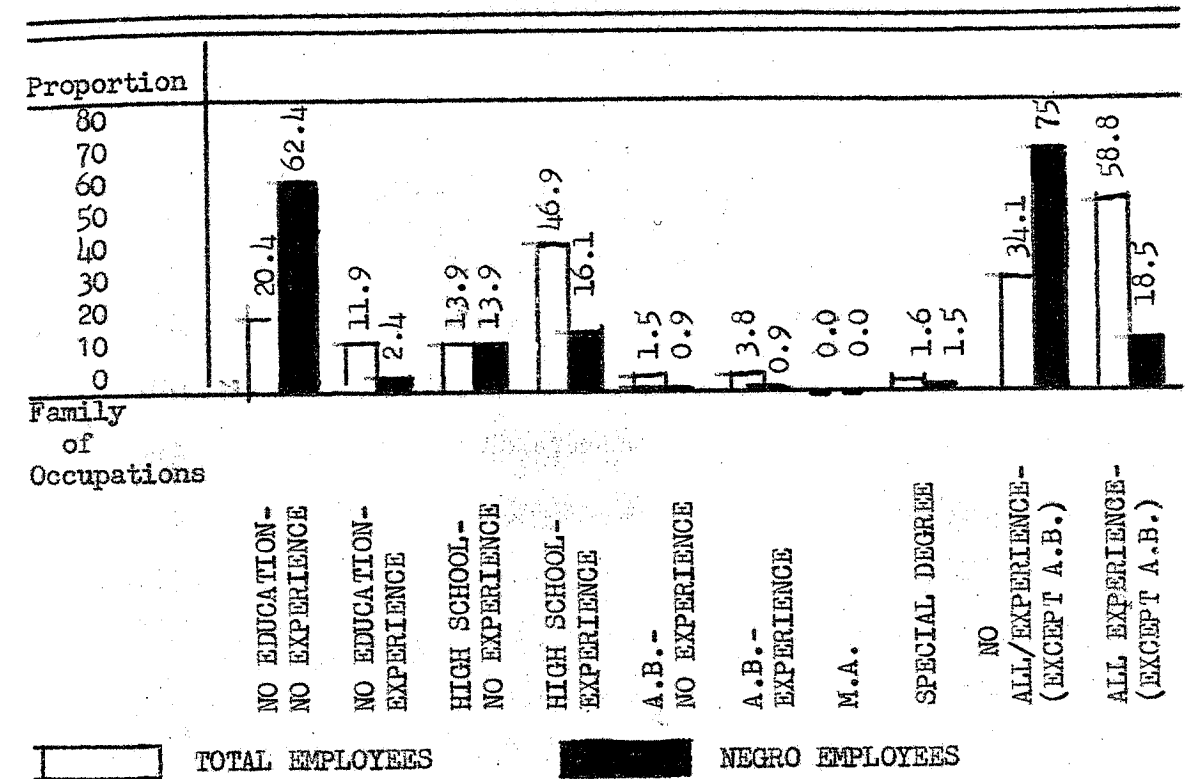
Figure 2 below contrasts the distribution within each of the families on campus of both Negro and total employment. It indicates that Negroes are distributed predominately in the "no education-no experience" category (62.4 per cent), with a sizeable proportion being distributed in the "high school-no experience" and "high school--experience" categories (30.0 per cent), and the remaining categories accounting for only 7.6 per cent of total Negro employment. Markedly indicated are patterns of employment for the Negro which are extremely unlike total university employment patterns.

Table 2: Distribution of University of Illinois (Urbana Campus) Nonacademic Employees by Race and Families of Occupation (March 31, 1968).

Family of Occupations	Total Employees	Negro Employees		% (Negro/Total)	
		Male	Female		
No Education-No Experience	1,140	91	121	212	18.5
No Education-Experience	665	5	3	8	1.2
High School-No Experience	770	27	19	46	6.0
High School-Experience	2,627	9	44	53	2.0
A.B.- No Experience	86	3	0	3	3.5
A.B.- Experience	215	3	0	3	1.4
Master of Arts	2	0	0	0	0.0
Special Degree	89	1	4	5	5.6
Totals	5,594	139	191	330	5.9

Source: Appendix B, Tables 13-22.

Figure 2: Proportional Distribution of Status Nonacademic Employees
By Race and Families of Occupation
(March 31, 1968)



Source: Table 2

Total university employment is concentrated in jobs which require a high school education (59.8 per cent); Negro employment, on the other hand, is primarily limited to jobs requiring no education (64.8 per cent). Also setting patterns of Negro employment apart from patterns of total employment is the factor of experience, with 75.2 per cent of all Negro employees being in jobs which have no experience requirement, while 58.8 per cent of the total employment is concentrated in jobs which do require some degree of experience.

Such unequal distributions of Negro and white employment give cause to investigate several variables which might indicate the reasons for this inequality. Those variables which shall be considered in the remainder of this chapter are the following: 1) the educational attainment of the Negro labor supply in Champaign-Urbana, 2) the irrelevance of educational attainment to the assignment of Negroes to jobs at the University of Illinois, i.e. routine assignment of Negroes to jobs which are stereotyped as Negro jobs, and 3) the competition for University of Illinois positions between Negroes who are qualified for certain positions with whites who are overqualified for those positions, i.e. the evaluation of Negro-white scoring on civil service selection tests.

The Educational Characteristics of the Negro Labor Supply

It is well to note again at this point that the grouping of jobs into families of occupation reflects only the minimum educational and experience requirements established by the University Civil Service System for the individual job classifications; they do not reflect the educational attainment of the incumbents of those positions. Individual workers may well possess qualifications that would theoretically enable them to obtain positions in families of occupation which require greater levels of educational attainment. Due to the possibility of this discrepancy between the position's minimum requirement and the attainment of the incumbent the reader must be cautioned that a comparison between positions at the university which lie in various families of occupation and the segment of the Negro labor force which possesses the minimum requirements for positions in those families has the basic

weakness of imprecise comparability.² Perhaps this weakness could be avoided if the entire segment of the Negro labor force which possesses qualifications equal to or greater than those required for the positions in X family of occupations were compared with the positions in X family of occupations. Since, however, one of the assumptions of this paper is that the university wishes to fully utilize the abilities of the members of the Negro community, it is essential that the Negro labor force be matched only with positions which would fully utilize its abilities. Given this qualifying assumption, it is legitimate to compare minimum job requirements with the maximum educational attainments of segments of the Negro labor force.

