

BLACK NONACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT AND THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS'
AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAM (URBANA-CHAMPAIGN CAMPUS)

BY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Black Employment History Prior to Affirmative Action Program.	1
Initiation of Affirmative Action Program	4
The Chalmers-Shulenburg Report.	8
Affirmative Action Program Activities: 1968-69.	10
Affirmative Action Program Activities: 1970.	12
Affirmative Action Program Activities: 1971.	17
Affirmative Action Program Activities: 1972-Current	23
II. PROBLEM FORMULATION AND STUDY DESIGN	30
Critical Aspects of University of Illinois Nonacademic Employment Process Affecting Black Applicants	30
Problem Formulation	43
Study Design	44
Scope.	45
Limitations.	46
III. ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT	50
Patterns of Employment by Occupational Category.	50
Patterns of Employment by Families of Occupation	60
Patterns of Employment by Location	68
Patterns of Employment by Promotional Sequences.	75
Summary	78
IV. ANALYSIS OF PARTS OF EMPLOYMENT PROCESS AFFECTING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION	81
Analysis of Testing Data	81
Learner, Trainee, and Apprenticeship Programs	95
Civil Service Rules	98
Turnover.	101
Minimum Qualifications	104
Goal Setting	106
Organization and Responsibility for University's Affirmative Action Program	106
Summary	111

V. POSSIBLE FUTURE ACTIONS FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAM. 116

 Goal-Setting System 116

 Selective Certification. 126

 Categorization. 129

 Extension of Upgrading Programs 131

 Need for Applicant Information System 133

 Conclusion 133

BIBLIOGRAPHY. 137

APPENDIX

A Distribution of Nonacademic Employees at the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus) in Each Classification by Race and Sex (December 31, 1971). 142

B Occupational Distribution of Nonacademic Employees at the University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus) in Each College or Major Administrative Unit by Race and Sex (December 31, 1971). 154

C Black and White Test Scores on University Civil Service Exams (in which at least Six Blacks Have Been Tested) during Past Four Fiscal Years 163

I. INTRODUCTION

Black Employment History Prior to Affirmative Action Program

The University of Illinois first committed itself to a policy of equal opportunity in 1946, when the Board of Trustees 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."¹ Implicit in their public statement was the Board of Trustees' belief that the University always had maintained a policy of equal employment opportunity.

The Board of Trustees' statement was made at a time when the first fair employment practice laws and orders were being drafted and debated in Congress. The definition of equal opportunity during the Forties was "color blindness" or complete objectivity in hiring without regard to a man's ethnic background. "It was believed that this was a legally sound and necessary principle, and that faithful adherence to it would automatically eliminate discrimination and lead to full equality of employment."² "Color blindness" was the equal opportunity guideline until around 1960. At about that time civil rights leaders began questioning "color blindness" as a criterion for selection in employment because it did not advance adequately the employment status of blacks.

With the advent of the Civil Rights movement nationwide in the early 1960's, equal opportunity policies of all types of employers were challenged by numerous civil rights groups and legislators. The employers were criticized mainly for allowing racially discriminatory practices to

exist under a guise of equal opportunity policy. The University of Illinois was no exception. In 1961, the Human Relations Commission of Champaign reported some alleged cases of discrimination in nonacademic employment at the University. The University agreed to cooperate with the Human Relations Commission in setting up procedures . . . "to assist in the uniform application of its (the University of Illinois') merit employment policy."³

The discrepancy between policy statements and the actual practices of many employers was one reason for the failure of "color-blindness" as a criterion for equal opportunity. A second reason was that "the emphasis on 'color-blind' evaluation of qualifications obscured the goal of getting the nonwhite minorities into the job stream."⁴ It is very important to note that under the "color-blind" policy, an organization could not keep records which identified an employee by race. Therefore, it was virtually impossible to statistically assess the minority representation in a large organization, where a "head count" would hardly be feasible. However, in 1961 President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925, which required all government contractors to file compliance reports indicating the exact number of minorities employed by the institution and demonstrating the organization's effort to employ and upgrade minorities. Executive Order 11114, mandated in 1963, extended the scope of Order 10925 to include all applicants for federal assistance through grants, loans, insurance or other contracts.

In response to the Orders, the University began its formal collection of ethnic data in 1965 in an action authorized by the Board of

Trustees. The Board authorized the use of ethnic data for the twofold purpose of reporting to the federal government and carefully evaluating " . . . the various questions which have to do with the experience of minority group members on our campuses."⁵ The collection and analysis of racial-ethnic data represented the first step toward the end of the "color-blind" policy.

In July of 1965, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, entitled "Equal Employment Opportunity," was enacted to strengthen requirements of previously-issued Presidential Executive Orders by establishing the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to act as a monitor and enforcer of Title VII provisions. Then in September of 1965, President Johnson issued Executive Order 11246, which reaffirmed the policy of the two preceding orders and furthermore required that covered organizations take "affirmative actions" to insure equal opportunity. Executive Order 11246 also established the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC) to monitor "affirmative action" programs of Federal contractors and recipients of grants and loans.

Title VII and Executive Order 11246 represented the federal government's official announcement that "color-blind" equal opportunity policies were no longer adequate in coping with the effects of past discrimination against minorities. The new documents demanded a policy of "affirmative action," which required that the employer take active steps to hire minorities in all phases of employment. Affirmative action steps included special recruitment outreaches to the black community, reanalysis of entrance tests and job qualifications, assessment of minority employee

representation and potential for upgrade, and other actions designed to increase the employment status of blacks and other minorities. Thompson Powers points out that the federal government was in effect saying that "equal opportunity is a condition, and affirmative action is the means by which this condition is achieved."⁶ Since the federal government required all organizations to take affirmative action, their action implied that the state of equal employment opportunity did not exist.

Initiation of Affirmative Action Program

The University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign campus, required by law to establish an affirmative action program, did so formally on February 5, 1968, when Chancellor Peltason committed the campus to a policy of affirmative action in a directive issued to Deans, Directors, and Department Heads. The Chancellor 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 will develop programs to help applicants overcome these disadvantages. Affirmative action also means instructing academic and non-academic personnel in carrying out the University's pledge of providing equal opportunity for employment.⁷

On April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King's assassination served to heighten public sensitivity to the issue of racism. Local pressure groups, especially the Citizens for Racial Justice, demanded that the University show more than verbal commitment to hiring black people. The Chancellor's general policy statement was subsequently defined more specifically by Vice-Chancellor Briscoe in a May 2, 1968 memorandum which spelled out a

lengthy, step-by-step process for the implementation of the affirmative action policy at the University's Urbana campus.⁸ Briscoe initiated two programs in the directive to Deans, Directors, and Department Heads. The first program requested that each department develop an affirmative action program and the second required the submission of a quarterly "Minority Group Employment" report.

In further specifying the steps of an acceptable Affirmative Action Program, Briscoe requested that the departments designate one of their members as an affirmative action officer. The appointed officers were given a twofold responsibility:

1. To develop collectively an overall campus affirmative action plan under the guidance of Joseph Smith, the Campus Affirmative Action Officer; and
2. To develop and implement the affirmative action program for their respective individual departments.

As a guidepost for departmental affirmative action plans, Briscoe recommended systematic reviews of educational and experience requirements for the positions in the department and use of learner and trainee programs to hire disadvantaged people. Briscoe's most interesting and controversial remark, however, was his strong recommendation that "each projected vacancy (entry or higher level) for which a qualified Negro is certified from an original entry register will be filled by that Negro unless the appropriate Affirmative Action Officer for good cause approves another eligible candidate."

Briscoe's controversial statement was quickly challenged on the

basis of unlawful "reverse discrimination" by numerous outraged departments. This issue brought about a quick "test case" of the amount of power that the Chancellor's Office could exert over departmental affirmative action programs. The departments won a crucial victory when Briscoe, only 11 days later, backed away from his original stance by omitting the preferential selection clause in an amendment to his directive. He explained that ". . . it was not intended to suggest discrimination against a white candidate. Discrimination in any form is unacceptable and contrary to law and University policy."⁹ The importance of Briscoe's statement lay in its establishment of an early precedent in the Campus' affirmative action plan: that each department could control the way in which it interpreted and implemented affirmative action.

Meanwhile, the newly-appointed departmental affirmative action officers conducted their first organizational meeting, a two-day workshop held on June 7 and 8. Dividing themselves into several small committees, the officers discussed the scope, range, and intensity of problems related to minority group hiring. The committees managed to generate a collection of 106 problems, which mainly dealt with nine general areas of affirmative action: recruiting, inventory, qualifying, placement, training and development, orientation and motivation, bases for employing minorities, administration, and black-white relationships.¹⁰ Important for the purpose of this thesis were the large number of questions raised by the Officers about how to overcome Civil Service barriers to black employment, such as the merit system, the minimum qualifications, selection tests, and placement, upgrading, seniority, and layoff regulations. The Civil Service

System, which will be examined in greater detail later in this thesis, governs nonacademic employment procedures at the University of Illinois.

In a follow-up meeting held two weeks later, the officers regrouped in order to identify priority problem areas and to recommend solutions for overcoming barriers to minority employment. Interestingly, their recommendations dealt primarily with the definition and implementation of the overall University affirmative action program. No steps were recommended for eliminating barriers to minority employment inherent in the Civil Service System. Furthermore, the recommendations revealed an attitude of mistrust and pessimism on the part of the affirmative action officers towards the University's commitment to affirmative action. For example, the officers recommended that "the University should define the Affirmative Action goals, assess its financial resources in light of these goals, and, either redefine these goals, or obtain money to meet them"¹¹ Also, the final recommendation ended with three questions which conveyed suspicion and mistrust of the University's intentions: "As an institution how committed are we? Will the University just let this fade or will it back the program to fruition? Will Affirmative Action Officers 'get caught' with the University not supporting the program in fact?"

There are two probable explanations for the total lack of recommendations for offsetting Civil Service barriers to black employment. One plausible reason could have been the feeling of frustration and futility on the part of the affirmative action officers as to whether it was possible to bring about changes in the traditional system procedures. However, a second contributing factor was the fact that on April 1, 1968, the Civil

Service System had finally established an avenue whereby a limited number of "culturally and economically disadvantaged people" could bypass normal Civil Service procedures by entering entry level jobs via Learner programs. A Learner program enables a disadvantaged individual to be hired for on-job-training in a particular position. Provided the person successfully completes the program, he then becomes a status University employee without being required to take the Civil Service exam for the class. A Learner thus is not required to compete with other people on a Civil Service register. This affirmative step on the part of Civil Service persuaded the officers to explore the Learner avenue and to ignore pursuing any changes in traditional System procedures. In their recommendations, the officers made only one statement concerning the Civil Service hiring process, and that recommendation advocated extensive use of Learner programs by all departments. A detailed explanation of Learner programs will occur later in the thesis. The only other recommendation of the affirmative action officers dealing with hiring matters called for the University's selection of craftsmen without involvement from the unions, due to the difficulties encountered by blacks attempting to enter the trade unions.

The Chalmers-Shulenburg Report

On June 26, 1968, an extensive statistical research study of racial employment patterns at the Urbana Campus of the University of Illinois, conducted by Professor W. Ellison Chalmers and David Shulenburg for the Office of the Chancellor, revealed dramatically the gross racial

imbalance in the University job structure.¹² Their two major findings showed that only 330 or 5.9 percent of the University's nonacademic work-force were black, as opposed to an 8.2 percent black participation in the labor force in Champaign-Urbana in 1960. Furthermore, the study demonstrated that over two-thirds of all black nonacademic employees were concentrated in the two lowest job categories of laborers and service workers. The following breakdown illustrates the kinds of jobs in which the majority of blacks were employed.¹³

<u>POSITION</u>	<u>NUMBER OF BLACKS</u>
Cook	31
Kitchen Helper	68
Janitor	26
Kitchen Laborer	47
Maid	12
Other Food Service & Custodial Jobs	28

Of the remaining 118 employees, 63 were clerical employees, representing only 2.6 percent of the total number of clerical positions at the Urbana campus.

The Chalmers-Shulenburger report expressed optimism for the Quarterly Minority Reports requested by Vice-Chancellor Briscoe, provided that they were "(1) very carefully policed to see that they are in fact filed with consistent definitions, etc., and (2) analyzed carefully and objectively by those familiar with the problems involved and who can relate these data to all other kind of data originating within and without the system."¹⁴ In their final recommendations, they encouraged each individual department to statistically analyze the distribution of black employees in their particular unit and then to set targets for hiring minorities in particular classifications. Also, the Chancellor's Office,

under which responsibility for the overall University affirmative action program for the Urbana Campus resided, was encouraged to set up administrative machinery for statistical analysis of racial data to be used as a basis for setting minority hiring goals for the Campus. Finally, the report expressed a need for not only mass racial data but for identification of individual black employees currently employed at the University, who could be up graded to better jobs.

Affirmative Action Program Activities: 1968-69

Aware that its nonacademic work force was racially imbalanced, the University set out to improve the inequities pointed out by the Chalmers-Shulenburger report. During the period from the inception of the University affirmative action program in the spring of 1968 through the end of 1969, black employment increases were substantial, as the total number of black employees rose from 330 to 449.¹⁵ This 36 percent increase in total black employment was facilitated by an expanded University budget which enabled the University to raise its total number of nonacademic employees on the Urbana Campus from 5594 to 6539, an increase of 945 employees or 17 percent. The percentage of total nonacademic employees who were black rose from 5.9 to 6.8 percent.

The advent of the Clerical Learner Program had a great impact during this period, as almost half of the increase in black nonacademic employment came in the clerical occupational area. The Clerical Learner Program gave culturally and economically disadvantaged females intensive training in clerical and office skills (i.e., typing, office protocol, filing, grooming) as well as educational training to enable women without

the high school diploma required by Civil Service to obtain a High School Equivalency Diploma. The Civil Service Learner rule provided the mechanism for initiating the Clerical Learner program, since it allowed disadvantaged women to be hired without meeting normal Civil Service qualifications.

The clerical area was not the only occupational category that showed minority employment increases during the 1968-69 period. The skilled craftsmen area, bound by tight union regulations and selection barriers, increased from 0 to 15 black male employees. The success in the skilled trades area was due primarily to two pre-apprenticeship training programs conducted by members of the campus Personnel Services Office, one in the Spring of 1968 and a second in the Spring of 1969. Black men from the Champaign-Urbana community were recruited for 6-week pre-apprenticeship programs which provided intensive training aimed at overcoming three barriers to black employment in the skilled trades:

1. The applicants were aided in filling out and sending in the many various forms and certificates necessary for admission into the apprenticeship programs;
2. The applicants were prepared for the complete battery of aptitude tests required by the apprenticeship program; and
3. The applicants were prepared for handling the types of questions encountered in the rigorous pre-apprenticeship interviews conducted by the joint apprenticeship committees.¹⁶

It is important to note at this point that the impetus for the Pre-Apprenticeship Program was provided by neither the Chancellor's Office nor the departmental affirmative action officers, but was rather created and carried through by individuals in the Campus Personnel Service Office.

Affirmative Action Program Activities: 1970

The year of 1970 proved to be the year of greatest gain for minority employment at the Urbana campus. Despite a 10 percent decrease in total nonacademic employment caused by budgetary cutbacks in the summer of 1970, black employment increased by 13 percent (from 449 to 507 black employees). The percentage of nonacademic employees who were black rose to 8.6 percent. The clerical occupational area again proved to be the greatest source of increased employment, due to the continued success of the Clerical Learner Program.

There are several possible explanations for the good progress made in 1970. One factor could be the organizational change initiated by the Chancellor's Office, which created the campus Affirmative Action for Equal Opportunity Office as a separate entity reporting directly to the Chancellor's Office. Affirmative action activities had previously been performed by individual members of the Personnel Services Office along with other types of personnel duties. The reorganization in structure gave the University's affirmative action program higher visibility across campus and a stronger power base from which to operate. Affirmative action had become a strong, separate thrust rather than merely one of many personnel functions performed by the Personnel Services Office.

A second important factor was the utilization of Learner programs by the newly-created Affirmative Action Office. Although the Learner rule had been approved by Civil Service in April of 1968, it was utilized sparingly by the Personnel Services Office training section. The

Affirmative Action Office took the responsibility of program writing and established programs in 33 new job classifications during 1970 alone. The programs not only provided for an increase in total black employment but also paved the way for blacks to enter new occupations.

A third contributing factor could have been the outstanding individual efforts on the part of certain departmental affirmative action officers to utilize Learner programs in their respective departments. It should also be mentioned that the Personnel Services training section held two consecutive "Racial Skills Workshops" in May and July of 1970 for departmental affirmative action officers. The overall purpose of these workshops was to sensitize the officers to the problems of supervising black workers effectively and to strengthen their commitment to affirmative action.

The final important factor which undoubtedly influenced the University's increased hiring of blacks was the compliance review conducted by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in October of 1970.

HEW reviewers

found that despite the evidence of some affirmative action activity, the work force composition of the nonacademic job classifications at the University of Illinois shows only a small increase in the utilization of blacks and other minorities and this mainly at the lowest job levels.¹⁷

Specifically, HEW criticized the Urbana campus Personnel Services Office for:

1. Not sending qualified blacks to some departments because of prior discriminatory actions of the supervisor;

2. Not adequately recruiting blacks for higher level jobs;
3. Discriminating in the way employee interviews were conducted as well as the way in which examinations were made available;
4. Relegating blacks to Learner and Trainee job categories;
5. Failing to keep preemployment records of applicants according to race and sex; and
6. Failing to keep a "skills bank" of current employees for identifying and upgrading underutilized workers.¹⁸

The bulk of HEW criticism, however, was directed at the University Civil Service System, which they described as "the greatest single impediment to the EEO program at this University."¹⁹ Civil Service tests and minimum qualifications for job entrance were said to be "operating discriminatorily and effectively eliminating qualified minority group members from consideration." The reviewers questioned whether the tests and qualifications were related to successful job performance and requested that the Civil Service tests and qualifications be validated.

In addition, HEW criticized the racial makeup of the University's Council on Equal Opportunity, composed entirely of high level white male administrators. The lack of black employees at the Personnel Services Office, Bursar's Office, Health Service, and Student Loan Office was also criticized, due to the sensitive and visible contact points which these departments have with the black community.

Finally, HEW closed their analysis by ordering the University to take appropriate remedial action in its affirmative action program. HEW also hinted at possible penalties for failure of the University to commit itself to remedial action:

Without such a commitment, we are unable to certify that the University of Illinois is a responsible contractor and eligible for the award of Government contracts . . . your commitments will be evaluated in the light of our findings to determine whether or not they are responsive to the problems we have identified.²⁰

The University was then given 30 days in which to respond to HEW.

In summary, despite the gains in black employment made in 1970, HEW made clear that the University's affirmative action program was inadequate and that certain remedial actions would have to be taken. The HEW review served to spark a flurry of activity in black employment hiring late in 1970 as the University began to correct some of its problems.

However, it must be mentioned that a few unfavorable signs cropped up in 1970 to cast an ominous shadow on the future of the University's affirmative action program. One problem arose in the auditing system when Vice-Chancellor Briscoe announced a new auditing system for racial-ethnic data, effective July 29, 1970.²¹ The positive aspect of the new system was its provision for a central racial data bank, based on employees' racial ethnic cards (a self-identification card filled out at time of application), from which racial data analyses could be more easily attained. However, the negative aspect was the discontinuance of required quarterly minority employment reports from departments. The reports had previously been submitted to the Personnel Services Office. Little follow-up was done with the reports, but their potential use by the newly-created Affirmative Action Office could have been great. Without being required to submit quarterly manpower reports, departments no longer were directly involved in the affirmative action process.

A second negative sign was the gradual collapse of the relationship between many departmental affirmative action officers and the campus Affirmative Action Office. The major cause of this collapse was the fact that not all departmental affirmative action officers were committed to the University's affirmative action program. Bantoft and Foster (1971) point out that many of the officers had little or no desire for the role, but were appointed by their department head.²² Frustrated with uncooperative departmental affirmative action officers, the campus Affirmative Action Office for the most part only communicated to and worked with those officers who were committed to affirmative action. The unity among departmental affirmative action officers, which characterized the meetings held among them in June of 1968 when they were first appointed, had completely broken down for all practical purposes. No meetings had been held among departmental officers since 1968.

A final problem was fostered by the establishment of the Affirmative Action Office as a separate entity from the Personnel Services Office. Because training programs were the main vehicle for blacks becoming University employees and the responsibility for training programs was taken over by the Affirmative Action Office, black applicants began to bypass the Personnel Service Office and to apply for jobs at the Affirmative Action Office. The result was the evolution of two personnel offices: a white personnel office and a black personnel office. The Chancellor's Office grew increasingly anxious over this outcome of their reorganization. The Affirmative Action Office was not equipped to be a personnel office but rather was created for the purpose of assisting and monitoring the

employment process. An additional negative aspect of this problem was the inevitable conflict and problems of coordination which the two offices experienced in working with one another.

Affirmative Action Program Activities: 1971

The year of 1971, plagued by another budget cut, saw total black nonacademic employment dip 9 percent (from 507 to 462 black employees). As a percentage of total University employment, however, black employment figures showed a slight increase from 8.6 to 8.7 percent. This latter figure indicates that of those losing their jobs due to budgetary cutbacks in 1971, blacks fared better than whites. Nevertheless, the number of newly hired blacks significantly declined in 1971 and little progress was made in the University's affirmative action program. The primary problem of surviving budgetary cuts had for the time replaced affirmative action as a primary campus issue.

The University submitted a revised Affirmative Action Plan to HEW on August 4, 1971, in response to HEW's request in October of 1970. HEW evidently overlooked the fact that the plan was submitted well past the 30 day limit for response. The plan was then distributed to all University employees through the Staff Observer, a nonacademic newsletter edited by the General University Nonacademic Personnel Office.²³ The plan began with the University's acknowledgment "that its provision of equal opportunity in a general atmosphere of nondiscrimination has not markedly increased the representation of minority and female employees at most levels and in most categories of employment." The plan then provided

a basic outline of steps that would be taken to correct the underutilization of minorities and females in University academic and nonacademic positions.

The features of the plan relating to nonacademic employment included a plan to upgrade minority and female employees. Included in the upgrading plan was the announcement that a skills bank was being developed "so that the qualifications and interests of present employees are considered when positions become vacant."²⁴ A second feature was the announcement of the development of a new internal audit and reporting system, a centralized and coordinated data bank. The unique aspect of the data bank was its provision for preemployment racial data, assessing the skills and interests of applicants as well as current employees. A third positive feature concerned the announcement of a Civil Service affirmative action program, designed to validate tests and restructure entrance requirements. Job element exams were being designed to replace written tests in order to help blacks pass the Civil Service examinations. Extensive validation studies were being undertaken by a professional researcher in order to assess Civil Service exams. A final positive feature was the announcement that nonacademic hiring goals for the Urbana Campus were set for 1971 by the University Nonacademic Personnel Director. Hiring goals had never been previously set for nonacademic employment.

The University's Revised Affirmative Action Plan was not without its weaknesses, however. One problem which plagued the affirmative action program in the past persisted in the revised plan: ultimate responsibility for implementing affirmative action was diffused throughout the various University departments where hiring decisions were made. A second problem

lay in the failure of the University to specify who was responsible for the proposed upgrading program. The same problem existed with the failure of anyone being designated to utilize preemployment data once they were compiled. Another obvious weakness in the plan was its failure to involve departments in setting hiring goals for 1971. Although goals were indeed set by the Director of the General University Nonacademic Personnel Office, he is not the one that decides whether or not to hire a black--that decision lies with the hiring department. The final negative aspect of the plan lay in the noticeable lack of affirmative action activity beyond dissemination of the plan to employees.

It is interesting to note at this point that the University's Affirmative Action Plan differed in many crucial aspects to the plan proposed by the Campus Affirmative Action Officer, James Ransom, Jr. in his annual report.²⁵ Ransom strongly recommended a "color-conscious approach" that was "results oriented." He defined the color-conscious approach as one that first assumes that "the present effects of past discrimination remain and that discrimination is still being practiced overtly and covertly," and secondly, it "focuses on and spotlights all barriers to equal opportunity," recommending actions to overcome these barriers. The color-conscious proposal was quite obviously a significant change from the past philosophy of color blindness in equal opportunity.

Ransom's plan differed from the University's in the following ways. He called for a "strong commitment from the top," not just in rhetoric but in the form of financial resources and people. Secondly, he called for a goal-setting system which would involve specific hiring commitments to be required of departmental supervisors. Thirdly, in order

to increase black hiring, he recommended selective certification of blacks on Civil Service registers who qualified with a passing score which was too low for them to be referred. Finally, Ransom encouraged the University to utilize auditing and reporting systems to identify those departments and classifications where blacks were not employed and to employ corrective actions to remedy those problem areas.

On the national level, 1971 was the year in which a landmark case in the area of equal opportunity in employment was decided upon by the U. S. Supreme Court. In Griggs vs. Duke Power Company, the Supreme Court had before it a class action brought by 13 blacks claiming that the company's educational and testing requirements were discriminatory and therefore invalid.²⁶ The Supreme Court found that the tests involved did not measure the ability of the applicant to perform successfully in the position concerned, and that both the high school completion requirement and the general intelligence test were adopted by the company without meaningful study of their relationship to job-performance ability.

The Supreme Court ruled that "any non-job related selection devices which exclude a disproportionate number of minority applicants from employment are unlawful."²⁷ Furthermore, the Supreme Court required "the removal of artificial, arbitrary, and unnecessary barriers to employment when the barriers operate invidiously to discriminate on the basis of racial or other impermissible classifications." Griggs vs. Duke Power Company also established a revolutionary policy for dealing with discriminatory cases; namely, that intent is not the critical element.²⁸ The Court stated that "good intent or absence of discriminatory intent does not redeem employment procedures or testing mechanisms that operate as 'built-in headwinds' for

minority groups and are unrelated to measuring job capability. The (Civil Rights) Act proscribes not only overt discrimination but also practices that are fair in form but discriminatory in operation."

The Griggs decision affected the University of Illinois in three major ways:

1. The University Civil Service System, aware that the exams which it administered for nonacademic positions were not validated for job-relatedness, began an extensive validation study in the fall of 1971;
2. The University could no longer use "good intentions" as an excuse for its failure to hire and upgrade a sufficient number of minorities; and
3. Specifically, if the "rule of three" (the University's practice of referring the three people with the highest scores on the Civil Service register for a given class to a job vacancy within that class) while fair in form did in fact operate discriminatorily in a specific situation, the University would be in violation of the Griggs ruling.

On the local labor scene, Builders Association vs. Ogilvie, June 1971, also set an important legal precedent for affirmative action.²⁹ Construction companies were required by the Ogilvie Plan to have the same percent of minorities in their work force as the proportion of minorities living in their immediate labor market area in order to be eligible for government contracts. The construction companies questioned the con-

stitutionality of such "quotas" in court, arguing that such a requirement fostered "reverse discrimination" with its preference given to minorities. However, the U. S. District Court ruled that "minimum required ratios of minority-groups employment, whether de jure or defacto, are constitutional and valid when adopted for purpose of implementing affirmative action to achieve equal employment opportunities."

Finally, on August 31, 1971, the U. S. Department of Labor issued Revised Order No. 4, a comprehensive document which described in detail what constituted an affirmative action program for private, non-construction contractors. The required contents of an acceptable affirmative action program, as outlined by Revised Order No. 4, had to include

an analysis of areas within which the contractor is deficient in the utilization of minority groups and women, and further, goals and timetables to which the contractor's good faith efforts must be directed to correct the deficiencies and thus to increase materially the utilization of minorities and women, at all levels and in all segments of the workforce where deficiencies exist."³⁰

The extreme importance of the issuance of Revised Order No. 4 lay in the fact that the federal government had finally set down in detail guidelines for affirmative action programs, and that these guidelines represented a results-oriented approach including establishment of goals to overcome present inequities caused by past discrimination. Interestingly enough, the Department of Labor's guidelines for affirmative action programs resembled Ransom's color-conscious, results-oriented approach far more than the University's revised Affirmative Action Plan submitted to HEW on August 4, 1971. Although the University of Illinois, being a

public institution, was exempt from Title VII of the Civil Rights Act at the time Revised Order No. 4 was issued, it became clear that the University's affirmative action program would not pass federal regulations. Moreover, an ammendment to Title VII, which would extend coverage of the Civil Rights Act to public employment at the federal, state, and local level, was in the process of being submitted for passage in 1972. This latter prospect indicated that the University's affirmative action program would be unacceptable to HEW, according to the guidelines of Revised Order No. 4.

Affirmative Action Program Activities: 1972-Current

As in 1971, budget cuts plagued hiring of minorities in 1972. The Chancellor's Office enacted a "freeze" on nonacademic hiring which stretched from spring through late summer. During the freeze period, significant changes occurred in the responsibilities of the Affirmative Action Office and the Personnel Services Office in regards to minority employment. At the suggestion of the Chancellor's Office, the Affirmative Action Office relinquished its personnel work to the Personnel Services Office and assumed the role of monitoring the employment process to ensure equal opportunity. The Chancellor's Office strongly urged this change of roles because the Affirmative Action Office's involvement in personnel duties had brought about two personnel offices, one serving whites and one serving blacks.

Although the Affirmative Action Office halted its personnel work, its change of roles was not made clear to the Personnel Services

Office. The relative inactivity in hiring during the job freeze made this role change obscure operationally since during this period few vacancies were available for filling by minorities. Consequently, when the job freeze was suddenly lifted in August of 1972, the Personnel Services Office was swamped by an enormous backlog of vacancies and was unprepared to secure positions for minorities via training positions. Each office thought the other was working with departments to secure some of the vacancies for minorities. Departments, needing to fill their vacancies immediately to cope with the large amount of work required at the beginning of the fall school term, pressured Personnel Services to refer applicants to them immediately, with little time to listen to pleas for affirmative action. The result was that very few minorities were hired into budget-line nonacademic positions in 1972. It should also be noted that even though the organizational mixup of roles was partially responsible for the lack of minority hiring, the budget cut itself was partially responsible. Most departments lost at least one position due to budget cuts and were unwilling to hire a minority learner or trainee with an already reduced work force.

Minority employment at the University would have been significantly reduced during 1972 were it not for the federal Emergency Employment Act, which provided funding for University jobs for approximately 133 disadvantaged applicants, primarily black. Hiring of these minorities began during May of 1972 and was not subject to the employment freeze because the positions which were federally-funded were not regular budget-line, nonacademic positions. The intention of EEA was to provide dis-

advantaged people with federally-funded public jobs until a vacancy occurred within the hiring department, up to a maximum of two years. Unfortunately, only around 28 percent of the EEA employees have yet (August, 1973) been subsumed into the work force and the turnover among EEA employees has been a high forty percent. The overall effect of EEA has been to keep the minority work force at approximately the same level as at the end of 1971 or possibly slightly lower. It is hopeful that by June of 1974 many of the remaining EEA-budgeted employees will be assimilated into budget-line jobs through normal attrition. This prospect looks bleak, however, due to further budget cuts during 1973, which again have caused a cutback in the number of nonacademic University employees.

