"A UNIQUE COMPETENCE": A STUDY OF EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY IN THE BELL SYSTEM

(Nota.—Charts and illustrations not included in the Record.)

PREFAE

This paper is an attempt to summarize in a manageable form the results of an intensive investigation of the employment practices of the Bell System operating companies. The investigation was undertaken by the Equal Employment Commission pursuant to a Petition filed with the Federal Communications Commission, Docket No. 19143, alleging nationwide patterns of employment discrimination by the Bell System companies on the basis of sex, national origin, and race.

The paper is a distillation of only the most salient features of the patterns of employment discrimination revealed by the EEOC investigation and the policies and practices which are responsible for those patterns. It is intended to facilitate examination of the bulk of evidentiary materials which have been submitted to the FCC.

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CHAPTER 1.—THE BELL SYSTEM

In America, the name Bell System is virtually synonymous with the telephone industry. The organization which Alexander Graham Bell founded in 1877 to market his invention has now grown into one of the largest privately-owned businesses in the world, one which dominates the telephone communications industry in the United States. The Bell companies account for at least 84 percent of all telephones, capital assets, and operating revenues of all telephone companies in the United States.1

This chapter will provide a brief overview of the Bell system, its major departments, major jobs and their functions, wage rates, and characteristics. Against this background of the general employment structure, the position of women and minorities will be described in the following chapters.

The "federal" system. At the head of the nation's huge telephone communications system is the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. However, the actual provision of telephone services is accomplished through 22 subsidiary companies, also known as licensee, associated, or operating companies which are shown in Figure 1.

AT&T has potentially absolute legal control over these operating companies through its ownership of at least a majority of the capital stock in all of them and 100% of the stock in 16 of them. Thus, while each operating company on a day-to-day basis exercises autonomy in dealing with local telephone matters, it is acknowledged that "there are nonetheless a great many matters in which AT&T much exert guidance and control."2

Since, under this "federal" system, the operating companies provide the actual telephone services while AT&T provides general policy guidelines and supportive services, the operating companies employ virtually all of the Bell System workforce. At the end of 1970, for example, the operating companies employed a total of 732,450 persons, more than half of whom were concentrated in urban and surrounding areas.3 Consequently,
it is the employment practices of the operating companies, primarily in urban areas, which are the main focus of this report.

Thirty SMSA's. Thirty of these urban areas have been selected for detailed analysis. The common criteria for selection were employment, labor market and population trends of urban areas is the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA). The geographic limits of each SMSA have been established by the Bureau of the Budget.

The 30 SMSA's chosen for study are those with the largest numbers of minorities and are listed in Table 1. Collectively, these SMSA's contain about half of the nation's entire black population, and half of the total Spanish-surnamed American population. At the end of 1970, the Bell worker force in the 30 SMSA's totalled 374,190, more than half of all persons employed by the operating companies.

Each operating company is almost identical in structure, with the employees divided into five basic departments, each of which plays a particular role in the provision and maintenance of the telephone communications system. The distribution of employees in the 30 SMSA's within the five major departments is shown in Chart 1. Plant Department.

The largest number of Bell employees are in the Plant Department, the function of which is to maintain the poles and cables, and to erect and maintain mechanical and electronic equipment which transmits telephone calls. As shown in Table 1, the ten SMSA's with the largest number of minorities are listed in Table 1. Collectively, these SMSA's contain about half of the nation's entire black population, and half of the total Spanish-surnamed American population. At the end of 1970, the Bell worker force in the 30 SMSA's totalled 374,190, more than half of all persons employed by the operating companies.

Non-craft jobs. Plant employees are divided into craft and non-craft workers. The last class consists of a very large number of service workers, who perform maintenance and service functions, and a larger number of clerical workers. All employees are divided into craft and non-craft groups. The non-craft jobs are lower-rated and tend to be the least desirable jobs in terms of both pay and working conditions. The maximum annual salary for Operators in the 30 SMSA's at the end of 1970 ranged between $5,000 and $6,000,6 only slightly less than the salary paid to Plant clericals and considerably less than the wages paid to Plant clericals and considerably. Clearly, the wages in the Plant Department, boosted by the level of wages in craft work, are considerably greater than in the Traffic Department, where the wage level is depressed by the low Craft salary.

Working conditions. The low pay is not, however, the only undesirable feature of the Operators' job. Worringer and others have pointed out that the Operators, still virtually inchoate. The Job itself is "highly routine," and nothing too exciting. Most Operators are bound to lose interest in their jobs over time, and to become bored or uninterested. The most typical comment was that the job is highly regimented, affording little opportunity for self-expression or self-fulfillment.

In addition, the Bell System rigidly enforces informal rules and covering every aspect of the Operators' job. There are stringent rules governing dress, conversation at the switchboard, phraseology, and clerical accuracy; but the most abrasive and particularly inexcusable rules are those governing turnover from the lower-rated craft jobs. The 1970 Southwestern Research Institute report described the overall results as follows: 18

There is a fairly general feeling among the operators, both those remaining and those resigning, that their job is dull and uninteresting. The most typical comment was that the job is highly regimented, affording little opportunity for self-expression or self-fulfillment.

The "authoritarian manner" in which the attendance and tardiness rules are enforced is exaggerated by the fact that Operators are required to work divided shifts, "unenviable schedules involving an early morning shift and a late evening shift, separated by a period long enough to require a return home in the middle of the working day." Moreover, most Operators are required to work staggered schedules, including many weekends.

The impact of all of these undesirable features of the Operators' job. The 1970 Southwest Research Institute report described the overall results as follows:

"Operators are quick to describe the noxious demands of work that is too highly structured, their loss of personal identity, their inability of freedom to rely on their own judgement, their difficulty in becoming part of a cohesive social group, and the absence of any reasonable hope for future advancement. . . . They are necessary parts of a system designed by geniuses for execution by idiots."

Turnover. Under such circumstances, it is hardly surprising that turnover among Oper-
ators is very high. Chart 3 illustrates the staggering difference in turnover among Occupations that are purely issue billing. This is certainly more attractive than Operator jobs. Therefore, a much higher rate of turnover exists in the Commercial Department among Operators with less than six months' service.

A 1969 AT&T report indicated that in 19 major metropolitan areas, turnover among Operators was 52% in the first six months of service. In fact, in many districts turnover among short-term Operators had reached 200% in 1968.

Commercial Department

After Plant and Traffic, the next largest department in the Bell companies is the Commercial Department, which is the business contact between the customer and the telephone company for all private residence service and most business service. Chart 1 shows that at the end of 1970 in the 30 SMSA's most of the employment was in the Commercial Department.

The primary job in this department is that of Service Representative. Nearly half of all Commercial Department employees in the 30 selected SMSA's at the end of 1970 were Service Representatives. They handle billing and payment problems, schedule repair work, and sell ordinary telephone equipment and services. Back to this job is a thorough understanding of Bell System billing practices, rate structures, service policies, and rates. In this way, they work with each and every customer, and the Service Representative is one of the jobs most highly associated with the telephone company. As a widely-used bell system recruiting brochure points out, "to most of our customers, the Service Representative is the telephone company." At the end of 1970, the maximum yearly salary varied roughly between $6,000 and $7,000 in the 30 SMSA's, making the job higher paying than Operator or Plant clerical but lower paying than all craft jobs.

While the Service Representative handles customer complaints and problems exclusively by phone without ever leaving the telephone company business office, customer contacts make this the most visible face of the telephone company to the public. Many of the third level and above managers in the Traffic Department were Communications Consultants, whose function is to handle contacts with customers by telephone and to sell communications services to medium-sized businessmen.

Marketing Department

Closely associated with the Commercial Department is the Marketing Department, whose function is to analyze the need for and sell complex telecommunications equipment to business organizations. Chart 1 indicates that the number of Commercial Representatives employed by the Bell companies is small compared to the number of Service Representatives, but the maximum pay is much better, averaging about $2,500 a year more than Service Representative.

Thus, Commercial Representatives earn almost as much as inside professional engineers in the 30 SMSA's, but in the Commercial Department they are employed in much smaller numbers. The maximum annual pay rate of these inside professional engineers is about half that of the outside selling jobs.

Accounting Department

The fifth major department in the Bell companies, containing seven percent of all employees in the 30 SMSA's, is the Accounting Department, whose functions are to prepare and issue bills to the Bell System's customers, to prepare payrolls, keep the company's books, and prepare necessary financial statements. Aside from managers and professionals, almost all of the employees in this department perform various types of clerical functions and are paid rates comparable to plant clericals.

Low Skill Requirements

Significance for equal employment opportunity

As a result, each Bell company has developed training programs for most craft jobs. Because telephone work is specialized, it is necessary to train new employees before they can become fully proficient. For this reason previous business experience is not a requisite for most telephone employment.

The fact that the Bell System hires primarily unskilled workers has important implications. The impact that Bell System hiring practices could have on female and minority employment opportunities is readily apparent and has been repeatedly acknowledged at the highest levels in the Bell System.

AT&T Vice President Walter Straley succinctly stated the proposition this way in 1965:

"We think our experience as an employer of some 200,000 persons each year, provides us with a unique competence to play a leading role in the improvement of employment opportunity."

Therefore, as will be emphasized throughout this report, any substantial underrepresentation of women or minorities in certain job categories manifests a specific policy of the Bell System.

Management

The discussion above has been concerned with non-management jobs. As shown in Table 2, the Bell System's employees in the 30 SMSA's are in management positions.

These jobs are stratified into six levels, levels one and two being primarily concerned with direct supervision of non-management employees and routine staff functions, and levels three (District Manager level) and above with the formulation and implementation of company policy.

Cost of recruiting and hiring,

Another direct result of the large number of inexperienced, lowly-skilled workers is the high cost of recruiting, screening and training so many persons. Projections to 1980 indicate that the Bell System plans to increase its total employees by approximately 240,000 persons. Thus, to attract, train, and keep 200,000 persons each year, the Bell System would save the System $10 million a year in recruiting, screening and training.

In October 1969, AT&T Vice President Walter Straley estimated that a mere one percent reduction in turnover among Operators would save the System $2 million a year. A comparison of 1968 turnover among craft workers and Service Representatives would save the Bell System an additional $8 million.

College graduates. The other prime source of high-level and upper-management personnel is college graduates. For many years, the Bell System has had three management programs for college graduates. One, a very small program, hired specialists for certain highly technical staff jobs—lawyers, doctors, etc. A second program, the Initial Management Development Program (IMDP),
hired college graduates who were not specialists in any field but who were to be trained for general middle and upper level management jobs in an accelerated, highly structured program. The third program, also fairly large, was not nearly as ambitious as the others in that participants were hired into first level management jobs and were not given any special training to assist them to progress to higher levels.

It is also worth noting that many of the first level management jobs in the Bell System are not normally associated with management or paid at rates unusually low for management jobs. Included in this category, for example, is the job of Secretary, which is paid at a maximum annual rate varying from $8,900 in El Paso to $10,750 in New York City. Other jobs in New York City, for example, that are rated first level management include: Administrative Clerk, paid a maximum annual salary of $8,470; Clerical Supervisor at $7,530; and Supervisory Assistant at $9,170. Thus, many first level management positions pay no better than, or even less than, typical craft pay rates.

In 1972, President Walter Siraley spoke of the Bell System's "unique competence to play a leading role in the improvement of employment opportunity." He referred, mythically, only to "disadvantaged minorities."* If such a unique competence did in fact exist, it might be expected to apply with even greater force to women. But in 1971 it must be said that the System has failed to meet the challenge; the Bell companies must be characterized, in the words of the President, as "so meager as to make them doubt their own self worth. Their prospects for promotion are in the distant future, if at all. It is little wonder, therefore, that many women flee from telephone jobs almost as quickly as they choose to take them. "

Summary

The foregoing distillation of the Bell System's employment structure highlights several salient points:

The Bell System is the largest private employer in the United States, with over 1 million of its workforce located in 30 major SMSA's.

