INFORMATION TO USERS

This dissertation was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

University Microfilms
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106
A Xerox Education Company
CZECH, Elizabeth Shimer, 1919-
INTERACTION BETWEEN BLACK AND CORPORATE CULTURE IN BROADCAST MANAGEMENT.
The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1972
Mass Communications

University Microfilms, A XEROX Company, Ann Arbor, Michigan

© Copyright by
Elizabeth Shimer Czech
1972
INTERACTION BETWEEN BLACK AND CORPORATE CULTURE IN
BROADCAST MANAGEMENT

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of the Ohio State University

by

Elizabeth Shimer Czech, B.A., M.A.

The Ohio State University
1972

Approved by

Adviser
Department of Speech Communication
PLEASE NOTE:

Some pages may have
indistinct print.
Filmed as received.

University Microfilms, A Xerox Education Company
I extend particular appreciation to my adviser, Dr. Robert Monaghan, for his counsel, empathy, and encouragement throughout this study. I am likewise indebted to those members of my committee, Drs. James Golden and Franklin Knower, who lent their support during the growth of the study and also inspired me during my years as an OSU graduate student. Gratitude is also extended to Dr. Walter Emery, whose international perspective provided another dimension to the development of the study.

Special thanks go to the participants in the research, with whom I laughed, argued, and learned during the three years we spent together.

Finally, I express my fondest appreciation to my husband, Val, whose patience, love, and willing ear provided the strength and motivation to bring this work to its fulfillment.
ELIZABETH SHIMER CZECH

OCTOBER 18, 1919

Born — Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

1941

BA in Music and English, magna cum laude, Georgian Court College, Lakewood, New Jersey

1946-1952

Women's Director and Assistant Station Manager, WGPA, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

1954-1959

Instructor of English and Drama, Bethlehem High School, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

1954-1958

MA in Guidance, Counseling, and Special Education, Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

1959-1966

Head of Radio-Television Department, Centenary College for Women, Hackettstown, New Jersey

1966-1968

Teaching Associate, Department of Speech Communication, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1968-

Head of Department of Radio-Television at the college where participant-observation was conducted for this study. In order to assure anonymity to the respondents, the institution is not identified here.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ................. ii

VITA .......................... iii

LIST OF FIGURES ............... vi

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION .................... 2

The Problem ........................ 2
The Nature of the Study ........ 11
Purpose of the Study ........... 16
Limitations of the Study ...... 16

II. METHODOLOGY ..................... 17

Method .......................... 18
Requirements of the Method .... 20
Observer's Biases ................. 22
Design of the Study .............. 22
Style ........................... 26

III. OBSERVATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS .... 28

The Corporate Culture ............... 28
Background of the Subjects ...... 34
Analysis of Subjects' Backgrounds 51
Impressions of the Managerial Experience 54
Managerial Models ................. 62
Perceptions of Management by Peers 71
Black Cultural Constructs of Management 74
Blacks' Reaction to a White Manager 77
Organization Communication Behavior 85
Verbal Communication Styles .... 89
Nonverbal Communication Styles 91
Sources of Authority ............. 106

Motivation ....................... 119
Rewards ........................ 121
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Corporate Culture</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black Cultural Implications</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal Systems</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Personal Traits as a Function in the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corporate Setting</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Predictive Indices of Broadcast Managerial Talent</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sources of Black Broadcast Managerial Talent</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interracial Dimensions Involved with Preparing Young Blacks for Management Positions</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Interview</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orientation Period</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sustaining Relations</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hypotheses for Further Research</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**APPENDIX**

| A | Glossary of Terms | 188 |
| B | Focused Interview Guide | 190 |
| C | Ethnocentrism | 197 |
| D | Motivation | 206 |
| E | Organizational Communication Behavior | 216 |
| F | Alice | 225 |
| G | Brenda | 228 |
| H | Charles | 231 |
| I | Cindy | 237 |
| J | Clyde | 240 |
| K | Evelyn | 246 |
| L | George | 249 |
| M | Glen | 253 |
| N | Jerome | 256 |
| O | Malcolm | 258 |
| P | Manuel | 262 |
| Q | Pedro | 264 |
| R | Samuel | 273 |
| S | NAB Employee Selection Guide | 278 |

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**
### LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>WBBP Lines of Communication and Areas of Responsibility</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Demographic Data Pertinent to Respondents' Age, Sex, Birth-order, and Area of Dominant Geographic Influence</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chart of Subjects' Positions in WBBP Organization and Period of Managerial Duties</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>A Sociometric Study of the Respondents</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>A Model of the Cross-Cultural Influences as they Interacted with Personal, Group, and Corporate Constructs</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Problem

Although broadcasting celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1970, there were proportionately few blacks and other minorities employed in radio or television as late as 1964. Beginning with the landmark WLBT-TV case in Jackson, Mississippi, which developed out of the claim that WLBT-TV discriminated against the interests of the black county which represented 45 percent of its viewers, minorities, especially blacks, became more aware of their need to become significantly involved in the media which touched their lives in many ways. Inspired by the WLBT-TV precedent which established the right of all citizens to be heard and made part of the official record in license renewal proceedings, multi-racial citizen's groups across the nation raised their voices to request that the broadcast media revise employment practices to correct existing imbalances and to accelerate entry of minority citizens into management positions.
America's 22 million blacks constitute 11 percent of this country's population and 75 percent of the United States' nonwhites. Since blacks are the largest minority group in this country, the study focused upon their needs and abilities to advance in the broadcasting profession, particularly in the decision-making roles.

During its first forty years, broadcasting employed small numbers of blacks as performers or console operators at white-owned, white-managed, black-oriented stations. Decision-making positions, however, were generally unattainable to members of minority groups, including programming to their own ethnic cultures.  

Although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 unlocked the door of opportunity for more minorities to obtain broadcast media employment, there were relatively few blacks professionally prepared at that time to accept the new openings. The Broadcast Skills Bank, created through cooperation of the three major networks and Westinghouse Broadcasting, began to prepare minorities for entry positions. The available instruction, however, emphasized development of basic skills more than augmentation of managerial potential.

---

The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) spurred individual stations to employ minorities through its June 4, 1969 Report and Order (Docket No. 18244, RM-1144) which required broadcast licensees to show nondiscrimination in their employment practices. In that same Report and Order, the FCC also decreed that each station with five or more full time employees:

... develop an equal employment opportunity program ... to assure equal opportunity in every aspect of station employment practice, including training, hiring, promotion, pay scales, and work assignments.

As a result of the FCC directive, not only the networks but also some independent broadcasters and a few special educational groups began to offer a number of training programs and internships for blacks and other national minorities. comparatively little had been done, however, to seek out and prepare minority personnel who showed managerial ability and desired to advance to higher level positions.

Jean Fairfax, former Dean of Women at Tuskegee Institute and later director of the Division of Legal Information and Community Service for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., emphasized the urgency for America to move blacks into top management and decision-making positions in broadcasting "in order to keep this country dynamic."²

Fairfax pointed out that no chief executive positions in commercial broadcasting had been held by minority group members, and that only 15 out of 451 major department head posts had been occupied by people from minority groups. She asked:

What affirmative programs do you have to recruit, train, and upgrade blacks into positions where controlling decisions are made . . . with something faster than deliberate speed?

Both Fairfax and Meyer contended that even at "soul" stations, blacks rarely found their way into executive positions. Meyer chided broadcasters for their "lack of positive results in finding, hiring, and training minority groups." Famighetti and Garnett also supported the plea to place more members of minority groups into decision-making positions in radio and television.

Requests for minorities to appear in managerial roles changed to demands in 1970, as reported by Garland and a proliferation of minority groups claimed immediate media access in

---

3 Fairfax, op. cit. p. 10.

4 Ibid.


Leading minority spokesmen voiced the need for more blacks in broadcasting during the 1969 and 1970 conventions of the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) and the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB), including Tony Brown, executive producer of "Black Journal;" William D. Wright, National Coordinator for BEST (Black Efforts for Soul in Television); and William Greaves, formerly executive producer and also owner of a film company.

Addressing the 1970 NAEB Convention both Dr. Vivian Henderson, President of Clark College in Atlanta, and Domingo Nick Reyes, Executive Director of the National Mexican American Anti-Defamation Committee, Inc., affirmed their belief that minorities should be admitted to important media positions in order to serve people from each one's indigenous culture, with programming relevant to their discrete tastes and needs.

Following the FCC Report and Order of June 4, 1969, which required that all broadcast licensees avoid discrimination in employment, job placement of blacks in skill positions increased. Mrs. Eleanor Holmes Norton, Chairman of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, reported that the three major networks had in-

---

9 A majority of these citizens' groups were guided by efforts of the Office of Communications of the United Church of Christ which, headed by Reverend Everett Parker, was involved in the beginning stages of the citizens' movement in broadcasting. This was the organization that worked on the WLBT-TV petition-to-deny case which was initiated in 1964 and finalized in 1971 when WLBT-TV changed hands.
creased their employment of blacks and Spanish-speaking people by 1970 and that minority group members employed in technical and craft positions in broadcasting had increased from 6.8 percent in 1968 to 14.8 percent in 1970.10

Preparation of minorities for skill positions has been the objective of The Broadcast Skills Bank, the Urban Broadcasting Workshop, the Community Film Workshop in the New York SEEK program, Model Cities' program at Central Brooklyn College, and private career academies across the nation. Many local stations have begun to offer brief internships, ranging from eight to twelve weeks, mainly geared to offer the black trainee elementary skills and concepts. Blacks have also received training through a few summer workshops similar to those offered at American University, Washington, D.C.11

Boston University offered a continuous training program which prepared blacks to produce programs and to utilize the facilities and air time of station WBUR nightly, in order to "provide a service for—and by—the black community."12 Blacks


also utilized a storefront studio, located in the heart of the Buffalo ghetto and used as a satellite studio of WFBO as part of the Buffalo extension educational information center of the State University of New York.

Except for the few opportunities cited, blacks filled very few managerial positions, and little had been done to develop them for advanced posts. According to a study of FCC employment reports filed annually by all radio and television stations:

As of May 27, 1971, only 2% of the managers and officials are black, about 3% are Spanish surnamed, while 6% of broadcasters' professional staff is black, 2% Spanish. Only in labor and service categories do blacks equal or exceed their proportions in the total population (13% and 4% respectively).\(^\text{13}\)

In educational broadcasting there was an increase in the total number of minority personnel employed between 1970 and 1971, showing a gain from 9.06 percent in 1970 to 11.8 percent in 1971, according to Lionel Monagas, Director of the NAEB Office of Minority Affairs. On the other hand, Monagas pointed out that no minority person occupied a chief executive position in educational broadcasting as of May, 1971. He also revealed the decline in the number of minority personnel identified as major department heads, with the number dropping from 15 employed in 1970 to 8 in such positions in 1971. The number of minority personnel in other supervisory positions, however, rose from 15 to 30 in that

The data, therefore, reveal that the predominant pattern has been to train and employ blacks in the skill positions involving equipment operation, announcing, or newscasting. Little has been done on any large scale to educate blacks and other minorities for managerial roles.

An aspiring broadcast manager must learn how to function with creative and procedural factors unique to the profession. A broadcast executive is expected to be knowledgeable about business administration, broadcast law, psychology, sales, programming, and technology. He must touch people's emotions with his software, yet remain solvent with his hardware. Broadcast executives are usually people who worked their way up through the ranks within the profession, mainly through sales but also from programming or engineering. Brief internships, workshops, or training sessions do not prepare a person for the many judgments he will have to make as a broadcast executive. The heart of the shortage of black executives appears to be based on lack of prior experience as well as by absence of specific methods by which to accelerate preparation of minorities for decision-making positions.


Recognizing the problem, and seeking ways to enable minorities to become active in all phases of educational and public broadcasting; the National Association of Educational Broadcasters established the office of Minority Affairs in 1969; and appointed Lionel Monagas to direct that office. In 1970 the Association for Professional Broadcast Education (APBE) set up a committee on Minority Group Education for Broadcast Media with the purpose to advance minority education in broadcasting, particularly at the college level.

Even at most colleges, however, programs emphasized training more than development of managerial abilities. Special programs for training minorities operated at the University of Detroit; American University in Washington, D.C.; University of Mississippi; University of Southern California; and Michigan State University. As of May, 1971, only Syracuse University's $5,000 fellowship program for black graduate students and selected annual Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) fellowships specifically geared blacks toward major positions in broadcasting.

A few black colleges began to provide broadcast education for future media managers. Of the 66 predominantly black, accredited, four-year colleges surveyed for this study, 41 reported the status of plans for mass media departments and broadcasting.

---

facilities. Of these, only three colleges offered majors in broadcasting: Hampton Institute (Hampton, Va.); Shaw University (Raleigh, N.C.) and Howard University (Washington, D.C.) while six, including the above, had public radio stations. The programs, however, were too new to produce black media department heads in large numbers for years to come.

In review, we find that broadcasters, educators, and professional media organizations recognized the need to place blacks and other minorities into decision-making positions as soon as possible. The problem was how to identify and prepare those with managerial potential for rapid and successful mobility into the executive echelon as well as to provide insights which may increase the effectiveness of those who employ or prepare blacks for the broadcasting profession.

The Nature of the Study

According to Marden and Meyer "there is very little known about the resistances that may arise at the introduction of a new cultural trait." Since blacks have but recently considered broadcasting as a career choice, particularly at the executive level, an underlying assumption of the study was that entrance into broadcast corporate life is similar to introduction of a

---

new cultural trait for those who have had few opportunities to observe or experience the pace and responsibilities of broadcast management.

Blake and Mouton introduced the concept of corporate culture as a means of studying organizational group behavior. They theorized that organizational culture is a critical ingredient influencing managerial behavior, stating: "Before improving an organization, one must first identify the cultural conditions essential for corporate effectiveness." This introduced the assumption of the study that black cultural norms might have some important influence upon blacks' managerial styles and responses.

Additional ways of viewing corporate life and how it interacts with the personalities of those immersed in the managerial process include: (1) examination of motivation according to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs and Herzberg's "hygiene" theory involving "satisfiers" and "dissatisfiers"; (2) Likert's linking...

---


pin principle, which considers the importance of the role of the supervisor relative to group productivity; (3) Argyris'\textsuperscript{22} theory of personality, concerned with the effect of the organization on individual behavior and motivation; (4) Blake and Mouton's\textsuperscript{23} managerial grid theory which evaluates the manager's relative concern for production and people; (5) McGregor's\textsuperscript{24} Theories X and Y which focus upon the difference between external and self control.

Review of the cited literature provided insights into the major ways of viewing organizational life and also suggested possible ways of categorizing the research data.

A theme running through the literature, implied if not overt, is that the culture of a corporation has its discrete entity as it interacts with the culture of those comprising the organizational body. This not only invited selection of culture as the major frame of reference but also supported questioning whether ethnic mores were dominant or subordinate to those of the corporate culture, and to find whether those norms may have contributed either to creation or solution of organizational problems.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22}Chris Argyris; Integrating the Individual and the Organization, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964).
\item \textsuperscript{23}Robert R. Blake and Jane S. Mouton; The Managerial Grid (Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing Company, 1964).
\end{itemize}
The Purpose of the Study

Until enough minority members achieve supervisory and instructional positions so that they can become the educators, they will have to be guided generally by non-blacks. With increased black pride and ethnic sensitivity, there is need for white employers, managers, and teachers to understand how to prepare minorities most effectively for decision-making positions. It is, therefore, important to seek out and identify approaches and areas of sensitivity that whites should know about in order to avoid inadvertently creating communication breakdowns during the educative process, as well as to learn how to teach those with potential how to compete satisfactorily for media positions.

In this study the word "sensitivity" is used to mean predictive accuracy as defined by Henry Clay Smith to be "the ability to predict what an individual will feel, say, and do about you, himself, and others." In Smith's frame of reference, the more sensitive one is, the better he will be able to understand both the commonality of group behavior as well as the differences between individuals making up the group.

If we can identify typical managerial acculturation responses

---

by interested black candidates, we should be able to project this behavioral pattern as typical behavior of blacks from a similar cultural mold.

If lack of sensitivity by whites contributes to the problem of educating minorities, the study may provide insights to enrich their sensitivity in specific areas.

The primary purpose of this study was to ascertain how broadcasters and educators can prepare blacks successfully and efficiently for managerial positions so that they will be able to meet the production goals of the media as well as to satisfy their own cultural needs.

In order to identify what special problems may be anticipated and overcome during the preparation of black youth for broadcast managerial roles, six secondary purposes were: (1) to discover common factors which may help identify minority individuals with potential for broadcast managerial success; (2) to describe constructs held by black youth as a result of the broadcast management experience, (3) to observe which black cultural constructs may interact both positively and negatively with broadcast corporate needs; (4) to seek insights which can contribute to successful preparation of blacks for decision-making roles in the profession; (5) to identify black youths' particular needs prerequisite to their managerial success, and
(6) to increase the sensitivity of whites to black cultural needs and norms.

Limitations of the Study

Because the area of broadcast management was new for blacks, there were no studies on this topic. For the same reason, there were not enough black broadcast executives to provide a sample for such a study. Absence of black broadcasting managers as subjects limited the choice of respondents to black, college-age interns involved in broadcast management. The fact that most management trainees are usually selected from the ranks of college-age youth supported examination of a population with this common age demographic.

Since one purpose of the study was to observe black cultural managerial constructs, it was necessary to examine an all-black group rather than a few blacks in a multi-racial setting. This limited the choice of subjects to a broadcast organization with all black participants and department heads. The only places to locate such groups were at the few predominantly black colleges with public radio or television stations. This exploratory study focused upon a group from only one such college, and the results are confined to this specific group.
CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the cultural focus of the study, selection of the population, choice of the research method and instruments, satisfaction of the requirements of the method, and design of the study.

The concept of culture was the focus of the study, based on Maier's belief that leadership must always be viewed against a background of culture.¹ The interrelation between black and corporate cultural behavior is one aspect of the problem about which little is known or has been studied; therefore investigation of the problem from a cross-cultural perspective seemed appropriate.

An all-black population, active in daily broadcasting and broadcast management, was located at a predominantly black college, which for purposes of anonymity shall be referred to hereinafter as Afro College.

A new, black corporate culture, station WBBP, came into existence when Afro College initiated public broadcasting during the late 1960's. Assigned fictitious call letters for purpose of this study, WBBP was designed to be a radio teaching laboratory to supplement broadcasting courses, with the declared objective to prepare "creative black communicators at the decision-making level," according to official organizational objectives outlined by the professor-consultant engaged by Afro to draft the guidelines for the curriculum.

Out of the group of WBBP student department heads observed for three years, thirteen were dominant in performance and/or non-performance of their roles. They also had been at WBBP long enough to reflect its mores plus the interaction of black and corporate culture. It was around those thirteen student managers' behavior, perceptions, successes, and failures that the study evolved.

The population satisfied the two major requirements of the study: (1) that the members be black, (2) that the subjects have broadcast managerial responsibilities.

METHOD

The Participant Observation method was the most appropriate approach to this study for two reasons. First, the SAT scores of the respondents ranged from 279 to 430 on the verbal
level—not very high for people showing an interest in a communication career. The low scores substantiated the need to study the respondents by other than paper and pencil type means. It was also possible that those scores were not representative of the actual ability or potential of the respondents, since blacks claim, and Mercer's (1971) research supports, that SAT tests are geared predominantly to white, middle-class experiences and consequently are not a true measure of intelligence of people from other backgrounds. The method of Participant Observation seemed more suitable to study subjects who were either unmotivated to read or to take tests seriously. Likewise, written testing methods were likely to be unreliable for subjects who might not read well enough to interpret questions correctly.

The second argument supporting use of the Participant Observation method was that this technique has been used often in cultural and ethnological research to investigate:

... either the less obvious aspects of one's own society (Hughes, 1960) or of the study of the various religious, ethnic, or status groups inhabiting a particular community, city, or nation.²

Works of Whyte (1943), Turnbull (1961), Goffman (1961), Lewis (1961) reveal situations where participant observation has proved a most illuminating and effective method.

As theorized by Bruyn, one can best understand the behavior of people by looking at the meanings they assign to themselves and

the world around them.3 Thus we can assume that if a person's perceptions have been shaped by his culture, one should be able to gain insights into that culture by understanding the individual's personal constructs.

Through the Participant Observation method the researcher seeks to know the nature of a particular phenomenon by attempting to infer enough traits to be logically reflected in the data, in order to form a conceptual bridge between the data and formal concept to represent a scheme of reality; even purposes and feelings become data, and are observed and recorded as such.4

There is little agreement on the specific definition of the term "participant observation" because the expression covers several kinds of research activity, with varying degrees of participation or observation. Raymond L. Gold (1958) classifies the various procedures that go by the name. The method used in this particular study found the researcher predominantly as an "observer-as-participant."

Requirements of the Method

One important requirement of the Participant Observation method is that the researcher must have an open mind and no preconceptions. In addition, he must be a normal part of the culture

4Ibid. p. 41.
under observation, active in its daily face-to-face relationships, yet retain the necessary objectivity with which to record his observations. As a trusted member of the group under study, the observer must see people's goals and interests as they see them, then detach himself to seek original meanings, either stated or implied by the subjects' behavior. In this manner the observer can understand the total culture.

As WBBP's station manager, and one of the original members of the culture under study, the researcher was a normal participant in the corporate life. Spending at least ten hours daily with the respondents, the investigator shared the subjects' ideas and feelings. Since the respondents' personal and social activities which took place outside the station were often freely discussed in her presence, she was usually aware of the external incidents that may have influenced the WBBP culture.

At the beginning of the study the participant observer was uncertain whether she would receive the necessary trust, since she is white and the subjects were black. However, just as Elliot Liebow managed to fit into the local scene in *Tally's Corner* so that his presence was taken for granted, so did the researcher gain gradual acceptance at WBBP. After a period of initial suspicion, which is discussed in the following chapter, the investigator was accepted as a member of the group. The respondents' own words provide qualification of this fact.
Observer's Biases

If the biases of a participant observer are known, then they can be kept in mind and will cease to be biases to those reading studies produced by this method. The most obvious possible source of bias was that the observer was white and, therefore, could have been expected to view the scene from a white frame of reference. On the other hand, since one goal of the study was to enable future employers and educators, many of whom will be white, to guide black managerial talent with sensitivity and effectiveness, the white frame of reference was an asset to the study. The measure of acceptance of a white station manager was, in itself, an important aspect of the research.

Because most of the subjects were from a lower-class background there was danger that there could have been bias as they were studied through the filter of a middle-class observer. The investigator, however, had experienced close affiliation with all classes of people throughout her professional and personal life, which enabled her to expand her focus beyond single class perception.

Design of the Study

This subsection describes the designs selected to attain the objectives of the exploratory research. As stated in Chapter I, the primary purpose of the study was to ascertain how broadcasters and educators can successfully prepare blacks for managerial media
positions. To achieve that purpose, six objectives were established: (1) to discover common factors which may help identify minority individuals with potential for broadcast managerial success; (2) to discover constructs held by black youth as a result of their management experience; (3) to observe which black cultural constructs may interact with broadcast corporate needs, both positively and negatively; (4) to seek insights which can contribute to successful preparation of blacks for decision-making roles in the profession; (5) to identify black youth's particular needs prerequisite to their managerial success; (6) to add dimensions of sensitivity to whites preparing black youth for important media roles.

Participant Observation is an inductive form of research which permits the investigator to have no preconceptions. The inquiry utilized the Rashomon-like technique of seeing the group through each of its members, with particular focus upon selected events which revealed group psychodynamics as well as individual differences.

The three-year study drew data from the following: the observer's journals, minutes of all staff and departmental meetings, WBBP memos, personal letters to and from respondents, several brief studies to be described at the end of this subsection, and tape-recorded focused interviews. To assure adequate range and reliability during the process, data were collated according to source and type as follows:
1. Statements volunteered
   a. To the observer alone
   b. To others in everyday conversation
   c. In staff meetings

2. Statements directed by the observer
   a. To the observer alone
   b. To others in everyday conversation
   c. To others in staff meetings

3. Behavior
   a. Individual
      (1) On the job
      (2) With peers
      (3) In social settings
   b. Group
      (1) Organizational
      (2) Classroom
      (3) In social settings

Leadership constructs, examined through a sociometric study administered during the final phase of the research, yielded data to be interpreted in Chapter III.

A series of focused interviews with the thirteen respondents contributed to validation of data obtained from other sources, enriched the study with some changed or changing constructs, and helped refine the final topical organization for analysis and interpretation. All focused interviews were tape-recorded, with permission of the respondents, none of whom was paid for participating in the study.

The focused interview was utilized as the culminating instrument, in order to seek to elicit unanticipated responses and personal meanings built around the management experience. Through the focused interview, much of which should be as nondirective as possible, the interviewer draws upon the subjects' prior responses
to the experience in order to evoke specific perceptions in response
to a situation and to discover what each person has imparted into
the situation concerning his prior attitudes, values, social statuses
and roles—all of which constitute the subjects' personal contexts.
Provisional criteria drawn up by Merton and Kendall, originators of
the method, are as follows:

1. Nondirection: In the interview, guidance and direction
by the interviewer should be at a minimum.

2. Specificity: Subjects' definition of the situation
should find full and specific expression.

3. Range: The interview should maximize the range of
evocative stimuli and responses reported by the subject.

4. Depth and personal context: The interview should bring
out the affective and value-laden implications of the
subjects' responses, to determine whether the experi­
ence had central or peripheral significance. It
should elicit the relevant personal context, the idio­
syncratic associations, beliefs, and ideas.

Because the subjects were normally more responsive to direct ques­
tioning, the initial questions of the focused interview were spe­
cific in order to relax the subjects as well as to obtain on the
tape specific personal data necessary for the study. The focused
interview guide, found in Appendix B, was not strictly adhered to
sequentially since such adherence would have maintained an undesir­
able directive quality. The guide was drafted to trigger recall
and response to aspects of the prior management experience.

---

5 Robert K. Merton and Patricia L. Kendall, "The Focused
Interview," in The Language of Social Research, ed. by Paul F.
Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (New York: The Free Press, 1955),
p. 480.
Through the focused interview, as well as other cited sources of data, independent versions of the same incidents as reported by different respondents revealed the different levels of personal meaning certain variables had for them. These responses also provided a built-in check to substantiate the validity and reliability of the data. Additionally, the subjects' volunteered statement helped reduce possible observer bias in reporting observations and interpretations.

The data were collated into categories centered around dominant cultural and organizational constructs that appeared to contribute most frequently to WBBP's corporate culture, namely: (1) Managerial perceptions within the corporate culture, (2) Personal beliefs and aspirations, (3) Interpersonal relations, (4) Organizational communication patterns, (5) Social structures, (6) Ethnocentrism, (7) Other cultural influences. The analysis, interpretations, and conclusions grew out of these categories as delineated in the table of contents.

Style

The participant observer must use the writing style that best expresses the viewpoint of the people involved in the study. This is usually developed through what Bruyn calls the "limited omniscient" position which permits the writer to blend reporting styles as needed. I elected to use the third person approach in

my role as observer-interpreter, and the first person to reveal my observer-participant involvement. For stylistic purposes I assigned myself the pseudonym of Mrs. Weiss, which shall be used henceforth whenever the subjects talk to, or about me.

Data was exposed as much as possible by permitting the respondents to speak for or about themselves. The cement of prior knowledge obtained through either observation or information unavailable to the subject was added to solidify concept development and to provide balance.

It was anticipated that the findings of this study might contribute to greater understanding of the cross-cultural variables which may help or hinder blacks to advance satisfactorily in the demanding field of broadcast management.
CHAPTER III

OBSERVATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS

This chapter presents insights into the various elements which comprised the WEBP corporate culture as revealed through statements and observations made by the respondents and the participant observer about themselves, others, and the management experience.

Comments, actions, attitudes, and purposes were treated as data. Constructs elicited from the data were compared to applicable literature in order to provide additional objective dimensions to the observer's interpretations.

The four major categories of the chapter include: (1) description of the background of the corporate culture and of the respondents' life orientations, (2) elements elicited as a result of the broadcast managerial participation, (3) identifiable black ethnocentric attitudes and responses, (4) group dynamics.

The Corporate Culture

The WEBP corporate culture had an exciting, if disorderly,
beginning, with parts, packages, and furniture arriving daily during the first three months. There were no shelves for records. Cardboard boxes were hoarded as wastebaskets, carefully marked "Do Not Throw Out!" Enthusiasm overcame the temporary physical deficiencies as the nine empty rooms began to fill with new equipment and furnishings.

As soon as the first control room was operational, eager students from Afro College streamed in to learn how to work the console. Sixty-five young people reported for the first orientation meeting and had to sit on the lobby floor outside the radio station because there was not enough room for them in the main studio. It was an auspicious beginning.

Because course work had not been scheduled to begin until a year later, WBBP was manned entirely by student volunteers on an extra-curricular basis during its first year. Except for five participants who had completed a special five-week workshop to prepare them to work at WBBP, all others had no previous background in the medium. One way to prepare so many to go on the air within two months, minus courses, was through the "each one teach one" approach. Participants began in areas they seemed most responsive to. To bridge the information gap Mrs. Weiss, the station manager, prepared a detailed job description and policy book to serve as an operational guide in lieu of classes.

An organizational chart (figure 1, page 3) delineates the structure of the corporation and shows lines of responsibility
and communication. Since one major purpose of WBBP was to provide
the subjects with a valid managerial experience, the corporation
was structured as closely as possible to a large commercial opera-
tion, minus only the sales department, since WBBP was a non-commercial
station.

Students were assigned immediately to positions as depart-
ment heads and comprised the executive staff, assisted only by Mrs.
Weiss and a part-time engineer. Participants working under the de-
partment heads are referred to in this study as staff; all other
participants such as performers, apprentices, and volunteers are
termed personnel.

Excepting matters associated with security, purchasing,
and legal interpretations, the executive staff had freedom to
make decisions within the framework of their respective job des-
criptions. Members were encouraged to implement innovations, or
to alter methods that might improve either the station operation
or their managerial performance. Even after major courses began
a year later, many student volunteers continued to be active.
The presence of non-majors placed the student executives in posi-
tions comparable to roles of teaching-supervisors.

By the third year of corporate life, WBBP broadcast six
days a week, with 51 percent of the program schedule consisting
of cultural or community affairs, interviews, discussions, phone-
in programs and news. WBBP also aired regular play-by-play remote
sportscasts.
Not everything went smoothly during those months of pre-broadcast preparation. Lateness was a serious problem. Distaste for writing was obvious. Preplanning was difficult for the majority. Heavy turnover of personnel hampered the training when many participants discovered that operating a radio facility involved more work than glamour and dropped out.

By the time WBBP received its license to broadcast, the group had experienced three weeks of rehearsal which simulated the first three weeks of actual air work. For this reason the participants felt reasonably confident during their initial broadcasts. Team spirit was high. Punctuality improved. A feeling of exhilaration infused many members of WBBP.

After the excitement of the inaugural broadcasts, however, productive efforts sagged. Daily requirements to find new air material and to line up fresh guests became unpleasant chores for many in the organization. News personnel did not want to rehearse wire copy, neither did they want to rewrite or gather news items. Additional participants dropped out, leaving a small, committed group to continue as regular staff and performers. The respondents began to discover that managing WBBP was a demanding challenge for beginners in the profession about which Quaal said, "There is no business that so thoroughly punishes the amateur."^1

---

As those who remained with WBBP became more confident in their assigned responsibilities, they also became more independent. At first this encouraged Mrs. Weiss who had constantly tried to elicit participant opinion, especially during executive staff meetings, but with little success. However, it soon became apparent that the respondents' desire was more to be independent of standard operating procedures, and against group work, than it was for routine and team spirit. Disagreement concerning station goals created additional conflicts. Broadcasting majors wanted to use the station to advance their professional abilities, whereas campus peers wanted the station to operate with a full-time contemporary music format. Talk shows were resented by the pro-music groups, despite the fact that the executive staff verbally agreed that good talk shows had top priority at WBBP.

Elements of racism began to appear. Programs that came from the Netherlands were resented by many black students on campus because the Dutch had been "oppressors" in Africa. Programs from or about France were considered irrelevant because they were produced by the "white colonizers" who advocated Western culture. Classical music was resented by most Afro students because it was not, in their opinion, "black." Even stock market reports were labeled "white" because of the participants' assumption that blacks do not have enough money to invest in the stock market.