At the national level, Title VII was extended in scope to apply to public institutions as well as private institutions on March 24, 1972.³¹ A few months later on October 1, 1972, HEW sent a publication to all college and university Presidents entitled Higher Education Guidelines-Executive Order 11246,³² a document outlining the requirements for an educational institution's compliance to Title VII. The guidelines outlined by HEW were based on Revised Order No. 4. Revised Order No. 4's guidelines for affirmative action thus became the official benchmark by which universities' affirmative action programs would be measured by HEW. It was therefore not too surprising when HEW rejected the University of Illinois' revised Affirmative Action Plan on October 27, 1972.³³ Although the majority of the reasons for rejection of the University's plan dealt with sex discrimination issues, the lack of significant progress toward minority hiring and upgrading goals was also cited by HEW as a major reason for

the inadequacy of the University's affirmative action program. The University resubmitted an analysis of the composition of its work force to HEW in December of 1972. HEW officials are currently reviewing the University of Illinois' employment situation to determine whether the University's affirmative action program is meeting Revised Order No. 4 guidelines.

Footnotes

- 1 Cathie Hutton, "The U. of I. and the Drive for Negro Equality, 1941-1951" (unpublished graduate seminar paper, University of Illinois, 1966), p. 8.
- 2 George Schermer, Employer's Guide to Equal Opportunity (Washington: The Potomac Institute, Inc., 1966), p. 11.
- 3 Aaron M. Bindman, "Minority Collective Action Against Local Discrimination" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Illinois, 1961), p. 7.
- 4 George Schermer, op. cit., p. 12.
- 5 William 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).
- 6 Thompson Powers, Equal Employment Opportunity: Compliance and Affirmative Action (New York: National Association of Manufacturers, 1969), p. 65.
- 7 J. W. Peltason, Chancellor, Letter to Deans, Directors, and Heads of Academic and Administrative Units, Urbana-Champaign Campus, February 5, 1968.
- 8 J. W. Briscoe, Associate Chancellor for Administration, Letter to Deans, Directors, and Heads of Academic and Administrative Units, Urbana-Champaign Campus, May 12, 1968.
- 9 J. W. Briscoe, Letter to Deans, Directors, and Heads of Academic and Administrative Units, Urbana-Champaign Campus, May 23, 1968.
- 10 Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, "Affirmative Action Workshop" (mimeographed), June, 1968.
- 11 Office of the Chancellor, "Affirmative Action Workshop Priorities of Problems" (Urbana: Office of Chancellor, University of Illinois, July 16, 1968) Addendum to letter from Joseph H. Smith to affirmative action officers summarizing the developments in the two workshops.
- 12 W. Ellison Chalmers and David Shulenburger, "Report on Racial Employment Patterns at the Urbana Campus of the University of Illinois," Letter to President David Dodds Henry and William K. Williams, June 26, 1968.

- 13 Affirmative Action for Equal Opportunity Office, "Affirmative Action for Equal Opportunity Office," (April, 1971), p. 4 (mimeographed).
- 14 W. E. Chalmers and D. Shulenburger, loc. cit.
- 15 All nonacademic employment statistics for the Urbana-Champaign campus of the University of Illinois reported in this chapter have been acquired from the Personnel Services Office of the Urbana-Champaign campus.
- 16 Jerry Briller and Ted Gerber, "The Apprenticeship System and Negro Employment in Champaign-Urbana, 1968" (unpublished term report completed for a graduate seminar in Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, May, 1968).
- 17 Don F. Scott, Regional Director of Office of Civil Rights, Letter to President David D. Henry, October, 1970.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 J. W. Briscoe, Letter to Deans, Directors and Heads of Academic and Administrative Departments, Urbana-Champaign campus, July 29, 1970.
- 22 Steve Bantoft and Mike Foster, "Affirmative Action at the University of Illinois," (unpublished term report completed for a graduate seminar in Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, June 10, 1971).
- 23 "Release University Affirmative Action Plan," article in Staff Observer, University of Illinois, vol. 6, no. 8, October 1971.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 James Ransom, Jr. Annual Report of Affirmative Action for Equal Opportunity Office, Urbana, Illinois, August 2, 1971.
- 26 Griggs vs. Duke Power Company, 401 U.S., 424,433 (March 8, 1971).
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 A. H. Aronson, "The Duke Power Company case: An interpretative commentary on the U.S. Supreme Court decision, with particular reference to its implications for governmental personnel selection practices." Public Employment Practices Bulletin, No. 1 Public Personnel Association, 1971.

Harnessing our own Expressions

Program: February 19, 1983

4:00 - 6:00 P.M. - Opening Reception And Art Exhibit

Art Exhibit will be located in the Music room and 2nd floor hall of Levis Faculty Center. Pianist: Glen Jordan

5:30 P.M. - Musical Prelude

Vocalist: Ollie Davis, Pianist: Carleton Hines

5:55 P.M. - Introduction And Welcome

6:00 P.M. - A Fashion Array

Original fashions from local designers. Designers: Wade Lester Angela Rivers, and Adrienne Hoard.

6:40 P.M. - THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES

Dance Solo : Sharon Hunter Drama : Leslie and Company

7:00 P.M. - A FASHION ARRAY (continued)

7:30 P.M. - Gospel

Performers: Keaton Clan, & Voices of Praise

8:00 P.M. - POETIC PRESENTATIONS

Poets: Mary Venson, Connie Fitzgerald

8:30 P.M. - THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES

Drama : Leslie & Company Dance Solo: Sharon Hunter

9:00 P.M. INTRODUCTION OF ARTISTS

Music Room will be open for viewing of the Visual Art Exhibit 9:00-10:00

9:15 P.M. Intermezzo

Vocalist: Barbara Suggs, Tim Sharp Violinist: Pam Page

10:00 P.M. JAM SESSION

Musicians: John McClendon, Buddy Davis, Grover Washington.

Vocalist: Terance Carson

SYMMETRY - HARNESSING OUR OWN EXPRESSIONS

TIM DAVIS-Director of Symmetry-Drawing, Sculpture - B.A. Art Education, Eastern Illinois University - M.A. Art Education - University of Illinois, presently producing and teaching in the field of Art. Mr. Davis has exhibited throughout northern and southern Illinois and has collections throughout the midwest. "My interpretations and expressions of form" symbolize that the "spirit of life and change has meanings that the human mind-soul has never felt, visualized or touched." "Praise God...He knows All."

ANGELA RIVERS-Assistant Director of Symmetry-Painting, Drawing-- B.F.A. University of Illinois, Candidate for masters degree at Eastern Illinois University and Southern Methodist University - "My work is a reflection of myself. I try to create a visually sensitive piece, expressive of personal statements, but not diminished by them."

BENNY DRAKE - Painting, Drawing - B.S. Art Education - M.A. Art Education Eastern Illinois University, presently teaching at Urbana Jr. High School.

ADRIENNE W. HOARD is an abstract painter with an international and national exhibition record. She holds a B.S. in Art Education from Lincoln University in Missouri (1970) and a M.F.A. in Painting from the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor (1972). She was a Fulbright Scholar in Creative Arts to South Korea in 1980-81, and has held numerous university professorships.

KEVIN COLE - Painter, originally from Pine Bluff, Arkansas where he received his B. S. in Art Education from the University of Arkansas. He is currently working on a M.A. in Education and a M.F.A. as a painter at the University of Illinois-Urbana. His works have been exhibited throughout the South and in New York. He was nominated as one of the most outstanding young men in America in 1982.

FRANK COBBS - Painter - a native of Champaign, Illinois, graduated from Southern Illinois University, 1980. Mr. Cobbs' main interest is a combination of expressionism and realism dealing with the relationship between color and the object in producing forms.

WADE HAROLD LESTER - Fashioner Designer, attended the International Academy of Merchandising and Design, Chicago, Illinois. He feels fashion should satisfy the purpose of the person wearing the garment. It is his aim to make it a pleasing arrangement to the visual eye.

SABRINA GRAHAM - Fashion Consultant has worked in different retail stores in the area specializing in many styles of clothes. She presently has her own modeling agency and school which is called Corinda's named after her daughter. Her agency has shown fashions at Jumers Castle Lounge and the Ramada Inn on numerous occasions.

ELAINE SHELLY - Commentator for fashion shows has studied folk music and reggae at the Jamaica School of Music in Kingston, Jamaica. She is also very talented in the field of piano and vocal music. She states "I am an ethnomusicologist."

(SEE BACK)

LESLIE RAINEY - Actor, is a "Theater Junkie" with 23 years in theater directing and performing, including stints at the "Old Vic" London, England; The Edinburgh Festival, Scotland; The Lyric Theatre, Belfast, North Ireland; and theaters in Los Angeles, Colorado, Virginia and Vancouver, B.C. Leslie's dream is to see a solid Black theatre ensemble come to life in the Champaign-Urbana area. He's a licensed hair-stylist, forty-five and single.

JACQUI JOYNER is the mother of three lovely children and have been a VISTA volunteer. She recently starred in the production of "For Colored Girls Who Considered Suicide When the Rainbow is Enuf" at Danville Community College. She has a love for the stage and has an interest in fashion and opening up her own tailoring business.

GRAILING KING is a graduate of Illinois State University with a B.S. in Communication/Public Relations. At 21 years of age, he is presently working at WYOU Cable Radio in Danville as a Promotion and P.R. Manager.

MARY HUDSON VENSON - Poet, writer - my profession is people, their lives, their emotions. "I am neither better than nor worse than anyone, therefore, I try always to show respect for each person who comes into my life or into whose life I enter."

SHARON HUNTER - Dancer, born in Danville, Illinois, began dance training at Frederick Taylor Dance School, Atlanta, Georgia and later joined the company in 1976. She dances African, Ballet, Modern and Creative. She states the the "creative dance is what she enjoy, choreographing "The themes of the dances I choreograph are very important, I want to feel the movements using lyricism, spiritulism and purity of form.

BRENDA WILLIAMS - Musician, she enjoys music and loves to perform - presently she resides in Champaign and is a musician at two local churches. Her primary instruments are organ and piano. She is vice-president, musician, and vocalist for the Black Chorus, University of Illinois-Urbana.

BARBARA ELAINE SUGGS - A native of Champaign, is a soprano who received a bachelors degree in Music Education from Northwestern University and a masters degree from the University of Illinois. Ms. Suggs' musical background includes a variety of experience including teaching, conducting and solo performances in opera, oratorio, and recital.

PAM PAGE - Violinist received her B. M. E. from Illinois Wesleyan in 1979, and is working on her Master in Education at the University of Illinois. She has taught in the public schools and privately for four years and currently is the Orchestra Director at North Ridge Middle School, Danville, Illinois. She is a violinist in the Danville Symphony Orchestra.

VOICES OF PRAISE - A vocal group which consists of members from local churches in Champaign-Urbana. They have a singing, Christian ministry which is composed of Clarence Lowe, Velma Jackson, Cletus Easley, and Laverne Wheaton.

KEATON KLAN - A vocal group. The Keaton Klan is a part of a religious family tradition, they are the daughters of Rev. W. B. Keaton, Pastor of Pilgrim Baptist Church, Champaign, Illinois. The Klan is composed of Audrey A., Kathy W., Cynthia D., and Kimberly K. They come to praise His name.

CARLETON HINES, a native of West Palm Beach, Florida, is a graduate of Bethune-Cookman College and Florida State University. He is currently in the D.M.A. program at the University of Illinois-Urbana. A lyric tenor, Mr. Hines has performed a variety of roles in oratorio and opera.

OLLIE WATTS DAVIS - Mezzo-Soprano is currently participating in the D.M.A. in voice at the University of Illinois-Urbana. She received her master of science degree in Secondary Education from West Virginia University and her master of Music Degree from the University of Illinois-Urbana. Ms. Davis has wide solo experience and is currently the director of the University of Illinois Black Chorus.

HAROLD "BUDDY" DAVIS, - musician, received his B.S. degree in Music Education at West Virginia State College. His primary instruments are flute and guitar. He has professional performing experience in a variety of musical style, Mr. Davis is currently the Music Specialist at Carrie Busey Elementary School.

TIM SHARP - Tenor, is a masters candidate in Music Education at the University of Illinois-Urbana. He has performed recitals in his hometown of Miami, Florida and Daytona Beach, Florida.

GLENN H. JORDAN - Musician - is a Phi Beta Kappa (honors) graduate of Stanford University with a double major in African and Afro-American Studies and in Psychology. He also received a masters degree in Anthropology and has done further work toward his doctorate. He has played piano (and other keyboard instruments) for various gospel choirs, including radio and recording choirs. He currently works as an administrator and researcher in the African and Afro-American Studies and Research Program.

SYMMETRY

§ AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES and RESEARCH PROGRAM
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois 61801

SYMMETRY:

Organized in early December 1982, Symmetry is the culmination of a collective idea that Black visual and performing artists in this community have had for years. The need for a "support" group to help promote Black arts has been a major concern for many of these Black artists, and it is hoped that Symmetry will fill that need. The term symmetry simply means uniformity, form and beauty based on excellence of proportion. As an adjective symmetric is the sharing of ideas and feelings. The term expresses the basic nature of the group, comprised of artists from many areas of the fine and decorative arts, with various backgrounds and training. Symmetry forms and unifies (uniformity) concepts built upon the sharing of ideas, experiences and feelings of the individual members. Through this sharing come harmony which makes it possible to strive for excellence as a group. This makes a performance or exhibition pleasurable. For the individual artist, Symmetry gives the emotional support to achieve beauty in art form through that standard of excellence.

During Black history month, we of Symmetry are looking forward, into the future. As artists, we will be producing in 1983 and beyond, taking from past, ideas of Black aesthetics and molding them with our own. This program HARNESSING OUR OWN EXPRESSION exemplifies this shaping process, showing our various styles and talents at their present stages of development, as we harness our own personal expressions through the arts. It is our wish that you will find this presentation of music, visual arts, dance, drama, poetry, and fashion extremely enjoyable.

Harnessing our Own Expressions

9:00 P.M. - INTRODUCTION OF ARTISTS
Music Room will be open for viewing of the Visual Art Exhibit - 9:00-10:00 P.M.

9:15 P.M. - INTERMEZZO
Vocalist: Barbara Suggs, Tim Sharp
Violinist: Pam Page

10:00 P.M. - JAM SESSION
Musicians: John McClendon, Buddy Davis, Glover Washington. Vocalist: Terance Carson

Visual Artist: Adrienne Hoard, Al Mitchell, Bennie Drake, Jr., Frank Cobbs, Danny Taborn, Jessie Knoxs, Tim Davis

A special thanks to:
Corinda's Modeling Agency
Oasis Graphic Arts and all people who contributed time, help, and energy.

Children's Matinee

FEBRUARY 27, 1983 - 3:00-5:00 P.M.
DOUGLASS CENTER
512 E. Grove, Champaign, Illinois

Activities and demonstrations in the arts are designed for children. Performances will include a children's choir.

Symmetry's Co-sponsors:
Afro-American Cultural Center
Afro-American Studies and Research Program and Champaign Park District - Douglass Center

SYMMETRY
PO Box 211, Champaign, IL 61820

PROGRAM: FEBRUARY 19, 1983

4:00-6:00 P.M. - OPENING RECEPTION AND ART EXHIBIT

Art Exhibit will be located in the Music Room and 2nd floor hall of Levis Faculty Center. Pianist: Glen Jordan

5:30 P.M. - MUSICAL PRELUDE
Vocalist: Ollie Davis, Carleton Hines
Pianist: To be announced

5:55 P.M. - INTRODUCTION AND WELCOME

6:00 P.M. - A FASHION ARRAY
Original fashions from local designers. Designers: Wade Lester, Angela Rivers, Adrienne Hoard and Jacque Joyner
Fashion Consultant: Sabrina Graham

6:40 P.M. - THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES
Dance Solo: Sharon Hunter
Drama: Leslie and Company

7:00 P.M. - A FASHION ARRAY (continued)

7:30 P.M. - GOSPEL
Performers: Keaton Clan, and Voices of Praise

8:00 P.M. - POETIC PRESENTATIONS
Poets: Mary Venson, Connie Fitzgerald

8:30 P.M. - THEATRICAL PERFORMANCES
Drama: Leslie and Company
Dance Solo: Sharon Hunter

CHAMPAIGN COUNTY ARTS AND HUMANITIES COUNCIL
17 East University Avenue, Champaign IL 61820
217/352-8979

Grassroots Regrant

PROGRAM EVALUATION REPORT

(Return this form 1 month following the completion of this program)

Grant # 26-84

Name of Organization Symmetry

Program Title EBONY ENLIGHTENMENT

1. Program attendance: number of events, paid and free attendance at each.
2. Describe what actually occurred, specifically noting any deviations from the original plan. (Attach copies of programs, publicity, newspaper articles, etc.)
3. Indicate problems you encountered and what you did to overcome them.
4. What were your objectives and how well were they met?
5. What follow-up does the organization plan as a result of this project?

Signed: Jim Damm
Program Director

Phone 344-3164 Date 3/26/84

CHAMPAIGN COUNTY ARTS AND HUMANITIES COUNCIL
 17 East University Avenue, Champaign IL 61820
 217/352-8979

Grassroots Regrant

PROGRAM FINANCIAL REPORT

(Return this form 1 month following the completion of this program)

SECTION ONE:

Name of Organization Symmetry Grant # 26-84
 Address P.O. 211 Champaign, Ill 61820
 Title of Program EBONY ENLIGHTENMENT
 The above program ran from Feb-84 to Feb-84
 mo/yr mo/yr

SECTION TWO:

EXPENSES	Grant	Other Sources	Total
Personnel	100 ⁰⁰	115 ⁰⁰	215 ⁰⁰
Materials and Supplies	150.21	24.29	174.50
Insurance/Royalties	-	-	-
Travel and Transportation	20 ⁰⁰	109.51	129.51
Rented Equipment	50 ⁰⁰	IN-KIND-	50 ⁰⁰
Space, Facility and Real Estate Rental	IN-KIND	IN-KIND	IN-KIND-
Advertising, Public Relations and Printing	164.58	27.95	192.53
Administrative Expenses	50 ⁰⁰	6 ⁰⁰	56 ⁰⁰
Total	534.79	282.75	817.54

INCOME*

	Cash	In-Kind	Total
Grant	550 ⁰⁰		550 ⁰⁰
Contributions	200 ⁰⁰		200 ⁰⁰
Earned Income	80 ⁰⁰		80 ⁰⁰
Other Sources	55 ⁰⁰		55 ⁰⁰
Total	885 ⁰⁰		885 ⁰⁰

*Attach explanation of sources.

NAME OF ORGANIZATION - SYMMETRY
PROGRAM TITLE - EBONY ENLIGHTENMENT

- I. Ebony Enlightenment - February 5th, 1984 - Illini Union
University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
No. of Events - Eight - Art, Music, Theater, Dance, Fashion,
Poetry
Attendance - 105 - Free Event
- II. New Arts - February 10th through 23rd - McKinley Foundation
Champaign, Ill. - Opening - February 10th
No. of Events - One - Art Show
Attendance - 30 - Free Event - Open to the Public
- III. Young, Gifted and Talented - February 18th, 1984
Douglas Center - Champaign, Ill.
No. of Events - Five Events - Dance, Music, Theatre
Attendance - 150 - Free Event - Open to the Public
- IV. Art Celebration - February 26th, 1984 - Danville Community
College - College Theatre - Danville, Ill.
No. of Events - Five
Attendance - 143 - Free Event - Open to the Public

PROGRAM TITLE -
EBONY ENLIGHTENMENT - February 5th, 1984

The program started off with an Art Reception, lasting about an hour in length with musical performances in the background of violin and piano. The next performance was a musical prelude of opera, gospel, featuring individual artist. Following this event was a Fashion Array with many local designers, fashion consultants and models highlighted. Dance and Theatre Performances followed the fashion and during the Fashion Show Part II, music was played by a local D.J. From that point, poets read and a jam session featuring jazz musicals (see attachment). The show this year was video taped and hopefully will be aired on Channel 10 - community access. The complete show went like clockwork - from one performance to the next. All performance exhibitions were of fine quality.

Some problems occurred with space and room for models to dress in the Illini Union. We overcame them by using a storage room. One performer of opera music cancelled out a couple of days before the event because of illness, but we were able to get an artist with the same caliber. Most of the performers rehearsed on their own so when showtime came, individuals were supposed to bring tapes, etc. for the disc-jockey to play them, but a lot of individual artists were unprepared. So that prolonged minutes in the show. To utilize the time, where artist/performers were changing clothes or rewinding tapes - we did talk about the artist, the art show, the raffle and Symmetry. The biggest problem was there were not enough people at the actual show. We had the Union set up at least 500 chairs and the crowd came and went, totalling

about 100-150 people. (See attachments for publicity/flyers and programs).

What were your objectives and how well were they met? The objectives was to enlighten the community to the Arts as a whole & to bring together black professionals, in one way or another, together to share experiences of the Arts during Black History Month. Our objectives were met, even in our Children's Art Show. The young people worked very hard to put on a show and awards were given and over all, it was a very inspirational and a positive feature in the Black community. Our other objective was to promote Black Arts. Now after the second year in existence, we feel confident that our name is out, and people are aware that there are very talented Black artists in the community of Champaign-Urbana.

Our follow-up will be first to organize an Open House, to let individuals know we exist and then, to have more public meetings to enlighten the community about the Arts. We will also send out questionnaires to let individuals know we are in existence and let them tell us what they want from an Arts organization.

PROGRAM TITLE -

VISUAL ARTS SHOW - February 10th through 23rd, 1984

The program consisted of a visual arts show. Paintings and photographs were displayed by the following artists: Benny Drake, Tim Davis, Danny Taborn, Angela Rivers and Charles Butts.

The objective of this program were to broaden and promote community interest in the visual arts and local artists. These objectives were met in this presentation.

As a result of this presentation, Symmetry will coordinate a similar presentation for the Black Women's Conference at the University of Illinois.

PROGRAM TITLE -

YOUNG, GIFTED AND TALENTED - February 18th, 1984

The program began with a speech recognizing Black History Month and a short play entitled Martin Luther King - The Peaceful Warrior. Performances by young people followed. Groups or individuals, in order of appearance, were: The Be-Bop Dancers, Cosmic Dancers, Conrad Davis, Piano and the Player J's Band. Individuals were presented with certificates of participation and skate passes at the conclusion of the program.

Problem: Audition dates for performance - The publicity was sent out by the Champaign Park District through the schools in Champaign-Urbana - not much help in some schools to promote our program - lots of students did not hear about auditions and we had to schedule many appointment dates to try to get students in. Also, students and some performances look very unrehearsed. The older individuals in the organization did put things in

- 29 Builders Association vs. Ogilvie, 3 FEP Cases 571, June 2, 1971.
- 30 U.S. Department of Labor, "Revised Order No. 4," 41 Code of Federal Regulations 60-2, Federal Register, vol. 36, no. 234, December 4, 1971.
- 31 Equal Opportunity Act of 1972, ammendment to Title VII of Civil Rights Act of 1964, March 24, 1973.
- 32 U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Higher Education Guidelines--Executive Order 11246, October, 1972.
- 33 Kenneth Mines, Regional Civil Rights Director, Letter to President John E. Corbally, October 27, 1972.

II. PROBLEM FORMULATION AND STUDY DESIGN

This chapter begins with a discussion of the aspects of the University's nonacademic employment procedure which affect black employment. Awareness of these factors is essential for an understanding of the data analyses performed in this study. The discussion of the employment procedure provides a foundation for the problem formulation and the study design of the thesis, which is dealt with later in the chapter.

Critical Aspects of University of Illinois Nonacademic Employment Process Affecting Black Applicants

A basic understanding of the Urbana-Champaign campus' nonacademic employment system is essential in order to identify those aspects of the hiring process which affect black employment. There are three different parties that influence an applicant's destiny at various phases of the employment process. The Nonacademic Personnel Services Office serves as an intermediary between the University Civil Service System of Illinois and the University department which desires to hire someone. The Civil Service System governs the employment process through a set of rules and regulations intended to assure appointments and promotions within the State University System on the basis of merit and fitness for the position being filled. The actual selection is made by the hiring department. A discussion of the critical aspects of the employment process ensue.

1. Recruitment

The University occasionally recruits for specific jobs (primarily

clerical) through advertisements in local newspapers but usually has more than an adequate supply of applicants for most positions without any recruitment efforts. In order to increase the pool of black applicants the University had set up a recruiting station in the black community as early as 1965. The University took this action in response to pressure from various local civil rights groups.¹ Through the Fall of 1969 the University continued to recruit in the black community and there was a successfully coordinated effort between the Personnel Services Office, Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), Illinois State Employment Service, and the Champaign County Urban League to recruit blacks for University employment. This recruitment thrust fell off considerably in the latter part of 1969 when Paul Hursey (the University officer who spearheaded this effort) left the University for a private business and the building in which recruiting had taken place was destroyed by fire.²

Recruitment of black employees for University jobs is conducted currently by the Affirmative Action Office. However, no recruiting station has been established in the black community since the original one was destroyed, the absence of which may hinder some black residents (who lack transportation or are reluctant to leave the black community to interview for a job) from applying for University work. Also, there is little evidence of any successful coordination of activities between the Affirmative Action Office and other black employment agencies in Champaign-Urbana. At the end of a study on minority recruitment at the University, Steve Shaefer (1968) recommended that an employment information bank be established between these organizations.³ It would seem that implementing such a

system would help alleviate the duplication of effort expended by these agencies at the present time, because it involves the pooling of information between groups and the coordination of their activities.

2. Applicant Interview

To become eligible for a University nonacademic position, an applicant must first fill out an application for employment and be interviewed by a placement officer at the Personnel Services Office. Based on the applicant's interests, past work experience and educational level, the Placement Officer discusses present and anticipated job openings for which the interviewer decides the applicant is qualified. The interviewer's knowledge of the makeup of Civil Service registers for the job may also be discussed with the applicant. (Civil Service registers will be defined and explained later). Based on this information, the applicant chooses the job(s) for which he would like to be examined. The Placement Officer then schedules the applicant for an exam.

The factor to note here is the discretion invested in the placement officers. If a black applicant finds it difficult to relate positively to a white interviewer, the bad impression he creates may affect adversely the amount of effort which the interviewer puts out to find him a job. Also, if the black applicant does not fill out the application in such a way that all his qualifications and past work experiences are recorded, then the placement officer may grossly underestimate the applicant's potential unless this information is drawn from the applicant through the verbal interview. A final danger lies in the

possibility that the placement officer may have a preconceived notion of the type or quality of work which a black can do. For example, if a placement officer felt that a black could only do food service or custodial work, regardless of qualifications, then that interviewer may not even discuss with the black applicant those job openings outside the food service and custodial realm. Data presented by David Gottlieb, Thomas Guzzo and Robert Henderson (1968)⁴ and David Shulenburger (1968)⁵ suggest that such interviewer bias may partially explain why so many blacks have been employed in food service and custodial positions. A black placement officer has been utilized full-time at the Urbana Campus only since Spring of 1972.

3. Minimum Qualifications

In order to be admitted to an examination for a certain job classification, the applicant must meet the minimum acceptable qualifications for the job class. The minimum qualifications for each job classification are approved by the Civil Service System. The minimum requirement of a high school education, prevalent in the majority of University jobs, serves in many cases as an unnecessary barrier to blacks seeking employment without a high school diploma.⁶ Griggs vs. Duke Power⁷ and the EEOC guidelines make clear that this is unacceptable. Requests for revisions in minimum qualifications within job classifications can be and have been initiated by the Personnel Services Office. However, the actual revisions come very slowly, since the required Civil Service approval is only obtained after the proposed revision is circulated by the Civil Service

System to the 14 member institutions. The resultant 4 to 6 month waiting period for approval tends to stifle efforts for change in this area.

4. Examinations

The Personnel Services testing section administers tests provided by the Civil Service System for each job classification. These tests are either original entry or promotional in nature, the difference being that promotional exams are tests given at the II level or higher within a promotional line. Both original entry and promotional exams are open and competitive. Civil Service exams are composed of one or more of the following types of tests: written performance, oral, physical, aptitude, practical, and a rating of experience and/or training.

The applicant's score on the examination determines his register position, which in turn determines whether or not he will be referred to any job openings. In effect, the Civil Service System requires that a person's merit or fitness for a job be ascertained by examinations. Unfortunately for blacks, the vast majority of Civil Service exams have placed a premium on reading and writing skills, which may contain built-in biases that limit the performance of undereducated and culturally-deprived applicants.⁸ Only recently has the Civil Service System begun constructing job element examinations to replace the written exams. "The job element exam is a relatively new concept in testing for jobs where an individual's skill and work history are rated according to elements considered critical to satisfactory performance of a job."⁹ Although preliminary statistics have indicated that blacks pass job-element exams more

easily than written tests, the black applicant still must score high enough to be referred from the Civil Service Registers. The evidence available at this point shows that few blacks are scoring high enough to be selected, a finding which is revealed in the testing analysis in Chapter IV.

5. Referrals - Governed by Rule of Civil Service Registers

To be referred to a job opening, an applicant must be certified from the Civil Service Registers. A register is a list of one or more names of candidates listed in accordance with the Civil Service Statute and Rules. The registers, listed in order of precedence, are the following:

- a. Reemployment Register - consists of status employees who have been laid off, listed in order of seniority.
- b. Promotional Register - consists of status employees who pass an exam in their promotional line, listed in order of exam score.
- c. Original Entry Register - consists of both current employees who pass exams outside their promotional line and all applicants who pass exams in any class, listed in order of score with preferential position given to current employees (regardless of the magnitude of the passing score).

If a reemployment register exists within a job class, any opening in that class is filled by the person with highest seniority on the reemployment register. The person with the highest seniority is the only person referred in the case of reemployment registers.

If no reemployment register exists, certification is determined

by the "rule of 3," which maintains that the three names standing highest on the promotional and/or original registers will be certified. Within the original entry register, current University employees have preferential register position over outside applicants due to Civil Service Rule 5.2h, passed in July of 1971.

In the testing section, it was mentioned that in general, blacks do not score as high as whites on examinations. Given that situation, it becomes obvious that the Civil Service Registers act as a further barrier to blacks becoming employed at the University. Even if a black applicant attains the highest exam score for a given job classification, he may not be referred to the job, if:

1. There is a reemployment register;
2. There is a promotional register; or
3. Three or more current white University employees have passed the exam in that class under Rule 5.2h.

6. Selection

The actual selection of an applicant is done at the departmental level. The department must choose one of the three referrals except in the case of a reemployment register where the department must take the senior laid-off person.

The potential barrier to black employment in the selection area is quite obvious. The department is able to select any one of the three people without justifying the reason for the selection. Therefore, if the departmental supervisor does not wish to hire blacks, he is free to select

a white applicant provided that all three referrals are not black. The latter possibility is very remote due to the nature of the Civil Service registers.

