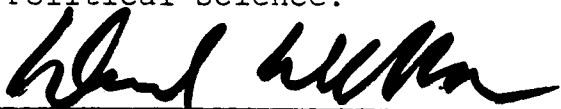
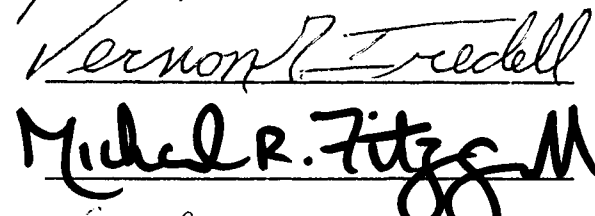
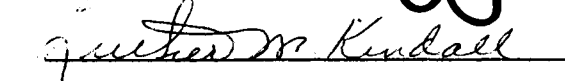


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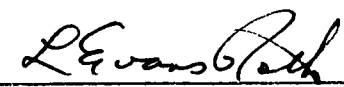
I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by James Edward Mock entitled "The Black Political Executives and Black Political Interests: 1961-1980." I have examined the final copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Political Science.


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THE BLACK POLITICAL EXECUTIVES AND BLACK
POLITICAL INTERESTS: 1961-1980

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

James Edward Mock

August 1981

3053678

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of this research and earlier years of study result from the effort of many people. While there are several persons who were involved in this endeavor, a few persons stand out and must be mentioned individually. I am particularly indebted to Drs. Creasie Harrison, Joseph Dodd, Tom Unga and Michael Fitzgerald of the University of Tennessee for their interest, instruction and guidance during my years of graduate study.

The members of my committee, Dr. Robert Peterson, Dr. Luther Kindall, Dr. Vernon Iredell, and Dr. Michael Fitzgerald deserve special notes of thanks for the time and effort they devoted to this project. Dr. David Welborn, chairman of my committee kindly provided his capable advice and direction during the planning and writing of this study. Dr. Welborn has earned special recognition and thanks for his efforts.

I must also express my gratitude to Mrs. Carolyn Littlejohn and Mrs. Robie Airhihenbuwa for their willingness and patience to type this dissertation. But above all, I am most grateful for the consideration, prayers and understanding of my mother "E" and my nephew Al. Middlebrook.

I hope the successful completion of my graduate studies will serve as partial repayment to all who aided me.

ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to determine the extent to which Black political executives in the federal government represent the Black community. The study is based on interviews with 106 Blacks who have served in appointive positions and in recognition of the need for Black representation in the formulation of national policy. Black political executives are conceptualized as persons having been appointed to policy making positions. They are operationalized as those Blacks appointed to executive grade positions at the top five levels of government between 1961 and 1980.

The research explores appointment patterns and personal characteristics, role orientations, and experiences of Black appointees. Major findings of the study include: most appointees are highly educated males who are appointed in greater numbers during Democratic than Republican administrations; few appointees have been members of the most activist civil rights organizations; the general role orientation of Black political executives has become more activist over time; most enter government with an agenda indirectly related to promotion of the Black interest; of thirteen independent variables used to explain variation in the general role orientation, only sex, appointee Black activism, and parent Black activism were statistically significant predictors; women assume more passive role orientations and men more activist

role orientations; and, the experiences of the executives are a mixture of accomplishment and frustrations.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study derives from a concern with the contemporary American political situation. It addresses questions about the representation of minority interests, especially those of the Black community, in the formulation of national public policy. Any analysis of the past is only to help in understanding how the present came into being and in projecting future trends or directions. In order to obtain a complete understanding of the "representation dilemma" of Black America, the limits of this inquiry would have to be fixed as far apart as the introduction of slavery and reconstruction, on the one hand, and the end of the civil rights movement on the other.

Ideally, any analysis of representation of Blacks should become clearer in the present than up to the end of the civil rights period in the 1960's. The phenomenon of group politics and the increased participation of Blacks in the political process require an extensive investigation. This investigation is required so that there can be a rational formulation of strategy and tactics for Black participation and awareness. This study can not go that far; it is limited by historical facts in the same way that many studies

of comparative governments have failed to include African political systems in them. In most cases the data were not kept or facts are only beginning to emerge. It is not that Blacks have not been involved in the political process, but few scholars have given recognition to this fact.

With the advent of the civil rights movement and the attendant demands for broader based community input and expanded participation in governmental decision-making processes, a new phenomenon has occurred: the emergence of an increasing number of Black political executives in federal government. These executives are filling positions which were virtually the sole province of White males until recent years. There is the sense that the number of Black political executives has increased, in part in response to pressures from the Black community for greater representation in national policy-making. Given an increase in the number of Black political executives, it is important to understand the nature and effects of this change and whether it is more than mere window dressing.

The main purpose of this dissertation is to explore representation of members of the Black community at the political executive levels of the federal government. The representation of particular interests, such as those reflected within the Black community, in relation to policy is an extremely complex matter in both theoretical and empirical terms. Comprehensive examination of the representation of

of Black interests in the national executive branch obviously cannot be undertaken here. Therefore, analysis will center on one means of representation--active participation by members of a minority in government, and more specifically on the appointment and, to a degree, the performance of Blacks in policy-level, political positions. The period to be analyzed is 1961-1980 and covers the Kennedy-Johnson, Nixon-Ford, and Carter administrations. In addition to such matters as numbers and types of appointments, a key problem requiring attention is the views Black political executives bring to government concerning their relationship to the interests of the Black community. Also, for those who perceive a special relationship and who actively seek to represent what they perceive to be Black interests, the resultant consequences for policies and programs requires description and analysis. Specifically, the research addresses the following questions:

1. What has been the pattern in the numbers, positions, backgrounds, and affiliations of the Black political executives appointed to office between 1961 and 1980?
2. How do Black political executives perceive their role in relation to representation of the interests of the Black community?
3. What factors account for differences in the manner in which Black political executives perceive their

relationship to the interests of the Black community?

4. How do Black political executives perceive their general effect on government policies and programs and their effect in relation to Black interests?
5. What characteristics of structure and process at the upper levels of government affect representation of the interests of the Black community through political executives, and what is the nature of the Black political executive experience in government relative to perceived support given by superiors, colleagues, and subordinates?

In recent years, an increasing concern for distributive justice and equal opportunity has become an important feature of politics. These concerns have produced a great deal of emphasis on obtaining more effective representation in government on the part of Blacks and other minority interests. A few studies, discussed below, have examined related problems of representation and recent experience in broad terms. None have focused, as does this analysis, on the highest levels of government.

There are several ways in which this study, as conceived, is significant. First, it yields basic information now lacking about an important recent development in government. Second, as a study of one experience in active

representation of minority groups in government, it adds to the understanding of this phenomenon at theoretical and conceptual levels. Third, its findings are of value to Blacks and others in devising strategies for enlarging their influence and effectiveness in government.

The Problem of Representation

To obtain a clear understanding of representation requires extensive investigation. This investigation is necessary because in the literature, representation is a concept about which there is considerable disagreement and confusion. Three basic problems contribute to this condition. The first problem centers around the meaning and various usages of the word representation. A second problem concerns the role or relationship between the representative and his constituents. The third problem concerns the conflict between a democratic versus a representative government.

The conceptual confusion surrounding the meaning and usage of the word representation surfaced in the literature as early as the writings of Hobbes who held in the Leviathan that every government necessarily represented its subjects.¹ In essence, the problem is that the term means different things to different people. In the United States, to some

¹Thomas Hobbes, Leviathan (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1950), ch. 17.

representation means the geographic apportionment of legislative positions. To others it is a much broader concept, extending even to the pluralistic reflection of major political groups or causes in government. To others, representation implies a God given right to have a say in what happens to one and is thus linked with the idea of self-government. It is through such linkages that the concept of representation has become entwined with democracy and is such an important consideration in regard to the various institutions of government.

The relationship between representatives and the represented presents difficult problems in theory and in practice. Among the scholars attempting to bring clarity to the confusion about the meaning of representation is Pitkin.² She identifies four theoretical types of representation as authorization, accountability, "acting for" and "standing for." In the first type, authorization, the representative is one who has been authorized by the electorate, and his actions are within the limits of his given authority. Whatever the representative does is considered as representing. This view of representation applies to various forms of government, dictatorial as well as democratic, since every government has authority over its subjects and has laws. Thus, Pitkin concluded that since in a formalistic sense the actions

² Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, The Concept of Representation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

taken by the representative not only are binding on the subjects but are attributed to the subjects as well, all governments "are" representative in this perspective.

The second theory of representation, "accountability," Pitkin suggests, is "empty of substantive content" and "is not an important strand in the literature of representation."³ In this view, representation is defined not in terms of authority but in terms of accountability. The representative is one "who is to be held to account, who will have to answer to another for what he does."⁴ In the final analysis, Pitkin concluded that the difference between the authorization view and the accountability view is that the former "defines a representative as someone who has been elected," while the latter defines "him as someone who will be subject to election. Where the one sees representation as initiated in a certain way, the other sees it as terminated in a certain way."⁵

The accountability and authorization theories, while opposed to each other, have similar limitations. As Ford asserts, their defining criteria fall "outside the activity of representing itself-before it begins or after it ends. In both views there is no recognition of the activity of representing"; to represent simply means to act after authorization or to act before being held to account.⁶

³Ibid., p.55.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., p.58.

⁶Henry J. Ford, Representative Government (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1924), p.157.

The third theory of representation suggested by Pitkin is that of "acting for." In this view representation is an activity in behalf of and in the interest of some other groups or person. The agent is representing what or whoever he acts for, speaks for, looks after, or is concerned with. This view poses problems for theorists since the question of how the agent can most effectively vote, act, or speak for his constituents must be answered. Pitkin identifies the controversy that has developed as the "Mandate-Independence Controversy,"⁷ which is a question of the relationships between constituents and their representative. The assumption of the theory is that there is variation in the actions of the instructed and uninstructed representative.⁷

In the fourth theory of representation, "standing for" others, both "descriptive" and "symbolic" representation is involved. In a descriptive sense, those representing will reflect in demographic and geographic terms the composition of their constituents' wishes in significant ways. On the other hand, in symbolic representation the constituents perceive the representative to be acceptable, convincing, or pleasing.

Out of the four theories of representation presented by Pitkin, the "acting for" theory seems to be the most useful for this dissertation, presumably because it allows for

⁷Pitkin, The Concept of Representation, p.146.

an examination of the actions of the representative. This study is concerned with the "acting for" type because in the literature on representative bureaucracy and in the discussions on Blacks in the bureaucracy, which will be examined in the next section, there is the assumption that members of minorities ought to be represented in government. The sense is that when members of the minorities are in government they will act for members of their group.

One is not to assume that even when "acting for," Black political executives will manifest identical views of the representative's role. Variation may be expected in the ways, the extent, and the circumstances in which members of a racial group "act for" the group. That there may be variation is clearly shown in a major study by Wahlke et al. employing "acting for" theory.⁸

The study examined state legislators and legislative processes. Wahlke and his colleagues sought to determine, among other things, the perceptions held by legislators of their relations with their constituencies. Of major importance in informing this study is the way Wahlke utilized the role orientations of the representatives in building his typology of roles.

Perhaps the main finding of the study was that role orientations of legislators vary, reflecting different notions

⁸John C. Wahlke, et al., The Legislative System: Exploration in Legislative Behavior (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1962).

of representation. The authors identified three major roles: the trustee, the delegate, and the politico. The trustee role is a function of the perceived morality of the representative and his ability to persuade his public to his views if there is a conflict over views. One of the assumptions associated with his role is that the representative must make the decisions because he knows what is best for his constituents. The delegate's role is a function of the representative not using his independent judgments or convictions for decision making. Instead, the delegate consults with his constituents and follows their instructions even when they are counter to his own beliefs. Between the roles of the independent trustee and the mandated delegate is the politico role. The politico's role is a function of the trustee and delegate orientations that are expressed simultaneously or periodically.⁹ It was found that of the three representational role orientations, more legislators perceive themselves to be trustees rather than delegates or politicians.

Consideration of representation traditionally has focused on elected officials, as was the case with Wahkle's study. Today, however, representation within public bureaucracies is of increasing interest. Concerns with political direction and control of bureaucratic decision-making have increased with the growing importance of bureaucracy on the American political scene. Increasingly the concern centers around the prospect of maintaining a "democratic" or "representative" government when key decisions are made by either appointed officials or civil servants. But whether

⁹Ibid., p.278.

the discussion centers around elected or appointed representation the limits of government and the manner and extent to which "the people" are to govern or to be represented are at issue. In the final analysis, what is really involved are the values one places upon government by non-elected bureaucrats or government in accordance with assumptions of democratic theory.¹⁰

Representation in Bureaucracy

This study addresses questions relative to representation, an aspect to which is representation in bureaucracy. Included in our analysis of representation in bureaucracy are major background studies, popular ideas, and theories which have been used in previous studies. The views held by several authors on representation in bureaucracy are reviewed in an analysis of major literature below.

In less than half a century an extensive number of studies concerned with the compatibility of bureaucracy and democracy have been conducted. Notable examples are those of Levitan (1946), Hyneman (1950), Hunter (1959), Redford (1969),¹¹ and others. Increasingly a number of studies have focused upon the

¹⁰See for example, Royce Hanson, The Political Thicket (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1966)

¹¹Daniel N. Levitan, "The Responsibility of Administrative Officials in a Democratic Society," Political Science Quarterly, vol. 61 (December 1946), pp.562-598; Charles Hyneman, Bureaucracy in a Democracy (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950); Floyd Hunter, Top Leadership U.S.A. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959); Emmette S. Redford, Democracy in the Administrative State (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969).

question of representation in the bureaucracy, and especially on the representative character of public bureaucracies in democratic societies. Kingsley's 1944 work, Representative Bureaucracy, is accepted as the pioneer work among scholars. Among subsequent major studies are those of Bendix (1949), Long (1952), Gouldner (1954), Van Riper (1958), Warner et al. (1963), Subramanian (1967), Krislov (1967), 1974), Meier (1975), 1976), Kranz (1976), Heclo (1977), and Rosenbloom (1977, 1979).¹²

¹²Reinhard Bendix, Higher Civil Servants in American Society: A Study of the Social Origins, the Careers and the Power Position of Higher Federal Administrators (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1949); Norton Long, "Bureaucracy and Constitutionalism," American Political Science Review, vol. 46 (September 1952), pp.808-818; Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (New York: Free Press, 1954); Paul R. Van Riper, History of the United States Civil Services: 1889-1957 (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1958); Lloyd W. Warner and Paul R. Van Riper et al., The American Federal Executive (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1963); V. Subramanian, "Representative Bureaucracy, A Ressmentment," American Political Science Review, vol. 61 (December 1967), pp.1010-1019; Samuel Krislov, The Negro in Federal Employment (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967), and Representative Bureaucracy (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1974); Kenneth J. Meier, "Representative Bureaucracy: An Empirical Analysis," American Political Science Review, vol. 69 (June 1975), pp.526-543, and Kenneth J. Meier and Lloyd G. Nigro, "Representative Bureaucracy and Policy Preferences: A Study in the Attitudes of Federal Executives," Public Administration Review, vol. 4 (July-August 1976), 458-468; Harry Kranz, The Participatory Bureaucracy (Lexington, Massachussetts: D. C. Heath & Co., 1976); Hugh Heclo, A Government of Strangers: Executive Politics in Washington (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institutions, 1977); David H. Rosenbloom, Federal Equal Employment Opportunity: Politics and Public Personnel Administration (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977), and David H. Rosenbloom and Douglas Kennard, "Bureaucratic Representation and Bureaucratic Behavior: An Exploratory Ananlysis," Midwest Review of Public Administration, vol. 11 (March 1977), pp.35-42.

Kingsley's view of representative bureaucracy was one in which "ministers and civil servants share the same backgrounds, hold similar social views, and reflect "the dominant forces of society."¹³ Kingsley studied the composition of the British civil service and its capacity by focusing upon class to see its effect upon administrative responsibility and administrative discretion. Without offering exact figures he found the middle class to be dominant in the higher civil service and interpreted this to mean that the middle class "mirrored the dominant forces in society" and thereby "can be entrusted with power."¹⁴ He further interpreted his findings to mean that since responsibility is psychological, "the degree to which all democratic institutions are representative is a matter of prime significance. No group can safely be entrusted with such power who do not themselves mirror the dominant forces in society."¹⁵ Kingsley's claim is that a representative bureaucracy can be tested by analyzing the degree to which the members of the dominant class in the society are found in the bureaucracy.

Bendix, in 1949 studied the degree to which higher level civil servants in the U.S. government were representative. He offered no theory of what a representative was or should be. Bendix focused on the social origins, educational backgrounds, and occupational experiences of persons in high civil service

¹³J. Donald Kingsley, Representative Bureaucracy, An Interpretation of the British Civil Service (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1944, p.273.

¹⁴Ibid., p.282.

¹⁵Ibid.

positions. He found that these officials came from families whose parents were farmers (29.0 percent), businessmen (29.4 percent), and professionals (28.3 percent).¹⁶ With regard to the education of those studied, Bendix found that in 1940, of those earning from \$5,600-\$7,950, 40.0 percent were high school graduates or college non-graduates, 46.0 percent were college graduates, and 14.0 percent held higher degrees. The comparable percentages for those earning \$8,000 and over were 44.3 percent, 5 percent, and 4.7 percent respectively.¹⁷ The principal occupational experiences of the respondents prior to their civil service careers were: business 4.0 percent, government service 4.0 percent, and the professions 27.5 percent. Prior to beginning government service 56.6 percent were students.¹⁸ From the data analysed, Bendix interpreted his findings as revealing that higher civil servants come predominately from lower middle and middle-class families; that a majority of the higher civil servants acquire college and graduate education through their own efforts; and even though the respondents had diverse occupational experiences prior to their government service, there is an increasing number of businessmen, lawyers, college teachers, and journalists. Bendix concluded that there is "considerable diversity" in the social origin, educational background, and occupational experiences of those

¹⁶ Reinhard Bendix, Higher Civil Servants in American Society: A Study of the Social Origins, the Careers and the Power Position of Higher Federal Administrations (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 1949), p.29.

¹⁷ Ibid., p.37.

¹⁸ Ibid., p.57.

he studied. He attributes this to several developments, namely the decline in the proportion of farmers, the increasing spread of high school and college education, the growing skill requirements in the government service, and the specific demand for persons with training in law, writing, and organizational work.¹⁹

In 1952, Long approached the question of "representation in bureaucracy" by studying the constitutional roots and interests found in a "representative bureaucracy." Without specifically defining his idea of "representative bureaucracy," Long viewed the non-elected civil service as being "both more representative of the country and more democratic in its composition than the Congress."²⁰ Long concluded that the bureaucracy's composition was more representative than that of the Congress and actually serves as an aid to Congress, since Congress is complemented by the bureaucracy. Long saw the bureaucracy as "indoctrinated with the fundamental ideals of constitutionalism,"²¹ thus, complementing Congress, and as a varied group, rooted in the diversity of the country, which could be counted on to provide representation.

According to Kranz, the first person to use the phrase "representative bureaucracy" in the United States was

¹⁹Ibid., p.121.

²⁰Long, "Bureaucracy and Constitutionalism," p.812.

²¹Ibid., p.819.

Gouldner in 1954.²² Gouldner's studies were conducted in industrial as opposed to governmental settings. However, one of the types of a bureaucracy that he described was "representative bureaucracy." In Gouldner's view, a "representative bureaucracy" was one where "the rules are established to benefit everyone through compliance. In this view, the rules are established by agreement, rules which are technically justified and administered by specially qualified personnel, and to which consent is given voluntarily."²³ Gouldner studied combinations of coercion and consent in obeying safety rules that led to increasing or decreasing degrees of bureaucracy. He found that the safety rules were obeyed in a "representative bureaucracy" because everyone gains when there is compliance. In a "mock bureaucracy" he found that the rules were imposed from outside the factory and were evaded by the workers because the workers felt they were not benefiting. Finally, in the "punishment centered" bureaucracy where the rules benefited only management, they were accepted by the employees only when necessary and after continually evading them. Gouldner interpreted being "representative" as meaning consent (voluntary) for the safety rules devised by the expert to benefit the workers. He interprets the workers' non-participation in the development of the rules as being a result of the difference in status of those

²²Kranz, The Parricipatory Bureaucracy, p.69.

²³Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy, p.223.

who wrote and enforced the rules and the plant workers. These individuals were not representative of the workers. They only had the authority to make policy and to use their vast resources in order to "persuade conformance by diffusing (their) knowledge through meetings, posters, and discussions."²⁴

In his History of the United States Civil Service, Van Riper views a "representative bureaucracy" as one in which there is a minimal distinction between the bureaucrats as a group and their administrative behavior and practices on the one hand, and the community or societal membership and its administrative behavior, practices, and expectations of government on the other.²⁵ In this view, "representative bureaucracy" is meant "to suggest a body of officials, which is broadly representative of the society in which it functions, and in which social ideals are as close as possible to the grass roots of the nation." He holds that for a bureaucracy to be representative it must (1) consist of a reasonable cross-section of the body politic in terms of occupation, class, geography and the like, and (2) must be in general tune with the ethos and attitudes of the society of which it is part.²⁶

Van Riper presented no empirical evidence, but concluded that the civil service since the Pendleton Act has allowed easy

²⁴Ibid., pp.219-220.

²⁵Van Riper, History of the United States Civil Service: 1889-1975.

²⁶Ibid., p.552.

access to governmental employment opportunities for Blacks, women, and others. He found that for Blacks and certain national minorities, "the federal service has provided a major ladder for upward social and occupational mobility."²⁷

Warner and Van Riper et al. studied social and personal characteristics of 12,929 civilian and military executives. They viewed the representative bureaucracy as having as objectives "the democratic ideals and the recruitment and promotion of personnel from all social, racial, and religious groups on the basis of ability."²⁸ The findings of Warner et al. revealed that federal executives are highly educated, that 90 percent of the politically appointed were college graduates and their areas of specialization were the humanities (21.5 percent), behavioral science (24.0 percent), physical and biological sciences (16.9 percent), and applied fields (33.1 percent). Parental occupation of the federal executives in 1959 were business (35 percent), labor (21 percent), the professions (19 percent), farming (15 percent), and other (10 percent). The researchers concluded that more executives came from families involved in business and professions than was true of the general population. With respect to state and regional representation, Warner et al, found that officials in the Washington area were from the South Atlantic region (16 percent), West North

²⁷Ibid., p.553.

²⁸Warner and Van Riper et al., The American Federal Executive, p.5.

Central region (16 percent), East North Central region (18 percent), and Middle Atlantic region (24 percent). Because of the various interests along regional lines, the authors interpreted the above findings to account for "internal differences in the civilian federal executives."²⁹

Subramanian's view of a representative bureaucracy is one in which "every economic class, caste, region, or religion or a country is represented in exact proportion to its numbers in the population."³⁰ He views this literal meaning in an American sense to mean "a bureaucracy drawn from all social, racial, and religious groups on the basis of ability,"--but not necessarily in exact numerical proportion to produce "a copy of the total society."³¹ Subramanian studied "representative bureaucracy" using two sociological categories, which he identified as "ascriptive" and "performance-oriented" instead of normative political terms such as representative and unrepresentative. His method was to analyze the social backgrounds of higher civil servants in six different countries. He found that in the six countries analyzed the middle class social origin of higher civil servants ranged from 97.2 percent to 81.0 percent. In the United States, the middle class percentage was 81.0 percent in 1959. Given the difference in the size of the six countries,

²⁹Ibid., p.44;

³⁰Subramanian, "Representative Bureaucracy, A Reassessment," p.1010.

³¹Ibid.

Subramanian interprets his findings as showing a relationship between the over-representation of the middle class and the size of the country. He concluded that the larger the country, the more representative the bureaucracy of the countries studied. He also concluded that different sections of the middle class are represented in different countries. Finally, Subramanian found the United States federal civil service is representative because he considers the United States' society to be largely middle class. He interprets the responsiveness of the bureaucracy to flow "from factors other than mere representativeness if the representativeness of the United States federal bureaucracy is based on its middle class society."³² There is general "accessibility to government regardless of class or position which allows many prevailing words of opinion and interests." In the final analysis, Subramanian concludes that the bureaucrats' "sensitivity is heightened to public and professional needs because he can move in and out of the bureaucracy into either private practice of his profession or to private enterprise."³³

Writing in 1967 and 1974 Krislov saw a "representative bureaucracy" as being a "microcosm of the community." His view is that the bureaucracy "should be a funnel for divergent points of view . . . with diverse skills and talents and with the imagination necessary to deal with problems that emerge."³⁴

³²Ibid., p.1019

³³Ibid.

³⁴Krislov, The Negro in Federal Employment, p.58

Krislov analyzed the equal employment program in the federal service by interviewing persons between 1963-1965 in departments and agencies supervised by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Krislov found that Blacks were excluded from some jobs totally; faced a Hamitic policy of having to accept the "more menial, onerous, and poorly paying jobs;" faced equal work for less pay; and, finally, when employment conditions were basically equal, "promotion, recognition, and increase in remuneration" came more slowly for Blacks.³⁵ Using secondary data Krislov found that there was a threefold increase of Blacks in the GS grades 12 through 18, and a 50 percent increase at the GS grades 5 through 11 during the early sixties. He attributed the changes to increases in the educational levels of Blacks with "requisite skills, training, and experience."³⁶ The education gap had been narrowed between Blacks and White males from 4 to 1½ years. He concluded that the educational gap will continue to narrow, resulting in a further closing of the employment gap.

Frederick Mosher, in a comprehensive analysis of representative bureaucracy, viewed representation to be of a dual nature. He viewed representation to be both active (i.e., when bureaucrats advocate their constituents interest) and passive. According to Mosher, the decisions made by bureaucrats are a function of their administrative capabilities, orientations and values, which in turn result from their backgrounds, training,

³⁵Ibid., p.87.

³⁶Ibid., p.101.

education, and current associations.³⁷ Mosher found that there is little known about the relationship between a man's background and pre-employment socialization, on the one hand, and his behavior in office on the other. He concluded that there must be emphasis placed on other values of representative bureaucracy--equality of opportunity, social mobility, and participative management.

In Representative Bureaucracy, Krislov studied the bureaucracies of various countries in terms of their representativeness. He found that among all grades of United States federal employees sampled in 1967, only 19 percent had a college degree, only 18 percent were professional, technical or kindred workers, and that only 21 percent earned over \$7,000 while the median family income in the United States was \$7,200. Krislov interpreted his findings to mean that "since government service required skills different from those needed by society as a whole," a microcosm of the society cannot be reproduced in the government. He concluded that because of the ability needed to act under pressure and assume responsibility under risk, middle class status is insured in the government.³⁸ Krislov amplified his view and further concluded that as the bureaucracy increased in size and diversified in functions, there was a need for more diversity in personnel. But in spite of the changes, the bureau-

³⁷Frederick Mosher, Democracy and the Public Service (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp.12-13.