Bell employees are divided into five major departments, the largest of which are Plant and Accounting.

There are four major types of non-management jobs in the Bell System: (1) craft workers in the Plant Department; (2) clerical workers in the Plant and Accounting Departments; (3) Operators in the Traffic Department; and (4) Service Representatives in the Commercial Department.

The Operator's job is the least desirable major job in the Bell System, closely followed by the clerical positions. Service Representatives are moderately well paid, but the highest paying non-management jobs are craft jobs in the Plant Department. In fact, craft wages exceed the pay of many first level management jobs.

The Experiment proved to be quite a "success." Women very quickly took over the Operator's job and began to expand their areas of interest into what were then considered strictly male jobs. Female secretaries were employed "because girls would work for a third of the present male salary for a female secretary." Ms. Nutter, having pioneered in the Operator's job, set the pace for telephone employees. Her promotion to Chief Operator, the first supervisory job for women in 1883, and retiring after 32 years of service.

The number of female employees grew with the rapid expansion of the telephone industry in the 20th century. They were limited, however, to the narrow spectrum of positions in the male-dominated world of work. The jobs available to women remained those which had previously been performed by men.

The Bell System became the women's domain, "where men are managers, customers or husbands." By 1971 more than 400,000 women worked in the Bell System, constituting more than half of all operating company employees.

Introduction

By way of introduction to sex segregation in the Bell System, it is instructive to examine the myriad of official company documents which describe the jobs of men and women employees. A total sex segregation of jobs is reflected in virtually all Bell System documentation, including job descriptions, training manuals, and company publications, general company advertisements, requisitions for employees, forms relating to employees' personal, medical and employment records, billeting charts, walking tour guides, testing studies, orientation materials, interviewers' aids, training manuals, commentaries on state statistics, annual reports, and even reports on affirmative action efforts to improve employment opportunities for women.

These documents unequivocally identify the following jobs as female: Operator, Plant and Accounting Department clerical jobs, Service Representative, intaking jobs in the Commercial and Marketing Departments, and first level management jobs in the Traffic and Commercial Departments. Craft jobs, outside sales jobs, and middle and upper level management jobs are always identified as male jobs.

Public Image

The rigid differentiation between the sexes in employment at Bell has become a trade mark of the System. The Operator's job in particular has come to be recognized by almost everyone as especially suited to women. The telephone company has been "the great historical bastion of feminine employment." and the Operator's job as "a female stronghold of allocated sex." In every article in February, 1971, reported that, "The idea that Telephone Operators are—must be—women is firmly planted in the public mind." Similarly, the public conceives of all craft workers and all managers as being male. The public's notion of females with Operators and males with craft workers and management is no accident. It is the result of a calculated Systemwide sex segregation.

Only when one sex is totally unavailable for work has Bell resorted to "opposite sex" employment. For example, were Bell employees replaced men on most inside craft jobs, particularly Frameman. During strikes and service emergencies men staffed the Operator's switchboards. These instances were certainly the exceptions, however, and as soon as the crisis had passed, the "normal" sex again took over the job.

A Uniform Picture

Perhaps the most striking feature of the Bell System's sex segregation is its absolute uniformity. All the jobs are apparently subject to an immutable law of sex segregation in almost all jobs. The same sex-segregated jobs are allocated to the same sex in every company with the same result—women are consistently locked into the lowest paying, most menial, least visible, and most infrequent mobility, regardless of their skill or ambition. Every city, irrespective of its size or location, is subject to the same sex-segregation. Minor variations only serve to highlight the pervasive pattern throughout the Bell System.

Consistency is most apparent in the degree to which the major jobs are sex segregated in the operating companies. For the purposes of this report, any major job (a job employing 20 or more persons) that is 90% one sex or the other will be considered to be sexually identifiable and segregated. In the 30 SMSA's, 92.4% of all employees in major job classifications are in segregated jobs. In City A (see Table 4), there are no cities which may be categorized as "good" on this index. In New York City, the city with the least segregation, 86.0% of all employees are in classifications in which one sex is 90% predominant. An even more disturbing statistic is that 30% of the SMSA's, 54% of all employees in major job classifications are in 100% sex-segregated jobs. Of the 25 largest jobs, 86.0% of all employees are in classifications in which one sex is 90% predominant. An even more disturbing statistic is that 30% of the SMSA's, 54% of all employees in major job classifications are in 100% sex-segregated jobs. Of the 25 largest jobs, 86.0% of all employees are in classifications in which one sex is 90% predominant.

Footnotes at end of article.
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Percentage of all employees in 100-percent in 90-percent sex segregated jobs

Source: EEOC C-661-EEOC C-690.

Departmental segregation. Because virtually all jobs are sex segregated, whole departments may be designated as male or female in all the companies. Almost one-half of all women and almost all men in the 20 SMSA's are in the Traffic Department while less than two percent of all men are employed in the Plant Department, but only one-eight of all females. (See Chart 4.) Graphic and statistical presentations in the box on segregation of all departments for each of the 20 SMSA's have been prepared and can be found in Exhibit 1, pp. 447, 448.

Inside sales. A fourth "female" job group, somewhat smaller than the three discussed above, illustrates the Bell System's segregation of jobs in every city after city and company after company (See EEOC Exhibit 1, pp. 447, 448). In every SMSA almost all clerical jobs continue to be identifiable as "women's" jobs.

In short, in 1971 almost every major low-paying job is a "female" job. The introductory description of low-paying jobs (Operator, clerical jobs in Plant and Accounting, Service Representative and inside sales jobs) is also a perfect description of jobs which are almost totally female. The fact that exactly the same jobs are female in every SMSA and the same company is obviously the result of System policy. The fact that these jobs are also the lowest paying jobs in the SMSA is also no accident. The contrary situation exists, of course, with respect to the jobs which the Bell System considers to be male. The jobs discussed below.

The major male non-management jobs

One-fourth of the operating company employees are in these positions. Except for the upper level management jobs, these classifications are the most desirable in the system. Not only is the pay a great deal higher and the opportunity for promotion much greater, the job itself is much more challenging and satisfying than the Operator and clerical jobs.

These more attractive craft jobs have never been open to females on the same basis as males. Prior to the effective date of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, there were virtually no females in any of the telephone crafts of any Bell System (New England Tel., Ohio Bell and Michigan Bell) employed any females in craft jobs.

Service Representatives are females. Five companies have no male Service Representatives. In only two companies and four of the surveyed SMSA's does the percentage of male Service Representatives exceed 2 percent. (See EEOC Exhibit 1, pp. 447, 448.)

Clerical. The third major "female" job group consists of two companies: 93% of these low paying jobs are held by women. Although seven percent of these jobs are filled by males, it is assumed that these are the same clerical jobs held by females. Consistent with the over all pattern, most of the surveyed SMSA's contain few clerical jobs--Utility Clerk, Construction Clerk, etc.--for males. These classifications are usually paid more than "female" clerical jobs in every SMSA almost all clerical jobs continue to be identifiable as "women's" jobs.

In the Traffic Department while less than two percent of all female employees in the Traffic Department were males employed in the Plant Department, but only one-eight of all females. (See Chart 4.) Graphic and statistical presentations in the box on segregation of all departments for each of the 20 SMSA's have been prepared and can be found in Exhibit 1, pp. 447, 448. In every SMSA almost all clerical jobs continue to be identifiable as "women's" jobs.

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The reason was not, however, been a significant spur to the utilization of females in the telephone crafts. In 1971, although, though a "male" job, at least one female craft worker, in only five companies did the proportion of female craft workers exceed one.

Two observations make this gross under-utilization particularly disturbing. First, it should be recalled that since the Bell System trains for every classification of female craft workers cannot possibly be explained by the lack of "qualified applicants."

Second, each Bell company employed females in craft jobs at a rate far below that of other companies in its area. (See Chart 5.)

Footnotes at end of article.

In 1971, only Michigan Bell managed to employ at least 10-15% of all females in their telephone work force. In no other area are employees. In most of the operating companies, females are employed in the crafts at levels of 5-10% to 10-15% of the area industries rate.

Of 190,000 telephone craft workers in the operating companies, only one company, New York, employed 100% of the female outside craft workers and 70.6% of the inside craft workers were male.

The "inside" crafts (Linenmen, Installer-Repairman, PBX Installer-Repairman and Cabo Splicer) were virtually 100% male. In the 30 surveyed SMSA's there were only nine females in outside crafts (Three Bear, one Installer-Repairman, one Transmission Man, one Installer, two Station Installers and one Cabo Splicer). (See EEOC Exhibit 1, pp. 447, 448.)

Michigan Frameworkers. The Frameworker classifications is particularly interesting case study of the Bell System's penchant for classifying every job by sex. Prior to 1965 only one company, Michigan Bell, employed women in Framework. At Michigan Bell this classification, titled Switchroom Helper, was limited to a token female in each location. Whether this was true for the token effort of Pacific Tel. there would usually be almost none. Twelve companies have no Framemen in the Traffic Department while less than two percent of all female employees (for almost a century the Bell companies have considered it an all-female Framemen's job. (See the discussion of FPEU in Chapter 3.) The fact that exactly the same jobs are female in every SMSA, with the exception of a "female" clerical-type job. The Michigan people do still believe this is the way to go.

By the end of 1970, over 60% of the Framenemen in Atlanta, Birmingham and Greensboro/Winston-Salem were "frameless." The evidence does not show that the rate of pay for Framework relative to other crafts also began to reflect its female designation. In other SMSA's had no female Switchmen. Females in Framemen classification was only 0.6%. At Michigan Bell this classification was still considered "female." The Michigan people do still believe this is the way to go.

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In January, 1970, Illinois Bell gave serious consideration to "an all female Frame force similar to Michigan Bell." They concluded, however, that their "hiring problems [among males] were not so critical that they should break toward an all female Frame force," Illinois Bell observed, nevertheless, that, "The Michigan people do still believe this is the way to go."

Most other companies, despite the examples in Michigan Bell and Southern, were satisfied to defend the old craft fortress. At the end of 1970, there were no female Framemen in six SMSA's, and less than 10% of Framemen were female in eight other SMSA's. Despite the fact that Framemen in some cities were all female, only 12% of all Framemen in the 30 SMSA's were female.

The other major inside craft jobs continue to be exclusively male with little indication of change in female participation. The Switchmen classification was only 0.6% female at the end of 1970. Eleven of the 30 SMSA's had no female Switchmen, and those that were similarly excluded from the Test Deskman's position, comprising only 1.7% of all employees that position. In New York, for instance, of 1600 Deskmens, none were female.

In summary, on December 31, 1970, virtually...
The exclusion of females from Plant craft positions and offices. It has already been shown that middle and upper level Bell System managers in all departments are either promted up from craft jobs in the Plant Department or hired directly into management positions. The inexorable advance of women into middle management has been relatively slow, as noted before, males held 92% of the outside sales jobs. In the Commercial and Accounting Departments, 4 of 30 SMSA’s, 45% are in management level two or above. Of all male managers in the 30 SMSA’s, only 31 (1.2%) are either promoted up from craft jobs in the Plant Department or hired directly into management. For instance, 9.1% of all females are in classifications with a maximum basic salary of $8,000; only four percent of all males are in such classifications.