7. Learner, Trainee, and Apprentice Programs - Alternatives to Normal Register Procedures

Responding to the pressures of civil rights groups in the Spring of 1968, the Civil Service System developed the Learner program on April 1, 1968, a training program designed to offer an opportunity for employment under a merit system to culturally disadvantaged persons. In actuality, the Learner program was instituted primarily as an alternative to normal Civil Service register procedures so that blacks could be hired. The merit system, based as it was on written examination scores, had resulted in registers hopelessly clogged with caucasians at the top and blacks at the bottom. The learner program, allowing a black to be hired in a class without taking an examination, was based on on-the-job training principles. The black was allowed to prove his fitness by job performance rather than by Civil Service exam.

Specifically, the current Learner program mechanism functions in the following manner:

- a. As employee requisition vacancy cards are submitted by University departments to the Campus Nonacademic Personnel Services Office, they are reviewed daily by an Affirmative Action Committee consisting of two Equal Opportunity Officers from the Campus Affirmative Action Office and four personnel

officers from the Personnel Services Office training, classification, and placement sections (four of the six committee members are black, two of whom are female).

- b. If the job opening is an original entry (nonpromotional) vacancy which committee members feel could be utilized for a Learner, one of them will contact the hiring department and request that the department agree to hire a learner, provided that there is no laid-off employee on the reemployment register for the class. Learner programs cannot be established in a class where a reemployment register exists. Also, another condition is imposed by the System regulation that only ten percent of the positions in a given job classification can be filled by Learners.
- c. If a Learner program approved by the Civil Service System is available for the job classification, then Learner candidates may be referred. If no approved program exists for the classification, a personnel officer from the Personnel Services training section must design a program for that classification. Approval must first be secured from the University Personnel Services Director and ultimately from the Civil Services Director. The time involved gaining program approval may vary from three days to several weeks, depending upon the complexity of the program and/or whether the program is handled expeditiously by the General University Personnel Services Office or the Civil Service System.

- d. If the department agrees to hire a Learner, three Learner candidates recruited by the Affirmative Action Office will be referred by the Personnel Services Office to the department for selection by the appropriate department supervisor.
- 3. The Learner is employed for a maximum of 12 months (depending on the classification) at a maximum of 95 percent of the minimum wage rate of the class.
- f. The Learner may be terminated by the department anytime during the program for excessive absenteeism or other types of poor work performance. However, upon successful completion of a program the Learner becomes a status University employee (entitled to vacation and other benefits) without having to take the Civil Service exam for the class. The provision of an alternative to a Civil Service Test is the main feature of the Learner program.

The Affirmative Action Committee has been functioning since September of 1972. Prior to that time, departmental contacts for Learner programs, as well as responsibilities for writing the Learner programs, were performed by Equal Opportunity Officers from the Campus Affirmative Action Office. The Committee was formed to enhance the coordination between the Affirmative Action Office and the Personnel Services Office.

Although the Learner program has become an effective tool for bringing blacks into the University nonacademic work force, it is not without its drawbacks. One minor drawback is the ten percent limitation of jobs in each classification which can be filled by Learners. This has

proved to be a barrier to the hiring of blacks in some job classes. A second drawback is that the Learner has no formal right of review if he feels that he has been unjustly terminated. A third drawback is HEW's 1970 criticism of the Learner category:

Large numbers of employees have been hired and relegated to the Learner and Trainee job category where they work without status, without paid vacations or holidays, and at a percentage of the regular salary. As originally conceived these programs were to afford training and employment opportunities either for disadvantaged persons in the area labor market or for individuals who failed to satisfy entry level requirements for various positions. However it is our observation that the program has primarily served as a means of placing minorities in positions below entry level irrespective of their needs for such entry training or experience. Since inception of this program, very few minority employees have been added to the staff in other than learner or trainee positions. This is apparently due to acceptance on the part of I.U. placement officials that the learner program is the only appropriate route for minority applicants.¹⁰

HEW officials acknowledged their understanding of the fact that the Learner route was being used because blacks were not passing Civil Service tests with high enough scores to be selected. However, HEW made clear that change would have to come about within the Civil Service System's tests and rules and that use of the Learner category for the majority of black employees would not be tolerated.

A final serious drawback to the Learner Program is the gradually decreasing willingness on the part of the University Departments to cooperate. Randy Hess (1971) points out that the majority of departmental supervisors expressed negative attitudes towards the Learner program on an attitude survey questionnaire which asked supervisors their feelings

about various aspects of the Learner program mechanism.¹¹ Several factors might be contributing to this overall negative attitude. One factor might be that certain departmental supervisors have witnessed a situation where a Learner failed to perform adequately, and based on that experience they have generalized that Learners are less than adequate employees. A second factor might be the irritating delays in Learner program approval by either the General University Personnel Services Office and/or the Civil Service System, which at certain times resulted in a department being forced to compensate for a vacant position for several weeks (this problem has since been alleviated for the most part). A third factor could be that reductions in departmental staff, precipitated by consecutive budgetary cuts in 1970, 1971, and 1972, have made departmental supervisors unwilling or unable to give on-job-training to a Learner. A final reason for negative attitudes could be a manifestation of racial bias on the part of certain supervisors or key departmental personnel. Whatever the reasons for the overall negative attitude might be, the fact that the ill feelings exist is important because the decision as to whether or not a person is hired as a Learner lies with the hiring department.

Trainee programs have been utilized to employ blacks to a lesser extent than Learner programs. Although the process for securing Trainee positions is the same as the system described for placing Learners, some differences exist between Learner and Trainee positions. Basically, Trainee positions are usually more complex and higher paying jobs than Learner positions. For this reason a Trainee program is usually established for a time period exceeding twelve months, whereas one year is the maximum

time allotment for a Learner program. Secondly, only ten percent of the positions in a given job class can be occupied by Learners, whereas there is no limit to the number of Trainees. Thirdly, to be eligible for a Trainee program an applicant must lack one or more of the minimum qualifications for the class; an applicant for a Learner position need not lack any of the prerequisites. Finally, upon completion of the program the Trainee must take the Civil Service exam for the job class, unlike the Learner who automatically assimilates into a status University position.

The main advantage of the Trainee program is that it provides entrance for blacks into higher level original entry positions as well as promotional classifications. Most of the trainee jobs are technical or professional in nature. The major drawbacks of the Trainee mechanism are:

1. Fewer Trainee jobs are available than Learner jobs because of the reluctance of departments to give on-job-training for over twelve months in a complex position;
2. If the Trainee fails the required exam at the end of the program, he is not allowed to continue in the position and a large amount of training time is virtually wasted; and
3. The Civil Service Rules do not allow Trainee programs to be established if a promotional register exists, reducing the potential for Trainee programs in many classifications.

The final alternative to normal Civil Service procedures is the Apprenticeship program. However, the Apprenticeship programs are governed by the various local Joint Apprenticeship Committees for the crafts and trades. The University has no apprenticeship programs of its own, but rather functions

as a large contractor which employs building trades apprentices. The apprentices are selected by and indentured to local Joint Apprenticeship Committees. Although the University does not require its apprentices or craftsmen to belong to the trade unions as a condition of employment, most new hires are from the ranks of union members.

Before 1968 there were no black apprentices at the Urbana Campus. A detailed study of barriers to blacks becoming apprentices by Jerry Briller and Ted Gerber (1968) points out that young blacks were probably intimidated by the many various forms and certificates required for admission, the battery of aptitudes tests, and the rigorous preapprenticeship interviews conducted by the Joint Apprenticeship Committees, and the fact that there were no blacks visible in the University crafts and trades positions.¹² As mentioned previously in the narrative history, preapprenticeship training sessions conducted by Personnel Services yielded the first black apprentices at the University in the Fall of 1968.

Problem Formulation

Since the inception of the University's affirmative action program in the Spring of 1968 there has been no comprehensive statistical analysis of the effect of this program upon patterns of nonacademic employment at the Urbana-Champaign campus. This thesis is designed therefore to analyze what has happened to the racial composition of the nonacademic work force since the Spring of 1968. This study will also focus on specific parts of the employment process which have affected the implementation of the affirmative effort, such as preemployment testing. Finally, some courses

of action will be recommended for the future success of the affirmative action program.

This study will attempt to answer four basic key questions:

1. In what ways have the employment patterns of the University's nonacademic work force changed since the Spring of 1968?
2. What aspects of the employment process have aided the affirmative action effort?
3. What aspects of the employment process have hindered the affirmative action effort?
4. What directions should the affirmative action program take in the future?

Study Design

To answer the first key question of this study, data gathered by the University Personnel Services Office during an extensive analysis of the racial composition of its work force as of December 31, 1971, will be compared with data compiled by David Shulenburg and Ellison Chalmers in the Spring of 1968, prior to the inception of the University's affirmative action program. In his thesis Shulenburg analyzed the patterns of nonacademic employment according to families of occupation, occupational categories, authority units, and promotional sequences.¹³ This study not only compares 1971 data with that of Shulenburg according to these four criteria but also includes additional analyses of the more recent data in order to help explain why various patterns of employment have evolved.

The thesis will proceed to analyze in detail the effect of several critical aspects of the nonacademic employment process on the University's affirmative action program. The specific parts of the employment process analyzed include the examination process, training programs, turnover data, Civil Service rules, and the organizational framework of the affirmative action program.

A final chapter is written for the purpose of proposing some courses of action which the University might take in order to ensure progress in its affirmative action program. Included in this section will be discussions on such topics as goal setting, categorization of test scores, upgrading, and an applicant information system.

Scope

A complete affirmative action program must address itself not only to overcoming underutilization of blacks but also females, Indians, Orientals, Spanish-Americans, and other ethnic groups. However, the scope of this study will be limited to an analysis of black employment. Focusing exclusively on the black employment issue is not intended to slight the other underutilized groups. This choice is made primarily because the author has worked in the area of black employment the past year and a half, both as an equal opportunity officer and a personnel officer.

There are a few other reasons for this specialization on black employment. First of all, the female employment issue is wide enough in scope that to analyze female employment data would excessively lengthen this study. A second reason lies in the author's desire to assess the

progress of the University's Affirmative Action program, which has been primarily addressed to black employment through 1971. Thirdly, the other ethnic groups such as Orientals, Spanish-Americans, and Indians are not located in the Champaign-Urbana labor market area in sufficient enough numbers to be a significant factor in the labor force.

The scope of this study will be limited to nonacademic employment at the Urbana-Champaign Campus of the University of Illinois because the data for this campus is readily available, especially for the period of Spring, 1968 through 1971. The black academic force at Urbana is so small in number and availability for employment, that a statistical study of that issue is not feasible at this time.

Within this study of nonacademic black employment at the University's Urbana Campus, the scope will further be narrowed to an analysis of institutional barriers to black employment rather than personal or environmental barriers. Personal barriers to black employment might include poor quality of education, poor work attitudes, low confidence level, family problems, etc. Environmental barriers might include lack of child care facilities, transportation problems, health problems, etc. The personal and environmental barriers are worthy of study since they can materially affect black employment statistics. However, due to the difficulty of quantifying and assessing these variables, this study will limit itself to the barriers which the institution presents to the black people.

Limitations

The major limitation of this thesis is that the employment data from which the analysis of the University's nonacademic work force is made

is slightly over a year old. These data, compiled by the Personnel Services Office on December 31, 1971, have been chosen for analysis by the present author because they yield the truest reflection of the University's work force composition. Although more recent data have been collected by the Personnel Services Office, the totals are confounded by the inclusion of EEA minority employees who in most cases do not occupy permanent University budget-line positions because their jobs are federally-funded. It is unclear at this point how many of these employees will be assimilated into the University's nonacademic work force by the time the EEA program terminates in June of 1974. Also, the recently-collected data do not reflect the heavy turnover among EEA participants which amounts to approximately 40 percent of the employees in the program. Thus, the December 31, 1971, data used in this study, although a year old, still constitute the best available statistical report for analysis of the University's nonacademic work force.

A second limitation of this study lies in the possible errors within the Personnel Services Office data. The statistical analyses reported in this study, however, were hand-tabulated by the present author, who during the course of statistical analysis corrected some of the obvious errors on the computer printouts. The remaining errors in the data should therefore be very few in number and minor in nature.

A third weakness of the study is the inability to make a truly adequate assessment of the availability of minorities in the Champaign-Urbana labor market area for particular University job categories and classifications. Although 1970 Census data indicate the minority repre-

sentation in various occupational categories, whether these currently-employed people would be available for University work is questionable. Also, there is very limited information available concerning the work skills and interests of unemployed minorities in the Champaign-Urbana labor market.

A final weakness of the data is the inability to adequately assess the Civil Service registers from which applicants are referred to jobs. The registers change from day to day, and until June of 1971 register information was not coded for computer printout information. Since an applicant stays on an active register for two years, it will not be until Fall of 1973 that a computerized analysis will be available. Even this printout, however, will not indicate register positions of an applicant, which changes from day to day. The printout will, however, give a clear indication of how minorities are faring under the current Civil Service testing system.

The drawbacks of this study reveal an acute need for the University to develop a more sophisticated and accurate data system. With the induction of the new payroll system in June of 1973, the University is taking steps to update the data reporting system. Also, a management information system is currently in the planning stage, designed to give detailed data concerning applicants for nonacademic jobs to hiring supervisors.

Footnotes

- 1 Interview with Paul Hursey, Champaign, Illinois, 1973.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Steve Schaefer, "Expanding Minority Group Employment at the University of Illinois: Recruiting," unpublished term report completed for Industrial Relations graduate seminar, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, May 1968.
- 4 David Gottlieb, Thomas Guzzo, and Robert Henderson, "Affirmative Action and the University Civil Service System of Illinois," unpublished term report completed for Industrial Relations graduate seminar, May, 1968.
- 5 David Shulenburger, "Patterns of Negro Nonacademic Employment at the University of Illinois: Their Consequences for Affirmative Action," unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1968.
- 6 D. E. Diamond and H. Bedrosian, Industry Hiring Requirements and the Employment of Disadvantaged Groups, New York University School of Commerce, 1970.
- 7 Griggs vs. Duke Power Company, 401 U.S., 424, 433 (March 8, 1971).
- 8 J. Seiler, "Preparing the Disadvantaged for Tests," Manpower, 1970, 2, 7, 24-26.
- 9 Noreen Taylor, "Minority/Majority Test Taking Experience, 1968-1971," unpublished research report, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, December 14, 1971.
- 10 Don F. Scott, Regional Director of Office of Civil Rights, Letter to President David D. Henry, October, 1970.
- 11 Randy Hess, "An Analysis of the Affirmative Action Program for Non-academic Employment at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, 1971," unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1971.
- 12 Jerry Briller and Ted Gerber, "The Apprenticeship System and Negro Employment in Champaign-Urbana," unpublished term report completed for Industrial Relations graduate seminar, May 1968.
- 13 David Shulenburger, loc. cit.

III. ANALYSIS OF PATTERNS OF EMPLOYMENT

Patterns of nonacademic employment at the Urbana-Champaign campus are analyzed according to four major breakdowns in this chapter: occupational categories, families of occupation, location, and promotional sequences. In each case, 1968 and 1971 data are compared to indicate trends in black employment which have occurred since the initiation of the affirmative action program.

Patterns of Employment by Occupational Category

The EEO categories are the nine occupational divisions required for statistical reports to H.E.W. and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. These categories represent the following occupational groups: officials and managers, professionals, technicians, sales workers, office and clerical, craftsmen, operatives (semi-skilled), laborers (unskilled) and service workers. Generally, the managerial, professional, and technical occupations represent higher level positions requiring extensive educational background and experience. On the other hand, the laborer and service worker occupations contain lower level jobs requiring little (if any) education or experience. The clerical occupations require typing or stenographic skills but are characterized by low pay. The craft and operative occupations include semi-skilled and highly-skilled jobs which generally pay quite well. There are no sales workers employed at the Urbana-Champaign campus. A list of the job classifications included in the EEO categories appears in Appendix A.

Table I indicates the progress made by the University in hiring

TABLE I

Occupational Distribution of University of Illinois
(Urbana-Champaign Campus) Nonacademic Employees by Race
(Spring, 1968 and December 31, 1971)

EEO Occupational Categories	Total University Employment		Black Employment		Percent Black	
	1968	1971	1968	1971	1968	1971
01 Officials & Managers	84	168	3	5	3.5	3.0
02 Professionals	366	293	7	14	1.9	4.8
03 Technical	494	570	21	23	4.3	4.0
04 Sales	11	0	0	0	0.0	0.0
05 Office & Clerical	2391	2156	63	167	2.6	7.7
06 Craftsmen (Skilled)	623	477	7	18	1.1	3.8
07 Operatives (Semi-Skilled)	224	292	1	16	0.4	5.5
08 Laborers (Unskilled)	414	275	84	55	20.3	20.0
09 Service Workers	<u>987</u>	<u>1013</u>	<u>144</u>	<u>164</u>	<u>14.6</u>	<u>16.2</u>
Totals	5594	5244	330	462	5.9	8.8

Source: David Shulenburger, "Patterns of Negro Nonacademic Employment at the University of Illinois: Their Consequences for Affirmative Action," (Unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1968; and Personnel Services Office Nonacademic Personnel Data (December 31, 1971).

black employees since the inception of its affirmative action program in 1968. Despite heavy turnover among black employees, the total number of blacks has risen from 330 to 462, an increase of 40 percent. As a percentage of total nonacademic employment, black employment has increased from 5.9 to 8.8 percent, despite a six percent decrease in total nonacademic employment due to budgetary cutbacks. Significant increases have occurred in the professional, clerical, craftsmen, and operative categories, where black employment has at least doubled.

The proportion of black employees at low level jobs has also decreased, as shown in Figure 1. Whereas 69 percent of the blacks were employed in unskilled labor or service worker positions in 1968, 47 percent of the black work force is now employed at these levels. However, the change in the distribution of the black work force unfortunately has not affected the highest three employment levels, where black participation has remained at nine percent. The redistribution has rather come about in the clerical occupational area, where black employment has risen from 19 to 36 percent since 1968, largely due to the efforts of the Clerical Learner Program.

Although the portion of black employees at low-level jobs has decreased, Figure 2 illustrates that black employment is proportionately much higher at those levels than current white employment. Almost half of the black work force is employed in unskilled labor or service worker positions, as compared with 22 percent of the white work force. At the opposite end of the spectrum, over twenty percent of the white nonacademic employees are employed at the three highest occupational levels (managerial, professional, and technical), as opposed to nine percent of the blacks.

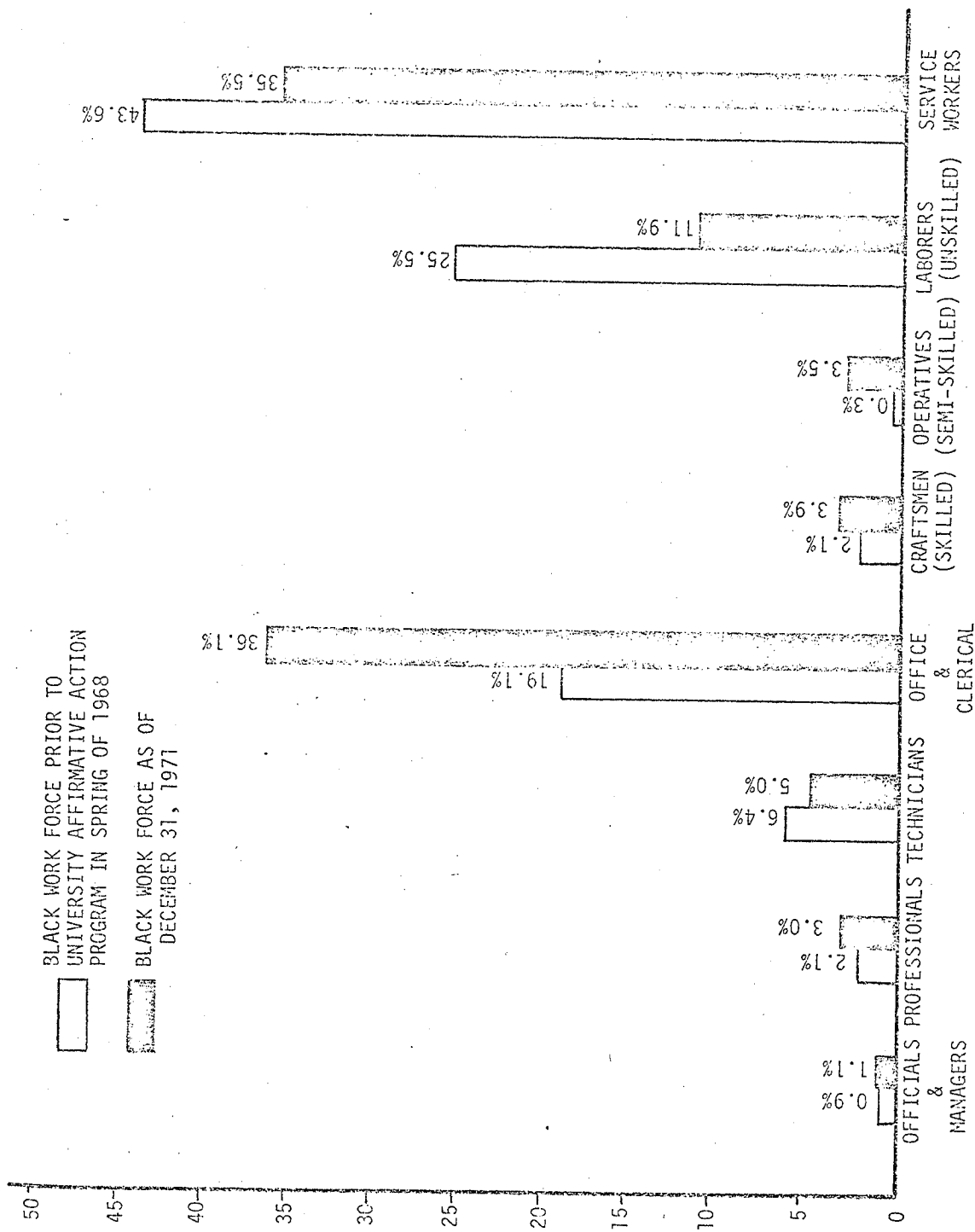


Figure 1. Occupational Distribution of University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus) Black Nonacademic Employees (Spring, 1968 and December 31, 1971).

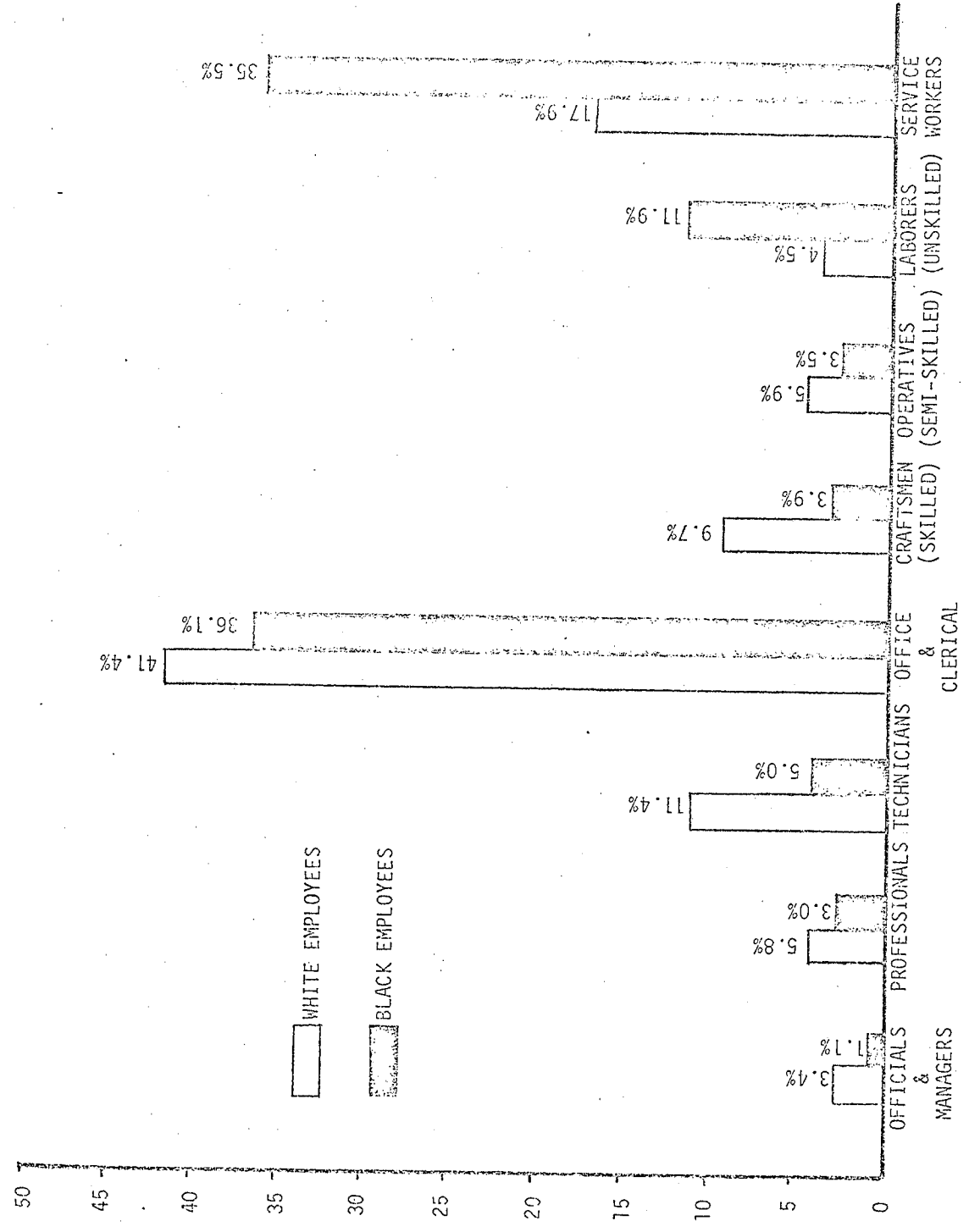


Figure 2. Occupational Distribution of University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus) Nonacademic Employees, by Race (December 31, 1971).

In the skilled and semi-skilled labor positions, the white representation is twice as great as the black proportion. The large proportion of both white and black workers in the clerical area is to be expected, since forty percent of the total nonacademic work force is clerical.

A weakness of the EEO categories lies in the excessive breadth of the occupational categories, particularly in the case of the service workers. The Civil Service Occupational Area breakdown in Table II divides the service worker category into six sub-units: custodial, domestic, food, heat-light-power, medical, and protective. An analysis of these data in Figure 3 yields another striking imbalance in University nonacademic employment. Within the service worker classification, over two thirds of the blacks are employed in food service positions as opposed to sixteen percent of the whites. It should be mentioned here that even though the service worker category is characterized by low pay overall, the food service workers are paid the least by far. In fact, custodial service positions (in which sixty percent of the white service workers are employed) pay a reasonable hourly wage of \$3.22, compared with an average hourly wage of \$2.00 in food service positions. Prior to the affirmative action program, half of the black nonacademic work force was employed in food service positions.¹ Almost one third of the black employees are still employed in food service occupations, indicating that some improvement in the distribution of black employees has occurred.

Although progress has been made since the initiation of the affirmative action program, the occupational distribution statistics clearly point out that a disproportionately large number of blacks are still employed in the lowest level University nonacademic jobs. Conversely,

TABLE II

Racial Ethnic Breakdown of Nonacademic Employment
by Civil Service Occupational Categories
Urbana-Champaign Campus of University of Illinois (December 31, 1971)

Civil Service Occupational Category	White Work Force	Black Work Force	Other	Total	Percent Black
01 Professional	136	2	4	142	1.4
02 Semi-Professional	353	10	7	370	2.7
03 Managerial	195	21	2	218	9.6
04 Clerical	2016	170	38	2224	7.7
05 Stores	109	9	2	120	7.5
06 Aeronautical	35	2	0	37	5.4
07 Agricultural	94	1	0	95	1.1
08 Service-Custodial	606	50	1	657	7.6
09 Service - Domestic	11	1	0	12	8.3
10 Service - Food	161	136	7	304	44.7
11 Service - Heat, Light & Power	106	2	0	108	1.9
12 Service - Medical	8	0	0	8	0.0
13 Service - Protective	113	9	0	122	7.4
14 Trades & Occupations Skilled	583	19	3	605	3.1
15 Trades & Occupations Semi-Skilled	178	28	1	207	13.5
16 Trades & Occupations Unskilled	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>13.3</u>
Totals	4716	462	66	5244	8.8

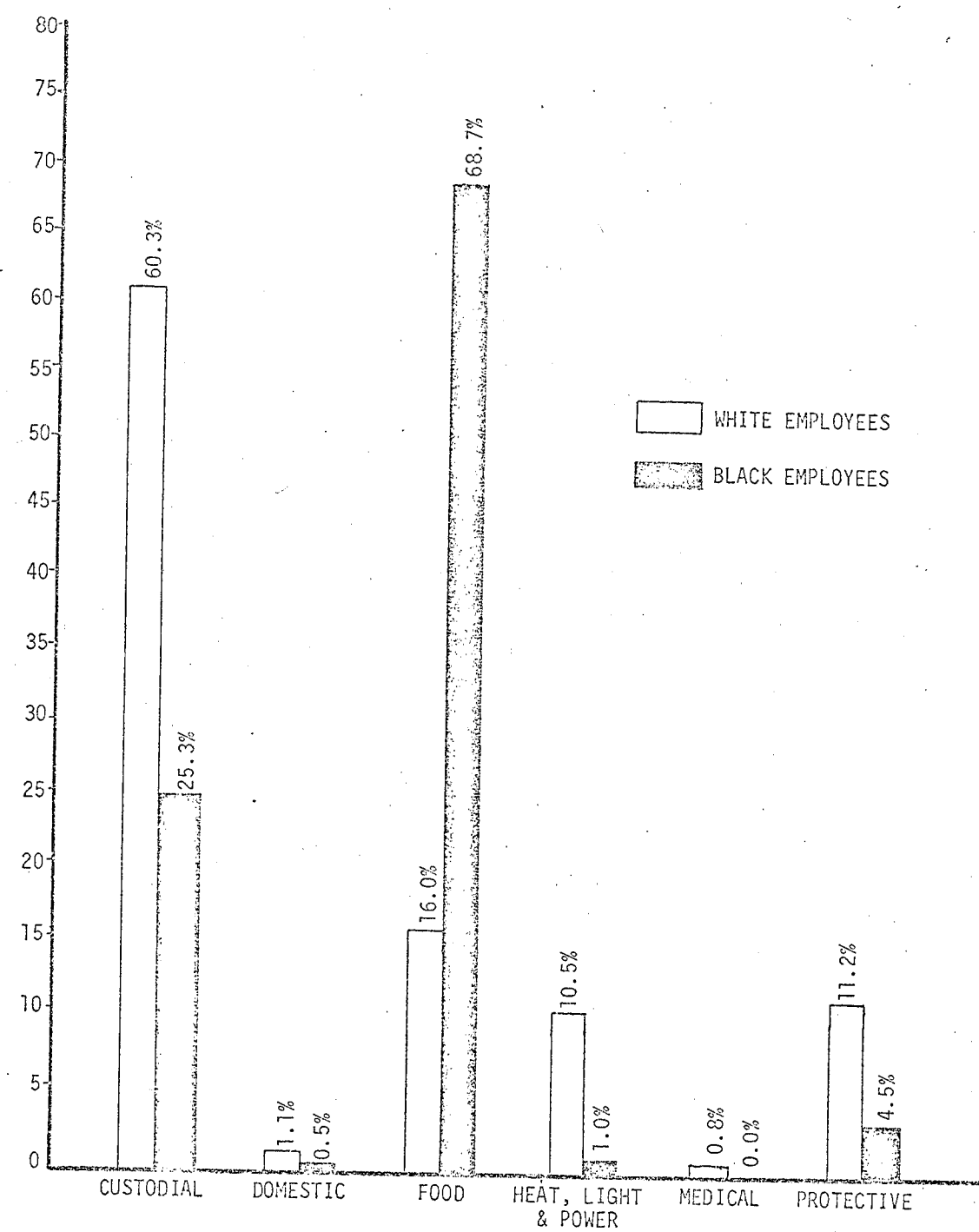


Figure 3. Occupational Distribution of Service Workers at University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus), by Race (December 31, 1971).

the black work force is too sparsely represented at the highest levels of employment. Little improvement in the distribution of blacks at higher occupational levels has occurred since the affirmative action program was implemented.