³⁸Krislov, Representative Bureaucracy, p.49.

cracy has emerged "as a good, even superior, index of societal cohesion and diffusion."³⁹

Meier viewed "the test of representative bureaucracy as being whether or not the social characteristics--the education, occupation, social status, and similar measures of the bureaucracy--mirror those exhibited by the American public."⁴⁰ He found that even though his view is an empirically tested one and has not been disproven, there are few theorists who have tested his proposition that a representative bureaucracy has values similar to those of the general public; "and those who have, have done so only in the most general ways."⁴¹

Meier used data gathered by Warner et al. (1963), Kilpatrick et al. (1964), Subramanian (1967),⁴² and the Survey Research Center's 1972 election polls to determine to what extent the civil services of various countries mirror the society at large. The standards used included age, education, income, size of birthplace, social class, region of birth, and father's occupation. His focus was upon the father's occupation, because Meier considered occupation "to be stable over time and represents the best single indicator of objective

³⁹Ibid., p. 130.

⁴⁰Meier, "Representative Bureaucracy," pp.526-543.

⁴¹Ibid., p.528.

⁴²Warner et al., The American Federal Executive; Franklin P. Kilpatrick et al., The Image of the Federal Service (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1946); Subramanian, "Representative Bureaucracy," pp.1010-1019.

social status."⁴³ Meier found the bureaucracy of the United States federal government to be representative of the American people when the father's occupation and status is considered as an indicator. He further found that when the analysis extended to other characteristics of the population the results were similar. He interpreted his findings as showing that the bureaucracy as a whole is representative of the people, "because the category of civil servants includes all employees of the federal government."⁴⁴ Because all positions studied by Meier are considered open to everyone in the society without regard to education and upward mobility, Meier concluded that the total service could be considered as representative of the society at large.

One year later, Meier and Nigro viewed four key variables of representative bureaucracy as being useful--"social origins, socialization experiences, attitudes, and behavior."⁴⁵ They set forth three theoretical propositions:

1. That differences in social origin are a major factor in socialization experiences.
2. Socialization experiences have a strong influence on political attitudes.

⁴³Meier, "Representative Bureaucracy," p.530.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 531.

⁴⁵Meier and Nigro, "Representative Bureaucracy and Policy Preferences," pp.458-468.

3. Attitudes are strongly related actual behavior.⁴⁶

They studied data from a survey of federal supergrades (GS 16 to GS 18) collected during 1974 using eight demographic variables: father's social class, urbanism, region, education, age, respondent's first occupation, race, and sex.

The findings of this study can be summarized as follows:

1. Those in the higher-level positions (supergrades) are predominantly White, male, well-educated professionals, and they mirror the sector of the population holding advanced degrees.
2. Some agencies are unrepresentative because of race and sex hiring practices and thus impact upon the representative nature of the entire higher civil service.
3. Demographic variables are poor predictors of attitudes of higher civil servants as indicated by the multiple correlation coefficients range of .14 for defense spending to .23 for welfare spending, with the overall average being .21.
4. Of the 132 possible relationships between demographics and attitudes, the origin variable has a significant impact in only 29 cases.
5. Race has a significant impact on more attitudes than education, age or sex.
6. Social origins have a greater impact on attitudes

⁴⁶ Ibid.

about improving the conditions of minority groups than agency affiliation. However, in all other attitude areas, agency affiliation outweighs social origins and overcomes the tendency for the super-grades to hold to attitudes rooted in social origin.

The authors interpret their findings along several specific dimensions which can be summarized as follows; As the educated elite become more representative of the American society, the composition of the higher civil service also become more representative; and as a result of the increased representativeness of the educational system, there has been an increase in the level of representation in the higher civil service. Furthermore, the most important trait affecting attitudes about minorities and programs in their interest (such as welfare) is race and carries over as political attitudes. The authors assume that since welfare and minority programs are not popular with the American public, and since minorities as a group have no large established agency to advocate and act on behalf of their interests, this can account for the impact of demographic origins being somewhat significant as a statistical measure of attitudes. However, they feel that agency affiliation of the employee is more important than knowledge of demographic origins when attempting to determine the representativeness of the bureaucracy.

One of the most comprehensive studies of representative bureaucracy to date is The Participatory Bureaucracy by Kranz.

Kranz views a representative bureaucracy as one in which "the ratios of each racial-ethnic minority group and women at all levels in a particular government agency equal that group's percentage in the population in the geographic area served by that agency."⁴⁷ Kranz, using representative bureaucracy interchangeable with the notion of participatory bureaucracy, views his ideal-type model as more appropriate in distinguishing "representation," as a particular concept "where public servants are an accurate reflection of the public served."⁴⁸ In this study Kranz analyzed the ratios of four ethnic-racial minorities and women at "significant" pay levels and occupational categories to see what degree their presence was proportional to their population in areas served by the agency, department, or jurisdiction.

Kranz found that at the highest salary levels in the federal government, Blacks were severely under-represented. While Blacks were 11 percent of the national population, they filled only 2.6 percent of GS grade 13-18 positions. And Black under-representation was unrelated to either the size of the agency or department.⁴⁹ Kranz concluded that at all levels of the government, a representative bureaucracy is lacking, that the "federal government is not the ideal employer for every minority group, and that in terms of both employment and utilization of minorities, the federal record is exceeded by many

⁴⁷Kranz, p.67.

⁴⁸Ibid., p.67.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 67.

non-federal and private employers."⁵⁰

Hugh Heclo's study of executive politics in Washington in 1977, views a representative bureaucracy as one whose civil servants are a cross-section of the general population and mirror the many values of society.⁵¹ Heclo studied the high-ranking political executives and bureaucrats of the federal government to determine how political leaders control the career personnel who guide the programs of the government. Heclo found that the constitutional structure of America "left the question of the national bureaucracy open," even though open, still "vulnerable to fits of improvisation and neglect."⁵² Heclo concluded that although the upper levels of government are staffed by a statistical elite, there is little evidence of "a self-conscious group seeking agreed upon goals and screening out other entrants."⁵³ Nevertheless, he concluded that an elite exists. He asserted that it exists because the political appointees in the federal government are drawn from the more socially and economically advantaged portions of the society. Finally, he asserted that "political executives can be predicted to be disproportionately white, male, urban, affluent, middle-aged, well educated at prestige schools; and are unlikely to be non-white, wage earning, from a small town or possessors of average educational and social credentials."⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.230.

⁵¹ Heclo, A Government of Strangers, p.115.

⁵² Ibid., p.82. ⁵³ Ibid., p.100. ⁵⁴ Ibid.

Rosenbloom, drawing upon the works of Kingsley and Krislov, viewed representative bureaucracy as having two meanings that could be distinguished. "First, representative bureaucracy refers to the social composition of a civil service, labeled 'passive', 'descriptive', 'social', or 'sociological' representation."⁵⁵ The second kind of bureaucratic representation, referred to as "active representation," is when "an individual (or administrator) is expected to press for the interests and desires of those whom he is presumed to represent, whether they be the whole people or some segment of the people."⁵⁶ In "Bureaucratic Representation and Bureaucratic Behavior: An Exploratory Analysis,"⁵⁷ Rosenbloom studied the attitudes and behavior of minority bureaucrats in regard to their felt responsibility for aiding other minorities to gain employment in the federal bureaucracy. He found that 76 percent felt that minorities should become more involved; that 64 percent of the older age group and 90 percent of the younger group felt the need to serve special needs of minorities; and that persons educated in all Black colleges display a great propensity to aid other minority group members. Furthermore, 89 percent of those who were employed in positions that served minorities had a greater propensity to serve the special needs of minorities while only 67 percent of those whose jobs had no special

⁵⁵ Rosenbloom, Federal Equal Employment Opportunity, p.36.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.37.

⁵⁷ Rosenbloom and Kennard, "Bureaucratic Representation and Bureaucratic Behavior," pp.35-42.

relevance to minorities felt a special need to address special needs of minorities.

Rosenbloom interpreted his findings as meaning that "the younger the minority elite, the more likely one is to feel a responsibility for helping other minorities."⁵⁸ Also, he suggests that the type of education is related to one's perception of success. Thus, those who attended Black colleges believe they have been more successful at serving the needs of the Black community. Finally, Rosenbloom concluded that the nature of one's position and the attitudes of one's peers are important factors to consider in a study of representation in a bureaucracy.

In "Federal Equal Employment Opportunity," Rosenbloom studied the racial and ethnic composition of the federal service in 1974. His method was to analyze various affirmative action policies and various methods of implementation. He found that only 2.8 percent of those in grades GS 16 to 18 were Black employees who made up only 16 percent of the total system. He further found that with regard to agency integration in policy making positions, "only EEOC, HEW, Labor and HUD can be considered reasonably well integrated."⁵⁹ Rosenbloom interpreted his findings as showing that federal agencies exist with interest in a highly politicized environment, and that agencies are

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.39.

⁵⁹ Rosenbloom, Equal Employment Opportunity, p.14.

constrained by the norms of political community as well as traditional administrative practices. He concluded that agencies also have ideologies and cultures which determine agency responses to old and new problems. Additionally, he found that agencies "generate internal and external support, and provide a protective shield against encroachment by hostile outsiders. As a result, organization and reorganization become devices that may be employed to achieve political rather than administrative ends."⁶⁰

In the literature reviewed, the authors view the representative character of bureaucracy to be an important factor for a democratic form of government. Most writers assume that representation in the bureaucracy can be analyzed in demographic terms. In the demographic perspective, different conclusions have been reached about the representative character of the federal bureaucracy. An example of the type of conclusion about the representative characters of the bureaucracy is that of Long.⁶¹ Long concluded that: "The democratic character of the civil service stems from its origin, income level, and associations. The process of selection of the civil service, its contacts, milieu, and income level after induction make the civil service as a body a better sample of the mass of the people than Congress."⁶²

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.156.

⁶¹ Long, "Bureaucracy and Constitutionalism," pp.808-818.

⁶² Ibid., p.813.

Heclo is among those who disagree with the conclusion of Long about the representative character of the civil service. Heclo finds that conditions claimed by Long do not apply at the highest, most influential levels of the federal bureaucracy. Instead, Heclo is critical of scholars who have relied upon demographic representativeness for a particular group of jobs and concluded "that efforts to increase one dimension of demographic representativeness for a particular group of jobs will inevitably increase unrepresentativeness along other dimensions" if the entrance or access to the jobs are limited.⁶³

Other later studies of representative bureaucracy, such as that of Kranz, have found that certain groups are not represented in proportion to their numbers at the upper levels of the bureaucracy. Kranz found that only 2.6 percent of the policy-level positions were filled by Blacks. Still others, such as Rosenbloom, suggest that the movement is toward fuller representation of Blacks and other minorities in the bureaucracy but that, still, there are disparities.

There are obvious limitations to be found in all the studies. One of the most apparent is conceptual confusion. Representative bureaucracy to Kingsley meant representing the dominant class in society; for Van Riper, social characteristics and values had to be present as components of representative bureaucracy as whether or not the social characteristics mirror those exhibited by the American public. Another

⁶³Heclo, p.115.

limitation is that some of the studies are not empirical. Thus, the findings suggested must be accepted as the authors' interpretations. In some instances secondary sources of data serve as a basis for the author's interpretation. Ecological factors relative to the social milieu to which those data pertained might not have remained valid given changes over time. In many instances where aggregate data or terms are used, limits are placed upon the interpretation of the data. Given the aggregate data there is a failure to focus upon representation at specific levels in policy areas. Finally, most studies have been limited to an exploration of the passive dimension of representation in a bureaucratic setting. Few studies have looked beyond to behavior and its effects on policies. Most researchers assume a relationship between background characteristics and the values associated with job performance which says nothing about policy.

But prior studies do provide a foundation for this research which focuses on representation in both the passive and active senses. First, if race is a factor in decisions being made about programs that affect minorities, this research gives an added dimension by examining the policy level and perceived impact of Blacks on behalf of Blacks. An empirical base will be established with data that is current. By focusing upon Blacks in the highest levels on a positional basis the distortions that occur when terms and data are used in the aggregate for specific instances will be eliminated. From being able to

determine what Black executive views are with regard to their role orientations we will be able to ascertain if their attitudes varied because of background characteristics from administration to administration. Knowing the experiences of the Black political executives will also aid in understanding our findings that have resulted from the use of aggregate data. Finally, being able to determine to what extent Black's sociopolitical orientations affect their attitudes and perceptions in regard to the representation of Black interests, this study yields valuable information that is needed to make necessary decisions about the assumed importance of active representation. Taken in the collective, this study adds to the overall body of knowledge and material on representative bureaucracy.

A Framework for Analysis

In this study there are three central analytical problems. The most difficult one concerns ascertaining the origin and nature of role orientations of Black political executives in regard to the representation of Black interests. "Political behavior . . . is always conduct in the performance of a particular role," according to Eulau. This political behavior is a result of certain demands and expectations of the role or roles which a political being carries out in a particular way; role orientation and political behavior indicate a probability, not a certainty, about voting or any other action.⁶⁴ Or, as Issak

⁶⁴Heinz Eulau, The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics (New York: Randon House, 1963), p.40.

stated, role orientation means the same as a disposition or a tendency to respond in a certain way in a given situation. Included in the class of dispositional concepts are attitudes, opinions, beliefs, values, and personality traits. "The dispositional pattern can be distinguished--because--no reference to conscious motives" . . . is made." "The link between the disposition and behavior is not out in the open."⁶⁵

It is difficult to have to explain the role orientations of the Black political executives by using their perceptions and applying statistical techniques. It is an accepted fact that the use of experimental techniques would be better. However, statistical techniques will have to serve as a substitute, since we cannot create the laboratory conditions necessary for the experimental method.

The role orientations of Black political executives are assumed to be of two basic types. The first is the passive type, in which the executives do not consider themselves to represent the interests of Blacks in any sense. The second type, in a Mosherian sense, are active.⁶⁶ They see themselves in some special way as intentionally representing the interests of Blacks. It can be assumed that there exist variations among those who see themselves as actively representing the interests

⁶⁵Alan C. Issak, Scope and Method of Political Science (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1975), p.119.

⁶⁶Mosher, p.13.

of Blacks in the degree of their activism. That is to say, some may define their role in such a way that the interests of others can be included as well. For our purposes we think of role orientation as lying along a continuum ranging from passive at one end to highly active at the other.

The sources of the differences between Black executives who are passive and active Black executives and of degrees of activeness are sought in demographic, social background, and sociopolitical factors. The general reason for considering background and sociopolitical factors together rather than one or the other avoids the confusion that is encountered when one attempts to explain how social origins determine the sociopolitical experiences or sociopolitical experiences relate to social background. Little is really known about how background affects sociopolitical experiences of different social groups in specific ways. Another problem is how can any linkages that exist prove important for developing empirical studies. Barber argues that even though people come from widely varying social backgrounds it is possible for them to have similar sociopolitical experiences.⁶⁷ This notion is only one aspect of the literature on political socialization that suggests that there exists a relationship between social backgrounds and sociopolitical experiences that has an impact upon role orientations. In the literature there seem to be three separate approaches to

⁶⁷James A. Barber, Jr., Social Mobility and Voting Behavior (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970).

the question of socialization. The first is represented by Easton and Hess, (1962);⁶⁸ Easton and Dennis, (1969);⁶⁹ Davies, (1963);⁷⁰ and Adorno et al., (1950).⁷¹ The views of these scholars seem to be best represented in the writings of Easton and Hess. They hold that "every piece of evidence indicates that the child's political world begins to take shape well before he even enters elementary school."⁷² In this strand of thought the notion is put forward that the child's earliest environmental forces impact on the child in helping to establish lifelong patterns of a person-to-person nature. And, in a broader sense these same forces impact upon person-to-society influences of all types, including those of a political nature. It is assumed that in individual's political relationships they are evident in all their undertakings, in and out of the family. Davies' notion is consistent with that of Easton and Hess. Easton and Hess hold that the family is the major

⁶⁸David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, vol. 6 (August 1962), pp.229-246.

⁶⁹David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969).

⁷⁰James C. Davies, Human Nature in Politics: The Dynamics of Political Behavior (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963), chapters 5 & 6.

⁷¹T. W. Adorno et al., The Authoritarian Personality (New York: Harper & Row, 1950).

⁷²Easton and Hess, "The Child's Political World," p.235.

influencing factor, either directly or as the "proximal mediator" over the influences that govern the child. Davies extended this analysis to include prior influences that affect the bodily state and therefore the mental state of the individual during its fetal, neonatal, infantile, and early childhood epochs. He found that all of these influences affect the desire and ability of the eventual adult to exercise political power.

A second strand is the approach which insists that one's political orientations can be extended in their formation into adulthood and that new experience and settings will have a powerful socializing impact on the individual.⁷³ In this approach the individual is assumed to build upon values and attitudes transmitted from his/her youth, or in some cases, the environment causes resocialization to occur. In this approach, which has been adopted by scholars such as Janowitz (1960), Kaufman (1960), and Baldwin (1968), there is the assumption that agencies provide each generation different experiences which become important influences, resulting in overall aggregate experiences that produce differences in orientations.⁷⁴

⁷³See: Herbert Kaufman, The Forest Ranger (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1960).

⁷⁴See: Morris Janowitz, The Professional Soldier (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1960); Also, Herbert Kaufman and Sidney Baldwin, Politics and Poverty (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

The third strand focuses upon adult socialization and how it impacts upon governmental systems and potential discontinuities resulting from childhood socialization. According to Sigel and Hoskin, the "political effect . . . is a disposition or feeling toward the political system and its component parts (institutions, authorities, and principles)."⁷⁵ The general "potential discontinuities encompass all situations and conditions with which the child has had no experience or for which he or she has not been socialized directly and vary from extremely positive or warm feelings to negative or cold ones with a great number of gradations in between."⁷⁶ Given the three approaches, Sigel and Hoskins concluded in their analysis of approaches to political socialization that research "findings tend to be sufficiently inconclusive," which prevents them "from reaching any definitive conclusion with respect to the superior explanatory power of any three of the three models."⁷⁷

Thus, although relevant studies cannot be said to point clearly to any particular path of analysis, they do indicate that it is plausible to consider social background and socio-political experiences together in relation to role orientations and to explain role orientations in such terms. The social background factors, if considered separately, would be limited

⁷⁵Roberta S. Sigel and Marilyn B. Hoskin, "Affect for Government and its Relation to Policy Output Among Adolescent," American Journal of Political Science, vol. 21 (February 1977), pp.111-134.

⁷⁶Ibid., p.116.

⁷⁷Ibid., p.112.

with the child or adolescent. Sociopolitical experiences carry one beyond origins, the family, and its surroundings. In this study social background and subsequent sociopolitical experiences are both considered to be determinants of the role orientations of the Black political executive. The underlying assumption is that social background and sociopolitical experiences are different sides of the same coin, that both can be considered as socialization which involves learning, and according to Brim, is developmental in nature. That is, "it occurs in a regular progression from infancy to old age."⁷⁸

Social background is defined as consisting of those factors that are considered to form the setting for interaction within a family group. It relates to such factors as parents' occupation, educational level, church affiliation, and family structure. It includes, but is not limited to what is commonly referred to as social origin and demographic material. The social background factors are characterized in terms of impediments to upward mobility. A general assumption employed in this study is that the greater the impediments have been to achievement, the greater the continued concern for the Black community, sensitivity to matters of Black interest, and inclination toward the active representation of those interests in government. This assumption is tested later by correlating key

⁷⁸Orville, G. Brim, "Socialization Through the Life Cycle," in Orville G. Brim and Stanton Wheeler, eds., Socialization After Childhood (New York: Wiley, 1966), p.18.

demographic and social background factors with Black political executive general role orientations.

Sociopolitical experiences prior to appointment as political executives relate to the knowledge and experiences that one acquires through life. Included are such elements as education experiences, political activities, organizational affiliations and activities, and previous occupational experiences. We are interested in the experiences of Black political executives, because our assumption is that the greater and more active the association with the assertion of the interest of the Black community prior to an appointment, the greater the sensitivity to Black interests and the greater the inclination toward active representation of those interests. This assumption will be tested later by correlating key sociopolitical factors with Black political executive general role orientations.

The second analytical problem is to assess the experience of Black political executives from the standpoint of their effect and the factors bearing upon their effectiveness. We approach this problem in an exploratory fashion by using Heclo's suggested criteria of conditions for effectiveness set out in his study of executive politics in the federal sector. Heclo's analysis focused on the base of support that was given to an executive by civil servants. He also examined the method of gaining access to superiors, and the type professional relationship maintained between those in executive positions in the government. Among the criteria established by Heclo for

effectiveness are the following: executives must be able to reinforce their lines of trust and extend their circles of confidence; career staff must give positive help and not just respond with passive obedience; there must be support from above, outside and below; executives must have the leverage to provide and withhold service; they must be oriented to their new job; and they must have the abilities and skills to institute the changes they want without losing the bureaucratic services they need.

Among the problems that Heclo found as he examined the support, access and relationships of political executives were: that programs can be frustrated by those below in the bureaucracy; that civil servants have negative power or ties to congressional committees and interest groups and can leak information to the press and subvert political leadership through noncompliance; that civil servants can and do withhold their services; and that there is often passive compliance to political superiors in order to eliminate or reduce the effectiveness of political executives.

It can be expected that Blacks might experience the kind of problems described by Heclo above. Some persons will seek to represent the interests of Blacks in an active sense, while others will be representative in only a passive sense. Therefore, in view of the "White" character of the federal bureaucracy some locations can be expected to accord Blacks with experiences different from experiences found in other locations.

Also, the level of the Black executive's appointment can be expected to impact upon the nature of the experience as well as the social milieu in which the appointment occurs.

The third analytical problem is to determine the patterns of Black appointments to political executive positions during the period under study. Of particular concern is whether the representation of Blacks has increased numerically and in positions of power. Also, of concern is whether there has been a change in the character of representation. For example, in the types of positions filled and in the backgrounds of the Blacks appointed, differences that might exist among the several administrations and factors associated with changes in patterns of representation over time are also analyzed. The basic hypotheses for this analytical problem can be stated as follows:

1. The number of Black political executives and their degree of activism in role orientation has increased over time.
2. More Blacks are appointed to political executive positions by Democratic than Republican administrations.
3. Appointees of Democratic administrations are more active in their role orientations.
4. Appointments made during Democratic administrations are to more powerful positions (as measured by level of appointment) than during Republican administrations.

Data and Methods

The basic sources of the data used in this analysis are biographical materials, published sources and personal interviews with 107 Black political executives who served in the 1961-1980 period. The population for the study were all persons who served in executive positions through presidential appointments, upper level "C" positions (positions of a confidential or policy determining character which are exempted from the competitive service to which appointments may be made without examination), and non-career executive assignment (NEA) positions at grades GS-17 and GS-18 levels. Comparable positions in the specialized services, such as the Foreign Service, also were included.⁷⁹

Black political executives were identified and their positions ascertained with the aid of reports from the Office of Personnel Management, White House Fact Sheets (when available) and US Government Policy and Supporting Positions published every four years. Then efforts were made to interview each person identified. Since the universe of Black political executives was to be interviewed for this study we did not consider sampling questions here. The interview schedule was pretested using upper level Black civil servants.

⁷⁹ U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, U.S. Government Policy and Supporting Positions, 94th Congress, Second Session, 1976.

The data needed for this study pertained to social background, sociopolitical experiences, role orientation, working experiences and patterns of recruitment. As much information as possible about the sociopolitical experiences and the social backgrounds of the subjects was obtained, prior to the interview from sources such as: Who's Who, The Negro Almanac, Ebony Magazine, New York Times Magazine, Romeo Garretts' Famous First Facts About Negroes, Personal Biographical Sketches, and other documentary sources. Information that was not obtained from documents was obtained from informants or at the interview. The interviews were semi-structured for the most part with some open-ended questions pertaining to role orientations and experiences of the Black political executives. During the interviews, a tape recorder was used when possible and notes taken. The schedule contained various check lists for the convenience of the interviewer in recording responses to questions regarding background. In general terms the interview procedures suggested by Dexter were followed.⁸⁰ In the remainder of this section the use of the data in regard to the basic analytical problems of the study is described.

Patterns of recruitment are shown in terms of the numbers of persons who were appointed, the centrality of positions held to Black interests, the level of positions and the social backgrounds of the Black oriented sociopolitical experiences of

⁸⁰ Lewis Anthony Dexter, Elite and Specialized Interviewing (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970).

appointees are reported in Chapter II.

Central positions are those in departments and agencies that have the most immediate and direct bearing upon matters of special concern to the Black community. The positions are located in the departments of Housing and Urban Development; Labor; Health, Education, and Welfare; Justice, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. To determine the power of a position we developed an index which employed hierarchical levels relative to the appointments. Positions at the cabinet levels were given the top ranking of level one while positions below one were ranked from level two to the lowest possible level of five. The positions were inversely weighted. The level one positions were given a weight higher than those below.

Role orientations were defined earlier as being "pre-dispositions or inclinations to act in a particular way; it indicates a probability, not a certainty: about actions."⁸¹ In order to identify the role orientations of the Black political executives each interviewee was asked a series of open-ended questions about their relationship with Black interests and the Black community before and during their government service. Interviewee responses are then recoded into a single summative scale representing their general role orientation as it relates to the Black interest and community. A detailed explanation of our operational definition of this general role orientation is provided in Chapter III. Later in this chapter we proceed

⁸¹Eulau, The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics, p.40.

to examine the relationship between role orientations and administration, level of appointment, and location of appointment. The relationship between Black political executive role orientation and key demographic, social background, and sociopolitical variables is then analyzed through application of the Gamma statistic and the Chi-square test for statistical significance.

To determine the experiences of the Black political executive we explore in chapter four the extent to which the interviewees perceived their colleagues, superiors, and subordinates to have supported them with matters of particular concern and assumed relevance to the Black interest consistent with the criteria of Heclo.⁸² We also inquire about the extent to which the respondents had access to the various offices and expertise of others in the executive branch, and finally, into the nature and extent to which the executives rate their relationships to have been positive or negative with their co-workers. Based upon the responses of the Black political executives we employ the data to address, in general terms, the question of the Black political executive experience. Given the constraints and variations in the experiences, we reveal those factors that are considered to have a bearing upon the nature of the experiences and the perceived effectiveness of the executives. The experiences are related using the appointees own words, only their true identity could not be revealed.

⁸²Heclo, p.115.