Female and male wages

Although by 1971 all the operating companies had ceased to officially label wage schedules as male or female, the total segregation of jobs had the same inequitable effect. This is not a case of unequal pay for equal work. Female and male wages are the same. Female and male wages are equal.” A female in first level management positions is tragic. The psychological impact of this is almost inescapable. The Bell System’s fabled “rationalization” of this sex-based discrimination is shocking. The average female wage for males in entry level jobs in the 30 SMSA’s was $8,613, the average male wage for females in entry level jobs was only 71% of the male wage. A female in first level management averages $11,194. Should she compare herself to a male in first level management, she would discover that her wage is only 79% of his. When measured in terms of total occupation and all occupational classifications, female wages were only 75% of the average wage for all employees and only 60% of the average wage of female employees. Graphical display of the male/female wage distribution and occupational position have been prepared for each of the 30 SMSA’s and can be found in EEOC Exhibit 1, pp. 128-188 and pp. 238-29.

By any standard, the exclusion of females from craft jobs and middle and upper management positions and their concentration in the lowest grades and occupations is tragic. The psychology of this is almost inescapable. The Bell System has been uniformly and explicitly classified as a sex-segregated job. The common conception of certain jobs as male or female.

They were, therefore, rather complacent about the newly passed Civil Rights Act. Many of the companies had been members of the Plans for Progress for several years and felt that their obligations had been fulfilled. The sex provisions of Title VII, when they were considered at all, were not taken seriously and certainly were not of the same importance as the race provisions. In 1965 none of the operating companies had any affirmative action programs relating to sex. They did not consider sex discrimination to be a serious problem. “Not much thought had been devoted to possible discrimination based on sex.”

As the effective date of the Act approached, Bell officials counseled caution and adopted a “go slow” attitude. In a conference on the implications of Title VII held in April, 1965, for example, Mr. E. D. Maloney, Pacific Tel. Vice President, said: “The Company does not want to do anything at this time which would affect the reasonable and efficient operation of our business. For sure, we don’t intend to go half-cocked; once we do, then we are stuck. If and when we are challenged, then we can take a different approach.”

This chapter will examine the reasons offered by the operating companies for their continued exclusion of the “opposite sex” from sex-segregated jobs after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The most common rationalization were the use of state “protective” laws restricting women’s work and claims of bona fide Occupational Qualification (BFOQ).

Panic to protect against contamination

Certainly no affirmative action was contemplated by any of the operating companies in 1965. It was the panic of impending state action in Compromise VII that “...the mere
fact that women [or men] have traditionally been excluded from certain jobs will not, of itself, be an acceptable reason for continued exclusion. The EEOC has recently initiated the process of justifying their traditional sex segregation in terms of Title VII.

In addition, the companies suggested a bona fide occupational qualification (BFOQ) for all jobs which were sexually segregated. These qualifications allow an employer to exclude women or men from jobs "in those certain instances" which defined the BFOQ exception. And in December, 1966, the EEOC promulgated Guidelines on Discrimination by Sex within the Bell System. According to the EEOC Guidelines, women could not be excluded from jobs because of "assumptions of the comparative employment characteristics of women in general." Nor could employers justify a BFOQ on "stereotyped characterization of the sexes," such as "men are less capable of assembling intricate equipment" or "women are less capable of aggressive relationship." Some in the Bell System, however, argued that males should be excluded from clerical jobs because "the work and wage rates are not as attractive to men," and "few men have the academic clerical training to qualify for this work." Others argued that entry catches were abandoned. For some qualifications no argument could be contrived to justify continued exclusion. There were some jobs for which no company claimed a BFOQ. There were other jobs for which all companies claimed a BFOQ. And there were certain jobs for which some companies claimed a BFOQ while other companies did not.

The following sections describe the water of conflicting positions taken within the Bell System since 1966. Only one consistent generalization can be made from the data gathered. Unquestionably, what a particular company claimed regarding BFOQ, in practice, was always what the company claimed to be (male) or not be (female) jobs and males were excluded from "female" jobs, irrespective of whether or not the company claimed them to be so. Jobs for which companies claimed a BFOQ were consistently excluded from "male" jobs and males were excluded from "female" jobs, irrespective of whether or not the company claimed them to be so. Jobs for which no company claimed a BFOQ were inconsistently included in the BFOQ. As early as 1968, AT&T corporate headquarters conceived a letter to all operating companies that there was no legitimate reason for excluding males from clerical jobs in the Plant and Accounting Department. Indeed, the BFOQs claimed by all of the companies were found to be inadequate and, in many instances, was repeatedly condemned as being a major factor contributing to Operator unrest. Another major failure in Bell's argument for exclusion of male Operators is the assertion that the BFOQ concept. ACWG found a change in the female image of the Operator's job and to avoid loss of the "nurturant" personality qualities which Bell claimed it sought in its Operators and 20% of all women are as "aggressive" as the average man.

Thirteen of the operating companies formally adopted the AT&T rationale and officially excluded male Operators' job (and associated Traffic Department jobs) on the basis of a female BFOQ. It is assumed that the remaining companies also claims it sought in its Operators and 20% of all women are as "aggressive" as the average man.

There has been no change in the actual
composition of the Operator's classification following the revocation of the ban on males.

Although thousands upon-thousands of Operators, 90% of whom were in California. Twelve Bell companies still had no males at all.

No company has taken any affirmative action to hire that male Operators have actively discouraged such applicants. South Central Bell's accommodation to the new mandatory policy in April, 1970, is perhaps typical.

Henceforth, it is the company's policy that the female sex shall not be asserted as a BFOQ for any job. However, it is not the company's policy to seek out or encourage the placing of males in these titles. On the contrary, diligent efforts (short of asserting a female BFOQ) should be made to dissuade males from applying for or taking these jobs. Their interest should be steered, if possible, toward Plant craft or some other more suitable work. If such males are insistent on being considered for jobs normally filled by women, they should be processed in the regular manner for males.

The Bell System coaxed sex segregation of Operators in terms of Title VII until that tactic was finally disallowed. Instead of these trapping it became blatant discrimination.

**Male BFOQ—Introduction**

The concern over the "contamination" of jobs male Operators filled a much more intricate justificatory structure, which was formalized in an agreement which surrounded the formulation of female BFOQ's. This attempted an "impossible" male job. Although sex segregation in the Bell System was a possibility, the inability of any employer to make categorical generalizations which would justify the exclusion of females from various jobs was considered by many in the Bell System.

In the course of the rationalizations these companies adopted will be discussed in the next section.

**Male BFOQ—Outside Sales Jobs**

By letter dated May 12, 1965, AT&T Assistant Vice President William Merson noted that all operating companies that "there would appear to be no general basis for excluding women from the job of outside sales jobs. Not more than 1 out of 100 Operators in many companies apparently have never claimed a BFOQ for outside sales jobs."

On December 31, 1970, 98.5% of the male Operators employed by Mountain Bell in Phoenix continued to sex segregate the classifications of Facilities Assigner and Frameman, of whom only 21 (1.5%) were female. Clearly, the failure of most companies to pursue these alternatives is obviously difficult since so many inconsistent and conflicting policies concerning exclusion of females from craft jobs based on state protective laws is based on the state protective law but has restricted the hours women can work. Claims based on such laws have been upheld only in cases where the laws were not justifiably discriminatory.

Of 4813 craft workers employed in Dallas, 98.5% were male. Whether or not Texarkana Bell claimed a BFOQ for outside sales jobs, Texas state law, the fact remains that craft jobs are the exclusive domain of men. Many of the above alternatives and excluded women from most traditionally male classifications based on state protective laws. C&P (D.C.), Michigan Bell, New England Tel., Pacific Northwest Bell, and South Central Bell.

A summary of the various company policies concerning exclusion of females from craft jobs based on state protective laws is given in the table below. The exemptions from state law made no effort to have them removed by the courts. Quite the contrary, Mountain Bell continued to assert a BFOQ on these "archaic" laws until March 1971. Moreover, despite the absence of any state protective law in Arizona since 1968, Mountain Bell in Phoenix has continued to sex segregate the craft jobs. On December 31, 1970, in Phoenix, the Company claimed the craft workers, of whom only 21 (1.5%) were female.

In March, 1970 (almost five years after the effective date of Title VII) Illinois Bell also challenged the state's protective legislation in a federal court. The vote of the court was not necessarily relevant to the needs of women in modern society. The court ruled that the claim was barred by the Act of August, 1970. No other Bell companies have made such challenges.

Footnotes at end of article.
made. The fact that some companies attacked state laws, obtained exemptions, or "allowed" females into craft jobs but restricted their overtime made virtually no difference in practice. All companies continued to exclude females from craft positions. Bell System sex stereotypes, ingrained by a century of corporate policy, continued to thrive.

**Craft jobs: Sex stereotypes**

The second major justification for a male BFOQ was a sex-differentiated difference between the abilities and disabilities of the sexes. Five liabilities were attributed to women which would prevent them from holding "male" jobs: (1) women who work on customer premises are subject to special hazards uniquely to their sex; (2) women may not work under hazardous conditions inherent in working aloft or underground; (3) women may not lift excessive weight or spend an equivalent amount of energy; (4) because women cannot participate in the above activities, they may not hold jobs which require such experience; (5) women would not be expected to complete the training period required for certain jobs.

A few years before the early 1960s, some companies openly acknowledged that it was probably impossible, or at least very impractical, to involve women in specific tasks for any particular job or classes of jobs and the EEOC had specifically rejected the use of sex stereotypes. In fact, the EEOC had conceded in a letter to all operating companies that there was no legitimate reason for excluding women from any inside craft job.

Nevertheless, many companies claimed a male BFOQ for inside craft jobs for one or another of the reasons listed above. The EEOC has consistently opposed such BFOQ designations in its decisions. Eleven BFOQs have been rejected or woefully ignored. Yet that precisely what the Bell System has done since 1965. They have asserted that all or substantially all women could not lift a particular weight or would not stay on the job long enough to justify training or would not be able to work safely in hazardous situations while all males could or would do these things.

**Fallacy of the argument.** The fallaciousness of this argument is apparent and, indeed, the operating companies have recognized it since 1965. In 1966, Mountain Bell acknowledged employment, and one could not be made "on the basis of assumptions of the comparative employment characteristics of the sexes. . . ." Yet the Company claimed a BFOQ until March, 1971, for the following statement: "Women are unable to lift substantial weight or equivalent expenditure of energy." In February, 1966, a New Jersey Bell memorandum was even more accurate in its interpretation of Title VII:

"Individually must be considered on the basis of the facts, abilities and needs on the basis of any characteristics generally attributed to a group such as men not being able to assemble intricate equipment or women not being able to lift heavy weights." Despite this realization, New Jersey Bell asserted a BFOQ for outside craft and building and motor vehicle classifications until 1971. AT&T Vice President William C. Mercer reached an analogous conclusion in January, 1971, when he observed that:

"There are no real differences between men and women, other than those enforced by culture. I can't speak for all of society, but in business—and very importantly to me and the "telephone company—we believe this to be true."

The effect of BFOQ claims

The Bell System's BFOQ claims over the last five years have been a sham: not only have they been tortured, contrived and contradictory, but they have had no substantial effect on the sex composition of jobs in the company's dog companies. They have served as a legal rationalization for the exclusionary policies that the Bell System has practiced for all but a few craft jobs. Most of the claims were rejected or not, most jobs have remained sex segregated.

A few examples betray the hypocrisy of the Bell System's BFOQ assertions. In 1965 all the operating companies agreed that the "cable service representative" job did not require close enough contact to qualify for a BFOQ. Yet in 1971 this classification remained essentially unchanged. The BFOQ designation remained essentially unchanged. The BFOQ designation which the companies staunchly defended as inexcusably female.

It makes no difference that a company claimed a BFOQ on the basis of state protective legislation. Mountain Bell, for instance, limited craft workers to males in conformity with state protective laws. Southwestern Bell made no such claim for its San Antonio Framemen. Yet only 4% of the Framemen in El Paso were female, and none were female in San Antonio; there were no male Switchmen, Deskmans, or outside craft workers in either S M S A.