One might attribute the lack of blacks at high level occupational categories to the lack of availability of black employees in the Champaign-Urbana community at high levels of employment. Table III compares the occupational distribution of total and black employment in the community with that of the University. A weakness of this type of comparison is the possible lack of similarity between University and community jobs within occupational categories. For example, black professionals in the community include ministers, social workers, and teachers, none of which are employed in nonacademic University jobs. However, enough overlap of jobs within categories should exist to warrant a comparison.

The data in Table III indicate that the University has employed black managers, professionals, and technicians from the Champaign-Urbana community in approximately the same proportion as it has employed its total managerial, professional, and technical staff from the entire community. It seems therefore that the University has hired an equitable share of the available blacks at the highest three occupational levels. However, the University has employed proportionately less available skilled and semi-skilled black workers than it has employed its total skilled and semi-skilled work force. The data suggest that the University has not hired enough black craftsmen and operatives, based on the number of blacks working in those occupational areas in the community.

TABLE III

Occupational Distribution of University of Illinois Nonacademic Employees
(December 31, 1971) and All Employees in Champaign-Urbana Community (1970 Census), by Race

	Total Community Employment	Total University Employment	Univ. Employment as percent of Comm. Employment	Black Community Employment	Black University Employment	Black Univ. Employment as percent of Black Comm. Employment
Officials & Managers	2372	168	7.1	65	5	7.7
Professionals & Technicians	12826	863	6.7	390	37	9.5
Sales	2663	0	0.0	0	0	0.0
Office & Clerical	7572	2156	28.5	473	167	35.3
Craftsmen (Skilled)	2762	477	17.3	217	18	8.3
Operatives (Semi-Skilled)	2482	292	11.8	381	16	4.2
Laborers (Unskilled)	1490	275	18.5	234	55	23.5
Service Workers	6076	1013	16.7	1066	164	15.4

Source: Personnel Services Office Nonacademic Personnel Data (December 31, 1971) and
Census of Population and Housing Census Tracts (1970)

The overall percentage of black employment at the University compares favorably with the black proportion of the total Champaign-Urbana labor force. The 1970 U. S. Census indicates that the black labor force accounts for approximately 7.9 percent of the total Champaign-Urbana labor force,² a percentage which is smaller than the 8.8 percent of University employees who are black. This comparison indicates that the University employs an adequate number of blacks with respect to the availability of blacks in the community labor force. This finding suggests that the primary emphasis of the University's affirmative action program should be upgrading the current black nonacademic work force. This is not to imply, however, that the program should abandon efforts to recruit new black employees. Data in Chapter IV pertaining to turnover rates reveal that the black turnover rate is disproportionately high in comparison with total turnover patterns, necessitating a continuous effort to recruit black applicants.

A final interesting aspect of the occupational breakdown is the diversity of mean salaries at the various levels, listed in Table IV. The three lowest paying categories (clerical, unskilled, and service) contain 83.5 percent of the black employees, as compared with 63.8 percent of the whites. William Ellinger's (1971) study of the salaries of nonacademic employees points out that the average white salary is \$7223, as compared with a mean minority salary of \$5072.³ In a multivariate regression study, Ellinger showed that blacks were payed significantly less than whites, even when such variables as age, sex, education, and tenure were controlled.

Patterns of Employment by Families of Occupation

The occupational family grouping is a breakdown developed by

Table IV

Mean Salaries in Occupational Categories
for Nonacademic Employees at the University of Illinois
(Urbana-Champaign Campus) December 31, 1971

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Mean Salary</u>
Officials and Managers	\$ 14,735
Professionals	\$ 13,043
Technical	\$ 9,335
Clerical	\$ 6,764
Crafts	\$ 14,037
Operatives (Semi-Skilled)	\$ 10,355
Laborers (Unskilled)	\$ 8,959
Service Workers	\$ 7,093

Source: Personnel Services Office Nonacademic Personnel Data,
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Campus (December 31, 1971).

Shulenburger for the purpose of examining the effects of requisite job qualifications on the hiring of blacks.⁴ The occupational families, grouped according to minimum education and experience requirements, include: no education-no experience, no education-experience, high school degree-no experience, high school degree-experience, college degree-no experience, college degree-experience, masters degree, and special degree (nursing, law, or architectural degree). Although the job family groupings of the present study are mostly made up of the same classifications used in the Shulenburger study, there are some job classes in which education and/or experience requirements have been altered since Shulenburger collected his data. Therefore, the classifications used within occupational categories in the present data differ slightly from Shulenburger's 1968 breakdown.

The patterns of black employment by occupational family indicate a trend towards a more highly-educated black work force. Table V shows that since the inception of the affirmative action program in 1968, the number of blacks employed in positions requiring a high school degree has more than doubled. On the other hand, the number of blacks working in positions requiring no education or experience has slightly decreased. Figure 4 illustrates that whereas almost two-thirds of the black work force in 1968 were employed in jobs requiring no education or experience, less than half of the black employees are now working at that level. Almost half of the black work force now works in high school level jobs, as compared with thirty percent in 1968. This increase has occurred in spite of the fact that several jobs which required a high school diploma during

TABLE V

Distribution of University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus)
Nonacademic Employees by Race and Families of Occupation
(Spring, 1968, and December 31, 1971)

<u>Occupational Family</u>	<u>Total Employment</u>		<u>Black Employment</u>		<u>Percent Black</u>	
	<u>1968</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1971</u>
No Education--No Experience	1140	1106	212	200	18.5	18.1
No Education--Experience	665	696	8	37	1.2	5.3
High School--No Experience	770	422	46	113	6.0	26.8
High School--Experience	2627	2718	53	104	2.0	3.8
College Degree--No Experience	86	61	3	0	3.5	0.0
College Degree--Experience	215	205	3	8	1.4	3.7
Masters	2	4	0	0	0.0	0.0
Special Degree	<u>89</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Totals	5594	5244	330	462	5.9	8.8

Source: David Shulenburger, "Patterns of Negro Nonacademic Employment at the University of Illinois: Their Consequences for Affirmative Action," (Unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1968; and Personnel Services Office Nonacademic Personnel Data (December 31, 1971).

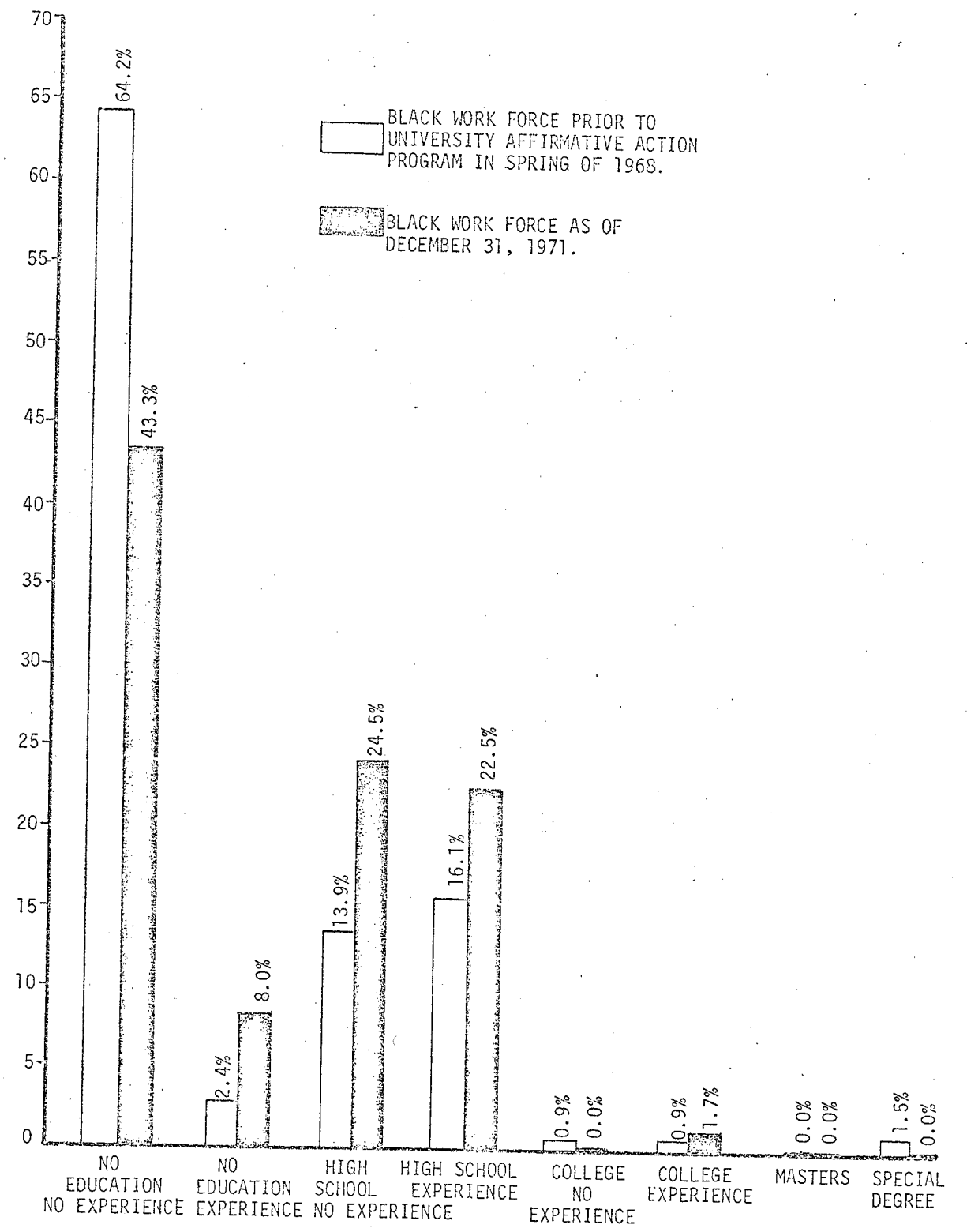


Figure 4. Proportional Distribution of University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus) Black Nonacademic Employees by Job Family (Spring, 1968 and December 31, 1971).

Shulenburg's analysis no longer require it (e.g., Assembly Hall Attendant, Coin Machine Attendant, Equipment Attendant, Fountain Attendant, Locker Room Attendant, Cashier I and II, Storekeeper I, II, and III).

Although the percentage of black employees working in jobs which require a high school degree has increased significantly since 1968, proportionately fewer blacks are yet employed in these jobs than whites. Figure 5 illustrates that over sixty percent of the white employees work in jobs requiring a high school education, whereas 47 percent of the blacks are employed at this level. The 43 percent black population in the jobs requiring no education or experience is still much higher than the nineteen percent white employment at this level.

Are blacks employed in lower qualification jobs because their educational level is lower than whites, or are there other factors contributing to this imbalanced distribution? Table VI provides the mean educational level for white and black nonacademic employees in each occupational level. The mean educational levels indicate that both whites and blacks are hired into jobs with minimum education requirements comparable to their educational levels. Neither blacks nor whites hired into the no-education job families have mean educational levels high enough to qualify for positions requiring a high school degree. Likewise, those white and black employees working in jobs requiring a college degree have mean educational levels below a bachelor's degree. Thus it does not seem that blacks with high educational levels are being relegated to positions requiring little or no education.

Table VI does reveal, however, that at most levels the white

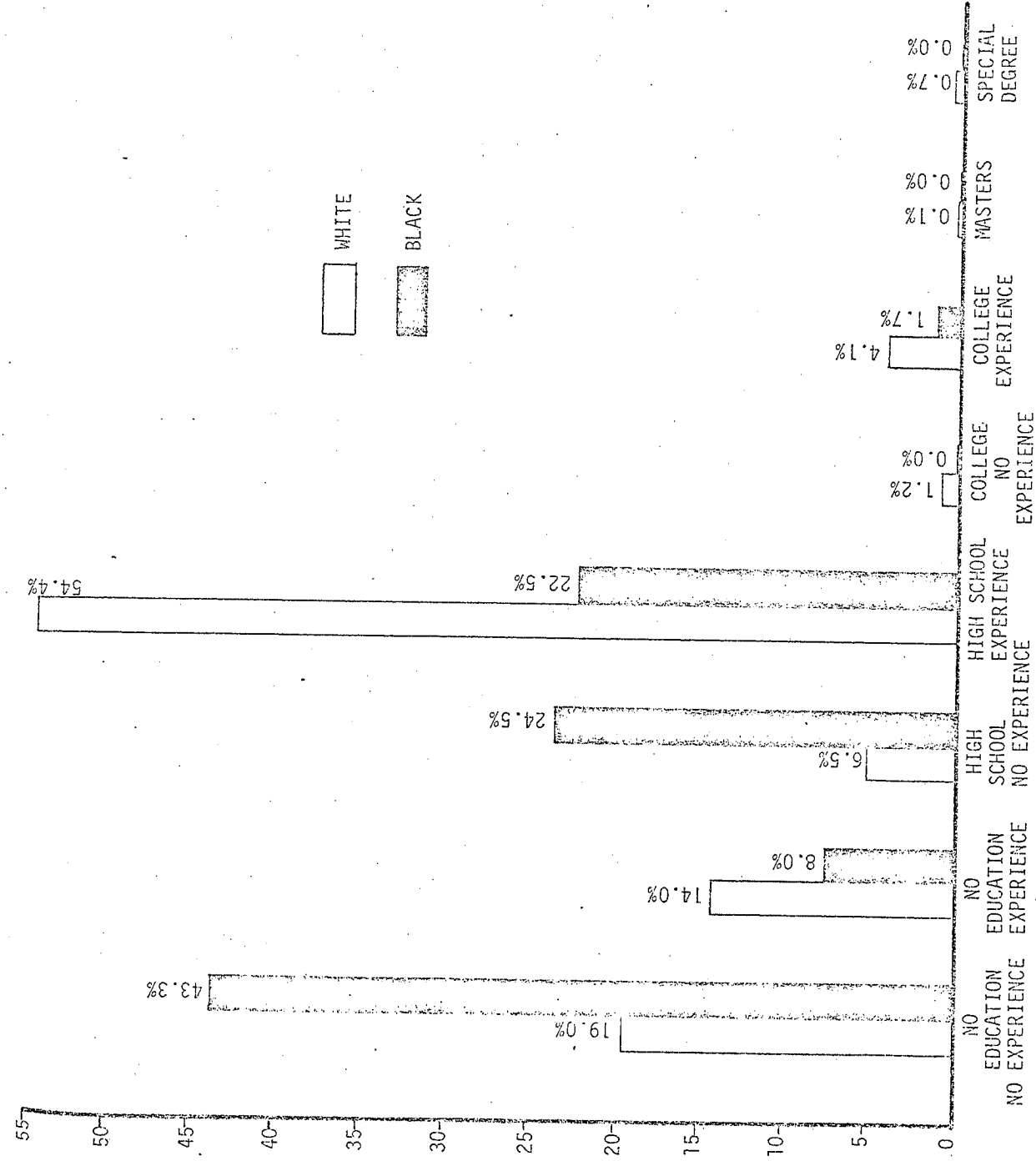


Figure 5. Percent of Black and White University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus) Nonacademic Employees, by Job Family (December 31, 1971).

TABLE VI

Mean Education of University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus)
Nonacademic Employees by Race and Job Family (December 31, 1971)

<u>Occupational Family</u>	<u>White Mean Education</u>	<u>Black Mean Education</u>
No Education - No Experience	10.9 years	10.2 years
No Education - Experience	11.7	11.8
High School - No Experience	12.5	12.2
High School - Experience	13.3	12.8
College Degree - No Experience	16.0	13.5
College Degree	15.8	15.4
Total	12.7	11.6

Source: Personnel Services Office Nonacademic Personnel Data, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Campus (December 31, 1971).

mean educational level is higher than the black level. Also, the overall mean educational level of the white work force is 12.7 years, as compared with 11.6 years for the black labor force. It seems therefore that educational level may be a factor working against black applicants for nonacademic employment at the University. An alternative explanation could be that black applicants with high educational levels are not being hired. Data bearing on this possibility will be examined in the next chapter, where testing of white and black applicants is analyzed in detail.

Patterns of Employment by Location

Since the actual decision on whether or not to hire a black applicant lies with the University departments, it is important to examine the black employment statistics of the various hiring units. The University Bureau of Institutional Research breakdown of major administrative units is used for this analysis, which includes 29 major units and 219 departments. Although Shulenburger (1968) also used the BIR breakdown, organizational changes within the University have occurred since that time, especially in the administrative offices. Therefore, when comparing 1971 data with Shulenburger's data, a category entitled "general administrative offices" is used to refer collectively to such units as general university offices, the Chancellor's office, administrative data processing, business affairs, admissions and records, legal counsel, and personnel services. Also, the University Press is now included in the Office of Public Information.

Table VII reveals that in most cases colleges and administrative units have increased their percentage of blacks since the inception of

TABLE VII

Distribution of University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus)
Nonacademic Employees by Race and College or Administrative Unit
(Spring, 1968, and December 31, 1971)

College or Administrative Unit	Total Employment		Black Employment		Percent Black	
	1968	1971	1968	1971	1968	1971
General Administrative Offices	902	889	23	72	2.5	8.1
Public Information	131	125	2	8	1.5	6.4
Dean of Students	50	55	2	6	4.0	10.9
Health Service	98	102	6	2	6.1	2.0
Alumni Relations & Records	13	13	0	1	0.0	7.7
International Programs & Studies	9	11	0	0	0.0	0.0
Library & Library Science	186	240	8	14	4.2	5.8
Agriculture	437	332	10	10	2.3	3.0
Commerce	39	41	0	2	0.0	4.9
Education	179	93	13	9	7.2	9.7
Engineering	445	341	7	11	1.5	3.2
Fine & Applied Arts	50	102	0	3	0.0	2.9
Graduate College	179	133	5	6	2.7	4.5
Communications	56	65	1	4	1.7	6.2
Law	9	17	0	3	0.0	17.6
Liberal Arts & Sciences	395	394	8	28	2.0	7.1
Physical Education	55	67	1	7	1.8	10.4
Veterinary Medicine	77	83	4	5	5.1	6.0
Armed Forces	7	7	0	0	0.0	0.0
Institute of Aviation	65	77	0	3	0.0	3.9
Labor & Industrial Relations	11	8	2	1	18.1	12.5
Social Work	10	12	0	2	0.0	16.7
Physical Plant	2319	2037	238	265	10.3	13.0
Totals	5722*	5244	330	462	5.8	8.8

Source: David Shulenburg, "Patterns of Negro Nonacademic Employment at the University of Illinois: Their Consequences for Affirmative Action," (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1968; and Personnel Services Office (Urbana-Champaign Campus) Nonacademic Personnel Data (December 31, 1971).

* Discrepancy between Shulenburg's data for total employment figures (see Table I) is due to his inclusion of nonstatus white employees in this table.

the affirmative action program in the spring of 1968. Particularly large increases in black employment have occurred in general administrative offices and the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. There has been a decrease in the percentage of blacks only at the Health Service. The data also reveal a great variation between hiring units in number of blacks employed. Whether this difference is due to discrimination on the part of some hiring units or the nature of the jobs in the departments is unclear.

The major units are basically of three types: administrative, academic, and operations and maintenance. The major units have been grouped in Table VII according to these three types. The first group, ranging from general administrative offices to the library, represent administrative units. The academic units range from agriculture to social work. The Physical Plant encompasses the entire operations and maintenance function. Table VIII indicates the kinds of occupations located in each type of unit. The administrative units employ primarily clerical workers and to a lesser extent technical and professional employees. The academic units also employ a large percentage of clericals and a fairly substantial proportion of technicians. The operation and maintenance units employ relatively few clerical workers and a very large percentage of service workers.

Table IX shows that the percentage of blacks in each type of unit has increased since 1968. Blacks comprise a larger percentage of operation and maintenance units than of academic or administrative units, although the latter two have increased in black employment at a higher rate since 1968 than the operations and maintenance units. Figure 6 shows that

TABLE VIII

Percent Distribution of University of Illinois
(Urbana-Champaign Campus) Nonacademic Employees by
Occupational Category (December 31, 1971)

<u>EEO Category</u>	<u>Administrative Units N=1435</u>	<u>Academic Units N=1772</u>	<u>O & M Units N=2037</u>
Officials & Managers	4.4	2.1	3.3
Professional	11.4	5.0	2.0
Technical	12.2	17.9	3.8
Office & Clerical	65.3	55.4	11.6
Crafts	2.9	6.7	15.6
Operatives	1.5	3.0	10.7
Laborers	0.6	3.7	9.8
Service Workers	1.7	6.2	43.2

Source: Personnel Services Office Nonacademic Personnel Data, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Campus (December 31, 1971).

TABLE IX

Distribution of University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus)
 Nonacademic Employees by Race and Type of Unit
 (Spring, 1968, and December 31, 1971)

Type of Unit	Total Employment		Black Employment		Percent Black	
	1968	1971	1968	1971	1968	1971
Administrative	1389	1435	41	103	3.0	7.2
Academic	2014	1772	51	94	2.5	5.3
Operations & Maintenance	2319	2037	238	265	10.3	13.0

Source: David Shulenburger, "Patterns of Negro Nonacademic Employment at the University of Illinois: Their Consequences for Affirmative Action," (Unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1968; and Personnel Services Office Nonacademic Personnel Data (December 31, 1971).

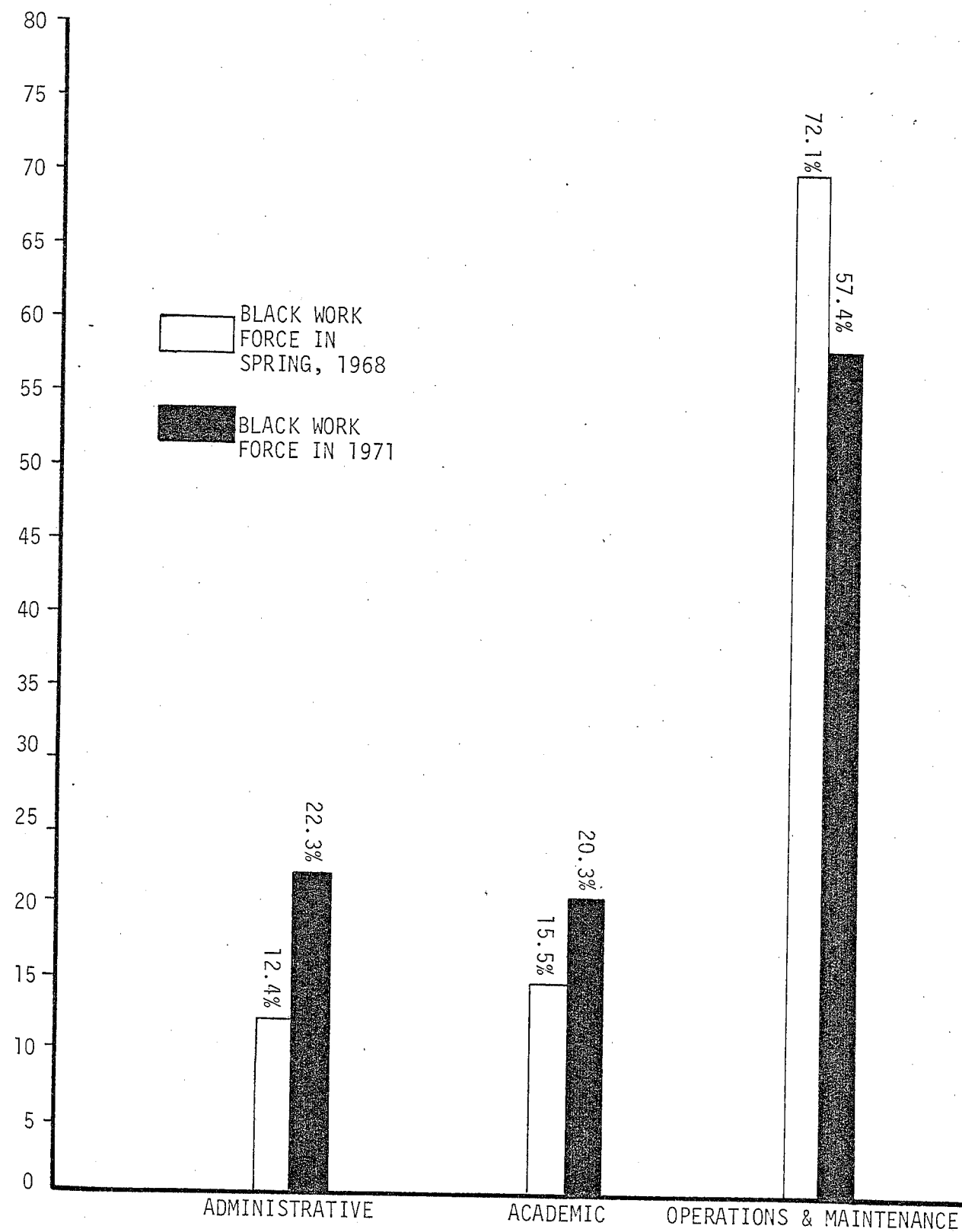


Figure 6. Distribution of University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus) Black Nonacademic Employees by Type of Unit (Spring, 1968 and December 31, 1971).

72.1 percent of the black work force in 1968 were employed in operations and maintenance units. By December 31, 1971, this figure had reduced to 57.4 percent, due in part to a twelve percent reduction in operations and maintenance employees since 1968. On the other hand, the distribution of blacks in academic and administrative units has increased from 28 to 43 percent since 1968.

Furthermore, the data do not indicate discrimination by any particular type of unit but rather follow predictable patterns. One would expect a large portion of blacks in the operation and maintenance units because of the fact that almost half of the black work force is employed in laborer and service worker positions (see Figure I). Table VIII shows clearly that most of the service worker and laborer positions are located in operation and maintenance units. On the other hand, the greatest increase in black employment since 1968 has taken place in the clerical area (see Figure I), explaining the increase in black employment in the administrative and academic units which employ mostly clerical people.

Before concluding this section it is important to note that the general nature of the analysis by types of units obscures differences between the patterns of employment within specific units. Appendix B gives the occupational distribution of each specific unit's employment patterns by race. An example of variation between units can be seen by comparing the patterns of employment in the College of Agriculture with that of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences. Of the 165 clerical positions in the College of Agriculture, only four (2.4 percent) are occupied by blacks. By contrast, LAS employs a clerical work force of 251 employees, 21

(8.4 percent) of whom are black. Since 7.7 percent of the University's clerical force is black, it is clear that Agriculture has contributed comparatively less than LAS towards the overall increase of black employment in academic units.

Patterns of Employment by Promotional Sequences

Shulenburger (1968) focused on the patterns of nonacademic employment in two specific areas of promotional sequences, food service and clerical.⁵ The present author has expanded the analysis to include the custodial area. Also, more promotional lines are included in the clerical analysis. Shulenburger analyzed the clerk, accounting clerk, library clerk, payroll clerk, clerk stenographer, and clerk-typist promotional lines. In the present analysis, the typing-clerk, bookstore clerk, and keypunch operator promotional ladders are added. The promotional sequences analyzed in this thesis account for approximately sixty percent of the black employees at the University. Other promotional lines are not analyzed in this study because of the small number of blacks employed in them.

Table X compares the number of blacks employed at the various promotional levels prior to the affirmative action program with 1971 data. The impact of the Clerical Learner Program can be readily seen from the significant increase in clerical employees, especially at the lowest level. There are eight times as many first level black clericals in 1971 as in 1968. At the second level, the number of clericals has doubled, which indicates some success on the part of black employees in moving from the

TABLE X

Selected Promotional Sequences by Race of Nonacademic Employees at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Campus (Spring, 1968, and December 31, 1971)

Promotional Levels	Total Employment		Black Employment		Percent Black	
	1968	1971	1968	1971	1968	1971
Clerical I	210	168	9	73	4.3	43.5
Clerical II	664	614	21	42	3.2	6.8
Clerical III	693	818	11	19	1.6	2.3
Clerical IV	284	293	3	5	1.1	1.7
Clerical V	40	46	0	0	0.0	0.0
Kitchen Helper	132	97	68	46	51.5	47.4
Cook	97	100	31	48	32.0	48.0
Head Cook	12	8	3	5	25.0	62.5
Building Service Worker	459	475	30	40	6.5	8.4
Building Service Sub-Foreman	20	20	0	0	0.0	0.0
Building Service Foreman	20	23	0	0	0.0	0.0
Custodial Supervisor	4	3	0	0	0.0	0.0

Source: David Shulenburger, "Patterns of Negro Nonacademic Employment at the University of Illinois: Their Consequences for Affirmative Action," Unpublished Master's Thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1968; and Personnel Services Office Nonacademic Personnel Data (December 31, 1971).

first clerical level to the second. However, there has been only a slight increase in the proportion of black clericals at the third and fourth levels. At the highest clerical level the University has yet to employ a black, partially because the relatively small number of positions provides few opportunities for advancement to this level. It is also interesting to note that whereas half of the present black clerical force is employed at the lowest level, less than ten percent of the total clerical work force is employed at that level.

The reason that black clericals have had difficulty moving to the upper clerical levels despite substantial increases at the first two levels can best be examined by an analysis of the testing data. Preferential register position is acquired by any clerical employee passing a promotional exam. It follows that either relatively few black clericals are taking and passing higher level exams or black clericals who do pass higher level promotional tests are not being selected for other reasons. This question will be examined in the following chapter.

The promotional patterns for food service workers have changed somewhat since 1968. Table X shows that fewer blacks are now employed at the lowest level, while the percentage of blacks in the cook classifications has increased. These data reveal an encouraging trend for the upgrading of black food service workers at the University. It should be noted, however, that this improvement has for the most part only been enjoyed by female blacks. The majority of the black male food service workers are kitchen laborers, a classification for which no promotional line exists at the Urbana-Champaign campus.