By the conclusion of the fifth month of WBBP's corporate life, inappropriate use of authority increased. There was excep-
tional "slippage" from standard operating procedures and job descriptions. New personnel who continually entered the corporate culture openly resented being supervised by peers. Those who had been with WBBP the longest began to withhold information from the group and to build small cliques around their immediate friends. Many of the original members also began to reveal their discomfort that the station manager was white.

The conflicts reported above continued to dichotomize the corporate culture in varying degrees throughout the period of the study. That first year introduced all the key areas of success and failure that were to repeat themselves during the following two years. Specific incidents, to be related later in the study, will illustrate the major turning points of the WBBP corporate culture, as reported by the respondents and the participant observer.

Background of the Subjects

Although approximately 135 people were involved with WBBP from time to time during the period of the study, there was a sustaining core of only about 25. The remaining personnel would participate for a few weeks or months, drop out, then perhaps return sporadically some time later. Out of that 25, the 13 chosen as respondents were most consistently involved and most representative of the group under study.

Ages of the respondents spread from 20 to 27, but the
average age was 21. Four students came from the Northeast portion of
the United States; seven claimed the Upper South and Border states as
their home. One subject came from Africa, and another originated
from the Bahamas. 2

For this study, cities containing populations of 50,000 or
more were designated as large. Four subjects were from large North­
eastern cities and two were from large Southern cities. The remaining
five Southern subjects originated from smaller towns. The African
participant cited a large Southern city as the American city most
familiar to him, whereas the person from the Bahamas claimed a large
Northeastern region as his predominant American influence.

All but four of the subjects came from homes officially
listed as receiving an annual income below the federally defined
poverty level. This factor introduced the questions of income and
class as variables for the study.

Figure 2 (page 36) provides an overview of the demographic
data pertinent to the respondents' age, sex, birth-order, year in
college, and area of dominant geographic influence.

To understand some of the attitudes and experiences which
contributed to the personality and life style of each subject prior
to his entering the WBBP culture, a brief digest of each respon­

2Regional terms follow the pattern designed by Gunnar Myr­
dal, writing in An American Dilemma (New York: Harper & Row, 1944),
p. 1072, in which he identified Upper South as North Carolina,
Tennessee, Virginia and included as Border states: Kentucky, West
Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, District of Columbia, and sometimes
Missouri.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENTRY ORDER</th>
<th>RESPONDENT</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>ONLY CHILD</th>
<th>OLDEST CHILD</th>
<th>RAISED ALONE</th>
<th>YOUNGEST</th>
<th>COLL. YEAR</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>AREA N.S</th>
<th>CITY SIZE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>George</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>F*</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Brenda</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Clyde</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Malcolm</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>F*</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Charles</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Cindy</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Alice</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Evelyn</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Jerome</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Glen</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

F* Indicates respondent was foreign born and raised. Key shows his American city of dominant experience.
dent's life orientation and broadcasting inspiration follows. Subjects appear in the chronological sequence by which they entered the WBBP culture, namely: George, Brenda, Pedro, Clyde, Malcolm, Manuel, Samuel, Charles, Cindy, Alice, Evelyn, Glen, and Jerome. Complete transcripts of the respondents' remarks are located in the appendices of this study.

George

George, WBBP's first operations manager, attended Afro College after receiving a four-year tuition scholarship from that institution. Arriving in America from his African home with only $18 in his pockets, George managed to support himself throughout his college years by means of a variety of part-time jobs. Although he had two brothers and two sisters in Africa, he had been raised by a foster parent in a city distant from the village which housed his siblings and, therefore, grew up with the orientation similar to that of an only child.

George's interest in a broadcasting career was generated accidentally through a bulletin board notice which invited interested applicants to participate in a summer broadcasting workshop to take place prior to WBBP's installation. George later reported that only after he had become involved with WBBP's community programming did he begin to observe how he could "make some contribution

---

3See Appendix L, pages 249-252.
to broadcasting as mass media at home, or to Africa as a whole." His main contact with broadcasting in Africa had been through listening to daily BBC broadcasts.

Brenda

WBBP's first program director, Brenda, grew up in a predominantly white upper-middle class neighborhood in a large city near the North-South border. The oldest of three children, Brenda attended private parochial schools, predominantly white, until she elected to enroll at Afro College. She confided, "After high school I wanted to go to a black school, because I had never been around black students. There were only six in my high school."

Brenda admitted that her adjustment to life with black students was difficult. The fact that she adjusted successfully was confirmed by her elevation to head several Afro social organizations as a sorority leader, a sorority queen and a member of the college's official Student Orientation Committee. She had natural and consistent ladylike qualities that contrasted, at times, to the volatile emotional fluctuations displayed by other subjects at WBBP.

Brenda "sort of fell into broadcasting" and had signed up for the summer workshop "as a lark." Although she was a business major, Brenda worked on WBBP's executive level through her last three years at Afro College. She handled broadcasting as her

---

4 See Appendix G, pages 228-230.
outside interest and had strong performance skills, an effective air
voice, and good interviewing techniques. Even the college president
complimented her after she interviewed him on the air and encouraged
her to change her major. Performance, however, made her nervous;
Brenda preferred procedural jobs which had set patterns. She be-
lieved that she was weak in creativity and strong in handling of
detail and setting up systems, and observation proved that she
assessed her abilities accurately.

Pedro

Pedro was the subject around whom many of WBBP's activities
and problems revolved during the entire study. Joining the staff
during his second year at Afro College, Pedro moved up through all
the key executive positions and was promoted to operations manager
before he graduated.

Warm, impulsive, idealistic, Pedro was easily influenced
by his peers when he was in their company. As an only child, raised
in a fatherless home, Pedro was "always inspired by my grandmother
and my mother." As a child, Pedro did not appreciate the community
involvement practiced by his mother—nor the leadership encourage-
ment offered by his white teachers. Only after completion of several
years of college did Pedro begin to value those activities and oppor-
tunities.

---

5See Appendix Q, pages 264-272.
Pedro's mother had always encouraged him to attend Broadway plays, musical concerts, and even provided him with violin lessons (which he discontinued because of peer pressures). Pedro enjoyed singing in public, which he did until his voice changed. His interest in music had a strong influence upon Pedro's behavior and moods. It also appeared to have developed his ear to sense minute differences in pitch, rhythm, and tone as revealed by his aesthetic response to production work.

As a child, Pedro played at being a broadcaster, setting up a miniature "studio" with a toy desk, telephone, and tape recorder. Having a cousin active in radio encouraged Pedro to recognize the possibility of a broadcasting career. Programs he heard on WLIB, a black-oriented New York City station, were the deciding factor that impelled him toward a career in the broadcasting media. "The concept was so different," he explained. "It was more of an education, as well as music . . . and I listened, I listened, I listened."

Clyde 6

WBBP's news and sports director, Clyde, experienced lower-middle class life after his family moved from Harlem to a New Jersey suburb when he was four. During his high school years Clyde was active in sports, and played football and basketball as well as participated in track events. He also earned a gold medal in wrestling. Clyde had been elected to a student office only once

6See Appendix J, pages 240-245.
(when he was in eighth grade) but, disappointed by the "way things worked," he did not run again. He felt discouraged because the group would "sit and talk—and then they'd have these nice ideas—and they would never be implemented" even when Clyde, himself, offered suggestions which the group said it liked. As a result, Clyde believed that nothing is accomplished in politics or through group activities.

As an only child, Clyde was raised by his mother and grandmother after his father died when Clyde was nine. He had received brief music education in piano, composition, music appreciation and also developed a deep interest in jazz.

When he was small, Clyde had set up his own makeshift radio studio and "would talk and play a record on the phonograph." When he arrived at Afro College and discovered the existence of WBBP, Clyde's childhood interest in broadcasting was reawakened.

Malcolm7

A native of the Bahamas, Malcolm introduced the element of another foreign culture to interact with the Afro-American and African members of the WBBP group. Dynamic, orally fluent, Malcolm was slightly older than the others, having been almost 21 when he entered as a college freshman. During his first year of WBBP involvement he was also deeply active in black civil rights affairs; he additionally spent much free time learning karate and related martial arts.

7See Appendix 0, pages 258-261.
Although he had received no musical education, Malcolm had performed in public by "dancing on glass," the term applied to the ritual art of walking on glass doused with flammable liquid which has been set on fire. When questioned how this is done, Malcolm explained that "it is mind over matter" and claimed that he tried to use this type of will power in other facets of his life.

Malcolm was not academically inclined, as evidenced by his need to repeat high school after arriving in America and by his failure of a number of courses at Afro. Despite his lack of interest in formal education, Malcolm was bright, articulate, and extremely enthusiastic about the performing aspects of broadcasting, particularly being a disc jockey. His grandstanding characteristics made him an immediate success as an air personality, but a "prima donna" to the staff. His brief experience as a disc jockey before coming to America had accelerated Malcolm's adaptation to equipment operation and, therefore, he was WBBP's first console operator.

The youngest of three children, Malcolm had a much older brother and sister, each of whom had advanced college degrees. His parents were still living and his father, although retired, enjoyed working occasionally in the small business which he had founded.

Manuel

Manuel, the most peripatetic of the group, had lived in seven large Northern cities as his Air Force father was transferred to fulfill service responsibilities. Tall, quiet, easy-
moving, Manuel was the youngest in his family. He enjoyed a good relationship with his two older brothers. He admitted that "although we weren't disciplined in force, we had to do things, like—every night I had to write the times table for my father—up till twelve o'clock. I'll never forget the times tables!"

"I am an independent thinker," confessed Manuel. "If everybody's doing it, I don't want to do it." He admitted, "I tried to get away from being a star. When I played basketball, I was a sort of star there, so I began to feed another person next year—and made a star of him."

Manuel's musical experiences included taking music lessons in elementary school and playing double bass in the orchestra during his high school years. He also played the drums. Manuel claimed that "in a hearing test I learned I hear above-normal level on decibles. That's why I take so long on production." He explained, "I listen . . . for phrasing, breathing, etc. I'm not pleased with my voice." His voice actually had a pleasant quality and, through practice, he improved his delivery.

It was his interest in music and records that had triggered Manuel's initial involvement with WBBP. He reported that he had not realized the many jobs available in broadcasting until he began taking the specialized courses at Afro College.

Manuel was almost 21 when he had transferred to Afro from a large northern university. He was completely self-supporting and, therefore, had to drop out of college occasionally to earn
enough money to enable him to return for another semester. For this reason Manuel was older than the majority of the WBBP members; he was also more worldly-wise, and bitter because of several racially discriminating experiences. At WBBP he worked predominantly in the console and technical production areas.

Samuel

Samuel's deep bass voice and hearty laugh seemed to relax everybody within its sound. Despite his popularity on campus and his easy-going appearance, Samuel was able to set and achieve his goals. His interest in music led him to WBBP where he produced a record show. Because of his knowledge of music he was eventually promoted to the position of music director, which involved supervision of all music aired on WBBP. He also managed to continue his activities with the Afro College choir and band.

Because his parents had separated when he was seven, Samuel, an only child, spent most of his life with his mother. He was raised in a Southern town of about 50,000 and believed that his mother raised him to be independent and self-sustaining.

During his high school years Samuel sang in the choir, played the guitar, and took piano lessons; but he preferred to play by ear and stopped taking lessons. He was also president of his school classes several times, "but there was no paperwork involved," he hastened to add.

---

9See Appendix R, pages 273-277.
Charles' entrance into broadcasting at WBBP was the fulfillment of his childhood dream. He enrolled at Afro College after having completed a brief Career Academy course, because he wanted to learn more than had been offered at that training school. Although he had five younger step-brothers and step-sisters, Charles did not live with them because his mother had remarried and his grandmother had requested permission to keep and raise Charles. He considered himself a "spoiled kid" because he got "two, three, maybe four different things" at Christmas, whereas his friends received only one, or none. The first of his family to attend college, Charles had lived in the South all his life. He had not been around whites until he attended an integrated high school in his junior year. Charles' initial dislike of integrated education, followed by his gradual adaptation to it, offers sensitive perceptions of his acculturation through integration.

During his high school years, Charles' main success had been in sports. He had not taken much interest in class or club projects.

Often alone as a child, he had chosen radio as his companion, and recalled, "I'd been listening to radio since I was small... and I used to imitate newscasters on TV and imitate radio announcers and disc jockeys on radio as I heard them."

---

See Appendix H, pages 231-236.
He continued that interest at WBBP, immersing himself in console operation and the production of record shows.

Cindy

Cindy, a transfer student from another college where she had been active in broadcasting, was energetic, a creative writer, a vocal soloist, and a versatile radio interviewer. At WBBP she contributed solidly to the creative aspects of programming. On the other hand, she also contributed negatively to the station's emotional climate, as will be detailed later in this chapter.

An only child, Cindy was raised by her mother, who was a high school teacher. Cindy never mentioned her father, and there was no father evident in the home. Her general background was one with middle-class orientation, judged by the way she spoke, dressed, and source of family income.

Cindy's original plan had been to major in music. When she became disenchanted with that goal she turned to broadcasting as an escape. Even after discovering that broadcasting "was just as much, or more work than music," she continued with her studies in radio and television because she enjoyed the field.

While at WBBP, Cindy advanced rapidly through several major staff positions, and served as program director before she left Afro College. She continued her media studies in graduate school.

^See Appendix I, pages 237-239.
Alice became active at WBBP during the end of its second year and provided significant impact upon the corporate culture as she assumed several staff positions. Consistently calm and assured, Alice was a hard worker who could always be depended upon to follow through. She was the oldest child in her family, and was the only girl. Her parents were "very young" when she was born, therefore, as Alice remarked, "Actually, I grew up with my parents." Her parents often told her, "You've been grown ever since you were little." Alice believed she attained a sense of responsibility from "being around older people when I was small."

Although raised in a small Southern town, Alice had no regional accent. She revealed that she had never hesitated to volunteer for leadership roles during her high school days, but that she became more hesitant about doing so when she went to college. Additional high school activities enjoyed by Alice included public speaking, singing in the choral club, and playing on the basketball team which she captained for three years.

Alice took piano lessons four years during elementary school days, but lost interest and discontinued her musical studies at that time. Reading and writing always interested Alice and may have contributed to her academic excellence at Afro College.

See Appendix F, pages 225-227.
Evelyn

Evelyn was externally calm but inwardly and mentally active. Although she was extremely independent, Evelyn was willing to listen to others and to cooperate with them.

"Although I am not an only child, I was raised like one," she revealed. "My two brothers are much older than I am, and I was left alone."

Like Alice, despite being raised in a small Southern town, Evelyn had no regional accent. Her only source of musical education was her participation in the high school band. During her high school years she held various positions in several social clubs.

Attracted to broadcasting by what she observed happening at WBBP, Evelyn admitted that she had initially hesitated to take part because she was uncertain whether she could adjust to the pace. Only after she took a few basic media courses and learned about future career possibilities in broadcasting did she think, "Well, maybe I can." The "buttons and things" sparked her original interest. She advanced through small staff positions to attain the position of traffic director during her final year.

Glen

Glen became a WBBP member through his interest in electronics. Coming from a large Northeastern city, Glen was an only

\[13\] See Appendix K, pages 246-248.
\[14\] See Appendix M, pages 253-255.
child and was raised by his grandmother. Although the father did not live with the family, he was worshipped by Glen who became interested in music in order to share an interest with his father, who was a professional musician. "Although we can't talk together," admitted Glen, "we can play together. We communicate through music." Glen played the trumpet with skill and had not only participated in the high school band successfully, but also earned money playing "gigs" (engagements) around town after he entered Afro College.

Although bright, with an unusually high SAT score, Glen was equally moody. He was also unreliable about reporting for air shifts. His air work was flawless, when he felt in the right mood; it was very sloppy when he was feeling low. He admitted, "I got interested in broadcasting here as an escape." He and Jerome, Glen revealed, were originally freshman roommates who did not "seem to fit into the social mold of drinking and having a good time" so they looked around for something to do.

So I thought—they got a radio station. Let me go up there and see what's happening. And I went up, and I could see that the people who were up there, for the most part, seemed to be working at something.

Glen thought that he could do that and decided to "come up" to WBBP.

Jerome

Like Glen, Jerome was a freshman during the final year of the study. He was so capable that by the end of his fifth month at

15See Appendix N, pages 256-257.
Jerome received a trial position to head an experimental student broadcast operation. He was quick-witted, fast moving, and worked regularly as a newscaster and console operator.

Jerome was also a versatile, self-taught musician. He had become interested in music during the "Beetle Age." Buying a guitar, he learned to play it and earned money with it during his high school and college years. He also held a part-time job weekends working as a technician at a local television station.

In analyzing himself, Jerome pointed out, "Even though I have the capacity of being versatile, I tend to decide I'm going to do this--and concentrate--and put all my eggs in one basket." Sometimes, however, he scrambled those eggs, for he was eventually suspended and later dismissed from the WBBP staff for not reporting regularly.

Although his home and family were in the Upper South during the period of the study, Jerome explained that "up to high school I went to Armed Service schools and mixed with service people, mainly." The youngest of three children, Jerome reported, "We lived together most of the time." He boasted that his mother thought him the "most talented of them all," but added, "I wouldn't agree with that." He recalled, "I've always been independent, you know."

Jerome became interested in broadcasting through a friend who attended what he called a "Dee-jay school--broadcasting and announcing." Jerome added that he had chosen broadcasting because
he did not like to conform to the typical majors selected by most of his friends. "I tried something interesting to my mind, and to help my people," he mused. "I see the opportunities for blacks as just fantastic!"

Analysis of Subjects' Backgrounds

Because one of the purposes of the study was to seek out factors which may be predictable indices of managerial potential, the life orientation and early experiences of the respondents was analyzed to discover what variables may be common among young blacks who demonstrated basic managerial abilities through their WBBP tenure.

The construct of independence was common to all persons observed for the study. Although the feeling of self-determination did not always substantiate ability to handle work autonomously, it did reveal a sense of individual worth and the ambition to make others aware of one's particular identity. Position in the family may have contributed to being, or feeling, independent. Of the thirteen subjects, ten were raised as only children, either because of non-existence of siblings, or being raised apart from siblings. Only Malcolm, Manuel, and Jerome had been raised with siblings; they were also the youngest of their families and the least effective WBBP managers.

Seven of the respondents had experiences leadership roles in high school, which may encourage examination of high school activity records for this factor. Of course, the kind of position held must be considered. If a student held the type of leadership
role mentioned by Samuel—"with no paperwork"—such a titular position may demand no productive leadership responsibilities. In such cases the office could be viewed as a mark of popularity and perceived leadership role in the eyes of peers, but not necessarily an indicator of procedural or viable leadership abilities.

Accomplishment in the performing arts, particularly in music, seemed to be a common trait shared by all the subjects. Most of the respondents had experienced both music education and public performance.

Except for Brenda and Cindy, all other respondents were eligible for federal work-aid support. This distinction introduced the concept of socio-economic class which is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

The geographic origins of the respondents may have shaped some aspects of their managerial styles. Students from the North were physically more active, acted more assured, and revealed hostility more openly. They were, however, ready to resume a pleasant working relationship after differences had been aired.

Subjects from the South were more cautious about entering new situations, slower to assert themselves, hesitant to voice differences, but eventually proved to be more consistent and productive workers.

It was not possible to ascertain a strong sexual distinction in managerial styles, since there were nine males and only four females as major respondents. Many of the staff members, however, were female and, as a rule, the girls were more reliable about
reporting regularly and completing responsibilities. As Pedro once admitted, sadly, "If it weren't for the females in this place, the station would fall apart."

What inspired young blacks in the study to consider careers in broadcasting? Pedro, Charles, Clyde, and Manuel had dreamed of being broadcasters ever since childhood. Their desires developed through solitary hours during which they entertained themselves by listening to music on the radio and by pretending to be disc jockeys. Pedro and Charles received additional inducement through cousins already employed as announcers. It was accidental exposure to broadcasting, supplemented by fascination with the hardware, that aroused the interests of George, Alice, Evelyn, Jerome, Malcolm, Brenda, and Samuel. Cindy, Glen, and Jerome turned to broadcasting as a form of escape.

Once the serious aspirants achieved skill with the hardware they maintained their interest in the profession by observing blacks moving up the professional media steps and by learning about the higher level position opportunities in radio and television. Having black models such as Del Shields, Tony Brown, and George Norford seemed extremely important to those at WBBP.

With the foregoing orientation of the demographic characteristics of the subjects established, the next section examines the subjects' individual perceptions of the managerial experience, how it contributed to their managerial philosophies and practices, and their evaluations of one another in their managerial roles. Figure 3
Illustrates the positions held by the respondents during the three years of the study.

Impressions of the Managerial Experience

Before becoming members of the WBBP staff, all except Pedro and Brenda had perceived managing as "being the boss." Clyde explained, "I first thought management was, 'I'm the boss!' because I saw it like that on TV." Clyde continued, "My original concept was, 'I'm the boss, and you do what I say. I'm running the show, and I'll tell you what to do, and you do it!'

Alice had held a similar original interpretation. "First of all I thought it was just like the boss—she hands out duties to the person—'You do this!' and 'You do that!'

Evelyn had held a corresponding definition of management: "Evelyn, you do this. Now, go! Do!"

George's initial impression of a manager's job was to "hand it down and not listen." Cindy also had thought management was, "Do as you're told!" Malcolm viewed management as pure authoritarianism. On the other hand, Pedro's first management concept had been laissez-faire. Pedro had believed in letting people do as they wished. Through observing her father as a manager, Brenda identified management as, "Look for the problems."

As a result of their experiences at WBBP, all but Malcolm changed their philosophies and styles of management. Because most of the members had originally conceived that their jobs were "to go do!" anything the station manager suggested, they had felt un-
### Chart of Subjects' Positions in WBBP Organization and Period of Managerial Duties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Operations Manager</th>
<th>Program Director</th>
<th>Traffic-Continuity Director</th>
<th>Music Director</th>
<th>News Director</th>
<th>Console &amp; Production Director</th>
<th>Office Manager</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summer Trainees</td>
<td>George</td>
<td>Brenda</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Year Fall</td>
<td>Pedro (Asst.)</td>
<td>Pedro (Asst.)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X (Asst.)</td>
<td>Clyde (Asst.)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Year Spring</td>
<td>Pedro (Asst.)</td>
<td>Samuel (Asst.)</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>Malcom</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Year Fall</td>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>Cindy</td>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>Clyde</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Brenda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Year Spring</td>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>Cindy</td>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td>Clyde</td>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Brenda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Year Fall</td>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>Cindy</td>
<td>Brenda</td>
<td>Manuel (Asst.)</td>
<td>Alice</td>
<td>Evelyn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Year Spring</td>
<td>Pedro</td>
<td>Cindy</td>
<td>Evelyn</td>
<td></td>
<td>Evelyn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Legend:**
- X indicates that the position was held by people who either dropped out, graduated, or did not interact significantly with the corporate culture.
- 0 indicates the position was not filled at that time.
able to speak up and express differences of opinion until WBBP was almost six months old. An explosive, emotional group meeting discussed in detail later in this chapter, primed the flow of dissent. Later the respondents explained that nobody had expected them to disagree with a "boss" so that they did not know whether it was really wanted, nor did they know how to go about it. They had also been uncertain about the range of freedom to disagree.

What was later referred to at WBBP as "The Shout Out" occurred in early spring of the first year as a result of the subjects' pent up frustrations and misunderstandings about FCC regulations and also WBBP's official goals. It began with Pedro shouting at Mrs. Weiss, "You threaten my manhood!" and Mrs. Weiss' replying, "You are a liar, Pedro Gary!" On that rainy day, ten stalwart black youths stood in a circle in the small reception area and braved Mrs. Weiss who gesticulated with her red umbrella as they exchanged emotional barrages that revealed how all had covertly felt for quite some time. Although the initial responses were hostile, the result (the following day) revealed that clearing of the air had improved communication channels on both sides. The student managers held a clearer concept of what broadcasting was about, and Mrs. Weiss had a better picture of the areas which blocked out communication to the respondents. After that there were a number of continual stormy meetings, but the communicators found a clearer meeting of minds and interchange of true feelings as a result of the "Shout Out." The researcher discovered that polite acquiescence on her part had been misunderstood as weakness and uncertainty by the respondents.
Following meetings provided more give and take on controversial WBBP issues. Although meetings seldom ran completely calmly after that, the participants felt free to voice their opinions and the station climate improved as a result.

George, as operations manager, had been unaware that the opposition had developed until dissent broke out at that historic meeting. Trained since childhood to be respectful to his superiors, George initially had found it difficult to voice disagreement with Mrs. Weiss. The dynamic group encounter, however, also encouraged George to examine himself as a leader and resulted in his forming a new and more forceful image of himself for his staff.

George's new management approach centered around role playing. Within the station he saw himself as the leader who was to guide, teach, and reprimand; outside the station he believed he should be "one of the boys" and act as a peer. Three years later, George confided to the researcher that an additional problem with which he had coped during his two years as operations manager was that the members had often rejected him because he was an African. Even Pedro, who later came to respect and admire George, would taunt George with, "Yeah! You're an African! What do you know about it?" Only through role playing could George cope with the varying ways the corporate members viewed him.

In reviewing his philosophy of management, George believed that if one is working with a group that is used to authoritarianism, then it is necessary to use authoritarian methods at first. But,
once the group is molded and knows its responsibilities, George advo­
cated managing along McGregor's Theory Y, which encourages parti­
cipatory decision-making through responsible consultation between
superiors and subordinates. George demonstrated that he was able
to move the WBBP staff in that direction before he left the organiza-
tion.

Pedro followed George as operations manager. By the time
Pedro moved into the position he had adopted George's managerial
philosophy, though not his style. Pedro also believed in role play-
ing:

Now I'm role playing. And that's why I, at the end of
the day at the station--I like to go home, sit down, and
relax, and watch TV. And on the weekend, like, I try to
stay away from the students that I work with during the
week, and thus avoid getting that outside personal contact--
trying to break it off when I come to the station.

In Pedro's case, the separation from peers after hours was
as necessary for him as had been George's need to mingle. Many of
the station's problems during the initial years had been caused
by Pedro's friends, for whom he broke rules, changed program, loaned
records, and with whom he argued loudly and often. In fact, during
the second year, most of the key WBBP personnel were in Pedro's
clique. When, as operations manager, he recognized what his personal
friends were doing to damage the station's ultimate goals, he realized
that the only way to control himself and his friends was to main-
tain a discreet, professional distance. In this role he was even
able to discharge two close friends from the WBBP staff because of
their frequent and serious derelictions of duty.
Clyde's managerial style conflicted with his philosophy. While he verbally discarded the "boss" approach, in practice he either utilized it indirectly, or would disappear rather than meet a confrontation. He had obvious ability to plan and complete work, but his emotions dictated his output, and these fluctuated radically from one extreme to the other. He was more successful on tasks which involved his solitary dedication.

Clyde had no firm managerial preference. He explained:

As manager you have to play a game with people--each person. You have to learn which game to play with certain people. A soft approach is misunderstood. A lot of people think it's a weakness, your being easy—that they can run over you.

Clyde found it difficult to consider a democratic management approach. It may be that his resentment against group-decision-making was born in high school when:

The only office I held was student council representative, and I didn't want to get into that because I've always had this opinion of politics and anything else. There was nothing accomplished. They would sit and talk, and then they'd have these nice ideas, and they would never be implemented.

He reported that was why he never ran for council or office after that solitary experience in eighth grade. He described his approach to management:

With me, I don't say anything. What I'll do, I don't miss too much. I'll just keep a record, and when it gets to a certain point, I'll confront this person and say, 'Here, this is what you're not doing!' . . . It has to be an interaction type thing. I note that people my age hate to have people issue orders. So I try to do it by request. When I say, 'Would you do this?'—that's what I mean by tact.

What Clyde did not add was, that is others did not accede to his requests, he did not correct them, but permitted them to do things
in their own way. Unless they deliberately came to him and insisted on learning how to do something, he ignored them. He felt that he got his "the hard way" by asking others—and so should his peers.

Glen, a freshman, was used to strong physical discipline at home. He explained that if his grandmother, who raised him, beat him physically "in the house where nobody can see, the punishment didn't matter." He was ambivalent about stating a preferred management style:

I feel it's good that you put students in a situation when they see something is wrong or disagree about that you encourage them to speak up quite a bit. But, I don't think it's good where you don't have that strong a hold over them.

Alice laughed as she explained her new understanding of management, and told what changed her original authoritarian concept:

When I got involved with the radio station, I learned that it was operations; and all groups had to work effectively for one goal—a major objective. What changed my concept? It worked better than my first concept, when I thought the boss always passed down.

Easy-going Charles had held two summer internships at commercial stations and, therefore, was more aware of what industry expected:

It's got to be realized that when you go to a station, you gotta be aware you gotta take orders from the man at the top, no matter who he is. Whatever he say, 'Go!'—you do it. He's gonna give you a certain amount of freedom; but if you learn to respect him, he's going to respect you. It's got to be like in the real industry—or you're out! The head dude gets rid of everybody and gets new people in.

Unfortunately, Charles, who was liked by everybody at WBBP, was unable to discipline himself to do his work, and was finally suspended and later fired. He was more eager to please everybody
than he was to complete his responsibilities. He had a strong need
to be liked, and did not realize that he had achieved that goal.
Charles had permitted students to help themselves to tapes, and to
enter unauthorized control rooms because, as technical director, he
held keys to those areas. He also failed to tape-record important
campus speakers, as instructed, or frequently lost the tapes he did
make. Investigation after his dismissal revealed his possible in-
volvement with drug abuse which, if true, could have accounted for
the inconsistency between his philosophy and his behavior.

The only person in the study whose management concept did
not change during the WBBP association was Malcolm. He believed,
and still believes:

When management plays around, it is soft and weak. When
management is stern and autocratic, authoritative, then the
employees understand where they're supposed to be, and they'll
get the job done. I haven't found any other way to resolve
that except to be a strict dictator. If you don't do it, forget
about it . . . . A station manager must be able to rule with
a very hard hand. He has to be sensitive, persuasive. He
has to be able to manipulate.

That attitude did not make Malcolm welcome at WBBP. At the end of
his first year he had held a staff position for a short time, but
was relieved of it because nobody would work with him. Malcolm
has a charismatic aura, unsupported by procedural talent or the
ability to create team spirit. He assumed that WBBP practices
and policies were for everybody except himself, and frequently
interrupted other staff members' taping sessions, displaced equip-
ment and furniture, and followed his own impulses without considera-
tion for other people.
After being a WBBP staff member for at least a year, all except Malcolm claimed they had moved away from the "boss" concept of management. In practice, however, many continued to operate in a dictatorial manner despite their desire to appear less authoritarian. The authoritarian implications relevant to group dynamics and their perceived sources of authority are discussed in a later section of this chapter.

New dimensions such as role playing, manipulation, and false pretense were introduced by the subjects through their WBBP experience. The respondents appeared to have become aware of management as a form of interaction rather than of domination. A desire for freedom combined with varying forms of external controls seemed to be corporately desired, but there was lack of agreement concerning degrees of freedom and control.

Managerial Models

To discover the respondents' perceptions of ideal management, the researcher asked each subject to predict which past or present member of the WBBP staff might be a successful broadcast manager ten years later. It was also anticipated that data thus gathered might reveal common ethnic cultural mores that contributed to the subjects' constructs of management.

The persons most frequently selected as ideal managers were George and Pedro. This may have resulted because both had been operations managers at WBBP; but there were enough different reasons offered by the respondents to produce results valuable for the study.
Those who nominated neither George nor Pedro included Malcolm (who chose himself), Cindy (who invented a composite), Samuel and Manuel (both of whom refused to make a choice.)

Analysis of the responses revealed that they all agreed "the most respected, not the most popular, is the best manager."

According to George:

If popularity were the thing, Malcom would be a beautiful manager. But, coming down to do the work of the station, he couldn't do it. I know he couldn't do it. Let's take my situation. People didn't respect me at first. It was probably to the extent that I was an African student who didn't think in terms of being discriminated, because I was a foreigner. But I was popular in the extent that I talked to everybody, and everybody was my friend. Nobody could ever say that George Crawford was 'my enemy.'

