Private Sector Affirmative Action: Omaha

March 1979

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-A report of the Nebraska Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights prepared for the information and consideration of the Commission. This report will be considered by the Commission and the Commission will make public its reactions. In the meantime, the findings and recommendations of this report should not be attributed to the Commission but only to the Nebraska Advisory Committee.

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Private Sector Affirmative Action: Omaha

-A report prepared by the Nebraska Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

ATTRIBUTION:

The findings and recommendations contained in this report are those of the Nebraska Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights and, as such, are not attributable to the Commission. This report has been prepared by the State Advisory Committee for submission to the Commission, and will be considered by the Commission in formulating its recommendations to the President and the Congress.

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Prior to the publication of a report, the State Advisory Committee affords to all individuals or organizations that may be defamed, degraded, or incriminated by any material contained in the report an opportunity to respond in writing to such material. All responses have been incorporated, appended, or otherwise reflected in the publication.

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Nebraska Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights March 1979

MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

Arthur S. Flemming, Chairman Stephen Horn, Vice Chairman Frankie Freeman Manuel Ruiz, Jr. Murray Saltzman

Louis Nuñez, Acting Staff Director

Sirs and Madam:

The Nebraska Advisory Committee submits this report of its investigation of the state of employment opportunity for women and minorities in Omaha, Nebraska, as part of its responsibility to advise the Commission about civil rights problems within the State.

During a 12-month period, the Advisory Committee and staff of the Central States Regional Office interviewed personnel and affirmative action officers of eleven large employers in Omaha. They also talked with employees; officials of State and local civil rights compliance agencies; the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs; and compliance agencies' staffs, community leaders, experts on vocational education, as well as employment and training specialists. These persons were provided an opportunity to comment on a draft of the report. All comments and all corrections indicated by commentors have been incorporated in the final draft.

The Advisory Committee found that opportunity for blue-collar jobs in Omaha has shifted from the central city to the suburbs, as it has done nationwide. While the Advisory Committee notes some local efforts to increase opportunities in the central city, near the homes of most minorities, the Advisory Committee does not believe these efforts are sufficient. It calls upon the Omaha Industrial Foundation and local planning authorities to make greater efforts in this regard.

The Advisory Committee found that efforts to recruit minorities and women at both entry level and mid level could be strengthened. The Advisory Committee urges local employers to establish a central city recruitment site and a unified procedure for reaching out to potential mid-level applicants including use of a consortium of minority and feminist organizations. The Advisory Committee further urges that joint efforts be undertaken to ensure that employers are not attempting to hire persons with greater skills than they really need to do a particular job.

The Advisory Committee was told that opportunities for upward mobility for minorities and women are limited. The Advisory Committee urges local employers to increase affirmative action efforts to ensure that minorities and women get the chances for promotion that they deserve. As part of this effort, the Advisory Committee urges that all mid-level officials with hiring authority be given training in human relations.

The Advisory Committee found that many employers' affirmative action efforts are generally unknown in the community and among employees. The Advisory Committee urges that each employer undertake a substantial public relations campaign to inform the community about the employer and its affirmative action efforts.

The Advisory Committee found that it was not easy for smaller employers to obtain the data needed to develop appropriate measures of underutilization. The Advisory Committee urges the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to review with the U.S. Department of Labor the possibility that it could make available either the necessary data or fund local organizations to make the necessary data accessible.

The Advisory Committee found that the creation of affirmative action committees composed of minority and female employees that report directly to the employer's chief executive improves the quality of evaluation. It urges all local employers to establish such committees.

The Advisory Committee believes that the Omaha Chamber of Commerce, Metropolitan Area Planning Association, minority organizations, and the city of Omaha could be more effective as change agents. It makes recommendations to each organization for actions that would enhance their efforts to promote affirmative action.

We urge you to concur in our recommendations and to assist the Advisory Committee in followup activities.

Respectfully,

MICHAEL B. ADAMS, Chairperson Nebraska Advisory Committee

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An Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights has been established in each of the 50 States and the District of Columbia pursuant to section 105(c) of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 as amended. The Advisory Committees are made up of responsible persons who serve without compensation. Their functions under their mandate from the Commission are to: advise the Commission of all relevant information concerning their respective States on matters within the jurisdiction of the Commission; advise the Commission to the President and the Congress; receive reports, suggestions, and recommendations from individuals, public and private organizations, and public officials upon matters pertinent to inquiries conducted by the State Advisory Committee; initiate and forward advice and recommendations to the Commission upon matters in which the Commission shall request the assistance of the State Advisory Committee; and attend, as observers, any open hearing or conference which the Commission may hold within the State.

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This report was produced with the assistance of the Commission's Central States Regional Office. Project director was Etta Lou Wilkinson. Research was conducted by Etta Lou Wilkinson, Melvin L. Jenkins, and Malcolm J. Barnett. Writing was done by Malcolm J. Barnett. Legal review was conducted by Melvin Jenkins, Esq. Thomas L. Neumann is the Regional Director.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Members of the Nebraska Advisory Committee decided after two statewide projects¹ that the time had come to take a close look at Omaha where a high percentage of that State's minority population is located. Omaha, located on the eastern end of Nebraska, is the State's largest city. The city's 379,200 inhabitants in 1977 were 65 percent of the standard metropolitan statistical area's population. In the city, 10.6 percent of the 1977 population were black, 0.7 percent were other minorities.² Housing problems were reviewed as a possible subject for study, but the flexible guidelines of the current Housing and Community Development Act persuaded the Advisory Committee to investigate some other area of interest to minorities and women. The Advisory Committee, at its March 14, 1977, meeting in Omaha, chose affirmative action efforts by private employers as the most salient issue to minorities and women in Omaha.

Equal employment opportunity is mandated by Nebraska statute³ and subsequent legislation added sex and age to the categories of legally prohibited discrimination. Equal employment opportunity is also required under Title VII of the U.S. Civil Rights Act of 1964 as amended. Under the latter, no employer of more than 15 persons may discriminate in hiring or promotion by reason of race, religion, sex, color, or national origin without violating Federal law. Violations, if determined by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), and, if conciliation is unsuccessful, may be the subject of Federal court action resulting in a judicially imposed remedy and possible award of damages. Administrative action may be taken under Executive Order 11246, as amended, for violations of the equal opportunity clause by holders of government contracts, subject to qualifying limits.

In 1974 EEOC indicated some of the advantages of voluntary affirmative action efforts:

Employers who have not yet implemented effective affirmative action programs will find that it makes good business sense to identify and revise employment practices which have discriminatory effects, before the Federal Government is called in, with the prospect of costly litigation; back pay awards; and court-imposed goals, timetables, and changes in employment practices.

Affirmative action will help you avoid expensive legal judgments and sudden disruption of your regular operations and will help qualify you for government contracts. It can also help you cut costs and increase productivity through tapping and developing seriously underutilized human resources, and reduced employee turnover when jobs and promotions are based on merit.4

Those employers holding contracts with the Federal Government are required by the regulations implementing Executive Order 11246, as amended, to have complete affirmative action plans if their contracts are worth more than \$50,000 per year (or in the case of banks if they serve as agents for the sale of Federal securities or as depositories for Federal funds) and they employ 50 or more persons.⁵

The Advisory Committee began its study because preliminary findings of a report on Nebraska State government indicated the lack of affirmative action

¹ The resulting reports were: Inmate Rights and Institutional Response: The Nebraska State Prison System (1974), and Nebraska's Official Civil Rights Agencies (1975). ² City of Omaha, CETA Report (1978) (Apr. 27, 1978), p. 2.

³ Fair Employment Practices Act of 1965: Rev. Stat. of Nebraska 48-1101-48-1125.

⁴ U.S., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Affirmative Action and Equal Employment: A Guide for Employers (January 1974), p. 12. 5 41 CFR 60-2.1 (Jan. 18, 1977).

efforts and disparity of job opportunities in the public sector.⁶ At the same time, the Allen Bakke case was progressing through the courts. A majority of the Supreme Court's Justices have upheld the legality of affirmative action and accepted the need for racial goals.⁷ The Advisory Committee supports the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the statement by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.*⁸ that past discrimination cannot be remedied merely by ending discrimination in the present. Affirmative efforts are required to make the labor market what it would have been had there been no discrimination.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has stated that ". . . 'affirmative action,' [is] a term that in a broad sense encompasses any measure beyond simple termination of a discriminatory practice adopted to correct or compensate for past or present discrimination or prevent discrimination from recurring in the future."9 The minimum standards for such efforts have been variously defined: some by the courts in setting mandatory remedies for past wrongs; some by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (in revised orders 4 and 14) to define what Federal contractors must do to comply with Executive Order 11246, as amended; some by the EEOC, U.S. Civil Service Commission, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and other Federal agencies defining what should be done to implement voluntary programs. The main elements of an effective program are:

1. A survey of present minority and female employment by department and job classification to identify areas of concentration and the existence and extent of underutilization.

2. Establishment of goals and timetables to improve utilization of minorities and females. Such goals are not rigid "quotas," a set of figures from which no deviation will be tolerated. Rather, goals may be viewed as a management technique for developing a more inclusive work force which would have existed had there been no legacy of discrimination.

3. Development and implementation of specific programs to achieve goals including reviews to ensure that there is no discriminatory element in:

- a. recruitment
- b. selection process
- c. upward mobility system
- d. wage and salary structure
- e. benefits and conditions of employment
- f. layoff, recall, termination, demotion, discharge, disciplinary action

g. union contract provisions affecting the above 4. Establishment of an internal audit and reporting system to monitor and evaluate progress in each aspect of the program.

5. Development of supportive inhouse and community programs.

6. Appointment of a top official with responsibility and authority to direct and implement the program.
7. A written equal employment policy and affirmative action commitment.¹⁰

These measures, as the Advisory Committee pointed out in its analysis of affirmative action programs in *State Government Affirmative Action in Mid-America*, are no more than sound business practices. They do not require the hiring or retention of the unqualified. Rather, they ensure that the employer gets the *best* qualified employee, and that highly qualified minorities or female applicants are not ignored.

The Advisory Committee wrote to 59 major employers in Omaha — that is, all employers of more than 400 persons and a selection of other employers who are significant in an industry lacking a large employer. The Advisory Committee requested copies of the employers' affirmative action plans and their most recent report to the EEOC detailing the race/sex composition of their work forces in nine categories of work roles in order to compare these plans with model guidelines developed by the Advisory Committee. Twenty-four employers provided this data; 35 did not. The following are typical of the refusals:

I am sure you realize that our affirmative action program contains sensitive business information which we are hesitant to disclose. Thus, we feel it is not prudent for us to make this information public.

For this reason and because we are monitored so closely by the Social Security Administration, we are declining your request. . . .¹¹

⁶ That study has now been published as *State Government Affirmative Action* in *Mid-America* (1978).

⁷ Regents v. Bakke, 46 LW 4879 (June 28, 1978); EEOC v. A.T.T., 556 F.2d 167 (1977), cert. denied, 98 S. Ct. 3145 (1978).

^{* 401} U.S. 424 (Mar. 8, 1971).

⁹ U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Affirmative Action Statement (October 1977), p. 2.

¹⁰ The above list is derived from EEOC: Affirmative Action and Equal Employment (January 1974), pp. 16–17. It became the basis for a model set of standards devised by the Advisory Committee and used in this report. ¹¹ Ms. Michelina Baldino, Blue Cross/Blue Shield of Nebraska, letter to staff, June 22, 1977.

The Western Electric Company, Omaha Works, as a matter of policy, does not distribute copies of our plan or report to agencies other than those to whom we are legally responsible. We feel we are under appropriate monitoring of our Equal Opportunity programs through the Defense Contract Administration Services Region (DCASR) in New York.¹²

As I indicated to you, the partial consent decree (Civil Action 74–453) which we have signed with the U.S. Department of Justice provides, 'During the life of the decree, except for the filing of EEO-1, 2, or 3 forms, and such reports and production of records as are required hereunder, the Defendant Employer shall not be required to file reports with any Federal agency whose primary purpose involves the field of equal employment opportunity¹³

Since it is apparent from your letter that anything we send to you might be made public information, and further, since no advantages to us in providing such information is [sic] identified, we regret that we cannot supply the information requested.¹⁴

Other companies provided the data requested but then refused to allow their personnel and affirmative action officers to be interviewed in connection with the study.

The Advisory Committee's staff chose a sample of 11 employers who were willing to participate, who represented a cross-section of activities, and who were subject to the broadest possible range of compliance agencies under Executive Order 11246 as amended. The sample included: Archbishop Bergan Mercy Hospital, Boys Town, Armour Packing Co. (this plant closed June 1, 1978), ConAgra, Control Data, Creighton-St. Joseph Hospital, Falstaff Brewing Co., Omaha National Bank, Northern Natural Gas, Union Pacific, and Western Electric Service Facility. Advisory Committee staff interviewed the personnel and/or affirmative action officers of these employers. In addition, 11 months after the initial interviews, staff interviewed minority or female employees where they could be identified by members of the Advisory Committee or other persons in the Omaha community.

The Advisory Committee also requested and received copies of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) compliance agency reports on the 11 employers subject to Executive Order 11246 as amended. In addition, staff interviewed Bennie L. Daugherty, Jr., then the Associate Assistant Regional Director for Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs in Federal Region VII and the staffs of the compliance agencies with offices in Kansas City (GSA-Robert Collins; Defense (DCASMA)—Betty Robinson) on the role of OFCCP and its delegate agencies. There were also telephone calls and letters to and from OFCCP's deputy director in Washington, D.C., discussing the matter. Compliance reports were provided by the Departments of Agriculture, Defense, Treasury, and General Services Administration.