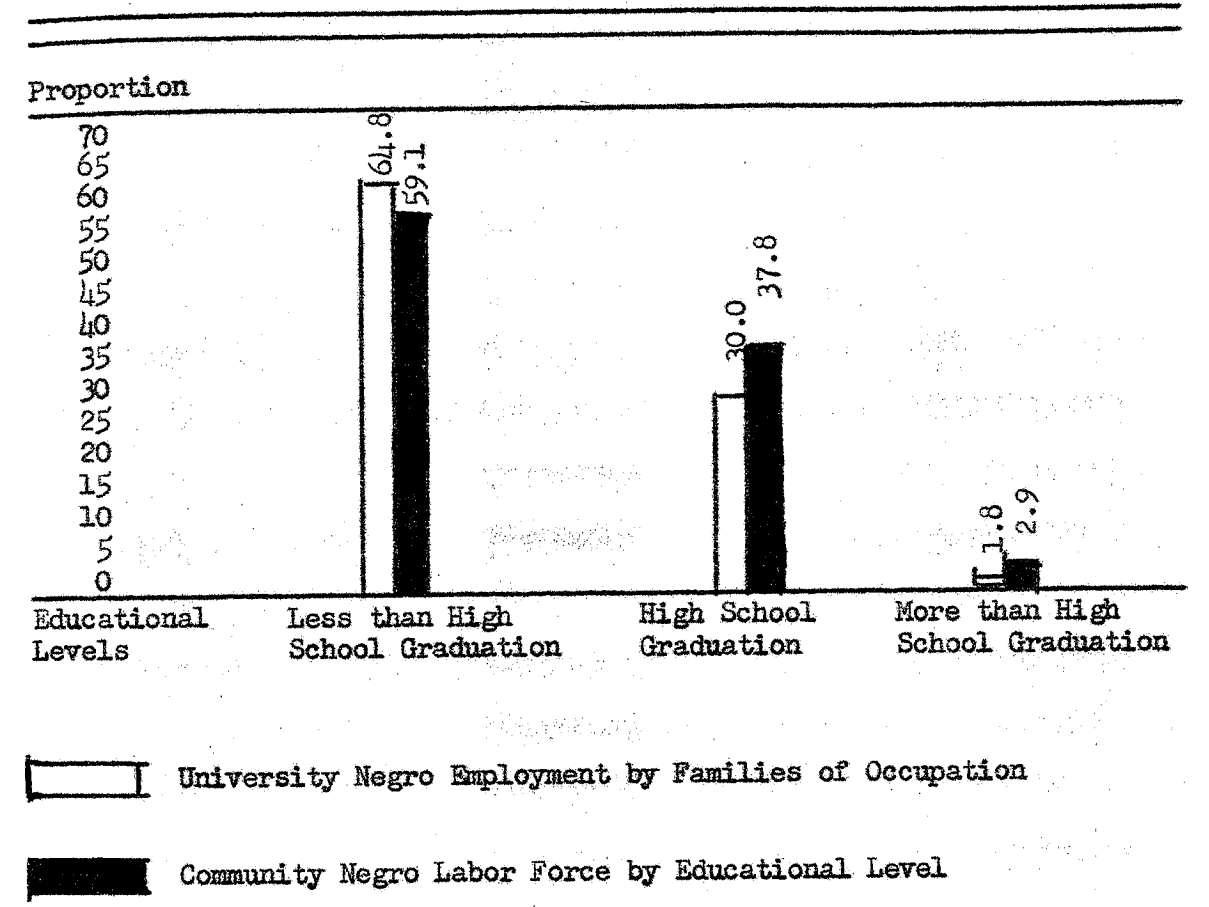
In making the comparison by educational level between the distribution of Negroes in the University of Illinois work force and those in the Champaign-Urbana labor force, it was necessary to develop compatible groupings of educational levels. The 1964 Urban League study,³ from which the labor force data was taken, is divided into nine segments according to the number of years of school completed. These nine groupings were merged into three very broad categories: 1) less than high school graduation, 2) high school graduation but less than college graduation, and 3) college graduation and above. The experience categories ("no education-experience" "high school-experience" and "A.B.-experience") were merged into the category of education which they represent, and their experience factor was disregarded because there was no way to match experience with education in the Urban League study. (The category of experience will be dealt with in a later chapter concerned with patterns of employment within promotional sequences.)

Figure 3 indicates that the university hires proportionally more Negroes into jobs requiring less than high school graduation than the proportion of Negroes in the community who have less than a high school education. The fact, however, that the most massive block of community blacks lack a high school diploma certainly contributes to the top-heavy university employment of blacks for jobs with this educational prerequisite. On the other hand, the university employs a proportionally smaller number of Negroes into jobs requiring at least a high school diploma than the proportion of community Negroes so qualified. Therefore, the educational characteristics of the Negro labor force are not solely responsible for the assignment of such small proportions of blacks to jobs requiring a high school education.

The analytical worth of Figure 3 is that it demonstrates that the educational attainment of the Negro labor force does not limit the university to hiring only Negroes with less than a high school education, for proportionally there is a greater supply of Negroes with higher education in the labor force than the university currently employs. In other words, the nature of the supply is not totally responsible for the university's pattern of Negro employment. Yet, the presence of this qualified supply does not, however, guarantee its availability to the university as it is proportionally distributed educationally.

Two factors acting separately or in concert could account for this proportional underemployment of educated Negroes on the university campus. The first of these factors is that Negroes may apply for employment at the University of Illinois in disproportionate numbers relative to the proportion which their educational level group in the population

Figure 3: Proportional Distribution of University Employed Negroes by Families of Occupation (March 31, 1968) and of the Champaign-Urbana Negro Labor Force by Educational Level (1964).



Source: Table 2, and Joel Beak, "Employability of the Champaign-Urbana, Illinois Negro" (unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1964), p. 29.

constitutes; the second, that the educational level of Negro job applicants is somewhat irrelevant to the determination of what level of university employment the Negro applicant may get.

Disproportionate Application⁴ of Negroes by Educational Level

Were area Negroes with less than a high school education to see their best occupational opportunities at the University of Illinois and apply for work there in great numbers, while Negroes having at least a high school education avoided university employment disproportionate to their numbers in the Negro population, then one could surmise that the majority of blacks who work for the university are fully utilized inasmuch as they qualify for no jobs requiring a high school education. The remainder of this subsection will concentrate on investigation of the validity of this hypothetical set of circumstances.

Sixty-one percent of the Negroes who applied for work at the university during the ten-month period beginning July 1, 1967, had at least graduated from high school.⁵ This high proportion stands in marked contrast to the 31.8 per cent of university Negro employees who work in jobs which require a high school education or more and the 40.1 per cent of the local Negro labor force which possesses at least a high school education (Figure 3).

Since a proportionally greater number of high school educated blacks apply for university employment than exist in the community, disproportional application of uneducated blacks for university employment does not account for the concentration of Negroes in university positions requiring no education. The logical conclusion from this assertion alone must be that if blacks are hired proportionally from

those that apply for employment, some of those blacks employed in university positions must undoubtedly be underutilized relative to their educational achievement.

The reasoning in this subsection is dependent upon the acceptance of the data for the ten-month period of investigation as a generally accurate sample of the educational and racial characteristics of all university applicants. Since there is no empirical data for other periods which contradict the data presented here, it is assumed that the sample is a good one. Two reservations must be voiced, however: 1) prior to the sampled period the university had not actively encouraged Negroes to apply for employment, as was done during some of these ten months, and 2) university encouragement of black applications is more intense at the present time than it was during the sampled period. The overall effect of the active recruitment of black employees is an increase in the numbers of blacks who apply; it is not known what effect this encouragement to apply will have on the educational background mix of those Negroes who file applications.

Irrelevance of Negro Educational Attainment to Occupational Assignment

If employment into positions requiring specific minimum levels of education were to vary more directly with certain criteria, e.g. the applicant's being Negro, the nature of employment competition, and scoring on employment tests, more than with the actual educational attainment level of the applicant, and if Negroes were found to possess the characteristics necessary for employment into certain positions, then the disproportionate representation of Negroes in certain families of occupation could be partially explained. This subsection will investigate the variables related to the above hypothetical statement.