To reiterate, the outline of this study is as follows: in Chapter II we focus upon the recruitment patterns, the numbers, backgrounds, administrations, and positions to which Blacks have been appointed. The third chapter is concerned with identifying the various role orientations that Black political executives bring into, and seek to maintain while inside government. This chapter also tests our major assumptions as to the relationship between role orientations and key demographic, social background, and sociopolitical factors. In Chapter IV, we focus upon the nature of the experiences of the Black political executives. The final chapter contains the summary and conclusions for the study.

In the chapter immediately following we move beyond our conceptual discussion of representation to an empirical analysis of the recruitment patterns of Black political executives.

CHAPTER II

RECRUITMENT PATTERNS

The purpose of this chapter is to present a detailed analysis of the patterns of recruitment of Blacks to political executive positions in the federal government between 1961 and 1980. Consideration will be given to the numbers, backgrounds, and positions to which appointments have been made in the several administrations in power during this period. The extent of Black representation in positions central to identifiable Black needs and interests is an important part of this analysis, because the power and influence of a group is clearly related to its proportionate control of relevant policy-making positions. Many are of the view that by placing Blacks in important policy positions the extent of the influence and power of Blacks in general will be enhanced.

Further, it must be understood that Blacks, like members of other racial and ethnic groups, differ in class, status, and interests. Thus, the background characteristics and sociopolitical experiences of Black appointees are important to assessing their "representiveness" in advancing the interests of other Black Americans. The extent to which Black political executives can be considered representative of the Black community as a whole is clearly critical to the analysis of "representation" discussed earlier.

The first section of this chapter discusses basic trends in Black political executive appointments, by presidential administration, between 1961 and 1980. Specific attention is upon the number, level, and locations of appointees.

The second section contains profiles of the appointees of each administration. Included are the personal attributes --education, occupation, political background, organizational membership, as well as their family backgrounds.

In the third section, a comparison of presidential administrations is undertaken. This comparison will focus upon variations relative to social background and experiences of the appointees.

The fourth section discusses the "representativeness" of Black political executives; that is, to what extent do they comprise a representational cross-section of the Black minority, or are they an elite group? An answer to this question is obtained by comparing the Black political executives with the Black population as a whole.

The final section is a summary and conclusion which draws together the major findings produced by the analysis.

The data for this chapter are based mainly upon biographical information, government documents, and interviews of Black political executives. Only on a few occasions was it difficult to obtain background data from persons having agreed to an interview. The statistical analysis later in this chapter involves the use of frequencies, the Chi-square test of statistical significance at the .05 level of probability, and the

Gamma test of association. In some instances the cells were empty or had very small numbers and adjustments had to be made. The universe for this study is 141 appointees. The data presented in this study do not cover the entire universe on some factors; however, the percent of the universe covered yields statistical results that are adequate for any known sampling technique.

Basic Trends

In examining basic general trends in the appointment of Black political executives, the following key questions are addressed:

1. How many were appointed from 1961-1980?
2. At what executive levels were the appointments made?
3. In what departmental locations were the appointees placed?

These questions are interrelated. The number of appointees aids in describing the trends and assessing variations among the administrations. The level of appointment is important because, presumably, the higher the level the greater the authority, responsibility, and control in the hands of the appointee. In regard to location, some departments or agencies are considered more central to Black interests than others. As shown in Chapter I, departments such as Health, Education and Welfare, Housing and Urban Development, and Labor along with the Civil Rights and Equal Employment Opportunity commissions, would appear to be of primary importance for pressing

Black concerns. Others, such as Commerce, Interior and Agriculture, though salient in some respects for Black interests, have missions which are of secondary importance in terms of Black political agendas.

Table 2.1 presents the number and percentage of Black executives relative to their location and level of appointment during each administration. For reasons discussed previously, the administrations of presidents Kennedy and Johnson and of Nixon and Ford are combined for purposes of analysis. As shown in the table, the total population of appointees is 141. Of this total, forty or 28.4 percent, were appointed during the Kennedy-Johnson era. Thirty-two appointments came in the Nixon-Ford administrations or 22.7 percent of the total. Sixty-nine, or 48.9 percent, were made by the Carter administration. Thus, the Carter administration appointed, during a four year period, substantially more Black political executives than the Kennedy-Johnson administrations or the Nixon-Ford administrations in their eight years in office.

Among the twenty-eight persons appointed at the top three position levels, eight were appointed by Kennedy and Johnson, five by Nixon and Ford, and fifteen by Carter. These figures represent respectively, 5.7, 3.5, and 10.6 percent of the total number of appointees. At level four, thirty-three appointments were made. Of this total, eight or 5.7 percent of all appointees were appointed during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations. During the Nixon-Ford administrations there were twelve

TABLE 2.1
APPOINTMENTS BY LOCATION AND LEVEL

Placement	Administrations					
	Kennedy Johnson		Nixon- Ford		Carter	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
Location						
Central	17	(12.1)	14	(9.9)	30	(21.3)
Non-Central	23	(16.3)	18	(12.8)	39	(27.7)
TOTALS	40	(28.4)	32	(22.7)	69	(48.9)
Levels						
Levels I, II and III	8	(5.7)	5	(3.5)	15	(10.6)
Level IV	8	(5.7)	12	(8.5)	13	(9.2)
Level V	24	(17.0)	15	(10.6)	41	(29.1)
TOTALS	40	(28.4)	32	(22.7)	69	(48.9)

appointments, or 8.5 percent of the total. In the Carter administration, there was an increase to thirteen appointments at level four, or 9.2 percent of all appointees. At level five, eighty appointments were made. Of these, twenty-four, fifteen, and forty-one were made during the Kennedy-Johnson, Nixon-Ford, and Carter administrations respectively. They represent 17.0, 10.6, and 29.1 percent of all appointees. Sixty-one appointments, or 43.3 percent of the total were made to departments and agencies considered to be central to Black interests. Seventeen were appointed during Kennedy-Johnson years, fourteen during the Nixon-Ford period and thirty during the Carter administration. These appointments represent 16.3 percent, 12.8 percent, and 27.7 percent respectively, of all appointments made.

Eighty, or 56.7 percent of all executives were appointed to positions in locations considered less important for Black interests. Twenty-three of these appointments came during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations. They are 16.3 percent of all appointments. There were eighteen appointments in this category made during the Nixon-Ford administrations, or 12.8 percent of the total. During the Carter administration, thirty-nine appointments were made to secondary locations. They represent 27.7 percent of the total.

Although not shown in the table, if the percentages of appointments at the various appointive levels are compared, there does not exist a great deal of difference with respect to the distribution of appointments between those in the central locations and those in the non-central locations. Of the appointments made in locations considered less important to Black interests, 57.5 percent were at level five compared with 55.7 percent in the more important locations. Just over 21 percent of the appointments to non-central locations were at level four, and were 26.2 percent of those to central locations. For levels one, two, and three, the figures were 21.3 for non-central and 18.0 percent for central locations.

The basic trend has been to appoint an increasing number of Blacks as political executives during Democratic administrations. Fewer Blacks are appointed as political executives during Republican administrations. Blacks are appointed to more

senior level positions in higher percentages during Democratic as opposed to Republican administrations. In the aggregate, more Blacks have been appointed to locations considered secondary to Black interests than to central locations.

Profiles

Background characteristics of appointees are important for two basic reasons. Previous studies have found them to be related to political attitudes and behavior, which of course are of major relevance for this study.¹ Also, they are one basis for judging the representativeness of Black political executives. Simply because there are Blacks in certain numbers and locations does not mean that there will be a reflection of the experiences and interests of the larger part of the Black population in policy-making.

Several characteristics have been selected for use in profiling Black political executives. They are examined in three sets. The first consists of personal attributes, and includes sex, age at the time of appointment, religion, and residence at the time of appointment. The second concerns sociopolitical background, and includes educational attainment, occupation, organizational involvement in civil rights activities, and prior political involvement. The third consists of the appointees' family origins and includes the identity of the

¹Meier and Nigro, "Representative Bureaucracy and Policy Preferences," 1976.

principal parental wage earner, the occupation and educational attainment of the wage earner, and the families' religion and degree of political activism.

Each administration will be profiled and then will be compared with one another. The data are interpreted with the aid of statistical techniques. To facilitate these, some adjustments in presentation were necessary. Because of the small number of executives who were not Baptist, Methodist, or Catholic the religious affiliation has been limited to these classifications, plus a group of "others". A similar adjustment was made in regard to residence. Since few executives resided in the Deep South and Far West at the time of the appointment, persons from the Deep South are included in the Southeast category and those from the Far West are grouped with those from the Mid-west. The overall strategy was to develop the broadest possible groupings in order to avoid too few appointees within a given category.

Personal Attributes of Kennedy-Johnson Appointees

There were, as noted previously, forty Black political executives appointed during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations. Table 2.2 summarizes their personal attributes. As shown in the table, Kennedy-Johnson appointees were male (87.5 percent) and affiliated with the Baptist or Methodist church (64.0 percent). The appointees were evenly distributed among the age categories. Thirty percent were 24-33, 33 percent were 34-45, and 37 percent

TABLE 2.2
PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES OF KENNEDY-JOHNSON APPOINTEES

Personal Attributes		Percentages		
		Number	Administration	Universe
S E X A G E R E L I G I O N R E S I D E N C E	Female	5	12.5	3.5
	Male	35	87.5	24.8
	24-33	12	30.0	8.5
	34-45	13	33.0	9.2
	46-Above	15	37.0	10.6
	None	4	16.0	3.8
	Baptist-Methodist	16	64.0	15.1
	Catholic	5	20.0	4.7
	Northeast	19	50	13.7
	South-Southeast	7	18	5.0
	Mid-Far West	12	32	8.6

were 46 years of age or more at the time at which the executives were appointed. The appointees tended to come from the Northeast in much greater numbers than other parts of the country. At the time of appointment, 50 percent were residing in the Northeast region while only 18 percent were in the South and Southeast, and 32 percent resided in the Mid or Far West.

Sociopolitical Backgrounds of Kennedy-Johnson

Appointees

The selected sociopolitical background characteristics of the Kennedy-Johnson appointees are summarized in Table 2.3. As shown in the table, these appointees were a very highly educated group, as all had attended graduate or professional schools. Among the Kennedy-Johnson appointees, six (15.7 percent) had a masters degree. Ten of the appointees (26.3 percent) had a Ph.D., sixteen (42.1 percent) had a J.D. or LL.B. degree, and six (15.7 percent) had a J.D. or LL.B. degree plus additional studies. The additional studies were usually in special programs dealing with matters such as desegregation, housing, or civil rights and provided typically by Ivy League schools or educational centers in the Washington area.

More Black political executives completed their undergraduate studies at Black colleges than at any of the other types of institutions. During the Kennedy-Johnson administrations seventeen (almost 50 percent) received their undergraduate degrees from Black colleges, thirteen (34 percent) received their degrees from mostly White institutions, and eight (21 percent) were graduates of Ivy League schools. At the graduate or professional level, fewer executives were graduates of Black universities. The number of executives with advanced degrees from principally White schools was sixteen. They were 42.0 percent of the Kennedy-Johnson appointees. Fifteen

TABLE 2.3

SELECTED SOCIOPOLITICAL BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS
OF KENNEDY-JOHNSON APPOINTEES

Background Characteristics	Kennedy-Johnson Administrations		
	Number	% Administration	% Universe
Educational			
Bachelor	0	0	0
Masters	6	16.0	4.4
Ph.D.	10	26.0	8.3
J.D.-LL.B.	16	42.0	11.7
J.D.-LL.B. plus	6	16.0	4.4
Occupational			
Private Practice of Law	13	33.0	9.4
Corporate-Foundation	9	22.0	6.4
Government (federal)	8	20.0	5.7
Recent College and Other Fields	10	25.0	7.1
Educational Institution (Undergraduate)			
Black	17	45.0	12.4
Mostly White	13	34.0	9.5
Ivy	8	21.0	5.8
(Advanced)			
Black	7	18.0	5.6
Mostly White	16	34.0	9.5
Ivy	15	40.0	12.1
Principal Civil Rights Organization Involvement			
None	1	3.5	0.8
Urban League	6	21.4	5.5
NAACP	19	67.8	17.4
SCLC	2	7.1	1.8
Prior Degree of Involvement in Politics			
Low	9	33.3	8.1
Medium	9	33.3	8.1
High	9	33.3	8.1

(40 percent) were products of Ivy League schools. The executives holding advanced degrees from Black schools numbered only seven (18.0 percent).

The Black political executives during the Kennedy-Johnson period for the most part came from outside government. A substantial number had been employed in the private practice of law (thirteen) or as corporate or foundation executives (nine). These two categories account for 33.0 and 22.0 percent respectively of the appointees. Only eight were employed in government at the time of their appointment. They accounted for one of every five (20.0 percent) appointed. Some persons appointed had been employed as educators or in other fields. There were only ten in this category. They represented one out of every four (25.0 percent) appointed.

It is difficult to easily grasp and describe the politically related experiences of appointees in regard to civil rights or other aspects of politics. To provide some general indication, however, association with civil rights organizations have been shown in a previous study to lie along a continuum reflecting variations in the degree to which groups are inclined to work within the established institutional framework of American politics. This study determined the extent that efforts by the civil rights groups are considered representative of group efforts to conform to normal institutional expectations. The study shows the Urban League is the most passive, the NAACP as being in an intermediate position, and

the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) as the most active.² Almost all the appointees of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations clearly claimed membership in the more moderate of the principal civil rights organizations. The NAACP was the preferred organization of nineteen (67.8 percent). Only one appointee (2.5 percent) failed to claim involvement in any type of civil rights organization. Between these two extremes, five (21.4 percent) Black executives were involved in the Urban League and only two (7.1 percent) with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Even though an appointee selected "a" principal civil rights organization, one should not misconstrue this to mean that membership or other types of support were necessarily limited to a single organization. One is not restricted from membership in all of the principal civil rights organizations, and in most instances the appointees indicated their support for all of the organizations. We sought to determine the principal organization with which the appointees identified as one clue to their perspective on civil rights activities. As shown in table 2.3, the appointees tended to select as principal civil rights organizations the low or moderate (93.0 percent) organizations.

The degree to which appointees participated in campaigns and elections was determined by asking questions relative to

² Lucius J. Barker and Jesse J. McCorry, Jr., Black Americas Political System, 2nd edition, 1980 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Winthrop Publishers), pp.165-177.

the following factors: contributions of money to a party or candidate; work in election campaigns; being a delegate to a state or national party convention; being a candidate for partisan office; and having won public office. While biographical data could be used for the universe in some instances, it was virtually impossible to obtain relevant material for the questions except through interviewing. Thus, only twenty-seven out of forty appointees are accounted for in this area.

The answers to the questions on political involvement were summed and a continuum developed with three equal sections. Three levels of activism (low, medium, and high) were developed; the scores on political involvement were arrayed along the continuum. The first one-third of the scores (33.3 percent) were determined to be at the low level of activism. The second one-third of the scores (33.3 percent) were determined to be in the medium level and the final one-third of the scores (33.3 percent) were determined to be in the high level of political activism. As shown in table 2.3, 66 percent of the appointees were either in the low or medium levels. Thus, we conclude that the appointees were moderates who had had low to moderate prior involvement in politics.

Family Origins of Kennedy-Johnson Appointees

Table 2.4 is a summary of selected family origin characteristics of Black political executives during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations. The data presented for these

characteristics could be obtained only through interviews; therefore, data is available for only twenty-six appointees, except in the category "parent active in political organization".

Almost all of the Kennedy-Johnson appointees came from families in which the father was the principal wage earner. Only one (5.0 percent) of the appointees was from a household where the mother was the principal wage earner. Four (15.0 percent) were from families in which both parents or someone else was the principal wage earner.

TABLE 2.4

FAMILY ORIGINS OF KENNEDY-JOHNSON APPOINTEES

	Number	% Administration	% Universe
Principal Wage Earner			
Mother	1	3.8	0.9
Father	21	80.8	19.6
Both-Others	4	15.4	3.7
Occupation			
Non Professional	20	76.9	18.7
Professional	6	23.1	5.6
Educational Level			
No College Training	14	51.9	13.2
College Training	13	48.1	11.3
Religion			
Baptist-Methodist	16	64.0	15.1
Catholic	5	20.0	4.7
Other-None	4	16.0	3.8
Parent Active in Political Organization			
No	21	84.0	20.0
Yes	4	16.0	3.8

Twenty (77.0 percent) of the appointees considered their parents to have been employed as non-professionals. However, almost half of the principal wage earners had some college education. There were thirteen persons (46 percent) whose principal wage earner had attended college while fourteen (54.0 percent) had never attended college.

Most executives, sixteen, came from families whose religion was either Baptist or Methodist (64.0 percent), while only five (20.0 percent) were from Catholic families and an even lesser number, four (16.0 percent) reported other types of religious affiliation or none for the family.

Few of the appointees came from families in which the parents were involved in politics. Only four (16.0 percent) of the Kennedy-Johnson appointees had parents who were active in political organizations, while twenty-one (84.0 percent) of appointees' principal breadwinner had never been active in any type political organization.

Personal Attributes of Nixon-Ford Appointees

Table 2.5 is a summary of personal attributes of the Nixon-Ford appointees. Like the appointees of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations, the overwhelming majority of the Black political executives appointed during the Nixon-Ford administrations were male. As shown in the table, thirty (94.0 percent) were male while only two (6.0 percent) were female. The appointees were almost evenly divided among the age categories; eleven

TABLE 2.5
PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES OF NIXON-FORD APPOINTEES

Personal Attributes		Percentages		
		Number	Administration	Universe
S	Female	2	6.0	1.4
E				
X	Male	30	94.0	21.3
A	24-33	11	34.4	7.8
G	34-45	10	31.2	7.1
E	46-Above	11	34.4	7.8
R				
E	None-Other	4	17.4	3.8
L				
I	Baptist-Methodist	10	43.4	9.4
G				
I	Catholic	9	40.1	8.5
O				
N				
R	Northeast	13	40.5	9.4
E				
S				
I	South-Southeast	7	21.9	5.0
D				
E				
N	Mid-Far West	12	37.5	8.6
C				
E				

(30.0 percent) were between the ages of 24-33 years; ten (32.0 percent) were between 34-45 years of age, and eleven (34.0 percent) were 46 years or older at the time of appointment.

Again the Northeast was the most heavily represented region providing thirteen (41.0 percent) of the appointees. Twelve (37.0 percent) resided in the Mid-or Far West at the time

of appointment, while the South and Southeast was the source of only seven (22.0 percent).

Among the Nixon-Ford appointees, only four (17.0 percent) identified with either no organized religion or something other than the Baptist, Methodist or Catholic churches. Those selecting Baptist or Methodist numbered ten (43.0 percent) among the Nixon-Ford appointees, while nine (40.0 percent) selected Catholic as their choice of a religion.

Sociopolitical Backgrounds of Nixon-Ford Appointees

The background characteristics for the Nixon-Ford appointees were obtained from biographical sources and twenty-three interviews. Thus, there are variations in the numbers reported on various characteristics. Variations result from additional information having been found on the appointees. Table 2.6 summarizes selected sociopolitical background characteristics for the Black political executives appointed during the Nixon-Ford administrations. As shown in the table, five (17.0 percent) of these appointees had only a bachelors degree, six (20.0 percent) had a masters degree, and four (13.0 percent) had a Ph.D. However, the overwhelming majority, fifteen (50.0 percent) had at least a degree in law and four (13 percent) of the appointees had advanced legal studies or an additional graduate degree in some other area of study.

The Nixon-Ford appointees principally were the products of Black and "mostly" white undergraduate schools. Among

TABLE 2.6

SELECTED SOCIOLOGICAL BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS
OF NIXON-FORD APPOINTEES

Background Characteristics	Nixon-Ford Administrations		
	Number	% Administration	% Universe
Educational			
Bachelor	5	16.7	3.6
Masters	6	20.0	4.4
Ph.D.	4	13.3	2.9
J.D.-LL.B.	11	36.7	8.0
J.D.-LL.B. plus	4	13.3	2.9
Occupational			
Private Practice	4	12.5	2.8
Federal Government	9	28.1	6.4
Corporate-Foundation	16	50.0	11.3
Recent College and Other Fields	3	9.4	2.1
Educational Institution (Undergraduate)			
Black	13	43.3	9.5
Mostly White	14	46.7	10.0
Ivy League	3	10.0	2.2
(Advanced)			
Black	4	15.4	3.2
Mostly White	15	57.6	12.1
Ivy League	7	27.0	5.6
Principal Civil Rights Organization Involvement			
None	4	17.4	3.7
Urban League	5	21.7	4.6
NAACP	8	34.8	7.3
SCLC	6	26.0	5.5
Prior Degree of Involvement in Politics			
Low	9	39.1	8.1
Medium	6	26.0	5.4
High	8	34.8	7.2

these appointees, thirteen (43 percent) attended Black undergraduate schools, fourteen (47 percent) attended mostly White schools and only three (10 percent) graduated from Ivy League schools. Few appointees during the Nixon-Ford administrations attended Black universities for advanced studies. The overwhelming majority, fifteen (58.0 percent) attended mostly White schools and seven (27.0 percent) studied at Ivy League schools.

The legal training of the Nixon-Ford appointees is not clearly reflected in their occupations. Only four (13.0 percent) of those appointed left their private professional practices of law while only three (9.0 percent) either were appointed just out of college or from other sources. Of the thirty-two appointees, sixteen (50.0 percent) came from employment by foundations or corporations and nine (28.0 percent) were appointed from local, state, or federal governments.

The Nixon-Ford administration's Black political executives might be expected to be more conservative in their civil rights organization than the other choices for whom data are available. Of the twenty-three responding, only four (17.0 percent) failed to identify with a civil rights organization. These appointees were overwhelmingly moderates who identified as members of the Urban League or NAACP. Eight (35.0 percent) chose the NAACP, five (22.0 percent) indicated the Urban League, and six (26.0 percent) chose the SCLC.

The appointees of the Nixon-Ford administrations had politically related experiences similar to those of the

Kennedy-Johnson administrations. Nine (39.0 percent) scored low in prior involvement in politics, six (26.0 percent) scores fell into the medium range, and eight (35.0 percent) scored in the high range on the prior political involvement scale.

Family Origins of Nixon-Ford Appointees

Table 2.7 is a summary of the family origins of the Black political executives appointed during the Nixon-Ford administrations. Most of the appointees came from families where the principal wage earner was the father. Of those appointees interviewed, only two (9.0 percent) were from families where the mother was the principal wage earner, fourteen (64.0 percent) had fathers as the principal wage earner, while six (27.0 percent) were from families in which both parents or some other person were the principal wage earners.

The principal wage earner in the appointee's family was almost as often in a professional as in a non-professional occupation. Among the wage earners, twelve (55.0 percent) were classified as non-professionals and ten (45.0 percent) were classified as professional. Ten (45.0 percent) had no college training, and twelve (55.0 percent) had attended college.

As to the religion affiliations of the family, ten (43.0 percent) were Baptists or Methodists, nine (40.0 percent) were

TABLE 2.7
FAMILY ORIGINS OF NIXON-FORD APPOINTEES

	Number	% Administration	% Universe
Principal Wage Earner			
Mother	2	9.0	1.9
Father	14	3.6	13.1
Both-Others	6	27.3	5.6
Occupation			
Non Professional	12	55.0	11.2
Professional	10	45.0	9.3
Educational Level			
No College	10	45.0	9.4
College	12	55.0	-1.3
Religion			
Baptist-Methodist	10	43.5	9.4
Catholic	9	39.1	8.5
Other-None	4	17.4	3.8
Parent Active in Political Organization			
No	13	59.1	12.4
Yes	9	40.9	8.6

Catholics, and only four (17.0 percent) indicated another type of affiliation or none.

The majority (59.1 percent) of the principal wage earners engaged in no political activity, according to the appointees.

Personal Attributes of Carter Appointees

More Blacks than ever before were appointed to top positions by the Carter administration. Table 2.8 summarizes the personal attributes of the sixty-nine appointees. Fifty-four (78.0

percent) were males while only fifteen (22.0 percent) were females. As for age, it was a relatively young group. There were twenty-nine (42 percent) between 24 to 33 years of age at the time of appointment; twenty-one (30 percent) between 34 and 45 years of age; and nineteen (28 percent) who were 46 years or older.

The religion of the appointees was overwhelmingly Baptist or Methodist. Thirty-two (55.0 percent) of the Carter appointees claimed one or the other of these affiliations. Nine (17.0 percent) were Catholic, and sixteen (28.0 percent) indicated something else.

At the time of appointment, twenty-seven (39.0 percent) resided in the Northeast; however, a plurality of the Carter appointees, twenty-eight (41.0 percent) were from the South or Southeast. Six came from Carter's home state of Georgia. Only fourteen (20.0 percent) resided in the Mid or Far West at the time of appointment.

Sociopolitical Backgrounds of Carter Appointees

The appointees of the Carter administration, being younger, were products of the civil rights era, and consequently their political and educational experiences were quite different from those of prior generations. Table 2.9 summarizes selected sociopolitical background characteristics of persons appointed during the Carter administration. There was not quite as great a proportion of lawyers as during the Kennedy-Johnson and Nixon-Ford administrations.

TABLE 2.8
PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES OF THE CARTER APPOINTEES

Personal Attributes		Percentages		
		Number	Administration	Universe
S	Female	15	21.7	10.6
E				
X	Male	54	78.2	38.3
A	24-33	29	42.0	20.6
G	34-45	21	30.4	14.9
E	46-Above	19	27.5	13.5
R				
E	None-Other	16	27.6	15.1
L				
I	Baptist-Methodist	32	55.1	30.2
G				
I	Catholic	10	17.2	9.4
O				
N				
R				
E	Northeast	27	39.1	19.4
S				
I				
D	South-Southeast	28	40.6	20.1
E				
N	Mid-Far West	14	20.3	10.1
C				
E				

As shown in table 2.9, thirty-one (44.0 percent) had J.D. or LL.B. degrees, and among the lawyers nineteen had done advanced legal study. In areas other than law, twelve (17.0 percent) persons had Ph.D. degrees, fifteen (22.0 percent) had masters degrees, and only ten (16.0 percent) appointees had only a bachelors degree. The only Black political executive appointed

TABLE 2.9

SELECTED SOCIOPOLITICAL BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS
OF CARTER APPOINTEES

Background Characteriestics	Carter Administration		
	Number	% Administration	% Universe
Educational			
Bachelor	11	15.9	8.0
Masters	15	21.7	10.9
Ph.D.	12	17.4	8.8
J.D.-LL.B.	12	17.4	8.8
J.D.-LL.B. plus	19	27.5	13.9
Occupational			
Private Practice of Law	8	11.6	5.7
Federal Government	17	24.6	12.1
Corporate-Foundation	29	42.0	20.6
Recent College and Other Fields	15	21.7	10.6
Educational Institution (Undergraduate)			
Black	29	42.0	21.2
Mostly White	29	42.0	21.2
Ivy League	11	16.0	8.0
(Advanced)			
Black	9	15.0	7.3
Mostly White	29	48.3	23.4
Ivy League	22	36.7	17.7
Principal Civil Rights Organization Involvement			
None	4	7.1	3.7
Urban League	12	20.6	11.0
NAACP	32	55.1	29.4
SCLC	10	17.2	9.2
Prior Degree of Involvement in Politics			
Low	21	34.4	18.9
Medium	17	27.8	15.3
High	23	37.7	20.7

who did not have at least a bachelor's degree was Ernest L. Osborne, deputy under secretary in the Department of Health and Human Services. He attended Long Island University, but did not graduate.