Staff and Advisory Committee members conducted innumerable interviews with community leaders from all segments of the community, officials of the chamber of commerce, the local National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) programs, the local program, the local office of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the U.S. Department of Labor, Nebraska Job Service, school officials, the executive director of the Omaha Hometown Plan, local Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program officials, Omaha Opportunities Industrialization Center, the Omaha departments of human relations and planning, and the Metropolitan Area Planning Authority (the A–95 review agency for the area).

This report begins with a description of the economic setting in Omaha. Two sections follow in which the Advisory Committee discusses what it believes to be the key segments of affirmative action efforts in the Omaha setting—recruitment and career ladder opportunities. The Advisory Committee then examines the role of pre-employment agencies such as the job service, schools, apprenticeship programs, and private agencies such as NAB. To set this information in perspective, the Advisory Committee presents some data on the actual employment of minorities and women by Omaha employers. Finally, the Advisory Committee reviews the efforts of employers, Federal agencies, and community groups to make affirmative action programs work.

¹⁴ A.P. Bockelman, Kellogg Co., Omaha Plant, letter to staff, Mar. 22, 1977.

¹² V.G. Tingwald, Western Electric, Omaha Works, letter to staff, Mar. 22, 1977.

 ¹³ John W. Holman, Pacific Intermountain Express Co., letter to staff, Mar.
 21, 1977.

The Economic Setting

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has asserted that "While progress has been made during the past decade, the current employment situation provides disturbing evidence that members of groups historically victimized by discriminatory practices still carry the burden of that wrongdoing."1 The Nebraska Advisory Committee examines the reasons for the present burden and the extent of that burden in this section of its report.

William Julius Wilson, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, has pointed out:

. . . in many cities it appears that those employment and income problems do not reflect absolute barriers to employment so much as a deficiency of high rate or otherwise preferred employment opportunities. For example, a study of the low-wage labor market in Boston showed that employment in hospitals, hotels, warehouses, building maintenance services, industrial sweatshops, and so forth, is readily available to the disadvantaged. But attractive high-wage employment-jobs which constitute, in the current language of manpower, "meaningful employment opportunities"-were much less accessible.²

At the same time, he also has stated that the location of employment altered:

The problem for the central city is not so much the loss of industry as it is the lack of industrial growth or expansion. . . . Furthermore, the growth of retail and wholesale trade was overwhelmingly located in the suburbs.³

The result has been a shift from blue-collar (physical labor) to white-collar (office type) occupations. The consequence has been expanded opportunities in the central cities in jobs with "higher educational and training requirements than those associated with blue-collar employment. . . . "4 What low-skill jobs remain are "poorly paid, menial, and dead end."5 The extent to which these generalizations on national data apply to Omaha must be examined.

Alden Aust, director of city planning, has pointed out that the opportunities for employment in the city have been transformed by the closing of the packing houses, the decline in rail transportation (both passenger and general), and the arrival in the city of immigrants who were not following employers.6

There has been some expansion of opportunity in downtown Omaha; Northwestern Bell and Northern Natural Gas have expanded their offices. Others have remodeled offices, indicating an intent to remain. The city has instituted a development strategy that discourages location in the suburbs and supports central city development. However, the central city development strategy focuses on the development of service facilities (mainly offices), entertainment, and housing rather than industrial expansion.⁷ Since the 1950s industrial development has moved in a southwesterly direction, following the rail and interstate routes and well away from the center of the city and its minority population.

The movement to the southwest began in the 1950s with the commitment of \$1 million by local business to the Omaha Industrial Foundation. This body purchased cheap land for industrial parks that was attractive for the kind of one-story plants coming

¹ U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Affirmative Action Statement (1977), p.

² W.J. Wilson, The Declining Significance of Race (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1978), p. 96. ³ Ibid., p. 93.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 94-5. 5 Ibid.

⁶ Alden Aust, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978 (hereafter cited as Aust Interview).

⁷ Aust Interview.

into vogue. By 1978 the new sites included 135 employers located at its various sites, 39 of whom were recent tenants of the third and most westerly site.8 Nine other employers, such as Western Electric's large facility and Control Data are also located in the southwestern area. At the present time, this area is the principal location of blue-collar employment.

In partial reparation for this damage to opportunity for blue-collar employment in the central city, Omaha Industrial Foundation, in cooperation with the Federal Economic Development Administration, has developed two industrial parks closer to the central city. One, in the former packing house area on Omaha's southeast side, is slowly acquiring tenants. The other, in northeast Omaha, near the airport and closest to the black community, has made little progress-it has only one tenant so far.9 It will lack efficient road connections into the interstate network for about the next 10 years because planning for these roads has only just begun.¹⁰ Some assert that with one tenant in place the "riverfront park" will expand.¹¹ Others suggest that geological problems-mainly soil composition-and transportation problems will be a barrier for the foreseeable future.¹² Omaha Industrial Foundation disputes this.13

Nebraska Job Service projections of future employment between 1974 and 1985 confirm the patterns of predicted change. The biggest increases in job openings are expected in durable goods manufactures, government, services, communications, utilities, and sanitation. The durable goods manufactures are located in the suburban areas. The remainder, as indicated above, will provide central city employment. The expected openings fall clearly into the twin pattern of high-skill job prospects and low-skill jobs without career ladders.¹⁴ In the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) as a whole, blue-collar jobs are expected to increase by 14 percent, compared to 23 percent for white-collar jobs and 29 percent for service jobs.¹⁵ The Nebraska Job Service reports that the most demand will be for professional, technical, managerial, clerical, sales, and service positions. The last three categories have been reported difficult to fill because they are characterized by low wages and in some cases unfavorable hours.¹⁶

At the present time, despite a low overall unemployment rate, down to 3.7 percent by May 1978,¹⁷ black unemployment remains high. Estimates vary as to how high. Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) program planners estimate black unemployment at 16.3 percent and female unemployment at 7 percent.¹⁸ The Nebraska Urban League, using a formula developed by the National Urban League to include discouraged workers, estimates black unemployment at between 35 and 40 percent.¹⁹ A more impressionistic standard is used by Ruth Thomas, a member of the Omaha school board and a mortician, who reports she can tell black unemployment is high because of the large number of lapsed burial policies and the high number of county-paid funerals.20

Nearly one-fifth (17.8 percent) of the population in Omaha is economically disadvantaged, more than one-third of these are black, and nearly 2 percent are Hispanic.²¹ Black median income, the Nebraska Urban League reports, is half that of whites.²²

That large numbers of minorities and women are available and seeking employment is evident from Nebraska Job Service reports. Ratios of applicants to jobs were as high as 12 to 1.23 As of April 30, 1978, 41.0 percent of those applying or renewing applications to the service offices in Omaha SMSA were female and 26 percent were from minority groups (4,536), most of whom were black (3,995).²⁴ Of the minority applicants, 7.1 percent applied for professional, technical, or managerial jobs; 13 percent for clerical jobs, 2.2 percent for sale jobs; 0.9 percent for domestic work; 25.2 percent for other service jobs; 5.8 percent for processing jobs; 3 percent for

⁸ Omaha Industrial Foundation, 25th Annual Report, p. 3 and tables provided by OIF.

Aust Interview.

¹⁰ Dave Shriner, executive director of MAPA, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978. 11 Aust Interview.

¹² Keith Carter, executive vice president of the chamber of commerce, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

¹³ Merle C. Newquist, OIF, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978.

 ¹⁴ City of Omaha, CETA Report (1978) (Apr. 27, 1978), table 10 (hereafter cited as CETA Report (1978)).
 ¹⁵ Ibid., table 11.

 ¹⁶ Ibid. p. 18.
 ¹⁷ LAUS program, Unemployment Ratio and UI (unemployment insurance) Data, May 1978.

¹⁸ CETA Report (1978), table 13.

¹⁹ Nebraska Urban League, State of Black Omaha-1978, p. 10. This formula includes those not in the labor force and 46 percent of those working part time but seeking full-time employment in addition to the unadjusted unemployment data.

²⁰ Ruth Thomas, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978.

²¹ CETA Report (1978), pp. 15-16.

²² Nebraska Urban League, State of Black Omaha-1978, p. 13.

²³ CETA Report (1978), p. 18.

²⁴ ESARS (Employment Service Automation Reporting System), Apr. 30, 1978, table 6. In another report the local job service states that 30.3 percent of its average daily traffic is nonwhite (Charles Olsen, memo to managers, May 2, 1978.)

machine trades; 4.7 percent for benchwork; 6.7 percent for structural work; 13.5 percent for transportation and related jobs. Even higher proportions of women were applying in the white-collar job categories.²⁵ Schools, colleges, and various training programs, such as CETA are graduating large numbers of minorities and women who are qualified potential workers but not yet counted by the job service. Discouraged workers would enter the job market if they thought jobs were available. Still others would enter if they thought jobs would be more profitable than housework or their present partial employment.

Some persons, however, note that jobs are available. The president of the Omaha Jaycees told the Commission staff that jobs are available for anyone who wants to work, although not necessarily jobs they would want.²⁶ Professor Wilson asserts that black males, like all males in American society, are reluctant to take jobs that are demeaning, and will provide too little income to support themselves, a wife, and children. Yet it is these jobs that are readily available to the unskilled and rightly discouraged unemployed.27

Others state that opportunities for black job seekers in Omaha may well be limited. Ruth Jackson, director of the Omaha Department of Human Relations, points to her own hiring efforts as indicative of a large pool of available black jobseekers. She states that despite the efforts of Omaha employers, when the job market is tight minorities and women tend to get overlooked.28 Stanford Lipsey, publisher of the Sun newspapers, reported his impression that there has been a retrenchment among major employers that has affected opportunities.²⁹ Joe Ramirez, director of the Omaha Hometown Plan, said that some construction unions, such as the plumbers, have not taken new apprentices in 2 years.³⁰ A spokesman for the National Alliance of Businessmen, an organization that seeks to place the disadvantaged, noted that NAB could place 25 black males with high school degrees if it had openings. Where once it had an extensive roster of jobs, now it has a more extensive roster of jobseekers.³¹

As one black middle manager reported, "Things are worse now than 5 years ago because while more minorities have become available additional jobs have not."32 Some of the community leaders interviewed by the Commission staff reported that entrylevel jobs could be obtained, others disagreed. Roger Sayers, of Union Pacific, asserted that opportunities for blacks in middle management were not being made available.33

Similar findings have been reported about women. The Nebraska Commission on the Status of Women in its report, Profile of Nebraska Women in Employment (1977), concludes on the basis of a Nebraskawide sample that in the business sector there are disparities in the kinds of jobs women hold and the salaries they receive in comparison to men. They report similar patterns in community action agencies, the University of Nebraska, and State government.³⁴

It is in this setting of restricted job opportunity that the Nebraska Advisory Committee reviewed the effect and effectiveness of affirmative action efforts by Omaha private employers.

34 Nebraska Commission on the Status of Women, Profile of Nebraska Women in Employment (Lincoln: NCSW, 1977), pp. 98-99.

²⁵ ESARS, Apr. 30, 1978, table 96.

²⁶ Douglas Perry, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978.

W.J. Wilson, The Declining Significance of Race, p. 107.
 Ruth Jackson, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978.

²⁹ Stanford Lipsey, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978.

³⁰ Joe Ramirez, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

³¹ Robert Neito, NAB, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978.

³² Mike Green, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978.

³³ Roger Sayers, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978.

Recruitment

Professor William Julius Wilson of the University of Chicago has questioned whether affirmative action does benefit all black workers. He asserts that:

Affirmative action programs had little impact in situations where labor supply is greater than labor demand (this is the case with the higher paying blue-collar jobs of the corporate sector in which employment opportunities for lesser trained and experienced blacks have significantly decreased due to the increase of labor saving technology and the effective efforts of unions in protecting the remaining jobs for the nuclear (that is, existing) work force).

On the other hand, affirmative action programs have benefited those blacks who are able to qualify for the expanding white-collar salaried positions in the corporate sector, positions that have higher educational and training requirements than those associated with blue-collar employment. \ldots ¹

In this chapter, the opinions of some black community leaders in Omaha who believe that employers do not want to hire blacks are recounted, and the efforts reported by Omaha employers to recruit minorities and women are summarized. Complaints by black employees about the extent of efforts to recruit at entry level and at middle management are then reviewed. The alternate means of entry into the employed labor force, via apprenticeship and training, are evaluated by participants. The Advisory Committee summarizes some of the suggestions presented to it that would result in improved recruitment. Finally, the Advisory Committee presents data on the extent to which the concentration of employment opportunities in southwestern Omaha has limited recruitment effectiveness.

One person who knows "the street" asserted that some of Omaha's black males feel that if they cannot get a job the first or second time they stop trying and give up hope. He added "The average black on the street wants a job but the system has closed the door."² Aletha Gray of the city's department of human relations stated that with some exceptions, overall no employers in Omaha are really recruiting minorities.3 William Moore, director of the Community Equity Corporation of Nebraska, an economic development corporation in Omaha, believes that white males with hiring authority are hiring white females rather than minorities because they feel more comfortable with the white female.⁴ A school official, familiar with employer hiring practices, asserted that there had been a roller coaster in affirmative action. First blacks were discriminated against, then there was reverse discrimination, now recruitment is evenhanded.⁵ In short, the extent to which minorities and perhaps women are sought out for employment remains unclear.

The employers interviewed report a wide range of efforts to recruit minorities and women. These efforts are summarized in tables 3.1 and 3.2. The plans suggest that the employers are making comprehensive efforts to reach minorities and women and to hire them. Several companies are particularly proud of their efforts. ConAgra reported that it has placed women in professional positions.⁶ Northern Natural

¹ W.J. Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978), p. 100.