Table 3, a catalogue of each university position in the "no education-no experience" family of occupation, indicates that Negro employees are not distributed among jobs with the same educational requirements as is total employment. A cursory examination of the positions listed in the table is sufficient to reveal the menial, unskilled nature of these jobs. It would seem that anyone qualified for one of these positions would be qualified for all of the other positions listed (barring only health problems, rendering one unsuitable for kitchen work). Yet, Negro employment is not randomly distributed among these positions; 90 per cent (184/212) of all Negro employees in this category work either as cooks, kitchen helpers, janitors, kitchen laborers, or maids, while only 76 per cent (844/1110) of the total category employment are employed in these jobs. Thus some discriminating factor other than objective qualification must function in assigning Negroes primarily to these five categories of employment.

In a study of recruitment of nonacademic employees on the Urbana campus, it was found that Negro employees are recruited for work at the University of Illinois by current university employees relatively more frequently than are non-Negro employees.⁶ Since the majority of university Negro employees are in five job categories (56 per cent), perhaps word of mouth recruitment by these Negro employees functions to acquaint potential Negro employees only with openings in these five categories. Consequently, these potential employees apply for the openings in those categories with which they have been acquainted by their friends, in spite of the possibility that they educationally qualify for other jobs, and, because of the large numbers of blacks applying for the five jobs mentioned, employment in them becomes increasingly concentrated with Negroes.

Table 3: Distribution of University of Illinois Nonacademic Status Employment (Urbana Campus) by Race and Pay Code Within the Family of Occupation "No Education-No Experience" (March 31, 1968).

Pay Code	Title	Total	Negro			% (N/T)
			Male	Female	Total	
180	Assistant, Bookbindery	3			0	0
236	Assistant, Foods Laboratory	9		2	2	22
272	Assistant, Nursing	8			0	0
563	Attendant, School Children	5		4	4	80
576	Attendant, Tool Room	4			0	0
577	Attendant, Senior Tool Room	1			0	0
676	Caretaker, Animal	19	1		1	5
904	Cook	97	7	24	31	31
916	Cook, Second	2			0	0
996	Custodian, Forest	11			0	0
1236	Driver	29			0	0
1535	Fireman	21			0	0
1973	Gardener, Agricultural	17			0	0
1982	Gardener, Assistant Grounds	6			0	0
2015	Groundsman	30	3	1	4	13
2073	Helper, Elevator Mechanic	2			0	0
2078	Helper, Fountain Attendant	9		1	1	11
2084	Helper, Kitchen	132		68	68	51
2095	Helper, Laboratory	4		2	2	50
2140	Housekeeper	3			0	0
2198	Janitor	436	26		26	5
2199	Janitress	23		4	4	17
2205	Laborer	10			0	0
2210	Laborer, Construction	32			0	0
2221	Laborer, Kitchen	84	47		47	55
2240	Laborer, Electrician	24			0	0
2296	Maid	95	1	11	12	12
2299	Maid, Linen	9		1	1	11
2592	Mechanic, Farm	3			0	0
3140	Processor, Food	11	6	1	7	63
4191	Waiter/Waitress	11		2	2	18
Totals		1,140	91	121	212	18.5

Source: Appendix B, Table, B.

Another explanation for the predominance of black employment in these five particular jobs is the conceivable concern of the Negro about the possibility of not being accepted by co-workers if he were to apply for and accept employment in a job in which the co-workers were not Negro. Corollary to this is the more positive consideration that an individual often wants to work with those individuals whom he knows and who are his friends; due to the segregated quality of American life, for the Negro such persons would probably be other Negroes.

Finally, Negroes are probably disproportionately assigned to certain jobs because university personnel officers, seeing that Negroes both within and outside the university work predominately in certain jobs, stereotype these jobs as Negro jobs. Thus when they deal with Negro applicants, they consciously or unconsciously associate them with those jobs and urge them to apply accordingly. (The considerable power of the personnel officer to influence the applicants' choice of jobs is documented by Gottlieb, Guzzo, and Henderson.)⁷

Scoring on civil service selection tests is another factor which contributes to the assignment of Negroes to jobs whose minimum educational requirements do not accurately reflect the applicants' level of education. A review of the scores of whites and Negroes who were competing on these tests during the period of July 1, 1967, to April 26, 1968, indicates that the race of the applicant tends to be a significant variable in predicting his success on such tests.

Generally, Table 4 indicates three things. 1) White applicants whose educational attainment does not exceed the minimum educational requirements established for the job for which they apply pass the selection test more frequently than do Negroes possessing equal

qualifications. 2) Only when the Negro applicant possesses greater qualifications than the white applicant, does he pass the examinations proportionally as often as the white applicant. 3) The over-qualified black applicant does not compete effectively for jobs requiring a high school education when he competes with an overqualified white.

Table 4: Scoring on University Civil Service Selection Tests by Race, Educational Level, and Minimum Educational Requirement of Position Tested For (July 1, 1967-April 26, 1968).

Educational Level of Applicant	Position's Minimum Educational Requirements			
	Less than H.S. Diploma		H.S. Diploma Only	
	White Passing	Negro Passing	White Passing	Negro Passing
Less than 12 Years	84.2%	58.0%	n.a.	n.a.
12 Years	92.1%	90.0%	58.1%	42.0%
More than 12 Years	97.7%	100.0%	71.4%	53.9%

Source: David Gottlieb, Thomas Guzzo, and Robert Henderson, "Affirmative Action and the University Civil Service System of Illinois" (unpublished term report completed for a graduate seminar in Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, May 29, 1968), pp. 28, 30.

When this information concerning the performance of Negroes on the tests is coupled with the fact that 37 per cent of the Negroes taking the tests for positions which require no education actually possess at least a high school education (and of whom over 90 per cent pass the test), it becomes evident that a number of Negroes in university positions requiring no minimum amount of education actually possess at least a high school education. Conversely, of the 63 per cent of the Negro applicants who only meet the minimum qualifications for employment, only 58 per cent pass the test. Thus it can legitimately be reasoned that many Negroes who possess little education are screened out of the

competition for those jobs for which they minimally qualify, while over qualified Negroes get a disproportionate share of these jobs.

Another factor limiting the ability of Negro applicants to obtain certain jobs is the frequent overqualification of the white applicants, which, as Table 4 indicates, tends to be positively correlated with success on the employment tests. Statistically, 50 per cent of the white applicants for jobs which require no education are overqualified for these jobs, as compared with the 37 per cent of Negroes who are similarly overqualified.⁹ Thus the white applicant both belongs to the white group, which scores better on the tests than do Negroes, and also has a higher average educational level, which also varies directly with scoring on tests--two distinct advantages over the Negro.

The finding that the overqualified white applicant tends to pass the examinations more frequently than the minimally qualified Negro might be interpreted to demonstrate that the former is actually more capable of mastering the test than the Negro. Yet, the passing and failing scores presented here are contaminated in that they are composite scores composed of three parts: 1) the applicant's raw score on the test, 2) five additional veteran preference points if he is a veteran, and 3) a number of points for any qualifications which he possesses that the job specifications may list as "additional desirable qualifications." The over qualified white often is awarded the latter bonus points, which give him an additional advantage over the Negro.