The custodial occupations reveal no promotional improvement for

black employees since 1968. Although the percentage of black building service workers has increased, the University has yet to employ a black custodian in the supervisory ranks. Although there are relatively few custodial supervisory positions, this is a surprising statistic in light of the fact that several black janitors have worked for the University in excess of five years and should be well qualified for supervisory responsibilities. The reason for this pattern of employment will be investigated in the following chapter.

Summary

Patterns of nonacademic employment have been analyzed according to occupational categories, occupational families, locations, and promotional sequences.

Since the inception of its affirmative action program in the spring of 1968, the University has increased its total number of black employees to a level comparable to the percentage of blacks in the Champaign-Urbana labor force and has improved the occupational distribution of its black work force. However, black employees still account for a disproportionately large percentage of the laborers and service workers. Most gains in black employment have come in the clerical area, although significant increases have also occurred in the professional, craftsman, and operative categories. Black employment has not increased markedly in managerial or technical occupations since 1968.

The occupational family analysis indicates that a greater percentage of the black work force is employed in jobs requiring a high school degree than in 1968. However, most of the black employees are still employed in

jobs requiring no education or experience. Educational data indicate that the white work force has a significantly higher mean educational level than the black work force.

The location analysis has revealed that most hiring units have improved their percentage of black employees since 1968. Although most black employees are still employed in operations and maintenance units, the number of blacks employed in administrative and academic units has increased significantly since 1968.

Promotional sequence data indicate that clerical gains in black employment have come primarily at the lowest two levels with little improvement at the upper levels since 1968. Food service promotional statistics show an increase in the number of black workers at higher levels in the promotional line since 1968. An examination of the promotional line for custodial occupations reveals that no progress has been made since 1968 towards moving any blacks up from the lowest level.

Footnotes

- 1 David Shulenburger, "Patterns of Negro Nonacademic Employment at the University of Illinois: Their Consequences for Affirmative Action," unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 1968, p. 52.
- 2 Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population and Housing, U.S. Department of Commerce, 1970, p. 11 and 23.
- 3 William H. Ellinger, "The Status of Nonacademic Employees at the University of Illinois," unpublished research report, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, spring 1971, p. 47a (Table 6).
- 4 David Shulenburger, op.cit., p. 27.
- 5 Ibid., p. 84.

IV. ANALYSIS OF PARTS OF EMPLOYMENT PROCESS AFFECTING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

In the preceding chapter, patterns of nonacademic employment at the University were analyzed since the inception of the affirmative action program in 1968. The present chapter focuses on various aspects of the employment process which have contributed to these patterns of employment. These factors include: testing data, training programs, Civil Service rules, turnover, minimum qualifications for jobs, goal setting, and organization and responsibility for the affirmative action program.

Analysis of Testing Data

Since Civil Service tests are the primary mechanisms by which applicants qualify for employment, it is very important that the performance of black employees on the exams be assessed. This section will examine testing data first according to occupational categories, occupational families, and clerical promotional sequences. The data for these analyses are limited to Fiscal Year 1971-72, which should be representative of most years in which Civil Service tests are administered for employment at the Urbana-Champaign Campus. Detailed testing data necessary for these analyses is unavailable for previous fiscal years. Secondly, this section examines testing data for the past four fiscal years from a special study reported by Noreen Taylor.¹ Her study provides a comparison of black and white mean scores on tests for a variety of classifications based on data collected from all the colleges and universities throughout the State, covered by the Civil Service System.

Table XI presents the occupational distribution of the classifications in which exams were given during FY 71-72 for the Urbana-Champaign campus.² The distribution of black applicants closely resembles that for total applicants, both having more than half of the people in the clerical category. The total number of black applicants accounts for approximately eleven percent of the total applicant pool, a figure which is comparable to the proportion of blacks in the community. However, the number of black applicants in the crafts and operative categories is low in comparison to the number of blacks employed in these categories in the surrounding area.

The percent of blacks passing exams is significantly less than the percent of total employees passing tests. In the technical, clerical, and operative occupational categories the same negative result for blacks is found. A greater percentage of whites than blacks also pass exams in the professional and service categories, but the difference is less marked. Black and white test performance is about even in the laborer category. Too few blacks were tested in the managerial or craft occupations for any conclusions to be made.

The analysis of job families in Chapter III indicated that the black work force had a lower educational level than the total work force, implying that education may be a factor causing blacks to pass exams less frequently than whites. Table XII shows that for each job family a higher percentage of total applicants pass exams than do the black applicants. The educational level of the applicants in each occupational family reveals some interesting findings.³ In those jobs with neither education nor

TABLE XI

Occupational Distribution of Exams Taken by Applicants for Jobs at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Campus and the Percent Passing, by Race (Fiscal Year 1971-1972)

Occupational Category	% of Total Exams		Percent Passing	
	Total (N=3900)	Black (N=434)	Total	Black
Officials & Managers	0.6	0.5	91.3	50.0
Professionals	6.4	6.2	95.6	88.9
Technicians	8.9	5.8	82.0	52.0
Office & Clerical	60.8	57.6	69.3	48.8
Crafts (Skilled)	1.7	0.2	86.4	100.0
Operatives (Semi-skilled)	3.8	2.5	89.9	63.6
Laborers (Unskilled)	4.2	8.3	91.4	91.7
Service Workers	<u>13.7</u>	<u>18.9</u>	<u>96.4</u>	<u>90.2</u>
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	78.0	63.4

Source: Civil Service Test Score Report, Urbana Campus, FY 1971-72.

TABLE XII

Distribution of Exams Taken by Total and Black Applicants for Jobs at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Campus, the Percent Passing and Their Educational Level by Occupational Family (Fiscal Year 1971-72)

Occupational Family	Total Applicants Tested		Percent Passing		Educational Level of Applicants Tested					
	Total	Black	Total	Black	Percent Less than H.S.	Percent High School	Percent Greater Than H.S.			
No Education-No Experience	647	120	97.4	93.3	22.7	36.7	52.2	48.3	25.1	15.0
No Education-Experience	226	17	89.4	82.4	12.8	11.8	64.2	41.2	23.0	47.0
High School-No Experience	505	106	69.1	50.9			63.8	84.0	36.2	16.0
High School-Experience	2341	192	73.5	46.4			31.4	47.4	68.7	52.6
College-No Experience	72	7	95.8	85.7					100.0	100.0
College-Experience	41	2	92.7	50.0					100.0	100.0
Special Degree	17	0	100.0				41.2		58.8	
TOTAL	3849	444	77.9	62.2	4.6	10.6	40.2	56.3	55.3	33.1

Source: Civil Service Test Score Report and Digitek Roster, Urbana-Champaign, FY 1971-72.

experience requirements, the percent of total applicants with greater than a high school diploma is higher than the percentage of blacks at that educational level. Conversely, the percentage of blacks in the lowest job family with less than a high school diploma is significantly higher than the percentage of the applicant pool at that educational level. It is possible that the higher educational level of the applicant pool accounts in part for the greater percentage of total applicants passing exams in this job family than the percentage of blacks who pass.

The job classes requiring no education but some experience yield a different finding. Although few in number, most black applicants in this family possess greater than a high school diploma, whereas most of the total applicants are at the high school level. The blacks tested in this area are too few from which to draw any conclusions, however. In both job families which have a high school diploma as a prerequisite, the percentage of total applicants with greater than the high school diploma exceeds that of the black applicants at that educational level. This finding indicates further that the high educational level of the total applicant pool contributes to the greater percentage of total applicants than black applicants who pass. Very few blacks took exams in classifications requiring college degrees during FY 71-72.

The relationship between educational level and test performance can be seen most clearly in Table XIII, which gives the percentage of examinees at each educational level who pass exams. The total employment patterns clearly reveal that a person's educational level and test performance are positively related in each occupational family. The difference

TABLE XIII

Percent of Exams Passed by Total and Black Applicants for Jobs at the
University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus) by
Educational Level and Job Family
(Fiscal Year 1971-72)

Occupational Family	TOTAL		BLACK	
	N	% Pass	N	% Pass
<u>No Education-No Experience</u>				
Less Than High School	147	94.6	44	88.6
High School	338	97.9	58	94.8
Greater Than High School	<u>162</u>	<u>98.8</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>100.0</u>
TOTAL	647	97.4	120	93.3
<u>No Education-Experience</u>				
Less Than High School	29	86.2	2	100.0
High School	145	87.6	7	71.4
Greater Than High School	<u>52</u>	<u>96.2</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>87.5</u>
TOTAL	226	89.4	17	82.4
<u>High School-No Experience</u>				
High School	322	60.6	89	50.6
Greater Than High School	<u>183</u>	<u>84.2</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>52.9</u>
TOTAL	505	69.1	106	50.9
<u>High School-Experience</u>				
High School	734	61.3	91	51.7
Greater Than High School	<u>1607</u>	<u>79.0</u>	<u>101</u>	<u>41.6</u>
TOTAL	2341	73.5	192	46.4

Source: Civil Service Test Score Report and Digitek Roster, Urbana-Champaign (Fiscal Year 1971-72)

is greatest in the job families which require a high school diploma, where those who possess an educational level in excess of a high school diploma pass exams significantly more than those who have only a high school diploma. The black patterns of test performance differ from that of total employment, however. In the job families which require a high school diploma, more black examinees with only a high school diploma pass exams than blacks with educational training beyond high school. Only in the occupational family where neither education nor experience is required is black test performance positively related to educational level. The difference in total and black patterns of test performance in job families requiring a high school diploma reveals that the high educational level of the total work force puts blacks at an extreme disadvantage in these occupations. Even in the cases where blacks have the same educational level as whites, blacks did more poorly on tests in most instances.

Overall, Table XII shows that over half of the total applicant pool has an educational level in excess of a high school diploma as compared with only a third of the black applicants. This difference reveals a barrier to the affirmative action program at this campus. Blacks in the community have difficulty competing with such a highly-educated applicant pool. Table XIV shows that this is particularly true in the clerical area. At each promotional level a higher percentage of the total applicant pool possesses greater than a high school diploma than does the black applicant pool (except for the highest level, where only 2 blacks were tested). Likewise, at each promotional level a significantly higher passing percentage is exhibited by the total applicant pool in comparison with the

TABLE XIV

Distribution of People Tested in Clerical Promotional Levels at
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Campus, by Race
and Educational Level (Fiscal Year 1971-72)

Promotional Levels	Total Applicants Tested		Percent Passing		Percent Greater Than High School	
	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Black
Clerical I	316	82	67.4	54.9	28.8	22.0
Clerical II	1050	95	68.6	45.3	70.8	47.4
Clerical III	695	46	65.0	28.3	65.0	54.3
Clerical IV	97	7	61.9	14.3	35.1	28.6
Clerical V	22	2	40.9	0.0	40.9	50.0

Source: Civil Service Test Score Report and Digitek Roster, Urbana-Champaign, FY 1971-72.

blacks. As might be expected, progressively fewer of the black applicants pass exams as the promotional level increases and tests become more complex.

Finally, Table XIV reveals that most of the blacks taking clerical exams are at the lowest two promotional levels with only slightly greater than one fifth at the highest three levels. Total employment on the other hand shows better than one-third of the people taking tests at the highest three levels. In answer to the question posed in the section dealing with promotional sequences in Chapter III, it appears that the low number of black clerical employees at the highest three promotional levels is a combined result of few blacks both taking and passing tests at those levels. In the case of custodial promotional sequences, no blacks were tested at the supervisory level during FY 71-72.

Thus far this analysis has dealt with Civil Service exams categorically, utilizing pass-fail data. It is important to note, however, that a passing score does not ensure a person a position. Only the top three scorers according to the Civil Service registers are eligible for referral. It therefore becomes important to examine average scores for specific classes. An analysis of Civil Service testing data by Noreen Taylor provides a comparison of black and white test performance within various classifications for the past four fiscal years.⁴ Her data represent average test scores for blacks at all the colleges and universities covered by the Civil Service System. Although her study does not report results for the Champaign-Urbana campus specifically, the data which she presents is helpful for better interpreting the effect of race on test results, because of the large number of blacks included in each classification.

Appendix C shows Taylor's data in detail for those classifications in which at least six blacks were tested.⁵ The inescapable conclusion one must come to is that in general, white applicants score significantly higher on Civil Service exams than blacks. This finding is apparent to the greatest extent in the clerical occupations, where most Civil Service exams are given.⁶ Table XV summarizes the testing data by giving the number of job classifications where differences between white and black test performance are found and whether that difference is statistically significant. Over the past four fiscal years approximately ninety percent of the job classes show whites with a higher mean score than blacks, and in three fourths of those classes the mean difference is statistically significant.

Blacks have shown some improvement on tests over the past four years, however. The number of classes where the black mean is higher than white average has increased from one in FY 68-69 to eight in FY 71-72. Taylor attributes this increase to the initiation of job element examinations in several classifications in the past two fiscal years. Nevertheless, the overall results indicate that whites score higher than blacks in most cases.

The fact that whites score significantly higher than blacks on the majority of Civil Service exams makes the University vulnerable to legal action because there has been no evidence provided that the exams are related to successful job performance. Although the newly-devised job element exams exhibit content validity there is thus far no indication of predictive validity for this type of exam. Job element exams have also

TABLE XV

Distribution of Differences in Mean Scores for Black and White Examinees in Various Classifications Throughout the University Civil Service System, Four Fiscal Years

Mean Scores	Job Classifications									
	1968-69		1969-70		1970-71		1971-72		TOTAL	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Black less than White										
Statistically Significant	54	93.1	68	89.5	45	63.4	37	60.7	204	76.7
Not Significant	3	5.2	1	1.3	19	26.8	16	26.2	39	14.7
TOTAL	57	98.3	69	90.8	64	90.2	53	86.9	243	91.4

Black greater than White										
Statistically Significant	0	0.0	6	7.9	0	0.0	1	1.6	7	2.6
Not Significant	1	1.7	1	1.3	7	9.8	7	11.5	16	6.0
TOTAL	1	1.7	7	9.2	7	9.8	8	13.1	23	8.6

Source: Noreen Taylor, "Minority/Majority Test Taking Experience, 1968-1971," unpublished research report, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, December 14, 1971.

shown little promise of helping blacks achieve a high enough score to be referred for selection.

The factors causing whites to score higher than blacks on most paper and pencil tests are complex, but there is much evidence that cultural variables such as homes and family structure, personality and social characteristics, learning characteristics, and general school relationships are the main causes of the differential test performance. There is little evidence available demonstrating any relationship between these factors and job performance. Wallace, Kissinger and Reynolds (1966) give an excellent summary of the proposed solutions to the problem of cultural bias in testing:⁸

1. "Culture-Free" Tests

One proposal is that tests be constructed which are free of cultural bias in their content. Robert Krug (1964) points out that culture-free tests must either have test items which all people of all cultures have had equal opportunity and equal motivation to learn or test items which possess complete novelty for all cultures.⁹ Krug adds that such testing conditions are impractical or impossible to meet. Howard Lockwood maintains that it is impossible to avoid measuring cultural influences, and even if it were, the test would measure in essence nothing.¹⁰

2. "Culture-Fair" Tests

Krug recommends the use of a culture-fair test for which the test

items (though different) are equally appropriate for at least two cultural groups. Philip Ash (1965) criticizes this approach as being impractical and inefficient for measuring aptitudes significantly related to most ordinary measures of job performance.¹¹ Another problem with the culture-fair approach is the lack of knowledge which test designers have of black culture. Black cultural characteristics also differ in various environments, e.g. northern slums vs. southern rural culture. William E. Enneis, the head of testing for the EEOC, points out that culture-free or culture-fair tests are both avoiding the problem of validity.¹²

3. Creativity Tests

Newton Metfessel and J. J. Risser (1965) recommend the use of creativity tests rather than traditional intelligence tests for testing the culturally disadvantaged.¹³ However, creativity tests are inappropriate for the majority of University nonacademic jobs,

4. Differential Selection Among Applicants from Different Socio-Economic Ethnic Backgrounds.

Since prediction equations for job-performance for most tests currently used have been based on performance of whites, it has been proposed that different prediction equations be employed for blacks. This solution is based on the premise that a selection device which is valid for whites may not be a valid predictor of job success for blacks. In a study of 2000 applicants for toll collector positions

in New York, Felix Lopez (1966) found that the instruments by which successful performance was predicted differed for white and black ethnic groups.¹⁴ Similar results were reported by C. J. Bartlett and B. S. O'Leary (1969) in educational and industrial work contexts,¹⁵ James J. Kirkpatrick, et. al. (1968) with females in clerical, nursing, and males in low-manual occupations,¹⁶ M. D. Mitchell, et. al. (1968) with male semi-skilled workers,¹⁷ and E. Ruda & L. E. Albright (1968) with 1034 applicants at Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation.¹⁸ In summary, studies in a wide cross-section of occupational levels in various types of organizations indicate that preemployment selection devices predict differently for whites and blacks.

Because of the differences in the way tests predict for performance by blacks and whites, it has been proposed by Richard Guion (1965) that a moderator variable approach be used.¹⁹ Under this approach a moderator variable would reflect cultural differences for the way selection tests predict job performances; therefore two different equations would be used to yield test scores for blacks and whites. Differences in selection procedures for different groups do not necessarily mean a lowering in standards, since the standards which are important are those of job performance rather than selection standards. Krug maintains that "a double-standard for predictor is not wrong . . . only a double-standard for a criterion is unacceptable."²⁰ Krug goes on to say, "if it can be demonstrated that Score X for Group A and Score K-k for Group B are associated with identical levels of performance on the job, then an employer might reasonably consider adopting a more flexible attitude toward test scores."

Nevertheless, charges of "reverse discrimination" will undoubtedly occur if blacks with lower test scores are hired above whites with higher test scores, regardless of the scientific explanation that a high score does not necessarily make one more "qualified." Enneis (1969) suggests as "a pragmatic and scientifically defensible solution to this problem, the conversion of all applicants' test scores to predicted criterion scores, using the appropriate regression equation of the moderator subgroup to which each applicant belongs."²¹

5. Use of Test Scores As Only One Indicator

A final solution which has been proposed to overcome cultural bias in exams is to use the test score as only one indicator of the potential of the applicant for job success. This approach is less feasible for the University, since merit for a job as demonstrated by an objective criterion (i.e., a Civil Service Test) is required by the University Civil Service Statute.²²

Learner, Trainee, and Apprenticeship Programs

Since black performances on Civil Service tests are rarely high enough to qualify for referrals, the University has resorted to extensive use of learner, trainee, and apprenticeship programs to bring blacks into its work force.²³ These on-the-job training programs have become the major route whereby black employment has increased in both quantity and quality of jobs.

Table XVI gives the occupational distribution of the jobs obtained by blacks through training programs. It can be seen that learner programs have enabled blacks primarily to gain access to clerical and service jobs. Trainee programs have resulted in the employment of 15 blacks at the managerial, professional, and technical occupational levels and seven in craftsmen jobs. All of the nine black apprentices are employed in the crafts and trades.

Of the 267 blacks who have been hired into Training programs, approximately one-fourth have failed to successfully complete their programs.²⁴ The Clerical Learner Program shows a slightly lower failure rate of twenty percent. When the number of people successfully completing training programs but failing to succeed as probationary status employees are added, the failure rate increases to 35 percent of all blacks hired through University training programs. Of the blacks failing to complete programs, almost one-third are janitor learners employed at the Physical Plant. The lack of success on the part of most black janitor learners is a peculiar problem for the University's affirmative action program. Although many black custodians are successfully employed in the community, few blacks have successfully completed janitor learner programs at the University. The high overall failure rate indicates a weakness in the use of training programs to increase black employment. It is unclear whether these failures are due to inadequate training, unacceptable job behaviors, or other factors.

Training programs have provided a means for a large number of blacks to become successful University employees, however. At the end

TABLE XVI

Occupational Distribution of Black Learners, Trainees, and Apprentices
Hired at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Campus
from 1968 to December 31, 1971.

Occupational Category	Learners	Trainees	Apprentices	Total
Officials & Managers	0	1	0	1
Professionals	0	6	0	6
Technicians	5	8	0	13
Office & Clerical	160	0	0	160
Crafts	1	7	9	17
Operatives	7	3	0	10
Laborers	0	0	0	0
Service Workers	60	0	0	60
TOTAL	233	25	9	267

Source: Personnel Services Office Nonacademic Personnel Data.

of 1971, approximately 155 of the blacks who had been hired via training programs were still working for the University. Since Table I in Chapter III indicates that the number of blacks has increased by 132 employees since 1968 (when learner programs were begun), it follows that much of this increase can be attributed to training programs.

Civil Service Rules

Throughout this study references have been made to the effect of Civil Service Rules on the University's affirmative action program. Civil Service Rules have indeed shaped many of the actions of the program since the beginning of the program in the Spring of 1968. This section isolates key Civil Service Rules and describes their impact on black employment:

1. The "Rule of Three"--This rule limits the selection of an employee to the top three applicants on a particular register. Originally, this rule was designed to provide an objective, nonpolitical method of securing jobs in public employment.²⁵ According to the merit principle, a department had to select one of the top three scores on an objective test for the classification. Unfortunately, the objective tests are not sophisticated enough to predict who the three most qualified applicants are. Moreover, blacks generally score lower on Civil Service tests than whites, as seen in the section dealing with testing. The inability of blacks to score in the "top three" makes the "Rule of Three" a barrier to blacks who wish to qualify for positions through regular procedures. The "Rule of Three" has forced the University to hire blacks through training programs, discussed in the previous section.

Due to the lack of precision with which Civil Service tests can reflect who the most qualified people are, there is little justification the University Civil Service System has for employing this rule. The State of Illinois personnel department recently abandoned the "Rule of 3" in favor of category ranking of eligibles, stating that "personnel evaluation techniques are not now, and may never be, sufficiently precise to justify a numerical ranking of eligibles as is done with a 'Rule of 3' system."²⁶ Finally, William H. Brown III (Chairman of the U.S. EEOC) recently stated:

I think the courts will deal very critically with these selection systems requiring selection from a list of the top three or top five, for the same reason that mandating a high school diploma is unlawful. If you find that a system using the rule-of-three operates in such a way that Negroes are, in fact, qualified for the jobs but not appearing on the final selection lists, then the system is operating to exclude Negroes. I think you will be required by the courts to prove the job necessity of this selection system. This will be very difficult. Remember that the others on the list are by definition qualified even if they are not included in the top three. I think you will find the courts looking with some substantial lack of sympathy upon any system which permits exclusion of qualified blacks.²⁷

2. Rules of Preferential Register Position--There are three Civil Service rules which give preferential register position to current University employees: the reemployment rule, promotional exam rule, and Rule 5.2h which gives preferential register position to current employees who pass exams outside their promotional lines.

The reemployment rule and promotional rules prohibit any use of training programs in classifications where reemployment and/or promotional registers exist. Nonuniversity blacks therefore have been blocked from several classifications because these rules have kept them from entering

these jobs through training programs. The reemployment rule is just in its protection of laid-off employees. However, it serves as a barrier because it allows a person to remain on a reemployment register for two years. Most people find other jobs within a year's time, rendering the two year period exceedingly lengthy.

The promotional rule acts as less of a barrier than the reemployment rule. Although the promotional rule has blocked establishment of a training program for blacks in certain cases, it has also served to assist many current black employees to move to higher positions. During 1971 forty black employees were upgraded to higher level jobs via promotional exams, 32 of whom were clerical.²⁸ The black people receiving promotions accounted for thirteen percent of the 308 people who were promoted during 1971, which is higher than the 8.8 percent of the total nonacademic work force which is black. Data giving the number of promotions by race is unavailable for other years, so it is uncertain whether promotional statistics in 1971 are representative of other years.

Promotions outside promotional lines, provided for current University employees under rule 5.2h, have perpetuated the existing work force distribution since the rule began in July 1971. Of the 144 people who have been promoted through this rule up to December 1972, fourteen or 9.7 percent are black.²⁹ Forty blacks have taken exams under Rule 5.2h, approximately nine percent of the total people taking exams. The drawback to this rule is that little percentage gains have been made by black people either in total number or occupational level of jobs. Most of the advances made by blacks have occurred within the clerical and service worker

occupational categories. In few instances did blacks move up in occupational level through this rule.

In summary, current black employees generally have benefitted from the preferential position rules. However, the "rule of three" has acted as a barrier to black applicants who seek University employment. If the University affirmative action program is to succeed in continuing to add to the total number of black employees, some relief from the "rule of three" must be sought for black applicants. Some suggestions will be offered in the final chapter.

Turnover

One of the greatest hindrances to progress in the University's affirmative action program is a disproportionately high black turnover rate. In 1970 and 1971 the University hired 395 black employees, but this substantial number was offset by 295 black terminations during those two years. There is no data available concerning the reasons for the terminations, but relatively few were for disciplinary reasons. Most terminations were, therefore, voluntary.

Table XVII compares the total employment turnover figures for 1971 with that of the black work force. The total turnover figures reveal that the 34 percent black turnover rate far exceeds the 26 percent total turnover statistic. The highest number of black terminations took place in the clerical, laborer and service worker categories, primarily in the typist, food service, and custodial classifications. As the promotional data have shown in Chapter III, blacks have had little success in moving

TABLE XVII

Occupational Distribution of Terminations of Black and Total Employees
During 1971

Occupational Category	Total Employment		Terminations		Percent Turnover	
	Total	Black	Total	Black	Total	Black
Officials & Managers	168	5	6	1	3.6	20.0
Professionals	293	14	42	1	14.3	7.1
Technicians	570	23	82	7	14.4	30.4
Office & Clerical	2156	167	915	50	42.4	29.9
Crafts	477	18	27	3	5.7	16.7
Operatives	292	16	30	4	10.3	25.0
Laborers	275	55	82	38	29.8	69.1
Service Workers	<u>1013</u>	<u>164</u>	<u>182</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>18.0</u>	<u>33.5</u>
TOTAL	5244	462	1366	159	26.0	34.4

Source: Personnel Services Office Nonacademic Personnel Data, 1971.

to higher level positions in the food service, custodial, and clerical promotional lines. The lack of advancement possibilities may partially explain the high turnover rate among blacks in these categories. Another explanation for the high food service turnover may be the seasonal nature of food service jobs (food service employees are laid off during the summer when students are gone). It seems reasonable that many food service employees might seek a year-round job rather than face a layoff each summer.

Approximately two-thirds of the turnover for the total non-academic work force occurs in clerical positions. The 1971 turnover rate for clerical positions alone amounts to 42 percent, an extremely high figure. The black clerical turnover percentage is somewhat less than the rate for total employment. The reason for this finding may be that the black clerical work force is less transient than the total clerical work force, which includes many student wives who are in the community only for a few years. The relative turnover for total employment in the laborer and food service categories is much lower than the black work force figures. Overall, the occupational distribution of turnover in 1971 for both total and black employment seems to mirror the occupational distribution of the employees as of December, 1971.

Whether the 1971 turnover data are representative of past years is uncertain but it seems clear that if in the years 1970 and 1971 a total of 395 blacks have been hired, then a heavy turnover factor must be operating to limit the December 1971 black total to 462 employees. The 1971 turnover statistics imply that the black turnover rate is disproportionately high when compared with total employment figures.

Minimum Qualifications

Minimum qualifications of job classifications at the University affect the affirmative action program. Education and/or experience requirements for jobs can serve as barriers to black employees who fail to meet them. The key question concerning minimum qualifications is whether they are related to successful job performance. HEW affirmative action guidelines prohibit the use of job requirements which cannot be demonstrated to be positively correlated with job performance.³⁰

As mentioned previously in this paper, the University has eliminated unnecessary requirements in several classifications since the beginning of the affirmative action program.³¹ There are many classifications that remain, however, in which the requirement of a high school diploma for successful job performance is very questionable. Some examples are Bowling Alley and Billiard Room Attendant, Flight Line Attendant, Library Attendant, Food Service Cashier I, Distribution Clerk, Film Inspector, Pot Washing Machine Operator, and Bookstore Clerk I.

S. M. Miller³² and Rose Wiener³³ suggest that the high school diploma is an unnecessary requirement for many jobs but is widely used by companies to screen out "low-achieving" applicants. Both authors maintain there is little evidence to support the presupposition that a high school dropout will necessarily be a low-performing employee. In a survey of a wide variety of industries, Ivan Berg found that few employers attempted to validate education as a determinant of satisfactory job performance.³⁴ At an educational institution there is little doubt that most jobs require

a high school diploma for successful performance, especially in the clerical area where a premium is placed on grammar skills, spelling, etc. However, it is the author's opinion that there are several jobs in the service area where the high school requirement has been required more by tradition than anything else.

It is important for the university morally and legally to make sure that its job requirements are sound. The courts have consistently ruled that a high school diploma requirement unrelated to performance on the job is illegal. In Griggs vs. Duke Power (1971), the U.S. Supreme Court stated that "if any employment practice which operates to exclude Negroes cannot be shown to be related to job performance, this practice is prohibited."³⁵ In Bennett vs. Gravelle (1972), the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission was ordered to eliminate mandatory educational attainment standards as preemployment criteria for over thirty job classifications, and to instead utilize a composite of job-related education, experience, and skills.³⁶ In Carter vs. Gallagher (1972) the Court of Appeals held that the requirement of a high school diploma by the Minneapolis Fire Department and City Civil Service Commissioners for firefighter applicants discriminated against black applicants, since "a substantially smaller percentage of non-white applicants in Minneapolis have completed four years of education."³⁷ Furthermore, the court mandated that the high school requirement be eliminated as a screening device, since there was "no indication that the high school requirement was an essential and necessary qualification for firefighting."

Goal Setting

As mentioned in the introduction to this study, the University affirmative action program included setting goals for black employment for the first time in 1970. At that time the University set minority and female hiring goals for 1971 in response to HEW's request. Table XVIII shows the minority goals which were set and to what extent they were met.

In the thirteen Civil Service Occupational Areas where minority hiring goals were set, only once did the University achieve its goal--at the semiskilled level. At the three highest levels the University set minority hiring goals totaling 25 people but only hired or promoted ten people to those levels. Most progress came at the clerical level, where 42 minorities were newly-hired and one was promoted to that level. Overall, the report was an embarrassing item for the University to submit to HEW.

In all fairness to the University, budgetary cutbacks in 1971 stifled achievement of goals which were set from a more optimistic context in 1970. Nevertheless, several weaknesses of the goal system itself also contributed to the poor results. The same drawbacks rendered the goals system inoperative in 1972, when goals were set in the same manner as the previous year. In the final chapter these weaknesses are discussed in some detail and a goal system is proposed to overcome these problems.