² Ed Lewis, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

³ Aletha Gray, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

⁴ William Moore, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978.

⁵ John Peace and John Sheldon, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978 (hereafter cited as Peace-Sheldon Interview).

⁶ David Pederson, interview in Omaha, June 22, 1977.

Gas reported that it had been able to find minorities and women for positions at all levels.⁷ Union Pacific is proud of its welders, recruited from Opportunities Industrialization Center's (OIC) CETA training program.⁸ Creighton-St. Joseph Hospital officials told the Advisory Committee that it viewed the hiring of a black employment counselor as "a definite message to our supervisors and applicants that the hospital was committed to non-discrimination and that minority applicants were welcome."⁹

The perspectives of these employers' workers are rather different. One Northern Natural Gas employee commented that the number of minorities hired decreased in the past 2 1/2 years compared to earlier years. That person noted that it is hard for minorities to get jobs if they are not "superstars."¹⁰ Another employee of the company noted that part of the problem was that supervisors had been satisfied if they merely replaced minorities who left or were transferred, rather than seeking out more. Moreover, he pointed out, there is no unified, companywide recruitment effort. Each unit does its own recruitment searches.¹¹ A former ConAgra employee pointed out that the company does not really seek out minorities-even for clerical or secretarial positions, although there have been a few placements from Omaha Opportunities Industrialization Center. He blamed this on the reluctance of middle managers to make any effort to find and hire minorities.12 Representatives of the Nebraska Urban League noted that although ConAgra advertises in the papers, it does not send job notices to the Urban League, which maintains a referral service.¹³ Roger Sayers of Union Pacific (UP) pointed out that in the past blacks did not seek jobs at his company because it was perceived to discriminate. While UP has changed its posture and become active in the community, Mr. Sayers noted that the company still had not begun a public relations campaign in the city to inform everyone of its changed attitudes and practices.14

- * J.A. Porter, interview in Omaha, June 22, 1977.
- ⁹ C. Stuart Bell, letter to Michael B. Adams, Feb. 28, 1978.
- ¹⁰ Interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978.
- ¹¹ Buddy Hogan, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

Describing his efforts to find entry-level people, Mr. Sayers noted that the minorities applying for secretarial posts could not meet his company standards. There had been talk of hiring lesser qualified persons and providing on-the-job training, but no decision had been made. At the time of the interview, Mr. Sayers was looking for a qualified black secretary and had been unable to find one.¹⁵ Omaha National Bank, on the other hand, hired many clerical workers from OIC.¹⁶

At the time employers were interviewed in Omaha, most relied on walk-in applicants for lower-level openings. The court found in *Parnham v. Southwestern Bell Telephone Co.* ¹⁷ that such a reliance in that instance had a discriminatory effect. Such decisions, the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals held, must be made on a case by case basis.

School personnel blamed some of the lack of "qualified" applicants on the employers. They stated that if employers coordinated better with the schools, students could be taught what they needed to be acceptable.¹⁸

Several of the company personnel officers interviewed complained that they have a hard time finding qualified technical people. One minority middle manager noted that minorities are not available because there had not been encouragement for minorities to go into business occupations, but business has said that it will not hire minorities because none are available. He viewed this as a Catch-22.19 Roger Sayers of Union Pacific reported that he is not aware of any company in Omaha that put forth a real effort to hire minorities and women in middle- and upper-management positions, although he noted that some companies have brought blacks in from outside Omaha for such posts. He concluded, "There is an obvious void in Omaha for blacks in other than entry-level positions." He noted that at his own company they use word-of-mouth

Donn W. Jones and Leon L. Lewis III, both social service specialists with the Urban League came to my office on April 10, 1978, and we discussed and placed two professional job openings with them—one for an internal auditor and one for a programmer. Our plans are to continue to place job openings with the Urban League.

David L. Pederson, letter to staff, Aug. 23, 1978.

¹⁴ Roger Sayers, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978 (hereafter cited as Sayers Interview).

- 15 Sayers Interview.
- ¹⁶ Mike Green, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978 (hereafter cited as Green Interview).
- 17 Parnham v. Southwestern Bell Telephone Co. (433 F.2d 421).
- ¹⁸ Peace-Sheldon Interview.
- ¹⁹ Green Interview.

⁷ J.M. McClymond, interview in Omaha, June 22, 1977.

¹² Ken Young, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978 (hereafter cited as Young Interview).

¹³ Nebraska Urban League officials, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978; ConAgra has commented:

We feel that a statement made by representatives of the Nebraska Urban League reading "that while ConAgra advertised in papers it does not send job notices to the Urban League" is incorrect. Attached are correspondences dated March 30, 1978, and May 15, 1978, regarding our placing job openings with the Urban League. Mr.

TABLE 3.1

Facilities with Affirmative Action Plans to Address the Problem of Recruitment of Minorities and Women (Compared to Model Standards)

	Boys Town	ConAgra	Control Data	Falstaff Brewing Corp.	Northern Natural Gas	Omaha National Bank	Union Pacific	Western Electric (serv. fac.)
 Identify extent of labor force pool that is from the protected classes by functions and skills capacities. Identify groups able to assist in 	x	x	х	*	x	х	Y	x
recruitment of persons from the affected classes.	х	х	х	х	Y	х	Y	x
 Establish contact with the identified groups on a regular and ongoing basis. 	х	х	х	х	Y	х	Y	Х
 Ensure that they are informed of all job vacancies. 	Х	Y	х	х	Y	х	Y	х
 Make special effort to inform groups of job vacancies targeted for protected classes. Recruitment procedures to minimize the 	*	x	х	x	Y	x	Y	x
proportion of candidates who are walk- ins.	*	z	*	*	*	*	*	*
 Recruitment procedures ensure checks on applicant flow. 	х	Z	х	Х	Х	Х	Y	x

Notes: X=Employer had plans that meet the standard. Y=Employer's plans to meet the standard were not specific. Z=Employer reported affirmative action to meet the standard that was not discussed in the plan. * =No action reported.

Source: Affirmative action plans supplied by employees, on file in CSRO

TABLE 3.2

Facilities with Affirmative Action Plans to Address the Problem of Entry Level Barriers (Compared to Model Standards)

	Boys Town	ConAgra	Control Data	Falstaff Brewing Corp.	Northern Natural Gas	Omaha National Bank	Union Pacific	Western Electric (serv. fac.)
 Revise recruitment procedures to eliminate blockages such as hostility to affected classes, real or perceived. Eliminate questions from application 	x	x	х	x	*	х	x	x
forms that are improper or illegal. Train supervisory staff not to ask improper or illegal questions during oral interviews. 3. Ensure valid testing procedures using	x	x	x	*	х	x	Y	х
criterion validation procedures where possible, content validation where criterion is not possible.	Y	x	Y	*	Y	Y	Y	Y
 Ensure job specifications are the minimum required. 	х	х	х	*	*	Y	*	Y

Notes: X = Employer had plans that meet the standard. Y = Employer's plan to meet the standard were not specific. Z = Employer reported affirmative action to meet the standard that was not discussed in the plan. * = No action reported.

Armour and the two hospitals had no plans. The latter noted they had never been asked to develop plans.

Source: Affirmative action plans supplied by the employees, on file in CSRO

within the industry as a principal means of finding middle and upper managers.²⁰ The Advisory Committee was told that ConAgra does not seek blacks at the black colleges in the South that specialize in agriculture.²¹ Omaha National Bank reportedly has not hired a minority with a degree recently and is making no recruitment efforts.²²

One minority person working at Northern Natural Gas complained that, although the company's advance hire program had been used in the past to bring qualified minorities into the company and later find specific slots for them, the program is now being used primarily to bring in white females.²³ This employee noted that hiring is done by the line supervisors, not all of whom want to hire blacks. Indeed, in the past the engineering department had used Asian Americans to meet its goals for new minority hiring. This pattern has reportedly begun to change.²⁴

The manager of Omaha's minority oriented radio station pointed out that although the Nebraska Job Service does use KOWH to advertise, most of the big companies do not.²⁵ Mid-City Business and Professional Association noted that only the radio, TV stations, and Mutual of Omaha send job announcements to them.²⁶ United Indians of Nebraska reported that it gets job announcements from the major companies, but most of the positions are very technical or require a lot more skills than its clients possess.²⁷ The Urban League reported it had not yet gotten complete cooperation from all the major employers.²⁸

An alternate entry point for workers is the apprenticeship programs administered by the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. The director of the Omaha Hometown Plan, an organization that monitors affirmative action efforts in the construction industry, reported that there is no outreach effort in Omaha comparable to the Urban League's LEAP (Labor Education Advancement Program) program in Kansas City. But, he noted, the shortage of jobs

- Robert Taylor
- Judy Zaiman

would render useless any recruitment. The local representative of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training noted that crafts with more academic requirements, such as the electricians and plumbers, make entry more difficult for minorities and women because of the educational requirement. He noted that employers were finding that "all kinds," regardless of race, were leaving schools without basic motor and academic capabilities.²⁹

Another point of entry into the world of work is the CETA Title I training program. Nearly 60 percent (1,097 out of 1,874) of the enrollees are black. Yet the proportion of blacks who found jobs after participating in the program was nearly 13 percent less than the proportion of whites (382 blacks found employment out of 714 terminated as did 250 whites out of 409).³⁰

For professional jobs, employers can use the placement services of the two major universities, Creighton and the University of Nebraska-Omaha. Neither reported any discrimination for or against minorities and women by recruiters. Both reported an active interest in minorities and women, "if they are qualified."³¹ Metropolitan Area Technical College reported a similar pattern for its semiskilled graduates.³²

One knowledgeable observer suggested that part of the difficulty for minorities is that employers' personnel offices are located where the plants are mainly in southwestern Omaha rather than downtown near the concentration of minorities in northwestern Omaha.³³ Keith Donalds, manager of KOWH, argued that the community and employers must seek out each other. Mr. Donalds contended that blacks tend not to be aggressive in seeking jobs so that the business community should accommodate its recruitment practices to their reticence.³⁴ Ed Mims, head of the local Nebraska Equal Employment Opportunity office, concluded that the compa-

- 30 City of Omaha, 2nd Quarterly Report, FY 1978, CETA Program, Title 1.
- ³¹ Earl E. Winters, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978; and D.L.
- Warrington, interview in Omaha, May 15, 1978.

²⁰ Sayers Interview.

²¹ Young Interview.

²² Green Interview; Omaha National Bank commented:

The Omaha National Bank is constantly in search of minorities with college degrees. Listed below are the latest degreed minorities hired by The Omaha National Bank. NAME

Shelly Holbert

Vinod Singh

Donald D. Adams, letter to Michael Adams, Chair, Nebraska Advisory Committee, Aug. 16, 1978.

²³ Jo Ann Moncondvit, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

²⁴ Ibid., and other interview, week of May 15, 1978.

²⁵ Keith Donalds, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978 (hereafter cited as Donalds Interview).

²⁶ Al Grice, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

²⁷ Jan Searcy, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978.

²⁸ Tal Owens and others, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978.

²⁹ Gene Staberg, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

³² Darrell Vandermuelen, interview in Omaha, May 15, 1978.

³³ Peace-Sheldon Interview.

³⁴ Donalds Interview.

nies in Omaha simply have not put forth a real effort to recruit minorities.³⁵

One problem for many employers' recruitment efforts may be the location of the work site. The manager of KOWH and the head of the OIC both argue that transportation is not a factor which should significantly limit blacks' opportunities. One leader noted that there is bus transportation and car pooling to the southwest site, but blacks do not consider contacting companies in that area because they assume that if a company has located in the southwest it practices discrimination.³⁶ Other leaders, such as William Moore of Community Equity Corportion, Lawrence McVoy of the NAACP, and Cornell Deason of the Omaha Public Schools, have argued that transportation is indeed a deterrent to employment. Alden Aust, director of the Omaha department of city development, noted that after "Watts" there was money to subsidize bus transportation from minority areas to the southwest. But following careful study, he reported, it was found that minorities rode the buses for one to three pay periods and then either got a car or carpooled. In the light of that, the buses were abandoned. Now, he reports, MTA (Metropolitan Transit Authority) is attempting to provide service between the two

- ³⁶ Robert Armstrong, interview in Omaha, May 15, 1978.
- ³⁷ Alden Aust, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978.

areas-however not too successfully.37 A review of the transportation data at Metropolitan Area Planning Authority shows that there are no express buses from the black community to the southwest. To get there by bus blacks would have to transfer downtown. This, it was estimated, would take about 1 hour, as against 20 minutes by car. (Data provided by MAPA shows that there is a correlation between census tracts with high proportions of the unemployed and those with a high proportion of families lacking a car.) Hispanic population centers, however, are on the main express bus routes to the southwest.³⁸ One observer noted that although the movement of industry to the western part of the city hurts minorities, it increased the opportunity for white females, many of whom would not have considered employment in the downtown area.39

In short, the employers take an optimistic view of their efforts and accomplishments by comparison with the community perspectives. Some have made tangible efforts, whether in practice or on paper. But from the perspective of the minority community, much remains to be done before private employer recruitment efforts will appear sincere enough to merit response.

- ³⁸ Metropolitan Area Planning Association, data, in CSRO files.
- ³⁹ Field trip, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978.

³⁵ Ed Mims, interview in Omaha, May 15, 1978.