Companies that claimed no restrictive state protective laws in a particular operating area (Hartford Bell, New Jersey Bell, New York Tier, Northwestern Bell and Southwestern Bell) nevertheless asserted a BFOQ for most craft jobs. Protective laws were a convenient peg on which the companies could hang their continued exclusion. They were not necessary pegs.

New Jersey Bell presents a particularly dramatic case of exclusion without regard to BFOQ claims. In 1965 the Company made these three admirable decisions. First, it determined that there were no state protective laws applicable to the Company's female employees. Second, it recognized that under the law females must be judged on an individual performance basis. Third, it specifically rejected the applicability of the BFOQ exceptions to the classification of Framemen or Switchmen. The Company's action, however, belied its words. Of 500 Framermen and 477 Switchmen in Newark in 1971, none were female.

Such a BFOQ is typical of the Bell System. Though New York Tel. abandoned its BFOQ claims for Framemen in 1966, less than 1% of Framemen were female in 1967. Similarly, Pacific Tel. dropped the legal trappings of its requirement of sex in 1967, but no females were employed until 1969, and less than 6% of all Framemen were female in 1971. New Jersey Bell removed its restrictions on placing females on the job of Framemen in February, 1969. Two years later, only 2% of the Framemen in Cleveland were women.

Finally, although only two companies dared to claim that their Initial Management Development Program (IMDP) should be exclusively male based on a BFOQ, all operating companies actually sex segregated their college graduate management training programs until at least 1971.

**Summary**

No BFOQ was ever claimed for clerical and Service Representative jobs, but they were admitted "female" jobs which remained 99 percent female in 1971.

Early and awkward attempts (later abandoned) were made to claim a BFOQ for the operator's job which remained 99 percent female in 1971.

Some companies claimed a BFOQ for outside sales jobs and some did not. All companies had employed almost all males in these jobs in 1971.

Some companies claimed a BFOQ for some craft jobs based on sex segregation in legislation. Some challenged the state laws. Some requested exemptions from the law in some areas or in the states and by some restricted women's overtime hours while ostensibly allowing women into craft jobs. Some companies had been stripped of their legal crutch, but they retained the underpinnings of a sex segregated status quo.

**Recruitment methods**

The Bell System has a staggering need for applicants. Because of the incredible turnover rates in the short-term employment (Operators) and because only about one of every ten applicants is deemed suitable for employment, Bell Systems spent two million each year in order to supply the 200,000 new hires needed. The pressure to hire more women, particularly available source is, therefore, intense.

Bell traditionally maintained dual recruitment systems for females and males and saw no reason to change following the passage of Title VII. In October, 1965, a Bell of Pa. Assistant Vice President said:
For jobs in which males have heretofore been predominant, we will continue to seek males, and will hire only males. The overwhelming majority of positions for which male qualified females will be considered except where there is a BFOQ.

For jobs in which females have heretofore been predominant, we will hire only female qualified males if the sex segregation were, according to Bell's reasoning, sufficient even after such segregation were unlawful. Systemwide, the primary recruitment methods for non-management employees in 1965 and 1971 were (1) referrals from current employees, (2) formalized high school recruiting and (3) classified advertisements. Within Bell's current employment context, these methods will inevitably produce a sex-segregated applicant flow.

Employee referral. Employee recruitment has for some years been Bell's preferred method of attracting new employees. The operating companies continually extol their employee recruiting programs, apparently oblivious to its malignant effects. In 1969 Bell of Pa. said: "We put thumbs down on the old 'opposite attract' theory. We're pretty well convinced telephone people take people like themselves. That's why employee referrals just have to be the best way to get prospects." According to an AT&T recruiting manual, "Employees, perhaps unknowingly, do a preliminary screening because they tend to refer applicants much like themselves."

This method of recruitment has produced a disproportionate share of new hires. In 1971 Pacific Tel. found that: "We hire one out of every seven employees referred by employees. Of all the applicants from other sources we hire only about one out of 12. Friends and relatives of employees are often the best qualified applicants and the best good employees. They know what to expect, and were sold on the Company before they applied." This presumed advantage is the operative factor in its discriminating effect. A Northwestern Bell personal manual unconstitutionally identified the sinister nature of employee recruiting:

"Recruiting through employees is one of our best sources of desirable applicants. Our employees are already familiar with many of the advantages of working for our Company. They know something about the various kinds of work and jobs that might be available and they frequently are acquainted with people who can qualify for these jobs and will be interested in working for the telephone company."

The implication is only too apparent. Females, traditionally confined to "female" jobs, who are remarkable in the Fall of 1965 with "male" jobs. They will be unaware of vacancies in craft jobs and will be able to offer no encouragement to females in relatives in this area. This is especially true when, as in the operating companies, employee recruiting is conducted on a departmental basis. Employee recruiting, the major Bell System recruitment technique, can have only one result. Females will continue to flow into "female" jobs and males into "male" jobs.

High school recruiting. The second major recruitment technique is concentrated efforts to attract graduating high school seniors.

High school recruiting is particularly appropriate for advertising, as most of them are not selective. The advertising of high school seniors, therefore, should include this type of recruitment. The advertising is particularly appropriate for the recruitment of employees. Bell has already made a move to attract high school seniors, most of whom planned to vote in the 1971 election. They wove the importance of choosing a job that would be "of the right color" into the message: "How many more girls do you want to work in the telephone company?"

The results, presented in Chart 9, show the dramatic change for both males and females when the traditional sex designations are eliminated or reduced. Though almost no females expressed an interest in a "male" job, there was a marked decline in the number of males expressing an interest in a "female" job. This is significant when one considers that the telephone industry is predominantly a male occupation.

Footnotes at end article.
all jobs and the placement of advertisements under segregated classified headings illustrate once again their complete indifference to sex and their continued defense of the past.

Hiring

Bell's recruitment efforts and its general reputation as an employer stimulate a steady stream of applicants. The operating companies are, however, highly selective in deciding whom to hire, and the process of selection is quite expensive. In 1970 Pacific Tel. hired only one in ten applicants and spent over $1 million in operating its employment offices.62

This process, like all others dealing with employment, is designed to funnel males and females into sex-appropriate jobs. In 1966 New Jersey Bell described its employment procedures as follows:

"While many of our jobs have been traditionally filled by one sex or the other, this structure has been due to the unique specialties in one sex or the other and not due to an unconscious effort to discriminate. In the hiring programs, most male employees have been hired for craft and management positions. The criteria for selection in these positions are clearly, most female applicants have been hired for craft work and the prescribed employment procedures as follows:

Employment procedures. Bell's standard employment procedure is outlined in Chart 10. The applicant, either by telephone or in person, is first interviewed in a "pre-screen." This brief interview is intended to screen out persons who are not interested in the position of Operator. 44 Northwestern Bell mapped the entire career of its female and male applicants as follows:

Men will probably be interested in outside construction, in skilled inside and outside plant occupations, truck driving, sales and so forth. Women, however, think in terms of starting long range career employment. Women will probably be interested principally in secretarial, stenographic, receptionist, clerical, switchboard operation or implant selling types of work. Starting long range careers will probably be secondary.48

Footnotes at end of article.
ment to females' promotion. Application of contractual seniority in no company is seniority the rule, yet there is an expectation — often unspoken — that women are not expected to pursue advancement in non-management. The typical collective bargaining agreements that provide that seniority shall be applied equitably to both sexes. Women being considered are equally qualified seen by the company. This relatively weak seniority system in companies company almost uniform is a "purer meritocracy" in promotion. The procedures for obtaining promotion in most Bell companies are a mystery to both males, and females. For an interview, however, the right to transfer to a "male" job is a closed guarded secret to which only male supervisors are privy. In 1966 the company agreed to consider women for framework, but attached the following provisions: It is not intended that employees will be encouraged to request such reassignments or that publicity will be given to the fact that such employee requests will be accepted or encouraged. A female Southern Bell Frameman said in June, 1970, "I was impressed with the Company. This simply ameliorates the discrimination against women. The procedures for obtaining promotion in most Bell companies are a mystery to both males, and females. For an interview, however, the right to transfer to a "male" job is a closed guarded secret to which only male supervisors are privy. In 1966 the company agreed to consider women for framework, but attached the following provisions: It is not intended that employees will be encouraged to request such reassignments or that publicity will be given to the fact that such employee requests will be accepted or encouraged. 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ing to this reasoning, a female would be forever indenured to her entry job, a slave to Bell's stereotype.

Although companies retain the unfettered right to hire entry level, and all continue to fill most entry vacancies with new hires, few companies have the effrontery to put their paper provisions for equal consideration of employees wishing to transfer. Even this policy contrasted to the exercise of their corporate credit for general experience with the company. It is a grim paradox that women who have proved their worth to the company over many years are discriminated against.

Promotion standards. The standards by which transfer applicants are judged present a fifth impediment to female promotion. Three general qualifications are paramount: (1) successful completion of the craft ("male") test battery, (2) craft experience, and (3) satisfactory or above average performance in one's present job.

Bell's strict segregation of males and females at the time of pre-employment testing has a profound effect on their careers. The point was made quite graphically in a 1966 arbitration award involving New Jersey Bell:

Succinctly, the pre-employment tests created two universes; the test given to females resulted in their being thereafter restricted from consideration for promotion to the craft jobs; even those who can qualify for a particular job in the male universe, they cannot be considered because the test given to females is not comparable to the one given to males. Thus, females are automatically disqualified from consideration, regardless of their ability relative to males.

Second, and much more importantly, the nature of the jobs to which females are confined reduces the probability of their being considered for promotion. Females are restricted to four major areas: the office, the lab, the book and the tape. They are essentially considered for promotion to jobs with less responsibility. The three possible exceptions to this general rule illustrate the fallacy of the "Catch 22":

1. Michigan Bell's intent to promote Switchroom Operators to Plant Assigner or Framemen jobs is not frustrated until one of its women proves her competence.

2. Michigan Bell's women Switchmen are required to take the craft test battery in order to be considered for a Switchman's job in Wadley. Ms. Weeks, an exemplary Switchman, was to be five years before she would be allowed to try for the Switchman's job. Her ambition was discouraged because, according to J. W. Bell's theory of promotion, she could not qualify for a switchman's job in Wadley.

3. Women are still not considered for credit work, the most prized job in the Bell System. Women may not enter craft jobs because they are not permitted to take the craft test battery.

It is completely consistent with the above model to assume that Operators, Service Representatives and clerks, whose expectations for promotion is slim, would be less interested in maintaining a high level of performance, and therefore, may be deemed "unsatisfactory" by their supervisors. Further, the exclusion of females from jobs "beyond all proportion within the System," may contribute to their disinterest in their jobs. Promotion to a more invigorating environment where initiative and ability are rewarded rather than suppressed may cause a flowering which would go unrecognized in the oppressive Traffic Department. By discouraging satisfactory performance in disqualifying jobs to qualify for promotion, the Bell System is undoubtedly losing a significant wealth of talented women.

The Bell companies have been oblivious to the structural difficulties inherent in their system which prohibit females' promotions. They have failed to see that female success is not a matter of effort. Their failure to be promoted with the state argument that women just don't want craft jobs. This is simply not true. Given the same opportunities as men, women seek the same jobs for basically the same reasons—better pay and more responsibility. Unfortunately, however, a woman's interest in a male job is frustrated or ignored by her male supervisor.