An equal number of the persons appointed during the Carter administration, twenty-nine (42.0 percent), in each category, received their undergraduate education at Black or mostly White schools. Only eleven (16.0 percent) of the executives receive their undergraduate training at one of the Ivy League schools. Among those receiving graduate degrees, only nine (15.0 percent) attended mostly White institutions, and twenty-two (37.0 percent) received their degrees from Ivy League schools.

A substantial number of the Carter appointees, twenty-nine (42.0 percent) were employed by corporations or foundations before coming to political executive positions. Eight (12.0 percent) were in the private practice of law, seventeen (25.0 percent) were employed in government, and fifteen (21.0 percent) had been employed in education, as paraprofessionals (assistants to others), ministers or had just graduated from college.

Over one half of the Carter appointees, thirty-two (55.0 percent), stated the NAACP was the civil rights organization with which they had been the most involved. Twelve (12.0 percent) selected the Urban League, ten (17.0 percent) the SCLC, and four (7.0 percent) named some other organization or expressed no involvement in civil rights organizations.

The distribution of Carter administration appointees on the political involvement scale was as follows: twenty-one (34.0 percent) in the low range, seventeen (28.0 percent) in the medium range, and twenty-three (38.0 percent) in the high range. Among these appointees, the 38.0 percent in the high political involvement category is an indication of the increasing activity of Blacks in the political process.

Family Origins of Carter Appointees

The Black political executives appointed during the Carter administration were basically the products of households with the father as the principal wage earner. As shown in table 2.10, forty-three (73.0 percent) were in this category. Only three executives (5.0 percent) were from families in which the principal wage earner was the mother and in thirteen families (22.0 percent) both parents or some other person was the principal wage earner. Forty-one (69.0 percent) perceived their parent to be a non-professional, while eighteen (31.0 percent) reported the principal wage earner to be a professional. Among the wage earners, thirty (52.0 percent) had no college training, while twenty-eight (48.0 percent) had received some college training.

The appointees during the Carter administration were from families whose religious preferences were not unlike those of other administrations. Thirty-two (55.0 percent) were Baptist or Methodist, ten (17.0 percent) were Catholic, and sixteen (28.0 percent) had either some other type or indicated no religious preference.

TABLE 2.10
FAMILY ORIGINS OF CARTER APPOINTEES

	Number	% Administration	% Universe
Principal Wage Earner			
Mother	3	5.0	2.8
Father	43	73.9	40.2
Both-Others	13	22.0	12.1
Occupation			
Non Professional	41	69.4	38.3
Professional	18	30.6	16.8
Educational Level			
No College	30	52.0	28.3
College	28	48.0	26.4
Religion			
Baptist-Methodist	32	55.1	30.2
Catholic	10	17.2	9.4
Other-None	16	27.6	15.1
Parent Active in Political Organization			
No	39	67.2	37.1
Yes	19	32.8	18.1

Most of the appointees during the Carter administration did not have parents who were active in political organizations. Only nineteen (32.8 percent) had a parent active in political organizations. On the other hand, thirty-nine (67.2 percent), had parents who were not active in any political organization.

A Comparison of Administrations

For purposes of comparisons and simplification the administrations are analyzed along two dimensions: sociopolitical backgrounds of appointees and variations in appointment practices among the administrations.

Sociopolitical Backgrounds

Included in the analysis of selected background characteristics being compared are personal attributes and family origins. The variables employed are as follows: sex, age, occupation, region at time of appointment, education, family religion, principal civil rights group involvement, political involvement, principal wage earner, nature of wage earner occupation, and wage earner educational level.

Among the Black political executives appointed, almost one out of every two (48.9 percent) was appointed during the Carter administration. The Kennedy-Johnson administrations had only slightly more than one in four (28.3 percent) and the Nixon-Ford even less with about one in five (22.6 percent) of all the Black political executives in this study. The most obvious characteristic among the appointees of this study is sex. The advent of the post civil rights period has led increasingly to expanded participation by women in virtually every aspect of social and political life. Clearly, females were appointed in greater numbers and percentages during the Democratic administrations of Kennedy-Johnson than during the Republican administrations of Nixon-Ford. It is significant to note that these appointments occurred over an eight years period during the Kennedy-Johnson and Nixon-Ford administrations and only a four year period during the Carter administration.

The cry for more representation and participation by younger Blacks seems to have been understood more during the

Carter administration than the others. The appointees during the Carter administration were younger; of those appointed twenty-nine (42.0 percent) were between 24 and 33 years of age. The Kennedy-Johnson administrations had older appointees; among their appointments, fifteen (37.0 percent) were 46 years or older, while eleven (34.0 percent) of the Nixon-Ford appointees, and an even lesser percentage of Carter appointees, nineteen (28.0 percent), were in the same category.

In the occupational categories, the Kennedy-Johnson administrations had a higher percentage of lawyers (33.0 percent) appointed than the Nixon-Ford (13.0 percent) or Carter (12.0 percent) administrations. Most of the civil rights legislation that became law was developed and perhaps monitored during this era and might account for the high percentage of lawyers appointed. A lower percentage of corporate or foundation executives were appointed during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations (22.0 percent) than during the Nixon-Ford (59.0 percent) or the Carter (42.0 percent) administrations. The Nixon-Ford administrations placed a greater reliance on persons who were already employed within the government. A higher percent of their appointees, compared to the other administrations, were recipients of upward mobility. It is significant to note that the data reveals that during the Nixon-Ford administrations, nine (28.0 percent) of the Black political executives appointed were employed in government at the time of their appointment. During the Kennedy-Johnson and the Carter administrations, only eight (20.0 percent)

and seventeen (25.0 percent) of their respective appointees were serving in government at the time of their appointment. The data indicates a reluctance to appoint as high a percentage of persons just graduating from college by the Nixon-Ford administrations as are appointed during the others. Among the appointees, only three (9.0 percent) had recently graduated from college during the Nixon-Ford administrations. On the other hand, ten (25.0 percent) of the Kennedy-Johnson and fifteen (21.0 percent) of the Carter appointees were recent graduates from college or the other category.

The appointees were drawn in greater percentages from the regions most closely associated with a president at the time of his election. And because of the high percentage of professional Blacks in Harlem and other northeastern urban areas, some Blacks are expected to be appointed from the northeast region. These two factors are reflected in the appointees of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations, nineteen (50.0 percent) of whom resided in the northeast section of the country which was the area in which Kennedy lived and where the Ivy League schools many of Kennedy's appointees attended are located. During the Carter administration, twenty-eight (41.0 percent) of the appointees resided in the South or Southeast region of the country, which is also the region Carter resided in at the time of his election. A higher percentage of Black political executives were appointed from the Mid and Far West, twelve (73.0 percent) during the Nixon-Ford administration than during the Kennedy-Johnson

or the Carter administrations, in which the numbers were twelve (32.0 percent) and fourteen (20.0 percent) respectively. These findings indicated that the region in which the president resides will have an impact upon the number of Blacks appointed from that area.

During the Kennedy-Johnson administrations there was not a single appointment made of a Black political executive who had only a bachelor's degree. The focus was on mature and highly educated appointees with established national reputations. Thus, a higher percentage of persons with Ph.D. (26.0 percent), J.D. or LL.B. degrees (42.0 percent) was appointed during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations than in the others. In the Carter administration there was a higher percentage of persons (27.0 percent) who held law degrees plus additional graduate studies than in the Kennedy-Johnson (16.0 percent) or the Nixon-Ford (13.0 percent) administrations. This is an indication of an expanding pool of educated Blacks with high qualifications. Thus, there was a real supply of Blacks upon which to draw. On the other side, the perceived power and prestige associated with a political appointment and the limited alternatives in many cases for comparable employment presumably were factors which made the acceptance of appointments attractive to many Blacks.

The data reveal that in each administration, Blacks were appointed with similar educational backgrounds. Only slight variations exist in the percent of appointees who did undergraduate

or advanced studies in the Kennedy-Johnson (45.0 percent), Nixon-Ford (43.0 percent) or Carter (42.0 percent) administrations at Black institutions. It is significant to note that in the Nixon-Ford administrations there was a reliance upon graduates of "mostly White" institutions. The Black graduates of "mostly White" institutions were generated by the civil rights movement of the 1960's. Through this movement the presence of Blacks at these institutions increased considerably. The appointment of Blacks from mostly White institutions might also be considered an effort to include persons who are perceived as being closer to the mainstream of Black Americans in terms of their educational experiences rather than more Ivy League graduates.

The overwhelming majority of the appointees in each administration were Baptist or Methodist in religious affiliation. There is one notable difference in the religious preference of the appointees; an increasing number indicate no affiliation or one other than Baptist, Methodist or Catholic. In the Carter administration, a surprising sixteen (26.0 percent) of the appointees were in the none or other categories. The increase of Black executives with no religious affiliation or one other than Baptist, Methodist or Catholic might be attributed to a decline in religiosity among upwardly mobile Blacks.

The appointees in all of the administrations indicated involvement with the NAACP or Urban League in disproportionate number, compared to the more militant Southern Christian

Leadership Conference. But an increasing number of appointees, especially during the Carter administration, identified with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). This increase might be considered an indication of the recognition of the legitimacy of the Black struggle waged by this group. Since the SCLC is Atlanta-based, this might also account for the increase in its members' presence. Other factors that might have contributed to the upsurge in these appointees was Andrew Young's appointment and his being a part of the Carter inner-circle. Young had served as executive director of the SCLC which in part may have paved the way for increased participation of SCLC activists.

Few Blacks appointed in any administration had been highly active in politics. The data reveal that most appointees ranked low or medium in their degrees of prior political involvement. There is only a five percentage points increase in degrees of involvement from the Kennedy-Johnson administrations to the Carter administration. This might be considered a reflection of the fact that few Blacks are involved over time actively in the politics of the national parties. Given the limited number of Black political activists, and the many alternatives available to them for career development, it is not surprising that persons appointed are not from the ranks of those which have been highly active in politics.

All of the administrations appointed persons in whose family structure the principal wage earner was identified as the

father the majority of the time. During the Nixon-Ford administrations there were more appointees with two principal wage earners than during the others. This perhaps reflects the fact that Black Republicans are likely to be affluent, well educated, and engaged in professional occupations. The data on principal wage earners in family structures bears this out. The data reveal that there was a higher percent of professional and highly educated principal wage earners during the Nixon-Ford administrations than during the others. During the Nixon-Ford administrations, the data reveal that 55.0 percent of the family principal wage earners had college training. On the other side, only 46.0 percent during the Carter administration had college training. Although some persons considered as professionals, if professionals are assumed to earn more than non-professionals, the data is again suggestive. Among the family principal wage earners of the Nixon-Ford administrations, 45.0 percent were professionals while only 23.0 percent of the Kennedy-Johnson and 31.0 percent of the Carter administrations were professionals.

Black Political Executives: A Representative
or Elite Group?

Scholars long have been concerned with the apparent unrepresentative character of political executives in the federal government. Their concerns have been expressed in various studies seeking to determine if appointed officials are an elite, from the advantaged section of society, or whether in backgrounds

they reflect the society at large.³

De Grazia, for one, asserts that "representation exists when characteristics and acts of individuals vested with public functions are in accord with the wishes of the persons to whom the functions have objective and subjective importance."⁴ Implicit in this notion is an understanding that the experiences and values of persons differ along economic, social, and political lines. One of the underlying assumptions of this study has been that representation implies expanded social, economic, and political participation. Thus, in this section, I examine the appointment of Blacks as political executives to determine their economic and social representativeness relative to the Black population in general. The variables used in examining representativeness will include sex, occupation, education, and economic and social standing.

Economic status has played a major role in American political life since the founding of the country. That is to say, it has been an established fact that the wealth of the individual is related to the level of political participation. It is an accepted fact that persons with wealth are more likely better educated, better employed, and inclined to vote and involve

³See: Warner et al., The American Federal Executive; Mann and Doig, Assistant Secretaries (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1965); Stanley, Mann, and Doig, Men Who Govern: A Biographical Profile of Federal Political Executives (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1967); David T. Stanley, The Higher Civil Service (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1964).

⁴Alfred De Grazia, Public and Republic: Political Representation in America (New York: Knopf, 1951), p.4.

themselves in other aspects of political life.

Given the reality of the present economic status of Blacks, few will deny that they collectively suffer from low income, economic insecurity, and lower living standards which result from poverty, unemployment and underemployment. Thus, the problem relative to Black representation in a passive sense is the extent that those appointed mirror the Black community. According to Drake, Blacks who are in a position to be selected for appointive political positions come, for the most part, from Black middle and upper classes.⁵ The problem at hand is to determine whether their conclusion holds for the Black political executives studied here.

The population of Blacks in 1960 was 19 million and in 1970 it was 22.7 million. On the average, Black persons twenty-five years of age and older had an educational level of 8.0 years and 9.9 years in 1960 and 1970 respectively. The median age of Blacks during these same periods was 23.5 years and 22.4 years and the Black female was the head of 22.4 percent and 26.7 percent of Black families.⁶

One must conclude that those appointed as Black political executives are not representative of the Black population as a whole in terms of education, sex, age, occupation or social

⁵ See: St. Clair Drake, "The Social and Economic Status of the Negro in the United States," Daedalus, vol. 94 (Fall 1965), p.781.

⁶ U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 94th edition (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), pp.5-25.

status. The data show that the Black political executives, with the exception of a single person, have at least a bachelors degree. According to census data, only 4.0 and 6.0 percent of all Black males and 6.0 and 8.0 percent of all Black females had completed four year of college in 1960 and 1970 respectively.

In 1960 the Black population consisted of 9,758,000 (51.7 percent) females and 9,114,000 (49.3 percent) males. In 1970 there were 11,832,000 (52.4 percent) females and 10,749,000 (47.6 percent) males. The highest percentage of Black female political executives appointed was during the Carter administration when fifteen (22.0 percent) were appointed. The Kennedy-Johnson administrations appointed five (12.5 percent) and the Nixon-Ford administrations appointed only two (6.0 percent).

With regard to the employment of wage earners, according to Brimmer as late as 1973 in spite of the fact that Blacks constituted 10.8 percent of the work force, Blacks held only 9.3 percent of the non specialized jobs that were within selected industries.⁷ This suggests that those Blacks employed were in menial jobs. This notion had been supported by the findings of the Kerner Commission, which determined during the sixties that about 10 million people were underemployed, many of whom were Black. There were also 6.5 million persons that

⁷ See: Andrew Brimmer, "Black Employment in 1973." a paper presented at the 25th meeting of the Howard University Alumni Development Luncheon, Washington, D.C., February 19, 1974.

worked full-time for wages below the poverty level,⁸ which also included many Blacks. Clearly, few will deny that the small numbers of Blacks appointed during the period under study were from families that are not representative of the Black population relative to education and employment when compared with the total Black population.

Kranz noted that the increasing minority shares of "self respect" and opportunities for education and social mobility are essential qualities to rectify social inequalities." He further concluded that "whereas social honor is externally bestowed" - income, occupation, and education received expanded attention because inclusion in society means being respected and accepted in political relations with others.⁹

The data show that the Black political executives are a highly educated group whose families' principal wage earners were more educated and had higher occupational standing than the mass of Black people. We conclude that Black political appointees are an elite group with advantaged backgrounds. The appointees' experiences and situations have been quite different from those of most Blacks--whether talking about Republican or Democratic administrations. Prestige is accorded to the appointees by others because of their educational attainment, given

⁸Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p.253-256.

⁹Kranz, Participatory Bureaucracy, p.95.

the status of education in the Black community, and the esteem held for "high" government officials.

In this chapter we have been considering representation in passive terms. However, there remains the active dimension. A group that is not represented in passive terms may in fact be represented in active terms. The extent to which this is the case is the subject of the next chapter. We explore the active dimension of representation because of the assumption held by many that the more Blacks appointed the greater the representation of Black interests. Simply studying passive representation leaves an important dimension, the active, unexplored. Numbers alone can not guarantee results that are anticipated or needed on behalf of the Black community. Even though we recognize the importance of education we submit that this highly educated group of appointees are expected to represent more than mere numbers. They are assumed to have been appointed to carry out specific functions and to maintain certain roles while serving in government. We recognize that these appointees came to government with different orientations. In the chapter that follows we move beyond an analysis of mere numbers or of representation in a purely passive sense, to an analysis in an active sense. Thus we analyze the various role orientations that Black political executives bring to and maintain while in government.

CHAPTER III

THE ROLE ORIENTATIONS OF BLACK POLITICAL EXECUTIVES

The purpose of this chapter is to identify, explain, and evaluate the role orientations of Black political executives. Our findings with respect to the role orientations of Black appointees are reported in three sections: the first describes the role orientation that these appointees brought into their government service as well as their role orientations while inside the government; the second section compares these roles across administrations, appointment levels, and locations; the third section tests the extent to which variation in appointee role orientations can be explained by demographic, social background, and sociopolitical variable.

One of the fundamental assumptions upon which this study is based is that the socialization of Black political executives is a continuous process. That is to say, while their early experiences affect appointees, they are also conditioned by later adult experiences and work situations as part of an ongoing socialization

process. Thus, "the concepts, information, and feelings that are first acquired serve as filters through which¹ later perceptions must pass."

One significant feature of adult socialization involves the assumption of distinctive role orientations and this is the specific focus of the present chapter. For our purposes, role orientations are generally defined as the Black appointee's conception of his or her position as an actor relative to the interests of the Black community in America. We specifically identify those orientations that Black appointees assumed prior to appointment as reflected through the expression of certain key attitudes relative to Black community interests. Moreover, we further identify those role orientations Black appointees assumed once in office--again, as these are reflected in the expression of key attitudes about Black community interests. Obviously, not everyone takes on the same role orientation in politics and government. Thus, while many people assume a specialized political role orientation that might lead them to become voters, other persons take orientations that lead them to become political executives. Role orientations,

¹International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 14, "Political Socialization," by Fred Greenstein. pp. 551-555.

according to Issak, are "tendencies to respond in a certain way in a given situation. Included in the class of dispositional concepts are attitudes, opinions, beliefs, values, and personality traits."² These "dispositional concepts" are in turn reflected in salient demographic, social background, and sociopolitical characteristics for political actors. What leads Black appointees to take different role orientations? This is the key question before us in this chapter, the answer to which is sought by systematically comparing the nature and type of their service as well as their demographic, background, and sociopolitical characteristics.

Identification of Black Appointee Role Orientations

In order to identify the role orientations of Black appointees we asked interviewees a series of questions relating to their relationship to, and association with, the interests of the Black community. Specifically, we wished to determine: (a) whether or not Black appointees had a personal "action" agenda with a distinctly Black focus upon entering government service; (b) the extent to which such appointees viewed themselves as promoters of special Blacks interests once inside government; (c) the nature of any ongoing relationship

²Alan C. Issak, Scope and Methods of Political Science (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1975), p. 119.

with the Black community during government service; and (d) what specific Black interests, if any, were actually served by appointees in their positions in the government.

To establish whether or not Black appointees had a personal agenda we asked interviewees the following question:

Since persons in positions such as yours often come to office with a personal agenda and specific objectives to accomplish, I am curious if you had such an agenda, and if so, what items were on it?

Responses to this question were coded into five separate categories: (0) those without any agenda or who considered themselves to serve at the pleasure of the president; (1) those who felt their agenda involved simply carrying out a legal mandate; (2) those whose agenda was to gain knowledge and experience for self-development; (3) those whose agenda was to be a Black role model; and (4) those whose agenda was specifically to aid the Black cause. We consider these categories as ranging from little or no concern for specific Black action to a high level of such concern. The responses were coded in such a way that when more than one response was given, the response with the highest value was coded. Figure 3.1 reports the distribution of appointees, by percentage, as to their "action" agenda upon entering the government. Of the sixty-nine appointees responding to this particular question, only four (5.8 percent) reported that

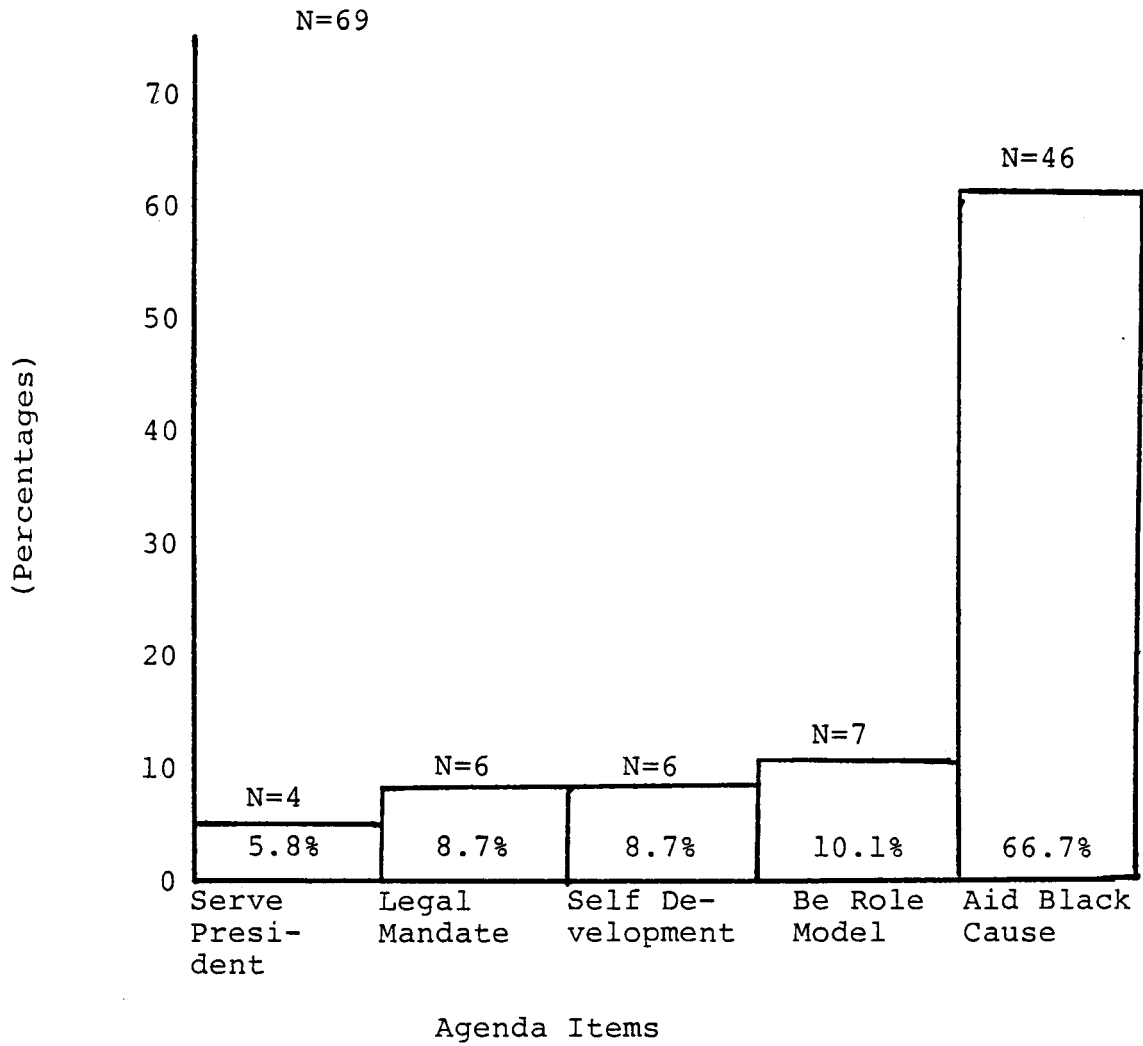


Figure 3.1. Distribution of Black political executives percentages by agenda items upon entering government.

their primary purpose was to serve the president. Six of the appointees (8.7 percent), listed self development as their primary purpose, and a slightly higher number, seven (10.1 percent), considered their primary agenda upon entry as being a Black role model. The largest proportion of interviewees, forty-six (66.7 percent), characterized their main agenda as aiding the Black cause. Thus, fully three-out-of-four of our Black political executives entered government service with an agenda that at least indirectly related to Black interests; i.e., wished to serve either as a role model for Blacks or to aid the Black cause.

The data reported in Figure 3.1 do not yield un-anticipated results. We would expect that Blacks appointed as political executives ought to be especially attuned to the needs and desires of the Black community. It is no surprise then to discover that the preponderance of these officials brought a desire to aid the Black cause to government service. After all our interviewees represent the most educated and articulate elements of the Black population and at an absolute minimum ought to be able to at least voice a desire to serve their people. But almost a third of these appointees did not manifest as part of their agenda concrete and specific concern for Black interests. Perhaps those who do not directly focus on the improved delivery of services to Blacks are reminiscent of people of an early period, whose lack of

concern for freedom in a larger sense caused Frederick Douglass to decry those who:

. . . want crops without plowing up the ground. They want the rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the roar of her mighty waters.³

To establish the extent to which Black appointees viewed themselves as promoters of special Black interests once inside government we asked interviewees the following question:

When you came to office did you have any special type of Black interest roles for you to play while working in government?

Responses to this question were coded into four separate categories: (0) those appointees serving in locations from which they cannot address specific Black interests; (1) those appointees who saw themselves as performing essentially to aid Blacks obtain civil rights; (2) those who felt they primarily served to promote Black interests through affirmative action activities; and (3) those appointees who viewed themselves as performing a role in the direct promotion of Black economic development. We consider these categories as ranging from roles with little or no concern for Black interests to a high level of such concern.

³Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America 1619-1964 (New York: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 274.

In Figure 3,2 the distribution of interviewees on this question is presented. Because this was an especially direct question about their attitudes, interviewees proved very able to give a response--particularly in comparison to other questions in this series. Thus, there is an appreciable disparity between the number of responses on this as compared to other questions. The disparity in the number of responses on this as compared to other questions can also be explained by the fact that in those instances when only limited time was available partial interviews were necessary. In such cases judgments had to be made as to which material could best be obtained from a given interviewee. Despite these limitations we believe the data presented are valid representations of the attitudes of those Black political appointees with whom we spoke about their role orientations.