The Chance to Succeed: Upward Mobility

Professor Wilson of the University of Chicago has pointed out in his book:

Although the changes in the black occupational structure since 1940 quite clearly show a consistent pattern of job upgrading, there are firm indications. . .that. . .the chances of continued economic improvement for the black poor are rapidly decreasing.¹

He has also pointed out that, although a substantial proportion of blacks are entering white-collar and skilled crafts, this movement is not matched by an equal movement of blacks out of service and other dead end occupations.²

The key to movement for all workers is the development of career ladders through which a worker can expect to move from entry-level, unskilled jobs into jobs that are both financially and psychologically more satisfying. If minorities and women are concentrated in jobs that are not on career ladders, the courts, the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), or the Office of Federal Contact Compliance Programs (OFCCP) may require a remedy. In this chapter, the Advisory Committee examines the extent of employers' efforts to create career ladders and summarizes the steps employers reported. It reviews complaints by black employees and leaders in the black community that such efforts are either nonexistent or inadequate. Finally, the Committee reviews some of the suggestions it received on possible improvements in the career laddering effort.

The Omaha staff of the Nebraska Equal Opportunity Commission (NEOC) reported that the principal obstacle to effective affirmative action in Omaha is the absence, in most companies, of genuine opportunity for upward mobility. NEOC staff believes that some companies, such as Union Pacific, have made real efforts to provide upward mobility (mitigated by some retreat from career ladders), but other companies are seen as employing "token blacks."³ Table 4.1 shows the efforts reported by Omaha employers to provide upward mobility. By and large, these efforts are being offered only by employers with expanding work forces.

Personnel officers at nonunion facilities, such as Control Data, suggested that they have more freedom to promote minorities and women than employers whose promotion policies are restricted by contractual seniority rules. The Omaha National Bank reported it has extensive career ladders for movement within its middle range. Other employers indicated that seniority rules limit what they can do. Employers, such as ConAgra, claimed to keep lists of qualified minorities and female employees to help identify candidates for upward mobility.⁴

The hospitals are a special case. Hospital administrators pointed out that lower-level patient care staff, such as nurses aides, develop considerable expertise, but cannot become licensed or registered nurses (LPN or RN) because academic training in addition to experience are included by the professional associations in their minimum standards.⁵

One observer of the labor market reported that it is usually not difficult for blacks to obtain entry-level jobs. But movement upward takes 5 to 7 years in

 ¹ W.J. Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978), pp. 129–30.
 ² Ibid., p. 130.

³ Ed Mims, interview in Omaha, May 15, 1978.

⁴ Dave Pederson, interview in Omaha, June 23, 1977.

⁵ Sam Mazzuca, interview in Omaha, June 23, 1977.

TABLE 4.1

Planned Efforts by Omaha Employers to Provide Career Ladder Opportunities (Compared to Model Standards)

	Boys Town	ConAgra	Control Data	Falstaff Brewing Corp.	Northern Natural Gas	Omaha National Bank	Union Pacific	Western Electric (serv. fac.)
 Identify barriers, both formal and informal. Identify requirements and procedures for 	х	x	x	*	x	*	×	*
 a consideration and proceedures for upward mobility. To what extent do improper considerations affect upward mobility? Can alternate procedures be devised. (Ensure that a single factor or factors which adversely affect protected classes does not dominate upward mobility 	x	x	Х	*	x	Y	*	*
 selections.) 4. Ensure that affected classes get promoted proportionately to their share of the work force of the employer, both by order to supervisory personnel and by 	х	Z	Х	*	*	*	*	Y
 establishing a tracking procedure. 5. Identify present affected class employees qualified for upward mobility and ensure that such employees are considered first 	x	Z	х	*	х	X	*	x
 when openings become available. 6. Establish career ladder patterns that ensure opportunities for upward mobility by use of clustering and natural 	х	х	х	*	х	Х	*	*
progressions.	х	Z	х	*	х	х	*	Z
Establish patterns that prevent deadending.	х	z	*	*	х	*	*	*

Notes: X = employer had plans that meet the standard. Y = employer's plans to meet the standard were not specific. Z = employer reported affirmative action to meet the standard that was not discussed in the plan. * = No action reported.

Source: Affirmative action plans supplied by the employers, on file in CSRO.

most industries, which is why there are so few blacks in the middle ranks.⁶ Many employers rely on "job posting" as a means to encourage upward movement without establishing any formal career ladders. For example, C. Stuart Bell, formerly of Creighton-St. Joseph Hospital, reported that job posting is used at Creighton-St. Joseph to promote upward mobility.⁷ A worker at Union Pacific reported that he had moved from mail clerk to freight claims investigator precisely by taking advantage of posted job openings. He was satisfied with the opportunities for advancement.⁸

But many black middle managers are less than enthusiastic. One reported that opportunity to compete on equal terms for career advancement is limited. He stated that there is a general sense among his fellow minority employees that they will not be allowed to move into senior jobs.9 Another employee noted that although there are many blacks in entrylevel slots, they are not moving upward. On-the-job training positions are being filled by young whites, mostly male. She believes this is due to a lack of commitment to affirmative action by some supervisors.¹⁰ At Northern Natural Gas, the Commission staff was told by an observer that minorities in entrylevel positions are blocked because their supervisors will not promote them ahead of whites in their units if the whites have been there longer. The consequence, it was reported, is unequal salary and

- ⁷ C. Stuart Bell, letter to Michael B. Adams, Feb. 28, 1978.
- * Terry Abram, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

l am sure that Mr. Green's comments must have been directed toward the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area and not The Omaha National Bank, although he does use the term "fellow employee." At the time of Mr. Green's interview, The Omaha National Bank had three minority officers in various areas of the bank. promotional opportunities. It was also difficult for minorities to obtain senior jobs if all the candidates are highly qualified and, thus, making it easier to justify passing over the minority applicant.¹¹

The key to upward mobility, several observers believe, is in the employer's personnel office. Ms. Bernice Dodd, director of Omaha Opportunities Industrialization Center, noted that although minorities in personnel would facilitate upward mobility for other minorities, blacks have been reluctant to apply for such jobs.¹² Keith Donalds believes that not only is it necessary for blacks to be in personnel units, but also that employers should invest in training in the same way they invest in other raw materials they require.¹³

Most Omaha employers interviewed and many community leaders agreed that middle and upper managers in most Omaha companies are usually promoted from within the company, although not necessarily from its Omaha facility.¹⁴ So long as this situation remains, the opportunities for minorities and women to move into middle management will depend upon affirmative efforts in career laddering. Many employers indicated steps they have taken to promote career ladder opportunities for minorities and women. The minority community, however, remains unconvinced that these efforts can be effective without further effort.

Management Training Program over the past two years. The following is a breakdown of these individuals:

- 2 white males
- 1 white female
- 1 minority female

In addition The Omaha National Bank is currently developing a work/study program with The University of Nebraska at Omaha to employ minority students throughout their junior and senior years of college. The Omaha National Bank will pay all tuition expenses of these individuals and, in addition, pay an attractive salary.

- Donald D. Adams, letter to Michael B. Adams, Aug. 16, 1978.
- 11 Field trip, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978.
- ¹² Bernice Dodd, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978; see also Armstrong Interview.
- ¹³ Keith Donalds, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978.
- 14 See: Charles Lane, interview in Omaha, May 11, 1977.

⁶ Robert Armstrong, interview in Omaha, May 15, 1978 (hereafter cited as Armstrong Interview). This situation occurs because there were so few black and female middle managers hired in the middle-late 1960s.

⁹ Mike Green, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978; the Omaha National Bank commented:

Donald D. Adams, letter to Michael B. Adams, Aug. 16, 1978.

¹⁰ Shirley Jordan interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978; Omaha National Bank commented:

The Omaha National Bank has hired four individuals into our

The Affirmative Action Posture of Omaha Private Employers

Again and again the Advisory Committee was told by minority spokespersons that most employers in the Omaha area are doing the minimum to meet their affirmative action obligations. George Dean, executive director of the Nebraska Urban League, asserted that local employers must increase their commitment, both verbal and in resources.¹ Ruth Thomas argued that employers make efforts only in proportion to the pressure applied to them.² The president of the Omaha Jaycees, proud of the efforts of his own employer (Northwestern Bell), stated that not many other companies are making the same type of commitment.3

In this chapter, the Advisory Committee reviews the extent of employer commitment to affirmative action. The development of goals and timetables and the monitoring mechanisms used by employers to ensure that their programs are successful are examined. What employers say they do is compared with what their employees and the community reported.

A theme that is common in many of the interviews with both employees and employment specialists is their ignorance of the nature of any employer's affirmative action commitments. Many of the companies evidently fail to outline to their employees what efforts they are undertaking to rectify any effects of past discrimination, in particular to recruit and promote minorities and women.

With the notable exception of Falstaff, the eight employers who had affirmative action plans have made comprehensive efforts to examine their work force in comparison to the area labor force and determine whether and where underutilization exists

(i.e., in each job group (that is, each job within each EEOC job category) whether minorities and women are a smaller proportion of the firm's work force than of the area total labor force). Boys Town was just beginning to undertake this effort. The most common deficiency is the absence of plans to develop entry-level roles that might be used to hire the economically disadvantaged minorities and women yet fill a significant need by the employers. The extent of the efforts to analyze the problems and set goals and timetables are indicated in table 5.1. These goals must be realistic. They must reflect differences in availability for each job skill—not merely each job category. For example, while in many professions minorities and women are a small proportion of those available, in others, they are a substantial proportion.

All employers indicated they have plans to evaluate the effectiveness of their affirmative action efforts, as table 5.2 shows. The extent of actual effort is another matter. Union Pacific reported that it would not begin its evaluation until the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) audit (in process during spring 1977) was completed.⁴ Some companies, such as Falstaff, reported there is little to evaluate since turnover has been low.⁵ The other companies studied reported fairly comprehensive efforts, reflected in their affirmative action plan statements, to identify problems and suggest corrective measures as to overall goals and timetables. Both hospitals studied lacked affirmative action plans. But one, Creighton-St. Joseph, reported its attempts to

¹ George Dean, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978.

 ² Ruth Thomas, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978.
 ³ Douglas Perry, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978.

⁴ J.A. Porter, interview in Omaha, June 22, 1977.

⁵ Richard Smith, interview in Omaha, June 22, 1977.

TABLE 5.1

A Comparison of Planned Underutilization Studies by Employers to Model Standards

Technique	Boys Town	ConAgra	Control Data	Falstaff Brewing Corp.	Northern Natural Gas	Omaha National Bank	Union Pacific	Western Electric (serv. fac.)
 Obtain information on available labor force from the State job service and elsewhere. Determine racial and sex composition of each subunit of the employer. If there is a large number of employees, determine within each subunit by job category. 	x	x	x	×	x	x	x	x
Determine for both the rank and salary held. 3. Compare the data obtained in 2 with that in 1. Are there obvious disparities? Is	х	x	x	·	x	х	Y	х
there underutilization within any group analyzed?	х	х	х	*	х	х	Y	х
 If there is underutilization: a. analyze what the causes are; 	х	х	х	*	х	z	Y	*
 b. set long term goals based upon elimination of the underutilization; c. set short term goals based upon expected vacancies and the availability of persons to fill those vacancies—as indicated by the State ich carries and 	x	x	х	*	x	x	Y	х
indicated by the State job service and other sources;	х	х	х	х	х	х	х	Х
 d. determine what actions might be taken that would reduce underutilization. 5. Are their entry level roles requirements appropriate? Could they be pitched lower? Could jobs be divided to create two entry level roles at lower level than now postulated? Would restructuring benefit both the agency and underutilized 	x	х	x	x	x	Y	Y	х
classes? If so, plan to restucture jobs.	Х	Z	Х	*	*	*	•	•

Notes: X = Employer had plans that meet the standards. Y = Employer's plans to meet the standard were not specific. Z = Employer reported affirmative action to meet the standard that was not discussed in the plan.

* = No action reported.

The Boys Town plan differed from the others in that it was a comprehensive first effort. It identified what would be done rather than what had been done.

17 Source: Affirmative action plans provided by employers, on file in CSRO monitor new hires to ensure that they broadly reflect the labor force.

OFCCP reviews of the affirmative action programs, in addition to identifying the absence of any plan at Armour, show that at the time of the reviews some firms had inadequate goals and timetables or had made inadequate efforts to implement a program for change. But these deficiencies would be legally acceptable to OFCCP. Some employers had not even adequately notified minority and women's groups that they were an equal opportunity employer.⁶

The former director of personnel at Creighton-St. Joseph Hospital noted a key problem for employers wishing to develop meaningful goals and timetables:

First, a major hindrance to employers is not having good labor force statistics against which to compare their situation so that they can evaluate their successes and failures. No single employer can afford the investment required to gather this essential data which would include (for hospitals) such information as: the number of minority RN's in the Omaha area, the number of minority LPN's and so on throughout the many health careers which have legal (not artificial) minimum qualifications. The vast resources available in governmental agencies could surely be brought together to provide this vital information for employers. Meaningful targets cannot be established by you [the Advisory Committee] nor the employer without such data.