Those nominating George as the best manager of the future were Pedro, Clyde, Evelyn, Brenda, and Alice. They all, however, seemed to have desired a bit more forceful control from George.

It was true, as George pointed out, that most of the Afro-Americans on campus disliked the native Africans and seldom mixed with them academically or socially. Jacobs reported finding the same attitude in the Northern ghettos. Jacobs reasoned that such an attitude is attributable to West Indians and Africans being treated better in America than native blacks because the foreigners have either more money or more class than their neighbors. Articles written by the native African students and published in the Afro College newspaper supported George's claim of such discrimination on the Afro College campus.

George was initially unpopular at WBBP, not only because he was from Africa, but also because he met daily with Mrs. Weiss for guidance and consultation and was, therefore, considered by some of the respondents to be "Mrs. Weiss' boy." George took it calmly and gracefully as he gradually earned the respect of the group.

Pedro agreed, "I think George was the best model of a manager. Now some people thought of George as weak, because of his self-control." Pedro then explained why he chose George as a model:

"I think George Crawford was the best model of a manager because of the type of atmosphere he grew up in Africa, whereas everything, from the time he was ten years old, he was old enough to understand the concepts of society. He was involved in politics, decision-making.

You see, a black child in America—the parents, you know—had a tendency to stay away from the political. As George grew up, he learned to work with people; whereas in America the only thing we know how to do, as I was growing up, was if you get mad at somebody you smack 'em, and you fight, and you curse, or you swear.

That response by Pedro revealed a noticeable attitude change because, during the first two years it had been Pedro who had led the WBBP group in opposition to the "African." Only after Pedro had ascended to the position vacated by George did he begin to feel the pressures George had endured and the need for the type of management skills George had utilized.

As quoted earlier, Clyde believed that the soft approach to management is misunderstood. In his opinion, "Mr. Crawford wasn't as dynamic a personality as Mr. Gary, so he didn't get the respect he deserved."

Evelyn pointed out that she had been impressed by George's patience, but:
He wasn't overbearing. Him being from Africa, he didn't handle us right at times—because everybody steps out of line at times—and, if he had been a little bit more forceful, I think he would have been ideal.

Brenda concurred:

George was good, but he wasn't a very outspoken person. He let somebody take it almost to the end before he'd try to stop it. The kids would often refer to him as "The African" and, even though it was taken as a joke—and he took it OK—I think inside he felt something.

Then she concluded:

All the African students here show a lot of self-control; but they really break loose at parties. I don't know if that's where they're feeling at home or not.

The thing that Alice liked about George was that:

... he wouldn't lack one thing. He would do a variety of things. He would do well in the classroom work, and also he would do well in communicating with staff members, and in doing his job as station manager.

By the time the study reached its final stage, George had completed his work at Afro College and was in graduate school.

As he looked back on his WBBP experience, he reiterated his view of himself as a role player:

I learned from my experience. I would go home and think how to treat this guy—and that guy. When you have about five guys around you, to get across to them at that time is hard, because everybody is trying to show off to his best. But, you get a guy in a one-to-one position and you see that you can really pin him down and know the kind of person he is—his personality. This is what I always tried to do and get. Now that I am away, and in graduate school, I've been told several times [by people at WBBP] that even though they didn't look at it when I was there, they see me differently now. I begin to get the feeling that I was successful at some time or another.

I learned a lot during my summer internship at that commercial station. There everybody knew what responsibility was. Only once or twice did a manager say, 'Now you have to do this!' And that was meant not only to be a warning,
but a threat as well; that next time we don't have time for such mistakes.

A student at an educational station is not self-disciplined because he does not have to do it. He can pull out at any time.

I believe each student should have an internship his third year. Then you have more insights and the full impact of your major can be felt.

Pedro was nominated as best managerial model by George, Charles, Clyde and Jerome. Pedro's potential was also conceded by Samuel, Brenda, and Alice. The main criticism of Pedro was his "lack of tact." When Pedro found something wrong—regardless of time or place—he would bluntly charge in to correct it. In time, however, as Jerome put it, the group came to realize that Pedro did such things because he "cared."

Speaking about Pedro, Jerome commented:

Pedro is the weirdest person. If you're the boss, you gotta be the boss, and don't pull no punches or you're not going to be boss. I remember our first staff meeting we had, and parliamentary procedure. I said, 'Yes, Mr. Gary.'

'Call me Pedro, man! I don't want none of that stuff!' he told me. His whole attitude is, you know, 'Let's talk it over. You can lay me out.' But then, when it comes down to it, he'll say, 'Well, look! I'm boss. You can't!' So one day he's a boss, and one day he's a pal; and he doesn't know how to separate it.

But I tend to see people's faults and not hold it against him. I respect him. He knows a lot of things I'd like to learn; and you know he doesn't do everything right. No human being ever does. I might disagree with him for that minute; but it doesn't affect our over-all relationship.

So, I have that feeling toward Pedro—and he does care. He really does care! You know, everybody has their hangup they can't communicate with other people. That's Pedro's only problem. He can't communicate at a certain level. Other than that, he's a great guy. He's serious.

Clyde identified force and drive with managerial success when he stated:
Mr Gary has the qualities to be a manager. He has the force and drive, which I think is essential. I admire that. The thing I don't admire is his lack of tact. I think it comes with age, maybe—that you acquire it.

Analyzing Pedro as a manager, George commented:

I would name Pedro for the best model of a manager. I've seen him grow older, and his ability to handle people—especially his friends. At certain times Pedro, he will go along with it; but, if he is pressured and if he has to do it, he did it.

I've told him again and again that, well, you have to be cool with your temper. You can get very firm about things. In other words, you have to show your role.

For instance, when you stand before him as manager of a station, 'blow' him all that you can. And when you sit as students and discuss things, talk to him as if nothing ever happened. Let the guy think about it and say, 'Oh, I think this guy was playing his role.' Well, that's Pedro.

I know every staff member would disagree with me, but I really think Pedro would make it. He seems to have the management know-how. I think he can improve his attitude. He may have to learn to communicate with his employees, to work with them more smoothly, but he has the managerial procedures and know-how. He's been around the business; he sees how it operates.

Brenda, who had worked under both George and Pedro gave her insights into the managerial maturation and working relationship between the two.

First of all, we found faults in everybody; but George was good. But, he wasn't a very outspoken person. The kids would often refer to him as 'the African.' They would always throw this: 'African, what do you know?' This was the big thing. Pedro always stayed on him about that.

One of the communication problems we have here is you have to be tactful. Sometimes Pedro's attitude, the way he phrases things, communicates the wrong message. When a moody person comes into the staff room and doesn't want to be bothered, that affects everybody—it really does. A moody person, a different person every day, you know, turns me off. I would hire the person that shouts, because he'll let me know his inner feelings—because I know what's going on. He lets it all out. I could adjust to that. Like Pedro shouts, and throws books and things. We'll make it!
Brenda was comparing Clyde's moodiness to Pedro's explosions in the preceding remarks.

Samuel assessed Pedro's managerial style thus:

The reason, maybe, why Pedro has not been all that effective in getting people to come to him is—because—I don't know—I think he has difficulty in communicating effectively with—not only the staff—but people in general. He has the type of attitude where he flies off before thinking. His main problem seems to be assuming things are wrong before asking for details. Nobody likes to be jumped on like they're at home.

Alice also mentioned Pedro's lack of tact when she said:

Now tact—that's definitely a problem. I don't know why the students consider Pedro tactless. It could be jealousy, envying him, wanting to be in his position because they want to be like that so bad.

Glen, a freshman, added his view of Pedro as operations manager:

A lot of it has to do with Pedro's temperament. He's a pretty easy-going guy, and so kind of constitutes—uh—well—one thing that he doesn't have going for him—and I think it's a major fault he has—is that (it's happened to me many times) he'll come to me and he'll say one thing, yet he'll go to a different person and say another.

Pedro's analysis of himself as a manager revealed that his first concept had been to put a person in a job and then to let that person alone, because:

I was just used to being a follower and not worried about being a leader. I was interested in doing what I had to do, and not anybody bothering me.

Pedro revealed signs of change when he added:

Then as you grow, you see all the kickbacks from that. You sort of like to develop the type of theory that will involve everybody, hopefully, everybody.
Pedro admitted that many of the students did not "go along" with him as manager. He hoped, however, that "four or five years from now they will say to me, 'Well, Pedro, what you told me was right.'" He continued:

I learned most here . . . the art of working with people. You can't say, like some of the students were saying, 'Well,' George was a bad manager, and we hope you do a better job than he.' Well, they're going to be saying the same thing when I leave. . . . You have to take the experiences and improve on them. Wherever I go, I can use the experiences, and I know exactly where to start from--what to do with the program directors the first day you start working with them, and so forth.

Pedro also revealed that before a staff meeting he could predict the emotional climate of the discussion by studying the moods of Clyde, Cindy, and Samuel. "If anything goes wrong, I know it's going to be Clyde, Cindy, or Samuel," he observed.

Reviewing his managerial philosophy as he looked back at his three years spent with WBBP, Pedro summarized:

One thing I've learned is that you cannot play games with people from the beginning--you know, pacify them. You can't be too lenient. Sort of put your feet down, especially with college students, because they are creative and innovative, but they don't really have all the basics.

I think you really have to be tight on them in the beginning and then after--if you establish that type of rapport from the beginning--you can start slacking off and they'll pick up things by themselves, by just watching and observing other people.

I think giving them too much flexibility tends to the problems we are having now--people getting in their own little worlds and they can't come out--and somebody comes into their world and tries to help them, but they just sort of put a fence between the person, and that person is frustrated and doesn't learn anything.

During the final year of the study, Alpha, a transfer student with broadcasting experience at another college, had
unobtrusively entered the WBBP corporate culture. By the end of that year, after demonstrating effective managerial style, Alpha was named to succeed Pedro who was about to graduate. In the few months Alpha had been with WBBP he had gained a following, and commanded the respect of the majority of the personnel. He often went out of his way to show people how to do things managing to accomplish his guidance with tact. After observing Alpha’s trial month as operations manager, Jerome noted:

The atmosphere at the station has been a lot more serious since Alpha was named new operations manager. Because Alpha is a lot more serious, and his temperament is a lot more serious. But his temperament is also easy-going, a lot more business-like, a lot more definite and sure.

When Alpha says something you know what he’s saying, even when he’s wrong. You don’t get it from another person—you get it from him. For example, Alpha said, ’Jerome, we're going to do things a little different’—and then checked me out by asking, ’Oh, yeah? How do you do that? Have you ever tried this?’ And I said, ’Yeah!—even if I hadn’t. His approach was great! He was really tactful.

Alpha’s appointment to the top position caused much emotional suffering for Clyde, who had assumed that the post would be his, based on "seniority rights," since he had been active at WBBP longer than any other member of the remaining respondents. It was difficult for Clyde to accept his failure to gain the promotion and he went so far as to request both the dean of the school and the provost to intercede with Mrs. Weiss in his behalf. He could not accept the fact that he had not received the promotion because he was unable to encourage others to work with him as a team.

The respondents' ideal manager was the person who is dynamic, outspoken, tactful, knowledgeable, firm, and fair. If
given a choice, they preferred the shouter over the sulker, but their ideal manager would not display emotional extremes. Face-to-face correction was more desirable than third-party admonitions.

The concept of role playing helped George and Pedro learn how to separate their personal relationships from their business associations, although the process of role playing had not yet been fully understood or accepted by the rest of the staff.

Perceptions of Management by Peers

Because the entire WBBP staff, except for the station manager, consisted of students, it was important to the study to understand how the subjects felt about and responded to management by peers who were also co-learners.

George, who had been with WBBP since its inception, stressed the need of young adults to feel important all the time, even though he admitted that they are different every day. He confessed:

Peers fear to punish one another—yet, it is necessary—otherwise they can destroy what they are trying to build—as in that incident when they permitted that strange young black man to start changing the control room wiring one night. Students who do not understand their responsibilities tend to think that you, Mrs. Weiss, are 'running us—giving us too much hard work.'

Brenda was quick to acknowledge, "It turned out to be more work than I thought it would be, but people work better under pressure." She attributed some of WBBP's difficulties to the fact that "we bring other people's problems in here, and students here sit and talk over what so-and-so did." Another source of problems,
according to Brenda, was poor listening. She concluded by saying, "Since we're all on the same level, you don't want to correct someone else."

"Loyalty to friends can be more important than loyalty to the station," Pedro admitted ruefully. "I did, until the middle of the year," he recalled. Then he added:

... but I still see too much of this. Samuel will never say anything about Cindy, but Cindy will say anything about Samuel in a minute.

Bitterness tinged Clyde's comment: "I've gotten mine now, and you'll have to get yours." Clyde agreed with George that the staff was not used to detail and follow-up, especially "dull paper work." It was his belief that they needed constant supervision, and that they should not be given "too many chances." When discussing staff behaviors, Clyde confessed that "they lean on the operations manager to light fires because they are afraid to cause conflict." He also admitted that sometimes the students acted uninterested, or remained quiet, merely to hide their true feelings.

Manuel introduced another aspect of problems caused by peer management when he discussed the lack of confidence caused because "I gave him too much of myself. He knows too much about me, so I gotta stay close to him."

Samuel defended peer management, even though he admitted: "The organization suffers because of student management." He felt, however, "from the point of view of the thing it's valuable, because it allows them to put into practice what they have learned in the classroom." He warned, however:
A student might appear dedicated, and put on a beautiful front for you to a certain extent; and you will eventually find him out; but it will be a long time before you find him out.

A feeling that "everything, the whole station, belongs to us" adds to the difficulties, according to Charles. He said:

We got the right to go in and do anything we want to, with nobody's permission. The atmosphere should really not be that way. . . . When you correct them, they might say: 'You're wrong!' But, once you tell them, they'll think about it. They may find themselves one time being selfish and realize: 'I was selfish'—or something like that. If you let them go along being selfish, they get the impression they got the right to do that.

Alice voiced the sentiments of the group when she stated:

I think that the newcomer's first impression is to respect the doer who does ten or fifteen things with his hands. But, after being in the business for a while, you get a deeper understanding of what the positions are, and the kinds of jobs. What bothered Alice most was "people not being able to control their emotions and tempers." She emphasized, "You don't have to raise your voice!"

In Evelyn's opinion, "Lack of trust of anybody in authority" is a major factor related to peer management. She felt, however, that the lack of trust was based on a feeling of insecurity and sensitivity. "It's harder to be spoken to harshly by the students than by you, Mrs. Weiss," Evelyn pointed out. She be-moaned her belief that many of the staff would "rather have titles than responsibilities."

In summary, although most of the respondents were aware of the sensitivities of one another, they were unable to perform in their perceived ideal way. Personal loyalties, fears, and con-
flicting goals interfered with the way the subjects knew they should manage. The dichotomous desire for freedom and control was reflected in the group's shifting managerial styles.

That the WBBP experience contributed to changing concepts was also evident. Implications for those preparing a group of young black adults for managerial positions are that a firm and reasonable set of initial controls will enable them to meld more smoothly into an operational group; and after those in the group have had adequate preparation and observation, they can be relied upon to develop sound judgements and to handle degrees of freedom relevant to their positions.

Black Cultural Constructs of Management

Frequent remarks by the respondents during the study revealed that only a few had been exposed to managers or the concept of how to manage. Assuming that the novelty of the broadcast managerial experience, plus the absence of black models, may have been factors contributing to the corporate culture's early difficulties, the researcher invited discussion of the topic as it related to WBBP's understandings and/or misunderstandings. The result of that portion of the investigation produced the following evaluations by the respondents: Pedro explained,

Black students haven't been oriented toward business concepts... and I feel as if our managers are going to have to learn the basic principles of management. Manuel and I often discuss this.

I think there are too many positions at the station. There's too many titles—egos—like: 'I'm manager of this department.' You have to understand that this is the first
time many of these students have actually had a chance to have a 'position.'
Some of the students from the South, to be honest with you, have a better perception of really what business is about, because most of their parents have had a chance to own property and have a business mind.

In Pedro’s opinion the young man from the North has more drive, is overconfident and "overly-creative," whereas the Southern student lacks self-confidence at first and, for this reason, may initially hold back.

Brenda believed that the concept of teamwork in management is not common for young blacks who are more accustomed to "too many chiefs and not enough Indians." She affirmed, "Working with black people, this is going to happen all the time. I’ve seen this."

Charles postulated that the greatest difficulty for blacks in management positions was "the lack of trust of anybody in authority," especially in a large city where:

... there's nothing you can do. You're just there! Then they become aware of the system ... that a white person is the cause of this. This then converts to lack of trust in anybody above you.

George agreed with Charles, and added:

A black man doesn't trust another black man. I've seen it in many cases. Even about taking things. First of all, the students we have aren't used to—one of the ways of getting back at society is to go and take things without asking for them. It is a form of fighting the establishment. I mean, it's this thing of not trusting your fellow man. It's hard to trust your fellow man.
It's been changing over the past few years because of this big thing called identity and unity. But it's going to take a period of time to change.
Because George had lived both in Africa and America, he was in a position to compare blacks from both societies:

A developing country has its communal culture, with the authority and the powers delegated to the chiefs, like a totalitarian kind of regime. But, in the communal society, your problem is my work.

The American culture has totally thrown the traditional black culture out of it, and we talk about the blacks—second, third, fifth generation. But this generation is a totally capitalistic generation, so it is looking at it from a different point of view.

Malcolm, who had worked part time at a commercial station throughout his final year at Afro College, had had the opportunity to observe whites in broadcast management. He noted:

Sure, students have a lot of immature ideas, a lot of fantasies, egotistical problems, and so forth. But, so do adults! I didn't realize this until I got out into the commercial side of broadcasting when . . . I learned something about whites. I considered much of what I saw in day-to-day life as limited to blacks—especially the negative aspects. But, I found out that blacks are just another form of people.

This was an incisive statement to be made by a black youth who reminded Mrs. Weiss, "If you remember, I was a very outspoken, actively active person in the black movement. I still consider myself active—not so outspoken." It was Malcolm who had taught Mrs. Weiss the black power salute. It was Malcolm who had called her a "cracker" for not buying Rhythm and Blues records for his program. It was also Malcolm who had defined "professional" during his first year at WBBP as meaning "white makes right," and it was Malcolm who had caused most station disturbances during the initial year. For this reason, his remarks made at the end of the study added a new dimension:
They have some unique qualities, and whites do also. But my ignorance came about simply because I was in an all-black environment for so long I didn't have a chance to compare the two. One who is in a black and white environment can compare the two. I feel that one has to get out into the world to find out what's there. And this adds to one's maturity.

Blacks have more of an understanding of whites than whites do of blacks, because blacks have not had any choice in the matter of finding out who whites are.

Malcolm concluded by stating:

And now there's a great big black problem. OK! And— it's really not a black problem—it's a white problem!

A review of the subjects' comments suggest the following factors that may contribute to managerial roadblocks for young blacks: (1) lack of business experience by poor black youth or their families, with consequent misconception of managerial responses that the average middle-class person takes for granted; (2) a lack of trust for anybody in authority, regardless of his ethnic origin; (3) a lack of trust by blacks of blacks, in private and public life; (4) failure to recognize that whites have as many problems as blacks.

Blacks' Reaction to a White Manager

As stated in Chapter I, one purpose of the study was to learn how black youth can be trained and managed effectively by whites. This section describes the highlights of black-white interaction during the WBBP managerial process, with consequent guidelines developed as a result of the experience.

Before accepting the position at Afro College, Mrs. Weiss,
who is white, had entertained doubts whether the black youth would accept her in a managerial role. After working with the new group for several months, and receiving approximately the same kinds of responses she was accustomed to receive from nonblacks, she permitted the question to subside—until one night during the third month, as she recorded in her journal:

Last night a startling awareness penetrated my consciousness! Coming home around midnight, wearily entering the living room, I caught a glimpse of myself in the hall mirror as I slowly removed my coat. That casual glance transfixed me!

I stood there—and stared at my image. Something was wrong. I felt strange—lost! Unreal! A discomfiting feeling overcame me. I wanted to move away, but I was afraid to stir until I could discover what caused that unpleasant emotion. Was I ill?

After several searching minutes, my mind was overwhelmed with the truth. I looked alien to myself—because that face in the mirror was white! After seeing only black faces all day long, black had become my real world. That white visage did not fit in!

For the first time I truly understood what some of the group had talked about, I had actually experienced a loss of identity.

The feeling passed; but the memory remained. It has never occurred again, but I will always remember how it felt!

During the next few months, Mrs. Weiss observed no overt rejection of her because of color until one incident triggered what apparently had been concealed from the start. It began because Malcolm wanted to purchase new records for his program, but was refused for budgetary reasons. Malcolm perceived that as a rejection of "black music" and, supported by Pedro, confronted Mrs. Weiss with charges of racism because she would not authorize the purchase. "Think black!" challenged Malcolm.
"You don't like our music!" accused Manuel.

"You make us work harder because we are black!" stormed Pedro.

Once the participants discovered they were free to voice such dissent, Mrs. Weiss discovered that she was a "honkie," a "cracker," and even a "devil." Thus did she learn that her color did matter—the fact had merely taken a half year to surface. It became important, therefore, to ascertain whether that was a general staff response or only the viewpoint of a few individuals.

Although discomfited by the encounter, Mrs. Weiss was also gratified that the situation had opened hitherto closed communication channels about a previously undiscussable topic.

Malcolm, who had initiated the revelation, recalled three years later:

When you came here, for example, you had been in an all-white environment for the majority of your life—especially in the formative areas of your life. And, most blacks here at the station had been in a black environment for the major part of their formative years. But, blacks had more of an opportunity to work with whites than the whites did of blacks. There were a number of things that you did do, at that time, and that you still do, unconsciously, that irritate blacks.

During those three years, Malcolm and Mrs. Weiss had shared many confrontations and confidences and felt free to be bluntly honest with one another. When she asked him, however, to clarify what behaviors of hers were considered irritating, his response was unspecific:

Well, that's something that is asked by most whites. And I couldn't truthfully say . . . because most people don't think one-two-three-four-five-six. Mannerisms, some attitudes, conversation, choice of words.
His voice trailed away and he shifted the topic by saying:

You know, you have to understand how people look at you as a white manager. You see, this is what has fouled up a lot of things thus far. A lot of students look at you as the plantation owner. And, working with blacks, you have to take a look at all that has transpired in that person's history, and, at this point, of awareness of one's history, heritage. Black people are more conscious of this.

In this manner, Malcolm first mentioned the new black sensitivities, possibly introduced by the offering of black studies courses.

Malcolm also believed that the sex of a station manager has some impact on black youths and managerial styles:

... but that can be all overcome—by tact, procedures, and a heck of a lot of the psychological dynamics of behavior. And I think that a woman is the perfect person to do such a thing. A woman has the subtleness. And a woman is just plain woman. I can't really quite describe it, but a woman is able to get more done than most men. I have learned a lot from women. They have taught me how they can subtly make a person feel they're the king.

Pedro, on the other hand, frequently voiced a different viewpoint concerning being managed by a female. He considered it a "threat to my manhood" to be corrected by a woman.

When asked his opinion whether WBBP would have had fewer initial emotional upsets if Mrs. Weiss had been black, Pedro evidently chose to ignore the incident in which he and Malcolm had been involved, as reported on pages 77 and 78, as he looked back during his third year at WBBP and reported:

I don't think it would make any difference here if you were black. You know why I say that? The only time that I try to evaluate a situation on a racial basis is when I see white people who are trying to take advantage of black people. But I feel as if Miss Jones—she is having just as much problems with her courses—and she is a black teacher.
And I think if students who are going to leave here—let's face it—the majority of the networks, trustees, are controlled by white people, so they're going to have to . . .

his voice trailed off and he did not complete the sentence.

Alice, who had never displayed any signs of racism, expressed her philosophy concerning being supervised by whites:

I don't see what difference it is in who teaches you what, as long as they know what they're talking about. I think sometimes it's fear that they think that maybe you might—because you have been through the experiences and stuff—that you might expect something that they might not be able to produce—not giving themselves a chance to really get to know—to really produce before they start criticizing.

Yes, it's fear of failure that a white person is going to be so hard on them, or give them so much work—and rather than, maybe, to be embarrassed about the situation, they just complain.

Maybe it's just this 'black bag' that some people are in. You know, really, it just takes them too deep in the bag. You can get too deep in anything and ruin the effect of it all.

Alice offered her opinion as to why staff were afraid to ask for more information or instructions by stating that "one wastes time by not asking. Because you are white, however, they will try to 'look as good as I can' when they don't know about it."

Reviewing his first year at WBBP, Manuel overlooked the bitter argument he and Mrs. Weiss had had when she discovered him burning incense in the control room during a board shift, with the smoking stick inserted between two tape cartridges in the cartridge rack. During the final year of the study, he commented, "To me it didn't make any difference, really [that you were white]." However, during the incense incident he had perceived her prohibition as a dislike of incense and not because his burning it was a fire hazard.
Clyde, who had been the first freshman to join WBBP, reminisced:

If you were black, would the station have pulled together faster? Well, someone hit me with a question last night—and he doesn't work here at the station. He said, 'I thought it was Mrs. Weiss, you know—all the trouble you all was having—Mrs. Weiss. But it's not entirely her fault.'

No ... that isn't it!

Clyde paused to pull his thoughts together.

It's not you, because we've been running better with you than if we had somebody black, because the problem by now has been absorbed into the Afro College system. You have resisted this, and I think that was good.

I said, 'Weiss is not a handicap.' I've seen a lot of these teachers who have been absorbed into the system, going along with the program—which you're not doing, and I admire you for that—for not going along with some of the stuff the administration pulls.

Clyde referred to the frequent, last-minute changes of Afro's procedures or curriculum, which often affected the students' financial or academic plans adversely. Methods of paying the work-aid students were also frequently changed, or by-passed and Mrs. Weiss had to adjust the students' needs to the administration's latest pronouncements.

Samuel admitted forthrightly:

Now the fact of having a white supervisor has been one of the main things that has kept a lot of people from speaking up and saying, 'So and so isn't doing his job and I'm catching the devil under him.'

And this is something—no matter how much you'll talk—you'll never be able to get the people to come around and do this, because, aside from feeling they're ratting on a friend, they feel even worse.

I think it takes a mature person to realize when he's being loyal to a person and when he's being foolish.

Then Samuel recalled some of the first-year upheavals:
Now when you come in as a group of people for the first time, well—I don't know now that it's already going that it would be as serious as it was the first year—and it was bad! Everybody was anxious to show how black they were.

Now, whenever a new person comes in and sees everybody else is working, you know . . . then he's not as exposed so much to the idea of alien ideas . . . of saying, 'Well, you know, we shouldn't have a white supervisor.' This may still be the prevalent feeling, but it's not the foremost thing in the minds as concerned with the jobs.

Evelyn implied that leniency could be both an asset and a detriment, as she pointed out:

I think you're just too lenient. I think it's because you're not a harsh person. I think that they think, in some way, you're trying to give the student a chance; that you believe in them.

During his third year at Afro College, Malcolm obtained a part-time internship at a local station. During the first half year of that internship Malcolm revived his black militant outlook and viewed all his white department heads and supervisors through black glasses. As he received individual attention and assistance from members of the commercial station's staff, however, Malcolm's attitude began to change—especially after the station manager was abruptly dismissed—a dynamic man whom Malcolm admired. It revealed to him that white's also could lose their jobs for reasons other than racial.

At the conclusion of his internship, when asked to write what he viewed as the possible disadvantages of an internship for a black youth at a white station, he responded:

If there is a student who is so sensitive to the racial question that he cannot perform effectively, he should forget an internship at a white-operated station. By the term 'racial' is meant that if a black feels that white folks are
all 'crackers,' that's one thing; but when he lets it affect his performance, then he is at a disadvantage, both professionally and personally.

The racial question also refers to the lack of knowledge of blacks by whites, and vice-versa. The racial question additionally refers to the lack of sincere desire on the part of both parties to try and understand the other. There is a definite need for the black student intern to be able to understand the white man, or to have the desire to know him. However, this is not limited to the black student.

Evidence that Malcolm eventually achieved a satisfactory working relationship during his commercial internship was demonstrated by that station's offering him a permanent position after his graduation from Afro College.

From a black perspective, it appears that many apparently negative job behaviors are actually indications of a feeling of powerlessness, insecurity, and fear. Some blacks feel a loss of black identity and self-respect when they work under a white manager, and rather than appear ignorant in a white man's eyes, they will hesitate to ask for necessary information or assistance. New black employees may mistake standard operating procedures for racism, unless reasons behind the procedures are explained. A new black employee may initially test a white manager by trying to prove "how black he is," especially if he is one of a group of blacks being managed by a white.

As black youths are introduced into a working situation where other blacks have already achieved job competence under a white manager, their resentment of the white supervisor will diminish and they will also learn more rapidly if they receive indi-
vidualized rather than group instruction.

Whites who have lived in predominantly white environments need to know more about black people's history, needs, and beliefs. They can expect to spend additional time openly exploring black attitudes and concerns of blacks working with them. Honest, and sometimes emotional, verbal communication may be the most satisfactory way to clear communication channels, since subtlety might be misinterpreted as a form of weakness. Fairness and firmness will be respected by blacks working under white department heads.

Organizational Communication Behavior

As illustrated in the preceding sections of this chapter, misunderstandings pervaded the corporate culture. Messages were often sporadic, incomplete, inaccurate, or misunderstood. The organizational communication chart (figure 1, page 31) did not portray the actual information flow. Studies made of the real communication lines and of the members' verbal and nonverbal practices, revealed the following types of organizational communication behavior.

Communication Flow Within the Organization

Downward communication was the most frequent type, presented through posters, notices on bulletin boards, newsletters, duplicated agendas, handouts, and personally written memos from depart-

17 See Appendix E, pages 222-224.
ment heads and the station manager. Written material was supplemented by announcements made in regular staff meetings.

Cross communication occurred through weekly departmental meetings, emergency sessions, and private conferences.

Upward communication, generally verbal, was the least frequently used mode of conveying information at WBBP; and, when it was used, it was generally blurted out impulsively by respondents at inappropriate moments, or addressed to staff members who failed to pass the data up the line.

To maintain her communication responsibilities, Mrs. Weiss scheduled weekly private sessions with each member of the WBBP executive staff, in addition to meeting with all other persons who requested appointments. In those get-togethers, a subject often chose to talk about personal rather than business matters, and discussed such topics as drug abuse, pregnancies, or home problems. Some spoke about typical student problems concerning financial worries, broken romances, roommate differences, or temporary disappointments. Out of consideration for each person's privacy, Mrs. Weiss always closed her office door for such conferences.

It was from Clyde that Mrs. Weiss learned that every time the office door was closed for such a meeting, many respondents and general personnel believed that the individual in the manager's office was "eating cheese," a term synonymous for "buttering up" or "giving it the old college try."

A small glass window in the station manager's door enabled
passers-by to look in; it was common for many at WBBP to peer through the glass as they walked down the hall, in order to see who was "eating cheese" with Mrs. Weiss. Even respondents who always requested that the door be closed when they discussed private affairs, believed others to be talking about their "brothers" whenever they noticed the door was not open.

Clyde volunteered an explanation:

It's not because you're white—because it would be the same thing if we had a black person. It's because you're the top . . . the highest rung on the ladder of the station—and they feel something must be cooking if the door is closed.

On the other hand, Cindy believed the practice of "eating cheese" had racial undertones:

The more I think about it, I don't think it's really a matter of eating cheese, but by you being white and the rest of us being black. It's a matter of us betraying our own. If you were black, I think it would be an altogether different situation.

On many occasions, however, Cindy entered the office to complain about other members of the staff, and she never appeared to feel as if she were betraying anybody.

In Evelyn's opinion the charge of personnel "eating cheese" when the door was closed was a "political thing," with people trying to gain positions and advancement.

Brenda's concept embraced the college culture, as she stated that she thought that type of suspicion was "the way the whole campus operates" and she did not believe it was limited to WBBP.

Pedro took a different stand. He stated flatly that he
believed the door should always be closed when business was being discussed. In fact, Pedro used to close Mrs. Weiss' door if he happened to walk past and saw that she was alone in her office. She could not ascertain whether he did it to provide her privacy or so that she could not hear what was taking place in the adjacent staff room.