The women of the Bell companies are burdened by the onerous duties associated with craft jobs. The women who have handled both the craftsman's and the secretary's tasks have told me that females are discouraged from seeking "male" jobs by such examples:

Wage treatment. The disadvantage accumulated by females in the Bell System is not one that is easily overcome by interaction or contact with or with the same company. This is not because they are paid less, but because they are not paid at all. The Bell System has long been a pay scale discriminator. The Bell System even makes a point of it by advertising the status of women functionaries of the company.

Arbitrator's awards in 1965 and 1967 rejected Southern Bell's similarity hypothesis of the Gender Pay Gap. Dr. Laws explains the expressions of craft jobs as "com-

Footnotes at end of article.
Length of service is used for men and whereas amount of money is used for women. 179

Despite this realization, Pacific Tel. negotiated a "Wage Administrative Practice" in 1968 (and revised in 1970) which continues the same distinctions. 180 An example from the Pacific Tel. Wage Administrative Practice in effect on January 1, 1971, is illustrative of the wage treatment procedures in all the companies. It is as follows:

A male with 72 months service as a Frame Man is promoted to Station Inst. Operator with an increase from $125.50 per week to $126.50 per week. Should a female Operator with identical service be promoted to the same job and perform the same duties, her new wage will be only $124.00. Her wage, relative to the male Frame Men with whom she was hired, has increased only slightly.

This same disparity continues through a hypothetical promotion to PBX Installer after 18 months. In this example, it will take the female four and one-half years to achieve parity with her male counterpart, and during that time she will have lost $5000 compared to a male in the same classification and with the same company seniority.

This issue was treated in a 1967 arbitration award involving Southwestern Bell. The subject was broached following an Arbitrator's order to place a female clerk in a Plant Department with appropriate back pay. The union, subsequently grieved when the female was paid at a rate of only $95.50 per week rather than the $136.00 per week paid to her male predecessor. The Arbitrator held as follows:

"The Company, in calculating the back pay for Bernita Brock, has not complied with the existing award in this case. It should accept the award as determining that women in the situation of (female) promoted to craft jobs are qualified for the positions the Arbitrators awarded them. Miss Brock's wage rate should be set on that basis."

This final inequity typifies the Bell's System's utter recalcitrance in promoting women through the non-management ranks. Their skills and ambitions are designated; avenues of promotion, when open to all, remain a secret. The increased discrimination, restrictive seniority systems and unreachable standards continue to prohibit females' promotion. As a final insult, the woman who achieves a higher position is paid less than comparably situated men in her job. In light of this closed promotional system, one is amazed that all Bell's women employees do not become turnover statistics.

Maternity Leave

The sex, race, and national origin of employees in the Bell System extend beyond the recruitment, hiring and promotion of female employees. Rules and regulations regarding maternity leave and its effect on the employee's future opportunities in three ways: (1) that mothers-to-be take a leave of absence at a particular time, (2) suspension of benefits normally given for other sickness disabilities and (3) failure to provide equitable representation guarantees.

Timing of leave. In 1971, eight companies (Indiana Bell, Michigan Bell, New England Tel., Pennsylvania Bell, Northern Bell, Ohio Bell, South Central Bell and Southern Bell) continued to require pregnant females either to resign or take leave of absence at the end of the sixth or seventh month. 181 Not only is such a policy contrary to the medical recommendation considered to be appropriate before pregnancy complications, 182 but it is, according to Pacific Tel., detrimental to the company's interests.

From the Company's standpoint, it is important that there be no arbitrary rule requiring pregnant employees to leave their jobs at a given time in the pregnancy period. Such a rule would be detrimental to the Company's interests in failing to utilize the services of experienced employees for as long as they meet the requirements of the job. Such a position is detrimental to the employee's interest since it would not permit consideration of individual desires or economic needs. . . .

Just as in all other matters dealing with employment, the employer must be treated as an equal opportunity employer with respect to the employee's interest since it would not permit consideration of individual desires or economic needs. . . .

Suspension of benefits. The second major disadvantage of maternity leave is the suspension of benefits which are given during other sickness disabilities. Maternity leave is treated as a special leave, granted through the companies' largest, and not as an employee's right. Thus, privileges and benefits are suspended during maternity leave. 183

Reemployment. The third disadvantage occurs to the returning mother. Only if the returning mother is still employed by the company does she retain her benefits. If she loses her job, she loses her benefits. The returning mother loses all promotions she may have earned prior to her pregnancy.

Operational considerations. The Bell Company will not be returned to duty [following maternity leave] as other than an Operator thus losing any other title she may have held prior to her pregnancy.

In the hiring process, the time a potential applicant makes the first contact with the company until she or he is finally hired or rejected, one is treated in entirely different ways. Women are viewed as "gender" or "sex" which is tantamount to sex-group seniority, protections, restrictions, and unequal promotions.

Arguments about female "job interest" or "arduousness" have been shown to be meritless. The lack of appropriate role models and inequitable wage treatment following promotion discourage females' transfer to "male" jobs.

Unreasonable and discriminatory maternity leave provisions further restrict the opportunities for female employees. A serious problem is the awareness that recruitment brochures picturing only females were unlawful, that segregated employment offices were unlawful, and that the number of "male" and "female" jobs that were open to female employees were unlawful. The overridingly discriminatory nature of the currently accepted female "pseudo-physician managers," "operatives", and "female supervisory positions" is, according to Pacific Tel., detrimental to the economic needs. . . .

CHAPTER 5—WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT

The achievement of management status and subsequent promotion through management ranks has been a traditional index of success. At Bell, where one of every four employees is "management," this goal ought to be quite realistic. As one would expect, however, the participation of women is restricted to certain familiar roles—staff functions and the supervision of other women. The same conclusions reached regarding women's status in the Bell System's lower level of the managerial ranks. For male managers, half of whom are second level or above, the remaining inadequate opportunities for advancement are lost in stepping stones to better positions with greater responsibility. For women, the initial and ultimate positions in the hierarchy are equal.

This chapter will analyze the two methods for entrance into management—promotion from non-management and hiring into management—training programs and their relationships to promotion within management.

Entrance into management: Up from the inside.

From its infancy Bell has adopted a policy of training and grooming its best non-management employees for supervisory positions. Through the first century of Bell's operation, the large majority of first line supervisors began as Installers, Linemen, Operators, or Craftsmen. Women or Operators went on to more responsible positions in the operating companies. In a very real sense, the first level of management extends into the non-management lines of progression discussed in Chapter 4. As was also noted in Chapter 4, the upward promotion of women in the "female" Traffic Department is substantially less than in the "male" Plant Department.

Like the non-management promotion ladders, the management progression is rigidly sex segregated. (See Charts 14 and 15.) Men in Denver could move into Foreman jobs relating to their particular skills while women Operators and Craftsmen must step over the Traffic, Accounting and Commercial Departments. The rigid differentiation between the sexes at the non-management level leads inexorably to the same type of segregation at the first level of management.

The primary justification for this situation rests on the assumption that the supervisor must have had experience in the job being supervised. This assumption is based on the fact that in 1955 several operating companies claimed a "BFOQ" for male and female supervisors. (See Chart 24.) Pacific Tel.'s reasoning was typical:

"It would be very difficult for a woman to qualify for many of the supervisory craft
jobs] because she is restricted from doing craft work supervised by a given title.***  

Such a view was still held in 1970 according to a review of Bell's employment of women.

"There are many management jobs not presently available to women. This is particularly true at lower levels of management where job related experience is overemphasized at the expense of management skills," J.B. Slocum, President of AT&T has commented. 22

Employees have been able to acquire sufficient craft knowledge without having actual craft experience, while, on the other hand, women, who have never been formally considered for promotions to the upper levels of management, have been unable to acquire the necessary skills. In fact, many women have been restricted to second class employees, paid less and challenged less, solely because of their sex. 23

Yet, women are not moved up within management, however. AT&T's task force on women in management observed that,

"Promotional opportunities beyond first level [management] are not equal for men and women despite the fact that there are as many male as female first level managers. For example, the chance that a given male first level manager will be considered for addition to the upper levels in his career (all other things being equal) is about one in four or five. For an incumbent female manager in the same position the odds become less than one in 300."

**The fact of females' exclusion from management above second level is irrefutable."

...Another impediment resulting from the lower status of management jobs for women is the loss of personnel resulting from the failure to assess females on the same basis as males. It is felt that entrance into our initial management training program should continue to be limited to male college graduates.

This is the conclusion of a study of the Bell System.
attaining positions of greater leadership is the lack of viable role models. Very simply, because women see no females in the upper levels of management, they assume that they could not reach that level. The comments of women who have achieved leadership positions are limited to the extent that they can assume they are adequate to reach the level.

At first I hesitated to take this job because I'd always thought it needed a man's strength. I knew I had the qualifications, but I was used to seeing a man here, I suppose."

If we consciously aspired to district level, I just tried to do what I was assigned the very best I could."  

Women asked when a woman would be appointed to Division (fourth) level one female manager said, "We have to be reasonable." This attitude barrier can be breached only by convincing women that they can and should aspire to upper management and that these are not the exclusive domain of men.  

The third major factor limiting female advancement in management is the Bell stereotype of women's role in management. (See Table 6.) Bell's management leaders have decided what their women can and cannot do and what they want or do not want. Women are rarely consulted, as their rates are set by men.

The same prejudices which led Bell to claim that women cannot do and what they want or do not want. Women are rarely consulted, as their rates are set by men. Women are too emotional. Women just don't want to manage. Women cannot supervise men in the field. Women prefer staff jobs.

Women in management are specialists. The best women leave before a management job is available to them. Women are not as mobile as men. Women in management can't compete with IMDP men. Women in management are a threat to men. Women are not as competent as men. In order to manage, a woman must have "masculine characteristics." Men cannot consider women as equals. Women just don't want to manage. Women cannot supervise men in the field. Women prefer staff jobs. Women are too emotional. Men want a management job which women hold. Women should subscribe to a passive, domineering image. Men and women should not work together too closely.  

Summary  

Women are virtually excluded from all middle and upper management levels and even their first level assignments are limited to staff roles or the supervision of other women. The management progression is sex segregated, an extension of the non-management promotion ladder. Bell has restricted supervisory craft jobs to men. This requirement for management training and has had no qualms about placing men in the upper levels of the Traffic Department. The ratification of sex segregated, non-management jobs leads to exclude females from the more lucrative management jobs.

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TABLE 6.—BELL MANAGERS' ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX DISCRIMINATION

| Women in management are specialists. | The best women leave before a management job is available to them. | Women are not as mobile as men. | Women in management can't compete with IMDP men. | Women in management are a threat to men. | Women are not as competent as men. | In order to manage, a woman must have "masculine characteristics." | Men cannot consider women as equals. | Women just don't want to manage. | Women cannot supervise men in the field. | Women prefer staff jobs. | Women are too emotional. | Men want a management job which women hold. | Women should subscribe to a passive, domineering image. | Men and women should not work together too closely. |

Women in management are specialists. The best women leave before a management job is available to them. Women are not as mobile as men. Women in management can't compete with IMDP men. Women in management are a threat to men. Women are not as competent as men. In order to manage, a woman must have "masculine characteristics." Men cannot consider women as equals. Women just don't want to manage. Women cannot supervise men in the field. Women prefer staff jobs. Women are too emotional. Men want a management job which women hold. Women should subscribe to a passive, domineering image. Men and women should not work together too closely.  