Summary

Negroes employed by the university are not distributed among the families of occupation in the manner in which total employment is distributed. Rather, the majority of university-employed blacks are in the family of occupation "no education-no experience," with sizeable concentrations of Negroes in the families of occupation with a high school graduation prerequisite and only minimal concentrations in the other families.

Although this disproportional concentration of Negroes in jobs requiring no education reflects to a great extent the characteristics of the Negro labor supply, the small proportion of Negro university employees who hold jobs requiring at least a high school education is exceeded by the proportion of Negroes in the community who possess this qualification. The educational characteristics of the labor force thus do not account for the skewed distribution of Negroes among university jobs requiring the minimum possession of certain educational requirements.

Since the majority of Negroes applying for work at the university have a high school education, the educational characteristics of the applicants cannot be viewed as dictating a pattern of university employment which places the majority of Negroes in jobs with no educational prerequisites. Other factors instead have been indicated as determining the pattern of Negro employment. Certain jobs which have no educational prerequisites have been stereotyped as "Negro jobs"; Negroes of all educational levels apply for these jobs because 1) word of mouth contact acquaints them with openings which occur in these jobs,

2) they can work in these jobs with individuals with whom they are familiar, i.e. other Negroes, and 3) personnel officers influence them to apply for these jobs.

The small proportion of the university work force which Negroes constitute (5.9 per cent), as compared to their local labor force proportion of 8.2 per cent, is probably a product of the fact that 1) only 6.9 per cent of university job applicants are Negro, 2) more of the white applicants are overqualified for their jobs than are the Negro applicants, and 3) Negroes do not compete well against whites on selection tests when they share the same qualifications as the white applicants. (In fact, Negroes compete on an equal basis with whites only when they are more qualified than the whites.) Additionally, a sizeable proportion of Negro (and white) university employees are probably in jobs which underutilize their potential relative to their level of educational attainment.

FOOTNOTES--Chapter III

¹U. S. Bureau of the Census, Eighteenth Census of the United States, 1960: Characteristics of the Population, XV, 319, 345.

²The Champaign-Urbana Black Census, which is currently being conducted by the Survey Research Laboratory of the University of Illinois, should make more exact comparisons between educational attainment and work experience of local blacks and the requirements of specific class specifications of university employment. Although the degree of skill which a specific black man possesses will not be ascertainable from this census, the enumeration of the number of years experience on a particular job should enable one to categorize the individual as being qualified for a specific grouping of university jobs.

³Joel Beak, "The Employability of the Champaign-Urbana Negro" (unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1964).

⁴In actuality no record has been kept of the numbers of applicants by race, occupations, and educational level who have come into the Office of Nonacademic Personnel seeking employment. The use of the term "applicant" here refers to individuals who have taken written employment selection tests, which are given to all applicants for whom work is conceivably available at the university. Information as to ethnicity, education, and occupation is available for this group of individuals.

⁵David Gottlieb, Thomas Guzzo, and Robert Henderson, "Affirmative Action and the University Civil Service System of Illinois" (unpublished term report completed for a graduate seminar in Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, May 29, 1968), pp. 9-10.

⁶Steve Schaffer, "Expanding Minority Group Employment at the University of Illinois: Recruiting" (unpublished term report completed for a graduate seminar in Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, May 27, 1968), p. 8.

⁷David Gottlieb, Thomas Guzzo, and Robert Henderson, op. cit., p. 62.

⁸Ibid., p. 62.

⁹Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

Patterns of Employment by Occupational Category

Miller and Form make a rather global assertion concerning the effect of the application of "social tests," e.g. race, religion, and education, by employers when making decisions concerning the distribution of rewards: "In all cases a vicious cycle of self-fulfilling prophecy operates. Workers of a given background are denied access to higher incomes and occupations; the denial makes them unfit for upward mobility."¹ Chapter III has indicated that the majority of the Negro labor force in this county has less than a high school diploma and that the university employs many Negroes for jobs that require even less education than they actually possess. If any credence can be given to the vicious cycle assertion of Miller and Form (and others), it would indeed be surprising if this chapter were to describe the occupational pattern of Negro employment at the University of Illinois as being focused on other than laborer and service occupations.

Data presented here will utilize the nine occupational categories which the Joint Reporting Committee requires employers to use when completing compliance reports. These categories roughly resemble an occupational continuum, ranging from lowest to highest status jobs when arranged in this order: service workers, laborers, operatives, craftsmen, office and clerical, technicians, professionals, and officials and managers. Exceptions to this ordering appear in each category, e.g. nurses and policemen are included in the service category, and low-skilled laboratory technicians are included in the technician category; however, the exceptions do not constitute a large enough proportion of

the jobs in these categories to prohibit references in this paper to the categories at the bottom of the continuum as being not so desirable as jobs near the top.

If one compares the proportion which Negroes constitute of the local labor force, 8.2 per cent, with the proportions which blacks represent of the nine occupational categories at the university (Table 5), he finds that only in the laborer (20.3 per cent) and service worker (14.6 per cent) categories is the standard of proportional distribution met or exceeded. Particularly in the professional, sales, office and clerical, and craftsmen categories, the Negro is underrepresented. Not surprisingly the 5.9 per cent figure that represents the Negro proportion of the university work force also fails to meet the 8.2 per cent test.