Pedro believed that the people who accused others of "eating cheese" were the ones that wanted to do it themselves. Samuel held the same opinion.

Alice laughed as she agreed that suspicion of others "eating cheese" behind a closed door was a common belief at WBBP, but added that she did not hold to that impression herself. She pointed out that if the station manager were to talk with anybody in the middle of a busy room, or "on the block," Mrs. Weiss could discuss anything and nobody else would try to listen, or feel any suspicion.

Regardless of why they thought so, concern about respondents' talking to the station manager behind a closed door seemed to cause worry for many of them.

After discovering the commonly held assumption on the matter, Mrs. Weiss made a point to keep the door open unless a participant chose to close it himself. After a few months of the "open door" policy, suspicions based on "eating cheese" appeared to wane.
Verbal Communication Styles

Most of the subjects preferred spoken communication in all phases of their lives. George believed the preference to "rap" was a black cultural norm, especially for those coming from a lifestyle which did not encourage writing, and which often depended upon spoken wit as a "survival" technique.

George also saw English as a "second language" for the black man in America. Because black English's grammar and enunciation are different from the English expected of broadcasters, George thought that difference explained the respondents' distaste for paperwork and their resentment when they were advised to improve their speech if they wanted to go on the air.

For George, who came from Africa, English was actually a second language, yet he grasped it better than most of his Afro-American counterparts. He referred to his Afro-American peers as he expounded:

Their language is very much different. Jive! If a black man talks to another black man, you may not understand them, but they understand themselves. They understand very well. If the opportunity is given him to express himself in his language, at the best level he could write books and books in days. But, counting English per se, he is afraid to . . . The kids are not too lazy to write, but they are not used to writing the kind of English—the grammatical structure the average American is used to.

It was possible to observe the respondents switching from one kind of English and speech to the other, depending upon circumstances. Black English was heard more often in social settings, and even

18 See Appendix E, pages 216-219.
even participants with acceptable air speech would sometimes revert to dialect and muddy consonants when "rapping" informally with black friends.

Malcolm, a fluent speaker with a hint of British accent, displayed intense distaste toward writing, and he demonstrated unsatisfactory writing ability in any circumstance requiring him to place his thoughts on paper. He could not write with the fluency and clarity of his spoken discourse.

As reported, there was relatively little upward communication, even in staff meetings. In an impromptu farewell speech just before he graduated, Samuel emphasized to the staff the need for them to stop "rapping on the block" and to start talking in meetings where "it can do some good." Talking with Mrs. Weiss privately was the most prevalent form of upward communication. Although forms for written memos were given to the respondents, they seldom chose to communicate by that means.

Upward oral communication increased during the third year as a result of mandatory weekly department meetings. Not only did the meetings begin to improve lines of communication up and across, but they also enhanced the status and power of peer executive staff members chairing such meetings.

The majority of the respondents indicated negative feelings about paperwork, writing, and reading. George, who believed "managers should be more paper-like" added a new ethnocentric dimension to the subjects' dislike of paperwork.
I think part of it is you're going to have a hangup on 'whitey.' He sets the rules; he breaks the rules.

Charles concurred:

It's a culture thing. I myself am not used to doing paperwork, keeping files. I think nobody up at the station is used to paperwork. And it's something you got to get adjusted to.

Pedro complained about staff members' failing to keep up with daily written reports to him—yet only a few days after his stressing to the researcher how essential paperwork was, he protested vehemently, "there is too much paperwork up here." Apparently Pedro wanted people to inform him through writing, but that he did not want to reciprocate. Perhaps Samuel delineated the problem when he remarked:

I think the reason paperwork has not been as efficient as desired is because of the fact that nobody has ever gone into the value of paperwork, or the purpose of it. Even in my place—I intend to come back and get it— but don't. I'm not oriented to paperwork.

Jerome considered "paper is business ... and it's too serious."

Glen's soliloquy about paperwork introduced a psychological barrier which the printed word created for him:

Paper's no good if you don't read it! ... 'It's not really that way out there' is the WBBP attitude. One thing about a paper is that when you read a paper, you can't talk to that paper and say, 'Look! How am I going to do that?' The paper is there; and it has been written; and it has background to it; and a state of authority. And if you come through, it is the most fascinating, perfect paper you ever read.

But, if a paper has one idea that conflicts with your beliefs—then the paper is no good to that person. That's the point you dwell on—the point that you feel you know is hurting you.
Now, if you sit down with a person and talk about it, you can talk back and forth. A paper cannot give!

According to Evelyn it was "fear of making mistakes" that caused most of the staff to avoid paperwork.

Instigated by the respondents' neglect to refer to the job description-policy book, additional research revealed that most of the subjects lacked motivation to read. Pedro said:

They are not oriented to business, or policies, or how to read policies and find loopholes.

Evelyn also agreed that "it goes along with the paperwork" as being a nuisance, plus a feeling that "I have to decipher all that."

Charles attributed the subjects' distaste for reading to black cultural perceptions:

It's the culture thing of the average Afro College student. They know about the book, but they're[sic] under the impression 'I know it, I don't feel like going at it—don't have the time.'

In his opinion, the staff members should be forced to read the job description and policy book.

Samuel expressed a somewhat different view of reading the book:

The reason the job book is not used more is that it's to a lot of members up here like the Bible is to a lot of people. They know that this is where a log of answers can be found, and this is the way things should be—and they never get around to going there. It's sort of like the job-policy book is the sacred book—but nobody ever uses it!

Brenda suggested that Mrs. Weiss was partly to blame. While
admitting that the executive staff needed "some kind of guide," Brenda pointed out that it was easier for individuals to ask questions of Mrs. Weiss than it was to look through the index, because Mrs. Weiss was always ready to tell them.

Semantics introduced some communication misunderstandings, particularly between Mrs. Weiss and the respondents. During the first week, when Mrs. Weiss was getting acquainted with Malcolm, she referred to "Negro" history. With a defiant tone in his voice, Malcolm charged, "You just insulted me! I'm not a Negro! I am black!" Even after Mrs. Weiss explained that her non-white friends in another state preferred to be called "Negro" Malcolm testily advised her that Afro College students wanted to be called black.

After that event, impromptu vocabulary lessons from various respondents guided Mrs. Weiss to avoid use of the word "boy," regardless of how young the male was. Also resented was the term "kid," because it sounded patronizing and implied that young men were children. Adequate substitutions included expressions such as: young man, gentleman, youth, or youngster (for a male in grade school).

The subjects discovered that the "plot" of a story was an outline, not an "underhanded scheme." They were surprised to learn that the term "discriminate" did not necessarily have racial connotations. They disclosed that when one of them said, "That's bad!" he was offering a supreme compliment.
Thus, increased awareness of semantics improved some aspects of cross-cultural communications between the white researcher and the black respondents.

Nonverbal Communication Styles

Underlying the respondents' comments about verbal communication were feelings which the investigator asked the subjects to describe. The results implied that each subject weighed nonverbal components of communication more than verbal elements.

Pedro placed great importance on tone of voice when he interpreted a message:

I agree that words and tone of voice are important. And I also take into consideration how the person is listening to you. If he's mad, he thinks you talked to him in a bad tone of voice, regardless of whether you did or not.

Manuel added the dimension of facial expression:

I don't listen to them verbally. I look at their facial expressions. The facial expressions tell you quite a bit, rather than the words.

Most of the corporate members equated tone of voice with tact. To the majority of the respondents, tone of voice had more effect upon their reception of a message than did any other nonverbal factor. This was closely followed by facial expression. The respondents claimed that they "read" a person's emotions before they tried to talk with them.

Some subjects, however, although sensitive to the tone in others' voices, were not alert to the impact of their own inflections upon their colleagues. Pedro, in particular, while
extremely sensitive to the tone and moods of others, did not realize the negative impact of his tense vocal colors when he tried to correct his peers, or when he addressed an outside guest or a faculty member who may have neglected to appear for a program, or to submit an advance copy of a script.

Cindy affirmed the respondents' sensitivity to facial expressions when she reported that she had experimented with their responses to messages by speaking identical words to colleagues, half the time with a smile, half the time with a serious mien. In all cases, she discovered that the subjects responded pleasantly when she smiled, and negatively when she did not.

Common forms of "body language" used at WBBP to express negative feelings included tardiness, absence, refusal to speak to anybody, or avoidance of eye contact by hanging one's head throughout an entire session. Cindy also displayed annoyance by hugging her body closely with her arms and simultaneously swinging the upper half of her body in a direction counter to the lower half.

Positive emotions waxed at WBBP when music was turned up full volume in the staff room, sometimes accompanied by gentle horse-play. Listening to music appeared to be the corporate culture's most stimulating and unifying mode of non-verbal communication.

Listening skills varied according to purpose. The respondents used listening as an affective barometer, as well as to obtain or refuse information. Not listening was used as a weapon—a good way to fight back.
In summary, the most important nonverbal communication element was a person's tone of voice, sometimes equated with "tact." Vocal inflections revealed more than did code, particularly in corrective situations. Facial expressions were considered more important than words.

Inaccurate listening was common. Deliberately choosing not to listen was a prevalent method of fighting back.

Group interaction improved when supported by a background of loud, contemporary music. Some respondents purposely listened to music before reporting to work, in order to improve their affective responses on the job.

Upward communication occurred more in private sessions. The most misunderstood aspect of private communication was the factor of speaking behind closed doors, a practice sometimes referred to as "eating cheese" by those members of the group who feared that the peer in conference might be criticizing his coworkers in order to advance himself within the organization. While a few viewed "eating cheese" as a form of racial betrayal, the majority saw it as "political" behavior.

Impromptu spoken communication was the preferred method of sharing information and there was strong resistance to any kind of paperwork. Even those who said they felt paperwork was important were frequently unwilling to fulfill their individual responsibilities to keep records, plan schedules, and prepare reports. They admitted they preferred to "push it off till next time" or that
they had "not yet got into the habit of it." Some avoided paperwork for fear they would do it incorrectly, yet they were reluctant to ask for guidance. Paper's inability to provide feedback seemed to be an important barrier to its use. Glen's contention that a paper could be rejected if it contained just one point with which a reader might disagree, introduced an additional explanation of disdain for written instructions.

Reluctance to read appeared rooted in lack of desire to read, rather than in reading disability. There was common distaste for the effort required to read and "decipher all that."

Semantics sometimes caused racial misunderstandings, if the primary meaning of a term in general usage by white culture had derogatory racial implications to members of a sensitive black youth culture.

Finally, communication in all directions was improved by working through the affective responses of the subjects, in order to reach them at the cognitive level.

Teamwork

As might be expected from a group of predominantly self-styled individualists, teamwork at WBBP was ragged, particularly in task-oriented situations. Things operated more smoothly when

social satisfactions could also be gained through performance of a task.

Since eight of the thirteen major respondents had been raised as only children and had not been exposed to the normal "give and take" usually experienced with siblings, it may be that such upbringing contributed to their lack of comprehension of teamwork. Clyde, for instance, was ineffective in cooperative ventures, but could not perceive that fact. He said, "I'm happy working with a team. It depends on the team. I thought I was working with a team here—and it's not a team." He referred to his former position as news director, in which he permitted his newsmen to do as they chose, seldom gave them assignments, and never provided them with criticism or direction. He thought he was creating a team by giving them complete freedom and he did not understand why they ignored him as a leader. He had even avoided weekly afternoon news staff meetings, claiming he had to "eat supper" at 3:30 PM, the time he had personally set for the meetings.

George observed conflicts between personal and group goals as he explained:

I told the students, 'The success of the station depends on you and me.' I told them to think as a team, and set up some sort of procedures and objectives for others to follow. 'Don't think in terms only of your personal success.'

According to Samuel and Alice, false "lip-service" was a serious deterrent to WBBP teamwork. There occurred frequent episodes of people promising to do "things they never intend to do." Alice commented: "It is common to see a person who Pretends team
action, but he's not really a member of the team. A person does this to use the group, not to serve them.

Pedro stated:

I like to work with a team. When I tell my mother I'm sick and tired of that radio station, she reminds me, 'You may need those people ten years from now.'

I tend to go away from the team until they pull themselves together, because—you know—I don't believe in wasting time with rhetoric: 'We can work as a team! We can work as a team! We can work as a team!'

—then, when it comes time for work, nobody's around.

So I guess, at times, I try to carry the whole load, in order just to keep the thing together.

Malcolm laughed awkwardly, as he said:

WBBP staff is comprised of—some people would consider them society's misfits. I say misfits jokingly, because everybody active up here does not socialize on Afro's campus.

It was true that the WBBP staff focused much of their free time on the radio station. The productive members were not much involved in campus 'hanging around the block, shuckin' and jivin'.' They preferred to be doing something with activities that usually centered around music, either as performers or listeners. Malcolm summarized his observations by saying,

I feel that these students here, for some reason or other, these students here are a little bit different when it comes to wanting to get out, and wanting to do something in a specific area.

A sociometric study conducted during the final year revealed that absence of any one dominant leader, as seen on figure 4, page 100. The subjects were asked, "Of all the persons at WBBP, who are the two you would most like to work under? Indicate your first and second choices."
A SOCIOMETRIC STUDY OF THE RESPONDENTS

Figure 4
Out of a staff of twenty, thirteen individuals were named. Samuel received three first choices, and Clyde accrued two. Both individuals were laissez-faire type managers. Pedro received two first choices and one second choice. At the time of the sociometric study, Pedro had made some enemies by breaking ties with his personal clique and by firmer enforcement of station policy, which may have accounted for his weak showing. Of the remaining nominees, none received more than one first or second choice. The results implied the existence of several small cliques, as well as rejection of any one member as a desired leader by the majority.

Many of the replies were unusable, because staff members evidently misunderstood the question. Some did not realize they could include the names of persons absent from that particular meeting, or of people who had graduated. George, for example, considered by five respondents as the ideal manager of the future, received no nominations in the sociometric study.

Lack of preference for any one person as leader may also have been a result of competitive feelings by young people who had previously been culturally isolated from business experiences. Park pointed out that competition may create hostilities in such a situation:

> Competition tends to assume a new character. It becomes conflict. In that case, the struggle for existence is likely to be intensified by fears, animosities, and jealousies, which the presence of the competitor and the knowledge of his purposes arouse. Under such circumstances, the competitor becomes an enemy.²⁰

Park added, however, that when one got to know and understand his competitor, he achieved better relations. There was indication of a move in that direction by many respondents near the end of the study. Supporting Park's conclusion, WBBP's weak teamwork may have been its temporary adjustment to a new corporate setting. It may also have been affected by conflicts which occurred as members of an originally non-competitive, Afro-American culture, were acculturated to an individualistic, competitive society.

Many of the corporate members did not think it wrong to take albums, tapes, or electronic components, because they believed everything at the black station belonged to the brothers. Such is the tribal communal attitude found in the original African culture, and which still exists in Africa today. Who is to determine that it is not still intuitively carried on in America today by the descendants of those born in Africa? That is one important question that has been aroused by the study.

Most members of the WBBP executive staff were not "other-oriented." They refused to teach newcomers what they had already learned; conversely, they expected others to volunteer information, help, and guidance.

There was a discernable team pattern which peaked about every seventh or eighth working day, usually generated by some crisis created by one participant's arousing others to do something against either another staff member, station policy, or procedures.
Immediately following the flare-up, everybody would be cross and quiet for one day, succeeded by a burst of group exertion for no more than two or three days, after which activity leveled to a normal work output for approximately five days. Each crisis would appear after things seemed to be operating calmly for several days. The pattern approximated the following form:

As Cindy explained, "You just don't understand. When things go smooth, we black folk need to do something to create excitement." Cindy assumed that only blacks seek excitement when they are bored.

Short bursts of energetic and productive teamwork would materialize on projects that took creativity and little advance planning. An illustration of that was the creation of a two-hour Martin Luther King special, assembled with two days of frantic work and it included excerpts from all King's major speeches as well as appropriate blends of music and original commentary.

The respondents demonstrated that they could work together and plan in advance when they had a fun-oriented goal such as a party, or an all-night music marathon broadcast. They were able to achieve gratification from tasks which produced something they could see and hear, usually projects which could be handled by indi-
viduals rather than interacting groups. "Too many up here" was a frequent complaint. Perhaps the rapid influx of new personnel disrupted small group formation and did not provide the team time to "jell."

Rapid mood shifts were common. If something depressing occurred on campus the preceding evening, the whole group reported to work in a glum state. For example, if a "Black Journal" television program recalled how slaves had been tortured, the WBBP membership would start the following work day in a hostile mood.

Sometimes group depression would result from the arrest of a friend for drug abuse, or a drug-related hospitalization or death of a campus associate. Personal disagreements between two WBBP members often spread gloom over the corporate group.

Unpleasant moods were most noticeably spread by Pedro, Clyde, or Cindy. It was often necessary for Mrs. Weiss to discover what had occurred on the "outside" in order to determine whether the current group depression might be brief or lengthy. The best cure appeared to be to free the group to catharsize its problem by talking it out in the staff room while Mrs. Weiss "conveniently" occupied herself in a distant work area.

Status competition may also have been one of the factors which provoked tension. Rather than wanting to handle responsibilities, many respondents seemed to be content with titles. The conferred status was extremely important to the managers. Even
when staff members' promotions were based on abilities, status insecurity felt by these members led to many selfish acts and small hostilities. The situation is discussed in detail in the section on motivation. Some of the need for status may have been a transfer of the status values of the ghetto, where:

Street control and communication are based on personal power and the direct impingement of one individual on another. Where there is little property, status in the set is determined by personal qualities of mind and brawn.²¹

Some of the group frustration may have resulted from the change of pace as the organization moved from the excitement of the challenging first months to a slower and more orderly mode of continuing development. Daily work seemed confining to the staff members when it was performed for maintenance rather than creative functions.

The unstable emotional climate of the corporate culture no doubt contributed to some of the judgemental errors displayed by the subjects when they were under stress. In addition, most individuals at WBBP were not experienced enough in business to recognize that things even go wrong for professionals. There was a tendency for each person to believe that any error which affected him or his work had been planned with him as the deliberate target. The members of the group had not accepted criticism as a constructive activity and, therefore, shied away from

it, seeing evaluation as an implication of inferiority. The frustra-
tion and hostility experienced in most participants' daily
lives as blacks may have amplified the negative emotions display-
ed at the station. This aspect is discussed later in the chapter
in the section concerning personal goals and aspirations.

Sources of Authority

Perceptions and/or misperceptions of authority contribu-
ted to WBBP conflicts. Most of the respondents indicated that
their original managerial concept was strict authoritarianism.
They revealed, through this study, that their initial perception
had moved away slightly from the autocratic construct and toward
more democratic group interaction as a preferred managerial style.
The mixture caused by continuous influx of new people, who brought
with them the authoritarian orientation, may have supplemented the
disorientation of managerial styles. Newcomers generally inter-
preted the apparent freedom displayed by peer managers to be a
sign of laxness, rather than of confidence.

Studies of people raised in strict authoritarian atmospheres
reveal that such upbringing may produce a child that is submis-
sive, yet filled with "bottled-up fear and resentment." This
forced submission contributes to "hostility and aggression which
are poorly channelized." Assuming the lower class WBBP members

22 Charles F. Marden and Gladys Meyer, Minorities in
pp. 447-8.
had been raised in the authoritarian climate common to the lower class, one may consider the possibility that such a background was a source of some of the hostility and aggression observed at WBBP.

One can also compare the new WBBP corporate culture to that of a transitional society with authority problems similar to those discussed by Pye:

The basic problem is that in transitional societies all forms of authority are being challenged and there is uncertainty as to the legitimacy of both old and new practices.23

Further comparison of WBBP's executive staff members to leaders of transitional societies reveals parallel responses which occur when new leaders discover they are not yet competent in all aspects of the new positions:

They react to their weakness by relying excessively upon naked power and by mobilizing forms of traditional authority. Thus, forms of petty authoritarianism combined with hostile aggression are not uncommon. Officials frequently vacillate between explosive outbursts of action and command and docile withdrawal behind the shield of their official positions.24

Although only a few of the respondents originally lived in a ghetto, many of the WBBP volunteers and performers still had official residences in ghettos. Ghetto life orien-


24 Ibid., p. 51.
tation may have contributed to the corporate culture's inconsistent response to one single authority, since there is no exclusive authority in ghetto life. Young men and women raised in such a setting could find it difficult to function under a fixed authority as delineated on the WBBP organizational communication chart.

The respondents were frequently reluctant to accept peers as their authorities, and tended to view job assignments as a form of "being bossed around" instead of a normal business procedure. Some of the lower staff members believed that job assignments were to satisfy an individual manager's personal wish; they did not view such duties as necessary for the corporate culture's health. Others rejected the station's official goals because those objectives were implemented by a white manager. General resistance to authority at any level was exposed by Cindy, who shouted stormily during a staff meeting,

> You won't listen to me, you won't listen to Mrs. Weiss. If you're not going to listen to the station manager, who are you going to listen to?

Maslow pointed out that an authoritarian society considers dangerous such things as freedom, autonomy, self-sufficiency, curiosity, free probing, and free questioning. The

---


typical managerial behavior of the subjects implied that they may have been groping toward less authoritarian methods, but vacillated between the safety of authoritarianism and the danger of freedom. The longer a respondent participated within the corporate culture, however, the more he appeared to move away from the authoritarian concept of management.

The variable of authoritarianism was also examined through its possible interaction with class. Honigmann found that most parents in lower class cultures tend to be authoritarian. All except two of the respondents had lower class origins, if economic status is accepted as the basis of class distinction. According to Warner's Descriptive Mobility Theory, the upper black class is the equivalent of the white middle class; the middle black class is on the same level as the lower white class; and the lower black class comes from an isolated subclass that has few class-like features.

On the other hand, the lower class are sometimes not so for economic reasons, but by discrimination. Through their studies, Davis and Havighurst believe that the caste concept overrides the racial factor because they have found the same differences between middle and lower class people, regardless


of color. Ford also observed such a trend. Studies by Brim et al. showed that white lower and middle class behavior on autonomy-dependency measures seemed similar to that of blacks in the same classes. At the core of the question appear to be attitudes formed through lower class members' experiences. People with lower class orientation seem to develop fatalistic responses to life because of their inability to control their futures. Inadequacy to cope is a lower class characteristic shared both by whites and blacks.

Since many of the WBBP participants grew up in or near large Northern ghettos, it is reasonable to assume that they took to WBBP some ghetto attitudes and values. Viewed from the lower class frame of reference, the fatalistic attitude of the lower classes might have been mirrored in the weak initiative and planning observed in the WBBP culture. In addition, the lower class feeling of inadequacy to cope may have contributed to the subjects' hesitation to ask for assistance when it was needed as well as explain why many personnel withdrew as soon as

---


32 Ibid. p. 28.
as they met their first small failure.

The concept of class was strong at WBBP. Many participants spoke derisively about their "black bourgeoise teachers," identifying them as "irrelevant." That attitude may have originated in what Cartey described as the "tremendous hostility between classes in the ghetto and the consequent lack of credibility of black middle class spokesmen."^33 Horton reported ghetto attitudes and aspirations as "conventional, concrete, seemingly realistic, but given their skills, rather hopeless. But, he pointed out, they want it on their own terms, without being in the "middle class bag."^34 Similar attitudes pervaded the WBBP culture at all levels.

In the ghetto, middle class blacks are resented by lower class blacks because the former as less submissive and also more aware of their prerogatives. In that sense, most of the WBBP respondents assumed middle class behavior when dealing with personnel working under them. When not role playing as department heads, however, the subjects tended to return to the social relationships and consensual actions of lower class norms. Such role conflicts may also have contributed to WBBP intergroup struggles.


"One does not conform to all the norms in a complex society, but only to those of his own groups." Since norms are partially derived from values, it was deemed important to identify values which may have affected organizational behavior and norms.

Organized religion seemed unimportant to all but Brenda. High value, however, was placed by many respondents upon magic, astrology, and faith healers. Those few who mentioned religion reported unpleasant experiences with it, but offered no details. From tangential remarks it appeared that many of the subjects had encountered "jack'leg" or "storefront" preachers who used religion as a means of obtaining money and women.

Brenda disclosed:

The campus has no religious atmosphere. It's just nothing. Religion has been discussed up here quite a few times, but . . . somebody in the group started speaking about you and said, 'She's a Catholic.' So that's when I jumped into it and said, 'I went to Catholic school for twelve years and I'm a Catholic, so that didn't have anything to do with it.'

The incident, however, revealed that the Catholic label was suspect in the group's eyes. It might also explain why the respondents felt that religion was a topic not to be discussed with Mrs. Weiss.

---

Stealing was common, especially of recording tapes, record albums, and stationery supplies. Also taken were unusual items such as one subjects' personal address book. All the stop watches disappeared and had to be replaced with large timers which would be harder to conceal or pawn. A new $800 tape recorder was stolen less than one hour after it had been unpacked. Appropriate visits to pawn shops and following up clues resulted in recovery of the tape recorder within several days, due to much investigative work on the part of the respondents.

Lying was condoned, especially to "the man" (anybody white). Specific questions about individuals often caused memory loss by those who wanted to protect friends. Illness was a common excuse for not wanting to report to work. "Evelyn is sick," Mrs. Weiss was told one day—just as Evelyn walked past the outside window, chatting and laughing with a boyfriend.

Professional values among the group depended on each person's private agenda. Broadcasting majors placed higher worth upon time, accuracy, job standards, planning, and job-completion than did the volunteers; but even they would change priorities to suit personal desires, regardless of whether such unannounced innovations would disrupt other people's needs or expectations. Cindy, for example, once had an argument with the leader of the campus choral group. As WBBP program director, she cancelled the order for the technical director to tape the society's annual
concert for broadcast, saying, "They aren't any good anyway!"
In fact, the chorus sang exceptionally well. Unfortunately,
none of the executive staff knew about Cindy's cancellation or­
der, consequently the concert was neither taped nor aired.

Volunteers and beginners who worked under the student
managers demonstrated less dedication to WBBP and lacked under­
standing as to why they were asked to do things in certain ways.
That created frustration for many respondents. Some beginners
would try to "fly" before they were ready, and a number of
"crashes" occurred when such neophytes tried something before
they were ready to design and file a "flight plan."

Programming was the major arena where values constantly
fought with goals. For those individuals whose only prior under­
standing of broadcasting had been exposure to a home-town "dee­
jay" idol, the goal was to imitate that local star and to be
admired by WBBP's listeners. Emulation of cliche disc jockey
jargon was a norm for incoming participants. Daily arrival of
new albums and records at WBBP was an additional attraction for
those persons who could not afford to buy their own. Many new­
comers would affiliate with WBBP and offer to do record shows,
with their prime intention being to audition the latest hits
and later either to "liberate" them, or to permanently "borrow"
tapes made of the records. Even though the record library was
supposed to be locked at all times, thefts continued. Much
energy was spent subverting WBBP control procedures concerning such matters.

The concept of time and keeping appointments was new to most of the respondents and WBBP personnel. They preferred to do things impulsively, when the mood moved them. Some beginners were genuinely insulted when deprived of going on the air because they had showed up "only ten minutes late" for a program. Judicious use of time was also weak when it came to setting priorities, reserving studios, lining up guests for programs, or planning publicity.

Short future-time perspective was an important cultural element at WBBP, as seen by inadequate preplanning and follow-through of the majority of the respondents. Tardiness became less a problem the longer a participant was involved, and the major figures acquired the habit of making appointments and appearing on time. Short-time perspective was particularly noticeable among the males. That may not have been a predominately ethnocentric attribute. Bews explored the concept of future-time perspective with 123 predominantly black youths with average ages between 16 and 18, and found that:

... males from homes with a father present had future time perspectives almost twice as long as those from father-absent homes while females from father-absent homes had much longer future time perspective than females from father-present homes.36

---

Bews also discovered, in the same study, that generally the females had longer future-time perspective than did the males.

The homes of ten of the thirteen WBBP respondents were identified as father-absent homes through death, divorce, or job commitments. Such absences may have contributed to how the subjects at WBBP viewed and utilized time. Short-time perspective is also common to members of the culture of poverty, as reported by Lewis.37

By the end of the study, the factor of short future-time perspective remained a serious detriment to the operation of WBBP. Apparently the constant influx of new members with short time orientation reinforced the old pattern.

Standard operating procedures common to all radio stations were initially viewed by the subjects as the "white man's thing" and a form of "made work." Only after a participant had been active at WBBP for over a year would he concede that standard procedures might be of value. Efforts by Mrs. Weiss to encourage respondents to make suggestions to improve, modify, or eliminate any procedures met with little success. Perhaps that was a result of their habitual bypassing "the book," with a consequent attitude that any changes they may have suggested would also have been bypassed. Or, they may not have been ready to

believe that they actually could effect such changes.

At times the concept of black pride appeared to be an excuse. Many respondents, when faced with a failure, would remark something like, "Well, we black folk are like that," instead of trying to analyze the cause of the problem and to determine how to prevent recurrence of a problem. That attitude was most prevalent among those who had lived only with or around blacks all their lives and who, consequently, had not had the opportunity to observe, as Malcolm later had, that the "white man has hangups too."

Lack of trust seemed common to the majority as well as to the general WBBP corporate culture. When something was stolen, there was a shrug, an embarrassed grin, but no external distress. Such a thing was anticipatable, so what could one do about it? In a few cases, if the victim complained loudly about his loss, his possession would mysteriously reappear. Afro College's students knew which pawn shops to visit after such disappearances and often recovered their property in that manner.

Distrust of Afro College's administrators, all of whom were black, was discussed openly by the participants. Trust of Mrs. Weiss fluctuated, depending upon who was annoyed with her at that particular moment. She was resented at such times that she corrected the subjects, insisted upon adherence to procedures, or when students did not like assignments given in class.
Many blacks at the college believed that white faculty members were there as representatives of either the FBI or a similar agency. It was also common belief among the participants that only whites who were inadequate teachers accepted positions at black colleges. Each white professor had to expect a period of testing and to prove himself to each new group.

Since approximately 50 percent of Afro's student population originated from Northern ghettos, distrust of whites could be viewed as a ghetto norm for persons coming from such areas. Additional mistrust of black teachers and administrators may have been rooted in blacks' historical suspicion of the old-time black leaders who exploited their followers, or who were accused of being "Uncle Toms" who were "controlled" by whites.

Many of the deviations from what are considered to be middle class values may have been forms of hidden aggression:

Not only occasional acts of violence but much laziness, carelessness, unreliability, petty stealing and lying are undoubtedly to be explained as concealed aggression.38

Some of the mistrust and black loyalty observed at WBBP paralleled what Myrdal reported:

The shielding of Negro criminals and suspects, the dislike of testifying against another Negro, and gen-

eraly the defensive solidarity in the protective Negro community has a definite taint of hostility. The truth is that Negroes generally do not feel they have unqualified moral obligations to white people.39

Many of the negative behaviors observed at WBBP, therefore, may be interpreted as concealed forms of aggression or a type of defense resulting from the revival of black pride.

Motivation

By the third year, many WBBP duties were not being carried out with the care and enthusiasm that had formerly accompanied them. Although Pedro, then the operations manager, knew his job better, the staff appeared to resist his efforts to lead them. The harder Pedro tried to effect policy, the more resistance he encountered. Finally, late one night, Pedro phoned Mrs. Weiss to solicit help. In an effort to assist Pedro and to improve the corporate climate, Mrs. Weiss devised an experiment which she initiated the following day, with Pedro's permission. Since she was planning to leave for a week of professional meetings, Mrs. Weiss arranged to present an emotional challenge to the executive staff, just prior to her departure, and to leave immediately after, turning them over to Pedro for leadership. Details of the experiment and Mrs. Weiss' remarks are located in Appendix D.


40 See Appendix D, pp. 206-215.
One week later, returning from a series of out-of-town professional meetings, Mrs. Weiss was greeted by Clyde as she entered the studio. With a grin, Clyde reported: "Well, we just had 'Hell Week!' We never worked so hard as we worked while you were gone!" Apparently he was correct. For the first time WBBP was two weeks ahead in all departments, including logs, day books, themes, announcements, and production work. All current albums had been catalogued. It was obvious that something had motivated the members to produce according to their job descriptions. Mrs. Weiss set out to identify what that something might have been.