Organization and Responsibility for University's Affirmative Action Program

A final important factor affecting the progress of the

TABLE XVIII

Occupational Analysis of Progress on Minority Hiring Goals Set for 1971 at
the Urbana-Champaign Campus of the University of Illinois

Occupational Area (Civil Service Codes)	Goals	New Hires	Promotions	Balance
01 Professional	5	2	-	3
02 Semi-Professional	10	4	1	5
03 Managerial	10	3	-	7
04 Clerical	50	42	1	7
05 Stores	1	-	-	1
06 Aeronautical	2	-	-	2
07 Agricultural	3	-	-	3
08 Custodial	30	14	2	14
09 Domestic	-	-	-	-
10 Food Service	-	-	-	-
11 Heat, Light, & Power	3	-	-	3
12 Medical Service	1	-	-	1
13 Protective Service	7	1	-	6
14 Skilled Trades & Occupations	5	2	-	3
15 Semi-skilled Trades & Occupations	10	11	-	0
16 Unskilled	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	137	79	4	55

Source: Personnel Services Office Nonacademic Personnel Data, 1971.

University's affirmative action program has been the organization of the program and the people responsible for implementing it. Throughout the introduction to this study the author has made references to organizational dynamics affecting the program at various points. These organizational factors are not quantifiable but nevertheless constitute real influences upon the direction of the affirmative action program.

One problem that has plagued the program from its beginning has been the lack of adequate leadership on the part of the Chancellor's Office. Although Chancellor Peltason and Vice-Chancellor Briscoe have issued memorandums to Deans and Directors in support of affirmative action, they have failed to set up the organizational machinery to make it work. It has already been noted that Briscoe's second memorandum was far less affirmative than the first, a result of pressures from the hiring units. In the Spring of 1968 the responsibility for implementing affirmative action was given to the multitudinous departmental affirmative action officers throughout campus for their particular unit. After a brief flurry of affirmative action activity, it proved impossible to coordinate affirmative action activities among over 100 departmental affirmative action officers. Moreover, the commitment of many of these officers to affirmative action was questionable.³⁸

In July of 1970 the responsibility for affirmative action was given to the campus Affirmative Action Office. However, when certain departments refused to cooperate with the Affirmative Action Office, little was done by the Chancellor's Office to show that the University was committed to affirmative action in fact. The University's revised

Affirmative Action Plan of 1971 announced the initiation of an upgrading program and the development of a preemployment data bank but failed to identify the people responsible for implementing these programs. As a result, these programs have yet to be implemented.

To summarize, responsibility for the affirmative action program has never been clearly delegated. Furthermore, responsibility for implementing numerous parts of the program has never been clarified. It has rather been assumed by the Chancellor's Office that people will be "affirmative" if encouraged to be so. Unfortunately, departments have not responded affirmatively in numerous situations.

One critical facet of the affirmative action program that has never been organized adequately is an auditing system whereby the progress of the program can be statistically assessed. Since Vice-Chancellor Briscoe discontinued the quarterly minority employment reports,³⁹ departments have not even been required to know the racial composition of their unit. Furthermore, since December 31, 1971, when an extensive computer run was made through the central racial data bank (in response to a request by HEW), there has been no way anyone can be aware of the racial composition of the various departments. Computer runs are not made on any regular basis nor are periodic assessments of the University's racial data made. The data is available if needed but is rarely used. This lack of feedback information in the affirmative action program is one of the major hindrances to progress in the employment and upgrading of blacks.

Another organizational lapse has come about in the coordination of the activities of departmental affirmative action officers. At the

beginning of the affirmative action program the officers were organized for several workshops in which they worked together to propose solutions to barriers to black employment. However, the officers have not been together since that time. There has been little or no communication to them concerning affirmative action matters. It is known to the present author that in many departments an affirmative action officer no longer exists. For a variety of complex reasons this organizational level in the affirmative action program is dead for all practical purposes.

A final organizational problem lies in the lack of pressure which the University has exerted upon the local joint apprenticeship committees to recruit black apprentices who would be eligible for University jobs in the crafts. The University has not taken the affirmative stance of insisting that the unions recruit an adequate number of black craftsmen to work on government contracts at the University. The number of black craftsmen working at the University remains disproportionately low.

In Board of Trustees vs. Volpe Construction Company⁴⁰ Tufts University forced a construction company to live up to the affirmative action demands of a government contract. There is no reason the University could not take a similar tough position with the local construction companies. However, the University has seemed to place good public relations with unions above affirmative action in employment of black apprentices. If the number of black craftsmen at the University is to increase, it will be necessary for the University to make affirmative action demands of the joint apprenticeship committees.

Summary

In this chapter several aspects of the nonacademic employment process which affect the University's affirmative action program have been analyzed.

An analysis of testing data has shown that the percent of blacks passing exams in most occupational categories is less than the total pattern. When testing data are analyzed according to job families, there is much evidence that the black examinees are less highly educated than the total number of people taking Civil Service exams. Furthermore, white examinees have a higher mean score on exams than blacks in almost all categories. In many cases the mean difference is significant.

An examination of data showing the number of blacks hired in learner, trainee, and apprentice programs reveals that much of the hiring of blacks in nonfood service positions has been through these programs. Unfortunately, the large number of blacks hired through training programs has been offset by a large failure rate.

A discussion of Civil Service Rules concludes that the "rule of three" works against blacks and has been the major factor forcing blacks to enter the University work force via training programs. Blacks have benefitted from the rule of promotion but not to any great degree from the reemployment or 5.2h rule.

An analysis of turnover data reveals that the black turnover rate is significantly higher than the rate for all employees. Moreover, the majority of terminations for black employees tend to occur in different

occupational categories than that of total employees, except for the clerical area.

A discussion of minimum qualifications for University jobs suggests that the University reanalyze the relationship of the requirements of its jobs to successful performance. Minority hiring goals for 1971 have been examined and found to be relatively unsuccessful. Finally, the impact of certain organizational factors upon the University's affirmative action program is discussed.

Footnotes

- 1 Noreen Taylor, "Minority/Majority Test Taking Experience, 1968-1971," unpublished research report, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, December 14, 1971.
- 2 Data comes from the Civil Service Test Score Report, Urbana Campus, FY 1971-72.
- 3 Educational data comes from the Civil Service Digitek Roster, Urbana Campus, FY 1971-72
- 4 Noreen Taylor, op. cit.
- 5 At least six blacks per classification were necessary for meaningful comparisons to be made, according to Dr. Philip Ash of the University of Illinois Chicago Circle psychology department.
- 6 The Civil Service Occupational Area Code for clerical occupations is "04."
- 7 P. Wallace, B. Kissinger, and B. Reynolds, "Testing of Minority Group Applicants for Employment," Personnel Testing and Equal Opportunity, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, December 1970, p. 3.
- 8 Ibid., pp. 6-8.
- 9 Robert Krug, "Some Suggested Approaches for Test Development and Measurement," unpublished report referred to in Wallace, et. al., p. 5.
- 10 Howard Lockwood, "Testing Minority Applicants for Employment," Personnel Journal, 1965, 44, pp. 356-360.
- 11 Philip Ash, "Race, Employment tests, and Equal Opportunity," unpublished report referred to in Wallace, et. al., p. 6.
- 12 William Enneis, "Personnel Testing and Equal Opportunity," Personnel Testing and Equal Opportunity, p. 26.
- 13 Newton Metfessel and J. J. Risser, Project Potential: Interpretive Guide for the Tests of Creativity, 1965.
- 14 Felix Lopez, "Current Problems in Test Performance of Job Applicants," Personnel Psychology, 1966, 19, 10-18.
- 15 C. J. Bartlett and B. S. O'Leary; "A differential prediction model to moderate the effects of heterogeneous groups in personnel selection and classification," Personnel Psychology, 1969, 22, 1-17.

16 James J. Kirkpatrick, R. B. Ewen, R. S. Barrett, and R. A. Katzell, Testing and Fair Employment, New York: NYU Press, 1968.

17 M. D. Mitchell, L. E. Albright, and F. D. McMurry, "Biracial Validation of Selection Procedures in a Large Southern Plant," Proceedings, 76th Annual Convention, APA, 1968, 575-576.

18 E. Ruda and L. E. Albright, "Racial Differences on Selection Instruments Related to Subsequent Job Performance," Personnel Psychology, 1968, 21, 31-41.

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20 Robert Krug, "Some Suggested Approaches for Test Development and Measurement," Personnel Psychology, 1966, 19, 24-34.

21 William Enneis, op. cit., p. 28.

22 Civil Service Handbook, University Civil Service System of Illinois, June, 1971, p. 2.

23 See pp. 33-38 for explanation of these three programs.

24 Data from Personnel Services Office, Urbana-Champaign Campus.

25 Jean Courturier, "Court Attacks on Testing: Death Knell or Salvation for Civil Service Systems?" Good Government, 1971, 88, 4, 10-12.

26 Research and Test Development Division, Department of Personnel, State of Illinois, "A Summary of Category Grade Procedures," January, 1973, pp. 1-2.

27 William H. Brown III, "Moving Against Job Bias in State and Local Governments," Good Government, 1972, 89, 4, p. 16.

28 Data from Personnel Services Office, Urbana-Champaign Campus.

29 Ibid.

30 U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Higher Education Guidelines--Executive Order 11246, October 1972.

31 p. 60.

32 S. M. Miller, Breaking the Credentials Barrier. New York: Ford Foundation, 1968

- 33 Rose Wiener, "Does Everybody Need a High School Diploma?" Manpower, 1969, 1, 2, 7-9.
- 34 Ivan Berg, "Education and Work," in Manpower Strategy for the Metropolis, Eli Ginzberg (ed.), New York: Columbia University Press, 1968, 115-137.
- 35 Griggs vs. Duke Power, 401 U.S., 424, 433 (March 8, 1971).
- 36 Bennett vs. Gravelle, Civ. Act. No. 70-534-N (D. Md., 1972).
- 37 Carter vs. Gallagher, 4 FEP Cases 121 (ith Cir. 1972), 406 U.S. 950 (1972).
- 38 See p. 14 of this study.
- 39 See p. 13 of this study.
- 40 Board of Trustees vs. Volpe Construction Company, 3 FEP Cases 34, 1971.

V. POSSIBLE FUTURE ACTIONS FOR AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROGRAM

This study up to now has disclosed deficiencies both in the total number of black nonacademic employees at the University and the types of jobs in which the black workers are employed. Although the University has made substantial progress in expanding and upgrading its black work force since the inception of its affirmative action program in the Spring of 1968, affirmative action activity has dropped off considerably since 1971 where budgetary cutbacks made departments less willing to hire Learners and Trainees. New directions are clearly needed to revitalize the University's affirmative action program.

The last chapter has examined several factors which have affected the progress of the affirmative action program. Except for the Learner and Trainee programs, the factors examined had a negative impact on the program. In this final chapter the present author attempts to offer some possible directions for the affirmative action program, designed to overcome some of the parts of the employment process hindering blacks. The subjects examined include a proposed goal-setting system, selective certification, categorization, extension of upgrading programs, and applicant information.

Goal-Setting System

In order for the University's affirmative action program to succeed, an effective goal-setting system designed to overcome under-utilization of minorities must be implemented. The University must also

have a goal-setting system in order to comply with Revised Order No. 4: "an acceptable affirmative action program must include an analysis of areas within which the contractor is deficient in the utilization of minority groups and women, and further, goals and timetables to which the contractor's good faith efforts must be directed to correct the deficiencies, and thus to increase materially the utilization of minorities and women, at all levels and in all segments of his work force where deficiencies exist."¹

As mentioned previously, the University has set minority hiring goals the past two years with inadequate results. The lack of results has been partially affected by the budgetary cutbacks, which have caused departments to be less willing to hire a learner or trainee when their work forces have already been reduced. However, several flaws in the goal-setting mechanism itself have also rendered it ineffective. The first drawback lies in the fact that the goals have been set by the Personnel Services Office, which does not hire employees but only refers them to the various departments on campus who make the hiring decisions for their particular unit. The goals set by the Personnel Services Office have merely been "guesstimates" of the campus' potential for hiring minorities with no machinery set up to attain the goals. Although the Director of the Personnel Services Office and the Affirmative Action Office have strived to secure informal minority-hiring commitments from certain campus units, only in a few cases have these units fulfilled these informal commitments. Departments have had little or no input in the setting of goals.

Secondly, until recently employee requisition cards passed through the various Personnel Service departments without any scrutiny concerning the vacant position's potential for affirmative action. The recently-organized Affirmative Action Panel has been designed to overcome this problem. The Panel's composition and function were defined in the second chapter.

Thirdly, there has been no auditing system designed to assess the University's progress toward meeting goals. Reports which have been compiled by the Personnel Services Office fail to reflect the effects of minority turnover.

Finally, the responsibility for goal-setting has not been assumed by the highest administrative level, i.e., the Chancellor's Office. Since the major administrative units and colleges do not report to the Personnel Services and Affirmative Action Offices (who have cooperatively set the goals) but to the Chancellor's Office, the impetus for achieving minority hiring goals has been lacking.

In their recently published Higher Education Guidelines-- Executive Order 11246, HEW defines goals as "projected levels of achievement resulting from an analysis by the contractor of its deficiencies, and of what it can reasonably do to remedy them given the availability of qualified minorities and women and the expected turnover in its workforce."² Revised Order Number 4 adds the following guidelines to goal-setting:³

- a. Departments must analyze the number of minorities and women in each job classification, determining whether underutilization exists. Underutilization

is defined as "having fewer minorities or women in a particular job classification than would reasonably be expected by their availability."

- b. Personnel staff, department and division heads, and unit managers must be involved in the goal-setting process.
- c. Goals should be significant, measurable, and attainable.
- d. Goals should be specific for planned results, with timetables for completion.
- e. Goals may not be rigid and inflexible quotas which must be met but must be targets reasonably attainable by means of applying every good faith effort to make all aspects of the entire affirmative action program work.
- f. In establishing timetables to meet goals and commitments the [University] will consider the anticipated expansion, contraction and turnover of and in the workforce.
- g. Goals must be designed to correct any identifiable deficiencies.
- h. Support data for the required analysis and programs shall be compiled and maintained as part of the [University's] Affirmative Action Program.
- i. The [University] should monitor records of referrals, placements, transfers, promotions and terminations at all levels to ensure nondiscrimination policy is carried out.
- j. The [University] should require formal reports from unit managers on a scheduled basis as to degree to which unit goals are attained and timetables met.

The following goal-setting system, based on the requirements of Revised Order No. 4 and designed to correct the shortcomings which have plagued setting of affirmative action goals in the past two years, has been recently submitted by the present author to the Personnel Services Office

and the Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic. Pending the approval of those two offices, the proposal will be submitted to the Chancellor's Office for initiation at the campus for FY 73-74.⁴ The plan places ultimate responsibility for affirmative action at the top administrative level, i.e. the Chancellor's Office. It involves the college and major administrative units with their respective departments in the goal-setting process. It places the Affirmative Action Office not only in a monitoring position but also in an assisting role of consultant. Finally, it provides a checkpoint for compliance to goals by utilizing the Affirmative Action Panel as well as providing for statistical feedback on the effectiveness of the system from data provided by the Personnel Services Office.

A. Initiation of Goal-Setting System

1. Colleges and Administrative Units will be expected to complete the setting of goals for minority and female employees by (date) for FY 73-74, based on their respective utilization analyses.
2. Colleges and Administrative Units will submit a copy of their goals to the Affirmative-Action Office--Nonacademic. (Colleges and Administrative Units will be responsible for summarizing the submissions of goals of units under them.)
3. The Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic will review the proposed goals and analyses submitted by the Colleges and Administrative Units, according to the following criteria:

- a. Will the proposed goals correct deficiencies?
 - b. Is there evidence provided to demonstrate that all levels of management within colleges and administrative units have been involved in the goal-setting process?
 - c. Is there sufficient evidence to show that consideration has been given to the expansion, contraction and turnover of the work force in developing proposed goals and timetables?
 - d. If no goal has been established, does the affirmative action plan analyze and document the reason for not setting a goal?
 - e. Are the proposed goals significant, feasible, and in conformance with Policy and Rules--Non-academic? (The Affirmative Action Office--Non-academic will consult with the Personnel Services Office to ensure adherence to this point.)
4. The Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic will contact each college and administrative unit individually.
- a. The proposed goals will be discussed, with the Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic suggesting any changes to be made in light of the criteria mentioned in section (3) above.
 - b. The Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic and each college or administrative unit will then

reach agreement on a final set of goals for FY 73-74.

- c. Should the Affirmative Action Office--Non-academic and any college or administrative unit fail to reach a mutually acceptable agreement, the college or major administrative unit will be provided an opportunity to explain its case to the appropriate Vice-Chancellor who will, upon review, render a decision as to what constitutes an appropriate standard for affirmative action.
- B. Implementation of Goal-Setting System into Daily Nonacademic Employment Procedure.
1. As employee requisition cards are received by the Personnel Services Office, vacancies will be reviewed by the Affirmative Action Panel according to the final goals of the employing unit. (The Affirmative Action Panel, comprised of members of the Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic and the Personnel Services Office, was established by Vice Chancellor Briscoe in a December 18, 1972, memorandum to Deans, Directors, and Heads of Academic and Administrative Units for the purpose of securing status, learner, or trainee positions for minorities and women.)
 2. The employing unit is encouraged to contact the Affirmative Action Panel as soon as vacancies are anticipated

in order that necessary preparatory actions (i.e., establishment of learner or trainee programs, selection of candidates, etc.) can be taken by the Panel to ensure attainment of the employment goal.

3. If the employing unit has not specified how it plans to meet a particular goal, a member of the Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic will discuss with the appropriate unit representative how the goal-commitment might be met. The following are suggested activities which the employing units might undertake to meet employment goals:

- a. Identification of current minority and female employees for upgrading. The Personnel Services Training Section is available for assisting employing unit's efforts to upgrade their personnel through courses or training programs.
- b. Acceptance of learners or trainees for positions where on-the-job training is feasible.
 1. The employing unit should identify certain jobs which can be utilized for learners or trainees.
 2. The employing unit should try to anticipate when vacancies will occur in these positions, and then contact the Personnel Services Training Section for assistance.
- c. Temporary down-grading of positions (primarily

clerical) for the purpose of hiring a learner. The Personnel Services Office will make every effort to cooperate in upgrading a position which has been temporarily down-graded for affirmative action purposes.

- d. Restructuring of jobs by the employing unit in order to establish positions which can be utilized for learners or trainees.
 - e. Dissemination to minority and female employees of information on promotional opportunities within the college or major administrative unit.
4. Unanticipated vacancies in classifications where goals have not been set are not exempt from affirmative action; the employing unit is expected to exercise affirmative action in all employment vacancies.
 5. If the employing unit maintains it cannot fulfill a goal commitment, it will explain the case to the Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic. If the employing unit and the Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic are unable to arrive at a mutually acceptable agreement the case will be referred to the appropriate Vice Chancellor for a final decision.

C. Reporting and Auditing System

1. Goals will be proposed annually by each college and major

administrative unit and submitted to the Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic. The process for establishing goals for FY 73-74 (outlined herein) will be followed each year.

2. A semiannual progress report will be submitted by the college or major administrative unit to the Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic, assessing its progress on the annual formalized goals at the midyear point.

a. The report will include an analysis of the feasibility of the college or major unit's goals which up to then have not been met.

b. The report will also include an analysis of what the college or major unit plans to do in the future to correct specific problems and fulfill goal commitments.

3. Using the semiannual progress reports, the Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic will make a semiannual assessment of progress made by the campus as a whole in the area of minority and female hiring and upgrading.

a. The Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic will confer with those colleges or major units failing to achieve their formalized goals, offering assistance in the reevaluation and redesign of their particular unit's affirmative action plan.

b. The Affirmative Action Office--Nonacademic will

continually evaluate the Goal-Setting System as to its flexibility and effectiveness in meeting the Urbana-Champaign campus' affirmative action commitments.

Selective Certification

Even if departments desire to hire minorities, Civil Service rules mandate that only the top three people on the employment register be referred for a particular vacancy in a classification, and one of those three must be selected by the hiring unit. Therefore if no minorities occupy one of the top three positions, the department cannot fulfill its minority hiring goal for that class through normal Civil Service procedures. Since the testing data has shown that whites score significantly higher than blacks on Civil Service exams, it is an extremely infrequent situation when blacks occupy one of the top three register positions. The solution in the past has been to resort to Learner or Trainee programs for an alternative route to normal Civil Service procedures. For the reasons mentioned in Chapter IV, however, prospects for extensive use of these programs for hiring blacks in the future appears dim.

Selective certification for the purpose of affirmative action is a possible method by which the University might employ minorities according to its goals system. Selective certification is a method of personnel selection in which the highest three qualified blacks in a certain classification are referred by an appropriate personnel officer to a particular vacancy, regardless of their register position. There are three important

conditions that should exist before selective certification is used in a particular classification:

1. There must be qualified blacks on the Civil Service register;
2. It must be established that there is no significant positive correlation between high test score and job performance in the classification; and
3. There must be a need for selective certification in the class, i.e., a department wishing to hire a minority in a particular class in which its minority employment is deficient.

The first condition is particularly important. Selective certification is not intended to allow unqualified people to be hired in place of qualified applicants. Selective certification provides for preferential selection of qualified minorities from a pool of qualified applicants. All people on the active Civil Service register for a particular class have passed the examination for that class and are, in theory, qualified for the job.

If it can be proven statistically that those qualified applicants with the highest passing scores are better performers on the job than those with lower passing scores in a particular job class, then selective certification should not be used in that case. However, few Civil Service exams have been validated for job performance. Furthermore, most selection devices currently in private industry and public employment have their limitations where validity is concerned. Edwin Ghiselli reports that the average correlation between tests and job performance criteria is approximately 0.20 while the average coefficient between tests and training

criteria is only about 0.30.⁵ E. A. Rundquist maintains that the highest validity coefficient possible is about 0.50, because of the inability of testing devices to take into account the many complex criteria associated with satisfactory job performance.⁶

Selective certification would be a useful tool for employing blacks in those classes in which the tests have no demonstrable relation to job performance and blacks who pass the exam score lower than whites. It would provide a means for a department to fulfill a minority hiring goal in this type of classification. Selective certification should not be used, however, without simultaneous revision of invalid examinations. The University Civil Service System should make every effort to replace invalid exams with valid tests as soon as possible.

The problem with selective certification resides in the question of its legality. Although this device is currently being used in the cities of Sacramento and San Diego and the State of Washington,⁷ the courts have not clearly indicated whether it is permissible to utilize this mechanism. Selective certification is challenged on the basis of "reverse discrimination" against the other qualified white applicants who are not referred to the vacancy in a particular classification. What the courts have established in several cases is that a preselection device which has a discriminatory effect on minorities and is unrelated to satisfactory job performance is prohibited by law.⁸ Furthermore, the courts have ordered remedial action in the form of a hiring quota from a pool of qualified minorities. The remedial actions of the courts closely resemble selection certification in principle. Whether the courts

have reserved the right of remedial actions for themselves and not for employers is unclear at this time.

Categorization

Another alternative that might be used by the University to increase the quantity and quality of its minority work force is categorization, currently utilized by the State of Illinois Department of Personnel. The basis for categorization lies in the employer's admittance that the testing devices used for preemployment screening are not accurate enough to predict the top three or top five candidates for a certain job. Furthermore, since blacks tend to have a mean score lower than whites a "rule of 3" or "rule of 5" for referring applicants rarely results in any black applicants being referred to a job opening. As a solution to this dilemma, categorization classifies the top 25% of scores as Category A, the next 25% as Category B, etc. For a given job opening, all candidates in Category A are equally eligible for that vacancy. In essence, intervals are used rather than absolute highest raw scores.

Categorization is supported by both the National Civil Service League and the American Psychological Association.⁹ The NCSL recommends that "in order to give the operating agencies and departments maximum flexibility in the selection of personnel, yet at the same time assure that the public servant will be chosen from persons who are qualified, that the director of personnel, using objective criteria shall categorize those persons eligible for a position as being qualified." The APA recommends that "obtained cutting scores be expressed in terms of intervals (e.g. plus or minus one standard error) instead of specific points."

If categorization were used at the University to extend more opportunity to minority applicants, it would have to be accompanied by an effective minority goal-setting system. Otherwise, such a mechanism could be easily exploited by hiring departments who could use it for patronage purposes. In conjunction with a goal-setting system, however, categorization would give the hiring department an enlarged pool of qualified applicants from which to select. If the departments desire to hire a black to meet a minority hiring goal in a particular class, the enlarged pool of applicants would enhance the possibility of a qualified black being eligible for selection. In comparison with selective certification, categorization would have the obvious advantage of being immune to charges of reverse discrimination. Since a large pool of applicants simply possess a rating of A, indicating that they are equally qualified for the job, arguments between applicants with different specific scores need not exist. Categorization would also help displace some of the undue emphasis which people place on examination scores.

One major disadvantage to categorization is the instance where no blacks score in Category A. The example of Driver classifications in the preceding section would be one such case, where the highest ranking black would be located in Category C. However, as job element exams become increasingly utilized by the University Civil Service System, the difference in mean scores between white and black applicants should decrease enough to make categorization effective. Another problem with categorization concerns its practicality in cases where Civil Service registers are very large. For example, a department would have to

interview over 75 applicants if all candidates in category A were interviewed for a custodial vacancy (Building Service Worker). An additional problem would be posed by current Civil Service rules which give preference to current employees who take exams. If departments were required to select a current employee over anyone from the outside, they would perpetuate discriminatory hiring patterns which are reflected in the current racial makeup of the nonacademic work force.

It is the present author's opinion that categorization could be an extremely effective tool for overcoming underutilization if:

1. An effective goals-setting system was set up to coincide with it; and
2. Civil Service tests were revised to yield scores for black and white applicants based on two different prediction equations to account for cultural differences in test taking (as mentioned in the Testing section).

The result would be a number of qualified black applicants in most classifications who would be eligible for selection.

Extension of Upgrading Programs

To upgrade the University's current black work force the University needs to improve and extend its current upgrading system. The following points suggest ways in which the University could help its current minority employees:

1. The University needs to conduct an inventory of the skills possessed by its current minority employees, to determine

whether their present jobs are underutilizing their abilities and potentials. There is an acute need for identification of underutilized minority employees.

- a. Training programs could be utilized to enhance a minority's promotion potential
 - b. Better publicity to black employees of their rights under Civil Service Rule 5.2h might increase the number of blacks moving to higher level jobs outside their promotional line.
2. There is a need for more reexamination of the minimum qualifications of nonacademic positions, eliminating unnecessary requirements which tend to screen out minorities.
 3. There is a need for restructuring of job career ladders. Many blacks, especially in the food service area, are locked into dead-end categories with little hope of promotion.
 4. The University could begin conducting preapprenticeship training for black males who demonstrate aptitudes and interest in the crafts and trades. It was such training programs which led to the hiring of the University's only black craftsmen in 1968 and 1969.
 5. Stenographic training courses are needed to increase black representation in higher level clerical positions. Out of the 574 clerical positions involving stenographic skills, only 9 or 1.6 percent are filled by blacks, despite the fact that black participation in clerical jobs is quite high.

University funding would enable black clerical employees to take stenographic training courses at Parkland or Illinois Commercial College.

Need for Applicant Information System

Under the present nonacademic personnel system, an excessive amount of responsibility is placed on a placement officer's interviewing skills. Based on an applicant's educational background, past job experience, training, and interests, the placement officer decides what classifications for which the applicant should take tests. If an applicant's biographical data could be coded and computerized for immediate retrieval when a job vacancy arises, a much more efficient matching of people with jobs which tap their skills would result. A problem here lies in the difficulty of adequately coding a person's past job experiences and current interests.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis of patterns of black employment during the affirmative action program in Chapter III and the examination of parts of the nonacademic process which affect the program, this chapter has proposed some possible directions which the University might take to enhance the program's effectiveness.

An organized goal system such as the one proposed in this chapter would greatly enhance the organizational framework of the affirmative action program, as well as involve departments in the process. Its success

would depend heavily on the backing given the system by the Chancellor's Office and the initiation of a categorization or selective certification system.

A categorization or selective certification system would provide the University with some relief from the combined effects of the Civil service exams and the "Rule of Three" which have worked against blacks becoming University employees. Categorization would seem the more likely of the two alternatives because of its wider use and acceptability in public employment circles. The establishment of a category of eligibles would definitely enhance the potential fulfillment of goals set by hiring units.

Critical to the fulfillment of goals would be a knowledge of the racial makeup of the category of eligibles, which necessitates the establishment of an applicant information system. The University cannot afford to play "color blind" games with its hiring practices but must intelligently approach the problem of racial imbalance in its work force with the willingness to take necessary corrective actions.

In addition to new black hires, the University must focus on upgrading its current black work force. An extensive upgrading program is needed to assist underutilized black employees to upgrade to jobs which more fully exercise their abilities.

Minimum qualifications for jobs must be reassessed as to their necessity for satisfactory job performance. Career ladders need to be formed to provide a vehicle for those blacks locked in "dead end" jobs, especially in the food service area. It might also be well worthwhile for the University to conduct exit interviews to become more aware of the reasons for the disproportionately high black turnover rate.

In conclusion, the University needs to commit itself to new steps such as those discussed in this paper to revitalize its affirmative action program. HEW and the courts have made clear that the continuation of racial imbalance in a work force will not be tolerated, especially for those institutions relying heavily on federal grants. As the HEW guidelines for affirmative action state, "unless positive action is undertaken to overcome the effect of systematic institutional forms of exclusion and discrimination, a benign neutrality in employment practices will tend to perpetuate the status quo ante indefinitely."¹⁰

Footnotes

1. Revised Order No. 4, U.S. Department of Labor, Title 41, Chapter 60, Part 60-2.
2. Higher Education Guidelines--Executive Order 11246, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, p. 3.
3. Revised Order No. 4, op. cit.
4. A goal system similar to the one presented in this paper has recently been implemented at the Urbana-Champaign campus. The major difference between the University's goal system and the one proposed in this thesis is the absence of a detailed outline for daily implementation of the University's goal system. It is too early to evaluate the University's goal system at this time.
5. Edwin Ghiselli, The Validity of Occupational Aptitude Tests, 1966, p. 125.
6. E. A. Rundquist, "The Prediction Ceiling," Personnel Psychology, 1969, 22, 109-116.
7. Robert Fisher, "Nationwide Survey of Selective Certification Practices," Los Angeles City Unified School District Personnel Commission, 1968.
8. Carter vs. Gallagher, 4 FEP Cases 121 (8th Cir. 1972), 406 U.S. 950 (1972).
9. John Klinefelter, Director of Testing for State of Illinois Department of Personnel, "Use of Category Rankings in Establishing Eligible Lists," report to Civil Service Commission, 1972.
10. U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Higher Education Guidelines--Executive Order 11246, October 1972, p. 3.