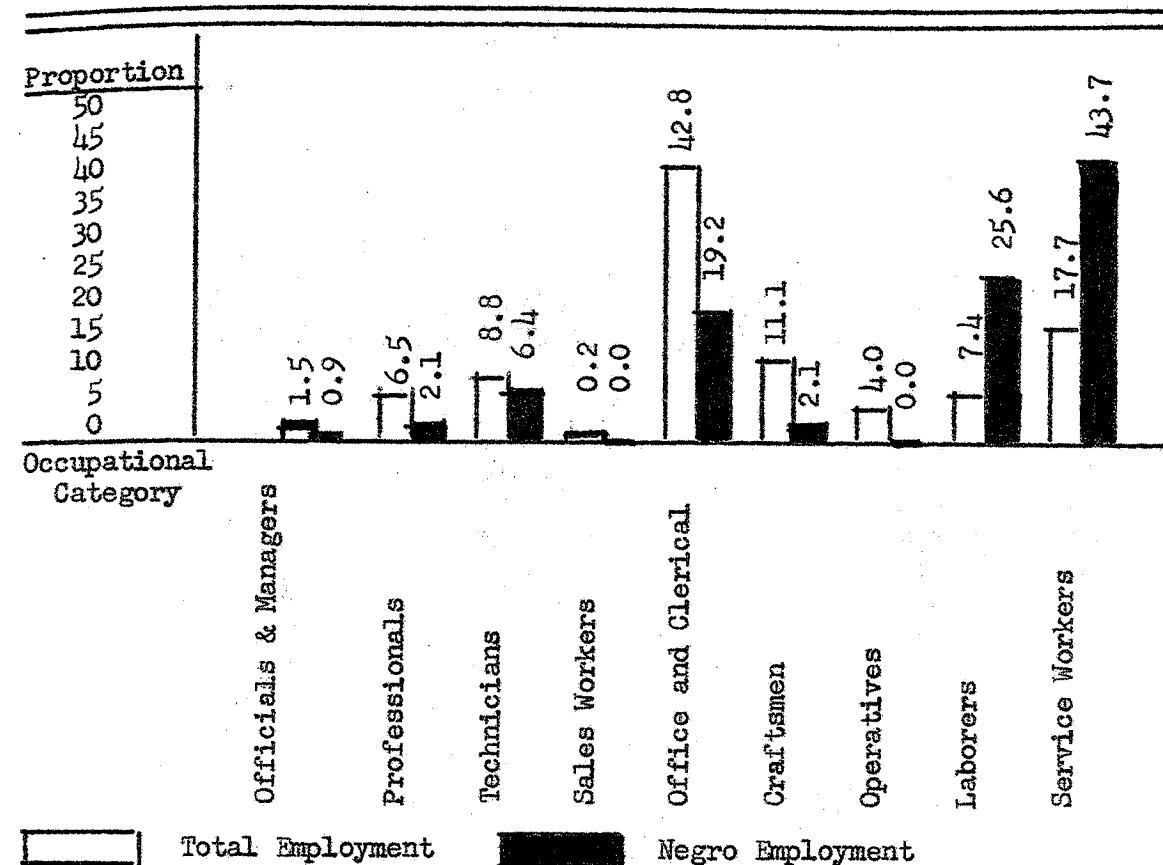
Distribution of total employment and Negro employment (Figure 4) within the university is likewise unequal, Negroes are proportionally distributed most densely in the service worker (43.7 per cent), laborer (25.6 per cent), and office and clerical (19.2 per cent) categories, while total employment is concentrated most heavily in office and clerical (42.8 per cent), service worker (17.7 per cent), and craftsmen (11.1 per cent) categories.

The balance of this chapter will concentrate on variables which are related to this inequality of employment and which conceivably contribute to this patterning of Negro employment, i.e. the variables of occupational structure of the labor supply, occupational distribution of Negroes who apply for university employment, performance of Negroes on civil service selection tests, and presence of unionization of many jobs in the craft sector of the work force.

Table 5: Distribution of All Status Employees of the University of Illinois (Urbana Campus) by Race and Occupational Category (March 31, 1968).

Occupational Category	Total Employees	Negro Employees	% (Negro/Total)
Officials and Managers	84	3	3.5
Professionals	366	7	1.9
Technicians	494	21	4.3
Sales Workers	11	0	0.0
Office and Clerical	2,391	63	2.6
Craftsmen (skilled)	623	7	1.1
Operatives (semi-skilled)	224	1	0.4
Laborers	444	84	20.3
Service Workers	987	144	14.6
Totals	5,594	330	5.9

Figure 4: Proportional Distribution of Status Nonacademic Employees
By Race and Occupational Category (March 31, 1968)



Source: Table 4

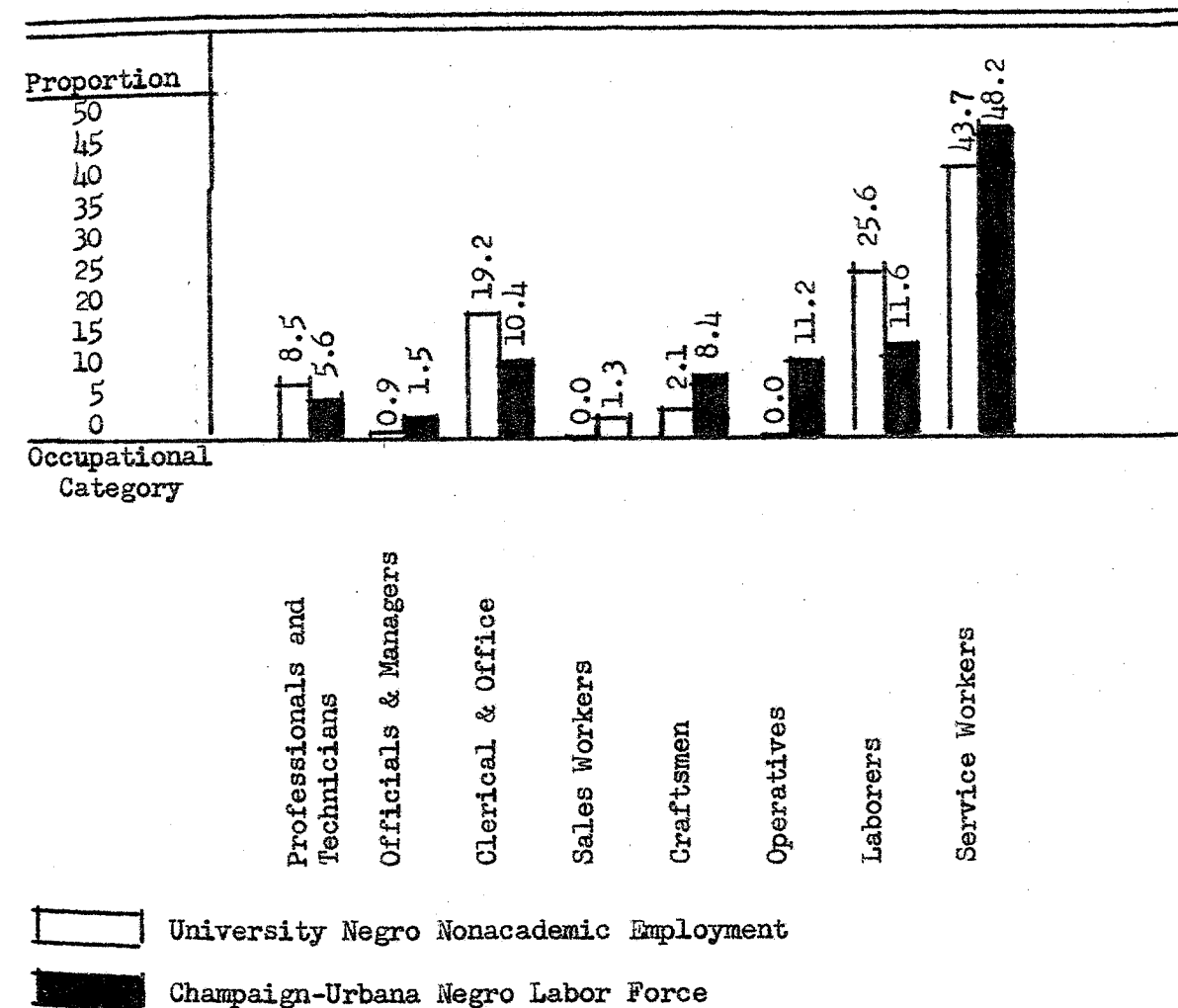
Occupational Structure of the Champaign-Urbana Negro Labor Force

If the proportional distribution of university Negro employment were occupationally similar to that of the Negro community labor force, one could assume that the university patterns are as they are due to the characteristics of the labor supply. This subsection will examine the viability of this proposition.