Pedro was the first person she questioned. He reported that, even though he knew Mrs. Weiss had planned to make a dramatic challenge to the respondents, he had been initially shaken up by her remarks and momentarily remained frozen in his seat after she stalked out and slammed the door. Then, he recalled:

After you left . . . Cindy started talking loud. And then others began to shout. And then they were all shouting and talking at once. That's when I got up and told them to shut up and to talk one at a time.

When asked what may have been the real motivation in that experiment, Pedro mused:

I think it produced results because of the same thing that happened in high school. We did not do our work until the teacher made a threatening phone call to your parents, and had to write a letter, or tell your mother to come to school. Or, until she told you, 'Look! You're going to fail! You're not going to graduate, you know.'

And this is the main problem. They've been used to growing up in that type of atmosphere: 'You do this, or else! That's how most of them function. I found that out.
Most students at Afro function like that. A lot of students have money to pay their bills, and they don't pay their bills until they get a letter from the president saying they're being sent home. Then they pay!

In Clyde's opinion "Hell Week" worked because:

... they were confronted with the issue and not, you know, of being failures. In other words, 'You people are a bunch of failures!'--and no one wants to be a failure, especially coming from you--and you're white, you know.

They took a look at themselves and ... I think we're almost at that point where we need another one of those, which is unfortunate.

Although Malcolm had not been present, he had heard about the hard work accomplished by the students during that particular week.

He commented: "I feel they'll all work together if they have a sense that they've got the entire thing to themselves."

Brenda's interpretation of the event was:

Well, Mrs. Weiss—you put your foot down ... And while you were gone, we tried to get ourselves together.

We said, 'Well, Mrs. Weiss meant what she said.'

But, you know, if it wasn't for the FCC pressing us to do this and pressing us to do that, I don't think we would have as much organization up here as we do. This is always over our head—if you don't do it right, you lose your license.

Evelyn confessed she also had felt threat in the situation.

I think the reason they got more done in that short time was they were scared! That week you were gone, you'd be surprised how hard we worked. We had a meeting right after you left—and oh!
She reported that the group feared the station would be closed
down if the staff did not shape up, and that it would reflect
adversely on the student managers for not doing their jobs properly.

Alice added her belief that:

I really think Pedro started tightening up on a lot
of people...and really got down on them, and placed the
facts where they really needed to be placed. Tell them
what they needed to know.
Maybe he had been failing to say it because he
thought, Well, I don't want to hurt this person's feelings.
It was actually--well--if you're not going to do what
you're supposed to do, go now and we'll find somebody else
to do things right. And realization they might lose their
positions seemed to work.

George supported Alice's interpretation as he commented:

It did two things! It made them realize the importance
of Pedro in power and . . . you people better wake up
because if you don't I've got one week to fire everybody in
this station.

The prime motivator in the situation appeared to be threat.
The respondents assumed that a threat had been issued to close the
station or to fire those not working up to par. Feeling a need to
be pushed was also voiced by the subjects. To some, the threat was
fear of being considered a failure, especially by a white person.

They all appeared to agree that throughout their lives they
had been accustomed to "being come down on" and, therefore, depended
on external pressure to keep in line, even where they were free to
set up their own work plans.
One observable reason for lack of consensual motivation was the subjects; failure to agree upon one major goal. Personal goals frequently superceded WBBP goals. Self-expression assumed higher priority than did serving the faceless public "out there." George considered this to be a normal response by young people who, for the first time in their lives, had a chance to star, to have prestige and power. Charles illustrated that attitude as he explained why he did not usually complete station tasks on time:

It would depend on whatever you told me to do. If I felt it was important--more important than what I was doing--I would probably do it.

In this frame of reference, apparent lack of motivation may not actually have been non-motivation but a difference in priorities. As Dollard pointed out, ostensible laziness may be a psychic response to domination. 41

Thus far the negative aspects of motivation have been identified. In order to seek out which motivators the subjects behold as desirable, Mrs. Weiss discovered the following perceptions about rewards:

Rewards

Praise for a job well done ranked as the highest form of positive motivation. The next most frequently cited reward experienced by the respondents was their pleasure derived from helping others to learn. Prestige, power, or the appearance of power, were important to many of the respondents. Money accompanying the position was a reward to only a few.

The joy felt at completion of a task provided the most satisfaction for Cindy, Pedro and Samuel—all of whom enjoyed initiating and producing creative aspects of production or programming. Charles also said task-completion was a reward for him; but he seldom completed official WBBP assignments. He preferred to complete his self-appointed tasks.

There was lack of agreement about preference for immediate versus delayed rewards. Cindy opted for immediate rewards because, "We want our flowers while we can smell them." George also believed that the immediate reward had prime importance because of "what the kids have grown up with." He pointed out that:

Most of the kids have gone to school where, when they did their best, they were never rewarded for it . . . . because they are unused to any reward, if you were to reward them there is a tendency to say, 'I'm satisfied.'
The general consensus was that newcomers wanted, and saw, only immediate rewards; but those that remained at WBBP "long enough" began to see the future possibilities of broadcasting careers and became more interested in delayed rewards.

Satisfaction of individual needs for group acceptance was a valuable reward to several respondents, especially to Clyde and Charles, both of whom had a strong need to be liked. Both were even willing to ignore staff responsibilities if such duties interfered with the subjects' needs for popularity and friendship.

Despite the respondents' contention that threat was a strong motivator, intimidation appeared successful only to accomplish immediate results. The "catching up" achieved during "Hell Week" was short-lived. By the end of the following week enthusiasm ebbed and work again began to pile up.

Based on the respondents' recommendations, Mrs. Weiss initiated a system of formal warnings for repeatable, avoidable job derelictions, which could lead to suspension, and dismissal, if negative job behavior was not corrected. Instead of upgrading the quality of work, the formal warning system seemed to reduce incentive to do well. Those warned, or suspended for one week, apparently viewed the threat as an official notice of failure and did not return to WBBP for further participation.
What appeared more successful took time and was less formal; i.e., working closely with an individual who demonstrated poor work habits and trying to show him how to solve his own job problems. It included assigning a person only as much work as he could satisfactorily handle at one time, followed by deserved praise for successful completion of each small task—then immediate advancement to another challenge.

In recapitulation, it was evident that there were almost as many different motivators as there were respondents, which suggests motivation must be viewed from each individual's frame of reference.

The purpose of this chapter was to identify the culturally shared constructs of the respondents as developed through the elements elicited through their perceptions of the broadcast management experience.

Brief recapitulations of the data which contributed to permeable and impermeable constructs appeared at the end of each category, supplemented by the observer's interpretations as based on the research performed for this study as well as comparative literature relevant to the categories under examination.

The following chapter presents a summary and implications of the findings as related to the major objectives of the study.
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

Introduction

In Chapter III the data were reported according to categories shaped by the findings, which were then interpreted as cultural interactions within the broadcast management experience. Related sociocultural theories were cited when pertinent.

Chapter IV, divided into four major parts, is developed as illustrated in figure 5 (page 128), to reveal a model of the cross-cultural influences as they interacted with personal, group, and corporate constructs. The findings and germane contemporary research are applied to the purposes of this particular study.

The first section of this chapter explores the respondents' group behavior within the corporate culture as it shows concern for others. The second major part examines black cultural constructs and how they interacted with broadcast management and media needs. Following this is a section which recapitulates the respondents' self-concepts and how their
Figure 5
A MODEL OF THE CROSS-CULTURAL INFLUENCES AS THEY INTERACTED WITH PERSONAL, GROUP, AND CORPORATE CONSTRUCTS

PERSONAL SYSTEMS
(Self-Concept)

CORPORATE CULTURE

GROUP DYNAMICS
(Concern for Others)

BLACK ETHNOCENTRISM
HITTE ETHNOCENTRISM
BIOLOGICALLY SEGREGATED
CLASS STRUCTURES
SEXUALITY
YOUTH CULTURE
NON-ETHNIC

CROSS-CULTURAL INFLUENCES
personal ideas, beliefs, and attitudes contributed to the corporate climate. The fourth portion discusses relationships between the findings and broadcast management's production goals. Through analysis of the subjects' personalities and job competencies, this fourth section summarizes implications concerning the respondents' potential success as executives in broadcast management positions.

Possible cross-cultural influences of black-white ethnocentrism, social structures, non-Western values, and elements of developing youth subcultures appear throughout the chapter when such dimensions are applicable to the concepts under study.

The Corporate Culture

In this section the summarized findings are related to managerial constructs observed within the corporate culture as they applied to group dynamics and concern for people.

The respondents' desire for group unity and teamwork was voiced, but infrequently actualized. Conflicts between personal and organizational goals contributed to constantly shifting emotions and production standards. Many of the WBBP members relied upon activity at the radio station to fulfill personal social needs. Others joined to listen to new records, to gain status, or to seek power. Because slick-talking finger-popping disc jockies had been the original broadcasting models for most of the subjects, those who spun records and spliced tapes were
more respected by newcomers than were the department heads who appeared to "do nothing" but paperwork. The abstract community-service goals of WBBP received a lower priority than did individual needs for attention and approbation.

Except for occasional production assignments that required group participation, the subjects preferred to work alone and to establish their own procedures. Their prime satisfaction was obtained through completion of short-term, concrete objectives.

Although members of the WBBP group were close in peer social relations, they did not share that feeling of brotherhood when they competed for important WBBP positions. Conflict was handled emotionally, through shouting, or by withdrawing from the station for several days. Knowledge was jealously hoarded, and even those awarded promotions were reluctant to disclose to their successors the details of the jobs they were leaving.

The lack of cooperation, jealousies, and hostile competition discovered at WBBP paralleled ghetto behavior, where nobody really trusts anybody. Some of the status competition at WBBP appeared related to the spread of socio-economic backgrounds among members of the organization. As noted by Lawrence, "Status beliefs can block achievement along other organizational
dimensions. Status perceptions at WBBP varied according to each person's self-designated class membership. Although generally from the lower socio-economic class, more than half the respondents viewed themselves as members of America's middle class. The remaining subjects, as well as most of the WBBP personnel, identified themselves as coming from poverty areas where family and friends were outspokenly resentful of black "bourgeoisie."

To members with lower socio-economic origins, station titles were more important than the accompanying responsibilities associated with the positions. Such individuals could not accept the role-playing distinctions which converted friends to supervisors for a few hours a day.

Class differences introduced into the WBBP culture some contrasting values and modes of learning. Studies by Gans report that children from the lower classes, regardless of color, are reared on a discipline of predominantly "don't's," receiving little positive guidance, whereas those from the middle class receive much more "directing, teaching, helping, and playing interaction" from their parents, especially their mothers.²

¹Paul R. Lawrence, The Changing of Organizational Behavior Patterns (Boston: Harvard University Graduate School of Business Administration Division of Research, 1958), p. 224.

²Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1962).
Additional studies by Walters reaffirm those findings. As a result of such different upbringing, there was no homogenous way to orient newcomers at WBBP. Each person had to handled individually, according to his background and needs. Such managerial flexibility was difficult for the respondents to handle, since they were neophytes in the profession as well as in management. They soon recognized, however, and even told Mrs. Weiss, that members from lower socio-economic circumstances avoided requesting necessary direction more than did people from less deprived backgrounds. Individuals from the ghettos, apparently proud that they had learned in the school of hard knocks, preferred to teach themselves at WBBP by "playing around" with the equipment rather than to be taught in a systematic manner. They resented having to take courses or to reserve time for supervised practice, preferring to go in and "work" as the fancy moved them.

By the end of the first eighteen months, experience showed that the new WBBP members learned more rapidly and effectively under strong, explicit direction. This agrees with findings by Smith that persons from the lower classes seek concrete experiences and respond better to authoritarian approaches.

While trying to encourage the respondents to develop

---


an effective managerial style, Mrs. Weiss permitted freedom for them to experiment. Throughout the period of the study the subjects’ modes of managing fluctuated between rigid authoritarianism and license. They sometimes permitted personal loyalties to outweigh station loyalties. They had difficulty in distinguishing between areas of essential control in physical and legal matters and did not often take advantage of opportunities to suggest changes to improve procedures.

Most members of WBBP came from homes accustomed to authoritarian upbringing. They were also exposed to that same managerial style through Afro College’s leadership. The rigid Theory X administration practiced by most Afro College officials was typical of that found at most black colleges. The remaining administrators were laissez-faire in their approach to their positions, and as a result, the WBBP corporate leaders had no firm model on which to base their own managerial behavior.

Varying responses to different types of supervision can be expected, depending upon the personalities and cultures of those being managed. Likert observed that closely supervised groups in America produce less than do similar groups receiving only general supervision. The exact opposite, however, occurred in Nigeria, where productivity increased with close supervision.

On the other hand, a similar study in a Norwegian factory revealed no significant different in amount of productivity under either type of supervision.  

Research by Vroom and Mann disclosed that a democratic supervisor and a participative managerial style is more effective in situations where teamwork is necessary, but an authoritarian supervisor with a firm attitude is more effective for the individualist.

Comparing the findings in this study to the results of Likert's Nigerian research there is found a similarity that may contain black cultural implications, namely that close supervision appeared to initiate more productivity. However, the data of this study reveal that the respondents could learn to handle freedom and to maintain unsupervised productivity satisfactorily, after they had gained the proper skills and had become acculturated to the corporate culture of broadcasting.

Through weekly workshops, the respondents were invited to experiment with less authoritarian leadership methods, or at least to abandon the negative aspects of autonomous leadership, in order to practice more employee-centered supervision. It

---


took almost three years before the subjects demonstrated that they were beginning to grasp the concept and utilization of participatory management. Since one of the requirements of successful Theory Y management is that all members of the group have professional knowledge, the fact that the subjects were novices no doubt contributed to their slow movement along the Theory X-Y continuum.

A combination of management methods began to satisfy both WBBP personnel and production when policy was activated to provide strong and close supervision of new members, followed later by gradually phasing each person into different levels of freedom, according to his self-development. By the end of the study, even newcomers began to respond more quickly to less authoritarian guidance when they observed others already functioning with some measure of responsibility and independence under group-centered leadership.

Careful judgement concerning who was ready for more freedom had to be made on individual bases. Job assignments and managerial responsibilities were awarded according to a subject's ability to work with people as much as upon his competency in his specialty. Those who were advanced too quickly into self-determining roles responded as Maslow predicted they might, by being anxious, apathetic, mistrustful, and feeling deserted.  

---

Although the study did not encompass enough time to provide conclusive data concerning the success of Theory Y management, the findings imply that participatory managerial methods appeared to improve, not only the organization, but also the people sharing the corporate culture. Whether some of the increased ability of the founding managers to predict and alter corporation behavior and to work better with people was due to their training and practice in Theory Y approaches is uncertain, but the participants' noticeable movement toward self-actualization would encourage such a tentative conclusion and further follow-up.

Group communication styles were significantly different from individual communication behavior. Communication problems frequently present in meetings—win-lose attitudes, cancelling out, withholding to avoid revealing differences, or complying with reservations—almost vanished in one-to-one communication, during which each subject seemed to assume a stronger identity and appeared less hampered by concern about what the group thought. As each person accepted role playing, he contributed a bit more to group meetings, apparently feeling more free to speak from his role than from his person. Many, however, could not seem to grasp the concept of role playing, or of placing themselves in others' shoes when trying to make decisions or to solve problems.
In many ways the authority crises and frequently ineffective teamwork observed at WBBP approximated the managerial styles of a developing country. In many transitional societies there is:

... almost a complete lack of effective and legitimate authority. Authority figures may abound ... but they lack the essential ingredients of true authority. They must constantly seek to prove their power; and there is an absolute difference between authority and power, although the two are connected.9

Pye adds that in such societies all forms of authority are constantly being challenged, and that when those in high positions discover they still do not have the respect which they had anticipated receiving, they turned to "naked power, petty authoritarianism and ... explosive outbursts of action and command, then docile withdrawal."10 Analogous behavior was common among the executive staff at WBBP.

Judged by Rostow's pattern of a developing nation's stages of growth, the WBBP corporate broadcasting culture was in the final stages of take-off and about ready to start the drive to maturity. It had not reached the point of self-sustained growth.11


10Ibid., p. 51.

Another cultural influx which may have hampered corporate maturation was the national youth culture which peaked during the period of the study and featured an ideology of privatism, which is defined by Hadden as "a new emphasis on the personal which is both altruistic and selfish."\(^{12}\) The national youth movement of self-indulgence, as well as of institutional rejection, may also have contributed to some of WBBP's members' reluctance to accept organizational goals and standard business procedures. It may also have been one of the factors which prevented group concern for others and caused poor teamwork.

The rising drug subculture additionally influenced the WBBP corporate body. Verifiable drug abuse by certain members of WBBP complicated production and security goals of the station. Afro College authorities who were responsible for student health and welfare had, at various times, informed Mrs. Weiss that several of the staff members and subjects were suspected of use of illegal drugs. One WBBP newcomer almost died of an overdose of heroin and, despite having earned the highest SAT score of his entering class, had to discontinue his college career after the event adversely affected his mind. A few persons at WBBP were involved with what they called the "Dixie Mafia" and a few left the state in order to break associations with that group.

Personality changes common to young men and women approaching adulthood may also have contributed to some of the corporate culture's instability. Identity crises, strong peer loyalties, fear of conflict, and weak emotional control are part of that stage of personality development and, therefore, could be interpreted as possible transitory stages of personal growth rather than permanent behavior. There was no doubt that the corporate culture reflected the growing pains of youth.

An indirect deterrent to teamwork at WBBP was LeRoi Jones' attempt to develop a non-competitive, collective black nationalism in Newark, N.J. Jones advocated collective education, group rote answers, and resistance to reading. Those WBBP members who came from Jones' area and admired him were visibly torn between their desires to follow his communal ideology while yet trying to retain their individualism—which Jones labeled a white man's idea.

Regional cultural differences also introduced contrasting values into the corporate culture. Although Afro College was in the South, more than half its student body were from the North. WBBP's membership reflected a similar regional mix.

The Southern blacks, although more cautious about joining WBBP, proved in the long run to be generally more consistent workers than the Northerners, and were able to achieve more tactful relations with most of the staff under them. Northern participants were more physically active, quick to speak up and
to criticize. Prestige appeared to be much more important to
the person from the North and sometimes the Northerner's ways of
displaying status created negative feelings in the corporate
body.

The pleasant attitude of the Southerner, however, did not
automatically assure good teamwork. Such a person might be in-
clined to smile to conceal his true feelings, and to work only
at tasks he enjoyed—consequently, interrupting work flow of the
team. The Southerner, however, was better at achieving good
interpersonal relations.

The challenge for the WBBP managerial trainees was to
recognize differences in regional attitudes so that such dif-
ferences could be dealt with properly.

Members of the WBBP corporate culture displayed behavior
patterns of leadership and management similar to those customary
is some non-Western societies. Just as in Korea, the WBBP
workers could not cooperate, and either generally distrusted
one another or wanted "to minimize the earnings of others more
than maximize their own." To the Koreans, as to the WBBP
membership, relative status seemed more important to them than
did personal gain.

Another oriental trait shared by the blacks in this study

---

was the importance of saving face. Rather than accept negotiation and compromise, the majority of those at WBBP preferred to settle matters on a win-lose basis, as do many peoples from non-Western cultures. Intuitive approaches to decision-making, common in the orient, were identical to problem-solving preferences at WBBP, where conclusions were often based on feelings rather than reason or logic. Many WBBP members also shared the non-Western value of time. Similar to inhabitants of Africa, China, and India the respondents viewed time in the manner described by Webber: "as an empty, deep, motionless ocean" instead of the "galloping horseman" which rides most Americans. 14

Group dynamics at WBBP were in a constant state of flux. Subgroups re-formed daily according to moods, purposes, or personalities. As a rule, concern appeared to be more for particular individuals at particular times, rather than for the group. Individualism was the norm. Most of the respondents viewed independence and authority from a class frame of reference. Although members from the lower socio-economic class felt more independent than did those from the middle class, the latter respondents were actually able to function better as independent workers and to adapt more effectively to leadership roles.

Although the ideal person by whom the respondents said

they would like to be managed would be dynamic, outspoken, firm and fair, most of them had not adapted to fit that pattern themselves. Many of the subjects perceived democratic procedures of management as a threat to an individual's status-survival, and considered the sharing of ideas and knowledge as a form of giving part of oneself away. Group concern was centered around the context of black pride; status competition was perceived as a threat to the individual's security in his job.

Cross-cultural comparisons implied that the respondents' instinctive managerial styles resembled those of the orient and also of developing countries, suggesting that black Americans, at the time of the study, saw themselves in a conflicting co-cultural setting rather than cross-cultural, as they tried to mold traditional intuitive non-Western life-styles and attitudes to contradictory Western logic-based operating methods.

Black Cultural Implications

One of the purposes of the study was to seek to identify black cultural perspectives which could advance or hamper the preparation of black youth for broadcast managerial positions. This position of the chapter focuses upon identifiable black constructs as developed through the findings and related studies.

During the first year at WBBP, Mrs. Weiss encountered strong group resistance to standard operating procedures, job
descriptions, adherence to FCC rules and regulations, precise timing of material, and advance planning. Application of critical standards and requests for consistency were viewed by most respondents as "irrelevant" to blacks.

WBBP programming, officially intended to reach all segments of the public, was expected to be "all black" by many of the youth filled with black awareness. Not understanding how to use the medium, such beginners tried to use the station as a platform from which to chide and berate listeners about what happened four hundred years previous, rather than to delve into current issues and to provide information and enlightenment concerning the current black viewpoints. When asked to prepare scripts based on research, however, many aspirants withdrew from the station—they preferred to "rap" as the spirit moved them. They perceived research and scripts as the "white man's thing."

During that maiden year the only nationally known black broadcasters in the public eye were hosts of record or talk shows at several big city black-oriented stations. Two of them were slight acquaintances of Pedro and Clyde. It was indirectly through those two men that WBBP's all-black perspective began to acquire shades of white and gray. As the nationally famous black broadcasters advanced from air work to executive roles, they reported their experiences and advice to the WBBP disciples, who passed the information on to the staff. As a result,
WBBP's operating procedures began to be accepted as professional media standards. WBBP's managerial staff also began to accept the fact that blacks could achieve more satisfactory social action if they also related to whites. Consequently, WBBP's programming began to broaden its self-imposed black perspective beyond one ethnic horizon.

The importance of this finding is the value and influence that successful and respected black models can have upon young blacks entering the profession. Such examples can accelerate an intern's growth toward professional maturity.

Black racial overtones vibrated anew whenever a new young black initially discovered that he was to work "under" a white station manager at WBBP:

One of the very real problems confronting the lower class Negro is that he cannot always predict how whites are going to behave toward him. ... But one can never generalize; this is a rule of the battlefield of caste. 15

Wariness of Mrs. Weiss, as displayed predominantly by those from disadvantaged backgrounds, was more covert than were the open challenges presented by the middle-class respondents. The findings suggest that a white manager may anticipate initial mistrust by a group of black youths entering a new corporate world, especially if they are male and come from a low economic level. The study has shown, however, that if such youth are treated with honesty, candor, and respect, their original mistrust will diminish, particularly

when they find themselves in situations where other blacks are also demonstrating job competencies. It should be added that not only class, but maturity of individuals, appeared to deter-

mind the length of such a period of adaptation.

All except two of the subjects had attended desegregated high schools and felt more free to openly disagree with Mrs. Weiss. Most of the lower staff personnel, however, had studied at segregated schools and were unaccustomed to having white teach-
ers. The latter were noticeably quiet and uncomfortable for a considerable period of time after they affiliated with WBBP, whereas those accustomed to desegregated situations appeared to adapt more readily to being guided by a white person. It should be kept in mind that most of the youth in the study were being exposed to courses in black history for the first time in their lives, and that the courses were taught at Afro by dynamic men who recounted the woes of black history with intensity. That may have been the source of the "white boss overseeing the plantation slaves" perception that a few participants held of Mrs. Weiss. For the same reason the vacillating adherence to station standards may also have been the response of those young blacks who felt ambivalent about identifying with a white manager's goals.
Some of WBBP's organizational communication behavior appeared to be drawn from black culture, especially when it placed spoken communication above written. Respondents chose to make lengthy long-distance phone calls (often unauthorized) rather than write business letters. Rather than read the job description book, department heads would simply omit certain responsibilities of their positions. Instead of writing memos to colleagues, they would interrupt co-workers to say what they wanted to say, regardless of the importance of the other person's task at that moment. The subjects even resisted writing reminders to themselves, despite the fact that memo calendars and tickler files were provided to every member of the executive staff.

Considering that most of the corporate members came from low-income communities where the basic communication style is to gossip and "rap," the cultural base was one of life-orientation. The subjects viewed business talk only as a tool by which to issue orders. It took many meetings and workshops to enable the subjects to learn to use communication for asking or explaining.

Some of the respondents believed that standard English was actually blacks' "second language," and that they should not be "forced" to write or speak in the manner of white society. "Black English" created problems for aspiring performers because of its indistinctly articulated consonants and loose syntax. Those participants who were required to get assistance from the
speech clinic in order to meet air speech standards, considered the prescription a threat to their egos. Tactful direction was necessary to get a youth with muddy speech to take special work in voice and diction.

Black perceptions of written communication varied. Putting one's ideas on paper was seen by some as "giving oneself away," and was dangerous to one's official role. The belief that nobody would read what they wrote was an additional deterrent to the subjects' writing memos. Others did not want to put things on paper for fear they would make some mistake which might be a permanent "mark against them." Complete rejection of an entire piece of written material would occur if there was one word or idea with which a respondent disagreed. That attitude caused complex messages to be ignored. For other respondents, paperwork was not utilized properly because they had not "got into the habit of it," a behavior that had nothing to do with black mores.

Reluctance to read written information appeared primarily to be caused by lack of desire to read less than by reading disability. Seeking information from the printed page was not a common source of knowledge for people from lower-class backgrounds, regardless of ethnic origins. However, because of previous denial of education to many blacks for a long period of their history, a traditional disregard of reading existed. As cited
by one of the respondents:

You know what they say about us—If you want to keep a nigger from knowing something, put it in a book.

An important finding in this study was that nonverbal cues hold top priority as gatekeepers to the cognitive portions of messages. Negative facial expressions, tone of voice, and volume of speech outweighed or cancelled the semantics of messages, especially if body language reinforced the nonverbal promptings. A person who spoke softly was frequently considered weak or uncertain. Reliance on nonverbal language may have been imported from the ghetto where important judgements are usually based more on nonverbal than verbal aspects of a message.

The black peer group subculture shared a strong feeling of racial consciousness which could not always be brought to the cognitive level by the respondents. Conflicting perceptions as to sources of black pride were diametrically opposed. Some found pride in the positive aspects of music if it identified with black origins. Some sought black unity by repeating the history of their miseries as slaves. Dichotomous positions were apparent as American blacks chose to dress in African garb, to wear African hairstyles and ornaments, and assumed African names—but refused to socialize with the students who were native Africans. The Afro-Americans were disturbed that the Africans were not separatists. Actually, the African students at Afro college demonstrated wide intellectual horizons and high academic goals, and appeared to reject isolationism or separatism. Those
from Africa placed prime value on knowledge and education; they did not seem to dwell on black ethnocentrism.

Blacks who had not experienced normal daily contact with whites tended to believe that only blacks had weaknesses and problems. Thus, the youth raised in all-black environments did not realize that many difficulties they considered to be uniquely black were actually common to all mankind.

When questioned whether they would have preferred Mrs. Weiss to have been black, the respondents (including those who had opposed her during the first year and a half) reported that, as a matter of ethnic pride, they would have been proud if the person above them were black; but, they admitted that they did not mind what color or race a person was—after they got to respect and trust him. As revealed by this study, such attitude changes may require considerable investment in time, patience, and understanding.

Personal Systems

This portion of the chapter summarizes the findings related to the personal constructs of the respondents. Because the nuclei of the corporate culture consisted of the personalities of each individual, the subjects' self-concepts, ideas, beliefs, attitudes, and backgrounds were examined as they related to the corporate life. The results were then categorized.
The following section discusses the aspects of birth-order, early education, socio-economic circumstances, and motivations as they relate to the values, aspiraions, and competencies expected of broadcasters.

The first implication drawn from this portion of the findings is that those respondents who were most independent and demonstrated managerial potential were either only-children or first-born. Although only five of the respondents were only-children by birth, nine of them were raised by female relatives without the presence of other siblings. Conversely, those respondents who were the youngest in their families appeared to be less effective in WBBP leadership roles or in task-completion.

Studies by Blustein revealed that first-borns work harder, or more effectively. Purpura's data that first-borns tend to identify with their parents more closely than do later-borns might indicate that such children also imitate the leadership qualities of the parents whom they seek to emulate. Purpura also found that first-borns tend to conform more than do later-borns, which might suggest a more ready response by first-borns to conform to organizational structure. All the above factors


were shared by the more effective WBBP respondents.

According to studies by Martin, black children raised in father-absent homes persevere longer at tasks than do children in homes where the father is present. Since ten of the thirteen respondents were reared in father-absent homes, there was a strong similarity between father-absence and the ability of the effective subjects to work longer at more complex production tasks.

Concepts of class distinction invaded the WBBP corporate climate through several avenues: economic status, mode of upbringing, and location of homes. Using economic status as a criterion, nine of the thirteen came from homes existing near the national poverty level. Some of the subjects from such backgrounds, however, did not perceive themselves as living in a lower class environment and may have been classified at that level merely because they needed to support their own college education and thus qualified for federal work-aid. Contrasting class concepts presented contradictory behaviors within the corporate culture and also led to varying status symbols or differing motivations.

Such class distinctions and actions revealed by the study paralleled results by Davis and Havighurst, who concluded that there are no differences in upbringing in child-rearing.

---

practices between whites and blacks of similar class levels.

We have seen how when the races meet, they shift gears from a class to a caste frame of reference. Middle-class Negroes discriminate against their lower-class brethren on a class basis but are resentful of being discriminated against on the basis of race.19

While the middle-class subjects at WBBP were sometimes sensitive about racial differences when dealing with Mrs. Weiss, they became aware of class when dealing with peers whom they perceived as from a lower caste, just as observed by Davis and Hagighurst in their studies. For instance, on one occasion the usually quiet and lady-like Alice stormed into the staff room to complain about the news staff "acting like niggers." When questioned what she meant, she pointed out that the news-writing group seldom did assignments, wrote poorly, and did not meet deadlines. Alice's use of the term "niggers" revealed a class-caste consciousness beneath her fury.

Constructs of time differed according to each participant's socio-economic background and prior business exposure. WBBP members from the lower class orientations experienced the most difficulty associated with reporting on time. They also foundered respective to making and keeping appointments and were predominantly present-time oriented. The finding parallels Horton's that to dudes "on the street, time is alive when there

is action"—otherwise, time is dead. To youth with street-life style, personal time

. . . is based on chance and is a positive adaptation to generations of living whenever and wherever possible outside of the sound and control of the white man's clock.20

Most of the WBBP volunteers and personnel came from large slum areas and brought their concept of time with them. Those, however, whose broadcasting talent was recognized and nurtured, learned to respond to clock time and, eventually, to initiate as well as to keep appointments.

Findings by Oscar Lewis reveal that the street-time construct is common to all poor, regardless of ethnic origin, and is based on a disadvantaged person's inability to control his life. For such a person, making and keeping appointments has little value in his world of no time. The construct, therefore, goes beyond the black-only perspective, but is common enough to be referred to as CPT (Colored People's Time)—a phrase coined by middle-class blacks when referring to the way lower-class brothers handle time. In what he calls the "culture of poverty," Lewis concluded that all poor people share the same cultural norms concerning time orientation, family structure, and value systems, as a result of his studies of the poor in London, Puerto Rico, Mexico City, and the black slums of the United States. Also

common to people living in poverty are a sense of fatalism toward life as well as belief in male superiority. 21 Most of the above constructs were commonly held by the majority of the WBBP subjects and personnel, which created dismay for those department heads who held different values.

Lies were told so often at WBBP that it became necessary for Mrs. Weiss to suspend judgement on any important statement until she could obtain verification from other informants. From the perspective of a disadvantaged person, however, what may sound like a falsehood may actually be a form of ego-building.