Women are virtually excluded from all middle and upper management levels and even their first level assignments are limited to staff roles or the supervision of other women. The management progression is sex segregated, an extension of the non-management promotion ladder. Bell has restricted supervisory craft jobs to men. This requirement for management training and has had no qualms about placing men in the upper levels of the Traffic Department. The ratification of sex segregated, non-management jobs leads to exclude females from the more lucrative management jobs.
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workers still represented only 1.3 percent of all telephone employees, while they represented 10 percent of the national population.10 This decline, however, witnessed a breakthrough: blacks began to be hired into jobs above the service worker and laborer level. Most of the employment gained by blacks was in the job of Operator, marking the beginning of an important new trend in black employment in the telephone companies. Between 1940 and 1950, the number of black female Operators increased tenfold, while the number of black male Operators entered the phone companies. Most of those hired were females in the job of Operator, marking the beginning of a new pattern of hiring black females for the Operator job.11

This new pattern of hiring black females for the Operator job was to develop rapidly into the single most significant pattern of black employment in the Bell System. By the end of 1947, 30 percent of all females employed by the Bell operating companies were Operators.12 However, their absolute number of black Operators hired in the 1940's was still very small. Consequently, by 1950, less than 1.0 percent of all females in the telephone companies were Operators. Moreover, this modest increase in black employment as Operators during the 1940's was almost certainly due to economic factors. Not only did this trend begin long before the modern civil rights movement, but, more importantly, it came at a time when the Bell System was rapidly expanding and in the job in which turnover was always great. Furthermore, job opportunities for females in general vastly increased during this wartime period, and the Bell System experienced greater difficulties attracting white females for the Operator job.13

1950-1960

By 1960, black employment in the telephone industry had inched up to 2.5 percent of the total Industry employment. In that same year, blacks comprised 10.5 percent of the nation's unemployed. The increase in black employment during the 1950's, according to John Hope Franklin, then was a major breakthrough. However, the black employment distribution throughout the nation, the increase in the number of black Operators during the 1950's must be examined in the context of the other major areas of concentration for blacks in major urban populations: the five states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan and Ohio, and the five SMSAs of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, and Los Angeles.14 This increase, like that of the 1940's, was dictated in large part by labor market conditions in major urban industrial areas.15

Decline in the South. In contrast to this很明显地-concentrated increase in black employment, the 1950's also saw a reduction in the number of jobs held by blacks in most Southern states. Black male employment was particularly affected.16

The decline in the percentage of black employment in the Bell System (now Southwestern Bell and Southern Bell Central Bell), Southwestern Bell, and C&P (Va.) was the result of the large number of telephone employees combined with the continued relocation of black individuals to the various Bell operating company headquarters.17 This geographical pattern thus constitutes the second major trend in black employment in the telephone industry. While many companies in the North, particularly in areas with major urban populations, began to hire black employees, the employment of blacks above service worker and laborer largely for economic reasons, the Bell companies in the South continued the racially exclusionary policies of the past.9

Footnotes at end of article.
However, an overwhelming proportion of the black workers in these SMSA’s were still in one job: Operator. Although specific data on the number of black Operators in 1967 is unavailable, EEO-1 reports filed annually with the EEOC by Bell companies (and all larger employers) provide a rough index of the concentration of blacks in the Operator’s job and their virtual exclusion from craft jobs in 1967.

Other substantial documentary material supports the conclusion that Southern Bell and Southwestern Bell officially excluded blacks from all the lowest jobs well into the 1960’s. Among the highlights of this material is the following: In the entire state of Mississippi, Southern Bell employed no blacks in any entry-level jobs above service worker or laborer until June, 1965. In New Orleans, Southern Bell hired its first black above service worker or laborer in November, 1963, and its first black Operator one year later. The company hired its first black Operator in Florida in March, 1964, and in South Carolina in July, 1964. Southwestern Bell hired its first black above service worker or laborer until June, 1965. In New Orleans, Southern Bell hired its first black above service worker or laborer in November, 1963, and its first black Operator one year later. The company hired its first black Operator in Florida in March, 1964, and in South Carolina in July, 1964. Southwestern Bell hired its first black above service worker or laborer until June, 1965.

In the Bell System, the exclusion of blacks from craft jobs in 1967 was particularly severe in New York, Newark, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Washington, D.C. Southern Bell, which was more than 90% white, had far more blacks in its craft jobs in 1967 than other companies. Table 8 also clearly demonstrates that when compared to other employers, the Southern SMSA’s employed black craft workers at a far lower rate than other companies. (See also EEOC Exhibit 1, pp. 206-209.)

Table 7 shows that in each of the above SMSA’s in 1967, black employment in the “office and clerical” category was significantly lower than in other categories. Churfar and other Tables in Exhibit 1 indicate that an identical pattern existed in all the 30 SMSA’s. Southern Bell, which was more than 90% white, had far more blacks in its craft jobs in 1967 than other companies. However, as Table 8 shows, the concentration of blacks in the Operator’s job was so high that the percentage of blacks in the “office and clerical” category was significantly lower than in other categories. Hence, it is clear that the exclusion of blacks from craft jobs was far more than a matter of personal prejudice; it was a matter of company policy.

The evidence demonstrates that the occupational distribution of black employees in the Bell System followed a uniform pattern, regardless of the total employment figures for any particular company. Whether in the West, North, East or South, in the 1960’s black employees at Bell companies were primarily females classified as “office and clerical” employees. The pattern of black occupational distribution which first emerged in the 1940’s and early 1950’s continued in the 1960’s, evident in all areas. Somehow, black employment was being concentrated in the lowest-paying, least-desirable, dead-end jobs in the Bell System. Blacks still had not obtained a significant number of high-paying craft jobs in any area. This fact emphasizes the futility of the employment advances made by blacks in the Bell System since 1930.

Economic factors affecting black employment. As noted before, the chief chronicler of black employment at the Bell System, Dr. Anderson, has cautioned that “labor market conditions in the North and East...were a major, if not primary, force contributing to the increased employment of blacks as Operators during the 1950’s.” Other evidence, not available to Dr. Anderson, demonstrates conclusively that the same economic factors at work during the 1950’s continued in the 1960’s to push up the employment of blacks in the Operator job, especially in large SMSA’s with sizable black populations. In the last 10 years turn-over among Operators has continued to escalate, resulting in astounding levels of job mobility in major urban areas. It is these areas that are becoming increasingly black and in which the Operators are no longer white. The combination of these factors is rapidly converting the Traffic Department from a predominantly “white-collar” service operation.

This conclusion has been reached repeatedly by persons at the highest levels within the Bell System itself. In October, 1969, an extremely important Report on “Force Loss and the Urban Labor Market” was presented by AT&T Vice President Walter Straley to the assembled Presidents of all Bell companies. According to the report, “What a telephone company needs to know about its labor market [is] who is available for work paying as little as $4,000 to $5,000 a year.” According to Straley’s remarks, two out of three persons available at that wage were blacks: “It is therefore just a plain fact that in today’s world, telephone company wages are more in line with black expectations—and the tighter the labor market the more this is true.” The report concludes: “Population and labor force projections are not at all encouraging. The kind of people that are going to staff our short supply...Most of our new hires go into entry level jobs which means we must have access to an ample supply of people who will work at comparatively low rates of pay.”
That means city people more so than suburbanites. That means lots of February few black males were hired. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the Bell System hired blacks only when there were no economically viable alternatives.

TABLE 10.—BELL SYSTEM EMPLOYMENT OF BLACKS IN "There are not enough white, middle class, success-oriented men and women in the labor force—or at least that portion of the labor force available to operate telephone companies—to supply our requirements for craft and occupational people. And from now on, the number of such people who are available will grow smaller even as our need becomes greater. It is therefore perfectly plain that the policies of the companies will be toward hiring blacks. Not because we are good citizens. Or because it is the law as well as a national goal to give them employment. We need them because we have so many jobs to fill and they will take them. Vice President Straley's findings were repeated in the 1970 Annual Report of ATT's Department of Environmental Affairs: 47.

The tight labor market in many large cities has created shortages of qualified employees in many job categories. Prominent among these is the shortage of qualified applicants for traffic operators, clerical and service representative workers. Shortages are created by high force losses as well as by the scarcity of persons looking for telephone work. . . In a few central city employment pockets among Eastern and midwestern cities, our applicants are 90% black. In the same vein, in December, 1969, the President's Commission for equal opportunity found that blacks were experiencing greater difficulty in hiring and maintaining the quality and quantity of employees to fill the new positions.

The problem . . . is even more acute in our metropolitan areas, where our wage levels are less competitive over the years. 48

"To recapitulate, the increased black employment during the 1960's was dictated by labor market conditions which forced the Bell System to hire black females as Operators. Similar economic factors did not apply to Plant and construction workers, consequently few black males were hired. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the Bell System hired blacks only when there were no economically viable alternatives.

Underrepresentation of blacks in management during the 1970's. By 1969, the Bell System had passed the point where a generation had passed since the first breakthrough by blacks in Operator jobs in the East and North. There is a three year history of ever-increasing black employment, the companies in these areas had had substantial opportunity to place blacks in management. But figures for 1970 show a black picture.

As noted before, all Bell operating companies, New York Tel., already surpassed the area rate by 34 percent. And yet, as of December 31, 1969, only 4.4% of all New York Tel. black employees were in management, while 27.2% of the Company's employees were in management jobs. Analysis of the management statistics for other major long-distance employers of blacks reveals the same situation. (See Table 10.) Unfortunately, by 1970 only a small fraction of blacks had found their way into management, the companies with the worst records being:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New York Tel.</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio Tel.</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell of Pennsylvania</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Telephone</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midatlantic Bell</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois Bell</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EEOC R-1224

Notes at end of article.
and C&P (Va.) was less than 46 percent of the penetration rate for other employees in their areas.

### TABLE 11. BLACK RECRUITMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN 26 SMSA'S, DEC. 31, 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Percent black who are female</th>
<th>Percent black who are male</th>
<th>Percentage of Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bell of Pennsylvania</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>92.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; P. (Ohio)</td>
<td>74.5</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>92.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana Bell</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan Bell</td>
<td>76.4</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>92.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York (Fla.)</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>67.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwestern Bell</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>67.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Northwest Bell</td>
<td>72.4</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>52.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New England Telephone</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>90.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey Bell</td>
<td>80.6</td>
<td>20.2</td>
<td>54.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York (N.Y.)</td>
<td>88.4</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>52.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio Bell</td>
<td>79.1</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>62.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Tel</td>
<td>76.2</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Bell</td>
<td>79.8</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>65.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Central Bell</td>
<td>80.5</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>65.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell</td>
<td>77.3</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C &amp; P (Virginia)</td>
<td>75.9</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>67.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outside the South</td>
<td>85.1</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>60.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EEOC 6/61, EEOC 6/69, and census data.

### TABLE 12. BLACK OCCUPATIONAL STANDING IN THE Bell System, DEC. 31, 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Black penetration rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bell System</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C &amp; P (all)</td>
<td>77.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C &amp; P (all)</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C &amp; P (all)</td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell System</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C &amp; P (all)</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C &amp; P (all)</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell System</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C &amp; P (all)</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: EEOC 6/61—EEOC 6/69

Explorations at end of article.

No black males or females were employed in the Bell System. The previous chapter noted that one way to measure the discrimination against blacks in the Bell System is to examine the disproportionate representation of blacks in its black force in contrast to white force. As shown in Table 12, 72,000 blacks employed in the System at the end of 1970, 79 percent were female, while only 23.4 percent of all Anglos were female. In no company were more than 67.4 percent of the white employees female, while in five companies (Michigan Bell, New Jersey Bell, New England Telephone, and Southern Bell) at least 80 percent of the black workers were female.

This should not be taken to mean that black females are well employed. As noted before, they have lower-paying major job in the System. Since "females" are appropriately identical to low-paying jobs, it is no surprise that when blacks entered the System in substantial numbers, they would be black females. "Male" jobs are higher-paying and more rewarding. Just as white males are better off than the few blacks in Mobile. They are all locked into low-paying jobs.