The large proportion of university Negro employees who are in the service worker category, 43.7 per cent, fairly accurately reflects the service worker contingent of the Negro labor force, 48.2 per cent (Figure 5). In the other occupational categories, however, the

University of Illinois employs Negroes disproportionately to their labor force distribution, hiring proportionally more Negro professionals and technicians, clerical workers, and laborers and fewer officials, sales and operative workers than the Negro labor force proportions of these.

Figure 5: Proportional Distribution of Negroes by Occupational Category: Champaign-Urbana Negro Labor Force (1964) and University of Illinois Negro Nonacademic Employment (March 31, 1968)



Source: Joel Beak, "Employability of the Champaign-Urbana, Illinois Negro" (unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1964), p. 29, and Table 5.

Naturally, the nature of university demand dictates that few sales workers of either race be employed, as only a grand total of eleven individuals are hired in this category by the university. Yet, the university does employ substantial numbers of professionals, technicians, craftsmen, and operatives. The analytical worth of Figure 5 is its indication that a supply of black individuals exists and could conceivably be employed by the university to increase the black proportions of its work force in these four categories. The categories of craftsmen and operatives are ones in which a critical area of university underemployment of Negro community labor resources exists.

It is conceivable that the university employs black (and white) clerical workers out of proportion to their proportion of the labor force, as the university is perhaps the largest employer of clerical workers in the area. (Over 40 per cent of its work force is composed of 2,391 clerical and office workers.) That the university employs blacks in a laborer capacity so greatly out of proportion to their population proportion is not so readily rationalizable. Perhaps the answer to this lies in the underemployment of Negro laborers by construction firms in the area (construction normally being a prime source of employment for laborers) or in the fact that the community's other large employers, Kraft and Humko, have very few laborer positions in their work forces.

Occupational Distribution of Negro Applicants and Their Performances on Selection Tests

If Negro applicants were to apply for work in certain occupational categories at the university disproportionately in relation to the Negro community's proportional occupational make-up and proportionally

in relation to the current university labor force ethnic composition, the supply of applicants available to the University of Illinois would then dictate its pattern of Negro employment. Since the supply of applicants does not completely determine the type of individuals who will be hired due to various selection criteria, i.e. the civil service selection tests, differential scoring of groups of these applicants, e.g. black and white, would result in the employment of these groups of individuals out of proportion to the percentage of all applicants which each group constituted. This subsection will deal with both of these contingencies.

The distribution of Negro applicants for university positions (Table 6) indicates that the high proportion of university Negro employees who are classified as office and clerical, laborers, and service workers is possibly due to the concentration of Negro applicants in these three categories. More Negroes apply than their proportion in the Champaign-Urbana population only for the occupational categories clerical and laborers worker.

Perhaps the analytical worth of this table is that it shows that there is a potential for expanding Negro employment at the university in every occupational category except those of office and clerical and laborers if a test of proportional distribution of Negro applicants is applied to the data on applicants. Of course, certain categories include Negro individuals for which there exists no demand for their skills by the university, e.g. the professional category in the community would include ministers and morticians, skills which the university does not demand, and therefore a proportional test as described is only generally applicable.

Table 6: Proportional Distribution of Negroes by Occupational Categories: In Champaign-Urbana (1964), As U. of I. Job Applicants (July 1, 1967-April 26, 1968), and As U. of I. Employees (March 31, 1968).

Occupational Categories	C-U Labor Force (%)	U. of I. Applicants (%)	U. of I. Employees (%)
Officials	1.5	0.0	0.9
Professionals & Technicians	7.1	6.6	8.5
Sales Workers	1.3	0.0	0.0
Clerical	10.4	28.9	19.2
Craftsmen	8.4	1.8	2.1
Operatives	11.2	0.4	0.0
Laborers	11.6	22.7	25.6
Service Workers	48.2	39.6	43.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Joel Beak, "Employability of the Champaign-Urbana, Illinois Negro" (unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1964), p. 29; David Gottlieb, Thomas Guzzo, and Robert Henderson, "Affirmative Action and the University Civil Service System of Illinois" (unpublished term report completed for a graduate seminar in Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, May 29, 1968), p. 17; and Table 4.

The supply of Negro applicants for craftsmen and operative positions is particularly out of proportion to the numbers of Negroes who actually are employed by the university. Table 7 indicates that less than 50 per cent and 0 per cent of applicants for these categories, respectively, passed the university employment tests, while a greater percentage of non-Negroes taking the tests passed. Thus the differential ability of Negroes to pass the test accounts to some degree for the small percentage of Negroes in these university positions. In the other occupational categories Negroes also passed disproportionately to their representation among the applicants, but the tests did not "weed out" Negro applicants to the degree that tests for craftsmen and operative positions did.

One must conclude from examination of the Negro-total test passing ratios that the tests function to cause the patterns of Negro employment at the University of Illinois to reflect very few Negroes in craftsmen and operative classifications and an increasingly smaller proportion of Negroes to total employees in each of the other occupational categories. Again, this reasoning is contingent upon the validity of generalizing from the ten-month period from which the data on applicants and test scores were taken to the future.

Factors which were demonstrated as being important to the patterns of Negro employment relative to minimum job educational requirements also affect this pattern by occupational category. For example, the stereotyping of certain jobs as "Negro jobs" by both personnel officers and applicants and the fact that Negroes are recruited by word of mouth more frequently than are whites both function to cause university Negro employment to be concentrated in certain occupational categories rather than in others.

Table 7: Proportional Distribution of Negroes as a Percent of U. of I. Job Applicants, of Those Passing Selection tests, (July 1, 1967-April 26, 1968) and of the U. of I. Work Force by Occupational Category (March 31, 1968).

Occupational Categories	NEGROES AS A % OF		
	Applicants	Applicants Passing	U. of I. Work Force
Officials	0.0	0.0	3.5
Professionals	3.0	0.0	1.9
Technicians	9.2	6.1	4.3
Sales	0.0	0.0	0.0
Office & Clerical	4.4	3.3	2.6
Craftsmen	12.2	5.9	1.1
Operatives	14.0	0.0	4.4
Laborers	23.3	13.7	20.3
Service	16.9	14.6	14.6
All Categories	6.8	5.9	5.9

Source: Table 4 and David Gottlieb, Thomas Guzzo, and Robert Henderson, "Affirmative Action and the University Civil Service System of Illinois" (unpublished term report completed for a graduate seminar in Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, May 29, 1968), p. 17.

Unionism and Negro Employment as Craftsmen

Seven of the 623 university-employed craftsmen, 1.1 per cent, are Negro (Table 5). In contrast to this, 8.4 per cent of all Negroes in the Champaign-Urbana labor force are craftsmen. Why is this ample supply of Negro craftsmen underrepresented on the university labor force?

Table 6 revealed that few Negro craftsmen apply for university employment relative to their proportion of the local labor force. Superficially one might conclude that the university employs few Negro craftsmen because very few apply for employment. Further consideration, however, leads one to investigate the factors immanent in the limited number of Negro craftsmen applicants.

Data on this subject is somewhat sketchy. Negroes could possibly be discouraged to apply by the fact that they pass university employment selection tests only 50 per cent as often as whites (Table 7). Yet, since no attitudinal research has been done concerning such attitudes of defeatism, speculations about the relationship between the high Negro fail rate and rate of Negro application therefore cannot be substantiated.