Of those appointees for whom data are available, fifteen (15.0 percent) felt the nature of their employment precluded their addressing matters of specific Black interest. Examples of appointments that do not allow appointees to address such interests are: the Federal Reserve Board, Federal Energy Regulator Commission, Treasurer of the United States, and certain positions in the Department of State. Those who considered their role as aiding Blacks in obtaining their civil rights comprised the largest number of appointees, thirty-three (33.0 percent). The second most common response, given by twenty-eight

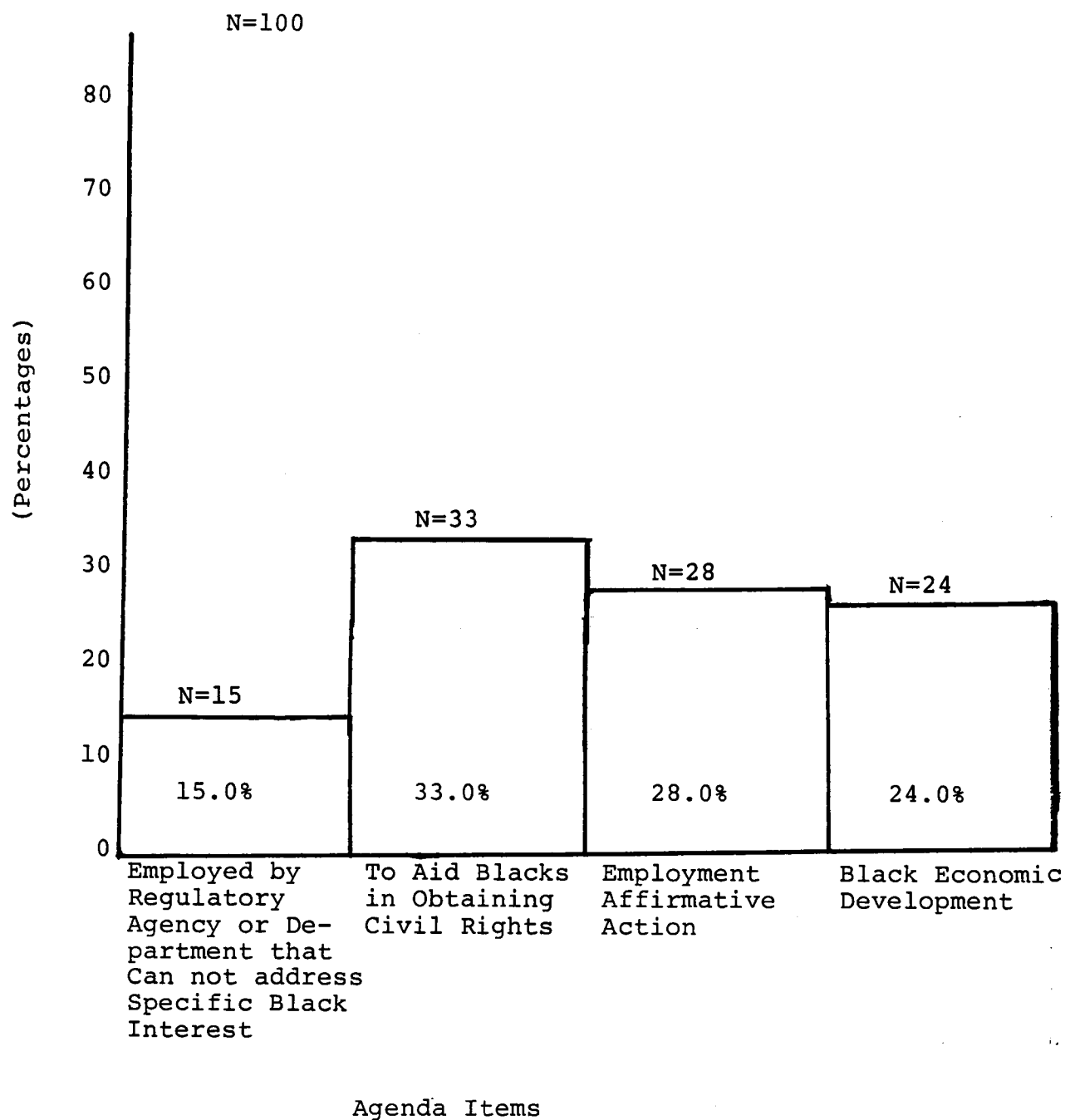


Figure 3.2. Frequency percentages of Black political executives perceived special type Black interest roles while in government.

Black appointees (28.0 percent), indicated that they considered their role as being the promotion of employment and job advancement through affirmative action. Another twenty-four (24.0 percent) saw their primary role as aiding the Black community through economic development.

It is well worth noting that only one-in-four appointees assume the most demanding role with respect to Black interests: the promotion of the economic development of the Black community as a whole. A far larger proportion (nearly two-out-of-three) of our Black executives were willing to take the less demanding role inherent in the promotion of the more individualist Black interest--civil rights and affirmative action. One could well assume that the operation of government is consistent with what many Blacks experience as an integral part of contemporary American society: the talking about civil rights and opportunities accompanied by woefully inadequate resources devoted to their actual acquisition and a failure to assure maintenance of such rights for Black Americans. The reality, however, is that the positions of these appointees may be very far removed from any real connection with the promotion of Black economic development.

To measure the nature of any ongoing relationship with the Black community assumed by the Black appointees during their government service we asked the following question:

Would you please comment in a more detailed fashion as to the nature of the relationship (if any) that you have sought to maintain with the Black community?

Responses to this question were coded as follows:

(0) No relationship, to simply support existing programs or to merely keep informed; (1) to serve as an advocate for Blacks and develop new programs for them; (2) to remove barriers for Blacks in society. We consider these categories as moving from those manifesting little or no concern for promotion of Black interests to a high level of such concern. The distribution of appointees on this question is reported in Figure 3.3. Of the one hundred and five Black executives willing to give this information, only fifteen (14.3 percent) exhibited the lowest level of concern for the establishment of a special ongoing relationship with the Black community. An additional thirty-seven (35.2 percent) indicated that they assumed the more activist stance of serving as advocates or developing new programs for the Black community. The highest level of activism was indicated by half of these appointees as fifty-three (50.5 percent) responded that they wished to work at personally removing barriers for Blacks while in government.

The apparent belief by half of the Black appointees that, by virtue of their office, they assume real power to remove barriers is a surprising result. We expected instead that most of these individuals would assume a role

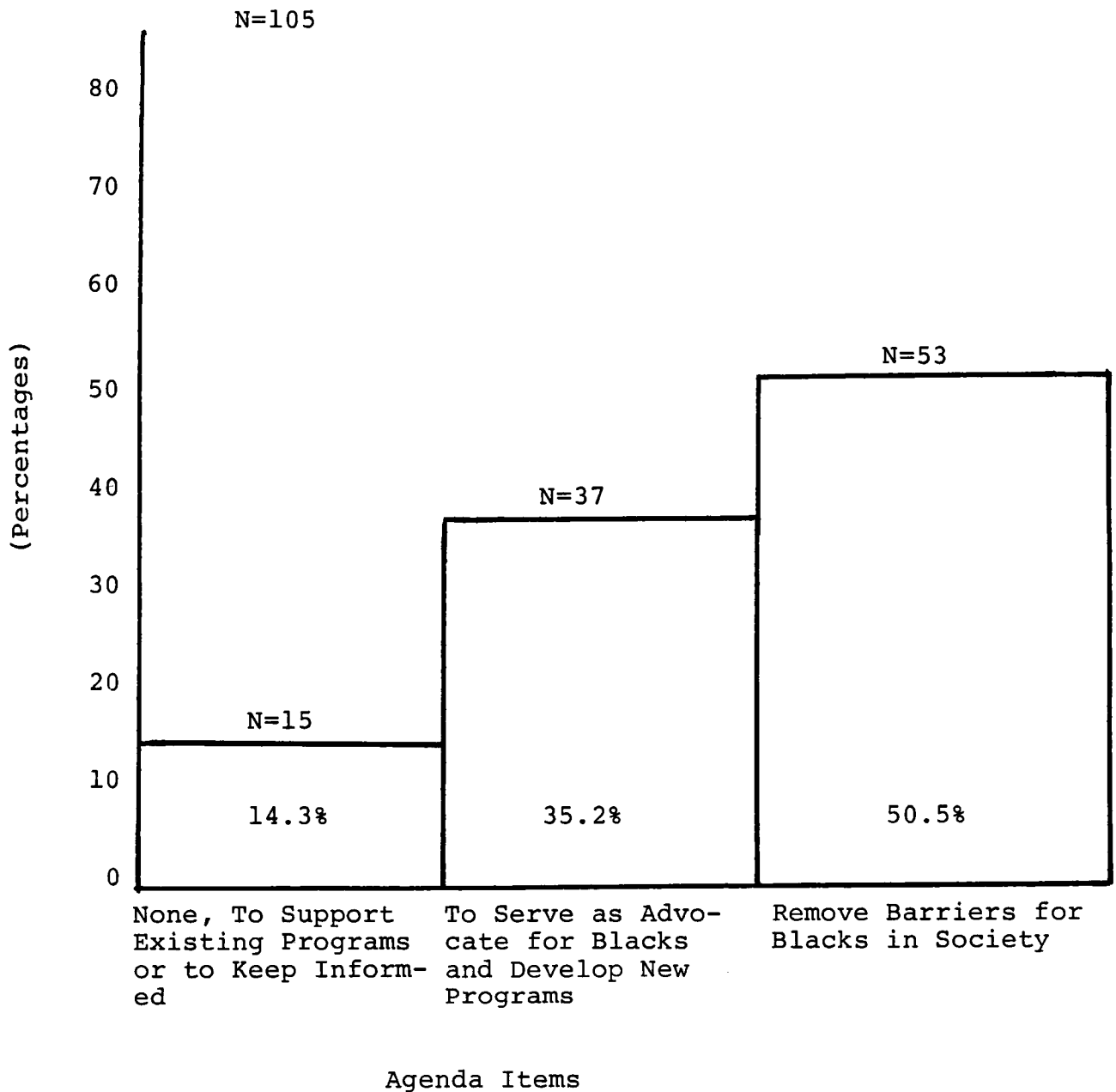


Figure 3.3. Distribution of Black political executives type of special relationship wanting to maintain with Black community while in government.

in which the development of a new program was promoted. That one-of-every-two appointees felt that the removal of barriers characterized their role in relating to the Black community suggests that they are responding to pressure from that segment of our society; i.e., the growing feeling that past Black political executives would not, or could not, really do anything for the Black community has probably resulted in greater pressure upon Black appointees to assume a more activist stance vis a vis that community. It is also possible that the growing number of young, southern Black political executives appointed during the post-civil rights period contributes to the number of activist responses found in Figure 3.3; the obstacles Blacks have traditionally confronted in the South have typically been more pronounced than in other regions. Therefore, Blacks appointed from this region may be more likely to personally seek to remove barriers.

To determine what specific Black interests, if any, were actually served by appointees in the government positions we asked interviewees the following question:

Having indicated instances when you were involved in matters you considered especially relevant for the Black community, can you tell me what specific interests of the Black community were served or intended to be served by your office within this agency or department.

Responses to this question were coded as follows: (0) none or simply very broad and general statements about civil

rights without programmatic content; (1) delivery of health, welfare, and general community services; (2) delivery of educational, training, promotion, and employment; (3) community and economic development. We consider these categories as moving from those with limited or no direct effect upon Black community development to those with specific, direct effect upon such development.

The distribution of appointees responding to this question is reported in Figure 3.4. Thirty-three (32.0 percent) of the Black appointees indicated that they were working in no area of concern to Blacks, or simply on behalf of civil rights in general. In the area of health and welfare were twenty-four (23.3 percent) of our interviewees, while another twenty-eight (27.2 percent) indicated that they were working in educational, training, promotion, and employment areas. The community and economic development areas, those we consider the most demanding and activist type of activity on behalf of the Black community, only included eighteen (17.5 percent) of the Black executives. It is no real surprise to discover that once Black political executives are appointed, almost six-out-of-ten find themselves relegated to serving interests at the more passive or indirect end of the Black interest spectrum. After all, it is one thing to appoint a Black to office as a result of political pressure, or to reward political loyalty,

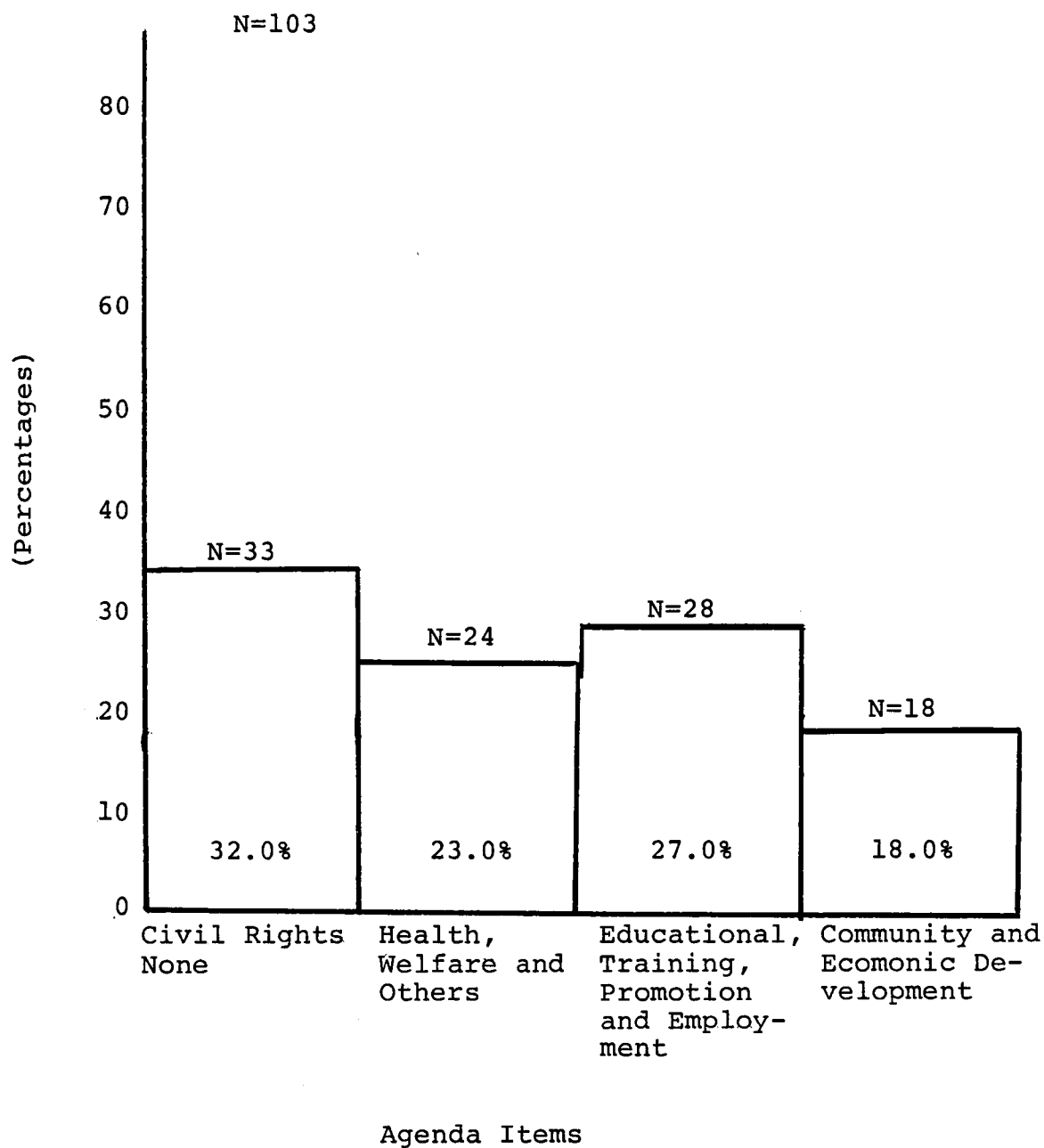


Figure 3.4 Distribution in Percentages of Black political executives relative to Black specific interest assumed to be served by respondents.

and it is quite another thing to appoint that Black to a position in which real power to effect change is available.

A Role Orientation Scale for Black Political Executives

In the preceeding section we report Black appointee role orientations as these were manifested in their response to four separate questions. Each question captures one dimension of role orientations but we are also interested in determining the multi-dimensional aspect of this phenomena; i.e., when we scale interviewee response to these questions so as to create a role orientations continuum, what is the result? By summing interviewee responses to our four role orientation questions we can array them along a continuum ranging from those who overall assumed a passive orientation (at one extreme) to those who assumed a high active orientation (at the other extreme).

The creation of a general role orientation scale involved summing the role orientation responses to each of the questions presented. Recall that the codes for each question were assigned in such a way that those appointees indicating the least concern for the interests of the Black community received lower values than those manifesting greater concern. Thus, by simply summing the responses for each interviewee we can create a general Black interest orientation scale that theoretically runs (given the actual code categories for all four questions)

from zero (manifested the least possible concern for Black interests on all four questions) to twelve (manifested the greatest possible concern for Black interests on all four questions). In the construction of the scale the answer to question one was given more explicit weight, that is, not all responses were weighted the same. Interviewees were then divided roughly into thirds based upon their summative score for the four questions. The result of this division is that twenty appointees (29.0 percent) with a raw score of zero to six comprise the "passive" role category, twenty-four appointees (33.8 percent) with a raw score of seven to eight fall into the "low active" category, and twenty-five appointees (36.2 percent), with a raw score of eight or higher are considered "high active" in role orientation. By dividing our Black political executives into these three categories on the general role orientation scale, we can thus test the degree to which appointees vary across administrations, appointment levels and locations. This is reported in the section that follows.

The General Role Orientation of Black Appointees

In this section we report the findings for the general role orientations of Black appointees as these vary between administrations, appointment levels, and location. The major purpose of this analysis is to test one of the hypotheses formulated in chapter one: That the general role orientation of Black political executives has changed over time. Has the general role orientation of these appointees shifted since the beginning of the Kennedy Administration, and if so how?

The distribution of Black appointees' general role orientation by administration is reported in Table 3.1. Of the fifteen Black executives appointed during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations for whom data are available, seven (46.7 percent) were passive, six (40.0 percent) were low active, and only two (13.3 percent) were high active. We had anticipated that these early Black appointees would be relatively less active in their role orientations; we felt that the Kennedy-Johnson appointees did not enjoy the full benefits of the civil rights movement and the legitimization for Black activism in government that it eventually brought. Among the Nixon-Ford appointees studied we find an equal distribution of Blacks between

TABLE 3.1

A SUMMARY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK POLITICAL EXECUTIVES
ROLE ORIENTATIONS BY ADMINISTRATIONS

<u>Administrations</u>				
R O L E O R I E N T A T I O N S		Kennedy- Johnson	Nixon- Ford	Carter
	Passive	7	5	8
		(46.7 percent)	(33.3 percent)	(20.6 percent)
	Low Actives	6	5	13
		(40.0 percent)	(33.3 percent)	(20.6 percent)
	High Actives	2	5	18
		(13.3 percent)	(33.3 percent)	(46.1 percent)
TOTALS		15	15	39
		(100.00 percent)	(99.9 percent)	(100.00 percent)

TABLE 3,2

A SUMMARY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK POLITICAL EXECUTIVE
ROLE ORIENTATIONS BY LOCATION

		<u>Location</u>	
R O L E		Non-Central	Central
	Passive	9	11
		(27.2 percent)	(30.6 percent)
O R I E N T A T I O N S	Low		
	Active	7	17
		(21.2 percent)	(47.2 percent)
	High		
	Active	17	8
		(51.6 percent)	(22.3 percent)
TOTAL		33	36
		(100.00 percent)	(100.00 percent)

role orientation types--five appointees (33.3 percent) may be found in each category. Thus, we observe the apparent anomaly of Republican administrations appointing a larger proportion of activists than had the Democratic predecessors. This is, we contend, not a function of the attitude of those bringing the Blacks into government. Rather it is the result of the nature of the available pool of the Blacks having changed over time. The appointees of the Nixon-Ford era had the benefit of being appointed after the civil rights movement had made its effect felt upon government; Black activism and the more overt pursuit of Black interests was more tolerated, even expected, by society. The appointees of the Carter administration not only had the benefit of the impact of the civil rights movement and the increased tolerance for Black activism, they also enjoyed the luxury of serving a president who was in deep political debt to the Black electorate. Thus, there was an expectation on the part of Black political executives that they could move away from the passive to more active role orientations. This is reflected in the rather striking increase in the incidence of high actives in the Carter administration: of the thirty-nine Black executives typed, only eight (20.6 percent) were passive, thirteen (33.3 percent) were low active, and a striking eighteen (46.1 percent) were high active.

The overall trend in the role orientations of Black appointees is very clear: as hypothesized, the incidence of the assumption of more activist role orientations increases over time and the occurrence of passive orientations decreases.

Do Black appointee general role orientations vary depending upon the location of the offices to which they were appointed? The data reported in Table 3.2 provide an affirmative answer to this question. Of the thirty-three Black political executives in positions non-central to Black interests, nine (27.2 percent) had passive role orientations. Slightly fewer appointees, seven (21.2 percent), held low active orientations, and seventeen (51.5 percent) assumed high active orientations. A very different pattern emerges for those appointees working in agencies we define as central to Black interests. For the thirty-six Black executives in central locations, eleven (30.6 percent) were passives, seventeen (47.2 percent) were low actives, and a surprisingly few, eight (22.3 percent), were high actives. Although about the same proportion of passive role orientations are manifested among appointees in non-central and central locations (about 30 percent in each), and roughly the same total proportion of appointees (roughly 70 percent) assume low and high active orientations in both types of locations, the difference between high actives

is striking indeed. The central location positions are "where the action is" for the promotion of Black interests. It would appear that the type of individual that is most likely to be appointed to these central positions is also somewhat less likely to assume an overtly activist role orientation, and is thereby a safer appointment; i.e., those Blacks with high active orientations are less likely to be attractive in the eyes of the appointing authority who will instead prefer to deal with Black appointees less committed to the promotion of Black interests. Thus for example, we see President Carter appointing Patricia Harris to head Housing and Urban Development (later Health and Human Services) rather than Andrew Young--who assumed a high active role orientation but was appointed to a non-central location from which he was subsequently dismissed.

Do the general role orientations of Black political executives differ by level of appointment? The data reported in Table 3.3 indicate that they do, but only slightly and the pattern of difference is not consistent. Of the thirty-six Black executives appointed to the lowest levels, eight (22.2 percent) were passives, thirteen (36.1 percent) were low actives, and fifteen (41.7 percent) were high actives. Clearly, the most substantial number of appointees taking the high active

TABLE 3.3

A SUMMARY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK POLITICAL EXECUTIVE
ROLE ORIENTATIONS BY LEVEL OF APPOINTMENT

		<u>Levels</u>		
R O L E		Level 5	Level 4	Levels 1,2,3
	Passive	8 (22.2 percent)	8 (42.1 percent)	4 (28.6 percent)
O R I E N T A T I O N	Low			
	Active	13 (36.1 percent)	6 (31.6 percent)	5 (35.7 percent)
S	High			
	Active	15 (41.7 percent)	5 (26.3 percent)	5 (35.7 percent)
TOTAL		36 (100.00 percent)	19 (100.00 percent)	14 (100.00 percent)

general role orientation are to be found at the lowest appointment level. But, the distribution of interviewees is very evenly distributed for the remaining orientations and levels. Thus, beyond noting the tendency for high actives to concentrate at lower appointment levels, we are unable to conclude that the relationship between orientations and appointment levels is an especially significant one.

Explanations of Variation in General Role Orientations

In the preceding section we compared the general role orientation of Black executives by administration, appointment level, and location. Here we explore the relationship between this role orientation and salient demographic, social background, and sociopolitical variables. This allows us to answer the basic question: what explains variation in the general role orientation of Black political executives?

The specific variables used to test the relationship between general role orientation and demographic, social background, and sociopolitical factors are listed and defined in Table 3.4. In the following discussion a systematic relationship is considered to exist between two variables only if they are related at the .05 level of probability. To determine statistical significance we rely upon the Chi-square test. By itself the Chi-square test only helps us decide whether or not to

TABLE 3.4

LIST AND DEFINITIONS OF VARIABLES USED IN ANALYSIS

Dependent Variable

General Role Orientation: A summary score based upon appointee response to four role orientation questions. Based on their raw scores appointees were assigned to "passive," "low active," and "high active" categories.

Independent Variables

Demographic:

Sex (0=female; 1=male)

Age (1=24-39 years; 2=40-45; 3=46 and above)

Residence prior to appointment (0=northeast; 1=south/southeast; 2=west/midwest)

Occupation prior to appointment (0=corporate executive; 1=legal practitioner; 2=government foundation; 3=paraprofessionals and others)

Social Background:

Parent occupation (0=nonprofessional; 1=professional)

Family structure (0=mother principal wage earner; 1=father principal wage earner; 2=both)

Parent education (0=noncollege; 1=college)

Parent social standing (A summary score based upon type of principal wage earner and wage earner's occupation then earner's education)

Parent black activism (A summary score based upon parent church attendance rate+type family church+)

TABLE 3.4 (Continued)

type parent professional membership organization+
 type fraternal organization membership+type
 parent civil rights organization membership+degree
 of involvement in political organizations+involvement
 in community service organizations)

Sociopolitical Experience:

Appointee Black organization involvement: (0=none;
 1=Urban League; 2=NAACP; 3=SCLC/PUSH/CORE/SNCC)

Appointee political activism (A summary score based
 upon appointee's participation in politics: contri-
 butions to political campaigns+election activity+
 being state convention delegate+being national
 convention delegate+being official in major political
 party+having sought partisan political office+type
 of political office sought+participant in political
 demonstrations+having won public office+type of
 public office won+number of years held public office)

Appointee Black organizational activism (A summary
 score based upon appointee's participation in key
 black organizations: type of organization involved
 in+holder of elective office within organization+
 holder of appointive office+employed as staff+
 being volunteer on organization strategy+paying
 membership dues+working on membership drives+
 attending mass rallies+contributing money or pro-
 fessional services+writing or speaking through
 media for organization+involvement in boycotts+
 involvement in marches+being arrested for organi-
 zation)

Appointee Black activism (A summary score based upon
 appointee's affiliation with key black organizations:
 membership in fraternal organizations+membership in
 community service organizations+membership in national
 Black organizations+member NAACP+Member Urban League+
 Member SCLC+Member of CORE+Member of PUSH+Member of
 SNCC)

consider the relationship between two variables as systematic (i.e., there is only a 5 percent probability that the observed relationship occurred by chance). It does not indicate how strongly two variables are related. To assess the strength of the relationship between two variables we rely upon the Gamma coefficient. This is an ordinal level statistic and its value can be taken as the probability of correctly guessing the order of a pair of cases on one variable once the ordering on the other variable is known. The sign of the Gamma coefficient (+ or -) tells the direction of the ordering and allows us to evaluate the nature of the relationship as well as its strength. A plus value for the Gamma coefficient indicates that as the values on one variable rise (or fall) those of the other move in the same direction. A minus value for the Gamma coefficient indicates that as the values of one variable rise (or fall) the values of the other variable tend to change in the opposite direction.