The second area of support would be assistance in preparing the documents to satify government contracting agencies. This assistance should be provided on an individual employer basis or at least by SMSA [Metropolitan Area]. Further, to be used by the employer the assistance group must be completely separate from any enforcement group so that the employer can "open his files" without liability of actions being filed against him.⁷

The biggest companies did purchase the kind of statistical assistance Mr. Bell suggests is needed.⁸

The following statements are typical of the views expressed by employees regarding the affirmative action efforts of their employers. Roger Sayers of Union Pacific (UP), noted that increased monitoring by OFCCP and a statement indicating increased commitment by UP's chief executive would lead to an increase in his company's efforts. He said the company does conduct followup reviews to determine the status of new minority or female employees.⁹ A line worker at UP noted that there had been a significant increase in the proportion of minorities and increased scattering of minorities around the various parts of the company.¹⁰

Some employees at Northern Natural Gas (NNG) complained that there had been too little attention to blockages in the affirmative action process. To remedy this, the corporate president established a black advisory committee that meets with him quarterly to discuss all aspects of the program and its implementation. A similar group has been established for women. Most recently, the committee has been concerned by the high rate of turnover among black workers.¹¹

Among the other positive steps noted by NNG employees is the bonus paid to supervisors who meet or exceed their affirmative action goals in each category of protected class, rather than an overall goal as had been previously the case. NNG employees generally felt that the company is doing a good job with affirmative action but that more remains to be done, especially in gaining acceptance of affirmative action by middle managers with hiring authority.¹²

A former ConAgra employee noted that both the president and vice president of that company have made appropriate statements in support of affirmative action, but that the message has never been accepted by middle managers. This employee noted that only in the last $1-1 \ 1/2$ years has the company made public its commitment to affirmative action through scholarship funds and contributions to local minority-oriented agencies. He noted that the company is now redrafting its affirmative action plan. He believes the new plan will be far more effective than its predecessor.¹³

A harsher impression of affirmative action efforts was obtained from a group of 10 black and white leaders in the Omaha community who were asked to rank the affirmative action efforts of all 59 major employers as good, bad, or in between. Only 12

¹³ Ken Young, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978.

⁶ Data from the Department of Agriculture, General Services Administration, Department of Defense, and the Treasury, in CSRO files.

⁷ C. Stuart Bell, formerly of Creighton-St. Joseph Hospital, letter to Michael B. Adams, Feb. 28, 1978.

^{*} See, for example, Control Data Corporation's program for which labor force estimates were prepared by a private consulting group.

⁹ Roger Sayers, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978.

¹⁰ Terry Abram, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

¹¹ Jo Ann Moncondvit, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978; A.B. Hogan, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978.

¹² Field trip, interview in Omaha, week of May 15, 1978.

TABLE 5.2

Evaluation Efforts Undertaken by Omaha Facilities to Implement Affirmative Action Plans (Compared to Model Standards)

	Boys Town	ConAgra	Control Data	Falstaff Brewing Corp.	Northern Natural Gas	Omaha National Bank	Union Pacific	Western Electric (serv. fac.)
 Devise an evaluation strategy that will adequately monitor all aspects of the affirmative action program including such vehicles as counts of minority and female employees, measures of change as well as measures that quantify the pace of change. Records should be kept of all job applicants, the impact of different phases 	X	x	x	x	x	х	Y	x
in the recruitment process, the impact of onjob experience, and promotional opportunities afforded persons in protected classes. 3. Qualitative reviews should also be undertaken to assess what might be done	x	X	x	x	x	x	Y Y	x x
to improve performance.	Х	Z	х	Х	Y	Х	Y	^

Notes: X = Employer had plans that meet the standard. Y = Employer's plans to meet the standard were not specific. Z = Employer took affirmative action that was not discussed in the plan.

Source: Affirmative action plans supplied by the employers, on file in CSRO.

companies were ranked as good, 13 were ranked as bad, and the rest were found in between. None of the companies won the unanimous praise of all 10 reviewers. Indeed, only one company won praise from more than half the group for making a good effort.¹⁴ Many of the leaders, selected for their knowledge of affirmative action and the business community, knew little about the activities of the bulk of the 59 employers.

All but one of the employers studied hold Federal contracts that make them subject to OFCCP review and reporting requirements. Much of the data and evaluative effort studied here is required as a condition of continued eligibility for Federal contracts. It should, therefore, not be surprising that most of these employers had documents to show what they did. Despite contract compliance reviews and other measures, employees and community leaders still could find fault with the extent of the efforts. The problem one contract compliance officer states, has been that minority and female organizations have been lax in identifying real contract compliance agencies and employers.¹⁵

¹⁵ Betty Robinson, interview in Independence, Mo., Sept. 12, 1978.

¹⁴ Data in CSRO files.

The Role of the Pre-Entry Agencies: CETA, Omaha OIC, the Omaha Public Schools, the Local Colleges, and Nebraska Job Service

One of the obstacles facing minorities and women is the increasing level of education required for participation in the work force. The Advisory Committee sought to determine the extent to which various educational institutions contributed to the success of minorities and women in the labor market. What they found was a remarkable absence of data (except in the CETA program) on the success of educational bodies in placing minorities and women. The bulk of this chapter thus focuses on the kinds of activities undertaken and subjective measures of success.

Omaha Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) is a black-managed training facility supported by the business community. It holds a subcontract from the local CETA program. OIC provides training in welding, machine tools, bookkeeping, accounting, retail sales, key punch, blueprint reading, food service, nurses aide, entry-level clerical skills, merchandising and retailing, machine trades, and bank teller.¹ According to the CETA program application, OIC is especially good at preparing disadvantaged persons for entry-level jobs.² As of May 1978, it had achieved a 65 percent placement rate following training, according to its director, Bernice Dodd. It has established particularly good rapport with Union Pacific, ConAgra, Omaha National Bank, Mutual of Omaha, and Northwestern Bell.³ Ms. Dodd believes that thanks to cooperation from local industry, her program has been successful.⁴ Ms. Dodd noted that when there is a shortage of jobs in Omaha in a particular skill, as was the case in May 1977 with draftspersons, minorities are likely to "get the short end of the stick." That is, they are the last hired and first fired.⁵

The Omaha Public Schools offer a wide range of vocational education programs. Analysis of the data on participants reveals that the proportion of blacks in consumer and homemaking classes (33.4 percent) is nearly 20 percentage points higher than in other programs (14.8 percent).⁶

Minorities made up 28.2 percent (253 of 896) of those participating in distributive trade programs, 14.2 percent (104 of 731) of those in skilled mechanical trades, and 7.6 percent (20 of 265) in the agricultural trades programs but were 33.4 percent of the students in consumer and homemaking education classes (1,088 of 3,261).⁷ As of May 1977, there was no data on placements by race. Overall, the program administrators reported 70 percent of those in agriculture, business, and distributive trades have been placed, and 50 percent of those in consumer/homemaking and industrial education have been placed. The program administrators contend that students with some vocational education have an added advantage in the job market. But, they

¹ Bernice Dodd, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978, (hereafter cited as Dodd Interview); and CETA Grant Application, Mod. 801.

² Ibid.

³ Dodd Interview.

⁴ Ibid.
⁵ Ibid.

⁶ This figure is derived by taking the percentage of minority students in each program in each school building and obtaining a mean of those percentages. Data supplied by Nebraska Department of Education, on file in CSRO.

⁷ Data supplied by Nebraska Department of Education, on file in CSRO.

reported, any student with deficiencies in attendance, discipline, or grades will be hard to place.8 In another interview, staff was told that the larger companies routinely require applicants to sign privacy act releases so that the school transcript and the school's citizenship and attendance records can be obtained by the employer.9 Although there were disparities along sex lines in class enrollments, women are present in each nontraditional program.¹⁰ John Sheldon and John Peace, who coordinate the vocational education programs, noted that the district has not gotten its share of cooperative education placements. As a result, since 60 percent of all minority students in Nebraska go to Omaha schools, minorities might be said to be disadvantaged.¹¹ The people associated with the vocational education program and others in the school system contended that anyone who wanted to get a job could get one. Commission staff was told that many firms were willing to hire minority and female students from the public schools.¹²

The Metropolitan Technical Community College, with three campuses in the Omaha area, one of which is located in the black community, reported a 97 percent graduate employment rate within 60 days of graduation. Eighty percent of that graduate employment is in the field for which the student was trained. With regard to graduates in the five quarters, during 1977 and 1978, the placement office indicated only two instances that racial prejudice might have prevented hiring in the field of training. Neither of these instances involved a major employer. The college offers a wide range of vocational education programs. For these programs it relies on advisory committees and projections by government agencies (e.g., U.S. Department of Labor, Nebraska Department of Labor, and the Nebraska Research Coordinating Unit for Vocational Education) to indicate employment trends. Darrell Vandermuelen stated that the process would benefit if more comprehensive local and regional data were made available.

The college reported that it has not done an impact study to measure concentration of minorities and women in any of its programs. However, it does have an outreach program for all students. It refuses to single out minorities and women. Counselors will tell both minorities and women what opportunities are available in a wide range of skill areas.¹³

The two universities in the area, Creighton and the University of Nebraska at Omaha, reported no difficulty placing technically trained minorities and women. They did report some difficulty in placing minority and female liberal arts graduates, but no more than they experienced in placing white males. The placement director at UNO reported that special programs have been established to encourage minorities to enter fields such as accounting because he perceives those fields having a substantial unsatisfied demand for minority applicants. No other special measures were reported.¹⁴

The National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) operates a U.S. Department of Labor-funded program to provide access to jobs for disadvantaged applicants. Its programs include awareness training for supervisors to sensitize them to the problems of working with the disadvantaged, career guidance institutes for high school teachers, assistance to about 250 firms seeking disadvantaged applicants, a vocational exploration program for disadvantaged jobseekers, and an outreach program to get more business participation. NAB does not ask for data by race or sex, and the local office does not keep any. Although it has not done any investigation, NAB staff are convinced that all the companies they work with are practicing affirmative action. NAB staff pointed out that with a local office staff of only two persons they are hard pressed to maintain their present level of activity. If they had additional staff, they believe they could make more contacts with both people in the minority community and businesses with jobs to offer.15

Apprenticeship programs are the responsibility of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the U.S. Department of Labor. Many of these programs are in the construction trades covered by the Omaha Hometown plan. The plan's March 1978 report shows that, of 14 crafts for which goals are maintained, only 5 have met or exceeded their overall craft goals: bricklayers, electricians, ironworkers, painters, and steamfitters. In the current

¹⁵ Robert Neito, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978.

⁸ John Peace and John Sheldon, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978 (hereafter cited as Peace/Sheldon Interview).

⁹ Odra Bradley and others, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978 (hereafter cited as Bradley and others Interview).

¹⁰ Data supplied by Omaha public schools, Omaha Public Schools, "Changes in Program and Enrollments in Home Economics and Industrial Education," (n.d.), and "The 1977-78 First Semester Enrollment Pre-Vocational Education" (Nov. 28, 1977), on file in CSRO.

¹¹ Peace/Sheldon Interview.

¹² Bradley and others Interview, Cornell Deason, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978.

¹³ Darrell Vandermuelen, interview in Omaha, May 15, 1978; and letter to Michael B. Adams, Aug. 24, 1978.

¹⁴ Earl E. Winters, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978; D.L. Warrington, interview in Omaha, May 15, 1978.

plan year, which reached the midway point in March 1978, only the painters had exceeded their current year goals. Eight crafts had not recruited anyone in the current year. Only the painters, carpenters, electricians, and steamfitters had exceeded half their annual craft goal (the point to be expected).¹⁶ The program administrator reported that the unions say they are doing the best they can under poor economic conditions. He is not sure of the level of discrimination that remains.¹⁷

The Omaha CETA program is the principal federally-funded employment training effort in the area. It provides a range of training options under Title 1. These courses are offered by Metropolitan Technical College, Northern Vocational Training, the electrical workers, and Omaha Opportunities Industrialization Center. The program also offers cooperative on-the-job training funded through the program, a work experience opportunity, and a variety of support services including a short course in "jobology."¹⁸ Although, as has been noted earlier, the program has had some difficulty placing black trainees, it is significant to note that 90 percent of the program's trainees are economically disadvantaged, 43 percent have less than a high school education, and 68 percent are from minority groups.¹⁹ Robert Armstrong, the program's director, reported a good working relationship with a wide range of employers. He reported recent meetings with several large companies which have agreed to provide the CETA program with on-the-job training positions for use by trainees.²⁰ It is assumed that upon completion of training, these persons will be kept by the company that trains them. The Omaha CETA program also makes presentations to companies intending to move to Omaha. Mr. Armstrong believes that through a weekly radio and monthly TV talk show he has been able to make the CETA program well known in the community.²¹

Nebraska Job Service, a division of the Nebraska Department of Labor is a federally-funded employment agency. Its records show that 23.2 percent of the registered applicants in April 1978 were black and 29.4 percent of the placements were black.²² The proportion of black applicants in professional, managerial, technical, sales, and machine trades was significantly below the total-proportion for all races. With the exception of sales positions, a similar discrepancy appears in comparing all female applicants to the total.²³ Staff was told there is no data to show placements by race and job category.

Commissioner Gerald Chizek of the Nebraska Department of Labor asserted, "All employers that our offices work with are committed to positive affirmative action programs. . . ." Commissioner Chizek reported:

There appear to be no significant changes in the employment of minorities and women due to the fluctuating economy and labor market situation in Omaha. Minorities and women would not be affected any differently than any other category

modification (mod 801) (1977) for the city of Omaha; and Darrel Vandermuelen, letter to Michael B. Adams, Aug. 24, 1978.

¹⁹ City of Omaha, CETA Quarterly Report, April 1978.

²⁰ Robert Armstrong, interview in Omaha, May 15, 1978 (hereafter cited as Armstrong Interview).

²² Employment Service Automation Reporting System (ESARS), SMSA 5920, table 6, April 1978.

²³ ESARS, SMSA—5920, table 96, April 1978.

¹⁶ Omaha Plan Administrative Committee, Summary Report, Chart A March 1978.