The heavy concentration of blacks in the Bell System is striking. In the 30 SMSA's, 54.4 percent of all black employees were in the Traffic Department, while only 23.4 percent of all Anglos held jobs in that department. Almost exactly the opposite pattern existed in the Plant Dept.; 37.3 percent of all blacks but 44.0 percent of all Anglos were in Plant jobs, while only 77 percent of all whites were in that department.

Compared with Plant, the largest department in the operating companies, the concentration of blacks in the Traffic Department is striking. In the 30 SMSA's, 54.4 percent of all black employees were in the Traffic Dept., while only 23.4 percent of all Anglo employees held jobs in that department. Almost exactly the opposite pattern existed in the Plant Dept.; 27.3 percent of all blacks but 44.0 percent of all Anglos were in Plant jobs, while only 23.4 percent of all whites were in that department.

Black service workers. As noted above, until the 1940's service worker jobs were the only ones available to blacks in any Bell company. The restriction prevailed in the Southern Bell System until the mid-1940's, and in 1971 these classifications still seemed to be the only ones reserved for blacks, especially in the South. (See Table 14.) Although nationwide blacks comprise only 1.8 percent of all employees in the operating companies in 1971, they made up 37.3 percent of all service workers. Thus, the chance that a black employee will be a full-time all one and one-half times greater than a white employee in the South there are still virulently white service workers.

Black Operators. When blacks were first hired into jobs other than service worker or laborer, they were almost immediately consigned to the Traffic Department. By the end of 1970, the Operator's job in some SMSA's had become a "black job." In the 30 selected
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SMMA's at the end of 1970, a black employee was almost three times as likely to be an Operator as a white employee. While only 18 percent of all blacks were Operators, only 19 percent of all whites were Operators.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Service workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C. &amp; P. (Va.)</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>82.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>58.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Central</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwestern</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>67.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While 43.2 percent of all blacks were Operators, only 14.9 percent of all blacks were Operators. Thus, the chance that an Operator will be black is 2.6 times greater than the chance that a Service Representative will be black.

As with other black employment, a regional pattern is discernible in this underutilization of blacks. Northern Bell Telephone, the South Central Bell and Southwestern Bell districts had, in the Spring of 1971, never employed a black Service Representative. Eleven of the twelve cities with the greatest disparities between the percentage of blacks who are Service Representatives and those who are Operators were in the South. But in every SMSA, the percentage of black Operators was higher than the percentage of black Service Representatives.

Blacks in crafts. Black participation in the telephone crafts, the highest-paying non-management positions in the company, was also quite low when measured by almost any standard. Using even the most lenient criterion, the employment of blacks in crafts by all employers in the area, the Bell System's performance is deficient. Thirteen of the twenty operating companies have been hiring blacks for decades. But the high-paying craft jobs are an entirely different story. A black is 3 times more likely to wind up a Janitor than is a white. A black is also 3 times more likely to have a salary of $7,000 or less than a white. A black is more likely to have a maximum basic annual wage of $10,000 or more, while 35 percent of all white employees are earning such a low salary. Thus, the chance that a black employee will have a salary of $7,000 or less is roughly twice as great as that of a white employee.

Across SMSAs, the record is mixed. For example, in the 30 SMSAs at the end of 1970, 90.7 percent of all black employees were in jobs paying maximum basic annual wage of $7,900 or less; only 34.6 percent of all white employees were in such jobs. Even more staggering is the disparity in the 30 SMSAs still employed blacks at a rate significantly higher than the population of Greensboro, for instance, none were black; the population of Greensboro is 10.9 percent black.

Blacks in management. Finally, blacks were grossly underrepresented in management in all the companies. (See Table 15.) Of approximately 82,000 white telephone craft employees in the 30 SMSAs, 50.2 percent were in top craft jobs. Of 4,660 black craft employees, only 34.9 percent were in top craft jobs.

Blacks, however, were more likely to be in the telephone crafts, 2.4 times greater than that an entry-level craft employee would be black. When compared with all craft employees, the chance that an Operator would be black was three times greater than that an entry-level craft employee would be black. When compared with general managers, the chance that a white craft employee will have a salary of $7,000 or less is roughly twice as great as that of a black craft employee.

Comparison with the Operator classification makes the underutilization in the crafts even more glaring. While 34.2 percent of all Operators were black, only 11.3 percent of all entry-level SMSMA's were black. In other words, the chance that a black employee will be in a top craft position was 4.7 times greater than the chance that a white employee would be in a top craft position. Again, the Southern Bell has less than half a chance that a white employee will reach a job paying $10,000 or more is at least four times greater than for a black employee.

Conclusion. The evidence for December 31, 1970, demonstrates the inexorable effect of the occupational trends discussed in the historical section. The early relegation of blacks to laborer and service worker jobs is reflected in the fact that a black is still 5 1/2 times more likely to wind up a Janitor than is a white. A black is also 3 times more likely to be an Operator. But the high-paying craft jobs are an entirely different story. A black has less than half a chance that a white has of obtaining one of those jobs. Thus, it is absolutely clear that blacks are not randomly distributed in all jobs. They are concentrated in those the best jobs certainly do not support the Bell system's claim of leadership. On the contrary, the evidence would support exactly the opposite conclusion.

Summary. Thirty years after the Bell System first began to desegregate and six and one-half years after equal employment became the law of the land, Bell companies in most of the 30 SMSAs still employed blacks at a rate

Footnotes at end of article.
less than that of the population or lower even than the average of all major employers.

The companies in the South had failed by large measure to match even the minimal efforts of the rest of the System.

Those who have been employed in the Bell System have been largely relegated to the lowest paying, least desirable jobs in the company.

The black worker does not have an equal chance to get the work force to concentrate blacks into the job of Operator.

**Paper Credentials for Hiring**

**Diploma requirements.** Initially every operating company in the Bell System required at least a high school diploma for every entry-level non-management job above service worker. The impact of this requirement is obvious. Since a much greater proportion of whites graduate from high school than do blacks, the much greater proportion of the white labor market is presumed "qualified" to work in the Bell System.

Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Percent black</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>319.1</td>
<td>75.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisors</td>
<td>1,151</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>1,140</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office</td>
<td>1,140</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salesmen</td>
<td>1,140</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPITR 9: BELL SYSTEM PRACTICES AS THEY AFFECT BLACKS**

This chapter will examine the hiring and promotion practices which screen out blacks from the better jobs, creating the picture of black employment which has been described in the previous Chapter.

As has been repeatedly emphasized, the low rate at which blacks participated in high school and college education in the South had led to a much lower proportion of blacks in the Bell System than in other industries. This lag in education and training has come about for three reasons. First, due to extraordinary high turnover among non-management employees, the Bell System hires approximately two hundred thousand persons every year. Second, Bell System employment is concentrated in SMSA's which are the bulk of Bell's population in the United States. Third, virtually all of the new employees hired by Bell companies each year possess minimal job skills. The confluence of these elements would lead one to expect that in almost every SMSA the black population rate of blacks in the Bell System would have been surpassed the all-industry average. But, of course, this did not happen. The low utilization of blacks in the Bell System is easily explained by deliberate racially discriminatory hiring practices. Elsewhere, the lag in reaching the all-industry average is largely explained by Bell System pre-employment criteria which tend to screen out blacks and screen in whites. Two criteria—paper credentials and test scores—are of paramount importance and will be examined below. Following a general discussion of educational and testing policies of the Bell System, an analysis of labor market forces will show how the Bell System's educational and testing policies have worked to concentrate blacks into the job of Operator.

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**Prefernece for diploma.** While historically a high school diploma was required for all jobs in the Bell System, it is also very important to observe that the high school diploma requirement has been widely attacked because of the shortcomings of good employees and its differential impact on blacks. It no longer has the same status that it once did in the Bell System. Therefore, the economic reasons discussed below, the high school diploma requirement was generally abandoned for the operator job many years ago.

The requirement as to craft jobs is an entirely different story. However, the idea that all craft applicants have to be high school graduates is dying hard. All companies continued to require a high school diploma for craft jobs long after that requirement had been discarded for operators. At least three companies, Illinois Bell, Ohio Bell and Southwestern Bell, used recruiting brochures in 1971 which indicate that the requirement still existed for craft jobs. Even those companies which no longer require a diploma to become qualified for all craft applicants have to be high school diploma has some substantial relationship to actual job performance.

**Craft test battery.** The specific tests which compose the craft battery have changed periodically, but the impact on blacks has remained essentially the same, irrespective of the name of the test given. In 1964, the two primary tests in the craft battery were the Wonderlic and the Bennett Mechanical Comprehension Test. This particular combination of tests has been widely used in industry and is particularly disturbing in the South. Southern Bell, South Central, and Southern Bell, have the same test battery in employining black craft workers. Under such circumstances, the continued use of the present test for high school graduates can be justified only if there is persuasive evidence that the possession of a high school diploma is related to actual job performance. The Bell System has never undertaken any study to determine if college training is at all related to being a good Service Representative or Sales Representative. Indeed, AT&T has never thoroughly analyzed either job to see what characteristics contribute to good performance, and AT&T has instead adopted blanket educational requirements to fill the void. This is not only longer black poor performance, but it is also very poor equal employment policy.

No employer can lawfully utilize hiring criteria which systematically reject disadvantaged class of workers unless there is evidence that the criteria are valid predictors of job success. As noted by a 1970 Southern Bell publication, "twice as many Negroes drop out of high school as do whites. In the ghetto the dropout rate often tops 70 percent of any given class." This is particularly disturbing in the South. C&P paper credential requirements give a very decided advantage to whites. Nationwide in 1970, 31.6% of all whites in the 18 to 24 age bracket had 1 or more years of college, but only 20.0% of blacks. Hence, the discrimination in favor of whites is quite surprising for three reasons. First, Bell System companies each year possess minimal education of blacks in the South is easily explained by the concentration of blacks in work force and their low educational attainment. A study of hiring practices. Elsewhere, the lag in reaching the all-industry average is largely explained by Bell System pre-employment criteria which tend to screen out blacks and screen in whites. Two criteria—paper credentials and test scores—are of paramount importance and will be examined below. Following a general discussion of educational and testing policies of the Bell System, an analysis of labor market forces will show how the Bell System's educational and testing policies have worked to concentrate blacks into the job of Operator.

Test score requirements for hiring

Although paper credential requirements are a serious obstacle to black employment in all Bell System companies, the requirements imposed by AT&T are even greater barrier to black applicants. As was observed in the discussion of paper credentials and hiring tests, one of the most significant is the continued use of the Wonderlic Test from the name of the test given. In 1964, the two primary tests in the craft battery were the Wonderlic and the Bennett Mechanical Comprehension Test. This particular combination of tests has been widely used in industry and is particularly disturbing in the South. Southern Bell, South Central, and Southern Bell, have the same test battery in employing black craft workers. Under such circumstances, the continued use of the present test for high school graduates can be justified only if there is persuasive evidence that the possession of a high school diploma is related to actual job performance. The Bell System has never undertaken any study to determine if college training is at all related to being a good Service Representative or Sales Representative. Indeed, AT&T has never thoroughly analyzed either job to see what characteristics contribute to good performance, and AT&T has instead adopted blanket educational requirements to fill the void. This is not only longer black poor performance, but it is also very poor equal employment policy.

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to keep blacks from obtaining a proportionate share of telephone company jobs. The Bell System's natural inclination not to promote blacks to better jobs is, therefore, still a widespread and deeply ingrained bias.

The Bell System practice which cause concentration of blacks out of the Operator job

Most blacks in the Bell System suffer from a double handicap—they are at once both black and female. The Bell companies give them no opportunity to reach management of either group. As the Bell companies move into the 1970's, black females into the Operator's job.

visa of the Bell System are female. Data presented earlier show that nationwide in 1971, 79% of black employees were female. Other material showed that females have much less opportunity to reach management than males. It is clear, therefore, that simply because a disproportionate number of blacks are female, they do not have nearly the same chance of reaching management as do whites in the Bell System.