The results of our cross-tabulation of dependent (general role orientations) and independent (demographic, social background, and sociopolitical) variables are reported in Figure 3.5. Of the thirteen independent variables included in the analysis only three proved systematically related to general role orientations: parent Black activism, appointee Black activism, and the

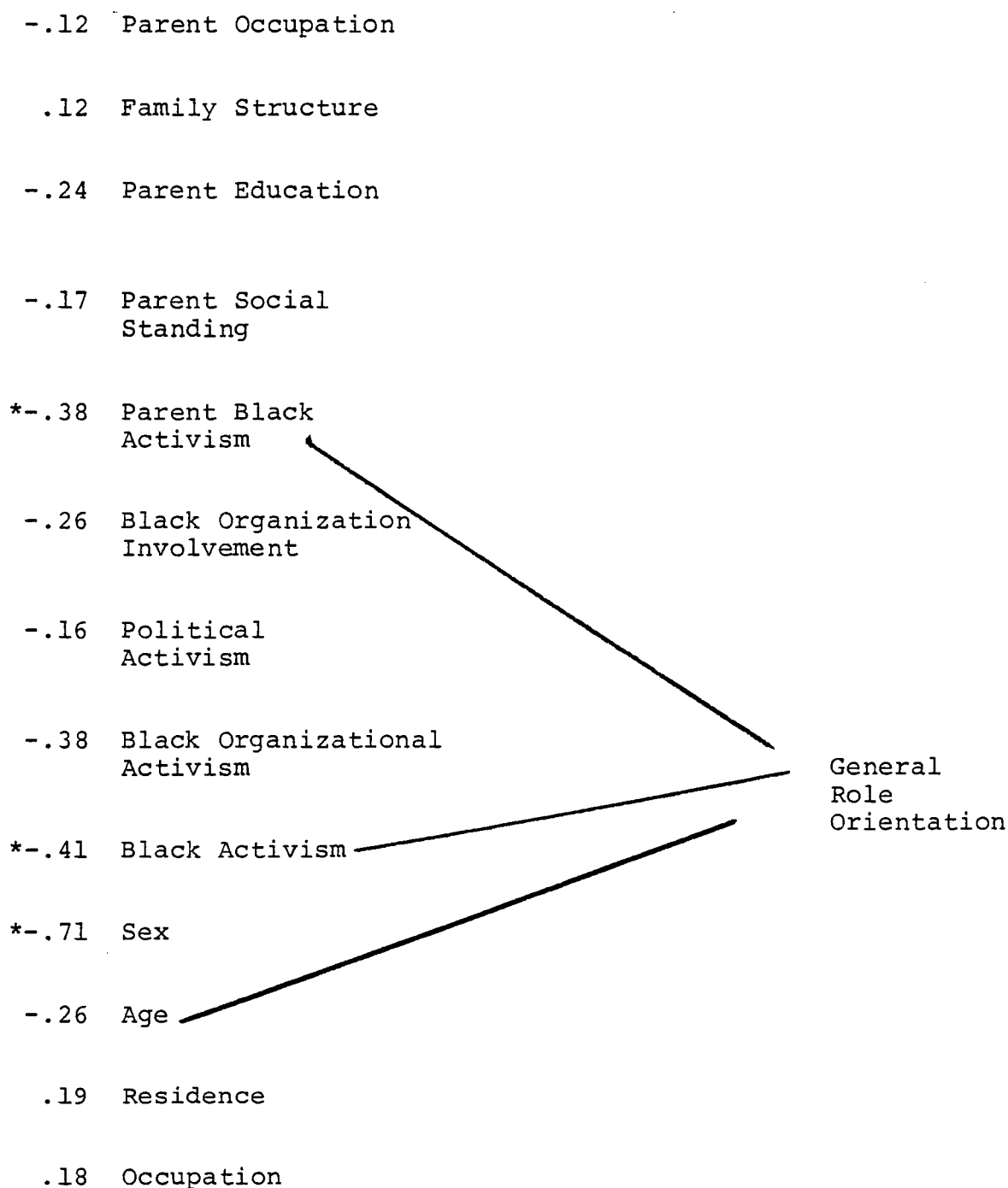


Figure 3.5. A summary of the relationship between independent and dependent variables.

*Relationship is significant at the .05 level of probability based upon the Chi-square test.

appointee's sex. Because the remaining ten variables did not relate to general role orientation at the .05 level of probability, using the Chi-square test, we do not consider them as having been systematically linked to the dependent variable. Before discussing variables that did relate to activism, it should be noted that one of the major expectations indicated in the first chapter was not borne out. In Chapter I it was indicated that we expected to find that the greater the social background is marked by impediments to upward mobility and the greater sociopolitical experiences have been marked by association with the assertion of Black interests, the more the general role orientation of the Black political executive will fall toward the active end of the continuum. This was not borne out. The variables that seem to relate to impediments to upward mobility (family social standing) were not found to be statistically related to general role orientations.

Of the three independent variables that systematically relate to the general role orientation of Black executives, the strongest correlate ($\text{Gamma} = -.71$) is sex. The negative sign for this relationship indicates that (since women were coded as zero on this variable and men as one) women tended to fall into the lower end of the orientation scale while men tended to aggregate more in the more activist categories. Thus, of all females

for whom data are available, six (75.0 percent) were passives, one (12.5 percent) was low active, and one (12.5 percent) was high active in their general role orientation. In contrast, of all the males for whom data are available, the lowest proportion of appointees fell into the passive orientation category and the greatest proportion fell into the high active category: fourteen (23.0 percent) were passives, twenty-three (37.7 percent) were low actives, and twenty-four (39.3 percent) were high active in their general role orientation. The tendency for male and female Black appointees to fall at different points on the orientation spectrum may reflect the fact that women are potentially divided in their loyalty to a special interest in a way that men are not. That is, in addition to being Blacks in government, females also represent women as a minority as well; conceivable this leads them to assume a more passive role orientation with respect to Black interests. Moreover, the very limited number of female appointees leads us to be cautious in interpreting these data. After all, only eight of the sixty-nine Black appointees (11.6 percent) included in this cross-tabulation were female. It may be that their small proportion within the government leads Black women to go slowly in assuming more active role orientations. When, and if, Black females increase as a proportion of political executives, we might see a weakening of the relationship between role

orientation and sex. Surrounded by more colleagues of the same gender, and race, these appointees may then have the necessary reenforcement to become more assertive on behalf of Black interests.

The second closest correlate of appointee general role orientation ($\text{Gamma} = -.41$) is the Black executive's Black activism. The sign of the coefficient indicates that those appointees scoring lower on Black activism tended to consistently fall into the higher (or more active) categories of general role orientation--and, those who scored higher on Black activism tended to consistently fall into the lower (more passive) categories of general role orientation. This result is somewhat surprising. We had generally expected that those who had been very involved in a variety of civil rights oriented organizations and activities in the assertion of Black interests would also tend to assume more activist role orientations in government service. It may be, however, that with greater activism in Black groups comes a better appreciation of the realities of actually bringing change while in government; i.e., those with the most experience in Black activism assume more limited role orientations vis a vis Black interests because they have a better sense of the limits of their position. Further, there might be a burnout factor at work here. That is, those individuals who have spent

their time as Black activists may simply be fatigued by the time they assume government service, especially in comparison to their less active counterparts. Whatever the explanation, the simple fact remains--the correlation between appointee Black activism and their general role orientation is quite strong and negative.

The relationship between parent Black activism and appointee general role orientation was also quite strong and negative ($\text{Gamma} = -.38$). The sign of the coefficient indicates that those appointees manifesting the most activist role orientations tended consistently to come from less activist families, while those with relatively more passive orientations tended to be drawn from the most activist families. This result is largely, we feel, an artifact of the changing nature of the pool of Blacks from which appointees were drawn over time. Traditionally those parents most active in organizations were engaged in relatively a nonpolitical and nonthreatening community activities--often divorced from the forthright and immediate pursuit of Black interests. It is not wholly surprising then to discover that the children of these parents, who were the first generation to move into public service en masse, assumed less activist role orientations. On the other hand, the new breed of Black appointee--southern, younger, and from a different social milieu in which parents were not allowed to be active in organizations for fear of community reprisal--

shows a greater inclination to assume an activist role orientation despite the comparative inactivity of their parents.

With the important exception of the sex of the appointee, the appointee's Black activism, and the parent's Black activism, the independent variables included in this analysis did not prove to be statistically significant predictors of general role orientation. Thus, it must be admitted that demographic, social background, and sociopolitical factors in general do not appear to explain variation in Black appointee's general role orientations.

Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter was to identify, explain, and evaluate the role orientations of Black political executives. Based upon four separate questions we were able to identify the distinctive role orientations that Black executives brought into, and maintained while inside, government. A summative scale based on responses to these four questions was created and a single general role orientation measure resulted. The general role orientation of Black appointees across administrations, appointment levels, and locations were then compared. Finally, we sought to test the extent to which variation in appointee role orientations could be explained by demographic, social background, and sociopolitical variables.

The key findings for this chapter are as follows:

1. The majority (three-out-of-four) of Black political executives entered government service with an "action" agenda that, at least indirectly, related to promotion of the Black interest. That is, we found that the very clear majority of Black appointees entered government intending to serve as either a role model for Blacks or to directly serve the Black cause.
2. The majority (nearly two-out-of-three) of Black political executives assumed the less demanding role orientation of promoting civil rights in general, in non-provocative ways and affirmative action, rather than Black community economic development, once inside the government.
3. Just over one-half of Black political executives indicated that they wished to "personally remove barriers" for Blacks while in government and considered this to be the basis of an on-going special relationship with the Black community. Only about one-in-ten Black appointees showed the lowest possible level of concern for the maintenance of a special relationship with the Black community.
4. Once appointed, six-in-ten Black political executives found themselves relegated to serving interests at the more passive, or indirect, end of the Black interest spectrum. Only about one-in-five Black appointees indicated that they were working in offices where they could directly promote the economic development of the Black community.
5. The general role orientation of Black political executives varied by administration. Black appointees of more activist role orientations increased over time, while the relative occurrence of passive orientations decreased--this pattern held for Republican and Democratic administrations alike.

6. The general role orientation of Black political executives varied by location of appointment. Those appointed to non-central agencies were more likely to manifest high active than passive or low active orientations. Those appointed to central locations were less likely to take high active than passive or low active orientations.
7. The general role orientations of Black political executives differ only slightly by level of appointment. While there is a tendency for those taking a high active orientation to be concentrated at the lowest appointment levels, there does not appear to be any striking or systematic differences in other role orientations and levels.
8. Only three (sex, appointee Black activism, and parent Black activism) of the thirteen demographic, social background, and sociopolitical variables correlated with the appointee general role orientations and were statistically significant predictors. Women tended to assume more passive role orientations and men tended to assume more activist role orientations. Appointees scoring higher on Black activism tended to assume more passive general role orientations, while those lower in Black activism tended to assume more activist general role orientations. Appointees with parents scoring higher in Black activism tended to assume more passive role orientations, while those with parents scoring lower in Black activism tended to assume more activist general role orientations.

Based upon these findings we draw the following conclusions about the role orientations of Black political executives:

1. Conclusions based upon findings 1-4:

- A. The findings reported in 1-4 above about the Black appointees personal "action" agenda upon entering government, their views on promoting special Black interests inside government, the nature of their on-going relationships with the Black community, and the actual interests served by appointees upon entering government with their roles while in government. Our findings indicate that a majority of the appointees come to government with a sensitivity or inclination toward Black interests. However, Blacks are not inclined to assume more activists role orientations once inside government. This leads to a conclusion that: a Black appointee, once appointed, is not likely to risk his position which suggests experiences different from those anticipated given their role orientation outside government.
- B. There are built in factors within government such as appointments to various locations which prohibit Blacks from being effective given their role orientations.

2. Conclusions based upon findings 5-7:

- A. The findings reported in 5-7 above comparing role orientations across administrations, appointment levels and locations allow us to determine variations which exist and to assess the hypothesis (stated in Chapter I) that: "the general role orientation of Black political executives has changed over time." Because the general role orientation of Black political executives varied by administrations, but increased for Democratic as well as Republican Administrations, we cannot conclude that the administration to which Blacks are appointed is a predictor of role orientation.
- B. While role orientation of the Black political executives differ only slightly by level of appointment, we conclude that some agencies are more likely to appoint Blacks at higher levels than other agencies. We feel that origins of the appointees will aid in better

understanding role orientation than the location or level of appointment. This must be expected since the administrations have various foci and obviously determine what departments or agencies to which Black executives are appointed.

3. Conclusions based upon finding 8:

- A. The findings about the relationship between key demographic and social background variables and general role orientations allow us to assess the original assumption (stated in chapter I) that: "the greater the impediments to achievement, the greater the continued concern for the Black community, sensitivity to matters of Black interest, and inclination toward the active representation of those interests in government." Because none of the variables measuring the presence or absence of such impediments were systematically related to Black appointee role orientations, we must conclude that this assumption cannot be supported by our findings.
- B. The findings about the relationship between key sociopolitical variables and role orientations allow us to assess the original assumption (stated in chapter I) that: "the greater the association with the assertion of the interest of the Black community prior to an appointment, the greater the sensitivity to Black interests and the greater the inclination toward active representation of those interests in government." Because only two of our sociopolitical variables were systematically related to Black appointee role orientations, and these in a fashion opposite to that assumed, we must conclude that the original assumption was incorrect. In the body of the chapter we speculate as to why this proved the case. Essentially, it would appear that the timing of the appointee's experience, and of his parents, as well as the nature of that experience (which may result in some form of burnout) conditions the later role orientations Blacks assume in government.

This chapter has examined the relationship between role orientations of Black political executives and their sociopolitical experiences prior to entering public service. The following chapter focuses on the experience of Black political appointees during their service in government. In this regard we will seek to identify broad patterns that emerge as the result of interpersonal and bureaucratic relationships related to the Black executives' political and administrative role.

CHAPTER IV

THE BLACK POLITICAL EXECUTIVE EXPERIENCE

As shown in a previous chapter, only a few Blacks have been appointed as political executives since 1961. They came from varied backgrounds and circumstances. They also brought with them different orientations, expectations, and experiences.

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the experiences of Black political executives in government and to seek preliminary explanations relative to variations in these experiences. One of the most insightful studies of the political executive experience is Heclo's.¹ Heclo perceives the separation between political and career executives as having been blurred by the bureaucratization of political leadership and the politicization of the bureaucracy itself. Heclo concluded that because of these developments political leaders and bureaucrats are able to make an essential contribution to the administrative process. Among the particular problems which Heclo examines are the difficulties that entrenched career bureaucrats can pose for political executives; the manner with which political executives attempt to cope with powerful experts in the bureaucracy; and the difficulties appointees face in effecting changes in policy without losing essential bureaucratic

¹Heclo, A Government of Strangers, p.115.

support. Heclo argues that political executives can usually do better employing an administrative style that emphasizes conditional cooperation rather than authoritative command. It would be expected that Black executives face the same kinds of problems. It is also to be expected that they must also cope with other problems associated with their minority status. This chapter will explore whether this is the case.

The analysis is presented in four sections. The first section is concerned with the overall character of the Black political executive experience in terms of accomplishment and frustration. The second section treats the perception of Black political executives on several other aspects of their experience. These include the support received within government for their efforts, the extent to which their efforts were seen by others in negative terms as racially motivated, and the extent and nature of opposition to their initiatives. The third section seeks to explain variations in the experiences of the appointees in regard to the level of appointment, the centrality of the agency to Black interests, and the role perception of the appointees. There is an analysis for each administration, then a general comparison of the findings among administrations. The fourth section is an analysis of Black political executives in the world of Washington politics. The working practices of Black political executives are discussed in the context of external groups and coalitions and the kind of relationships which are necessary to get things done. Special emphasis is given to the working practices and networks employed

by Blacks in the Nixon-Ford administrations. Also reported in this section are findings in regard to the support given the Black appointees by persons in positions at higher levels, positions of a similar nature and the degree of support given by employees in the civil service. This section is concluded by a comparison of variations that exist in appointee experiences during the various administrations.

The empirical data in this chapter are analyzed using Chi Square as a test of statistical significance and Gamma scores as a measure of association to determine the relationships between the support and access given to Black political executives and the administrations.

Mixed Reactions

The experience of the Black political executives, in the aggregate, is a mixed one. It includes accomplishments, on the one hand, and frustrations, on the other. Few persons holding high appointive positions and inclined to speak truthfully will paint their experiences in wholly positive terms and claim an unbroken record of accomplishment. Efforts of persons in appointive positions to maintain control over the career civil servants, for one, pose problems that may be exacerbated when race enters as a factor. This factor compounds problems in attempts to deliver goods and services and thereby causes frustrations which are often voiced by Black political executives. The type and degree of frustrations encountered, as well as accomplishments, were reflected by 106

former and present Black political executives who were interviewed for this study.

Some of the more memorable accomplishments spoken of by Black political executives relate to the federal employment of other Blacks. Among the experiences related were those of a high ranking aide whose political involvement on the Washington scene has spanned many years:

I take pride in the appointment of several Black minorities in government. As a former newspaper man I have been involved in intergration all my life. I take pride in the appointment of the first Black cabinet officer in the United States--Bob Weaver. I take pride in the appointment of Thurgood Marshall as Solicitor General and later as a Justice on the Supreme Court. And I take pride in the nomination of forty Black judges by the president and finally appointments to regulatory agencies like the Civil Aeronautics and Interstate Commerce Commission where no Blacks had ever served before breaking their lillywhite patterns.

An assistant secretary in the State Department seemed equally proud of similar accomplishments as a result of having been involved in the formulation and passage of amendments to the Foreign Service Act.² Since this legislation created additional training positions and allowed for upward mobility, it accorded Blacks greater opportunities. According to the assistant secretary, the prior situation was bleak for minorities in that department:

Traditionally the State Department's Foreign Service corps was considered male, pale and from the east. What I was convinced that I could do was to help to inform the State Department that its

²U.S., Congress, House, An Act to Amend the Foreign Service Act of 1980, Pub. L. 96-465, H.R. 6790.

responsibility was the same as the society at large relative to desegregation. Because of our efforts I have been able to increase the Black members of the corps from 4.5 to 10 percent. These increases are directly attributable to the passage of the Foreign Service Act.

The experience of persons appointed to the State Department perhaps brings greater satisfaction than the experience of members of regulatory boards. The differences in their experiences might result in part from frustration that comes from being the only Black on a board or commission who might often cast votes in the minority. Thus, they might feel that their appointment is for symbolic purposes relative to Black interests. On the other side, there are experiences, such as those in the State Department, where the achievements of persons appointed can be measured in economic terms. They are measurable because they represent increased employment and expanded business ventures. Much of this accomplishment occurred in areas or business markets that had not been open for Blacks in the society.

Another illustration of achievement, this time from a member of the Nixon-Ford administrations, concerned efforts to develop initiatives and guidelines that created and expanded employment opportunities for Blacks in several areas:

Everytime I ride down the road and see Blacks working on construction sites I get a deep sense of pride and appreciation. I appreciate my efforts in researching case law in the Labor Department. We knew that if we had case law backing us in our efforts to link the awarding of federal contracts (highway construction and building) to desegregation we had a lasting victory. Our victory would be lasting because with the law on our side, Nixon couldn't do Blacks any harm--you see, we live under a system of laws and not of men.

Perhaps one of the most widely acclaimed programs that has impacted upon the lives of Blacks in employment during the period of this study was the "Philadelphia Plan." The "Philadelphia Plan" was the Nixon-Ford administrations way to increase minority employment on federal construction projects. The plan was named for the city in which the first agreement was reached with federal contractors. On June 27, 1969 the Department of Labor announced mandatory quotas for the hiring of minority group members on federal construction projects. In the initial order, all federal contractors in the Philadelphia area were required to meet a nonnegotiable quota of hired minorities before being allowed to bid on federal projects exceeding \$500,000. The quotas set an acceptable range of minority group employment for each of the building and construction trades, based on the extent of minority employment in that trade and the availability of minority group members for hiring.

Philadelphia was not the only city in which the program was used. According to an assistant secretary of labor:

Because of the deplorably low rate of employment among members of minority groups in building and construction trade unions, we pushed in the department to have quota systems set up in other major cities.

This same appointee stated that:

. . .because we were able to get the president's support when congress tried to tamper with the Plan and as a result of frequent and thorough inspections after contracts were awarded, the Plan became the success that it did and remains today.

Another assistant secretary from the Nixon-Ford era seemed equally proud of having been involved in the success of employment programs benefitting Blacks. This executive had worked on the public relations aspect and in helping to draft the guidelines for the Philadelphia Plan:

We realized that goals and timetables would be the solution therefore, I personally pushed to have guidelines so that a range could be set to avoid the quota trick (Congress crying violations of Titles VI and VII of the 1964 Act) and to review on a project by project basis. The "Philadelphia Plan" was a four year model that required that an agreement be made to utilize Blacks for a number of hours since the contracts were based on man hours.

Some of the experiences of Black political executives involved personal satisfaction, such as that of a deputy assistant secretary in the State Department:

It took a long time for persons in the department to award or compensate me for my efforts. Since I came to the State Department I was doing the work but only as a lower level staff worker. The department finally recognized my abilities and gave me a position with the authority commensurate with my responsibilities. I had been doing the work anyway, I simply didn't get the credit for it.

Over one half of the appointees interviewed related their experiences in terms that suggested satisfied actions. Slightly less seemed largely frustrated. There are various factors that contributed to the perceived frustrations of several of the Black political executives. Frustrations as well as satisfactions at the personal level and personal ambitions may be connected with program interests. The connection was shown by the deputy director of a major minority oriented program. He was by-passed in the choice of a director

for the agency. Instead, a Mexican-American was named to the post, leaving the deputy in a bitter frame of mind:

I remain frustrated because I was promised that position. I know I'm a better administrator and realize the implications of the appointment. . . . Directors usually get projects they are concerned with through the bureaucracy. The projects they are concerned with usually are associated with prior experiences or established relationships. Many of the key positions in the regions are filled by the director or with his blessings. Projects come in through field offices.

The same kind of reaction was expressed by a deputy assistant secretary of labor:

Because of the organizational design, I often felt that my commitment and efforts were fruitless. What you soon discover is that it's damn difficult to get anything accomplished around here. Number one, they don't give you resources to work with. Secondly, you look up and ass-holes are coming out of the woodwork that you know nothing about. Finally you suddenly realize you can't get any clear control of your organization. Most of these damn jobs in government are nothing but a front. If you want proof, go back and look at when Pat Harris was head of HUD. She had all White under and deputy secretaries except one or maybe two Blacks. Now, tell me as a political scientist, how representative that is in decision making areas?

An inspector general in one of the regulatory agencies voiced displeasure and frustration over limited resources ranging from a lack of staff and space and over interference in the selection of staff:

I've been asking for space and additional staff in order to carry out the mandates from Congress. They attempt to program you for failure, no staff, resources or space. You only get promises and excuses. I have a national reputation, I could earn more and have less headaches outside the government. I'm here taking this crap only because I know that I'm needed here to deal with problems, problems that affect many Black people and other oppressed minorities. I must admit to you

that I wonder at times if its all worth it. I had the kind of problems at another federal agency, always attempts to say who is qualified for employment on my staff and other negative efforts. They attempt to place as many obstacles as possible in your way so that they can say you failed in the end.

A member of one of the major commissions affecting Black interests echoed frustrations that related to the nature of symbolic appointments:

It's simply one of numbers. Look at it this way, Justice Marshall has one vote on the Supreme Court. It takes at least five votes to gain a majority. Regardless how much "soul" Judge puts into the court, he only has one vote. Its the same way here. John Mitchell gets time out and off - Diggs needs the same consideration, one is Black the other is White. Race is a real classification. When its go for Whites but stop for Blacks on the same light, that's racism! . . . Decisions being made not on merit but on race. Every time I see it happening, which is very often, I take it as a personal affront.

Among the Black political executives, many found it necessary to come together as a group to cope with frustrations and perceived isolation resulting from fewness of number and dispersion within departments or agencies. Those who came together seemed to be more successful in minimizing frustrations and thereby enhancing their chances of achievement, individually as well as collectively. Such collective efforts were referred to in an interview with a Carter appointed deputy assistant secretary in the State Department:

We realized very early that a tremendous amount of pressures were pervasive throughout the department. What we had agreed to do was to launch human awareness programs or sensitivity training to eliminate many of the perceived threats and outside pressures. Because of the Bakke syndrome we found it necessary for us as Blacks to swim together or drown separately. Thus, we began to meet every Thursday for lunch as a group.

The sessions were not only to discuss the need for human awareness but later included discussions of other problems of equal importance and mutual concern.

Another example of Black political executives coalescing as a group in order to overcome their frustrations was reported by a Nixon-Ford assistant secretary whose department was quite important for Blacks:

An aspect of this experience was being able to get together. We had to get together to discuss how we might collectively focus upon matters that proved frustrating. An example of matters we had to focus upon was how to use the Department of Commerce so that a part of those funds could go to the Black community. We had to do the same thing in Labor and HUD. The reason we had to come together results from the whole of the administration being impervious to outside pressure. Check the record, and see if you don't find Black economic well being discussed throughout the administration. Well, this results from our knowing that we could not expect one agency to enforce another agency's mandates. Either we steered the course together or we sank separately.

Often efforts to achieve objectives are frustrated by persons in field offices who are not in agreement with directives from above. An assistant deputy secretary in a civil rights office of a non-central agency related such an experience:

We encounter such a disparity between headquarters interpretation and regional implementation. As civil rights persons we must seek to have affirmative action taken by our contractors in order to set examples. Conflict develops and frustrations result because trade associations realize we have no statutory basis. E.P.A. has stature, we don't; therefore they are able to get contractors on their water projects to include minority businesses, whereas we have problems.

Many of our problems result from games being played by our own field staff and failure to conduct audits. The games are played in a sense sometimes by Blacks; those in the field seek to gain security. I suppose its like the political elites joining the

economic elites. What ultimately happens is the Black community suffers; it suffers because many fronts for Black businesses sprang up and once a risk assessment is conducted there are only negative examples - thus failures.