Craftsmen jobs on campus have one characteristic that is not shared by the other categories of campus occupations; their incumbents are highly unionized. In the Champaign-Urbana area, as is generally true nationwide, there are very few Negro unionized craftsmen.² Even though the university does not permit a "closed" union shop, a large percentage of its building trades craftsmen are, however, unionized; this factor perhaps has the effect of excluding Negroes from many craftsmen jobs.

(Table 8 indicates that no Negro building trades craftsmen are employed by the university.)

Table 8: Nonacademic Employment in the Building Trades at the U. of I. by Craft and Race of Incumbent (March 31, 1968).

Pay Code	Craft	Total Employees	Negro Employees
0683	Carpenter	40	0
1262	Electrician	62	0
2196	Ironworker	4	0
3027	Painter	73	0
3060	Plumber	24	0
3222	Roofer	5	0
3309	Steamfitter	18	0
4273	Sheetmetal Worker	22	0
Totals		247	0

Source: Appendix B, Table 14

Unionization functions to keep Negroes out of craft employment at the University of Illinois and union members in craft employment there in three important ways. 1) A prerequisite for becoming a member of the union is high school graduation. As Table 3 indicates, only about one-third of the Negro labor force (of whom many are female) meets this requirement and are thus eligible for union membership. While the university does not require that individuals in the eight craft jobs listed above graduate from high school, it does add bonus points to the selection test scores of applicants who have a high school diploma.³ Therefore, union members, as do all high school graduates, receive bonus points for high school education, while nonunion Negro craftsmen may or may not receive them). 2) The union apprenticeship programs, which have only nominally been open to Negroes, acquaint union men with the procedure of taking tests and with the specific jargon of the trade; this probably enables them to pass university selection tests more frequently

than can Negroes who have not benefited from apprenticeship. 3) Over the years an unofficial "closed shop" situation has developed in units in which craftsmen are selected. The hiring supervisor will hire only union members, hence when Negroes are referred to them for employment, they are not selected because they are not union members.

Summary

Negro nonacademic employees at the University of Illinois have been relegated mainly to service, laborer, and clerical occupations. Only in the former two of these three occupations do they, however, constitute as much as 8.2 per cent (the Negro proportion of the Champaign-Urbana labor force) of the workers in each occupational category; in those they compose 14.6 per cent and 20.5 per cent respectively, much above 8.2 per cent.

Occupational distribution of the Negro labor force in Champaign-Urbana and the proportions of Negroes who apply for work at the university are very similar to the distribution of Negroes on the University of Illinois work force. The structure of the supply is, therefore, in large part responsible for the university work force patterns of employment. Exceptions to this general rule are the clerical and laborer categories, in which proportionally more Negro individuals are employed than their labor force proportion. These exceptions are partially accounted for by the structure of university demand, as these two particular categories compose 60.5 per cent of University of Illinois nonacademic employment.

Moreover, Negroes compete poorly with whites in every occupational category on university selection tests, passing these tests less

frequently than whites especially in the craftsmen and operative occupational categories. This differential ability to pass these tests has the general effect of holding down Negro-total ratios in every occupational category.

Finally, unionism of many craftsmen jobs at the University of Illinois seems to vary inversely with the proportion of Negroes who are employed there as craftsmen. Variables affecting this are 1) the limited number of Negroes who are craft union members and who, therefore, get bonus points for their educational attainment on selection tests, 2) the preparation which apprenticeship gives some union members for passing university selection tests, from which non-union Negro craftsmen do not benefit, and 3) the prevailing "closed shop" situation in craft employment at the university functions to keep all non-union members, i.e. Negroes, from working.

FOOTNOTES--Chapter IV

¹Delbert Miller and William Form, Industrial Sociology (New York, Harper and Rowe, 1964), p. 439.

²Jerry Briller and Ted Gerber, "The Apprenticeship System and Negro Employment in Champaign-Urbana" (unpublished term report completed for a graduate seminar in Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, May 28, 1968), p. 7.

³Comments made by Len Gorden, Campus Training Director, at the Affirmative Action Officers Meeting, Allerton Park, Illinois, June 8, 1968.

CHAPTER V

Patterns of Employment by Authority Units

In a very real sense the University of Illinois, Urbana campus, is a grouping of quasi-autonomous authority units which are federated into a university. Each is dependent upon the university for its financing and for a general framework of rules governing admissions and employment of personnel; little effort is made to direct or dictate exactly what the policies of each unit will be. Instead, the university takes a very democratic stance, permitting the constituent units to be largely self-determining. Robert E. Wilson observes that it is precisely this democratic authority-sharing stance that causes universities generally to be known by their inefficiency.¹

Hence if one accepts the preceding premise of autonomy, it is quite legitimate to investigate the patterns of employment by individual authority unit, for it is precisely these units which have developed the racial character of their employment patterns and conceivably play an important role in altering those patterns. This chapter will describe these patterns of employment and investigate certain variables which are probably related to them--the variables of discrimination by employing supervisors, nonacceptance by work group peers, and the structure of departmental demand.

Discrimination by Employing Supervisors

Merit employment as a system of employment practices appears to be commonly adopted by governmental units primarily to insure objectivity in the selection of applicants, as opposed to patronage selection,² and

secondarily to select the most competent employees available. Due to emphasis upon the goal of objectivity, partial attainment of the goal of merit is sacrificed, but such inefficiency is permitted to exist as long as employees are selected objectively and are competent to perform the duties assigned to them. The nonacademic employment system on this campus appears to function in this manner, changing only when it does not supply competent applicants, in spite of the fact that a whole segment of excellent applicants who appear to be competent, but who are also Negro, are often not selected for employment.

Within a strictly merit system of employment, the applicant best qualified for the position opening is, by definition, the one employed. Nonacademic employment at the university utilizes a number of devices--entrance interviews, minimum requirements, written tests, physical exams, and a final selection interview with the employing unit for the three applicants who score highest on the selection tests--in an attempt to maintain merit employment, to select the best qualified applicant for each opening.³

When determined by individuals, however, merit, an objective term, often becomes defined in subjective terms, and characteristics of the applicant, such as his appearance or race, become part of the subjective definition of merit. Such definition may result in these two situations. 1) A lack of formal, established criteria by which the employing individual can objectively judge merit forces him to establish his own judgmental standards, which naturally include subjective criteria, e.g. race and sociability, by which he can discriminate among several potential employees. 2) The prejudices of an individual cause him to selectively disregard objective selection criteria and substitute his

subjective standards when individuals possessing characteristics which stimulate his prejudices apply for employment.

Merit employment at the University of Illinois perhaps has its greatest tendency to be governed by subjective definitions of merit in the final selection process, in which supervisors in each campus departmental unit are permitted to select from among the three applicants who have scored highest on the civil service selection test for the position opening in that department. A supervisor who for any reason wished to exclude Negroes from his work group has merely to accept only white applicants who are sent to him. Prior to the establishment of the affirmative action program,⁴ no check whatsoever was made as to whether Negro applicants were consistently rejected by departmental supervisors; such applicants could be rejected with impunity.