¹⁷ Joe Ramirez, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

¹⁸ The following is a complete list of the courses and services offered by the programs:

¹a. Classroom Training-Metropolitan Technical Community College: accounting, agricultural and industrial chemicals technology, air conditioning/refrigeration technology, agriculture cooperatives management, agriculture business management, apparel arts, architectural technology, automotive body technology, automotive mechanics, automotive parts technology, bookkeeping, building and property management, business management, child care, civil engineering technology, clerk typist, commercial art, computer programming technology, dental assisting, drafting and design technology, drafting technology, electronic technology, executive secretary, farm and ranch management, food marketing and distribution, food service, general office clerical, graphic arts (printing), home management, horticulture, hotel-restaurant management, interior design assistant, interpreter for the hearing impaired, key punch, legal secretary, medical secretary, merchandising management, nurse assistant (aide), ophthalmic programs, photography (commercial), postal supervision, practical nursing, private security, private security management, real estate, retailing, sport and speciality engine mechanics, supervisory management, surgical technology, transportation and distribution management, turfgrass and recreational grounds management, welding and fabrication technology, welding technology, youth services specialist.

¹b. Classroom training-Northern Vocational Training School;

clerical brush up, advanced clerical skills, auto mechanics, custodian and building maintenance, heating and air conditioning.

¹c. Classroom training—Apprenticeships Local No. 1140 union training; carpentry, construction, cement masonry, iron work, teamster, operating engineer, roofing, construction related trades, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

ld. Classroom training-Omaha Opportunities Industrialization Center; entry-level clerical skills, merchandising/retailing, machine trades, food service, bank teller, drafting blue print reading, key punch, and bookkeeping

^{2.} Slot-in-training

^{3.} OJT

Work experience (work assignment)
 Support services—orientation to world of work; basic education; work assessment; jobology (10 days training on getting a job); singer updational assessment; lobology (and assessment) and a service as a service of the service of

vocational assessment; lab (experience with 23 different occupations); and placement. The above information was taken from the Title I grant application modification (mod 801) (1977) for the city of Omaha; and Darrell

²¹ Armstrong Interview.

of applicants because all applicants are treated equally [by employers].²⁴

The Advisory Committee has reported data on the proportions of minorities served by several federallyfunded programs. But these tell the Committee little about their impact on affirmative action. In a labor force the size of Omaha's, they are clearly not statistically significant. The Advisory Committee has no data on the impact of the college and school program efforts. But what can be seen is a pool of available minorities and women participating in training experiences that prepares them for many of the jobs offered by private employers.

²⁴ Gerald Chizek, letter to staff, June 8, 1978.

Utilization of Minorities and Women by Omaha Employers

The ultimate test of affirmative action efforts is the accomplishments of employers. Here the Advisory Committee reviews two measures of accomplishment: the proportion of minorities and women actually employed by the 24 employers who supplied data and the changes in the proportion of minorities and women employed over a 1-year period. To obtain additional data, such as applicant flow, would have placed an undue burden on companies who have been reviewed by the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP).

Many employers noted their success in exceeding the area labor force average for minorities and women in their work forces. Table 7.1 shows the percentages of minorities and females in the employed labor force and the proportion of employers who match or exceed these percentages. Out of 24 employers slightly more than half did match or exceed the area labor force in total utilization. But less than half the employers match the labor force in most job categories. The exceptions are: white female and black technicians; black (male and female) and all minority female salespersons; black crafts workers; black service workers; and black (male and female), white female, and minority female office and clerical workers. The Advisory Committee will not dispute whether the pot is half full or half empty. What is important is that a large proportion of employers still need to improve their utilization of minorities and women if they are to match the very conservative standard of the employed labor force. The Advisory Committee has argued elsewhere that the employed labor force is a less accurate reflection of the minority employment picture than the "available work force" that includes persons qualified to work and who would work if a suitable job were offered.¹

Appendix A shows the changes in the work forces of five employers for which the Advisory Committee received data covering a 1 year time span: ConAgra (corporate headquarters only), Control Data, Creighton-St. Joseph Hospital, Northern Natural Gas, and Omaha National Bank. The data are summarized in table 7.2. This table shows the changes in the nine EEOC job categories in the employment of white males, minority males, white females, and minority females. Since the table aggregates five employers, it should not be taken to represent any of the five firms.

increased markedly since that census was conducted.

¹ For a detailed discussion of the appropriate measures, see Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska Advisory Committees, *Affirmative Action by State Gov*ernments in Mid-America (June 1978).

The deficiencies in the existing public data include the following:

⁽i) Where experience of skill prerequisites for a job group is achieved through "on-the-job training," the "requisite skill" which an individual must possess at the time he or she is employed is the ability to absorb and apply training. The figures in Table III of "Manpower Information for Affirmative Action Programs" for such job groups merely reflect the numbers of minorities and females who have been allowed to utilize that "requisite skill," not the total numbers of minorities or females who possess it.

⁽ii) The "requisite skill" availability for higher level job groups often bears little or no relationship to Table III figures. Managers, for example, are frequently "developed from within" by firms. Moreover, ability to perform the work supervised is a "requisite skill" for some management positions (e.g., supervisory engineers).

⁽iii) The figures in Table III are based upon data gathering during the 1970 census. The percentages of minorities and females employed in many job groups have

⁽iv) The fact that the statistics in Table III include "experienced" persons points up to the fact that "inexperienced" persons who have the required skills will not be included in this statistic.

⁽v) Persons included in Table III figures for certain job groups frequently possess the "requisite skills" for other job groups. For example, a woman with a degree in Sociology or Physics who is working as a sales clerk or secretary would not be included in the Table III figures for her major skills, but rather in the figures for the sales or secretarial job group.

⁽vi) The figures in Table III do not include persons who possess the "requisite skills" but who are not in the labor force.

Thus, for many job groups, the figures in Table III- do not reflect the true availability of minorities and females with "requisite skills." For such job groups, the figures in Table III must (as appropriate) be either replaced with or supplemented by more accurate or current statistics in reporting the availability of minorities and females with "requisite skills." (General Services Administration, GSA Contract Compliance Handbook, (April 12, 1977), p. 18.)

TABLE 7.1

Percentage of Twenty-Four Companies that Exceed Labor Force Utilization

	Black	Total Hispanic	Fei White	male Minority
Officials and managers	1.44	0.73	15.30	0.41 LFA
	45.80	37.50	37.50	45.80 Cos.
Professionals	3.51	1.07	41.79	2.63 LFA
	31.80	22.70	22.70	13.60 Cos.
Technicians	3.51	1.07	41.79	2.63 LFA
	50.00	35.00	50.00	45.00 Cos.
Sales	1.57	0.97	35.97	1.42 LFA
	50.00	16.70	41.70	50.00 Cos.
Office and clerical	3.93	1.03	69.01	3.72 LFA
	62.50	41.70	75.00	75.00 Cos.
Crafts	2.93	0.89	6.32	0.43 LFA
(skilled workers)	55.00	30.00	40.00	20.00 Cos.
Operatives	11.46	2.61	31.93	5.86 LFA
(unskilled workers)	45.00	30.00	40.00	35.00 Cos.
Laborers	11.15	2.51	8.43	1.84 LFA
(semiskilled workers)	26.70	40.00	33.30	26.70 Cos.
Service	11.17	1.71	51.7	7.17 LFA
	50.00	38.90	27.8	38.90 Cos.
Total	5.61	1.31	36.61	3.27 LFA
	54.20	41.70	54.20	58.30 Cos.

Notes: LFA = Percent of workers in job category in 1969 labor force for Omaha SMSA. Cos = Percent of companies that workers utilization match labor force based on data supplied

by CSRO. Sources: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; "General Social and Economic Characteristics: Nebraska" (PC(1)-C29), tables 86, 93, 99, and company data on file in CSRO.

TABLE 7.2

Summary of Changes in the Work Forces of Five Employers

	Total	MALE	l	FEM	ALE
	Change	White	Minority	White	Minority
Number Percent	- 46	Managers - 47 -102	0 0	+ 2 + 4	- 1 - 2
Number Percent	+156	Professionals + 73 + 47	+ 5 + 3	+ 71 + 46	+ 7 + 4
Number Percent	+ 78	Technicians + 28 + 36	+ 4 + 5	+ 37 + 47	+ 9 + 12
Number Percent	- 12	Sales 10 83	- 1 - 8	- 1 - 8	0 0
Number Percent	+ 36	Office/Clerica - 2 - 6	- 3 - 8	+ 39 +108	+ 2 + 6
Number Percent	+ 49	Crafts + 49 +100	+ 3 + 6	- 2 - 4	- 1 - 2
Number Percent	+ 24	Operatives - 20 - 83	+ 6 +25	+ 33 +138	+ 5 + 21
Number Percent	+ 18	Laborer + 15 + 83	+ 3 +17	0	_0
Number Percent	+ 4	Service - 5 -125	+ 3 +75	+ 2 + 50	+ 4 +100
Number Percent	+307	Total + 81 + 26	+20 + 7	+181 + 59	+ 25 + 8

Note; Percent row = percent of job category in race/sex group.

Source: Data in appendix A.

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The performances of the five firms can be reviewed in the appendix.

The percentage by row shows the proportion of change in each job category and in the total work force filled by each race/sex group. The difference between the change in the total work force and change in each job category may be used as an indicator to show the extent to which people are hired only for certain types of jobs.

Minority males change was greater than the work force average in operative, laborer, and service jobs. Minority females change was greater than average in technician and operative jobs. The white female change was greater than average only in office/clerical and operative jobs. (Work force average is used as a shorthand for the percent of total work force.) In short, it would appear that minorities and women are not gaining in every job category—their gains are concentrated in less desirable jobs.

Some people have argued that gains in affirmative action now primarily benefit white females. The largest net gain in the total work force was for white females. Minority males and females did not do as well as white males. Except in managerial, sales, operative, and service jobs, minority males' net gains measured by percent change in the job category were less than white males, or their losses were greater than the losses of white males. Minority female shares of the work forces improved, as against white males, only in managerial, sales, office/clerical, operative, and service jobs. White females improved, vis a vis white males, in managerial, technician, sales, office/clerical, operative, and service jobs and were equal in professional jobs. But the net effect of these changes is not yet sufficient to result in a substantial realignment of the work forces to achieve proportionate representation based on the area labor force.

Chapter 8

Potential Change Agents: The Chamber of Commerce; Metropolitan Area Planning Authority; Omaha Personnel Association; Other Civic Organizations in the Minority Community; City, State, and Federal Regulatory Agencies

Employers have primary responsibility for the design and implementation of affirmative action. But these are influenced by the community around them. A primary component of that community is the Omaha Chamber of Commerce. Other potentially significant forces are the area planning agency and local civic and religious organizations. The Omaha Personnel Association, an organization that links personnel officers of many private employers, has a potential role. The minority community is small, but, as the 1960s illustrated, it can force change if it is united. Nebraska Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and Omaha Human Relations Department have some authority. For companies that are Federal contractors, the most potent force is the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) review process. The Advisory Committee talked to representatives of many of these bodies in an effort to assess their role.

Keith Carter, the executive vice president (chief paid staff person) of the Omaha Chamber of Commerce, stated that the chamber supports affirmative action as a matter of policy. The chamber has sponsored affirmative action seminars for small and medium-sized businesses in which firms with extensive experience have taught others how to plan and implement affirmative action. The chamber also refers those firms in need of help to the more experienced ones. The chamber cannot do much more because it must proide services that are both responsive to members' requests and self-financing. Minority groups have asked the chamber to request that its members put minorities on their boards. Mr. Carter reported the chamber has been unwilling to do this because it refuses to interfere in the internal affairs of its members. Nor does he see the chamber able to push for greater affirmative action commitment because many members, especially the smaller ones, are reluctant to spend money on affirmative action.¹

One knowledgeable person stated that affirmative action was "too hot" for the chamber to handle and that the chamber is inhibited because the board members represent the large companies which tend to be conservative and insecure on such matters.² A member of the chamber's professional staff disagreed. He believed that the chamber could provide more frequent affirmative action seminars, more specific affirmative action information for its mem-

¹ Keith Carter, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978 (hereafter cited as Carter Interview).

² Field interview in Omaha, week of May 15, 1978.

bers, and be more aggressive in encouraging business leaders to address the problem³ Mr. Carter agreed that if outside funding were available, the chamber would provide the detailed information on the available labor force needed by employers.⁴

The Metropolitan Area Planning Association (MAPA) is the agency that provides technical planning for the metropolitan region and serves as a clearinghouse reviewer of Federal funding under the U.S. Office of Management and Budget Circular A-95. Its executive director, Dave Shriner, told staff that MAPA has not been given an effective planning role by its members—who insist they will not allow the development of regional government. Consequently, MAPA has no planning "authority" to further the cause of equal opportunity. It can refer employers who call asking for affirmative action information to other employers who have made efforts.