Reporting on life styles of blacks in the slums, Jules found:

Illusion is their way of life, fancy their only achievement. Unemployed men talk of jobs they do not have. Women speak of husbands who never existed. Young and old spend money they do not have, brag of their 'influence,' and concentrate on getting the better of each other. 22

Values at WBBP were usually placed upon luck more than on work or preplanning; upon astrology more than religion. Fortune tellers were respected more than were the store-front ministers, because it was easy for the respondents to see that the latter often failed to practice what they had preached, and used "religion" to get worldly goods and immediate rewards.


Lack of trust in anybody was common at WBBP. This led to a feeling of lack of trust of anybody in authority. The subjects and their co-workers had an urgent need to feel admired and appreciated—they blossomed under the smallest but honest compliment.

Because of mixed values among group members, there were mixed motivations. The "Hell Week" episode revealed that threat was the strongest motivator in that situation, even though the results were relatively short-lived. Most of the corporate members admitted to being in the habit of waiting to be pushed, or reminded, or threatened by parents and teachers before they caught up with late work. Personally directed praise was the better motivator for most members of WBBP, especially if it concerned a particular job done well. The more self-actualized members began to discover that their greatest pleasure was derived from helping others to learn. Also highly valued by the more auspicious subjects was the feeling of joy that resulted when a task had been completed successfully.

Although the respondents said that money was not an effective motivator, lack of money created dissent when pay day was late—a frequent occurrence during Afro College's many financial crises, common to many black colleges at that time.

During a review of their experiences as this study came to an end, the subjects concurred that newcomers at WBBP tended to seek immediate rewards, but that if a person remained within the corporate culture long enough and accepted the station's
goals, he would begin to also accept the concept of delayed rewards.

**Personal Traits as a Function in the Corporate Setting**

**Managerial Competencies**

Another goal of this study was to ascertain indices of managerial potential displayed by black youth as they held supervisory positions in a viable broadcasting operation. To evaluate managerial competency, the researcher measured the personality and abilities of the more effective subjects against the personality and qualifications needed by a station manager, using the criteria set up by the National Association of Broadcasters on their recommended job application form.

Those who were not only most effective but also shared a reasonable concern for people as well as for production were Alice, George, Samuel, Cindy, Pedro, Evelyn, and Alpha. Those who displayed potential to succeed in broadcasting, but not in leading roles, included Charles, Clyde, Brenda, Malcolm, Manuel, and Jerome.

The nominees for future success demonstrated more self-confidence and a sense of reality than did the less effective candidates. The better leaders were more willing to seek settlement of immediate problems without leaning on other people.

---

23 See Appendix S, pp. 278-281.
Those with potential could take pressure for a longer period of
time—up to several days—even though some of them may have
acted temperamentally in the process. Action goals appealed
strongly to this group. They liked to be with people, although
they openly disapproved of people who thought or behaved in ways
counter to their own. They also demonstrated that they could
frequently predict the behavior of their co-workers. On the
other hand, they were still uncertain when trying to predict
behavior of persons outside their immediate circles.

Because they were still at the intern stage, the subjects
did not have all the professional knowledge necessary in order
to discharge their jobs with full competency. Several, however,
were well-enough experienced by the end of the study to handle
small departments in small stations, had they received the oppor­
tunity.

Resistance to read was overcome gradually be the desire
to know. The dedicated managers began to keep up regularly
with Broadcasting, Billboard, Variety and other trade publica­
tions. Pedro even "borrowed" them from Mrs. Weiss' desk before
she had opportunity to see them. Most times he permitted her
to "borrow" them back.

There was a noticeable need for improvement of organi­
zational communication skills on the part of the subjects, but
those participants who felt a strong desire for future managerial
positions began to improve their writing and procedural skills as well as to initiate more upward communication. There continued to exist hesitation to ask superiors the "right question at the right time" although the respondents did not hesitate to ask their peers why such-and-such went wrong.

To keep up with community needs, as well as to predict future changes of public taste, the broadcast manager must be adaptable to change. The non-conformity of the lower-class participants in the study was an asset in that regard, but only after each person overcame the feeling that he always had to prove himself. There continued the need to learn how to base decisions on facts as measured against objective criteria and station goals.

Although those individuals considered capable of future success as media managers could not inspire large numbers of other people to be creative, they could, however, innovate specific creative projects, especially in the area of programming. On the other hand, the subjects had difficulty, conceptualizing a complete program schedule to serve a particular target audience and long-range station goals.

Those persons showing most potential exhibited an intuitive sense of musical showmanship—perhaps sharpened by their earlier music education and performances in public. More skill was needed, however, to accomplish showmanship with the written word.
Innate talent for extemporaneous speaking was discernable, but rigorous training continued to be essential to develop that necessary, spontaneous-sounding "first-time" quality. Those who seemed most likely to succeed also enjoyed the long hours associated with broadcasting and could be found at WBBP any time it was open if there was work they felt had to be done.

On the less favorable side, tactlessness was the most serious impediment to group harmony. Still, as anxieties subsided and competence increased, complaints about tactlessness waned. Cindy, for example, who was considered extremely tactless by her peers, made a studied and successful effort to change her communication style after her job was threatened by her heavy-handed way of dealing with people. Pedro also initiated efforts to improve his tone of voice and tactlessness, but graduated before there was time to notice the permanency of his attempt.

Charisma was a vacillating element at WBBP. Although the key respondents had charisma within the small groups which each led, no particular individual demonstrated the quality to attract the entire group until Alpha entered the corporate culture. Transferring from another college where he had worked at a radio station, Alpha entered the world of WBBP during its third year. Later named to become operations managers after Pedro graduated, Alpha's personality was quite different from the man he was to succeed. Whereas Pedro was dynamic, volatile, and treated the group as if he "knew it all," Alpha was quiet,
introspective, a good student, and contained a controlled inner dynamism which the group respected. Alpha also had the advantage of entering WBBP without the entanglement of a personal clique, which may have made him more acceptable to more people at WBBP. Alpha spent many extra hours at WBBP, voluntarily showing others how to do their work better. A militant interested in social justice, Alpha sought those goals in a cognitive way. He was also willing to ask for, and to accept, criticism. A follow-up study of how he functioned as operations manager would be useful to advance this present research.

Summary

Whereas the study originally was designed to focus only upon black culture as it interacted with broadcasting and to observe how self-concepts contributed to the corporate whole, the findings indicated that the presence of many additional cross-cultural concepts may also have contributed to the shaping of the group and personal constructs.

Many behaviors appeared based upon aspects of socioeconomic background more than upon race. Since the respondents were in the age group that was approaching adulthood, they displayed various elements of the youth culture, including: privatism, non-conformity, anti-establishmentarianism, misuse of drugs, and search for identity. The inconsistent leadership provided by the college itself also shaped certain dichotomous
attitudes and expectations of those in the study.

The presence of African and other non-American members within the WBBP organization introduced foreign cultural constructs and led to the conclusion that intuitive black managerial inclinations resembled the intuitive, non-logical, affective management styles found in many oriental cultures and developing countries.

A number of the problems encountered at WBBP were normal to those experienced by most young college men and women and, by themselves, offered no ethnocentric implications. The establishment of peer management contributed some personality conflicts that would not have been as intense had the corporate members been mature people in the professional world. Behaviors such as acting impulsively, fearing to punish one another, offering loyalty to friends more than to the station, and the feeling that "the station belongs to us" were typical responses to the changing needs and shifting motivations of late adolescence.

WBBP appeared to be in what Lippitt identified as the Youth developmental stage of organizational growth, during which the corporate culture sought to gain stability, reputation, and pride. Crisis-dominated behavior and overly-aggressive, sometimes opportunistic leadership as observed at WBBP are also common to such developing organizations.24

Likewise, the respondents' admission that they sometimes created crises on purpose in order to alleviate boredom might be a reflection of the natural let-down found to occur in other developing institutions after the excitement and thrust of initial creation is over.

Although it was obvious that WBBP's organization was not yet a fully integrated social system, it was groping toward organizational maturity. There was indication that the corporate culture had already resulted in meaningful impact upon a good number of those who were deeply active in it. Some of the favorable growth seemed to result from the opportunity to develop self-esteem through skills and to practice and work in a participatory-democratic management climate.

Practical application of these findings and suggestions for further research are presented in the following chapter.
CHAPTER V
RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Using the concept of corporate culture as a frame of reference to study potential abilities of young blacks as broadcast managers, the two major purposes of this work were to identify personality factors which signify latent broadcast managerial leadership qualities in young blacks, and to find how to effectively prepare aspiring young black candidates for decision-making roles in broadcasting so that they will meet the production goals of the profession as well as complement the cultural sensitivities of the candidates.

In the previous chapter the findings were discussed from three viewpoints: (1) group dynamics, as they revealed degrees of concern for others, (2) personal systems as they disclosed personal constructs which affected corporate life, and (3) interaction of black and corporate cultures as they related to production needs of the broadcasting profession.

This chapter draws on the data to develop recommendations about how to identify, find, and prepare talented black broadcast managerial prospects and also how to relate to particular black constructs which might possibly hamper preparation of such candidates for executive positions.
Predictive Indices of Broadcast Managerial Talent

One notable finding was that the dominant cultural influences across from differences in socio-economic circumstances rather than race. Black ethnocentric perceptions generally originated from attitudes and experiences drawn from individual life-orientations more than from black norms. With sustained motivation and a sound concept of the broadcasting industry, the data suggest that the black aspirant has need of the same basic preparation as any other broadcast managerial candidate, provided he receives additional education in communication skills, especially writing. The findings also imply that a black student from the middle-class will fit more easily into the role of manager, but that the black from the lower-class can also succeed, provided he is willing to identify and fulfill his additional educational needs as well as to understand and change some of his attitudes.

There is the possibility that the person from the South may be more successful in positions dealing with people, whereas the young black from the North may be more effective in production. There is not enough evidence to prove this but it invites further investigation. Youth from the South, although better able to work with people, were also less likely to ask for information or clarification
of orders and, as a result, tended to ignore work assignments they did not understand.

Northern students appeared to have higher aspirations, but were sporadic in attempts to attain their goals; they often confused day-dreams with actuality; they also preferred immediate, concrete results of their efforts.

Although Northern students displayed more dynamism than did their Southern peers, their energy expenditure was less consistent than the slower but steadier output of those from Southern states.

An inventory of the characteristics observed to be most common to the effective managerial interns reveals that each such subject was:

1. The only or oldest child, raised without the company of other children.

2. Involved in several extra-curricular activities at college, usually of an aesthetic nature involving music or drama. Likewise, all had been accustomed to performing music in public during their high school years.

3. Identified with middle-class values and aspirations.

4. Able to initiate and plan concrete tasks.

5. Able to work without supervision.

6. Dedicated to broadcasting and enjoyed the long hours it required.

7. Sensitive to others' feelings and moods to the extent that he could predict the behavior of those with whom they worked closely.
8. Idealistic


11. Willing to consider matters and, after much thought, to change his mind.

Characteristics which detracted from their job effectiveness included:

1. Impulsive decision-making based on hunches or feelings.

2. Inadequate future-time orientation.

3. Weak abstract conceptualizations.

4. Insufficient knowledge and application of standard business concepts and office procedures.

5. Inadequate writing ability requisite for broadcasters.

However, the findings also imply that unless these weaknesses are deeply imbedded in certain personalities, they can be overcome through education and direction.

Sources of Black Broadcast Managerial Talent

Because a college education broadens an individual's perspectives, identifies the person who can set and achieve a goal,
and advances the learning process, broadcasters seeking black managerial interns may find as primary sources of managerial candidates those colleges that offer professional broadcast education, especially colleges which supplement their media courses with practical opportunities for students to participate regularly in actual broadcast management at public stations. Only through experiencing the daily pressures and deadlines normal to radio and television can a person discover whether he is suited for the profession. The individual receiving a combined academic and pragmatic broadcast education is more prepared to know what the field is really like and what the profession will expect of him. By seeking black interns from such programs, the broadcaster can save some of the funds normally risked through on-the-job training and possibly reassign those monies to establish college scholarships for black students who demonstrate broadcasting talent and academic ability but who are genuinely in need of funds to remain in college.

By offering summer internships for credit to broadcasting majors commercial stations will find another potential source of young black managerial talent. Such internships should be offered only to those persons considered ready by the college faculty supervising the program. Before being accepted, interns should demonstrate basic knowledge of the fundamentals of broadcasting, the ability to type, and evidence of successful completion of course work in the
area of broadcasting to be entered by the intern.

Although intern stipends are usually at the bottom of the pay scale, broadcasters will find that college youth from disadvantaged backgrounds need more than the standard remittance, because during a "vacation" the intern needs not only to finance his current living expenses but also to earn enough money for his next semester's college tuition. If a station can afford only a limited cash outlay, it might satisfy the intern's needs by providing him with free room and board as a supplement to the normal stipend.

Additional ways of finding young black broadcasting managerial talent are through college placement offices and broadcasting departments, which can apprise recruiters concerning availability of graduates who are already employed in the media.

The National Association of Educational Broadcasters' Office of Minority Affairs also provides names and information concerning minorities who are qualified and interested in assuming important positions in the profession.

One purpose of studying the behavior of the respondents within the WBBP corporate culture was to observe a black broadcasting operation from its inception to attempt to learn whether blacks in new managerial roles would demonstrate any noticeably black managerial styles or problems as they met the needs of broadcasting.
The results imply that there is no single black managerial style, and that managerial constructs develop out of social class and life experiences more than from ethnic norms. Whereas the respondents' initial managerial concept was advocacy of strict authoritarianism, it developed that that perception existed mainly because that had been the style by which the respondents had been raised. As the subjects grew in knowledge of the profession and additional understanding of participatory management, they began to move away from the authoritarian construct of leadership.

Identifiable black ethnic perceptions and misperceptions appeared to be shaped by several factors, not necessarily mutually inclusive: (1) the effects of living in all-black, disadvantaged neighborhoods, (2) a rising national black awareness which demanded black social action, (3) distrust of people in authority, (4) lack of business acumen.

Growing out of the above factors, particular black sensitivities and reactions shaped the problem-causing attitudes at WBBP. The data suggests that the same problems could be anticipated in any organization preparing young blacks for similar positions, especially if the interns were to come from backgrounds similar to those of the respondents in this study.
Black oversensitivities were most alive when the corporate members gathered in a group, whether for social or business purposes. At such times black awareness overshadowed personal constructs, particularly in the presence of a white manager. It even moved persons who were not particularly concerned about black social action. Bi-racial misunderstandings were triggered most easily by whites' inadvertent misuse of certain words or nonverbal cues which conveyed derogatory meanings to blacks.

In addition, matters that were not uniquely black were, nevertheless, often viewed from a strictly black perspective and resulted in distorted black interpretations which added to station bi-racial feelings and problems. Respondents whose personal lives and difficulties made them anxious and frustrated often carried their tension to WBBP, and these were the people most likely to ignite emotional disturbances within the corporate culture.

Status perceptions created another source of difficulties. For many respondents the supervisory positions they held at WBBP were the first forms of power they had ever experienced; as a result they were frequently satisfied with the glory of the titles and not interested in meeting the accompanying responsibilities. In addition, some subjects held aspirations much higher than their level of accomplishment and, consequently, resented with jealousy
the promotion of peers who may have been there less time but had advanced more rapidly.

Finally, many black youth considered paperwork, FCC regulations, the need to reserve studios in advance and other organizational procedures as a form of "white makes right" and just another way to "control" blacks.

Additional problems which may be attributed to interactions of race and class included: poor time orientation, priority of affective satisfactions and expressions over cognitive, impulsivity, and tactlessness. Preference for spoken communication over written contributed to simplistic messages and limited thinking. Decision-making was frequently by hunch. The respondents displayed difficulty separating symptoms from causes, rumor from fact, reliable from unreliable sources. They also needed guidance to learn how to identify problems as well as to seek alternate solutions.

Although all the above problems can be anticipated, the findings imply that adequate education and preparation can eventually overcome such difficulties. The uncertain variable is the amount of time required to accomplish this.
Interracial Dimensions Involved with Preparing Young Blacks for Management Positions

Based on the data, this section offers suggestions for white employers and educators interested in preparing black youth for media positions in order to suggest how to avoid many of the problems cited. The white perspective was selected since most broadcasters and educators are predominantly white and may not be as familiar with black norms as would be black broadcasters.

A white person supervising blacks for the first time should be aware of symptoms that could be mistaken for lack of motivation. What may appear as laziness or stupidity may actually be a method of hiding fear of failure and, therefore, may actually be a pseudo-laziness. Self-concepts of young blacks, especially in new learning situations, are extremely tenuous and can easily be damaged. Since a strong self-concept is one of the best motivators, it is important to help the black intern to recognize his own abilities. To contribute to that goal, the supervisor should make clear that he accepts the trainee as a person as well as an employee.

A supervisor should try to discourage disparaging self-talk by trainees, since such talk can inhibit progress of even the most able. For this reason, it is more important to first help the learner develop a good self-image than it is to move rapidly into development
of professional skills. Confidence, which builds self-esteem, can be instilled if training begins slowly and explicitly in the learner's major area of interest. Small successes in progressively harder tasks will build the skills, confidence, and a corresponding strong self-concept.

Choice of words used to correct a black youth is important. Many young blacks from disadvantaged backgrounds mistake words for reality and, as a result, often develop a distorted sense of identity. For example, remarks such as Malcolm's and Cindy's when discussing negative black behaviors—"Well, we black folk are like that"—revealed that lack of knowledge of the weaknesses of humankind caused the subjects to think that only blacks do things incorrectly.

Although they prefer to be instructed individually, black youths need to be guided how to learn in groups. They must alter their concepts of "hypodermic" teaching, by which they believe the instructor is responsible for 100 percent of a learner's motivation. Many need to learn when and how to take notes, and when and how to speak up.

White employees should recognize that blacks' visibility in a predominantly white world often focuses upon them attention, they do not want. Likewise, young blacks suffer a loss of identity as they see mass American society geared to what appear to them to be
"white needs." Frequently, more recognition of this problem is all that a black youth asks. He appreciates the white person's acknowledgement and understanding that the problem exists. Merely talking about it appears to provide a measure of satisfaction and widens the channels of communication.

The following recommendations are discussed in three phases (1) the interview, (2) the orientation period, (3) the ongoing sustenance of the black youth's managerial progress.

The Interview

Based upon observations made for this study, the following suggestions are offered to guide the person not accustomed to interviewing black candidates.

The interviewer should always address the young men as "Mister" and the young ladies as "Miss." Premature use of first names, although common in broadcasting, may be constructed by blacks as an implication of inferior status. An interviewer should treat blacks the same way he does other interviewees, being careful not to be over-friendly or patronizing. He should be aware that lower-class black culture discourages a firm handshake, direct eye contact, or speaking up; therefore such responses by black interviewees should not be read as signs of uncertainty. During interviews it is
advisable to avoid words such as "qualification" or "competence," and to use terms like "knowledge," "skills," or "potential plus ambition."

An interviewee dressed in African mode should not be stereotyped as a trouble-maker. Quite often a youth who dresses in symbols of his African heritage is one who cares most about people and may turn out to be among one's best employees.

It should be made clear to the candidate during the initial interview that whatever job he is assigned will be a real job, not a token position, and that he will be expected to produce exactly what is expected of any others in the same post. He should also be told most explicitly before he is hired that promotion is not based on the length of time spent with the firm, but upon his grasp and performance of the job.

If the black applicant has not formerly worked in a white-collar position, he should be led to understand that people who give out assignments are following normal procedure and are not "bosses" in the "plantation" sense but are people through whom information and responsibility are communicated.¹

¹Study of slavery reveals that to most blacks the plantation boss issued orders which were to be unquestionably obeyed. The boss neither desired nor elicited communication or opinions from the field slaves. Today's black youth sometimes are overly-sensitive from that frame of reference when they work under whites.
During an interview it is advisable to review the concept of setting standards, rules of conduct, and adherence to station priorities. Even though the applicant may have heard this elsewhere, it is important to him to have it reaffirmed.

It will help the interviewer to ascertain each applicant's life style and social orientation. Black youth with middle-class backgrounds will generally adapt more rapidly to the job and may differ from the blacks from the lower class in matters concerning basic assumptions, goals, and reactions to business procedures. The data imply, however, that such differences will become less significant the longer the lower-class youths work successfully within the firm.

Finally, before closing the interview, the respondent should be questioned about possible personal problems which may inadvertently interfere with his attendance, or punctuality reporting to work; he may have serious transportation problems, illness at home, or even be holding a second job elsewhere.

Orientation Period

As soon as employment details are completed, the new employee's immediate supervisor should provide a detailed, guided tour of the station and of all areas where the intern will be expected to
work, introducing the newcomer to everybody in each area, always prefacing the new employee's name with "Mister" or "Miss" (unless the individual requests him to do otherwise). Even though the new managerial trainee may have worked in other stations, he will need time to know and trust people in the new operation. A sound orientation can help prevent some anticipatable human relations problems.

Although all beginners need detailed supervision, people orienting and training black youth should be careful to do so with an attitude of helpfulness, not of distrust. On the other hand, youth with prior broadcast experience should be reminded that things are done in a slightly different way at every station, therefore, supervision is meant to acclimate him, not to "control" him.

Because a common dislike of reading and their felt need for personal attention, the findings reveal that black youth learn more effectively through individual instruction. Oral instructions accompanied by specific demonstrations are more satisfactory training tools than are written instructions.

Sustaining Relations

A person supervising a black youth should realize that it is much better to admit that he does not know something than to make even one false statement or promise he cannot fulfil. One evasion or
half-truth can seriously damage rapport especially during the initial stages of adjustment. If a department head admits to making mistakes he will permit the intern to discover that whites are not infallible. In this manner, the supervisor will free the youth to confess his own weaknesses or need for knowledge, when necessary.

Important information should be communicated either face-to-face or by phone. Written message, or those sent orally through a third person, may be seen by a black youth as a form of avoidance or rejection. Brief messages can be written, but lengthy ones are best conveyed orally for possible redefinition and to allow for instant feedback; if the communicatee disagrees in just one word in a written communication he may reject the entire missive.

When outlining a job assignment that is new, a supervisor should not assume he is understood if the intern says he understands. The newcomer should be asked to relate the instructions or to demonstrate that he actually understands all parts of the new information.

Finally, a person supervising a black broadcast managerial trainee must keep in mind that a black youth's aspirations may be inordinately higher than his current abilities. When introducing a new responsibility, the supervisor should do so in a manner that
will enable the applicant to save face and back out gracefully should he discover he is unable, or unwilling, to handle the new assignment.

It is assumed that a black youth would not be considered for a broadcast management internship until he had demonstrated knowledge and prior successful experience in some aspect of broadcasting. When he is considered ready for managerial development therefore, he is more in need of managerial insights than training. The intern must be reminded that, as a manager he must not do all the work himself, but that his role is one of a coordinator, to see that the proper people in his and other departments handle the task aspects. Through attendance at station executive staff meetings the black intern can observe how each department head functions, how the staff members relate to their managers, and the pressures that will no doubt always exist in the profession.

Practice in problem-solving based on actual station needs, or playing management games, are additional methods that enable the person not used to business to grasp abstract and group variables of management.

Finally, a white executive who is directly involved in developing black managerial talent must expect to have his ethos challenged frequently. He can not make the assumption that once he
has been personally accepted by a black intern that the relation­ship will function smoothly. He must keep in mind that many black employees are subjected to outside emotional pressures, and are also likely to be strongly influenced by their black peers. The executive supervisor, therefore can expect to be tested constantly and should continue to provide time for the black intern to express his feelings and thoughts. Talking things out on the effective level is one of the most satisfactory ways to maintain a healthy multi-racial climate.

Summary

In order to establish what special problems may be anticipated by broadcasters and others seeking to prepare black youth for broad­cast managerial roles this study sought to identify (1) common factors which may help identify minority individuals with potential for broadcast leadership, (2) managerial constructs held by black youth, (3) black cultural constructs which may interact positively and negatively with broadcast corporate needs, (4) insights how to prepare black youth for media decision-making roles, (5) black youth's particular needs prerequisite to their managerial success, (6) knowledge which would sharpen the sensitivity of whites preparing black youth for broadcast management roles.
The problem was investigated from a cross-cultural perspective, by examining the interrelation between black and corporate cultural behavior in an on-going managerial experience at an educational radio station.

All the respondents were black youth attending a predominantly black college. Out of the group of student department heads studied for a period of three years, thirteen were dominant in performance and/or nonperformance of their roles. Those subjects had also been active at the station long enough to reflect its mores as well as the interaction of black and corporate cultures.

The Participant Observation method was used to seek out the personal constructs held by the participants, in order to learn which constructs may be permeable during the preparation of black youth for broadcast management positions.

The three year study drew data from the observer's journal, minutes of all meetings, station memos, personal letters to and from respondents, a sociometric study, and a series of tape-recorded focused interviews.

Common factors that might identify those with potential for managerial success centered around birth order, high school situations, ability to work with people, and capability for independent work. Those who were either the oldest child, or raised apart from
siblings in the manner of an only child, were among the most effective subjects in the study. Those who had both musical and leadership experiences in high school appeared also to be among the most effective managers, particularly if they had attended integrated schools. All were adept at the skills level and learned to operate the station's technical equipment with ease. They were creative with sound, music, and extemporaneous speech, although not with writing. The more effective subjects could take pressure longer than the others, liked to be with people, and could predict the behavior of their co-workers. These, too, demonstrated the ability to work independently and to complete practical projects with minimum guidance, once they learned exactly what to do.

As a result of the managerial experiences at WBBP, the respondents reported that their initial construct of management had been the "boss" concept of instructing a person to "go--do!" All but one, however, stated that after they learned their jobs and how to function in a participatory-democratic managerial setting and how to take part in group discussions and task forces, they worked better and learned under the more self-actualizing managerial style. The ideal manager, in their eyes, was the person who is forceful, with drive, honest, fair, patient, and a good communicator.
Among negative constructs was a general tendency to distrust anybody in authority; and although the more effective subjects could handle short-term, pragmatic tasks well, they were weak in long-range planning and conceptualizations. They did not seek out the reasons for occurrences. A particularly black construct was the tendency to view every procedure and program content from a strictly black perspective; however, respondents who were with WBBP more than two years began to recognize that broadcasting was obligated to serve many perspectives and, while retaining certain aspects of black cultural identity in programming, also began to learn to expand their consciousness and target to people who may have different perceptions from their own.

When seeking to identify anticipatable black constructs, the researcher discovered that many behaviors stereo-typed as black were common to all people, of all colors, who shared a life-orientation of poverty. For this reason, most of the findings may be more applicable to subjects from a low socio-economic background rather than of race, outside of the obvious ethnocentric dimensions.

The major negative black constructs appeared in the areas of semantics, oversensitiveness concerning selected aspects of blackness, fear of failure in the eyes of a white person, hesitancy to share knowledge with others, reserved compliance, and loyalty to a black
even when they know that the "brother" is wrong. Dislike of reading and writing appeared to be more of a socio-economic barrier than of race, except for the reluctance to learn standard speech by those who "don't want to talk like the white man." Those from poverty backgrounds resented the "middle-class" blacks on a caste basis. Their responses are more likely to be emotional than rational.

The problems can be overcome with patience by a manager who is genuinely interested in the managerial candidates. Such a person must be willing to listen more than he speaks, and to overtly express an interest in learning about black thoughts and expressions. He must never promise what he cannot produce, or he will lose the trust of the young person whom he is training. He must not only read the nonverbal messages on the faces and in the voices of others, but must be careful about the nonverbal messages his face and voice may be sending unconsciously, since these outweigh the semantics of the message.

Encouraging managerial interns to role-play, and to solve real problems based on station problems, appeals to the pragmatic orientation of the intern; permitting him to sit in on staff meetings also reveals to the intern how to take part in decision-making discussions and to learn about the many facets involved in broadcast decisions.
Learning under a black model will enable the black youth to learn with less fear of failure, although that will not be necessary once the intern learns his own responsibilities within the organization. If his advice is solicited by station management, especially about black concerns related to newscasts, announcements, and programs, the intern will feel important, will learn, and will also provide useful black perspective to the station that serves a population containing blacks.

A black managerial candidate should be exposed to management pressures immediately, in order to enable him to learn whether he really wishes to function in a profession which has a daily, harried pace.

It is assumed that such a candidate will have some basic knowledge of broadcasting, but it should not be assumed that he has a sound understanding of standard business procedures, or how to base decisions on facts which are measured against long term objective criteria and goals. He should be exposed to future-time planning, department by department, as part of his preparation, and should be permitted to do the work, not merely observe it.

In summary, constructs other than those reported above appeared to originate from the culture of poverty, not from race. It is predicted that regional differences may contribute to different paces and managerial behaviors of individuals, depending upon whether the
person was predominantly raised in the North or the South. Northerners appeared to be more physically dynamic and skilled at handling things, whereas Southerners were less self-confident, more covert in self-expression, more consistently dependable and were more skilled in handling people.

The corporate culture's need for logical thinking, precise timing, and open negotiation conflicted with the participants' intuitive methods of problem-solving, distrust of most people, present-time orientation, and distrust of any one person as a leader.

This exploratory study focused upon a group of subjects from only one setting and the results are, therefore, confined to that group. Hypotheses produced by the study should be tested on other black groups in other locations.
Hypotheses for future Research

Hypotheses generated by this study for further research are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hypothesis</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis I</td>
<td>A black youth who is the oldest, an only child, or raised as an only child, has more managerial potential than does one raised with siblings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis II</td>
<td>A black student with several years of music education and public performance experiences is more likely to have managerial potential than the black student who has had no musical training.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis III</td>
<td>Black youth from the middle-class are more readily acculturated into broadcast managerial positions than are black youths from the lower socio-economic levels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis IV</td>
<td>Lower-class black youths learn better in an authoritarian setting whereas middle-class black youths learn better in a democratic setting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis V</td>
<td>Black youths who are accustomed to authoritarian management can become more self-actualized by being involved in democratic-participatory management.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis VI</td>
<td>Young blacks from the South are more likely to succeed in managerial positions dealing with people, whereas young blacks from the North are more likely succeed in positions involving production.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesis VII</td>
<td>The culture of Afro-Americans is not a cross-culture in America but a co-culture, in which inherited non-Western values, based on intuitive mysticism, communal sharing, and oral communication, conflict with the Western values of logic, science, individualism, competition, and written communication.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX A

Glossary of Terms

The following glossary of terms used in this study is provided for the convenience of the reader:

**Acculturation**: The process of acquiring the culture of a society different from one's own as it refers to the changes in individuals and groups of individuals who share the same experience and whose primary learning has been in one culture, but who takes over traits from another culture.

**Black**: This term will be used except when quoting literature which uses the term Negro. Earlier writings and studies refer to the ethnic group originating from Africa as Negro. Since 1968 modern writers and speakers who are leaders among this group indicate a preference for use of the appellation "black."

**Broadcasting**: Radio and television organizations which transmit programs to the general public, free of charge.

**Construct**: Originating from role theory, a construct is the dimension of meaning which the respondent applies or employs in his relationship to his own personal world in a dichotomous category involving both similarity and difference.

**Culture**: The complex whole that consists of everything we think, do, and have as members of a certain society.
Corporate culture: That unique culture created within an organization through interaction of group values, managerial assumptions, organizational practices, goals, commitments, and personalities.

Educate: To develop an individual beyond the training stage so that he can abstract ideas and form concepts based on his own observation, research, and reflective thinking.

Ethnocentric: The ethnic-centered tendency to evaluate other cultures in terms of one's own, and to think that one's own is best.

Soul: A synonym for black, used to identify black-oriented radio stations which usually feature rhythm and blues records.

Theory X: Authoritarian type of management with clearly defined job responsibilities to which individuals are strictly confined. Power and decisions are located in one person or an elite group of leaders who do not consult the people under them.

Theory Y: Participatory-democratic approach to management as sought through group consensus. Participants agree upon group goals and are not self-seeking. Lines of responsibility may reform from task to task.