Tension and frustrations may also result from strained relationships among members of commissions. Frustrations that result from perceptual problems between appointees and the constituency to be represented were discussed by a commissioner on one of the most central agencies. In an action before the agency some members felt that the compromised language was too soft on labor unions. According to the commissioner, he argued to make the affirmative action (reverse discrimination) guidelines stronger in some areas by including sociological and historical impact data; however, other members felt that this would be improper because of a pending case (Weber) before the Supreme Court. The commissioner believed that pressures from the labor unions resulted in the language being "softened which becomes frustrating because minorities are perceived as being either liberal or conservative. Nobody stops to perceive one as coming to the moderate middle." Another example cited by this commissioner causing strained relations or tension was a three to two vote by the commission that an employee should not be given the right to sue a union that had been found to be a party to discrimination:

I had to file a dissent because I was frustrated and enraged; I felt that the decision clearly favored the unions over the employer, when both were equally guilty. I knew in the final analysis, minorities

attempting to gain employment would be the victims of this decision.

Our final illustration was voiced by a member of a regulatory board who seemed to sum up the sentiments expressed by many of the executives. Included in this illustration are administrative frustration and a illustration of what might be called mirrow frustration: when frustration results from a feeling that efforts are not appreciated by other Blacks or groups one perceives oneself to represent. In the final section of this illustration there is again noted the phenomenon of Black political executives coalescing as a group. The coalitions sometimes exist and appear to be important at times; however there are barriers to their success such as those mentioned below:

As a group, some of us wanted the mixed cases (adverse actions), charges of discrimination, to be handled by the EEOC. The civil rights groups wanted the same thing. I've been disappointed and hurt; first they hollow freezes, then staff reductions or new staff cut backs in finance. Several of us are not pleased at all in spite of our legislative by-pass, resulting from our being an independent board. Look at this office!

I came back into government to test out things I believe in, not for money or power, only because of an internal urge to fulfill myself. Several of us had met early with the hopes of seeing a return to the Black cabinet days of the Roosevelt administration. In those days there was a unified effort to make change in spite of the levels of their positions. The Blacks are too busy with their own survival; only the women's network remains. Some of us are involved in BIG (Blacks in Government). Through this organization we try and help people to know what their rights are. On the whole, I would say that most of these Blacks I know are frightened out of their minds, yep-out of their minds.

The experiences related above contain a general catalogue of types of accomplishments and frustrations expressed by Black political executives. Among the appointees, it was clear, beyond a doubt, that the appointees of the Nixon-Ford administrations seemed the most forthright in reviewing their experiences. In the aggregate, the experiences of all Black political executives can be said to have been mixed with achievement and frustration. As shown above, the achievements occurred when the law was clearly established as an aspect of the projects or program such as the Philadelphia Plan. On the other side, frustration was more apparent when individuals perceived themselves to be alone in grappling with problems relative to Black interests. Thus, we conclude that the security of the group has often cushioned the frustrations of individual Black executives. That is, Blacks (or anyone working without support for that matter) are handicapped and are more likely to experience serious frustration. One strategy to increase achievement and reduce or at least limit frustration is to develop and use networks and coalitions within the government itself. At a minimum such coalitions allow Black executives to pull together and share their mutual concerns. The network described by appointees during the Nixon-Ford administrations was referred to with greater enthusiasm than those found in any of the other administrations. The network during the Nixon-Ford administrations, for example, appear to have been a far stronger coalition than those described during the Kennedy-Johnson or Carter administrations.

According to a former assistant secretary of Labor in the Nixon-Ford administrations, "our network met once or twice a month in the homes of various appointees." These meetings were vital, said this appointee, because Black people were generally suspicious of those appointed during the Nixon-Ford administrations, because they were not thought to be interested in problems of Black people. Such negative perceptions within the Black community, coupled with open opposition to the Nixon-Ford administration by elements of the Democratic coalition, increased the frustration of Black appointees during this era, according to the assistant secretary. The fact that organized labor and civil rights groups, traditionally supporters of efforts to advance Black causes, opposed programs such as the Philadelphia Plan perhaps accounts for the difference in the frustration levels apparent between appointees of the Nixon-Ford administrations and those voiced by members of the Carter administration. It is important to remember that the appointees of the Nixon-Ford administrations were no longer in government, whereas when interviewed the Carter appointees were not only still in government, but possibly restrained in their comments because of hopes of being reappointed if Carter won the election of 1980.

There are many factors that might contribute to the experiences of the appointees. In the section that follows I will discuss elements which may shape the experiences of Black

political executives and make appropriate comparisons of administrations.

Elements of Experiences: Perceived Support

To discuss the elements of the experiences of Black political executives, the perceived support given them by their superiors, colleagues, and subordinates is examined. This examination is undertaken with the assumption that the greater the level of support given the Black political executive, the higher the level of achievement, and the more successful the representation of Black interests. In other words, we consider it important to ascertain the level of support to better understand means of increasing representation of Black interests at every level of government. To make this determination, the appointees were asked a question about their perception of support given to them on issues considered germane to Black interests.

Relations With Superiors

All political appointees serve at the pleasure of others. Persons appointed to serve in the cabinet of the President do so at his pleasure. Other political executives, whether appointed by the President or not, also serve at the pleasure of the appointing officer. In essence, any power granted from above can be taken away. The superiors of Black political executives can be characterized as those persons within the administrative hierarchy who are classified according

to rank and authority at higher levels and who have supervisory authority over the executives.

When the appointees were asked if they had superiors to whom they could usually go for support on matters germane to Black interests, of the ninety-three who replied only four (4.3 percent) felt they had superiors that might not provide such support.

The overwhelming majority, eighty-nine (95.7 percent) perceived their superiors to have supported them most of the time. The nature of this support is difficult to determine. One might speculate that in some instances there was no true test of support, because of the absence of difficult issues or reluctance of the appointees to risk alienation in approaching their superiors. It is difficult to harmonize such overwhelming support given by superiors with the failures often experienced with regard to matters of importance to Blacks. More definitive explanations must be sought elsewhere.

Relations With Colleagues

The appointees were asked about the nature of their relationships with persons they considered to be colleagues. The specific focus of the question was to determine if Black political executives felt they could rely upon assistance from their colleagues when working on matters germane to Black interests. The number of responses for this variable was 105. Of all responses, only two (1.9 percent) indicated that they could not rely on their colleagues for support.

On the other hand, 103 (98.1 percent) reported they had the support of their colleagues. Again, one must wonder about the validity of the responses.

Relations With Subordinates

All political executives have staff and exercise a measure of authority over parts of the bureaucracy, Blacks included. The appointees were asked if they believed their subordinates supported them when they worked on issues considered germane to Black interests. Of the 105 responses, all of the appointees stated that they perceived their subordinates to support them on matters considered germane to Black interests. The rationale for total support offered by most of those interviewed was that they demanded loyalty from their staffs. While these findings are contrary to those of Heclo (1977), they are not surprising. The reason they are not surprising relates to one's perception and definition of subordinates. Whereas Whites are likely to view their subordinates in general terms to include all staff and civil servants below them, Blacks are likely to envision their staffs and those few office workers in their immediate area as their subordinates. Another plausible explanation might be the psychological aspect. That is to say, for one to admit failure to maintain support or loyalty on the part of subordinates is to admit personal failure.

The overwhelming majority of all interviewees perceived themselves to have the support of their superiors, colleagues,

and subordinates. The most common explanations during the course of interview relative to all questions of support centered around three basic factors. The first was that the position of an appointee is always at the pleasure of the appointing authority and thereby a good relationship remains between the appointee and the appointer. Any time this relationship does not hold, either there is compromise, the appointee resigns, or is removed. The second centers around an administrations programs and objectives. The impression is advanced that any disagreements among colleagues are only temporary. Because of the structure and pattern of authority in the executive branch, eventually there will emerge a set of administration programs and policies that provide the structure for decision and action. Those who support the programs and policies remain, and those in opposition resign or are discharged. The third factor is that administrators understand the relevant rules, regulations, and norms, and must do so in order to remain in office. If there is failure to support the positions of the appointees, subordinates are guilty of insubordination and must be willing to face the consequences.

Racial Motivation

The perceptions of others regarding the motivations of Black appointees may be important factors in several respects. Depending on their character, they may serve as persistent impediments in the experience of Black appointees and can

result in low levels of achievement and increased frustrations. If the appointee is perceived as the representative of a narrowly defined set of Black interests, his effectiveness with White colleagues might be diminished. Conversely, if the appointee fails to speak for Black interests, support might be lost among other Blacks. Whether Black appointees are perceived by their colleagues as seeking support out of racial motivation is useful to know in understanding an important feature of experience. To determine the degree to which this was the case, the following question was asked the executives:

To what extent do you believe your colleagues consider your efforts to obtain their support as being racially motivated?

This question is one which almost all appointees were asked and responded to. As shown elsewhere judgments had to be made in many instances relative to what questions to omit because of time limitations and the use of informants. While the results are not of the entire universe, a defensible judgment can be made given the data. The data is from 106 responses. Forty (38.3 percent) believed their colleagues never assumed their support was sought for racially motivated purposes. Twenty-one (19.6 percent) of the appointees felt that their colleagues suspected them of working with racial motivation occasionally, twelve (11.2 percent) were suspected most of the time, and thirty-three (30.8 percent) of the appointees assumed their colleagues always felt their seeking support was racially motivated. Clearly, sixty-one (57.9

percent) of the appointees felt their colleagues perceived them as never or only occasionally seeking support because of racial motivations.

There are several plausible explanations of the relatively large number who reported that their colleagues never or only occasionally perceived efforts to obtain support as racially motivated. First, the advocacy of some, especially those with passive role orientations, may have been guarded. Second, some were in non-central locations dealing with matters that did not have an explicit Black dimension. Third, some were located in offices where most colleagues also were Black and dealing with affirmative action matters, often and ironically in a legalistic manner. Interviews of such persons showed a tendency to down play the Black-White dimension and to assert motivations above race. To the extent their colleagues shared such a perspective, the perception of Black racial motivations would be downplayed.

Opposition to Policy Initiatives

Black political executives can be expected to meet with occasions when support must be sought on policy matters of particular concern to Black interests. Such support might be sought from superiors, subordinates and colleagues as well. The appointees were asked if their interpretations of major policy positions had been opposed by others in their department or agency. Few of the appointees had been involved in policy initiatives into which there had been

opposition. Of the 106 Black political executives responding to this interview item, only thirty-four (32.0 percent) stated they had encountered any opposition. For ten (29.4 percent) of the appointees encountering opposition, the policies involved pertained to desegregation or civil rights. An equal number, ten (29.4 percent) encountered opposition about policies relating to set aside and special procurement programs benefitting Blacks. The remaining eight (21.6 percent) who encountered opposition met it around relatively minor matters such as office decoration and relations with field staffs.

It was not possible to assess the degree or level of opposition. Here we were only concerned with its existence and settings. The pattern seems consistent. The experiences of the Black political executives are again of a mixed sort, although few executives found opposition to policy initiatives. Of the few who did, the perceived racial aspect of the opposition is clear, given the Black emphasis on such programs as set asides, civil rights, and Black employment and promotions.

Our findings overall are that there exist relative low degrees of policy opposition, high support from colleagues and subordinates, moderated but shallow support from superiors, and substantial perceptions of racial motivations. One might impute from these findings that there exists relative openness within government to forthright assertion of Black interests. Yet, the executives have reported frustration and that of

opposition in matters with racial overtones. Charting patterns in support and perceived racial motivations by administration, level and location may provide further insights.

Charting Variations

Table 4.1 summarizes the patterns of support given Black political executives and colleagues' perceptions of racial motivation by administration, location, and level of appointment. As shown in the table, there is not much difference in superior support; however, there was somewhat less support during the Nixon-Ford Administrations, as would be expected. The lowering of support during the Nixon-Ford Administrations is associated with slightly higher "most of the time" or "always" perceptions of racial motivation.

There was lower superior support at level four than at the other levels. This low level of support was associated once again with higher "most of the time" or "always" perceptions of racial motivation. The lower superior support appeared more evident in locations considered central to Black interests than in non-central locations. Again, low support is associated with higher perceived racial motivation. These findings suggest a relationship between perceived racial motivation and support in positions where assertion of Black interest are more likely. That is to say, locations considered central to Black interest and level four (the level at which

TABLE 4.1

SUMMARY OF TYPES OF SUPPORT GIVEN APPOINTEES ON BLACK
POLICY BY PERCENT OF ADMINISTRATION, AGENCY, LOCATION

Support	Administration			Location			Agency	
	Kennedy- Johnson	Nixon Ford	Carter	Level 5	Level 4	Levels 1, 2, 3	Non Central	Central
Superior	75%	68.2%	71.7%	73.7%	57.9%	78.9%	83.7%	58.7%
Colleague	96%	100%	98.2%	96.8%	100%	100%	96.4%	100%
Subordinate	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Perceive Racial Motivation								
Never	50.0	39.1	32.8	34.4	34.6	55.0	57.9	16.0
Occasionally	3.8	13.1	29.3	24.6	11.5	15.0	14.0	26.0
Most Of Time	11.5	8.7	12.1	11.5	7.7	15.0	3.5	20.0
Never	34.6	39.1	25.9	29.5	46.2	15.0	24.6	38.0

policy and program development responsibilities are likely to be greatest) and where superiors are likely to be White. Thus, in critical places there is not as likely to be as much receptivity as the broad characterization suggests.

The findings of this chapter suggests that while there exists support in part, an aspect of the Black political executives experience has involved the overcoming of resistance. Much of the resistance has been shown to be associated with perceptions relative to racial motivation. Whatever perceptions of support and racial motivation, the politics of Washington requires officials to be involved with many groups and coalitions to be successful. The involvement of Black political executives with other actors in and out of government will be discussed below.

Organizing for Influence: The World of Washington Politics

The collaborative and support building efforts of Black political executives involve two distinct sets of actors: actors inside the federal government, and actors that are external to the federal government. Among the actors of concern within the federal government are the following: the president and his aides, cabinet officers and their aides, other political executives, and members of Congress, especially the Black Caucus. The development and adoption of the Philadelphia Plan is an example of the collaborative and support building efforts in government. Interestingly, the Philadelphia Plan came over the opposition of major civil

rights groups. However, the fact remains that building coalitions with such groups has been important. History has demonstrated, and few will deny, that the civil rights groups are among the most important of the external actors in taking the important forward steps. In addition to civil rights groups there are other possible external actors from which Black political executives are likely to seek collaborative support. These actors include state and local officials, the media and interest groups, including organized labor.

Among the more notable accomplishments resulting from collaborative and support building efforts by actors external to government are the accomplishments of the civil rights coalitions. Included among these accomplishments are the following: the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education, the August 1963 march on Washington, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. While many factors have caused problems relative to the continued growth and strength of the organizations making up the coalition since the 1960's, the Urban League, the NAACP, SCLC, SNCC, and CORE were and remain the major civil rights groups.

The 1954 Brown decision, in which the Supreme Court declared racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional,

represents the efforts of several groups under the leadership¹ of the NAACP. The keynote speaker for the March on Washington was Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., whose success in the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott paved the way for the subsequent application of non-violent techniques in the freedom rides and sit-ins of the 1960's. Among the groups forming the coalition for the march were the "Big Six" civil rights organizations, SNCC, CORE, NAACP, SCLC, the Urban League, and the Negro American Labor Council. In addition, members of the coalition included representatives from the AFL-CIO and Protestant, Catholic and Jewish organizations. The cooperation that produced this march was an important factor in the passage of civil rights legislation in 1964 and 1965. The laws protected the rights of Blacks to vote, desegregated schooling, access to public accommodations, and equal employment opportunities.

The Civil Rights Movement's greatest successes resulted from the workings of groups and coalitions, or cooperative efforts. Similarly the success of Black political executives in behalf of Black interests would seem to be tied to collaborative

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See: Lucius J. Barker and Twiley W. Barker, Freedoms, Courts, Politics: Studies of Civil Liberties (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 137-185. Also Lucius J. Barker, "Third Parties in Litigation: A Systematic View of the Judicial Function," The Journal of Politics, Vol. 29 (February 1967), pp. 41. The March on Washington was the result of a Coalition of Blacks to highlight the plight and need for all Black rights. Murray Kempton, "March on Washington," New Republic, Vol. 149 (September 14, 1964), pp. 19-20.

involvements with other actors in and out of government. The importance of collective as contrasted with individual efforts is clearly suggested by major achievements of Black political executives such as the Philadelphia Plan, discussed above. It resulted from the collaborative efforts of persons such as assistant secretaries John Wilkes of Labor; Samuel Jackson of Health, Education and Welfare; and Arthur Fletcher of Housing and Urban Development. According to one of them:

We had to meet among ourselves. Labor was against us and the civil rights groups opposed our actions because of their ties to labor. Therefore we met at least once a month at some one's home. As a result of meetings we were able to plan, develop strategy and tactics, that is determine how and in what manner we as a group could use our few resources in order to maximize group effectiveness.

As stated earlier, Black political executives must utilize a number of means to achieve their objectives. Among them are support of the presidency, cabinet officers and their aides, other political executives, and state and local officials. To derive insights into the Black political executives experience in organizing for influence, their access to other relevant actors was explored. Appointees were asked whether they attempted to develop collaborative and supportive relations with other actors, and if so whether they considered such efforts as being important or valuable in attaining objectives important in regard to Black interests.

Table 4.2 shows the collaborative working relationships and support-building-efforts in which Black political executives were involved and an assessment of their importance.

TABLE 4.2

COLLABORATIVE AND SUPPORT BUILDING EFFORTS
OF BLACK POLITICAL EXECUTIVES

Actors	Effort Mode		Perceived Value	
	N	%	N	%
Media and press	53	9.6	53	100
Presidential officials	60	61.2	60	100
Interest groups (other than Civil Rights)	65	66.3	65	100
Cabinet aides and political executives	70	70.1	69	98.5
State and local officials	70	70.1	70	100
Cabinet officers	74	75.5	74	100
Congressional Black Caucus	26	24.8		
NAACP	12	11.4		
SCLC	10	9.5		
Other	10	9.5		
Urban League	5	4.8		

As shown in the table, there exists considerable variety relative to the collaborative and support-building efforts of the Black political executives. The data reveal that among the executives responding, there was low access to, and employment of collaborative efforts with the media. We did not seek to make a qualitative assessment of media usage. Much of it may involve contacts unimportant from policy and program

standpoints, such as announcements of appointments, promotions and transfers; hometown interviews with local media; and social functions where appointed executives are perceived as celebrities. A factor that might account for the low access to, or media usage, is that it might be easier for a Black political executive to become controversial. Thus they may seek to limit their media exposure.

Collaborative and support building efforts were made by sixty (61.2 percent) of appointees in the direction of presidential officials. One might expect that access to presidential officials would be limited to appointees in the higher appointive levels, thus the limited number of appointees making efforts to use their offices.

Interest groups other than civil rights groups were used by sixty-five (66.3 percent) of the appointees for collaborative and support building efforts. The cabinet aides and political executives and state and local officials received an equal number of collaborative efforts by seventy (70.7 percent) appointees. Since cabinet aides and political executives are known by Blacks in various locations, it is not surprising that efforts were made by a high percentage of the appointees. With respect to state and local officials, since many appointees are assumed to have received their appointments with the support of local and state officials, one might expect a high percent of appointees to make

collaborative efforts. Additionally, many programs in which Black executives were engaged involved state and local officials and one would expect common interests. As expected, because in most cases by definition Black political executives work for cabinet officers, greater efforts were made to establish collaborative working relationships and support-building efforts with them. Seventy-four (75.5 percent) of the appointees stated they had made such efforts. Among the appointees who sought to establish collaborative working relationships and support-building efforts of this type, all except one considered them important. The findings regarding cabinet level efforts reveal the obvious importance of support at the top, despite some limits as to success shown in the previous section.

Striking for this study are truncated relationships despite support-building efforts with civil rights groups. The most surprising aspect is that forty-two (40.0 percent) of the appointees failed to seek to establish collaborative working relationships and support-building efforts with civil rights groups. Among all the appointees, civil rights groups were used by only sixty-three (58.0 percent). The group favored by more appointees than the traditional civil rights organizations was the Congressional Black Caucus, a phenomenon of the seventies. But because of the increase in the number of Black appointees during this period, one might expect more than twenty-six (24.8 percent) of the appointees

to seek collaborative and support-building efforts.

Among the major civil rights groups, only twelve (11.4 percent) of the appointees sought collaborative support from the NAACP, even less, ten (9.5 percent) sought support from SCLC, and still less, five (4.8 percent) sought support from the Urban League. It is difficult to explain why the relationships between Black political executives and Black organizations are as limited as they are. One plausible explanation might be the historical social divisions within the race with roots in slavery. The Black elite, from which political executives often seem to come, at time shows a reluctance to identify with the masses of Blacks and the more politically active who are at the core of Black political organizations.

In order to explain variations in the collaborative and support-building efforts of Black political executives, they are related to administration, location, and location, and level of appointment. Table 4.3 is a summary of these relationships and determined significance. There are several major points revealed by the table. First, the tendency of Black political executives to establish collaborative and support building relationships with cabinet members is greater in Republican administrations. Second, the tendency of political executives to establish collaborative and support building relationships with Black organizations is greater during Democratic administrations. Third, political executives in central locations show a greater tendency to establish collaborative and support

building relations with all the relevant actors. Finally, the level of appointment to which Black political executives are appointed has no bearing upon their efforts to establish collaborative and support building relationships.

While it is difficult to explain why Black executives relationships are different with Republican cabinet members of Republican administrations than Democrats, one plausible explanation might result from failure of members of major Black organizations to communicate with Black political executives. Thus, the cabinet becomes an alternative to the traditional groups which members of Democratic administrations rely upon.

TABLE 4.3
CORRELATES OF COLLABORATIVE AND
SUPPORT BUILDING EFFORTS

Actors (Importance)	Administrative Variables		
	Administration	Level	Location
Media	-.21	.26	.86*
(Efforts Made Important)	-.19	.11	.81*
State & Local Officials	-.19	.31	.69*
(Efforts Made Important)	-.19	.28	.75*
Interest Groups	-.17	-.09	.66*
(Efforts Made Important)	-.14	-.11	.65*
Preseidential Official	-.14	.28	.71*
(Efforts Made Important)	-.08	.27	.68*
Cabinet Members	-.37*	.06	.59*
(Efforts Made Important)	-.37*	.06	.59*
Cabinet Aides	-.06	-.18	.47*
(Efforts Made Important)	-.14	-.17	.39*
Major Racial Groups	.26*	.01	.56*

*Significant at .05 level of probability.

It was also shown in the data that the gulf between Black political executives and Black organizations was especially wide during Republican administrations. This may be due simply to the fact that Black organizations traditionally have had Democratic orientations. Thus, one would expect a certain wariness between officials in a Republican administration and such organizations.

There exist no relationship between the level to which Blacks are appointed and the relevant variables. This simply suggests that within the range of political executive positions, there is nothing about the particular level which requires a particular kind of collaborative and support building behavior.

The location of the Black political executive was related to all of the relevant variables. This might result from the nature of the work of persons in most of the non-central locations. It was shown earlier that a greater proportion of Black appointees do not have program and policy responsibilities in non-central locations. Thus, appointees in the locations considered central to Black interest are more likely to seek to establish collaborative and support building relationships than are appointees in lower level positions in non-central locations.

Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter it was shown that Black political executives have had mixed and varied experiences. The support given appointees by their superiors was somewhat lower during the

Nixon-Ford administrations than the others. The lowering of support seems to be associated with higher perceptions of racial motivation as indicated by a greater percentage of colleagues and superiors feeling their support was sought out of racial motivation most of or all of the time.

The lowest degree of superior support was found to exist at level four positions, and in locations that are central to Black interest. We concluded, since persons at level four positions are likely to be involved in policy and program development with White superiors, especially in central locations, one might expect perceptions of racial motivations to be high.

It was further shown that because of the resistance Black political executives encountered on matters perceived racially motivated, efforts at collaborative and support-building outside of government were attempted. Through these efforts programs such as the Philadelphia Plan emerged; thus, while many of the appointees seemed to rely upon individual efforts, those engaged in group efforts seemed to have higher dividends in their programs.

In order to determine variations in the collaborative and support-building-efforts of Black appointees we related them to administration, location, and level of appointment. We found that only cabinet members and major racial groups were statistically significant. We found that during the Nixon-Ford administrations the appointees relied more upon cabinet members

than during the other administrations. However, during Democratic administrations, there was a greater reliance upon major civil rights groups.

In sum, the success of Black executives in government seems to hinge upon whether there are perceptions of racial motivation and collaborative efforts among Black appointees. We conclude that given the success of the Philadelphia Plan, which resulted in part from group efforts, that Black appointees must increase their collaborative efforts among themselves.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter summarizes the major findings and discusses their implications for the theory of representation and for the representation of Black interests in government.

The study was undertaken to determine the extent to which Black political executives in the federal government represent the Black community. It was based on a general concern with the contemporary American political situation and in recognition of the need for Black representation in the formulation of national policy. The research sought to explore appointment patterns and the personal characteristics, role orientations, and experiences of Black persons appointed to executive level positions during the years 1961 through 1980. It was felt that such an investigation would yield information that would be beneficial in advancing Black community interests.

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews with Blacks employed at executive levels of government and, in some instances, through second parties and written documents. Data were systematically compared across administrations, appointment levels, and agencies and departments (locations). In section one to follow we summarize our major research findings

and explain how these relate to the four basic hypotheses for the study as set out in Chapter I. In section two the major qualifications that must be entered for this research are presented. The theoretical implications for this research are discussed in section three, and its implications for the representation of Black interests are presented in the final section.

Summary of Major Findings

In chapter one we formulated three basic research hypotheses about patterns of appointment; we hypothesized that:

1. The number of Black political executives increased over time;
2. More Blacks were appointed to political executive positions by Democratic than by Republican administrations;
3. The appointments made during Democratic administrations were to more powerful positions than during Republican administrations.

In chapter two we reported that the majority of Blacks were in lower level executive positions, were appointed during Democratic administrations, and held positions in departments or agencies that we do not consider central to Black interests. In studying patterns of appointment we specifically determined that, as hypothesized: the number of Black political executives increased over time; more Blacks were appointed in Democratic than Republican administrations; and appointees in Democratic administrations held more powerful positions. Thus all three hypothesis were confirmed.

In terms of the background characteristics of those Blacks appointed to executive positions we found in Chapter II most were male and affiliated with the Baptist or Methodist church. They tended to be from two parent families where the father was the principal wage earner. About one-half had parents who had some college training, although most of the working parents held non-professional positions. For the most part, the parents were not active in political organizations. As a group the appointees were highly educated graduates of principally White institutions. Many received all or part of their training at Ivy League schools, a trend that somewhat more evident in the Nixon-Ford administrations. Law was the dominant occupation in which they were engaged prior to their executive level appointments. This was somewhat more pronounced during the Kennedy-Johnson administrations. More appointees were drawn from the northeast than other regions. There was a tendency for presidents to draw appointees from the region in which the chief executive was identified before his election. Very few appointees were members of the most activist civil rights organizations, although many claimed membership in low or moderately civil rights groups.