MAPA staff noted that all proposed multifamily housing has been on the east side of town, while most of the new housing in the southwest is very expensive by Omaha standards. They further noted that Federal highway and sewer funds, in particular, made possible the development of the southwest with the resultant shift in Omaha's industrial center of gravity. MAPA's director and its staff feel frustrated because they would like to think they do regional planning, while in fact they mainly react to what the private sector does in advance of plans. MAPA staff note that there has been little commitment to the "riverfront" development in northeastern Omaha. They are not sanguine about the chances for its development unless the level of commitment is increased, such as acting faster on main access road development.5 MAPA staff agreed that, if given computer resources and access to the necessary data, they could prepare available labor force data for the region. But they saw this as a very substantial job requiring a large increase in staff and equipment and necessitating a substantial Federal commitment of resources.6

Two interviewees pointed out that neither the churches nor the civic organizations have taken any initiatives on affirmative action. It was noted that the latter are particularly important, since many companies consider "extracurricular" participation in selecting employees for advancement when other factors are relatively equal. Minorities and women who do not have access to these organizations are thereby at a disadvantage.⁷

Many personnel officers are members of the Omaha Personnel Association. This organization serves as a clearinghouse for technical information of interest to its members. The organization's president, Dr. Robert Mathis of the College of Business Administration at the University of Nebraska-Omaha, reports that the association has been addressed by speakers from the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, has provided informal coordination between members with experience in affirmative action and those needing assistance, has worked with the Omaha Human Relations Department to publicize the kinds of questions that should not be asked by employers, and has participated in minority oriented workshops through the Small Business Administration. The organization does not plan to do more than it has done. It has a large number of members from small companies who want broad based personnel training. The organization has received so many requests for involvement in various issues that it has had to make choices. By and large, Professor Mathis believes the members are fair employers and know what they can and cannot do in hiring and promoting.8

Organizations from the minority community have a role to play. Professor William Julius Wilson, sociologist at the University of Chicago, has indicated that improvements in opportunities for blacks have been parallel to and, to some extent, caused by increase in their political activity and influence.⁹ In Omaha the extent of black political power has been limited by the at-large system for electing city council members coupled with the small proportion of blacks in the population.¹⁰ What remains open to blacks and other minorities is the influence they can exercise through their leaders and organizations.

The principal black organization in Omaha pushing for affirmative action is the Nebraska Urban League, whose executive director is George Dean. In its report, *The State of Black Omaha—1978*¹¹ the league recommended among other changes:

- 9 W.J. Wilson, The Declining Significance of Race (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1978), pp. 85-87.
- ¹⁰ Omaha World Herald, Jan. 22, 1977.

³ Ray Clark, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

⁴ Carter Interview.

⁵ Dave Shriner, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Field interviews in Omaha, week of May 15, 1978.

⁸ Robert Mathis, telephone interview, May 19, 1978.

¹¹ Nobraska Urban League, The State of Black Omaha-1978 (n.d., n.p.).

A new and sincere commitment to affirmative action should be adopted by government and business. This commitment should include meaningful goals and timetables and a dedicated effort to ensure that they are reached.¹²

The league also urged "Closer scrutiny by government and business and industry to insure that their minimum requirements are not screening out qualifiable applicants."13 The league notes that "of 1,743 individuals referred by the Urban League of Nebraska to local employers in 1977, only 380 or 22 percent were hired."¹⁴ The executive director reported that the local league does not have a history of linkages with private industry, but this is now changing. The league intends to ask for commitments from the larger employers for jobs in middle and upper management. It will also offer technical assistance to employers in developing and implementing affirmative action programs.¹⁵ Up to now, the league has been most successful with smaller companies.¹⁶ The league does not report any regular monitoring of affirmative action programs.¹⁷ One of its current goals is to prove to major employers that there are blacks available who have skills and could be employed.¹⁸ At the moment the league is working with several major employers such as Control Data, Northern Natural Gas, Omaha National Bank, and Western Electric on job placements.¹⁹

Mid-City Business and Professional Association is a local organization serving the northeastern portion of the city. It reports that it has sponsored seminars for black business people on such matters as corporation politics. But the association is primarily concerned with improving opportunities for the businesses in its area, particularly the minority businesses.²⁰

Ron McGruder, a black member of the Omaha school board, told the Advisory Committee's staff that the Urban League, Opportunities Industrialization Center, and other community leaders would have to join forces and demand that more blacks be hired if they expect to produce change. He contended that the major companies' affirmative action efforts are only paper programs because nobody monitors their activities.²¹ This view was shared widely by members of the black community.²² But many believe that the primary responsibility for monitoring, so far unfulfilled, rests with government.

The three government units with responsibility for affirmative action in Omaha are the Omaha Human Relations Department, the Nebraska Equal Opportunity Commission, and the U.S. Department of Labor's Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs. The strengths and limitations of the first two have been reviewed previously by this Advisory Committee in its study, *Nebraska's Official Civil Rights Agencies.*²³

The city has a Fair Employment Practices Ordinance enacted in December 1971 prohibiting discrimination and an affirmative action program adopted in September 1971 under pressure from U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.²⁴ But it does not yet have contract compliance criteria to supplement the present requirement that contractors must have an affirmative action report attached to their bids if the contract exceeds \$2,500.²⁵ To date, effective regulations have not been approved by the city council.²⁶

The Omaha Human Relations Department reports that the major violator of affirmative action principles is the city government.²⁷ The city does have an affirmative action program based on a city council resolution of October 1975 that established goals and timetables for 1975–80. Thirteen percent of the city's work force are minorities and are concentrated in entry-level jobs. The National Training and Development Service in its report, "Opportunities for Increasing the Effectiveness of Upward Mobility and Affirmative Action Programs" stated that "Among those problems identified. . .[was] a perceived lack of visible commitment to affirmative action objec-

¹² Ibid., p. 28.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁵ George Dean, interview in Omaha, May 15, 1978 (hereafter cited as Dean Interview).

¹⁶ Tal Owens, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978 (hereafter cited as Owens Interview).

¹⁷ Dean and Owens Interviews.

¹⁸ James Freeman, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978.

¹⁹ Owens Interview.

²⁰ Al Grice, interview in Omaha, May 18, 1978.

²¹ Ron McGruder, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978.

²² William Moore, interview in Omaha, May 16, 1978; Dean Interview; Mike Green, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978; Leon Evans, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978.

 ²³ Nebraska Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Nebraska's Official Civil Rights Agencies (August 1975), pp. 8-32 and 73-85.
 ²⁴ Ibid., pp. 78-81.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 82; and Resolution of the Omaha City Council, Mar. 28, 1972.

²⁶ Aletha Gray, equal employment opportunity officer, interview in Omaha, May 19, 1978 (hereafter cited as Gray Interview).

²⁷ Gray Interview; and Ruth Jackson, interview in Omaha, May 17, 1978.

tives among some top policy and administrative leadership".28 The service found that:

The various program elements of Omaha's Affirmative Action efforts can achieve their full potential only if there exists clear and visible commitment from the City's top elected and appointed leadership. Such commitment serves to put all employees on notice that Equal Employment Opportunity is a major City objective for which all share responsibility. This should be particularly important in light of the City's contractual obligations in receipt of Federal funding and the potential price of noncompliance in costly investigations and suits.

Thus, there is a need to both educate and motivate elected and appointed leadership in the legal and practical aspects of Equal Employment Opportunity.29

The service recommended, among other things that:

• The mayor and council pass a resolution of reaffirmation to affirmative action. (Although the earlier resolution is still operational, there is a need to visibly notify all city employees of the commitment of current elected leadership.)30

The department of human relations report on the "40 percent referral process," under which at least that percentage of minorities must be referred for a job if they have applied and are qualified, shows, despite a high referral rate, that blacks are still not being hired. In 1977 the housing department did not hire any black males or females for five vacant jobs although some were referred. The parks department did not hire any minorities for the five jobs it had identified as being deficient in minority hiring and for which minorities had been referred. Of 11 police officers hired by the public safety department, only 1 was black, although 98 minorities had been referred along with 166 whites. The public works department hired a minority for only 1 of the 18 jobs it filled in which a deficiency in minority representation had been identified.31

The National Training and Development Service has indicated the need for a significant improvement in career opportunities if affirmative action is to be effective. This effort, the city human relations department has suggested, would include a reexamination of experience and training requirements to ensure that these requirements do not unreasonably bar minorities and women and a skills inventory to ensure that minorities and women in entry-level jobs are encouraged to apply for better positions as they become available. Part of the city's problem is that too few resources are available to monitor the program. The city human relations department unit that must monitor affirmative action by the city also has responsibility for A-95 review, contract compliance, and technical assistance to private employers. If, as expected, the new contract compliance ordinance does not provide additional funding, the department expects to have to shift all its resources to contract compliance, leaving none for affirmative action.³² Not surprisingly, then, the city has been unable to assume leadership in affirmative action.

The Nebraska Equal Opportunity Commission (NEOC) investigates complaints of discrimination in its own right and those complaints referred from the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The agency's limitations have been detailed elsewhere in this report. An Omaha staff member points out that NEOC does little monitoring of the conciliation agreements obtained in the individual cases it handles.³³ The agency has not worked with local employers to achieve affirmative action.34

The authority, activities, and limitations of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs and its delegated compliance agencies have been described and analyzed by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in two studies: The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1974: To Eliminate Employment Discrimination, 35 and The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort—1977: To Eliminate Employment Discrimination: A Sequel. ³⁶ Since these studies were published, President Jimmy Carter has reorganized Federal compliance efforts. After October 1, 1978, reviews of Federal Government contractors, conducted by delegated compliance agencies during 1977–78, has been conducted by OFCCP.

²⁸ National Training and Development Service, Opportunities for Increasing the Effectiveness of Upward Mobility and Affirmative Action Programs (May 10, 1978).

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ 1bid.

³¹ Aletha J. Gray, "Analysis of the Forty Percent Referral Process" (Aug. 1, 1978).

³² Aletha Gray, telephone interview, June 26, 1978.

³³ Ed Mims, interview in Omaha, May 15, 1978. Mr. Mims notes that the

agency cannot pursue class actions and therefore cannot obtain class remedies such as affirmative action. 34 Ibid.

³⁵ U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort-1974: Vol. V, To Eliminate Employment Discrimination (July 1975),

 ²¹Joint Joint, Joseph Distance and Comparison Distribution (Carly 1975), pp. 230–339 (hereafter cited as FCREE—1974).
 ³⁶ U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort-1977: To Eliminate Employment Discrimination: A Sequel (December 1977), pp. 61-143 (hereafter cited as FCREE-1977).

The Advisory Committee obtained detailed information about the activities of compliance units of the Department of Defense (DOD), General Services Administration (GSA), and Department of Health, Education and Welfare. HEW's Office for Civil Rights regional office did not conduct reviews of supplies and service contracts because a decision was made by its national office in September 1974 that OFCCP required procedures were unclear.³⁷ DOD's Kansas City, Missouri, office had a staff of five to deal with approximately 400 supply and service contracts. It reviewed 60 contractors in FY 1977 (15 percent of its universe versus a national record of 23.5 percent).³⁸ At that rate, it would have taken some 6 to 7 years to review all contractors in the eastern half of Nebraska, eastern third of Kansas, and western half of Missouri-the territory covered by the office. GSA, with a staff of eight to monitor 1,000 contractors, reviewed about 192 in FY 1977 (19.2 percent of its universe versus a national record of 11.6 percent).³⁹ At that rate, 5 years would have been needed to review all the contractors in the region. Neither agency could report exactly how many contractors it had responsibility for in Omaha, nor how many it had reviewed in FY 1977.40 One contract compliance officer stated that although the number of contractors remain constant, the specific contractors may vary. The problem has been to conduct reviews while the contractors have active contracts and are, therefore, subject to sanctions.⁴¹

There were complaints about the review process from both minority leaders and employers. The principal complaint from employers was that some are subject to multiple reviews by different Federal departments and sometimes by different compliance units of the same Federal agency. By contrast, other Federal contractors seemed able to escape review altogether; were not required to have affirmative action plans; or received perfunctory approval of the plans.⁴² One personnel officer noted that the mere existence of OFCCP improved affirmative action efforts because employers were afraid of losing Federal contracts.⁴³ One contract compliance officer pointed out that given limited resources some choices have to be made. It is necessary to have a large enough government contract and enough employee turnover to justify the staff effort. But this does mean that some employers escape the review process, although not all are onsite. Annual onsite reviews may not be necessary, this officer stated, if comprehensive team reviews are conducted resulting in detailed compliance agreements and quarterly reports are required thereafter.⁴⁴

Minority employees and community leaders had a somewhat different perspective on contract compliance. Most of those interviewed saw no evidence of any effect. They believed that if the Federal reviewers did a proper job, there would be substantial changes and improvement in affirmative action efforts by Omaha employers. Some felt that the shock of Federal demands upon some firms would have a significant effect on employers throughout Omaha.

Between 1973 and 1976, GSA, DOD, and the Departments of Agriculture and Treasury never began the "sanction process" by declaring a contractor in the four States (Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, and Nebraska) to be "non-responsive" thus beginning the legal procedure to terminate eligibility for Federal contracts. But some contract compliance officers told staff that such notices are unnecessary. Contractors, they said, usually agree to correct most deficiences in a "conciliation agreement." These agreements had resulted in substantial benefits in back pay or job classification for individual workers.⁴⁵

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has noted that the affirmative action regulations governing contractors fail to include sufficiently clear instructions on the proper development of goals and to require separate analyses and goals for different minority groups or for men and women within minority groups.⁴⁶ In preparing for this study, the Advisory Committee had identified examples of underutilization of minorities and women by contractors reporting to each of the five compliance agencies.

In a report for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, Richard Freeman noted that

³⁷ J. L. Thomas, branch chief, Office for Civil Rights, interview in Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 20, 1977.

³⁸ *FCREE—1977*, p. 113.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Repeated attempts were made by CSRO staff to get this information. Department of Treasury's office with jurisdiction over Omaha is in Chicago. It began operating in 1975. Agriculture's office closed in FY 1977.

⁴¹ Betty Robinson, interview in Independence, Mo., Sept. 12, 1978 (hereafter cited as Robinson interview).

⁴² J. M. McClymond, interview in Omaha, June 22, 1977; LaVonne Vogler, interview in Omaha, June 22, 1977; and J. A. Porter interview in Omaha, June 22, 1977.

⁴³ Ralph Johnson, Control Data, interview in Omaha, June 22, 1977.

⁴⁴ Robinson Interview.