Black operators. Second, compounding the problem, a disproportionate number of black female operators, department where the chance of promotion are slim. Table 12 presented earlier, shows that in 1971 in the 30 SMSA's, the percentage of black employees in the Traffic Department is more than twice as great in black SMSA middle and upper management personnel for all other departments and, approximately 60% of all Bell System middle and upper-level managers are college graduate hires, and black college graduates are in relatively short supply. Table 4, 1971, shows the dearth of black managers in the Bell System are four: (1) most black employees are Operators and, hence, promotion opportunities are slim; (2) most black females are Operators in the Traffic Department, (3) the Traffic Department is more than twice as great as in other departments; and (4) "approximately 50% of all management personnel for all other departments are college graduate hires, and black employees in the Traffic Department are predominantly black female.

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Footnotes at end of article.
This figure contrasts sharply with the 28.6% of the Traffic Department which was black.

Moreover, craft employees in the Traffic Department have a dead-end job and a job which permeates the American dream is that a man may advance as fast as his talents and effort are rewarded. It is almost unbelievable that a citizen of this great country should be relegated to unmitting toll with only a glimmer of light in the midst of it all.

Chapter 11—The Invisible Minority

Spanish-surnamed Americans have been described as "the invisible minority," and in the Bell System this is quite literally true. Although there are significant concentrations of Spanish-surnamed Americans in the inner cities and ghettos of the nation's major urban centers, and many large employers utilize them extensively in their workforce very few are employed by the Bell System. The current Bell System utilization of Spanish-speaking minorities resembles the position of blacks in the early 1960's before the legal, economic and social pressures to provide equal opportunity began to be felt.

Every statistical measure points to the exclusion of Spanish-surnamed Americans from the Bell System's work force, particularly at the higher levels. The same pernicious system which blocked the progress of blacks also serves as an obstacle to Spanish-surnamed Americans. Come.

We never followed a policy of discrimination in employment. And for many years we conducted programs to make our overall employment profile reflect the population characteristics of the states we served.

Such plous statements of intent bear no relationship to the operating companies' consistent poor performance. In none of the twenty SMSA's surveyed (each of which has a substantial Spanish-surnamed American population) does Bell's total employment of Spanish-surnamed Americans approach their proportion in the population. (See Table 17.)

In the last thirty SMSA's underutilization of Spanish-surnamed workers by over 140% in order to achieve parity with the population. These statistics alone describe a pervasve pattern of discrimination.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SMSA</th>
<th>Spanish-surnamed American penetration %</th>
<th>Percent of all-Americans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chicago</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>436.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dallas</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>436.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denver</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>436.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Houston</td>
<td>0.18</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Los Angeles</td>
<td>0.25</td>
<td>436.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenix</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>436.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Antonio</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>115.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>0.66</td>
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His work will be appreciated and his work rewarded. "Work without home," said Coleridge, "draws nectar in a sieve, and hope an ointment with which permeates the American dream is that a man may advance as fast as his talents and effort are rewarded. It is almost unbelievable that a citizen of this great country should be relegated to unmitting toll with only a glimmer of light in the midst of it all.

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Other indexes make the pattern conclusive. To take the selected SMSA's how does Bell's employment of Spanish-surnamed Americans even approach that of other employers in their areas. (See Chart 22.) Similarly, in the three companies (Pacific Tel., Mountain Bell and Southwestern Bell) that major Spanish-surnamed populations in their areas, the Spanish-surnamed Americans at a rate comparable does Bell's employment of Spanish-surnamed Americans is, in fact, quite comparable to the utilization of blacks in Southern Bell, Southern Bell and C&P (Va.).

Such a low level of Spanish-surnamed American employment five and one-half years after the effective date of Title VII, destroys any pretentious claims of leadership in the field. It points instead to company policies which operate effectively to exclude Spanish-surnamed Americans.

The occupational position of Spanish-surnamed Americans

The few Spanish-surnamed Americans who survive Bell's hiring juggernaut are, like women and blacks, confined to the lowest non-management and excluded from management almost altogether. The average Spanish-surnamed employee in the 30 SMSA's can expect to earn only 76% as much as her or his Anglo counterpart.9 The most striking differences occur at the wage extremes. Although only 46% of all employees (including a pay range of $7000 to $10,000 per year, 64% of all Spanish-surnamed Americans are in the lowest bracket. Compared, Americans in the first 6% of all Spanish-surnamed employees earn more than $10,000 per year, only 8% of all Spanish-surnamed Americans have reached this level. (Chart 25.)

As might be expected, pitifully few Spanish-surnamed Americans within the Bell System have reached management. As noted earlier, one-fourth of Bell's Anglo employees are managers; yet only a paltry 6% of Spanish-surnamed employees are managers.9 Consistent with the pattern for women and blacks, almost all (90.5%) Spanish-surnamed Americans are in the lowest income level while one-third of all Anglos have progressed to more responsible and more remunerative positions.

By any measure, the discrimination against Spanish-surnamed Americans is both intensive and extensive. All rationalizations for these disparities must be rejected because (1) other employers have been able to employ Spanish-surnamed Americans in much greater numbers than the Bell operating companies, and (2) Bell's employment policies inevitably lock out those of Spanish ancestry.

The policies which exclude Spanish-surnamed Americans

It is axiomatic that the same employment, hiring and promotion policies which screen out blacks will have a similarly disparate effect on Spanish-surnamed Americans, perhaps to an even greater degree. These facts cannot, however, account for all of the difference in participation between blacks and Spanish-surnamed Americans in companies like New York and Los Angeles. The conclusion is inescapable that while some Bell companies have made substantial efforts to employ blacks, albeit in the lowest classifications, the pattern of exclusion has been made to eliminate ingrained discrimination against Spanish-surnamed Americans.

The pattern of discrimination through years of tradition, continued unabated into the 1970's with little prospect of change.

Footnotes at end of article.

Recruitment. Bell has never been fully cognizant of the extent of its extensive recruitment efforts. In 1971 none of the 12 SMSA's used any recruitment procedures that could be translated into Spanish. In fact, in five of the SMSA's surveyed there were no brochures which even contained pictures of Spanish-surnamed employment.11 This finding does not say the need to let blacks know that they will be welcome in the company, but no such need has been felt for Spanish-surnamed Americans.

In 1971 Pacific Tel. recognized its responsibility under the law to bring its employment picture into equality with the ethnic composition of the community.

"This isn't an easy balance to keep since often the people of the needed ethnic groups don't walk in the door . . . If they don't come to us—and they usually don't—we're obligated to find ways to bring them in . . ." Bell has hardly fulfilled its "obligation" to find ways to bring Spanish-surnamed Americans into its workforce.

... in the employment of Spanish-surnamed Americans is analogous to the Southern companies' reliance in the employment of blacks and the result is the same.

The interviews. Spanish-surnamed interviewers are a particular rarity in Bell's central offices in New York and Los Angeles. Of the surveyed SMSA's have no Spanish-surnamed interviewers and four SMSA's have only one. Dr. or Mr. English alone is not adequate to screen out a much greater proportion of the Spanish-surnamed applicants than of other national origin applicants. The employment interview process itself " . . . is bound to be hard on minority group applicants because English proficiency comes from disavantaged backgrounds . . .". The interviewer's cultural biases and past Company practices have screened him or her in an attempt to discourage the applicant and to seek reasons for disqualifying him or her.

Bell has made no systematic effort to determine whether Spanish-surnamed Americans are disproportionately rejected during the employment interview. All of the available data indicate, however, that the lack of Spanish-surnamed interviewers and the opportunity for prejudice inherent in Bell's interview process combine to screen this minority out.

Hiring standards. The hiring standards used by the Bell System have a particularly devastating effect on the Spanish-surnamed. The physical fitness requirements (or preference) of a high school or college diploma screens out a much greater proportion of the Spanish-surnamed population. While less than half of the Spanish-surnamed Americans in the country in the 25-34 year age bracket have completed high school, almost three-fourths of the non-Spanish-surnamed population has completed high school. Among those with some college education, the disparity is even greater. Only 15% of all Spanish-surnamed Americans have completed at least one year of college compared to 50% for all other national origins.10 This preference for paper credentials, which is unrelated to ability or performance, eliminates a sizeable portion of the Spanish-surnamed population.

The testing requirements, discussed in detail above, are a significant segment of Spanish-surnamed Americans. The evidence of the few studies conducted indicates clearly that Spanish-surnamed Americans score significantly lower on the average than Anglos on Bell's current test batteries. Typical, a test battery designed to screen out the effect of its tests on those of Spanish descent. There has been at least one effort (by New Jersey) to adapt the test batteries to Spanish-surnamed Americans by translating the debunked Wonderlic Test into Spanish.12 The incompatibility of an intelligence test based on the Anglo culture translated into Spanish is obvious. In fact, New Jersey Bell recognized that "there appear to be justifications for concern that the phraseology of the test questions are not readily understandable or familiar to natives of Puerto Rico, Cuba or South America."13 No other attempt has been made to modify the test batteries to Spanish or to produce a culturally fair test for Spanish-surnamed applicants.

In as much as these test batteries have never been shown to be predictive of job performance for Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, or others of Spanish descent, the data indicate that the use of the Bell System test batteries, without modification, is discriminatory against Spanish-surnamed Americans.

Besides these barriers, common to both Spanish-surnamed and black applicants, there are two unique obstacles to Spanish-surnamed employment. First, the often extraneous requirement that almost perfect English be spoken is a substantial barrier to many Spanish-surnamed Americans. Only one company, New Jersey Bell, has made spe- cific efforts to identify those jobs for which written or spoken English is not a requirement.16 On the contrary, Pacific Tel. and Mountain Bell have found employment at Bell are in the lowest paying jobs, Spanish-surnamed Americans. Irrelevant language and height requirement will be able to meet these height standards. As pointed out in Chapter 4, these requirements are contradictory between companies and have not been shown to be necessary for performance on the job. Until such a showing, this requirement must also be treated as evidence of its disproportionate impact on the Spanish-surnamed.

Summary

Spanish-surnamed Americans are employed by Bell at a rate significantly lower than their proportion in the population or their proportion in the work force of area employers. The Spanish-surnamed Americans who have made employment gains at Bell are in the lowest paying classifications and are virtually excluded from management.

Bell's current employment pattern with regard to Spanish-surnamed Americans is analogous to the position of blacks in the Southern companies during the 1960's. Bell's recruitment and hiring policies which restrict black employment, have an even greater impact on Spanish-surnamed Americans. Irrelevant language and height requirements further impede Spanish-surnamed employment.

Bell has made no substantial effort to improve the employment status of Spanish-surnamed Americans.

Conclusion

As with women and blacks, the most telling indication of the impact of discrimination on Spanish-surnamed Americans is the annual loss of wages. Because they are denied employment at Bell and therefore they are confined to the lowest paying jobs, Spanish-surnamed Americans lose over $137 million annually. (See Chart 26.)

This figure dramatizes Bell's total unresponsiveness to the plight of the Spanish-surnamed American. This "invisible minority" has been pushed aside, and its resulting deprivation is eloquently described in a poem by Rodolfo Gonzalez.
Chapter 2—Women in the Bell System: A study in sex segregation

EEOC Exhibit 1, Chart 209 and 211.  
EEOC Finding no. 3618.  
EEOC Finding no. 58. See also EEOC Finding nos. 193-199.  
EEOC Finding no. 2464.  
EEOC Z-686. See also EEOC Exhibit 1, Table 448.