Train: To teach skills, mainly through drill, in order to produce physical proficiency.
APPENDIX B

FOCUSED INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. Tell me a little about yourself as you grew up.
   a) How many in family
   b) Siblings, ages, or only child
   c) Presence of which parent(s) in home
   d) Responsibilities
   e) Part of country raised in
   f) Kind of schooling; integrated?
   g) Music / Drama / Sports / Public Speaking experiences
   h) Offices or leadership experiences
   i) Large or small town
   j) Religious background, or feeling

2. What attracted you to broadcasting?

3. What are your present dreams for your future in this field?

4. What gives you a good feeling up here at WBBP? Why?

5. What bothers you most in work you do, or have done, up here? Why?

6. How do you see your present WBBP job...as one of detail, creative, skill-oriented, human relations...or what?

7. How long have you been with us?

8. What do you think you have learned that is of most benefit to you?

9. What student do you admire here most as the best model, so far, to our other student managers? Why?

10. What was your original concept of management, or a good manager? Why?

11. What is your concept now? (If it changed, what changed your ideas?)
12. Were there any important personal turning points that made a big difference to you in your experience on the staff?

13. Do you like to set your own goals, or have others set them for you? Explain.

14. Some students here seem to lack confidence, even when they have good ability, or good potential. What do you feel can help provide them with that important confidence?

15. AIDED RECALL. SHOW THEM ROSTOW'S FIVE STAGES OF A DEVELOPING COUNTRY AND ASK:
   a) At what stage would you say WBBP is at present?
   b) Why do you feel that way?

16. Do you think that loyalty to friends on the staff may cause some staff members to cover up one another's mistakes, instead of correcting them?

17. How do you feel we can develop more loyalty to the station, than to normal peer pressures?

18. Do you feel that our students' personal worries have any important relationship to station problems?

19. What do you feel motivated our managers most?

20. Do you, personally, feel that people care most about you when they keep pushing you, or when they leave you alone to do things your own way? Why?

21. Do you believe that the students respect the doer more than the thinker? Explain.

22. Some students want the office door closed when they talk with me about something important to them; others want the door open. The latter claim they are told they are "eating cheese" when the door is closed. Why do you think some students feel this way?

23. What kind of rewards do you think motivate our students more, immediate or delayed? Explain?

24. To which do you think people here respond most: Words, Tone of voice, Look on face when words are said, or place it is said? Explain.
25. A book by Webber states that our culture affects the pattern of communication among individuals. In South America, for instance, people prefer to handle disagreements through a third person. If you disagree with someone, do you thrash it out with him face-to-face? Keep it to yourself? Take it up with a third party? Something else?

26. AIDED RECALL: Here is a list of common causes of problems in all organizations. (SHOW THEM LIST). Do you think any of them apply here at WBBP? Which ones? Which are most important?

27. Which do you feel our students here want most...to be important, or to feel important? What is the difference?

28. What was your personal reaction to my outburst, just before the week I went away for the convention in November? Why do you think the students accomplished more that week than in the previous two months?

29. Do you feel students should not be given top positions until their third or fourth year at Afro? Why do you feel this way? (If all were four year students, would it make any difference?)

30. Do you feel there are, or have been, any serious problems in attitude here because the head of the department happens to be white?

31. Why do you think our biggest problem, procedurally, is getting paper work done and kept done in advance?

32. Why do you think our job description book is not used more?

33. What do you think have been the most successful aspects of student management here? Why?

34. What do you think are the greatest weaknesses of student management here? Explain. Give examples. Why?

35. AIDED RECALL: Here is a list of different kinds of false behaviors or fronts that many people in organizations put on. SHOW THEM LIST FROM EUPSYCHIAN MANAGEMENT, by Maslow. Do you recognize any facades that may create most problems at WBBP?
36. If we did hire a few professionals at WBBF, what positions do you think should be held by such people to provide the continuity that a changing student population cannot provide?

37. Since there have not been professionals on the staff, you students have really had the complete experience of running the station. What have you learned from this experience that you think you would NOT have learned if there were professional managers here?

38. Do you feel the presence of volunteers and of non-majors enriches or hinders the group and station development...or doesn't it matter either way?

39. Do you think students should be taught management skills, not just how to do the job, but also how to supervise people? Might students respond well to a management training sensitivity session, of several days, just before we resume school in the fall?

40. How do you think our students learn best? (Demonstrations, lectures, each one teach one, courses, other)

41. Do you think that the people who are best liked by the staff are also the best managers?

42. If you could change this management system at WBBF any way you wanted (within legal and financial limits) how would you do it?

43. Who, of all our people, past or present, do you feel might most likely become a manager in the field ten or fifteen years from now? Why?

44. So often our students say, "We must get ourselves together." Why, in your opinion, can they NOT get together? Have you any suggestions how they CAN get together.

45. As a manager, do you feel a job is completed when you give an order to somebody under you?
46. What else do you feel you might like to mention that would help us try to identify the factors that work well at WBBP, those that cause problems, and possible solutions to our problems?

**AIDED RECALL TO #15**

1. Traditional society (peer groups)
2. Preconditions needed for take-off toward development. (When was this at WBBP?)
3. The take-off itself
4. The drive to maturity
5. The era of self-sustained growth

**AIDED RECALL TO #26**

1. Gossip
2. Rumor
3. Poor listening
4. Immaturity
5. Lack of knowledge
6. Lack of skills
7. Selfish self-interests
8. Fear of asking, for fear of looking ignorant
9. Lies
10. Lack of trust of one another
11. Lack of trust of head of department
12. Lack of trust of anybody in authority
13. Weak judgment (or not enough experience on which to base judgment)
14. Poor tact (inability to say something nicely)
15. Dislike paper work
16. Not used to detail and follow-through

AIDED RECALL TO #35

FACADES
(from EUPSYCHIAN MANAGEMENT)

There are different types of facades (false fronts or behaviors) used by people in business and life every day. Do you recognize any of the following as being commonly used at WBBP?

1. Acting tough (to hide an insecure person)
2. Using position for personal gain (or later business gain)
3. Omitting necessary information on purpose to mislead
4. Fearing to punish others, the person delegates punishment jobs to other
5. False intellectual (not really interested in the ideas he spouts about)
6. Acting uninterested or dumb, to hide true feelings
7. Hiding true intentions
8. Using conflict to gain his own purposes, yet pretends not to like conflict
9. Uses people to get what he wants, then sets people aside

10. Compromises, in order to be able to go underground with his real purpose, and to come up again later to win

11. Manipulates cliques through manipulating their leaders

12. Promises things he never intends to do

13. Lies, in order to divide

14. Pretends team action, but is not really a team man. He does this to use the group, not to serve the group.
APPENDIX C

ETHNOCENTRISM

Ethnocentric Attitudes Relevant to Managerial Behavior

PEDRO

I would say, you know, that I think as far as taking it from a black reference, that black students are at this point of time going to have to be oriented toward business concepts. Too often I get into arguments, and I tell students that even though Vince Colors has the largest black advertising agency out in Chicago, he learned the basics about management. Because—let's face it—nobody is going to set up a black business or a black network or stations unless they have certain principles or organizational structure. And they're not going to hire you based on your color; they're going to hire you based on your experience. And I feel as if our managers are going to have to learn the basic principles of management, and then take the time out to try to improve upon those.

Manuel and I often discuss this. I think there are too many positions at the station, there's too many titles—egos, like: 'I'm manager of this department.' ... 'cause, like you have to understand, this is the first time many of these students have actually had a chance to have a quote 'position' unquote ... because in high school you weren't encouraged to be on student council and archery club, or even cheerleaders. They only wanted you to play sports and be an outstanding athlete and go to college and get out of college and make $20,000—and, if you break your leg, you go on welfare.

Black students haven't been orientated in schools towards going into business, and management principles which could easily be applied to radio once you graduate. A good 65% of the staff come, not from the ghetto, but from the typical black community in some of the bigger cities; whereas some of the students from the South, to be honest with you, have a better perception of really what business is about, because most of their parents have had a chance to own property and have a business mind, as far as budgeting money. Whereas the average family in the North, like my family, they go to work every day, they pay for insurance. The average students from New York that go to work at the station haven't been motivated to actually prepare themselves for radio.
The student from the North has more drive, being overly-creative. The student from the South does not have enough self-confidence at first. Evelyn and Alice started shy, and became dynamic.

In the North you get overconfidence. A lot of students from the South are not really oriented toward mass black movement like the Mau Mau, and the Panthers, and guns going off around you, and having to go to City Hall and argue with the city council. Down here they are not doing that, even though historically the militants started in the South. In the locale of the ghetto the Panthers and Mau Mau can call a meeting in City Hall. Down South a family of five or six gather at most. Although that's changing lately.

CINDY

How would I handle the job if I were in your place? First of all, I wouldn't have the problem you have in the respect that you're white. But, I would have a similar problem because of the fact that I was black. They'd say, "What does she know? She don't know more than the rest. What does she know about broadcasting. Black people don't know about broadcasting. She can't tell me what to do. I don't think being a female is important to how you're accepted in the job.

GEORGE

The black can make more advancement in American society if he knew how to use the mass media effectively. And this is what the hangup is. Even about taking things. First of all, the students we have aren't used to--one of the ways of getting back at society is to go and take things without asking for them. It is a form of fighting the establishment. When something disappears, what you ought to do is talk to the key leader of the group. Tell him, 'If you're not going to watch over records here, when you need them for your show, what are you going to play? You know who has the records.' And, as you know, they often come back.

One of the worst things that ever happened to Afro was the transition every year. And that throws student's back. Everything is different every year. It is also the environment, the atmosphere. If the students who come to Afro find things well set, no changes, they're going to fall right into the (good) pattern.

A black man doesn't trust another black man. I've seen it in many cases. I can cite it from experiences that you have a party, and you invite people to your house, and they go into the bathroom and they take this and they take that. I mean, they end up carrying
practically everything. I mean, it's this thing of not trusting your fellow man. It's hard to trust your fellow man. It has been changing over the past few years because of this big thing called identity and unity. But it's going to take a period of time to change. A developing country has its communal culture, with the authority and the powers delegated to the chiefs, like a totalitarian kind of regime. But in the communal society your problem is my work. The American culture has totally thrown the traditional black culture out of it, and we talk about the blacks...second, third, fifth generation. But his generation is a totally capitalistic generation, so it is looking at it from a different point of view.

MALCOLM

Now a lot of people feel that students aren't competent. Sure, students have a lot of, uh, immature ideas—a lot of fantasies, egotistical problems—uh—peer problems and so forth. But, so do adults! I didn't realize this until I got out into the commercial side of broadcasting. As a matter of fact, when I was in the commercial area, I learned something about whites, also. If you remember, I was a very outspoken actively active person in the black movement. I still consider myself active...not so outspoken and I considered much of what I was in day-to-day life as limited to blacks, especially the negative aspects. But, I found out that blacks are just another form of people. They have some unique qualities, and whites do also. But my ignorance came about simply because I was in an all-black environment for so long I didn't have a chance to compare the two. One who is in a black and white environment can compare the two. I feel that one has to get out into the world, to find out what's out there. And this adds to one's maturity.

There are some problems that are not solved just by being in a white environment, or being in a black environment. For example, there's a lot of misinformation, a lot of lack of information, there's a great deal of plain, downright, erroneous information going around in both societies, not a major society and not a sub society. There are disadvantages in being brought up in either an all-white or all-black environment.

Should white schools have books to give a black perspective? The question you ask is the question asked by whites at the commercial station, 'How can I relate?' You can't relate. That's totally out of the question. You can understand. I can't relate to you, but I can understand you.

Blacks have more of an understanding of whites than whites do of blacks, because blacks have not had any choice in the matter of finding out who whites are. They've had to work and live with whites
from the time of slavery so white culture has to some degree been assimilated by blacks, but whites have had the opportunity. They've had the opportunity but they've never taken the time out to find out about blacks. And now there's a great big black problem. OK. And it's really not a black problem; it's a white problem.

I find that if whites just sit up and take the time out to understand what the heck is going on; then, if they can get rid of some of those long white-oriented teachings, they'd be able to associate, to understand, to work with blacks much easier. It has to be developed by most whites. It has to be developed by many blacks for blacks, and whites for whites. I could continue on that for another two or three hours.

BRENDA

Too many chiefs and not enough Indians? Well, first of all, working with black people, this is going to happen all the time. I've seen this; because in the office I'm the only black person, and everybody there knows their work and does it.

CHARLES

First, there's the lack of trust of anybody in authority. You find out that less hatred as regards race would be in your Southern students because Northern students are aware, like Southern students are not, of the system, because of the area they live in. You get the impression that Southern people are worst off, but from personal experience, I disagree wholeheartedly. I've lived in the North, and the conditions there are worse than the conditions which the people in the South live in. The people in the South are by some means able to survive. Because of the area of atmosphere, there is some way you can make a living. In a large city there's nothing you can do. You're just there! Then they become aware of the system, maybe, that a white person is the cause of this.

Because, most of the students in the South are raised in religion, as I was. I agree that Northern students feel freer to speak out their opinions than do Southern students. There is more feeling of respect for blacks in the South. I think Southern students are not as wild. They've been closer than Northern students. There is the 'gangster system' they are exposed to in the North. In the South you can survive without cutting your brother's throat.
PEDRO I don't think it would make any difference here, if you were black. You know why I say that? The only time that I try to evaluate a situation on a racial basis is when I see white people who are trying to take advantage of black people. But I feel as if Miss Jones, who is a black teacher, she is having just as much problems with the broadcasting in her courses, and she is a black teacher. And I think if students who are going to leave here—let's face it—the majority of the networks, trustees, are controlled by white people, so they're going to have to...

ALICE You know what I really think? I would like for people at the station to—I wouldn't want anyone to think that I wasn't with wanting my race to get any farther, I do. But it's just a thought that, if someone knows something, I don't care what color they are. If they know it, if they've had experience in it, that's the best source you can have. But many of our people have the hangup that maybe just because you're white that you might know something more than they do. But a situation is a situation. People are people. I mean, the same thing is going to happen even if it is a black operation or white operation, you're still going to have the same basic problems in management. I don't see what difference it is in who teaches you what, as long as they know what they're talking about. I think sometimes it's fear, that they think that maybe you might—because you have been through the experiences and stuff—that you might expect something that they might not be able to produce, not giving themselves a chance to really get to know, to really produce before they start criticizing. Yes, it's fear of failure that a white person is going to be so hard on them, to give them so much work, and, rather than maybe to be embarrassed about the situation, they just complain. Maybe it's just this 'black bag' that some people are in. You know, really, it just takes them too deep in the bag. You can get too deep in anything and ruin the effect of it all.

I don't know why students have a fear of asking. You waste time by not asking. Because you are white, they will try to 'look as good as I can' when they don't know about it.

GEORGE When you established my role that I was the intermediary or whatever you call it, between you and the students, well, I think I had one advantage. I had never been in any situation where I ever
thought of any racial problems, where I didn't trust anybody, white or black. I think I made judgment on individuals according to merits. I think my whole situation is rare. I think I've always questioned society, and especially when I came to America. So, I saw my role. And so, I say, 'What has Mrs Weiss started?' Some of them had a feeling that black people have always been in a situation where 'whitie' comes in and tries to exploit us, or something like that. And then I say, 'No, don't judge the individual. Let's find out. If you don't like certain things, speak out now. Talk about it. And, if you don't want to talk about it, talk to me about it and I will talk to her.

Lack of trust is two ways, if you have to be racialized. I think till now you've proven yourself. You're not exploiting. Some of them still think your purpose for coming down here is to write a dissertation and say goodbye. If they think you came to exploit Afro and the black community, they are limiting themselves to the negative side and not the other side. What contributions you have made. How many times you have fought. What you've done for them. If people look both ways, then you get different answers.

MALCOLM
You have to understand how people look at you (as a white manager). You know. You see this is what has fouled up a lot of things thus far. A lot of students look at you as the plantation owner, you see what I'm saying, and working with black students, you have to take a look at all that has transpired in that person's history and, at this point of awareness of one's history, heritage. Black people are more conscious of this.

But that can be all overcome: by tact, procedures, and a heck of a lot of the psychological dynamics of behavior. And I think that a woman is the perfect person to do such a thing. A woman has the tact. A woman has the subtleness. And a woman is just plain a woman. I can't really quite describe it, but a woman is able to get more done than most men. I have learned a lot from women. They have taught me how they can subtly make a person feel they're the king.

When you came here, for example, let's touch on that directly. When you came here, for example, you had been in an all-white environment for the majority of your life, especially in the formative areas of your life. And most blacks here at the station had been in a black environment for the major part of their formative years. But blacks had more of an opportunity to work with whites than the whites did of blacks. There were a number of things that you did do, at that time, and that you still do, unconsciously, that irritate blacks. What are some of them? Well, that's something
that is asked by most whites. And I couldn't truthfully say 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, because people don't think that way. Mannerisms--some attitudes--conversation-choice of words.

There are a number of black books--Blues People by Leroi Jones--Nigger Bible.

I don't think the white problem is going to come into it now as much as it did in 1968, and I think it will decrease as time goes on, because you're acquiring some awareness of some of the pitfalls that you've fallen into. There are a number of things that you personally have to seek out. I don't like to apply too many things, they may sound offensive, but you have a motherly instinct. And for people who consider themselves grown up, this sort of rubs them wrong.

BRENDA

The campus has no religious atmosphere. It's just nothing. Religion has been discussed up here quite a few times...but, there you go again about Mrs. Weiss and the black music: 'She's a Catholic:' So, that's when I jumped into it and said I went to Catholic school for twelve years and I'm Catholic, so that didn't have anything to do with it.

MANUEL

I can't say, to tell you the truth, if there would have been fewer problems had the manager been black, or a member of a minority group. I look at you; even though you're white I don't look at you in that sense. You're here for a job; and it will always puzzle me to the day I die why you are at Afro. Now there are very few women broadcasters, and you're a genius in the field. You just have too many sources. I say, 'Why doesn't she be a lawyer in broadcasting?' You just have so many things at your hand. I don't see it. Because blacks are not going to get rid of whites; whites are not going to get rid of blacks; you have to look who has the money. Right now in any black station there is in the United States, whites have the majority of stocks. You're going to have to relate to them in some way. Having to relate always keeps you in touch in a sense of 'Why.' Not alienate yourself. You have to know about them if you have to deal with them. To me it didn't make any difference, really.

CLYDE

If you were black, would the station have pulled together faster? Well, someone hit me with a question, or told me something last night, and he doesn't work here at the station. He said, 'I thought it was Mrs. Weiss, you know, all the trouble you all was
having, Mrs. Weiss. But it's not entirely her fault.' So we go from there. No, that isn't it. It's not you, because we've been running better with you than if we had somebody black, because the problem by now has been absorbed into the Afro system. You have resisted this, and I think that was good. I said Weiss is not a handicap. I've seen a lot of these teachers who have been absorbed into the system, going along with the program, which you're not doing, and I admire you for that, for not going along with some of the stuff the administration pulls.

EVELYN

Color, race and color have no bearing on myself. I think if you had been black you'd have turned me off. This stems from when I was in high school when a black teacher in English, who had me in the upper part of the class, said I 'just couldn't get it.' She turned me off and had me transferred to a white teacher's class. And it looked like I just came out. I got an 'A' in the lady's class. It was a predominantly black school. I could relate to the white lady. It was a nice relationship.

Funny! Your name turned me off until I met you. And Miss Jones [a black teacher] turns me off.

I think you're just too lenient. I think it's because you're not a harsh person. I think that they think, in some way, you're trying to give the student a chance; that you believe in them.

SAMUEL

Now the fact of having a white supervisor has been one of the main things that has kept a lot of people from speaking up and saying, 'So and so isn't doing his job and I'm catching the devil under him.' And this is something, no matter how much you'll talk, you'll never be able to get the people to come around and do this, because aside from feeling they're ratting on a friend, they feel even worse.

I think it takes a mature person to realize when he's being loyal to a person, and when he's being foolish. It's a simple thing you being loyal to a person and you cover up for them when they can't help doing something; like, maybe, somebody had an emergency at home and couldn't do a board shift, and you come in and do it for them. But if the person constantly doesn't show up, then you know that they're using you. Then you aren't helping them any more, you're covering for them, but you're being made a fool of. So this is where you draw the line.
When you come in as a group of people for the first time, well--I don't know now that it's already going it would be as serious as it was [the first year]--and it was bad. Everybody was anxious to show how black they were. Now whenever a new person comes in and sees everybody else is working, you know, in the situation, then he's not as exposed so much to the idea of alien ideas, and so forth--of saying, 'Well, 'you know, 'we shouldn't have a white supervisor.' This may still be the prevalent feeling, but it's not the foremost thing in the minds as concerned with the jobs.
APPENDIX D

MOTIVATION

PEDRO

I don't think enough of the staff understand what actual reward is. Like, I was always taught, growing up, that something you get too quick doesn't last too long.

I think that's one of Malcolm's main problems at this point. When the station started out, he was in the newspaper and being interviewed—and what happened, it turned off so many other students because they had been doing just as much and they lost respect for him because he was taking all the cake. And, we'd be very leery of his coming back to the station to work, because he couldn't work as part of the team.

The greatest satisfaction I get is seeing a new student who came in here, and I worked with, going on. Like when Jim Smith came, he was--so--clown, and wanted to fool around. We actually sat down, like, and had a face-to-face conversation, almost at each other's throats. And now he's turning out to be one of the best production people we ever had. I enjoy that.

In addition, I also enjoy work with the kids on Saturday. I enjoyed teaching them the console and to put on programs. That's something that you don't usually get a chance to do, is to help students like people say they want to help. I might like to teach. Like at the high school the other day, for fifteen minutes I almost felt like I was teaching that class. I really enjoyed it. I think I enjoy learning more ... and that I have learned and also been able to give it back to somebody else, and not just store it up in a bottle and cap it and say I have a degree. So, I enjoy working with people.

ALICE

For those who have been there longest, I think delayed rewards are what they want. But those newcomers, immediate rewards, because they haven't got involved long enough to know that you just don't get rewards every day.

Beginners like to have lots of people listen to their programs every day, or have someone come and say you did a good job on your program. The long-term people's rewards seem to be to make broadcasting more beneficial to the public and to receive a feeling of self-accomplishment.
The best feeling I ever got since I've been at the station was when I went to the local black high school and I had the feeling I was getting across to the students and to get them to know that we were interested in them. Just to think that maybe I had done something to really make them wonder and make them more acquainted with the broadcasting area was really gratifying. They didn't know about job availabilities for blacks in writing, production, and things of this sort. And just seeing the expressions on their faces, the questions they asked, and just to see that they were interested I think they just looked at broadcasting as the deejay. It's the first thing they said about the deejay, deejay. We got this idea across it wasn't only the deejay part.

CINDY

What motivates our managers most? It's different for different managers. For a lot of people, especially those who do programs, it's the prestige and the being known, being on the air. With others it's just a job, to help them through school. There's nothing else to do. The students are not more interested in the title than the responsibility, it's just that around here, if you have a title, it seems that to a certain extent, you get more recognition than if you're just part of the staff. Most of our managers here want immediate rewards because most of us won't be here but for so long. In other words, we want our flowers while we can smell them. There's a strong compulsion by human beings to be recognized by their peers.

GEORGE

I liked to work with students who were unsure of themselves, who were questioning the impact of the mass media. I tried to give them manager insights. And before we attack the aspect of skill we must look at what the kids have grown up with. Most of the kids have gone to school where, when they did their best, they were never rewarded for it. And this confidence, it has to start in an early stage. So, at this time because they are unused to any reward, if you were to reward them there is a tendency to say I'm satisfied.

I think the mistake that you have made is to give them all praise, but do it to a person for particular things. Show them where the errors are, so they can work on the errors. Immediate rewards are most desired, such as praise for doing a good job in newscasting, or programming. Then, later on when I begin to question my role in the society in the black community, then it becomes delayed. At the very beginning, it's, 'I want to do rock and roll shows. They don't see the delayed reward at first.'
MALCOLM

I think that students are more interested in the image of power than actual power. Yeah. The majority of students here would like to be in positions so they can say that I was, or I am. And they will work toward a goal, having one thing that makes them outstanding from the other managers that have been here. The position is the goal. I think if the students here were paid and fired. I think you have very good managers here at WBBP for not being paid. I enjoy working with people and manipulating people.

BRENDA

Recognition motivates our student most. Mr. Small or Dr. Laros calls and says something was well done. It's the immediate rewards, the compliment, 'Good job, well done.' Then again, how about the people being paid here and not striving for anything? You've told us many times the job accomplishment should make us feel important. In general, it's just another, 'We go up here for three hours and get paid.' That's how it is in a lot of situations up here.

CLYDE

When the news gets on the air at 5:30, I get a feeling of accomplishment:—gone through another day and put news on, and it's run a half hour. Another was to see the news department grow like it is, and getting along with the people in news the way I have.

I would not like to go on to sales, because sales doesn't impress me. I just like to be in broadcasting because I enjoy it. Money does not motivate me. I like most doing games [on the air].

In my opinion the students here want positions, because that's—there's only so high you can go. If they get the prestige, mainly with Mrs. Weiss, they are satisfied, their ego. That's one reason. Those who aren't committed are here just for money. You're working up here three hours. Some people are here just three hours. And you can't possibly do your job in three hours, because everybody's up here at least three to five hours.

For people under the managers the motivation is, 'Well, I can be in his job some day, so I'll work and I'll work, and I'll be noticed.' And it's happened. People have gotten noticed around here and they've been promoted. And once they see that they got promoted they see some future and, 'I'll get promoted.'

Once you get to the managerial level, you can't go any higher. Maybe to get an internship during the summer, then you'll work a little harder. And after you get noticed, you'll get
selected for an internship. Once you get up there, there's not that much motivation unless you are really interested.

Some people have never had the power that they have up here, or that they think they have, and it motivates them for that. To some the title is sufficient. I think you get into the serious problems when you have a manager who wants the absolute power.

CHARLES
I get the best feeling doing production, because it's creative, and I can change and make it different. I got a challenge, and I like the people to challenge me. I prefer to set my own goals, but I'm willing to listen to somebody above.

The staff, here, wants immediate rewards. More like what the average, what you might say, high school student might want and respect, like honor awards. But when you do this, you run into another problem, because certain persons seem to be getting more praise than anybody else.

EVELYN
I like my job because I know what's going on in the station. The best feeling is knowing or feeling that I've brought about, in some way, a feeling that I have helped somebody, she stated, referring to a program she did on the air about services available from the college career placement office and the pleased response she got from several students as a result.

I think it's more the praise [that motivates our students]. We feel more equipped to do a better job, after praise.

SAMUEL
It is good to do something and then to listen to it and know that it's good and then put it down and leave. It gives a good feeling on the inside to hear a person who is a professional say your work is good.

What motivates our managers? That's something I never really thought about. That's mostly this thing about dedication. The money is not that much. Really, people don't go out and look for responsibility as such; they look at the job and say, 'Well, I'd like to do this job.' It's more of a self-satisfaction thing. But responsibility is more or less a necessary evil that comes along with the job.
GLEN

I believe in public correction. When I was little, my grandmother didn't beat me in the house. She beat me in the street. And that's why I obeyed. If she beat me in the house where nobody could see, it didn't matter. I think it is weak to take people over into the corner to correct them. Others don't know that, so others think it's OK for them to break the rules too.

JEROME

Students are more interested in titles, the appearance of power. 'I have this long title, and I'm going to make this title my hold card; everything is centered around me.' If everybody were more interested in just doing a job—the main idea would be that everything is done.

I don't agree with Glen that being corrected in public is the only way. That doesn't work for everybody.
Pathos Experiment and Responses to it

Need for the Experiment

MRS. WEISS
The initial excitement began to diminish noticeably at the start of the third year of operation. Duties were not being carried out with the same care and gusto that had activated them in the past. Although the student operations manager knew his job better than had any preceding him, the students appeared to consistently resist his guidance. The harder Pedro tried, the more resistance he encountered. I had learned, however, not to intrude upon such a situation, unless I was specifically invited by the student encountering trouble. Otherwise I would have sabotaged students' efforts at management.

The cry for help finally came. On the night of November 4, Pedro phoned me at home and, sounding very discouraged, told me that nobody would pay any attention to his orders. Inspired by his and the station's need, as well as irritated at the poor state of affairs at the station, I devised an experiment that I hoped would pull the group together and toward Pedro, even at risk of turning it against me. All I said to Pedro was, "Tomorrow, just before I leave, I am going to do something that will really upset the staff, then I will turn them over to you to pull together. Are you willing to risk chaos? I don't know what I will do, yet, but I will do something." "Anything, Mrs. Weiss! Anything! Something has to be done!"

So I sat down and wrote the following "extemporaneous" speech to be given to the group during the last five minutes of a class which they had with me. They knew I expected to leave that afternoon for one week to attend a seminar and convention. As planned, just five minutes before the period ended, I concluded the teaching assignment and spoke as follows:

Experiment

I have something to say to you. Then I am going away for a week! I don't want to hear your replies now. I don't want anybody to talk to me. I want you to think about what I am about to say and you can tell me how you feel about it when I return.

Both the dean of this school and I agree that the operation and the sound of this station is very poor lately. There is no quality. There is no enthusiasm on the air. Programs are sloppy or
cancelled without notice. There are many console errors. Logs are not being kept properly. You are not doing adequate black programming. You are not going into the community and seeking fresh black viewpoints and new black talent. In fact, I could do better black programming than you are producing right now!

I am very disappointed. I feel that I am personally a failure here. I have apparently been unable to arouse in you the same enthusiasm I feel for this station. My confidence in your ability to run this station still exists. But my confidence in your sense of responsibility is vanishing.

Right now there are no logs typed, not even for today ... and you are supposed to be two weeks ahead! The day book for today is not yet completed, and we go on the air in two hours! Records are not yet pulled for today's broadcast, and they were supposed to have been pulled by 5 PM yesterday. All other departments are equally behind.

I am asking you to think right now about what you are doing here. Why are you here? What do you want to do? I am asking you either to commit yourself to WBBF, or to resign. I warn you, if there is no great improvement, we will cut back air hours next semester, and will employ professional station managers.

If you can't make this station operate with all the freedom you have up here, you'll never change this or any other society. So, I repeat, I have confidence in your abilities, but I am losing my faith in your sense of responsibility. You think about it! Make your decisions by the time I return in one week. It's up to you to decide whether student operation can work. Goodbye!

Result of Experiment

The first student to greet me upon my return, one week later, was Clyde. Meeting me on the stairs, he grinned and said, "Well, we just had 'Hell Week'!" We never worked so hard as we worked while you were gone!" And, he was right!

The results were amazing. The station was actually ahead in all departments, for the first time during its existence. All logs and books were two weeks ahead; all themes were properly recorded on tape cartridges; all announcements were transferred to cartridges; back production work was up to date; and all current record albums were cataloged. It was obvious that something had finally motivated everybody to produce according to their job descriptions. What was that something?
Pedro was the first person I questioned, since he was the only person who knew that what I had said had been planned. In fact, even though he was prepared for "something," he admitted that what I said "shook him up" and that he remained frozen in his seat for a minute after I dramatically exited, slamming the door behind me.

"After you left," Pedro reminisced, "I just sat there for a minute. Then Cindy started talking loud, and then others began to shout, and then they were all shouting and talking at once. That's when I got up and told them to shut up and to talk one at a time. I think it produced results because of the same thing that happened in high school. We did not do our work until the teacher made a threatening phone call to your parents, and had to write a letter, or tell your mother to come to school. Or, until she told you, 'Look! You're going to fail. You're not going to graduate, you know!' And this is the main problem. They've been used to growing up in that type of atmosphere: 'You do this, or else!' That's how most of them function. I found that out. Most students at Afro function like that. A lot of students have money to pay their bills, and they don't pay their bills until they get a letter from the president saying they're being sent home. Then they pay!" Concluded Pedro.

In Clyde's opinion, "Hell Week" worked because, "they were confronted with the issue and not, you know, of being failures. In other words, 'You people are a bunch of failures!' -- and no one wants to be a failure--especially coming from you, Mrs. Weiss, and you're white, you know. They took a look at themselves and ... I think we're almost at that point where we need another one of those, which is unfortunate," he sadly added, two months after the experiment.

Although Malcolm had not been present, he had heard about the hard work the students had accomplished during that November week. He commented, "I feel they'll all work together if they have a sense that they've got the entire thing to themselves. Students should be able to prove they can run the station 100% without Weiss involvement."