⁴⁵ Robert Collins, GSA, interview in Kansas City, Mo., Oct. 22, 1977; see also *FCREE*—1977, pp. 122–28.

⁴⁶ FCREE—1974, pp. 632 and 665.

OFCCP activity did have a positive effect on the proportion of black managers. He cited studies which compared companies subject to the Executive order to companies not under the order. But, he noted, the difference is very modest, although the effect on black income levels may be greater.⁴⁷

The forces for change in Omaha are not exerting convincing pressures on employers. Despite the chamber of commerce's formal commitment to affirmative action, its activities have been limited. The Metropolitan Area Planning Association denies it can play any role. The churches and civic groups have been unnoticed on this issue. The thrust of the personnel officer's association has been too diffuse to have a significant effect on affirmative action. Although the Nebraska Urban League and other black organizations and leaders are interested in affirmative action, their efforts to monitor and critique it (as against merely serving as referral agencies for black people seeking jobs) have only just begun. Moreover, some black leaders see an absence of unity and hard work behind present community affirmative action activities. The effect of efforts by government—city, State, or Federal—have been questioned. Much remains for each group to do, if employers are to be pressured to improve their affirmative action effort.

⁴⁷ Richard B. Freeman, *The Black Elite* (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1976), pp. 139–40.

Findings and Recommendations

In the light of the information contained in this study, the Nebraska Advisory Committee makes the following findings and recommendations.

The Economic Setting

Finding No. 1: The Advisory Committee finds that national studies show a shift in opportunity from blue-collar to white-collar occupations and of locations of jobs from central cities to suburbs. This is said to have an adverse affect on minorities. In Omaha the Advisory Committee found that the opportunity for blue-collar jobs did move from the central city to the southwestern suburbs. The jobs remaining in the central city are more likely to be professional, white-collar, or deadend jobs. This shift was substantially caused by the activities of the Omaha Industrial Foundation. The Advisory Committee notes that the foundation is making some effort to develop plant sites nearer to the central city and the center of minority population. But the Advisory Committee finds that this effort and the support the foundation receives from local planning authorities is not commensurate with the effect created by earlier efforts to establish surburban sites. Recommendation No. 1: The Advisory Committee calls upon the Omaha Industrial Foundation and the various local planning authorities to take all appropriate steps to increase the viability of sites nearer to the central city. Such measures should include providing transportation networks for those sites.

Recruitment Efforts

Entry-Level Jobs

Finding No. 1: Some national experts have questioned the extent to which affirmative action has benefited minorities seeking entry-level, blue-collar jobs. The Advisory Committee found that the local employers it reviewed have extensive plans to recruit. But minority employees and knowledgeable community leaders do not see these as effective. The Advisory Committee did not find an adequate effort to reach out to minorities who seek work to assure them that they are wanted.

Recommendation No. 1: The Advisory Committee urges the chamber of commerce and the principal local employers to work together to establish a recruitment office in downtown Omaha or in northeast Omaha.

Finding No. 2: The Advisory Committee was told that there were openings for "qualified" persons but not for others. Some of those involved in training reported that employers failed to state minimum standards that could be used as the basis of preemployment training. Part of this problem may be caused by the difference in minimum standards set by Omaha employers for essentially similar jobs.

Recommendation No. 2a: The Advisory Committee urges that the chamber of commerce establish an entry-level, employment committee composed of representatives of the principal employers and also including representatives of smaller employers. This committee should provide a forum in which employers can set common minimum standards for essentially similar tasks, ensuring that these standards really are the minimum required to do the job. This consensus should then be communicated to preemployment vocational educators so that they can provide students trained to at least the required minimum level.

Recommendation No. 2b: The Advisory Committee urges that where minimum standards for existing entry-level jobs are necessarily above the level of normal pre-employment training, employers establish entry-level positions which would provide the training required to reach that minimum.

Mid-Level Jobs

Finding No. 1: Some employers complained that they cannot find qualified minorities for middle-level positions. But several employers indicated that with sufficient effort they had no difficulty in finding such persons. The Advisory Committee found mid-level recruitment efforts were uneven.

Recommendation No. 1: The Advisory Committee recommends that all employers conduct nationwide recruitment searches for entry-level, middle manager positions if a suitable pool of minorities is not available in Omaha. Companies with nationwide facilities can utilize these as recruitment tools. Other employers can form a consortium for this purpose. Such efforts should include contact with those organizations capable of assisting the employer seeking qualified minority and female applicants.

Finding No. 2: Some minority group leaders in Omaha complained that locally based employers bring minorities from outside the area and ignore local sources.

Recommendation No. 2: The Advisory Committee recommends that employers first use an employersponsored consortium composed of the Urban League, Mid-City Professional and Businessmen's Association, Native American Center, Chicano Center, and other minority and female oriented groups to supply the names of qualified minorities and women for mid-level positions. When this source fails to yield the desired candidate(s), regional or national recruitment should be employed.

Obstacles to Recruitment

Finding No. 1: The Advisory Committee was given conflicting information on the effect of transportation on job opportunities. Some stated transportation was no barrier. Others stated that it was. The Advisory Committee finds that transportation difficulties are at least a psychological barrier to minority participation in surburban employment.

Recommendation No. 1: The Advisory Committee urges local governments to explore the possibility of a subsidized regular express bus service between the northeastern portion of Omaha and the southwestern industrial sites to coincide with work-shift hours.

Upward Mobility Opportunities

Finding No. 1: The Advisory Committee was told that opportunities for upward mobility for minorities and women are limited. Some employers indicated significant structural barriers to the provision of career ladders. Others relied on job announcement posting as their principal means of encouraging movement of workers. Some minority workers stated that mid-level prejudices prevented promotions for minorities and women. The Advisory Committee finds that present upward mobility programs need to be strengthened.

Recommendation No. 1a: The Advisory Committee urges employers to do more than merely post announcements of opportunities for promotion. Employers should maintain a list of qualified persons, including minorities and women. The list should be used to inform minorities and women of opportunities as they become available. The list should also be used to evaluate the extent to which minorities and women may be denied opportunities that they are entitled.

Recommendation No. 1b: In view of the importance of mid-level decisions on promotion, the Advisory Committee urges that all employers, perhaps working through the chamber of commerce, provide sensitivity training to ensure that mid-level supervisors do not discriminate or appear to discriminate in promotion decisions.

Affirmative Action Efforts of Omaha Employers

Publicity

Finding No. 1: The Advisory Committee finds that few employees or community leaders interviewed know much about the affirmative action efforts of most local employers.

Recommendation No. 1: The Advisory Committee urges each employer undertake a substantial public relations campaign to inform the community about the employer and its affirmative action program.

Preparation of Work Force Analyses, Goals, and Timetables

Finding No. 1: The Advisory Committee found many of the larger employers have data necessary to develop meaningful analyses of their work forces and develop appropriate goals and timetables for underutilization of minorities and women. Many smaller employers do not have this data.

Recommendation No. 1: The Advisory Committee recommends that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights urge the U.S. Department of Labor either to prepare adequate and complete "available labor force" data for each occupational category in each labor market area or to provide funds so that a local organization, such as the area planning authority or chamber of commerce, can do so.

Self-Evaluation

Finding No. 1: The Advisory Committee found one procedure that seemed particularly useful in evaluation—the establishment of affirmative action committees composed of minority and female employees that report directly to the employer's chief executive. **Recommendation No. 1:** The Advisory Committee urges that all employers establish monitoring committees composed of minority and female employees that would report directly to the employer's chief executive on at least a quarterly basis.

Potential Change Agents

Chamber of Commerce

Finding No. 1: The Advisory Committee was told that the Omaha Chamber of Commerce is committed to affirmative action. But the Advisory Committee found that the chamber had engaged in only limited activities to support affirmative action.

Recommendation No. 1: The Advisory Committee urges that the chamber increase the technical assistance it provides to employers.

Area Planners

Finding No. 1: The Advisory Committee was told that the Metropolitan Area Planning Association (MAPA) cannot do much to further affirmative action because of limits placed on its planning authority.

Recommendation No. 1: The Advisory Committee urges that MAPA members give MAPA sufficient authority to assist affirmative action efforts, including authority to ensure adequate transportation and job opportunities near the minority community.

Minority Organizations

Finding No. 1: The Advisory Committee finds that minority organizations have been minimally effective in monitoring the affirmative action efforts of local employers.

Recommendation No. 1: The Advisory Committee recommends that the Urban League, Opportunities Industrialization Center, Greater Omaha Community Action, Inc., Mid-City Professional and Businessmen's Organization, Chicano Center, Indian Awareness Center, and other minority and women's groups form a consortium to review the affirmative action efforts of the principal employers in Omaha. They should report their findings to the relevant city, State, and Federal agencies.

The City

Finding No. 1: The Advisory Committee found that city affirmative action efforts did not set an example for the private sector because they lacked ingredients crucial to success—such as effective career ladders and adequate utilization of minorities and women. The Advisory Committee was told that future evaluation of affirmative action and of contract compliance are threatened by the absence of adequate staff in the city human relations department. Recommendation No. 1a: The Advisory Committee recommends that the city implement an effective career ladder and training program as well as other efforts to increase the proportion of minorities and women in positions above entry level.

Recommendation No. 1b: The Advisory Committee recommends that the city provide sufficient funds so that the human relations department can effectively monitor the existing affirmative action program and the proposed contract compliance efforts.

APPENDIX

Changes in Utilization of Minorities and Women by Five Omaha Employers (Actual Change)

	MALE			Man	FEMALE						
Company Con Agra Control Data Creighton Northern NG ONB	Totai - 9 - 1 -10 + 2 -28	White - 8 - 4 - 8 + 1 -28	Black +1 -2 0	Asian	American		White - 1 0 + 1 + 2 0	Black +1 -1 0		American Indian	
						ssional					
Company		White	Black		American Indian	Hispanic		Black		American Indian	Hispanic
Con Ágra Control Data Creighton Northern NG ONB	+10 - 5 +92 +52 + 7	+ 9 - 6 +27 +35 + 8	+1 -1 +2_	-1 <u>+2</u> -1	0	0 +1 0 +2	+ 1 0 +60 +10 0	+7	0	+1	-1
						nicians				•	
Company Con Agra	+10	White		Asian	American Indian	Hispanic	+ 1	Black		American Indian	Hispanic
Control Data Creighton Northern NG ONB	+ 2 +66 + 2 - 2	+ 1 +14 + 6 - 2	+1 +3 0	<u>0</u>	0		0 +44 - 6、 - 2	+6	- <u>+2</u>	- 1	0 +2
	-	-		U	Sa	les	-		-		
Company Con Agra Control Data	- 1	White - 1 - 8	Black		American Indian	Hispanic	White	Black		American Indian	
Creighton Northern NG ONB	0 - 3	+ 1 . - 2					- 1 0				

Changes in Utilization of Minorities and Women by Five Omaha Employers (Actual Change)

		MALE			• Office/	Cierical	,	FE	MALE	•	
Company Con Agra Control Data Creighton Northern NG ONB	Total +11 - 5 +25 +40 -35	White - 3 + 1 + 2 + 9 -11	Biack -1 +1 -1	Asian +1 -1	American Indian ————————————————————————————————————	Hispanic +2	White +13 - 6 +18 +25 -11	Black +1 0 +2 +6		American Indian 0 +1	Hispanic 0 -1 +1 +1
					Cr American	afts				American	
Company	Total	White	Black	Asian		Hispanic	White	Black		Indian	Hispanic
Con Agra Control Data Creighton Northern NG ONB	+41 + 5 + 3	+44 + 2 + 3	0 +1 0	+2 -1	+1 0	0	- 4 + 2	-2 +1	0	0	0
						ratives				•	
Company	Total	White	Black	Asian	American Indian	Hispanic	White	Black		American Indian	Hispanic
Con Agra Control Data Creighton Northern NG ONB	+27 - 3 0	-15 - 5 0	+7 0	-1 +1	-1	0	+29 + 5 - 1	+8 0 0	0		0 -3
						orers					
Company Con Agra	Totai	White	Black	Asian	American Indian	Hispanic	White	Black		American Indian	Hispanic
Control Data Creighton Northern NG ONB	+ 7 +11	+ 6 + 9	0			+1 +2					

Changes in Utilization of Minorities and Women by Five Omaha Employers (Actual Change)

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MALE					FEMALE						
						vice					
_				_	American					American	
Company	Total	White	Black	Asian	Indian	Hispanic	White	Black	Asian	Indian	Hispanic
Con Agra	~	~									
Control Data	- 5 + 10	- 6 + 4		+1		4		0			. 4
Creighton Northern NG	+ 2	+ 1	⁻ 2			- I +1	· · ·	1			+4
ONB	- 3	_ 4		\sim			+ 1		~		
U.L.D	•	•					•				
						otal					
•					American					American	
Company		White			Indian	Hispanic			Asian	Indian	Hispanic
Con Agra	+ 21	+ 6	-1	+1	-	0	+ 14	+ 1		-	0
Control Data	+ 46	+ 7	+10	+1	0	+2	+ 19	+ 7	+1	0	-1
Creighton	+192	+42	+ 4	-1		+2	+131	+14	0	-1	+1
Northern NG		+65 、	<u>+ 1</u>	<u>_+2</u> _	1	+5		<u>+ 6</u>	<u>~</u>	<u>+2</u>	+4
ONB	- 64	-39		-5			- 12		-8	-	

Data for the employers covers the following years:

ConAgra	1975-76
Control Data	1976-77
Creighton-St. Joseph Hospital	1976-77
Northern Natural Gas	1976-77
Omaha National Bank	1976-77

Source: Data from companies and compliance reports on file in CSRO.

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