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APPENDIX A

Distribution of Nonacademic Employees at the University
of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus) in Each Class-
ification by Race and Sex (December 31, 1971)

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS - CHAMPAIGN

EEO CODE*	CLASSIFICATION	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
2	Accountant I	14	1			2	
2	Accountant II	15	2			1	
2	Accountant III	10	1				
2	Accountant, Assistant Chief	1					
2	Accountant, Division Chief	1					
2	Accountant-Statistician	1				1	
3	Administrator I, Food Service	5	19	1	8		
3	Administrator II, Food Service	7	10				1
1	Administrator III, Food Service	2	1				1
1	Administrator IV, Food Service	1	1				
1	Administrator II, Hospital	1					
1	Administrator II, Housing	3		1			
1	Administrator III, Housing	5	1				
1	Administrator IV, Housing	3					
3	Administrator I, Space	1					
1	Administrator II, Space	5	1				
1	Administrator III, Space	3					
5	Advisor II, Financial Aid		5				
1	Advisor III, Financial Aid	1					
3	Aide, Administrative	1	12				
5	Aide I, Computer		3	1	1		
5	Aide II, Computer		2		1		
3	Aide I, Meteorological		2				
3	Aide II, Meteorological	3	1				
2	Analyst I, Data Processing	9	2				
2	Analyst II, Data Processing	9	1				
2	Analyst III, Data Processing	6					
3	Analyst I, Nuclear Data					1	
3	Analyst II, Nuclear Data		1				
2	Analyst, Procedures and Systems	4	2				
3	Analyst, Scientific	1					
2	Announcer, Chief	1					
2	Architect II	2					
2	Architect III	1					
1	Architect I, Landscape	1					
2	Artist I, Commercial	2	6				
2	Artist II, Commercial	10	1				
2	Artist, Scientific		2				
1	Assistant I, Administrative	3	4				
5	Assistant, Bilingual Secretarial		2				
7	Assistant, Bookbindery		1	1			
3	Assistant, Broadcasting Program	7	8				
9	Assistant, Costumer		2				
3	Assistant, Editorial		3				
3	Assistant, Electronics Engineering	7					
9	Assistant, Foods Laboratory		8				
3	Assistant I, Library Technical		20	1			4
3	Assistant, Motion Picture Production	3					

EEO CODE	CLASSIFICATION	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
9	Assistant I, Natural Science Lab	5	8	1	8		
3	Assistant II, Natural Science Lab	5	15		1		1
3	Assistant III, Natural Science Lab	22	15		1		
3	Assistant, Natural Science Technical	4	2				
9	Assistant, Nursing		6				
5	Assistant I, Personnel		1			1	
5	Assistant II, Personnel	1	8		1		
5	Assistant III, Personnel		2		1		
2	Assistant, Physical Science Staff	12					
3	Assistant, Physical Science Technical	8					
1	Assistant, Program Administrative	11				1	
3	Assistant I, Purchasing	3					
1	Assistant II, Purchasing	15					
1	Assistant III, Purchasing	4					
3	Assistant, Research Engineering	8					
3	Assistant to Art Editor			1			
2	Assistant to Auditor	1					
2	Assistant to Comptroller	1					
3	Assistant to Curator of Herbarium		1				
1	Assistant to Director of Auxiliary Serv.		1				
1	Assistant to Director of Illini Union	2					
1	Assistant to Director of Physical Plant	3					
1	Assistant to Military Property Custodian	1					
3	Assistant to Museum Curator		2				
1	Assistant to Superintendent of Bldg. & Grounds		1				
9	Attendant, Assembly Hall	26		2			
7	Attendant, Bowling and Billiard Room	6		1			
9	Attendant, Coin Machine	5					
9	Attendant, Dairy and Food Plant	3					
7	Attendant, Equipment	2		1			
9	Attendant, Fountain		3				
9	Attendant, Garage	10		1			
9	Attendant, Library	6		1			
5	Attendant, Main Desk	6	1	2			
9	Attendant, Locker Room	4	4	3	2	1	
8	Attendant, Tool Room	4					
7	Attendant, Senior Tool Room	1					
2	Auditor II, Internal	2					
9	Baker, First	4					
6	Brickmason	5					
2	Bursar, Assistant	2					
6	Butcher	2		1			
3	Cameraman, Offset	1					
1	Caretaker, Head Airport	1					
9	Caretaker I, Animal	2		2			
9	Caretaker II, Animal	15	1				
3	Caretaker III, Animal	5		1			

EEO CODE	CLASSIFICATION	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
6	Carpenter	35		1			
2	Cartographer	1		1			
5	Cashier I	3	2				
5	Cashier II	2	4				
5	Cashier I, Food Service		4				
6	Chef			2			
5	Clerk I	3	16	1	1		
5	Clerk II		26		2		1
5	Clerk III	3	49		1		
5	Clerk I, Accounting		13		3		
5	Clerk II, Accounting	7	33		2		2
5	Clerk III, Accounting	9	8				
3	Clerk, Administrative	3	9				
5	Clerk I, Bookstore		3		1		
5	Clerk II, Bookstore	1	6				
5	Clerk, Chief	11	54		2		
5	Clerk, Distribution	11	1	2			
5	Clerk, Inventory	4					
5	Clerk I, Library	1			4		
5	Clerk II, Library	8	83		4		11
5	Clerk III, Library	1	29		1		1
5	Clerk, Chief Library		6				
5	Clerk, Operations	1					
5	Clerk I, Payroll		3				
5	Clerk II, Payroll	1	7		1		
5	Clerk III, Payroll		7				
5	Clerk, Chief Payroll	1	5				
5	Clerk, Statistical	1	4				
5	Clerk, Transportation	1					2
5	Clerk I, Typing		13		15		
5	Clerk II, Typing		65		7		3
5	Clerk III, Typing	1	80		3		
5	Clerk-Stenographer I		11				
5	Clerk-Stenographer II		53		1		2
5	Clerk-Stenographer III		259		5		3
5	Clerk-Typist I		19		42		
5	Clerk-Typist II	2	224		19		6
5	Clerk-Typist III	1	337		8		1
6	Compositor	11					
9	Cook		51	1	5		1
9	Cook, Head		3		43		
9	Cook, Test Kitchen		2		5		
6	Coordinator, Printing Production	1					
2	Coordinator, Television Production				1		
5	Copyholder		2				
7	Costumer		1				
9	Custodian, Bands Property	1					
9	Custodian, Forest	1					

EEO CODE	CLASSIFICATION	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
2	Designer, Interior	1	1				
2	Dietician		1				
2	Director, Assistant Program	1	1				
2	Director, Television Program	2				3	
2	Director-Producer, Television	1					
1	Director of Assembly Hall, Assistant	1					
1	Director of Civil Defense, Associate	1					
2	Director of Nursing		1				
2	Director of Public Information, Assist.	3					
1	Director of Purchases, Assistant	1					
5	Dispatcher, Central Receiving Station	1					
5	Dispatcher I, Routing		3			1	
5	Dispatcher II, Routing		1				
5	Dispatcher III, Routing		1				
3	Draftsman	3				1	
3	Draftsman I, Engineering	3					
3	Draftsman II, Engineering	7					
2	Draftsman, Chief Engineering	1					
3	Draftsman-Illustrator I, Technical	1					
3	Draftsman-Illustrator II, Technical	2					
7	Driver	25					
2	Editor, Assistant Mathematics		1				
2	Editor, Publications	1	1				
2	Editor, Technical		7				
6	Electrician	34				1	
1	Engineer, Aircraft Maintenance	1					
2	Engineer, Architectural Electrical	1					
2	Engineer, Architectural Mechanical	2					
2	Engineer, Chief Arch. Mech.	1					
3	Engineer, Broadcasting	16	1				
2	Engineer, Chief Broadcasting	1					
3	Engineer, Assistant Chief Broadcasting	3					
7	Engineer, Building Operating	12					
7	Engineer, Asst. Chief Building Operating	3					
1	Engineer, Chief Building Operating	2					
2	Engineer, Civil	3					
2	Engineer, Electrical	2					
2	Engineer, Junior Electrical	1					
2	Engineer, Electronics	3					
7	Engineer, Fire Equipment	12					
6	Engineer, Instrument & Efficiency	1					
6	Engineer, Asst. Instrument & Efficiency	1					
2	Engineer, Mechanical	1					
2	Engineer, Assistant Mechanical	1					
2	Engineer, Junior Mechanical	3					
6	Engineer, Operating	2					
6	Engineer, Lead Operating	5					

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EEO CODE	CLASSIFICATION	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
6	Engineer, Operative Crane		5				
1	Engineer, Power Plant Mechanical		1				
7	Engineer, Power Plant Operating		5				
2	Engineer, Project		5				
2	Engineer, Structural		1				
2	Engineer-Estimator		1				
-2	Estimator		2				
8	Fieldworker		16				
1	Fire Captain		3				
1	Fire Chief, Battalion		3				
9	Fireman		20		2		
7	Foreman, Agricultural Gardener		4				
6	Foreman, Aircraft Shop		1				
6	Foreman, Automotive		1				
6	Foreman, Bookbinding		1				
6	Foreman, Brickmason		1				
7	Foreman, Building Service		23				
6	Foreman, Carpenter		1				
6	Foreman, Composing Room		2				
7	Foreman, Construction Labor		1				
6	Foreman, Cylinder Press Room		1				
6	Foreman, Electrician		2				
6	Foreman, Elevator Mechanic		1				
7	Foreman, Farm		3				
7	Foreman, Supervising Farm		2				
6	Foreman, Furniture Repairman		1				
6	Foreman, Garage		1				
7	Foreman, Grounds Worker		1				
7	Foreman, Herder		6				
7	Foreman, Laborer-Electrician		1				
6	Foreman, Machinist		1				
7	Foreman, Mailing Service		2				
6	Foreman, Millworker		1				
6	Foreman, Painter		2				
6	Foreman, Photo Offset		1				
6	Foreman, Plumber		1				
7	Foreman, Poultryworker		1				
6	Foreman, Refrigeration Mechanic		1				
6	Foreman, Roofer		1				
6	Foreman, Sheet Metal		1				
6	Foreman, Sound Technician		1				
6	Foreman, Steam Distribution		1				
6	Foreman, Steamfitter		1				
6	Foreman, Water Station		1				
6	Sub Foreman, Aircraft Shop		1				
6	Sub Foreman, Automotive		1				
7	Sub Foreman, Building Service		20				
6	Sub Foreman, Carpenter		4				
7	Sub Foreman, Construction Labor		1				
6	Sub Foreman, Electrician		2				
6	Sub Foreman, Garage		1				
7	Sub Foreman, Grounds Worker		3				

LIBRARY OF THE URBANA CHAMPAIGN

EEO CODE	CLASSIFICATION	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
6	Sub Foreman, Machinist	1					
6	Sub Foreman, Painter	5					
6	Sub Foreman, Plumber	1					
6	Sub Foreman, Sheet Metal	1					
7	Sub Foreman, Steam Distribution	1					
6	Sub Foreman, Steamfitter	1					
8	Gardener, Agricultural	11					
8	Gardener, Grounds	1					
8	Gardener, Assistant Grounds	6					
6	Glass Blower I	3		1			
6	Glass Blower II	5					
6	Glass Blower, Supervising	1					
8	Groundsworker	20		4			
6	Helper, Aircraft Maintenance Mechanic	1		1			
7	Helper, Elevator Mechanic			1			
7	Helper, Fountain Attendant		2			2	
8	Helper, Kitchen	1	45	1	45		5
9	Helper, Laboratory	1	7	1			
8	Herder	30					
2	Horticulturist	1					
9	Housekeeper		1				
9	Housekeeper, Guest Room		1				
5	Illustrator		4	1			
3	Inspector, Building	3					
7	Inspector, Film		6		1		
7	Inspector, Fire	1		1			
7	Inspector, Housing Maintenance	15					
7	Instrument Man	2					
6	Ironworker	2					
8	Laborer, Construction	27					
9	Laborer, Kitchen	36	1	25	3	1	
8	Laborer-Electrician	19					
2	Legal Counsel III, Assistant	2					
2	Librarian, Medical Record		1				
7	Flight Attendant I	3		1			
7	Flight Attendant II	4					
7	Chief Flight Attendant	1					
6	Locksmith I	6		1			
6	Locksmith II	1					
6	Machinist			1			
9	Maid		78		8		
9	Maid, Linen		8		1		
6	Maker, Instrument	31					
6	Maker, Model	2					
1	Manager, Bookstore	1					
1	Manager, Assistant Bookstore	3	1				
1	Manager, Bowling Alley and Billiard Room	2					
1	Manager, Assistant Business	1					
1	Manager, Departmental Business	6					
1	Manager, Assistant Departmental Business	1					
1	Manager, Laboratory	3					
1	Manager, Traffic	1					

LIBRARY OF THE HONORABLE CHAIRMAN

EEO CODE	CLASSIFICATION	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	Manager of General Chemical Stores	1					
1	Manager of Office Supply Stores	1					
2	Manager of Photographic Laboratory	1					
3	Manager of Photographic Lab, Asst.		1				
9	Marshal, Airport Fire	1					
7	Meat Cutter	2					
6	Mech, Master Aircraft and Aircraft Engine	5		1			
6	Mechanic, Junior Aircraft Maintenance	2					
6	Mechanic, Senior Aircraft Maintenance	3					
6	Mechanic, Master Airport	6					
6	Mechanic, Automotive	7					
6	Mechanic, Elevator	7					
7	Mechanic, Farm	1					
6	Mechanic, Laboratory	9					
6	Mechanic, Senior Laboratory	25				2	
7	Mechanic, Plant	3					
7	Mechanic, Principal	1					
6	Mechanic, Refrigeration	11		1			
6	Mechanic, Temperature Control	4					
6	Mechanic, Tool and Instrument	4					
5	Messenger, Mail	5					
6	Millworker	3		5			
6	Molder, Senior Foundry	1		1			
2	Nurse I, Administrative		2				
2	Nurse II, Administrative		1				
1	Nurse III, Administrative		3				
3	Nurse, Licensed Practical		1				
2	Nurse II, Staff		14				
2	Officer I, Admiss. & Rec.	1	17			2	
2	Officer II, Admiss. & Rec.	2	6				1
1	Officer III, Admis. & Rec.	2					
8	Nurseryworker	3					
2	Officer I, Equal Opportunity	1				3	1
1	Officer II, Equal Opportunity					1	
1	Officer, Fire Department Training	1					
1	Officer, Fire Inspection	1					
9	Officer, Investigation	1				1	
2	Officer II, Personnel	4	2			1	
2	Officer III, Personnel	2	4			1	
1	Officer IV, Personnel	2	1				
1	Officer V, Personnel	3					
1	Officer, Safety	2					
7	Operator, Auxiliary	2					
5	Operator II, Bookkeeping Machine	6					
5	Operator I, Key Punch		2				
5	Operator II, Key Punch		12			6	1
5	Operator III, Key Punch		30			6	1
7	Operator, Cold Storage		8			1	
7	Operator, Chief Cold Storage	1					
7		1					

EEO CODE	CLASSIFICATION	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
7	Operator, Conveyor	1					
3	Operator I, Digital Computer	3	6		1		
3	Operator II, Digital Computer	6	4				
3	Operator III, Digital Computer	6	2				
5	Operator I, Duplicating Machine	2		1	1		
5	Operator II, Duplicating Machine	18	4	1			
5	Operator III, Duplicating Machine	6		2			
3	Operator, Environment Laboratory	1					
6	Operator, Linotype	4					
6	Operator, Linotype-Machinist	1					
6	Operator, Mailing Service Equipment	1	5				
6	Operator, Monotype-Combination	1					
5	Operator I, Office Appliance		2				
5	Operator II, Office Appliance		2				
9	Operator, Pot Washing Machine			1			
3	Operator I, Reactor	1					
3	Operator II, Reactor	1					
7	Operator, Rehab Transportation	8					
7	Operator, Head Rehab Transportation	1					
7	Operator, Steam Distribution	35					
7	Operator, Assistant Steam Distribution	5		1			
3	Operator, Switchboard		8		1		
3	Operator, Chief Switchboard		2				
5	Operator I, Tabulating Machine	3	4				1
3	Operator II, Tabulating Machine	10	3				
3	Operator III, Tabulating Machine	7	1				
7	Operator, Water Station	10					
6	Painter	51					
3	Photographer I	3	1	1			
3	Photographer II	4					
3	Photographer III	5					
2	Planner I, Procedures & Systems	1					
2	Planner II, Procedures & Systems	1					
2	Planner, Site	1					
6	Plumber	21		1			
1	Police Captain	1					
1	Police Lieutenant	4					
9	Police Sergeant	6					
9	Policeman	53		6			
6	Potter	1					
8	Poultryworker	2					
3	Preparator, Art Museum	3					
6	Pressman, Cylinder	8					
3	Press, Cam & Plt Mkr Comb Offset	12					
8	Processor, Food	4	2	3	1		2
3	Programmer I, Computer	6	3				1
3	Programmer II, Computer	9	13	1	1		
3	Programmer III, Computer		3				1
2	Programmer I, Systems	2					
2	Programmer II, Systems	1					
5	Proofreader, Junior		2				
5	Proofreader, Senior		1				
6	Repairman, Master Aircraft Instrument	1					
6	Repairman, Master Aircraft Radio	1					
6	Repairman, Automotive Body	1					

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EEO CODE	CLASSIFICATION	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
6	Repairman, Furniture	7		2			
6	Repairman, Master Grd. Flt. Simulator	2					
6	Roofer	4					
7	Routeman	9					
5	Secretary, Stenographic		148		1		2
5	Secretary, Transcribing		60		2		
3	Secretary, Admin Stenographic		28				
3	Secretary, Admin Transcribing		6				
7	Serviceman, Coin Machine	3		1			
2	Specialist I Community Affairs			1			
1	Specialist II Community Affairs			1			
3	Specialist, Crash Rescue and Security	4		1			
2	Specialist Instruct Materials		2				
3	Specialist, Securities	1					
6	Stagehand, Assembly Hall	5		1			
2	Statistician I		3				
6	Steamfitter	19		2			
5	Storekeeper I	15		3			
5	Storekeeper II	39		2			
5	Storekeeper III	31					
2	Superintendent, Architectural	2					
2	Superintendent, Mech Construction	3					
1	Superintendent of Building Maintenance	1					
1	Superintendent of Building Services	1					
1	Superintendent of Building Serv. Asst.	1					
1	Superintendent of Operations	2					
1	Superintendent of Print Shop	1					
6	Superintendent of Print Shop, Asst	1					
1	Superintendent of Utilities	1					
2	Supervisor, Assembly Hall Phys Facilities	2					
5	Supervisor, Bookstore Department	2	2				
7	Supervisor, Building Service	1					
5	Supervisor, Key Punch		1				
7	Supervisor, Custodial	3					
1	Supervisor, Digital Computer	2					
1	Supervisor, Duplicating Service						
7	Supervisor, Food Service Area		1				
9	Supervisor, Fountain		3		2		
1	Supervisor, Guest Room		3				
7	Supervisor, Gym & Facilities	1			1		
7	Supervisor, Housing Maintenance	1					
5	Supervisor, Inventory	3					
5	Supervisor, Mail	2					
1	Supervisor, Mailing Service				1		
1	Supervisor, Asst Mailing Service				1		
2	Supervisor, Motion Picture Productions	1					
1	Supervisor, Musical Instrument	1					
3	Supervisor, Office	1					
1	Supervisor, Public Functions	1	1				
6	Supervisor, Research Laboratory Shop	2					
5	Supervisor, Routing	8					
3	Supervisor, Stores	1					
3	Supervisor, Tabulating Machine	6					
5	Supervisor, Asst Tabulating Machine	1					
		8					

LIBRARY OF THE WYOMING CHAMBER

EEO CODE	CLASSIFICATION	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
2	Supervisor, Technical Service		4				
1	Supervisor, Ticket Control		3				
1	Supervisor, Transportation		1				
1	Supvr of Accident Compensation		1				
1	Supervisor of Building Craftsmen		1				
1	Supvr of Central Receiving Station		1				
1	Supervisor of Credit Collections		1				
5	Supvr of Dairy Herds Records Program		1				
2	Supvr of Educational Prog, Radio Station		1				
1	Supervisor of Information		2				
1	Supervisor of Insurance		1				
1	Supervisor of Insurance, Assistant		1				
1	Supervisor of Motor Vehicle Division		1				
1	Supervisor of Motor Vehicle Div. Asst		1				
2	Supervisor of Music, Radio Station		1				
1	Supervisor of Rehab Equip and Facilities		1				
1	Supvr of Residential Custodial Operations		1				
1	Supervisor of Security and Traffic		2				
1	Supv of Security and Traffic, Assistant		1				
9	Supervisor of Univ Union Operation		6				
3	Technician II, Accelerator		9			1	
6	Technician, Assembly Hall		4				
3	Technician I, Audio Visual Aids		7				
3	Technician II, Audio Visual Aids		2				
3	Technician III, Audio Visual Aids		1				
3	Technician, Central Sterile Supply				1		
3	Technician, Ceramic Engineering		2				
3	Technician, Clinical Laboratory				4		1
3	Technician, Closed Circuit T.V.		1				
7	Technician, Crops Testing		6				
3	Technician I, Cryogenic		1				
3	Technician II, Cryogenic		2				
3	Tech II, Data Processing Equip		1				
3	Technician I, Digital Computer		2				
3	Technician II, Digital Computer		1				
3	Technician, Elect Discharge Machine		1				
3	Technician, Electrocardiographic				1		
3	Tech, Electronic & Chemical Treatment		1				
3	Technician I, Electronics		12				
3	Technician II Electronics		35				
3	Tech II, Engineering		1				
3	Tech, Instructional Materials		2				
3	Tech I, Instrument and Measurement		2				1
3	Tech II, Instrument and Measurement		4				
3	Technician I, Med X-Ray				2		
3	Technician III, Med X-Ray		1				
3	Technician, Chief Medical X-Ray		1				
3	Technician II, Musical Instrument		4				
3	Technician I, Photographic		1				
3	Technician II, Photographic				1		1
3	Technician III, Photographic		1				
3	Technician, Properties		1				
6	Technician, Sound		10				2
3	Technician, Stock Culture		1				

EEO CODE	CLASSIFICATION	WHITE		BLACK		OTHER	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
2	Technologist, Superv Clinical Laboratory		2				
3	Technologist II, Electron Microscope	1					
2	Technologist, Principal Laboratory		2				
2	Technologist I, Medical		1				
2	Technologist II, Medical		2				1
2	Technologist, Microbiology	1					
2	Therapist, Staff Physical		1				
7	Tree Surgeon	1					
8	Tree Surgeon, Assistant	3					
8	Utility Man	14			1		
5	Vari-Typist II		1				
9	Waiter/Waitress		7				
9	Watchman	3					
6	Welder II, Laboratory	1					
6	Welder, Senior Machinist	1					
8	Worker, Bookbinding	4	1				
9	Worker, Maintenance	3					
6	Worker, Sheet Metal	19					
2	Writer, Editorial	1	1				
2	Writer-Producer, Television	2					
9	Worker, Child Care		4			1	
9	Worker, Building Service	395	39	36	4	1	1

*EEO codes represent the following occupational categories:

- 1 Officials & Managers
- 2 Professionals
- 3 Technicians
- 4 Sales
- 5 Office & Clerical
- 6 Crafts & Trades (Skilled)
- 7 Operatives (Semi-skilled)
- 8 Laborers (Unskilled)
- 9 Service Workers

APPENDIX B

Occupational Distribution of Nonacademic Employees at the
University of Illinois (Urbana-Champaign Campus) in Each
College or Major Administrative Unit by
Race and Sex (December 31, 1971)

LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS - URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Occupational Categories	GENERAL UNIVERSITY OFFICES				OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR									
	All Employees		Black Employees		All Employees		Black Employees							
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female						
Off. & Man.	7	3	10	0	0	1	10	2	0					
Prof.	12	2	14	1	0	4	16	1	3					
Tech.	13	11	24	0	0	7	19	1	0					
Off. & Cler.	7	145	152	0	7	79	82	1	18					
Crafts						2	0	2	0					
Operatives	0	7	7	0	1	0	1	0	1					
Laborer														
Service														
TOTALS	39	168	207	1	8	9	4.3	39	91	130	6	21	27	20.8

Occupational Categories	ADMINISTRATIVE DATA PROCESSING				BUSINESS AFFAIRS									
	All Employees		Black Employees		All Employees		Black Employees							
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female						
Off. & Man.	1	0	1	0	0	0	26	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	
Prof.	19	3	22	0	0	6	39	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	
Tech.	34	23	57	0	1	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	
Off. & Cler.	13	34	47	1	6	151	187	0	9	9	9	9	4.8	
Crafts														
Operatives														
Laborer														
Service														
TOTALS	67	60	127	1	7	8	6.3	108	160	268	0	9	9	3.4

Occupational Categories

	ADMISSIONS & RECORDS			% B/T
	All Employees	Black Employees		
	Male	Female	Total	
Off. & Man.	2	0	2	0.0
Prof.	4	17	21	4.8
Tech.	0	1	1	0.0
Off. & Cler.	4	88	92	10.9
Crafts				
Operatives				
Laborer				
Service				
TOTALS	10	106	116	9.5

ADMISSIONS & RECORDS

All Employees			Black Employees		% B/T
Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
0	0	0	0	0	0.0
1	1	2	1	1	4.8
0	0	0	0	0	0.0
10	10	20	10	10	10.9

LEGAL COUNSEL

All Employees			Black Employees		% B/T
Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
2	0	2	0	0	0.0
0	2	2	0	0	0.0

Occupational Categories

	PERSONNEL SERVICES			% B/T
	All Employees	Black Employees		
	Male	Female	Total	
Off. & Man.	4	0	4	0.0
Prof.	7	3	10	10.0
Tech.	0	1	1	0.0
Off. & Cler.	0	22	22	31.8
Crafts				
Operatives				
Laborer				
Service				
TOTALS	11	26	37	21.6

PERSONNEL SERVICES

All Employees			Black Employees		% B/T
Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
0	0	0	0	0	0.0
1	0	1	1	1	10.0
0	0	0	0	0	0.0
7	7	14	7	7	31.8

PUBLIC INFORMATION

All Employees			Black Employees		% B/T
Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
3	1	4	1	0	25.0
6	2	8	0	0	0.0
23	4	27	1	0	3.7
11	27	38	2	2	10.5
34	5	39	1	0	2.6
3	1	4	1	0	25.0
4	1	5	0	0	0.0
84	41	125	6	2	6.4

DEAN OF STUDENTS

Occupational Categories	All Employees		Black Employees		% B/T
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Off. & Man.	2	1	3	0	0.0
Prof.	1	2	3	1	33.3
Tech.					
Off. & Cler.	1	47	48	0	4
Crafts					4
Operatives					8.3
Laborer					
Service	1	0	1	1	0
					1
TOTALS	5	50	55	2	4
					6
					10.9

HEALTH SERVICE

Occupational Categories	All Employees		Black Employees		% B/T
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Off. & Man.	1	2	3	0	0.0
Prof.	1	23	24	0	0
Tech.	3	9	12	1	0
Off. & Cler.	0	43	43	0	1
Crafts					1
Operatives	1	0	1	0	0
Laborer	0	4	4	0	0
Service	4	11	15	0	0
TOTALS	10	92	102	1	1
					2
					2.0

ALUMNI RELATIONS & RECORDS

Occupational Categories	All Employees		Black Employees		% B/T
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Off. & Man.	0	1	1	0	0.0
Prof.	0	12	12	0	0
Tech.					1
Off. & Cler.					1
Crafts					8.3
Operatives					
Laborer					
Service					
TOTALS	0	13	13	0	1
					1
					7.7

AGRICULTURE

Occupational Categories	All Employees		Black Employees		% B/T
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Off. & Man.	12	4	16	1	0
Prof.	23	14	37	1	0
Tech.	16	149	165	1	3
Off. & Cler.	6	0	6	1	0
Crafts	27	0	27	0	0
Operatives	60	0	60	0	0
Laborer	7	14	21	1	2
Service					3
TOTALS	151	181	332	5	5
					10
					3.0

Occupational Categories	COMMERCE				EDUCATION				
	All Employees		Black Employees		All Employees		Black Employees		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Off. & Man.	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0.0
Prof.	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0.0
Tech.	0	40	0	2	4	4	0	0	0.0
Off. & Cler.	0	40	0	2	75	82	3	5	9.8
Crafts									
Operatives									
Laborer									
Service									
TOTALS	0	41	0	2	2	2	0	1	50.0
					11	82	93	6	9
									9.7

Occupational Categories	ENGINEERING				FINE & APPLIED ARTS				
	All Employees		Black Employees		All Employees		Black Employees		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Off. & Man.	11	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0.0
Prof.	13	5	0	1	4	4	0	0	0.0
Tech.	79	12	2	1	12	0	0	0	0.0
Off. & Cler.	26	128	0	7	53	0	2	2	3.8
Crafts	63	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0.0
Operatives	1	0	0	0	8	1	0	0	0.0
Laborer	2	1	0	0	3	17	1	0	5.9
Service									
TOTALS	195	146	2	9	42	60	102	1	2
									3
									2.9

Occupational Categories	GRADUATE COLLEGE						COMMUNICATIONS							
	All Employees		Black Employees		Black Employees		All Employees		Black Employees		Black Employees			
	Male	Female	Total	%	B/T	Male	Female	Total	%	B/T	Male	Female	Total	%
Off. & Man.	6	1	7	0	1	14.3	11	0	11	1	0	1	9.1	
Prof.	5	3	8	0	0	0.0	27	10	37	0	0	0	0.0	
Tech.	26	11	37	0	1	2.7	0	17	17	0	3	3	17.6	
Off. & Cler.	4	72	76	0	4	5.3								
Crafts	2	0	2	0	0	0.0								
Operatives														
Laborer														
Service	1	2	3	0	0	0.0								
TOTALS	44	89	133	0	6	4.5	38	27	65	1	3	4	6.2	

Occupational Categories	LAW						LIBERAL ARTS & SCIENCES							
	All Employees		Black Employees		Black Employees		All Employees		Black Employees		Black Employees			
	Male	Female	Total	%	B/T	Male	Female	Total	%	B/T	Male	Female	Total	%
Off. & Man.	0	1	1	0	0	0.0	7	1	8	0	0	0	0.0	
Prof.	0	16	16	0	0	0.0	9	15	24	0	0	0	0.0	
Tech.							31	29	60	0	0	0	0.0	
Off. & Cler.							27	224	251	2	19	21	8.4	
Crafts							20	0	20	1	0	1	5.0	
Operatives							1	0	1	0	0	0	0.0	
Laborer							3	0	3	0	0	0	0.0	
Service							11	16	27	1	5	6	22.2	
TOTALS	0	17	17	0	3	17.6	109	285	394	4	24	28	7.1	

Occupational Categories

PHYSICAL EDUCATION

	All Employees		Black Employees		% B/T
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Off. & Man	1	1	0	0	0.0
Prof.	0	3	0	0	0.0
Tech.	2	1	0	0	0.0
Off. & Cler.	1	38	0	2	5.1
Crafts					
Operatives	6	0	0	0	0.0
Laborer					
Service	8	6	3	2	5
TOTALS	18	49	3	4	7