In the first chapter we hypothesized that the general role orientation of Black political executives would become more activist over time. This hypothesis was confirmed in Chapter III where we found that the proportion of Black appointees assuming passive orientations declined, and the

proportion taking high active orientations increased, over time. In exploring Black appointee role orientations we further found that: the majority of Black political executives entered government with an agenda that, at a minimum, indirectly related to promotion of the Black interest. The majority of these executives assumed the less demanding role orientation of promoting civil rights in general, in non-programmatic ways, and affirmative action, rather than Black community economic development. Just over one-half of Black political executives wished to personally remove barriers for Blacks while in government and considered this as the basis for an on-going relationship with the Black community. The majority of these executives found themselves relegated to serving interests at the more passive end of the Black interest spectrum. Only a minority indicated that they were working in offices where they could directly promote the economic development of the Black community. Of the thirteen independent variables used to explain variation in Black political executive general role orientation, only three (sex, appointee Black activism, and parent Black activism) were statistically significant predictors. Women tended to assume more passive role orientations and men tended to assume more activist orientations. Contrary to the basic assumptions presented in chapter one, we found that (a) impediments to achievement were not systematically related to more activist general role orientations; and (b) Black activism and parent Black activism were not positively associated with more activist

general role orientations. This we speculated was due to the timing of the appointee's experience, and that of his or her parents, as well as the nature of that experience.

In Chapter IV we examined the experiences in government service of Black political executives and found a mixture of accomplishment and frustration. Many appointees saw their greatest successes as participating in the advancement of other Blacks in government service. For many, the Philadelphia Plan is a source of lasting pride and is considered their greatest accomplishment.

Those who reported job frustration tended to be in the minority. When frustration was reported its sources varied. Among the sources of appointee frustration were the following: sitting alone on boards and commissions and being outvoted on matters considered germane to Black interests; resistant field officials; being by-passed for higher appointive positions; and feelings that organizational design and processes basically assures failure for Black executives.

At times appointees participated in an informal network centering around common interests and objectives. There were also many Blacks during the Carter administration involved in a formal organization known as Blacks in Government (BIG).

The overwhelming majority of Black appointees perceived their superiors, colleagues and subordinates as supportive most of the time on matters germane to Black interests. During the Nixon-Ford administrations the Black appointees

relied more upon cabinet members in their collaborative and support building efforts than was the case during other administrations.

With respect to racial motivation, we specifically found in chapter four that a majority of the Black political executives saw their colleagues as perceiving them as never, or only occasionally, seeking support because of racial motivations. Black appointees of Democratic administrations engaged more in collaborative and support building efforts with Black groups than those in Republican administrations. Black appointees in locations considered central to Black interests were more likely to engage in collaborative and support building efforts than appointees in non-central locations.

Major Qualifications to the Study

There are four major qualifications to be entered in regard to this research:

1. All Black political executives who served during the period under study were not interviewed.
2. In some instances data could not be elicited directly from the respondent. Because of time constraints some executives asked that the interview schedule be left to be filled out at their convenience. On a few occasions, data had to be supplied by informants who worked closely

with the official and who presumably was intimately acquainted with his or her background and experiences.

3. Given the sensitivity of the subject matter, and the difficulty of Blacks talking to Blacks about Black issues in interview situations such as these, interview responses in some degree may not be fully authentic and may contain some distortions. The problem lies in the relationships of persons with differing orientations as to Black political strategies and tactics.
4. On the surface, there appears to be some significant differences between the present administration and those studied here. They may be such as to produce patterns of appointment and experiences different in important respects from those described.

Because we have provided essentially descriptive data and have been cautious in generalizing beyond that pertaining to those Black executives who were actually interviewed, or for whom data were available, the study's value is not seriously hampered by the limitations outlined above. The stated limitations simply establish the parameters within which these findings and conclusions must be considered. This study helps bridge the gap in knowledge about the Black political executives at an historically significant point

in time; it places Black involvement in national politics in perspective by providing previously unavailable information about Black political executives and their experiences within the federal public service. It sets the stage for a more definitive study of Black representation that can, we hope, supercede the limitations of the present work.

Theoretical Implications

This study has been concerned with what Pitkin defined¹ as the "acting for" type of representation. Accordingly, we proceeded on the fundamental assumption that members of minorities ought to be appointed to positions in the government and that, when they are, such appointees will act on behalf of the interests of their group. This is an "active" notion of representation and led us to be concerned with exploring more than simple demographics. Most of the research literature on representative bureaucracy, however, has focused only upon its passive dimension; i.e., it has been devoted simply to exploring the extent to which the bureaucracy is, or is not, a demographic match for the population it serves. When we studied the passive dimension of Black political executive service in the federal government, we found that these appointees did not constitute a representative cross-section

¹Pitkin, p.146.

of the Black community; they are drawn from an educational and social elite. In this respect our research is consistent with the previous findings of Krislov, Rosenbloom, Kranz, and Heclo, who reported that (in studying bureaucrats in general) the bureaucracy was not representative of the American population at large.² It contradicts the findings of Long, Subramanian, and Meier who found American bureaucracy demographically representative.³ It is not surprising to find that Black political executives are unrepresentative of the Black community as a whole, especially when we recall that, as Krislov has pointed out, those skills required in government are distinctly different from those found in society in general.⁴

Moving beyond previous empirical work, we studied the active dimension of bureaucratic representation. That is, we sought to determine the extent to which Black political executives viewed themselves as coming to, and serving in, government with an active role to play in promoting Black community interests. While we discovered that most Black appointees viewed themselves as having a Black interest representation role to play, there was appreciable variation

²Krislov, Representative Bureaucracy, 1974.

³Long, "Bureaucracy and Constitutionalism," 1952; Subramanian, "Representative Bureaucracy, A Reassessment," 1967; Meier, "Representative Bureaucracy: An Empirical Analysis, 1975.

⁴Krislov, op. cit.

in (a) how individuals viewed the nature of that role, and (b) the extent to which their location and level of appointment allowed them to perform that role. Thus, although Rosenbloom and Featherstonhaugh found that "black public servants are more likely than whites to be able to articulate values and perspectives which are most closely associated with blacks as a social group," our research indicates that the desire, ability, and opportunity to pursue active representation varies dramatically among Blacks as a group.⁵ It is therefore our conclusion that it is highly questionable whether it is useful to examine representation solely in terms of matches between the demographics of a constituency and a set of "representatives."

The findings of this study point to the need to extend a far more important place in representation theory to social and political context than has previously been the case. Based upon our findings it is clear that the manner in which the representational role is executed is significantly shaped by such contextual factors as the political party of the administration served, the president's own

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David H. Rosenbloom and Jeannette G. Featherstonhaugh, "Passive and Active Representation in the Federal Service: A Comparison of Blacks and Whites," Social Science Quarterly, vol. 57 (March 1977), p. 881.

background, and the disposition of an appointee's colleagues and subordinates.

This study has a major implication for our notions of the influence of social origins on bureaucratic representation. Representation theory has traditionally tended to explain the orientation and behavior of representatives in terms of background factors such as the father's occupation or educational level. At the very least there has been a presumption that such background factors were major forces shaping the actual predispositions and behaviors of representatives. Our findings in chapter three call this presumption into question. There we report that the degree of impediments to upward mobility, measured in terms such as family structure and background, were not systematically related to the general role orientations assumed by Black political executives; i.e., contrary to our assumption, Black appointees from the most disadvantaged social backgrounds were not any more likely to assume an activist role orientation than those from other backgrounds. Thus, this study raises serious questions about the utility of social origin and background factors as predictors of the attitudes and behaviors of representatives. Our research in this respect is consistent with that of Meier and Nigro who found that, in studying the attitudes of federal executives,

"knowing the origins of (executives) tells us little about their attitudes and correspondingly less about their policy-making behavior."⁶

Certain scholars have emphasized the central importance of socialization upon political attitudes and behavior. Our findings with respect to the sociopolitical experiences of Black political executives and their role orientations suggest that this emphasis is not misplaced. We found in Chapter III that the parent's Black activism, and the appointee's Black activism, were quite strongly related to their general role orientation. Although it is true that these relationships did not conform to our assumptions (i.e., Black activism was not associated with more activist role orientations but with more passive ones), nevertheless the linkage between sociopolitical experience and role orientations was established. Our findings simply point to the important fact that facile assumptions about level of experience and types of roles are hazardous; the nature of the experience and its timing must also be taken into consideration.

Previous discussions of the theory of representation, especially within bureaucracies, have tended to focus almost exclusively upon the individual representative as an actor.

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"Representative Bureaucracy and Policy Preferences," p. 466.

little or no attention has been given to the collective or collaborative dimension of representation. In Chapter IV we reported on the important effect that coalition-building and group reenforcement had upon our Black appointees; that is, by meeting formally and informally--developing networks outside their individual offices and agencies--Black political executives were able to enhance their individual efforts at promoting Black interests while in government. The development of activist role orientations depends upon more than mere presence in government and good intentions. Our Black appointees clearly found that through collaborative and collective efforts their representational capacity was enhanced. This important dimension has not been sufficiently emphasized in representational theory.

Further research that takes the above mentioned implications into consideration will help considerably in the development of a sounder and more meaningful theory of representation.

Implications for the Representation of Black Interests

This study has revealed that neither the characteristics of Black political executives, nor those of their parents, were similar to the characteristics of the general Black population. In fact, the Black appointees overall appeared to more closely approximate their White colleagues than they resembled the Black community. This

finding is surprising only if one holds exclusively to the notion of passive or demographic representation. It is entirely predictable when one takes into account the skills, connections, and resources that are requisite for appointment as a Black political executive. The majority of Blacks are considered to be within the lower class. Thus, one must wonder--since the characteristics of Black political executives are so different from those of the majority of Black people--whether the interests of poor and working class Blacks can effectively be represented. In other words, how effective have Black political executives been in representing the interests of Blacks?

Answers to the question of the effectiveness of Black executives representing Black interests requires a conception of what those interests really are. The Black community is admittedly heterogeneous in many respects. But, many are of the view that there are distinctive Black interests that emerge when the overall circumstances of this community are considered. Among these circumstances are: levels of education, employment, and economic opportunity that lag seriously behind other segments of American society. While any view of distinctive Black interests must be subjective, the view of such interests that we will use for evaluative purposes is as follows: that Blacks are in dire need of land and capital; that the continuing housing situation in urban areas (or in rural areas) indicates a great disparity between

Blacks and Whites; that the technical expertise needed for development of the Black community is constantly drained off; that Blacks are in need of reparations; and that high unemployment among Blacks, especially in the inner-city, has far reaching negative implications. These conditions have not been effectively represented in American government, and there are significant limits upon the capacity of Black political executives to effectively remedy this fact.

Black interests are not effectively represented because, in the passive sense, Black political executives are an elitist group. Given the background of the executives studied here there is little reason to believe that these appointees are in touch with the day-to-day struggles of Black life; often even those executives originally from poor backgrounds tend to disassociate themselves from the real problems of the Black community. In reality, the failure of Black representation results because the educational, social, and political resources that are demanded for upward mobility are typically denied the majority of the Black community.

From an active representation perspective, Black political executives are typically not appointed to positions from which they can make, or significantly influence, decisions about genuine economic development for the Black community. Given the history of the Black people in America, those Blacks appointed as political executives are not

really expected by those whom they serve to assume the high active roles commensurate with the effective promotion of the Black interest. Moreover, they are not typically expected to educate or agitate the masses into effective pressure on behalf of Black interests; instead they are appointed in the expectation that they will largely serve to legitimate programs and policies that often have but peripheral effect upon the Black community. Thus it appears that Black executives have failed in their efforts to convey to the Black community the difficult problems associated with programs delivery; therefore the mass of Blacks remain dysfunctional and deenergized.

Black political executives are in a dual role, in actuality. There is their official role. Then there is their role as Black leaders, which adds an extra burden and responsibility. This burden and responsibility is in contrast to that of appointees of other groups. Members of the Black community tend to look to people in high government positions as community leaders because of the esteem and regard held for government. This holds regardless of whether the Black political executives see themselves as being leaders or not. In fact, there is the sense that not only are these executives perceived as leaders by Blacks but Whites see them as leaders of the Black community also. This means that whatever Black executives do has an effect that goes beyond the performance

of their official role. This is a difficult position to be in; however it exists. Thus, well wrapped in this matter of Black political executives is not simply representation in government, but national leadership that transcends government. So when for whatever reason, Black political executives are not attuned to Black circumstances, a leadership vacuum emerges becoming increasingly more pronounced.

Implications for Strategies and Tactics

The ultimate question must be what are the implications for Black politics and the assertion of Black interests in political processes in order to insure the representative of Black interests in national public policy?

This study indicate that Blacks as individuals are highly qualified to carry out the administrative tasks assigned to them as bureaucrats. They have the educational and professional backgrounds, knowledge, and skills required for successful governmental careers. It is misleading, however, to look to them for the type of leadership that is needed to represent Black interests and effecuate social change. It is clear that a Black agenda that includes these persons as participants, but not leaders, is needed.

To increase the effectiveness of Black political executives a new direction is required. These executives must in fact be made accountable to the Black community because of the important de facto leadership role they play. But that

is not likely. Thus, in terms of real progress, it probably does not make much difference whether there are Blacks in high executive positions or not, given the political arena and structure of political power in government.

If Blacks being appointed as political executives does not really matter, that is, other than they ought to be there in a symbolic sense, the question becomes what other alternatives are open? First there must be development of means for the authentic and legitimate grass roots articulation of Black interests. This must be done in contrast with present non-authentic expressions of leaders who in fact are disassociated from the community. This expression will perhaps require a return to mass protest. Secondly, there must be a revising and deelitization of Black organizations. Presently one might feel that the real needs of the mass of Black people are not articulated by those perceived as espousing such needs, namely, the leadership of the major Black organizations. Thus, unless there is increased activity by the major Black organizations, a lesson might be taken from the appointees of the Nixon-Ford administrations, move forward without them. In order to accomplish this, all support must be withdrawn and efforts made to expose organizations which betray the legitimate interests of the Black community through mass demonstrations by Blacks against the elite interest organizations. Finally, there must be emphasis placed on electoral strength and efforts made to utilize the

important effect of the Black vote. Blacks must refuse to support candidates simply because they are Black, sometimes they must even vote against them.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (general)

(check list)

1. a. Name _____
- b. Sex _____
- c. Age _____
- d. Date of appointment _____
- e. Agency and position _____
- f. Place and state of birth _____
- g. Size of birthplace: (check) rural area _____
small town _____
city _____
metropolitan area _____
- h. type of last major occupation (code) _____
- i. Undergraduate college & degree _____
- j. Professional or graduate school (type degree) _____
- k. Years in school _____
- l. Political activity: check the activities

Have you ever:

contributed money to a party or a candidate _____

been active in election campaigns _____

been a delegate to a state party convention _____

been a delegate to a national party convention _____

been a party official _____

been a candidate for partisan office _____
(specify)

participated in a demonstration _____

if you have run for public office, __yes__ no
did you win?

if yes, please offices and years of
incumbency: _____

II. (introduction)

At the present time I am engaged in a rather wide ranging study of persons that have been appointed by presidents. Part of this investigation includes an analysis of persons such as yourself that are either in government or was in government during the time you serve or served. As part of this undertaking I am seeking to gather as much information as possible. I would like to assure you that any information you import will be kept in the strictest confidence. My concern is not with individuals but with broad statistical findings and, therefore, individual responses will not be identifiable. When I have completed this study I will gladly send you a brief summary of the major findings. I want you to know that I am very grateful for you allowing me this opportunity to talk to you, and I thank you very much for your cooperation.

A. First, I would like to ask you a few questions about your family and then about yourself.

1. Check list if needed
2. Could you tell me your fathers-mothers major occupation (i.e., specific work role during most of your lifetime)?
 - () 1. higher executive, professional and proprietors
 - () 2. lesser executive, professional and proprietors

- ☐ 3. small independent business
- ☐ 4. clerical
- ☐ 5. skilled worker
- ☐ 6. semi-skilled worker
- ☐ 7. unskilled worker-farmer

3. Could you tell me the highest grade your father/mother completed in school years? _____

- ☐ 1. graduate or professional work
- ☐ 2. bachelor's degree
- ☐ 3. college/no degree
- ☐ 4. high school graduate
- ☐ 5. seven through eleven
- ☐ 6. less than seven

4. Did your parents attend church? ☐ most of the time
☐ sometimes ☐ rarely

Are you aware of the type church your family attended on a regular basis and the degree they were involved?

- ☐ 0. none ☐ 1. baptist ☐ 2. methodist ☐ 3. catholic
- ☐ 4. other (specify)

5. What type organization(s) were your parent(s) actively involved in and can you describe the nature of their involvement?

- ☐ 1. professional
- ☐ 2. fraternal
- ☐ 3. civil rights
- ☐ 4. political
- ☐ 5. service

6. Please give me the names of any professional, fraternal and service organizations to which you belong:

7. Could you give me that name of any National Community organizations such as N.A.A.C.P., S.C.L.C., etc. to which you belong?

- B. Let's talk just a moment about your involvement in organizations other than purely political ones.

8. Generally speaking, of the National Civil Rights organizations, which would you say you have been the most involved?

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ 0. None | ☐ 4. C.O.R.E. |
| ☐ 1. N.A.A.C.P. | ☐ 5. Urban League |
| ☐ 2. S.C.L.C. | ☐ 6. S.N.C.C. |
| ☐ 3. P.U.S.H. | ☐ 7. Other _____ |

9. Can you tell me about the degree and types of activities you were involved in or the organizations? (I will check off)

- ☐ 1. Holding elective office
- ☐ 2. Holding appointee office
- ☐ 3. Employed as staff
- ☐ 4. Volunteer on strategy
- ☐ 5. Being a card carrying member
- ☐ 6. Working on membership drives

- ☐ 7. Attending rallies and meetins
- ☐ 8. Contributing money or professional services
- ☐ 9. Writing letters or speaking through media
- ☐ 10. Boycotting
- ☐ 11. Marching and demonstrations
- ☐ 12. Being arrested

10. What effect do you think your prior involvement had upon your political views? _____

11. What connections do you see between your involvement and your job and the approach you took/take to your job? _____

I would like to get some information from you about the agency you were/are engaged with, I will begin by asking:

12. What would you say is the major purpose of your agency _____?

13. Generally speaking, what would you say is the main interest of your agency?

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| ☐ 1. Labor | ☐ 4. Educational | ☐ 7. Ethnic |
| ☐ 2. Welfare | ☐ 5. Professional | ☐ 8. Regulatory |
| ☐ 3. Agricultural | ☐ 6. Business | ☐ 9. Other (specify) |

14. Give the main interest of your agency, would you describe your colleagues identification with the goals and policies of your agency as being:

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| ☐ 1. Intensely | ☐ 3. Somewhat | ☐ 5. Not at all |
| ☐ 2. Moderately | ☐ 4. Very little | |

15. While attempting to carry out policies, do/did you encounter any superiors who consistently oppose your agency?
- () 1. Yes (if yes, see 16)
- () 2. No
16. If "yes", what are the main ones opposed? _____
- _____
17. As an administrator in your agency, do/did you have certain superiors to whom you can usually go to for help in working toward your agency goals?
- () 1. Yes
- () 2. No
18. Would you describe your colleagues as being:
- () 1. Generally, middle class () 3. Upper-class
- () 2. Working class () 4. Mixture of all
19. Some feel that the integration of women, Blacks, Chicanos and other minorities into the upper levels of the government is a significant problem. Do you feel your agency aids this process in a significant way?
- () 1. Yes (if yes, see 20)
- () 2. No
20. If "yes", exactly how did your agency do this? _____
- _____
21. Do/Did you find that there are usually some colleagues upon whom you can rely to help in working toward the goals of your agency?
- () 1. Yes
- () 2. No

22. To what extent do you feel that agency colleagues or superiors regard your attempts to influence them as being racially motivated?

- () 1. Always () 3. Occasionally
() 2. Most of the time () 4. Never

23. To what extent do you agree with the following statement:

"Ethnic group (e.g. Blacks, Chicanos) executives tend to regard other group administrators as competitors in a struggle to shape government policy? Do you:

- () 1. Strongly agree () 3. Disagree
() 2. Agree () 4. Strongly disagree

I have a few questions that I want to ask you about your perception of what government was or should have been about.

24. I would like to ask first, in your opinion, what are/were the four main objective for you as a government employee? (Please give them in rank order).

1. _____ 3. _____
2. _____ 4. _____

25. Some observers not there is often tension between a racial group representative and those of his race. It is assumed that part of the tension centers around definitions, as an example, the representative defines his clients as the whole country, when this is done the racial group define the representative as having no "racial pride or concern." From your experience, do you:

- () 1. Agree (if agree, see 26)
() 2. Disagree

26. If you agree, please tell me specifically why you think such tension exists. _____

27. Would you indicate three (3) or four (4) main policy areas which concern you in your agency?

- | | |
|----------|----------|
| 1. _____ | 2. _____ |
| 3. _____ | 4. _____ |

(Tape recorder here, if respondent agrees)

In order to focus our discussion a bit more, we would now like to discuss some particular issues or conflicts that you consider important and you and your agency were directly involved in during your appointment.

28. Would you specify the type and circumstances of conflict or issue(s)? _____

29. Regarding the issue, what was the agency position (e.g., policy rationale) and major single objective? _____

30. Please indicate all the methods you used in working toward this objective? (Will read each to respondent; determine which were used and ask him to determine if important---not important).

Yes imp. Not imp.

1. Publicity campaign
2. Getting the who agency behind you
3. Approaching officials and politicians
4. Combining with other interest groups
5. Direct approach to President
6. Direct approach to Cabinet members
7. Direct approach to executive assistants of Cabinets members
8. Other _____

31. (Probe) Did you enlist the help of any racially identifiable groups (such as NAACP, S.C.L.C., Black Caucus), If so could you tell me more about this?

32. To what extent did your agency achieve its objectives?

- () 1. Completely
- () 2. Mainly
- () 3. Only partially
- () 4. Not at all

33. Of the various methods you mentioned earlier, which proved most successful in the issue? _____

34. In this issue upon which two of the following sociopolitical or governmental bodies did you focus your main attention (rank 1,2)?

- () 1. President
- () 2. Cabinet
- () 3. Executive assistants of Cabinet members
- () 4. Agency colleagues
- () 5. Black Caucus

() 6. Civil Rights groups

() 7. Other _____

In the few minutes that we have left, I would appreciate your helping me as a political scientist to better understand the difference between matters that I consider practical on the other hand. In order to do so, I want to ask you a few questions relative to your expectations in accepting your appointment and the experiences you had while serving.

35. My first question is: Since persons in position such as yours after come to office with a personal agenda and specific objectives to accomplish, I am curious if you had such an agenda, and if so, what items were on it. (If Black interest is not included go to 47, if included go to 48).

36. When you came to office did you see any special roles for you to play in relationship to "Black interests."

37. It is interesting to note that you mentioned a special relationship you wanted to maintain with the Black community - would you comment on that relationship for me please. _____

38. Will you please give me examples of instance when you were involved in matters that you considered especially revelant for the Black community. (will record the instances) Check: () 1 () 2 () 3 () 4 () 5

39. Given the instances that you describe, can you tell me what specific interest of the Black community was served or intended to be served?

APPENDIX B

Table 3.4, page 112, includes several scales used as independent variables in the analysis of role orientation. The general procedure used in the construction of these scales was to assign values to the various components used to develop the scale. Then, a score was computed for each appointee. Next the population of appointees was divided into three categories: those whose scores were low, medium, and high. It was these scores that were related to the dependent variable, role orientation.

In the appointee Black activism, Black organizational activism and political activism scales, for each of the items listed a value of 0 or 1 was assigned. An example of such values assigned is in the case of the appointee political activism scale. If a political contribution was made a value of 1 was given, if not a value of 0 was given. In addition, in the appointee Black activism scale a value of one was assigned for membership held in each of the key Black organizations and a value of zero assigned when there was no membership.

The scores for the parent social standing and Black activism scales were computed in the following way: the parent social standing score had values of zero assigned when the female was the principal wage earner, one assigned

when the father was principal wage earner and a value of two when both were principal wage earners; a value of zero if considered non-professional and a value of one when professional; and a value of zero if the educational level was non-college and one if college had been attended.

Finally, the parent Black activism scale results from the following: values of zero were assigned if the parents did not attend church, one if they attended rarely, two if they attended sometimes, and three if they attended most of the time. A value of zero was assigned if no church or other affiliation was indicated; one if a Catholic affiliation was reported, and two if it was Baptist or Methodist. A zero was assigned when no membership in major professional, fraternal, or civil rights organizations were mentioned and a value of one was given for each membership mentioned. The values given for involvement in political and community service organizations were zero for membership only, one for inactive membership, and two for active membership.

There exists an obvious difference with respect to the items comprising the parent Black activism and those of the appointee Black activism scale. The difference in the scale results from consideration of the fact that many of the organizations the appointees could hold membership in were possibly not popular in many regions in which parents might have resided or they were not in existence

during the necessary period. Also, organizations that were attractive prior to the civil rights movement possibly no longer held such attraction for membership among younger Blacks.

The major civil rights organizations considered for possible membership were the following: NAACP, SCLC, Urban League, PUSH, CORE, and SNCC. The major fraternal organization included the Elks and Masonic orders along with the established college fraternities. The professional organizations considered for membership included the American Bar, medical or dental associations; Social Workers Council; and national welfare organizations. National Black organizations included those such as National Business League, The Nation of Islam, America Baptist Conference, and others. Finally, the community service organizations include tenant organizations and ghetto development organizations.

VITA

James E. Mock was born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama on October 26, 1940. He attended elementary schools in Margaret and Tuscaloosa, Alabama and was graduated from Druid High School in 1958. The following September he entered Marquette University and later Memphis State University. In January 1972 he received a Bachelor of Business Administration degree with majors in Economic Theory and Business Law. He then began work at Tennessee State University as Coordinator of the Minority Training Center. He then began graduate study at The University of Tennessee in Nashville where he was awarded a Master's degree in Public Administration in 1977. Since the fall of 1977 he has been employed by the Department of Political Science at The University of Tennessee. Mr. Mock entered the Graduate School at The University of Tennessee in September 1977 and received the Doctor of Philosophy degree with a major in Political Science in August 1981.

He was married to Patricia Thorpe in 1978 and they have a son named Tekalie.