Actually, there exists no data which prove conclusively that departmental hiring supervisors discriminate against Negroes in university hiring. A 1968 study⁵ of the racial prejudices of University of Illinois supervisors found, in fact, that the race of the applicant was not a criterion which was used in the selection of employees. The authors of the study nevertheless expressed reservations about the attitudinal measurement instrument used, feeling that personal interviews with these supervisors indicated that discrimination on the basis of race was one of the major criteria used in selection. The inconclusiveness of the study, however, does not exclude the possibility of discrimination.

An examination of Table 9 reveals what appears to be an unequal distribution of Negroes among campus authority units. The modal proportion of Negroes in these department is 0 per cent, occurring in 15 of the 34 authority units; the median proportion, 1.5 per cent; and the mean,

Table 9: Nonacademic Employment on the Urbana Campus of the University of Illinois by Major Administrative Unit and Race of Employee (March 31, 1968).

Dept. Number	College-Department Name	Total	Negro		Total	% (N/T)
			Male	Female		
00	^a Board of Trustees	8			0	0.0
01	^a ADM-Trust.	18			0	0.0
02	^a ADM-Pres.	52		2	2	3.8
03	^a ADM- Prov.	161	1	4	5	3.1
04	^a ADM-Compt.	242		4	4	1.6
05	^a ADM-Admis.	147		4	4	2.7
06	^a ADM-Legal Counsel	5			0	0.0
07	^a ADM-Nonacademic Personnel	160	3	3	6	3.7
08	^a ADM-Public Information	22			0	0.0
09	^a ADM-Dean of Students	50		2	2	4.0
10	^a HEALTH SERVICE	98	2	4	6	6.1
12	^a ALUMNI	13			0	0.0
13	^a OFFICE OF V.P.	2			0	0.0
15	^b AGRICULTURE	674	4	6	10	1.5
17	^b COMMERCE	39			0	0.0
20	^b EDUCATION	179	5	8	13	7.2
22	^b ENGINEERING	445	1	6	7	1.5
24	^b FINE AND APPLIED ARTS	50			0	0.0
26	^b GRADUATE	179	1	4	5	2.7
28	^b JOURNALISM	56	1		1	1.7
30	^b LAW	9			0	0.0
32	^b LIBERAL ARTS & SCIENCES	395	4	4	8	2.0
36	^b PHYSICAL EDUCATION	55		1	1	1.8
40	^b EXTENSION DIVISION	107		1	1	0.9
44	^b VETERINARY MEDICINE	77	3	1	4	5.1
50	^b ARMED FORCES	7			0	0.0
52	^b INSTITUTE OF AVIATION	65			0	0.0
56	^b INSTITUTE OF GOVERNMENT & PUB. AFFAIRS	3			0	0.0
60	^b INSTITUTE OF LABOR & IND. RELATIONS	11	1	1	2	18.1
68	^b JANE ADDAMS GRAD. SCH. OF SOC. WORK	10			0	0.0
78	^c UNIVERSITY PRESS	109	2		2	1.8
79	^a INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION PROGRAMS	9			0	0.0
80	^a LIBRARY & LIBRARY SCIENCE	186		8	8	4.2
82	^c PHYSICAL PLANT	2319	110	128	238	10.3
Misc.		1		1	1	
TOTAL		5962 ^d	138	192	330	5.5

^aAdministrative Unit

^bAcademic Unit

^cManufacturing, Operations, and Maintenance Unit

^dThis total is not comparable with the total for Tables XII and XVI as it includes 368 non-status white employees.

Source: Appendix C, Table 23.

5.5 per cent. This nonrandom distribution of black employees is perhaps a function of the refusal by supervisors in certain departments to hire Negro employees. Yet, it appears also to be a function of the type of work available in each department, as will be considered in the next subsection.

Structure of Unit Labor Demand

Each campus unit performs functions that are dissimilar to the functions of other units; therefore, they do not all require the same type of nonacademic employees. Since university Negro employees are distributed among a number of occupational categories (Table 5), and since Negroes more frequently apply for work at the university in certain occupational categories than in other (Table 7), only departments requiring the same occupational types of employees could ideally be expected to have similar proportions of Negro employees--provided, of course, that there were equal opportunity for qualified Negroes to work in any unit, and Negroes as a group had no preferences for working in certain departments.

Three basic divisions of these authority units can be made on the basis of homogeneity of nonacademic employment in the units. These divisions are 1) administrative units, indicated by an a on Table 8, 2) academic units, indicated by a b on Table 9, and 3) manufacturing, operations, and maintenance units, indicated by a c on Table 9. Administrative units employ mainly clerical and administrative individuals; academic units employ predominately clerical people, with sizeable exceptions being the technical individuals employed by the physical sciences departments; manufacturing, operations, and maintenance units

employ persons mainly in the service worker, craftsmen, operative, and laborer categories. An examination of Appendix C, which contains tables breaking down the employment of each authority unit having at least sixty nonacademic employees into the families of occupation discussed in Chapter III, reveals that the employment of both the administrative and academic units usually requires at least high school graduation, and the employment of the manufacturing, operations, and maintenance units frequently does not require a high school diploma.

Table 10 indicates that of the three broad divisions of non-academic employment, academic units employ proportionally the fewest Negroes, with administrative units employing slightly more. Manufacturing, operations, and maintenance units both proportionally and numerically employ overwhelmingly more Negroes than do the other two types of units.

Table 10: Nonacademic Employment by Type of Administrative Unit and Race of Incumbent at the University of Illinois, Urbana Campus (March 31, 1968).

Type of Unit	Total Employment	Negro Employment	% (Negro/Total)
Administrative	1,173	37	3.15%
Academic	2,316	52	2.20%
Manufacturing, Operations & Maintenance	2,428	241	9.90%
Totals	5,962	330	5.50%

Source: Table 8

A significant factor in explaining the high proportion of Negroes employed by the manufacturing, operations, and maintenance units is the characteristics of Negro employment in these units. Eighty-two per cent of the blacks working in manufacturing, operations, and maintenance units are in jobs which are classified in the family of occupations "no education-no experience." Not surprisingly, this block of Negro

employees compose 94 per cent of all university-employed Negroes in the family of occupations just mentioned and fully 60 per cent of all university Negro nonacademic workers. These employees are predominantly kitchen workers. Were it not for this large contingent of kitchen workers in manufacturing, operations, and maintenance units, the Negro-total employee ratio there would be 2.8 per cent, which is between the Negro-total proportions for the two other authority unit groupings.

Because administrative and academic units employ Negroes mainly in clerical occupational categories, while manufacturing, operations, and maintenance units primarily hire unskilled blacks, it appears that the administrative and academic units' Negro employment patterns approximate the supply of Negro labor available, rather than being solely functions of discriminatory activity on the part of supervisors. Yet, this argument has its greatest relevance to averages rather than to specifics. Some discriminatory factors are undoubtedly operating in the fifteen departmental units that have no Negro employees but have essentially the same structure of employment as do departments which have Negro employees.

A few of those factors which might function to limit the numbers of Negroes who are employed in some departments but not in others are 1) that the Office of Nonacademic Personnel does not send Negro applicants to certain departments because they perceive that Negro applicants would not be welcomed there, 2) that Negro applicants do not chose to work in these departments because they do not feel that they would be welcomed there, or that they would rather work in departments in which there are other Negro employees, 3) that departmental supervisors refuse to employ any blacks referred to them by the Office of Nonacademic Personnel, and