VETERINARY MEDICINE

	All Employees		Black Employees		% B/T
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
	1	0	1	0	0.0
	14	14	28	0	2
	3	35	38	0	0
	13	3	16	2	1
TOTALS	31	52	83	2	3

Occupational Categories

ARMED FORCES

	All Employees		Black Employees		% B/T
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Off. & Man	0	7	7	0	0.0
Prof.					
Tech.					
Off. & Cler.					
Crafts					
Operatives					
Laborer					
Service					
TOTALS	0	7	7	0	0

INSTITUTE OF AVIATION

	All Employees		Black Employees		% B/T
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
	2	0	2	0	0.0
	1	0	1	0	0.0
	6	1	7	0	0.0
	6	18	24	0	0.0
	24	0	24	1	4.2
	11	0	11	1	9.1
	2	0	2	0	0.0
	6	0	6	1	16.7
TOTALS	58	19	77	3	3.9

Occupational Categories	LABOR & INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS				SOCIAL WORK									
	All Employees		Black Employees		All Employees		Black Employees							
	Male	Female	Total	% B/T	Male	Female	Total	% B/T						
Off. & Man.	0	8	8	0	1	1	12.5	0	12	12	0	2	2	16.7
Prof.														
Tech.														
Off. & Cler.														
Crafts														
Operatives														
Laborer														
Service														
TOTALS	0	8	8	0	1	1	12.5	0	12	12	0	2	2	16.7

Occupational Categories	INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS & STUDIES				LIBRARY									
	All Employees		Black Employees		All Employees		Black Employees							
	Male	Female	Total	% B/T	Male	Female	Total	% B/T						
Off. & Man.	0	1	1	0	0	0	0.0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0.0
Prof.														
Tech.														
Off. & Cler.	0	10	10	0	0	0	0.0	1	25	26	1	0	1	3.8
Crafts								15	187	202	0	12	12	5.9
Operatives														
Laborer														
Service								8	0	8	1	0	1	12.5
TOTALS	0	11	11	0	0	0	0.0	24	216	240	2	12	14	5.8

BREAKDOWN OF PLANT & SERVICES

Occupational Categories	PHYSICAL PLANT			HOUSING		
	All Employees		Black Employees	All Employees		Black Employees
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total % B/T
Off. & Man.	33	0	33	0	0	0.0
Prof.	39	1	40	2	0	5.0
Tech.	9	0	9	1	1	11.1
Off. & Cler.	27	56	83	7	13	15.7
Crafts	299	0	299	13	0	4.3
Operatives	142	0	142	2	0	1.4
Laborer	96	0	96	5	0	5.2
Service	402	19	421	30	1	7.4
TOTALS	1047	76	1123	60	7	67 6.0
				282	386	668 49 103 152 22.8

Occupational Categories	ASSEMBLY HALL			ILLINI UNION		
	All Employees		Black Employees	All Employees		Black Employees
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total % B/T
Off. & Man.	3	0	3	0	0	0.0
Prof.	3	0	3	0	0	0.0
Tech.	0	5	5	0	0	0.0
Off. & Cler.	5	0	5	1	0	20.0
Crafts	3	0	3	0	0	0.0
Operatives	16	0	16	1	0	1 6.3
Laborer	30	5	35	2	0	2 5.7
Service				0	0	0 2 5.7
TOTALS	30	5	35	2	0	2 5.7
				102	137	239 17 31 48 20.1

APPENDIX C

-Black and White Test Scores on University Civil Service Exams
(in which at least Six Blacks Have Been Tested)
during Past Four Fiscal Years

CA#	Title	1968 - 1969		1969 - 1970		1970 - 1971		1971 - 1972	
		White No.	Black No.	White No.	Black No.	White No.	Black No.	White No.	Black No.
01	Accountant I	-	-	62	6	96	10	78	6
01	Draftsman	-	-	28	8	-	-	-	-
01	Staff Nurse	-	-	109	8	110	11	143	11
02	Editorial Asst.	-	-	-	-	89	7	-	-
02	Library Tech Assistant I	-	-	259	10	261	6	247	11
02	Admissions & Rec. Officer I	-	-	-	-	-	-	319	26
02	Medical Technologist I	-	-	43	8	-	-	53	6
03	Personnel Officer I	-	-	57	6	-	-	46	15
03	Food Service Administrator I	-	-	20	6	-	-	-	-
03	Housing Administrator I	-	-	-	-	27	8	-	-
03	Financial Aid Advisor II	-	-	-	-	-	-	44	20
03	Financial Aid Advisor III	-	-	-	-	3	6	-	-
04	Computer Aide I	-	-	-	-	103	18	-	-
04	Personnel Assistant I	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	6
04	Personnel Assistant II	37	8	64	16	80	6	-	-

04 Title	1968 - 1969				1969 - 1970				1970 - 1971				1971 - 1972			
	White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black	
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
04 Personnel Assistant III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	79.2	6	82.2
04 Library Attendant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	27	91.04	11	85.46	-	-	-	-	-
04 Main Desk Attendant	37	68.68*	6	49.88	33	70.71*	9	49.12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
04 Cashier I	250	64.84*	16	40.11	271	69.69*	32	13.56	271	70.71*	32	39.23	192	89.7	18	88.3
04 Cashier II	-	-	-	-	76	64.49*	12	30.11	88	69.07**	16	48.93	99	89.9**	12	83.9
04 Food Service Cashier I	29	46.07*	12	19.17	19	24.08*	40	1.99	17	89.05	22	76.13	-	-	-	-
04 Clerk I	384	77.10*	49	63.88	379	82.04*	137	62.96	237	77.60*	130	65.12	109	79.9**	119	63.1
04 Clerk II	313	74.81*	81	51.41	334	80.15*	104	53.30	326	82.80*	110	55.35	211	85.3**	144	60.2
04 Clerk III	264	78.27*	22	58.43	303	79.30*	47	60.79	274	82.95*	53	67.06	141	83.5**	48	67.7
04 Accounting Clerk I	335	78.45*	12	73.25	343	78.75*	16	75.75	328	78.23	41	70.52	229	78.8	23	76.6
04 Accounting Clerk II	188	63.87*	14	57.00	222	65.73*	39	52.51	267	71.53	56	68.81	117	86.7	18	83.1
04 Accounting Clerk III	-	-	-	-	75	58.44	8	76.50*	111	72.02	13	63.44	47	74.3*	13	62.0
04 Administrative Clerk	-	-	-	-	25	80.33*	9	74.97	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
04 Bookstore Clerk I	99	83.82*	10	77.80	72	86.63*	15	78.40	65	84.76	12	81.25	-	-	-	-
04 Bookstore Clerk II	42	78.79*	6	73.83	33	75.82*	7	63.43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

041 Title	1968 - 1969				1969 - 1970				1970 - 1971				1971 - 1972				
	White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	
04 Chief Clerk	210	66.55*	14	65.36	198	77.90*	35	62.93	168	73.75*	33	67.71	156	74.9**	39	60.9	
04 Distribution Clerk	34	74.50*	18	66.22	67	83.21*	13	76.46	69	83.17**	13	74.53	41	82.9	7	77.5	
04 Inventory Clerk	123	85.11	9	73.22	122	85.34*	12	76.17	165	83.86*	13	73.61	63	85.8**	23	70.3	
04 Library Clerk I	120	75.65*	9	71.33	262	76.16*	9	65.71	354	77.33*	38	66.13	251	78.9**	32	66.4	
04 Library Clerk II	586	81.34*	25	61.38	652	82.26*	50	59.40	691	83.83*	58	65.92	680	85.6**	63	63.1	
04 Library Clerk III	-	-	-	-	90	87.00*	6	76.98	103	83.25**	12	68.26	123	86.6	8	83.2	
04 Payroll Clerk II	61	84.94*	7	71.09	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	30	92.5**	7	70.3	
04 Statistical Clerk	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34	76.5*	7	67.0
04 Typing Clerk I	298	78.97*	42	70.14	324	81.53*	75	61.30	242	83.82*	52	64.64	110	85.1**	37	73.1	
04 Typing Clerk II	470	81.26*118	57.12	540	84.36*	160	58.12	563	86.44*	83	76.17	386	89.0	77	69.3		
04 Typing Clerk III	292	85.04*	29	77.59	380	85.46*	59	66.64	458	86.31*	61	71.23	266	90.3**	45	79.3	
04 Clerk Steno I	250	78.22*	7	54.69	214	82.38*	15	62.59	201	80.12*	8	64.91	156	80.7**	9	66.0	
04 Clerk Steno II	341	78.77* 42	63.35	346	85.25*	51	61.56	274	80.51*	40	72.30	296	80.3**	26	68.3		

OAI	Title	1968 - 1969		1969 - 1970		1970 - 1971		1971 - 1972									
		White No.	Black No.	White No.	Black No.	White No.	Black No.	White No.	Black No.								
04	Clerk Steno III	490	83.02*	64	69.53	474	80.80*	80	65.85	420	83.07*	120	71.66	363	83.3**	78	66.7
04	Clerk Typist I	703	66.94*	182	53.35	661	69.65*	232	63.15	582	70.55*	144	60.02	424	72.7**	100	62.2
04	Clerk Typist II	1312	65.97	453	49.24	1313	70.19*	593	47.05	1147	71.23*	409	53.76	931	72.9**	415	51.7
04	Clerk Typist III	829	73.72*	168	57.74	850	75.74*	323	52.61	804	76.99*	277	57.94	749	78.3**	286	55.4
04	Copyholder	-	-	-	-	31	65.63*	12	46.33	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
04	Mail Messenger	62	76.94*	25	64.85	50	80.07*	27	63.67	107	78.53	14	74.98	-	-	-	-
04	Key Punch Operator I	224	74.58*	41	59.56	274	74.51*	48	56.47	258	76.95*	60	55.97	138	76.1*	25	63.2
04	Key Punch Operator II	106	70.96*	17	69.12	103	72.59	20	76.00*	100	72.48	28	66.41	86	72.2	32	68.0
04	Digital Computer Op. I	183	70.04*	21	54.99	248	68.19*	27	46.89	199	67.49*	16	48.81	92	70.6**	15	37.8
04	Digital Computer Op. II	64	76.05*	9	72.52	-	-	-	-	85	76.83	19	72.81	49	79.2**	8	69.2
04	Duplicating Machine Op. I	48	69.86*	17	49.03	97	67.72*	17	55.09	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
04	Duplicating Machine Op. II	20	68.57*	11	62.21	39	69.81*	12	64.66	21	72.13	6	66.48	-	-	-	-
04	Switchboard Operator	-	-	-	-	70	78.88	7	87.04*	-	-	-	-	36	82.7	18	76.0

SA Title	1968 - 1969				1969 - 1970				1970 - 1971				1971 - 1972				
	White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	
04 Tabulating Machine Op. I	80	81.82	7	60.24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
04 Computer Programmer I	-	-	-	-	-	-	133	81.87*	11	66.25	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
04 Secretary (Stenographic)	187	74.10*	30	66.28	186	72.91*	30	62.73	173	75.69*	30	66.53	131	77.3**	20	61.7	-
04 Secretary (Transcribing)	76	73.76*	20	58.36	77	71.31*	28	65.53	53	71.63	19	66.63	84	71.0	25	63.5	-
04 Secretary Administrative (Stenographic)	-	-	-	-	76	81.38*	8	74.66	86	81.67	8	80.70	63	83.4**	8	63.8	-
04 Supervisor of University Union Operations	12	74.46*	11	62.92	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	80.4	9	79.7	-
05 Food Processor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	86.00*	9	68.66	-	-	-	-	-
05 Storekeeper I	305	79.62*	39	66.26	373	82.57*	88	66.31	363	82.66*	53	68.17	206	83.9**	37	72.6	-
05 Storekeeper II	139	76.48*	12	72.12	78	79.94*	13	69.98	87	79.00*	20	66.65	33	81.8**	7	73.6	-
05 Storekeeper III	-	-	-	-	33	79.43*	7	65.73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
05 Flight Line Attendant I	-	-	-	-	24	82.75*	11	71.05	-	-	-	-	45	75.4	20	75.7	-
07 Forest Custodian	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	80.13	6	75.20	-	-	-	-	-
08 Assembly Hall Attendant	50	74.88*	10	64.73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
08 Building Services Foreman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	93.4**	12	81.0	-

Oa1	Title	1968 - 1969		1969 - 1970		1970 - 1971		1971 - 1972							
		No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean						
08	Janitor	1404	83.31	343	83.54	1715	86.77*	743	86.48	1510	89.12*	365	86.87	-	-
08	Janitress	320	80.20*	46	68.26	380	83.75*	227	73.67	242	85.31	38	83.79	-	-
08	Maid	309	84.71*	71	77.25	298	87.96*	66	81.63	179	89.30	14	88.25	-	-
08	Building Service Sup.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	66.7
08	Building Services Worker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	194	89.6**
10	Cook	81	77.82**	28	72.66	72	78.17*	33	72.46	114	81.05**	24	74.80	92	89.4**
10	Head Cook	-	-	-	-	20	66.48*	7	58.29	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	Fountain Attendant Helper	11	85.27*	20	74.80	12	74.33*	9	60.44	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	Kitchen Helper	225	83.72*	53	72.38	204	83.63*	93	73.78	204	88.07	73	90.12	101	89.1
10	Kitchen Laborer	324	88.62*	128	81.78	347	92.23*	67	78.40	391	85.60	86	85.73	160	86.7
11	Utility Man	55	62.80*	8	57.00	-	-	-	-	19	58.52	6	48.33	-	-
12	Nursing Assistant	42	84.00*	22	74.73	19	83.53*	101	73.48	25	88.16*	76	76.67	30	89.8*
12	Licensed Practical Nurse	71	78.86*	36	78.18	23	83.32*	36	80.73	22	88.02	48	88.78	13	82.3
13	Fireman	-	-	-	-	67	80.66*	7	56.14	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	Police Sergeant	37	78.97*	8	65.97	62	79.47*	20	77.13	48	80.71	13	78.81	64	70.6
13	Policeman	366	80.50*	142	62.49	342	71.52*	105	60.30	483	70.33*	220	55.12	183	75.9
13	Watchman	-	-	-	-	70	86.25	18	88.11*	69	86.53	8	89.25	-	-
14	Carpenter	-	-	-	-	151	72.89*	9	63.00	148	74.24*	10	63.20	-	-

CA#	Title	1968 - 1969				1969 - 1970				1970 - 1971				1971 - 1972			
		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black		White		Black	
		No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
14	Driver	229	77.69*	32	67.00	197	82.92*	53	72.21	128	81.29*	25	68.20*	-	-	-	-
14	Electrician	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	67	76.40*	6	62.33	-	-	-	-
14	Painter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	104	75.59*	21	64.09	-	-	-	-
14	Plumber	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	90.8	7	85.6
14	Audio-Visual Aids Technician I	-	-	-	-	30	76.47*	9	72.56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	Audio-Visual Aids Technician III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	76.66**	6	71.05	-	-	-	-
15	Natural Science Laboratory Asst. I	-	-	-	-	168	84.85*	10	67.10	-	-	-	-	21	86.6**	7	62.4
15	Equipment Attendant	110	90.65*	28	83.34	78	91.27*	21	80.56	81	92.32*	14	82.88	-	-	-	-
15	Garage Attendant	36	77.22*	14	51.21	40	72.55*	25	50.24	42	74.47*	8	51.25	-	-	-	-
15	Locker Room Attendant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	95	93.04	6	89.08	-	-	-	-
15	Animal Caretaker I	58	89.31*	15	86.94	40	94.25*	15	84.28	48	86.75	30	82.40	38	89.8	18	85.4
15	Grounds Worker	695	83.17*	40	71.35	717	83.24*	56	70.38	596	88.78*	47	85.25	279	88.1**	29	83.2
15	Elevator Mechanic Helper	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	83.0**	9	63.2
15	Construction Laborer	-	-	-	-	259	87.61*	26	79.65	69	87.50*	18	78.83	-	-	-	-

CA ¹ Title	1968 - 1969		1969 - 1970		1970 - 1971		1971 - 1972	
	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean	No.	Mean
15 Laborer-Electrician	-	-	50	96.75*	9	92.37	-	-
16 Laboratory Helper	18	79.60*	11	66.03	33	77.33*	23	73.03
							16	84.13*
							14	50.84

¹ Occupational Area Code

* Significantly higher at or beyond the .01 level

** Significantly higher at or beyond the .05 level

Note: Underscore indicates higher mean for the year.

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

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in the Graduate College of the
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THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

August, 1968

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY DAVID EDWIN SHULENBURGER
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THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN LABOR AND INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

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PREFACE

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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 heads 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.
SURVEY OF MINORITY GROUP MEMBERSHIP UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS STAFF		
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.		1 <input type="checkbox"/> American Indian 2 <input type="checkbox"/> Caucasian 3 <input type="checkbox"/> Negro 4 <input type="checkbox"/> Oriental 5 <input type="checkbox"/> Spanish American (Latin American, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Spanish) 6 <input type="checkbox"/> Other racial or ethnic group: (specify) _____
SEX <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female		

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.

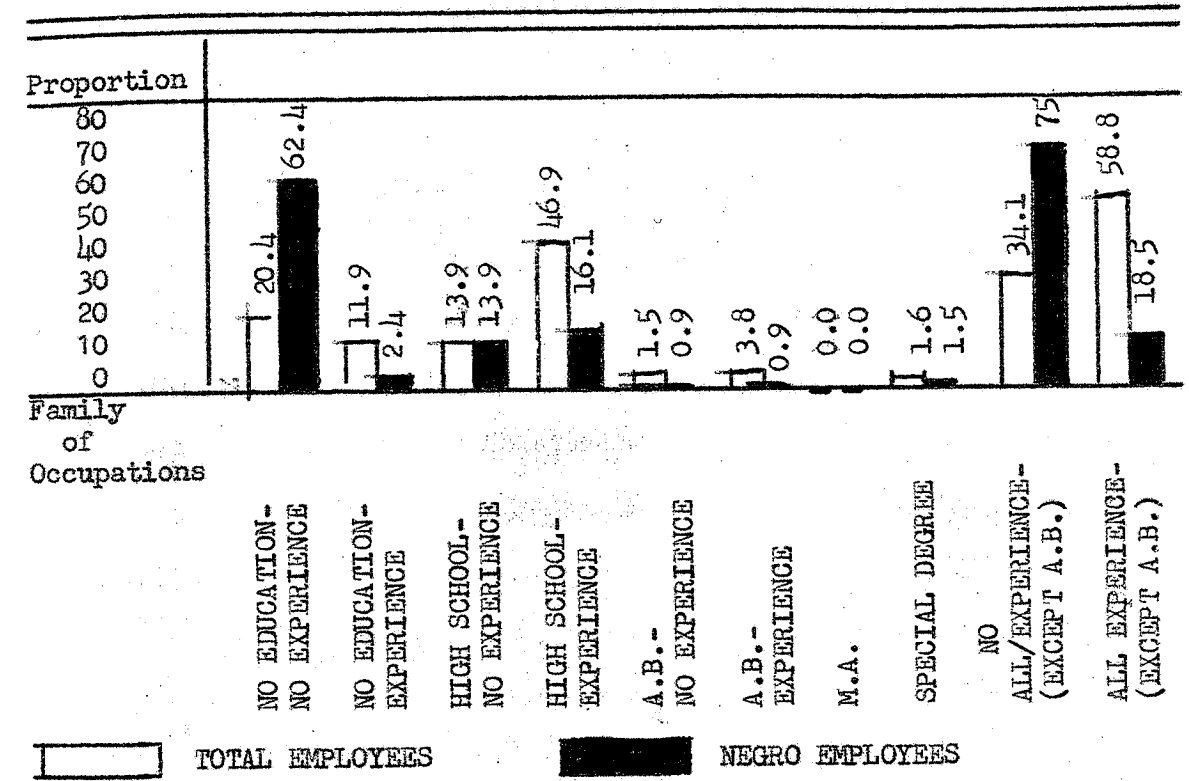
Figure 2 below contrasts the distribution within each of the families on campus of both Negro and total employment. It indicates that Negroes are distributed predominately in the "no education-no experience" category (62.4 per cent), with a sizeable proportion being distributed in the "high school-no 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.

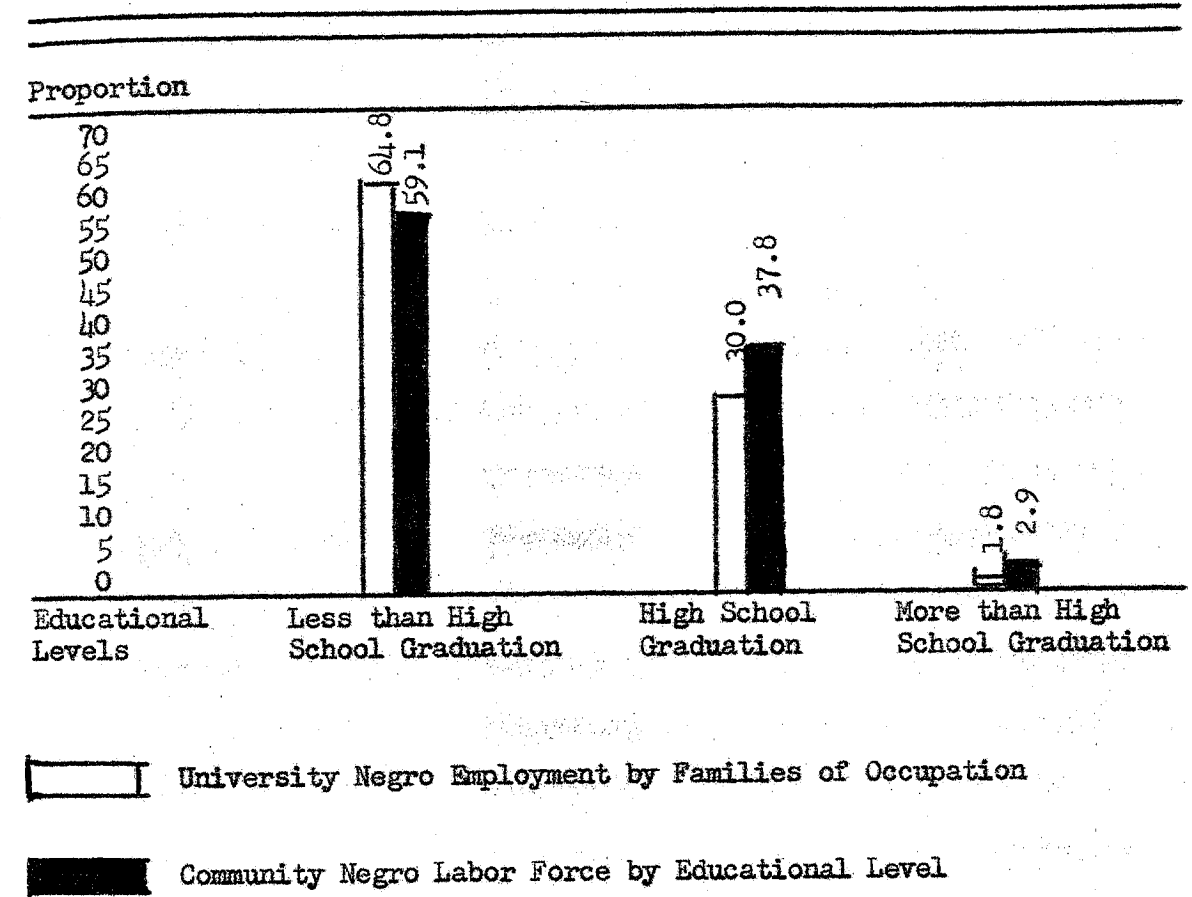
In making the comparison by educational level between the distribution of Negroes in the University of Illinois work force and those in the Champaign-Urbana labor force, it was necessary to develop compatible groupings of educational levels. The 1964 Urban League study,³ from which the labor force data 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

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.

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

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.

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.

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,

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.

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

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

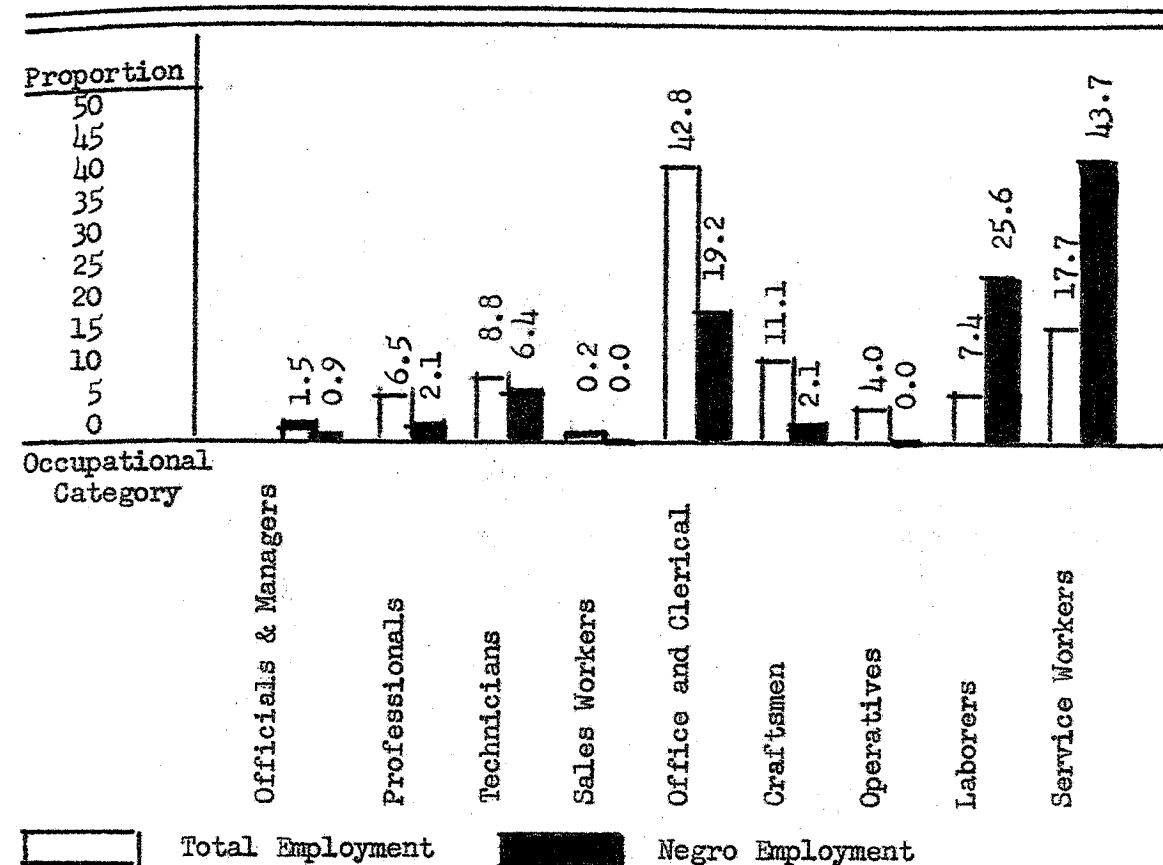
Scoring on civil service selection tests is another factor which contributes to the assignment of Negroes to jobs whose minimum educational requirements do not accurately reflect the applicants' level of education. A review of the scores of whites and Negroes who were competing on these tests during 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

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

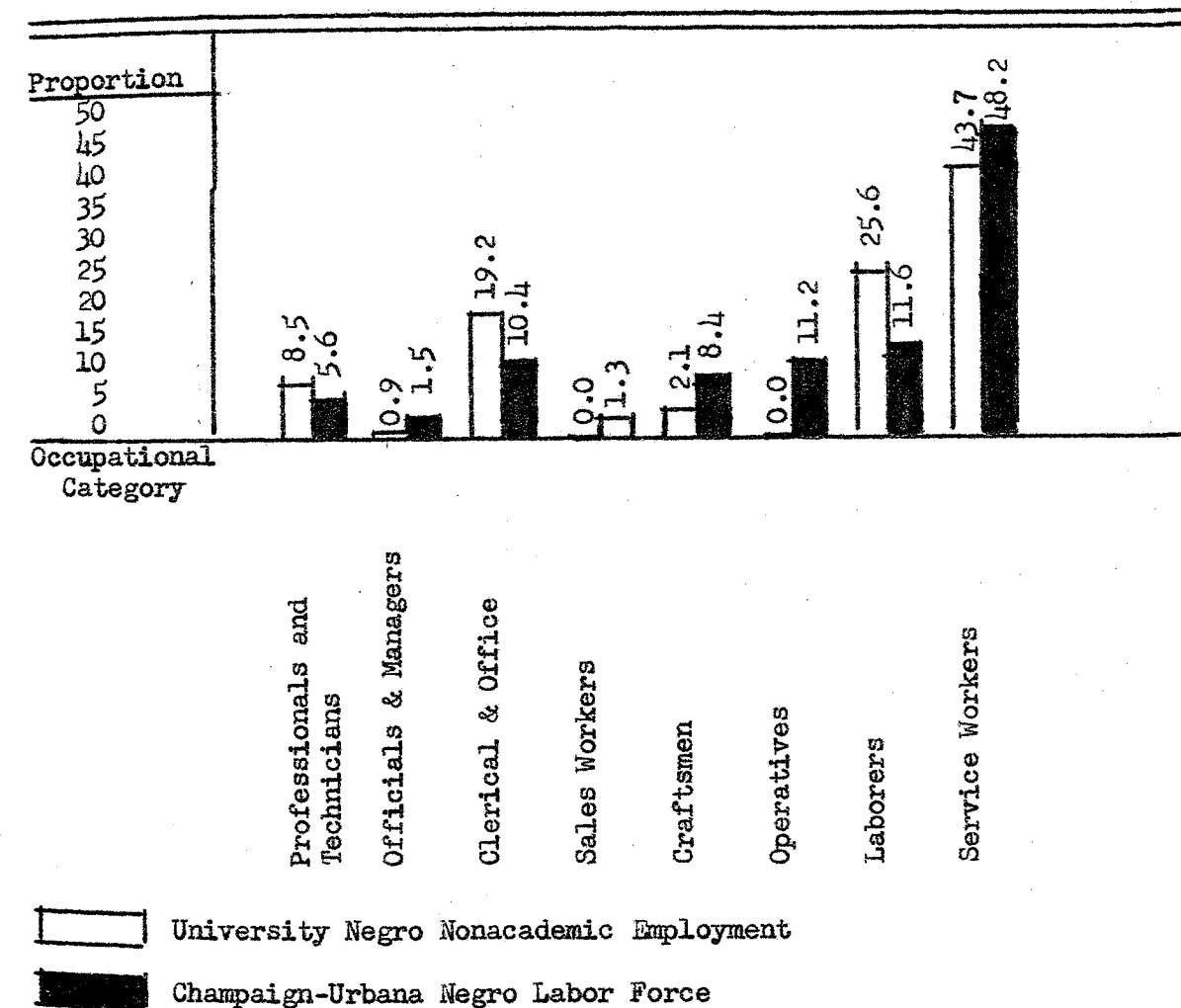
Occupational Structure of the Champaign-Urbana Negro Labor Force

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