Brenda's interpretation was, "Well, Mrs. Weiss, you put your foot down, and we know we couldn't go on the air without these things. And, while you were gone, we tried to get ourselves together. We said, 'Well, Mrs. Weiss meant what she said.' But, you know, if it wasn't for the FCC pressing us to do this and pressing us to do that, I don't think we would have as much organization up here as we do. This is always over our head, 'If you don't do it right, you lose your license.'"
Evelyn also felt a sense of threat in the situation. She stated, "Well, I think basically it's the first time you ever put a scare into them, you know. They really felt that, why I felt as if, 'Oh, wo!' She's really--she has the authority to say, 'Close the station down!' And everybody felt if you said close the station down, it would look bad on the students' part, all student managers. Evidently you weren't doing your job if the station closed.

"I think the reason they got more done in that short time was they were scared! That week you were gone you'd be surprised how hard we worked," laughed Evelyn. "We had a meeting right after you left, an oh!"

"I really think Pedro started tightening up on a lot of people," Alice added, "and really got down on them, and placed the facts where they really needed to be placed. Tell them what they needed to know. Maybe he had been failing to say it because he thought, 'Well, I don't want to hurt this person's feelings.' It was actually, well, if you're not going to do what you're supposed to do, go now, and we'll find somebody else to do things right--and realization they might lose their positions seemed to work."

George's comment on the incident was that "It did two things! It made them realize the importance of Pedro in power. I think I heard Pedro said that, 'Mrs. Weiss gave us one week, and the station's going to be closed down, and you people better wake up because, if you don't, I've got one week to fire everybody in this station. I'm going to fire everybody if you don't do your work. I'm going to give Mrs. Weiss a list of everybody to fire!"

In the opinion of Charles, "I think it was the fact I don't believe the staff itself at the station was aware what hadn't been done. We'd get it done, sooner or later. Then all of a sudden we just had this come down and saw the writing: 'Just close the station down if you can't do no better.' And then everybody became aware of what's going on, nobody's really doing a good job. We was in the regular W3B? pattern, where we get it done tomorrow when we get to it, or the day afterward, you know ... and when nobody was really in to tell us, 'Look! Get it done! You're wasting time.' Plus, there are times you just have to come down on everybody."

"The whole thing--well, there were two or three things," said Samuel. "Number one, most of the people adopted the attitude of wanting to show you they could do without having someone to say, to constantly prod you to say, 'Well, do this or do that.' And, I guess it was a matter of people saying, 'I don't want my department to be, you know, left hanging. I don't want anybody pointing fingers at me.
Samuel continued, "But the whole thing, I believe, was just pointing at the fact that the students are capable but,—it was a case of decreased deficiency, just like the body. I give you an example. On most laxative labels they say 'Avoid prolonged use because the muscles in your abdomen become weak from lack of exercise and then they won't be able to do the job.' And, it's sort of like this when you're constantly prodding people. It's like constant stimulation, and they come to depend on the fact that, well, 'I'm not going to worry about this because I know that I'll be reminded before time to do it.' So it makes people lazy. Whenever the chips are down they come through, and if they didn't have ability and weren't interested, it wouldn't work."

Cindy, who had always resented Pedro's getting the position she wanted, revealed her feeling of independence in her reply. "I think it's cause most of the people felt they weren't working for the old lady! They were just working because they felt like working, and they weren't working for Pedro. They were working cause they felt like working. The main thing that happened after you left, everybody put everybody in his place. Everybody put Pedro in his place, and said, 'Look! Stay off my back! Leave me alone! And there wasn't harrassment. People weren't aggravated at each other, and Pedro said, 'OK! He left everybody alone and everybody did their work.'"

"Right after you left,' continued Cindy, we had a house-cleaning among ourselves, and a lot of things went down that wouldn't have gone down if you were here, because we as blacks don't like to show whites our own side of cleaning up our mistakes. Because you get into this divide and conquer kind of thing, and we don't want whites to see that we have conflicts among ourselves, and we just all hang together until we can straighten things out."
APPENDIX E

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION BEHAVIOR

Verbal Communication Styles

Reading and Writing

PEDRO

Our students are not motivated to read, and that's why the job-policy book is not used. They are not oriented to business, or policies, or how to read policies and find loopholes. There's a fellow in our class who takes about five minutes to read a paragraph, yet he's in college. The instructors here are not motivating students to write, either. Some students do not understand the function of a black college. It is not automatically militant.

Poor listening and poor reading is a big problem at the station. For example, I don't see any reason why, when we asked a month ago for them to write suggestions for Visitor's Day, nobody never did it. The news department also refused to answer the memo put on the door about their job descriptions. They feel as if they don't have to write—they don't have to read things that they see. I read everything I see hanging up on the wall, regardless of where it's at.

And one more thing I've learned. When planning an agenda for a staff meeting, delay unpleasant things for the end of the agenda, or, if something is really touchy, don't just it on the agenda—just announcements.

ALICE

You don't always have to raise your voice. Sometimes I find out if you start out by writing, give a note, there won't be any misinterpretation. Because sometimes all the trouble starts because you 'told' someone this is what is to be done, but they really didn't understand, or have forgotten the major issues. But writing down what is needed—I'd never leave out writing.

A lot of people hate paper work. It's just because they haven't got themselves into the habit of doing it. But if you never take the time to do it, and push it off, and say, 'Well I'll do it next time,'—you never get the habit of it.
CINDY  
I think right now we have too much paper work. You see you get to a place where you are overly efficient. I think right now, as far as paper work is concerned, it is bogging everybody down right now. I can't see how you can have as many forms as I have in a day... to write the same thing down in five or six different places.

GEORGE  
I think part of it [not being paper oriented] is, you're going to have a hangup on 'white.' 'He sets the rules, he breaks the rules.'

MAICOLM  
Why don't the students stick to the job description book? I really can't answer that question. I think it was rather loaded. I don't think I can answer that question. I can say this in reference to that, though,—well, people everywhere have to work by some job description, I don't care, either in or out of the industry. Something is the norms of society, and you gotta go by this. A job description here at Afro, at WBBP, will simply mean it's another norm. But in that norm you can make changes, you can modify. You can become outstanding simply by making that program work better than anybody else. The description should change with the individual.

BRENDA  
Some people cannot write clear notes, and that causes problems. Still somebody tells somebody, and it's a hand-me-down things. It worked better when all wrote and answered notes.

CLYDE  
The students here hate paperwork. And a lot of people hate to read.

CHARLES  
Selfish and self interest, I think, is one of the main causes of problems. You got a lot of selfish people. They don't realize they're selfish, you know, but it's just an attitude they get. They don't realize; and I think you just have to come out and tell them. You have to keep a tickler file, though, as proof of what you said.

Paperwork—well, I think it's a culture thing. I myself am not used to doing paper work, keeping files. I don't think nobody up at the station is used to paper work. And it's something you got
to get adjusted to. The job-policy book is the same reason. The culture thing of the average Afro student. They know about the book; but they're under the impression, "I know it. I don't feel like going at it; don't have the time." They should be forced to go through it. It should be a requirement for everybody to have to go through the job-policy book. It would cut down on misunderstandings. They're just not used to it.

EVELYN

The paperwork problem? I have to be in the mood. I can sit down and do my work once it's started. I have to push myself into it. The paperwork, it turns you off.

Why is the job-policy book not used? Well, it goes along with the paper work. 'I have to go along with all that, and decipher all that.'

SAMUEL

I think the reason paperwork has not been as efficient as desired is because of the fact that nobody has ever gone into the value of paperwork, or the purpose of it. Even in my place I intend to come back and get it, but don't. I'm not oriented to paperwork.

The reason the job book is not used more is that it's to the members up here like the Bible is to a lot of people. They know that this is where a lot of answers can be found, and this is the way things should be, and they never get around to going there. It's sort of like the job-policy book is the sacred book but nobody ever uses it.

JEROME

I'd say the paperwork is too serious. Paper is business, and, especially to students here at Afro, it's too serious, really. When we had that meeting and you told all the things the news director was supposed to do— that's serious business. That's really professional. And it shocked me [that it was not being done].

GLEN

Paper's no good if you don't read it. 'Well, I'm a major and I know what you want. Well, this is the way the job's going to be, it's not really that way out there.'

One thing about a paper is, that when you read a paper you can't talk to that paper and say, 'Look! How am I going to do that?' The paper is there, and it has been written, and it has background to it, and a state of authority, and if you come through it the most fascinating, perfect paper you ever read, but if a paper has one idea that conflicts with your beliefs, then the paper is no good to that
person. That's the point you dwell on; the point that you feel you know is hurting you. Now if you sit down with a person and talk about it, you can talk back and forth. A paper cannot give.

**GEORGE**

I think managers should be more paper-like, detail. But we want our culture, despite Civil Rights. I think it's more cultural that our students don't like paper work. Maybe English is a second language for a black man in America, and if the opportunity is given him to express himself in his language, at the best level, he could write books and books in days. But counting English per se, he is afraid to. It all boils down to the fact that the kids are too lazy; not too lazy to write, but they are not used to writing the kind of English, the grammatical structure the average American is used to. Their language is very much different. Jive! If a black man talks to another black man, you may not understand them, but they understand themselves. The communication is between themselves. They understand very well and, maybe, well, society shouldn't be--you know, personality should be protected.

**MALCOM**

A communication of all styles is needed. Me, personally, I'd rather somebody to talk to me informally, very candidly, say what they want to say. That is, get over their message. Don't beat around the bush, and I can work better than if somebody comes in very strong and hard and says, 'Better get this done, or else.' It depends on the individual. Laziness is the reason for not writing on forms; preferring verbal orders. That's something not limited to blacks. Some people are just better verbal communicators than others.

**BRENDA**

When it comes to using the Job Book, people are just lazy. I don't know. You would think they would, because none of us are professionals. We need some kind of guide. They come to you first. It's easier, Mrs. Weiss, than looking through the index; and you're ready to tell them.
NON VERBAL COMMUNICATION STYLES

PEDRO
I agree that words and tone of voice ... and I also take into consideration how the person is listening to you. If he's mad, he thinks you talked to him in a bad tone of voice, regardless of whether you did or not. The tone of voice is important, and Cindy admitted it too.

ALICE
I think the way it is said creates the most problems—tone, emotional part, and sometimes the things you don't want everybody else to hear.

CINDY
I think it's important to change the attitude and tone of voice if you want to improve management here. It's more times the attitude you have and the tone of voice that you use, than what you say. I know, I've experimented saying the same thing different ways, and it works! I have done it as an experiment and say it to a person, and they'll laugh. Then you'll say the same thing in a different tone of voice, you know, and they'll give you that look. So it's more times the attitude you have and the tone of voice that you use.

GEORGE
Lack of tact is a serious problem, I agree. How did I have it? I know how to say it, and when to say it.

BRENDA
You have to be tactful. Sometimes Pedro's attitude...the way he phrases things ... Some of these personal things they carry in from outside. They'll never get together on those. What I learned here of most advantage to me is/ working with people, trying to get your idea over, to get understanding. You say one statement, and it's taken ten different ways. You try to get your point over to ten people in one way.

MANUEL
Many people hear things, but they don't listen. But I found out that women always listen. If you say something, and they'll say, 'Huh?'...if they said, 'Huh' they heard it the first time. They just want to hear it the second time.
I don't listen to them verbally. I look at their facial expressions. The facial expressions tell you quite a bit, rather than the words.

**CLYDE**
I think most of all what is said, yeah, choice of words... timing, because a lot of things are said that could have been said in an inopportune time especially when students get into arguments when there are many people around. Well, it depends on the student how he takes it; but usually people don't like to be bawled out in front of other people.

**CHARLES**
The expression on the face is important in communicating. I sit around and I watch people, especially in staff meetings. I notice that it can be any staff member, even if he comes in the door with a certain attitude—it's going to turn other staff members away from him; then, no matter what that particular staff member may do, or offer within the meeting, everybody's going to get jumpy, get edgy, be, kind of, you know, against him, and he's going to have a tough time doing what he got to do. It's not the attitude that, well, you know, it's the attitude that, 'This is my last day here. I'm going to die tomorrow.'
People get mad about something. They get mad at another person and they go to your office. And, 'I went to her office and I told her,' -- then the person you're mad at don't know nothin' about it. He don't know if you're mad at him or what.

**EVELYN**
The most significant part of communication is how you say it, the tone of voice. And sometimes, how the tone is perceived. When I looked at this Thayer model I thought, 'Under what circumstances.' If you take into consideration everybody perceived differently..."
COMMUNICATION FLOW

Out of consideration for a student's privacy, as well as to cut down unnecessary background noises, it was always Mrs. Weiss' practice to close the door when conferring with a student. It was a revelation to be told by Clyde, one day, that every time the door was closed, the other students assumed that the person in the office was "eating cheese." The concept seemed important to follow up. Through questioning, the following insights were discovered.

Pedro, the operations manager, flatly stated that, "I think the door should be closed when business is being discussed. The person who says it's 'eating cheese' is because that's what that person wants to do."

Alice laughed heartily when asked whether she thought this was a commonly held concept by the students. "Yeah, yeah! I think it's a common thing. I really do." She chuckled again. "If you talk to people in the open in the staff room, nobody pays attention. "You know what I think you should do?" she questioned. "You should ignore it." The more I think about it, I don't think it's really a matter of eating cheese; but, by you being white and the rest of us being black, it's a matter of us betraying our own. If you were black, I think it would be a altogether different situation.

"I think it is a common courtesy to keep the door closed during meetings," George commented.

"Well, management should always be together on what's going on, and management should always communicate down. That flow should be down and across, such that everybody knows what is going on," offered Malcolm.

Brenda agreed, "Eating Cheese? That's true. This is the whole campus, how the whole campus operates. It's really pitiful. This did not happen at my high school, however."

Clyde remarked, "I don't know what the reason is that makes other students think people in my office are eating cheese/. And it's not because you're white, because it would be the same thing if we had a black person. It's not because of that. It's because you're the top, you know, and you're the highest rung on the ladder of the station, and they feel, 'Something must be cooking," if the door is closed."
"Yes," Clyde continued, "I've seen you talk to students in the staff room and the other students can be just as unconcerned about it. And I see you talk to students out on the block, and students from the station seem just as unconcerned about it. But if you took them to your home, or took them in here/in the office/, they would be concerned about it. Yeah, I think so."

"It makes no difference to me if the door is open or closed when I come in to talk," Charles admitted. "I think it comes when they come to the head with a problem, and every time you go into the office, the first thing people think: you are going in to eat cheese, to demonstrate."

"Or, they pretend team action," he continued, but are not really part of the team. I could name a few cases where it may seem like a team job, but a student may be pulling in a different direction because he's out for something himself. Later on I see students turn against this particular person, or group; they can't be trusted. They're eating cheese."

"This is true," responded Evelyn, when asked if students thought other students were eating cheese when they talked with the station manager when the door was closed. "Everybody thinks everybody's trying to get ahead, and they know the only way they can get ahead is through you. I guess, you know, well, only certain people I think...they're trying to gain a position, or change your mind, or to get them on your side. The minute the sign's up, they wonder, 'Who's in there with Mrs. Weiss,' she added, referring to the sign that is posted stating, 'Conference. Please do not disturb unless an emergency.' Evelyn continued, "I agree you could say anything in the staff room and not cause this distrust. The closed door is the thing."

Samuel noted, "There are certain people I can come by and look in here and see sitting here and I think nothing of it, but then there are certain people that I can come by and see sitting here and I get the same feeling that they are eating cheese, and it's not a matter of certain feeling about authority; it's just the matter of the way they act on the outside, and I know the type of person they are, and I know what they're up to. They're in there talking about somebody, you know, doing this and doing that. So it's dependent on the type of attitude and personality the person displays on the outside."
GROUP COMMUNICATION

PEDRO  
I like to work with a team. When I tell my mother I'm sick and tired of that radio station, she reminds me, 'You may need those people ten years from now.' I tend to go away from the team until they pull themselves together because, you know, I don't believe in wasting time with rhetoric. Well, 'We can work as a team, we can work as a team, we can work as a team,'—then when it comes time for work, nobody's around. So I guess at times I try to carry the whole load in order just to keep the thing together. I guess it's because of my upbringing: to make it you have to make it, regardless of who's around, and not depend on anybody, because people, at time you know, they say things, but they don't really mean it. They're just trying to impress people.

GEORGE  
In a teamwork situation, when somebody is the leader, don't establish yourself as an authoritarian leader. I mean, to a certain extent you can assert your authority, but it is always good to make, to play the role at the right time. It depends on the situation whether I prefer to work by myself or on a team. I can adapt to any situation, play the right role. In mass communications I would rather work with a team. I told the students the success of the station depends on you and me. Think as a team and set up some sort of procedures and objectives for others to follow. Don't think in terms only of your personal success.

CLYDE  
I'm happy working with a team. It depends on the team. I thought I was working with a team here, and it's not a team.

SAMUEL  
It's very frustrating to be trying to do something and have somebody come up and deliberately go the other way. This is especially annoying when the person will pay lip service in the group and say, 'This is what we should do.' And then when you finish, and go outside and it comes out actual practice, you find this person doing the same thing all over again.
APPENDIX F

ALICE

Background

My mother is the baby of the family. Actually, I grew up with my parents, because they were very young when I was born. As children we weren't afraid to say, 'Mommy, I think this,' or, 'Daddy, I think we should do this.' Anything that concerned the household, we were always in the discussion. Even now my father will sometimes call me at the school and ask me, "What do you think about this?" And my mother... she would phone and say, 'You haven't sent me anything.'

I am the oldest child, and the only girl. The next brother is two years younger than I, and I'm 21. I think I got a sense of responsibility from being around older people when I was small. My parents say to me, 'You've been grown ever since you were little.' Sometimes my little brother refers to me as mother!

I know I don't have a Southern accent. I don't know why. My parents come from the South, too, and they don't have a Southern accent, although in our city some people there have it. Maybe because I traveled a lot during the summers when school was out, and on weekends. When I was eight years old I flew by myself. Everybody seemed to help me along, saying, 'Alice, you can do it if you try!' Sometimes I think I'm too independent.

When I was in high school I would never, never hesitate to get up and say, 'I'll be the leader.' But now, since I've gotten to college, I kind of stand back and watch before I make up my mind whether I want to do this because--the people are--so many personalities.

I was captain of the basketball team for three years. And I've always been interested in public speaking. I had four years of piano lessons, but I haven't touched a piano in years. Maybe my high school choral club helped my speech.

I always have my personal goals, and they're always higher, so I can be sure. I began to write and read more. It proved to be most successful; I have captured some useful information.
Alice's Perceptions of Ideal Management

My concept of management now is not the same as it was. First of all, I thought it was just like the boss—he hands out duties to the person, 'You do this!' and, 'You do that!' That was my original concept. When I got involved with the radio station, I learned that it was operations; and all groups had to work effectively for one goal—a major objective.

What changed my concept?" Alice laughed as she replied. It worked better than my first concept, when I thought the boss always passed down.

I would say George would be the best model of a manager, of those up here. He wouldn't lack on one thing. He would do a variety of things. He would do well in the classroom work; and, also, he would do well in communicating with the staff members, and in doing his job as a station manager. No, I don't think the students looked at him differently because he was African. A person is a person to me. I don't have any hangups about foreigners, culture, black, white. I just wasn't brought up—it isn't in me to do that. Just like I feel I can say to you anything I would say to anybody else.

Alice's Perception of Herself as Manager

My biggest benefit being involved in the station, I would say; is the feeling of knowing that I'm probably reaching a mass majority of people. It gives me a little push to do better. It puts a new light on the subject. You got to be kind of careful you're not going to offend anyone.

Peer Perceptions of Alice as Manager

Normally the students only speak about a person when that person is either irritating to them or doing something wrong. Positive comments are rare. Everybody obviously respects and admires Alice; what's more, they like her. It was Pedro who voiced this when he came into my office one day and said, "Mrs. Weiss, you know who is about the finest person we have up here? It's Alice. You should have seen her talking to the class at the high school today. She had them wrapped around her finger. She is a real fine young lady. I can see her as a top leader of the station next year."
Alice's Perception of Peer Management

I think management is definitely misunderstood here by some as 'using' people, instead of 'through' people. It's a major problem. This concept is very definitely in our station. I think that some people think that to get their job done they have to use someone else—to collect what the other person has already done. Rather than to use the person, you should work with the person. It definitely makes a conflict, because the person being used detects he is being used; and the person that's using him doesn't realize that that's the mistake he has make.

I think the loss of temper by students is immaturity. Some, maybe, haven't faced up to the fact that this is not a plaything. Sometimes it takes a long time to control your temper because I remember I used to have a bad temper — oh, tantrums you'd never seen. But some people never get out of that. Sometimes they haven't stopped to look at themselves to analyze, 'Why do I do this?'

The thing that bothers me most here is people not being able to control their emotions and tempers; not knowing how to relate to a person, like...when you work with people, you have to realize that once you start commanding people, they're going to kind of go astray. Everybody knows there's a major goal. Once you get the process going, you just can't be buddy-buddy with the people you work with all the time. It's good to have a nice working relationship with them. You don't have to raise your voice.

Staff meetings to me prove to be a great benefit. I'd like to see more of staff talking out in meetings. I don't think they've got to the point yet where they are really going to discuss what's at hand. Sometimes they have hangups: 'I have to go to this place,' and rush out.

We are unique on campus. The radio station could do a lot for Afro's campus. One of my personal goals is to show how we can help each organization. Right now I think we are at the take-off period. We're just branching out to bring in more community resources.

I believe the best managers are those most respected, not those most liked. And they all want to feel important, up here, with or without responsibility. That depends on the person.

I think that the newcomer's first impression is to respect the doer, who does ten or fifteen things with his hands. But after being in the business for a while, you get a deeper understanding of what the positions are and the kinds of jobs.
APPENDIX G

BRENDA

Background

I am the oldest of three. I have a sister of 15 and a brother age 10. My brother is in a military academy and loves it. It's made a little man of him. My mother is from Pittsburg. Dad is from New Orleans. He has a construction firm here. I don't know why I have no Southern accent. But neither of my parents do, either.

I attended private Catholic schools from first grade through high school. I guess you would say I come from a middle-class neighborhood where most kids are away in private schools. So, after high school, I wanted to go to a black school, because I had never been around black students. There were about six in my high school, three in my senior class, and I wanted to go to a black school... small, because I knew I couldn't tackle a large school that was all black.

My grandfather went to Afro. But he didn't like it at all, so that was no influence on my choosing Afro. I don't regret it. Now that I look back on it, I see that I might have missed some things which I could have gotten in a white school, but in the long run I'll make it, I know.

The adjustment, to live with them [black students] was something else. My roommate was from Georgia, my first roommate. Well, she and I had altogether different ideas. Oh, well, it was an experience, Mrs. Weiss, it really was. The summer before I came to Afro I went to Europe with 60 white students. And that was something else. At first I thought it was kind of cool, to come back to an all-black school; you know, I'd come back to school with all black students, and a different calibre altogether. But I made the adjustment, and I don't regret it.

During high school I was president of Red Cross my sophomore year. And I was treasurer of the Freshman class. Also manager of the yearbook. I really enjoyed that. It was a hassle. I played a little tennis, and basketball. And I went to dancing school for about 8 years.

I got into broadcasting by accident. I took a foreign language my freshman year and the teacher asked me if I might be interested in the summer (broadcasting) workshop.
Brenda’s Perceptions of Management

What was my original concept of management? I look for the problems, because I observed my dad who has a construction firm and I know to do this. Now—if we'd learn how to work together, Mrs. Weiss, we'd have a swinging thing. But this was something that hasn't been established at the station since we've been here. At the beginning we did, because in the summer workshop they made us realize there were a small few of us, and so many different jobs to be done. And we each had to be acting as several persons to cover the area. And, you know, none of us were professionals. I think at first we really had a tight-knit thing going. But it expanded out. Here we're too relaxed. People work better under pressure. It turned out to be more work than I thought it would be. I think if everything here had been old and second-hand, the kids wouldn't have been enthused as much. They thought, like, this is brand new. Let's see how it works. It was different than I thought it would be. Up there we were given assignments and guided, but, down here, you know, this has to be done every week right. You do it. Nobody pushing us. The best managers are most respected more than most liked.

Brenda’s Perception of Management by Peers

Each of us has enough work up here to do to keep us out of the other person's business. Perhaps because they came up here as friends, and, when you go out and work somewhere else you become friends once you get into the organization. This could be it...and living with these people in the dorms. Maybe if we had started calling each other Mr. and Miss at the very beginning, and had grown under this, you know, it would be better, like we tried to start. But it was hard to start (saying Mr. and Miss) because we'd been around so long. Some of the problem is the fear to punish others. Since we're all on the same level you don't want to correct someone else. If we came to work up here every day and just forget what went on outside, it would be a better understanding. But, we bring other people's problems in here, you know, and sit here and talk over what so-and-so did.

Here is where I see the difference between black and white schools. At the white school, a nun guided them on the yearbook. Here when drawing up a student code, if the Deans didn't show up, you didn't have a meeting. Why couldn't we have a meeting on our own?
After all, we are college students. That's why there are so many conflicts here on campus. The kids aren't given a chance to do anything on their own, but the deans are always preaching, 'You're grown.' You asked me why, here, when they do have a chance to do things on their own, they don't respond? Well, I guess, Mrs. Weiss, this is just one situation out of the whole—everything on campus. I guess they just can't believe, you know, that, 'She's given this to me to do on my own.' I think it's a conflict between the WBBP culture and the campus culture.

I think the station is in the drive to maturity, because, first all...here again you go back to these 'managers and not enough Indians'—but we're striving to get there. We're trying hard. Every now and then the kids realize this, you know, when we have meetings and things. It doesn't hit until something drastic happens, and then they realize, you know, that this shouldn't be happening.

Personal conflicts up here—it depresses me. I don't want to do a thing but leave, you know, and I have my work to do. But I'll leave because I don't want to be bothered by all this confusion up here. OK, there's two people having an argument, and I back out—and that's three gone!

And, another thing, Mrs. Weiss. Maybe you let things go far, just as George did. Maybe you should try to prevent things when you see they are about to happen.

I'd say one of the major problems up here is poor listening. We have good judgment up here, when we try, she laughed. The skill is here, and the knowledge, also. But follow through is another thing. I post a note, and somebody tells somebody, and it's a hand-me-down thing. It worked better when all wrote and answered notes. People don't come back and say I've done so-and-so. There's no follow-through.

I still go along with the idea of getting all communications majors in this area. There your recognition would really help. Maybe the department should have started before the radio station, and that way you'd say, 'Well, you're good in this. We want you to do this.' I think it would be a good idea if they would accept ongoing supervisory workshops. A lot of people sit in class and don't hear a thing you say. If this is accepted, it would be very good.
APPENDIX H

CHARLES

Background

I am the oldest of six. I stayed with my mother from my birth until age five, then moved in with my grandmother and stayed with her for about ten years, then moved back with my mother. I was more close to my grandmother, because I'd been around her more. It was a back and forth relation. Not that I liked her best; but I kind of trusted her more, 'cause I wasn't really around my mother. And it is my grandmother who is helping to support my going to college, because my mother got five little kids. I was raised as if I was an only child. I was respected more.

My family looks upon me as to whatever I do will be what the other kids do. There are two boys and three girls. If I make a mistake and stray away, they believe that the other kids are going to do the same thing. So for them to continue to be successful, I got to be successful.

When I was eight, I helped with the housework, sort of a man of the house for grandmother. I was like a spoiled kid. It was just like I was an only child. I got anything I mostly wanted, because my family was a middle-class family, and usually I had more than what my playmates had. Like for Christmas, maybe I'd get two or three, maybe four different things, and the other kids, some would get nothing, or maybe they'd just get one thing. I found I had to share gifts to keep friends. I had to work along with their program.

I am the first in the entire family to go through college. My mother and uncle finished high school. I was raised in the South all my life. I went to my first integrated school in high school. I guess this is where I first met life. I had been around blacks all my life. I hadn't been around whites at all. I went to an integrated school when I was a junior, and I just didn't like it at all. I hated it. So during my senior year I decided I couldn't really let that bother me, or worry about it. So I just did my best and went on through.

I was bothered by the behavior because I was raised in a religious family and my mother never taught me to hate nobody. You don't do nothing against nobody, and when I went to the school, the kids didn't particularly like me. Even when I got on the bus, some
of the kids didn't want me as a black person sitting beside them. And these kinds of things I had to put up with at that time. And I couldn't understand why white kids were so different from black kids, because I noticed that older black people, in particular, didn't teach their kids to dislike white kids. I knew older black people had been around white people. They had worked for them, and they were the ones that went through the turmoil, that did all the suffering; and it always puzzled me for them to do all the suffering and have to work. How could they, why could they still continue to like white people and still have the feeling toward them and no hatred? And then you have the white kids that, you know, don't particularly care for us.

It was not all the white kids. It was some. I had some very good white friends in high school. I had several friends who went out of their way to help me in some things. You know, then I learned it was just within some people, and that you got people in both races. So I learned from them, it's just a personal thing, the way you're raised up, your family environment.

I played baseball in elementary school, and we won the trophy when I was in eighth grade. And I got three straight trophies in a row in baseball and a small trophy in track in my senior year.

I'd been listening to radio since I was small and was always interested in it. I used to imitate newscasters on TV and imitate radio announcers and disc jockeys on radio as I heard them. Being an only kid, I used to talk to myself some and imagine things because I didn't have anything else to do. I wasn't around other kids. And every day I'd end up wondering about radio-television in one way or another. I always wanted to be a history teacher, history was one of my best subjects in high school. So finally I was offered to go to Career Academy or into history. From there I had no idea I was going to go on to college. Career Academy I was dissatisfied about what I knew. I didn't think I knew enough. I wanted a challenge, to know something about the industry, to be able to create and do something within the industry. When I came here I had more technical knowledge and knew about board operation and production. Most of what I learned here is management, because Career Academy doesn't teach you that much about management.
Charles' Perception of Management

When I first came to WBBP I was not particularly interested in management. I wanted to be more a network type level man that did a variety of things; maybe two or three programs, a couple of newscasts, you know--just a variety of things moving in and out of the station.

It's got to be realized that when you go to a station, when you leave WBBP, you gotta be aware you gotta take orders from the man at the top, no matter who he is. Whatever he says, 'Do!' you do it. He's gonna give you a certain amount of freedom, but if you learn to respect him, he's going to respect you.

It's got to be like in the real industry. You gotta--he snapped his fingers briskly, using this action to replace a word or you're cut cut! The head dude gets rid of everybody and gets new people in.

When there's conflict, if you don't watch your leaders, that same conflict is going to arise in the people in the background. Then next thing you know you going to have them biting against each other and the same thing is going up when the old people move out.

Clyde, head of the news department...doesn't impress me as a manager, leader, because of the attitude, which I think I sometimes show myself, which is not that concerned about it.

The assistant director, he seems to be able to work with people and get along with everybody and everybody seems to like him. He's never in too big a hurry to talk to you. Alpha takes time to help others.

The manager on our staff most likely to be a success? I know every staff member would disagree with me, but I really think Pedro would make it. He seems to have the management know-how. He may have to learn to communicate with his employees, to work with them more smoothly, but he has the managerial procedures and know-how. He's been around the business and he sees how it operates.

If I were running WBBP I would run it a little bit tighter, a little bit tougher; but I think from the attitude I am getting now, that I would run it under a system that all staff positions would be on the same level.

Charles' Perception of Self as a Manager

I really don't consider myself as a leader, more of a follower, because, again it will relate back to my past and my family, I prefer to follow and take orders and try to put it
together in my own way as long as they give me leeway to do certain things. I don't like to stick to just one thing, I get bored. I acquire skills easily, as in production. My goal is not to own one specific station; I really hope to own a group of stations where I can work within the radio and change the format in radio and bring in a new kind of idea in radio, a different approach to radio.

I like to anticipate that something's going to happen. I know I don't understand this, and I'm going to have a long way. But I know that within that, one time something's going to happen and I'm going to come in first, and that will make up for all the sweat, once I win that one trophy.

I don't like, really, being watched, I guess. I guess it related to something in my background because my mother and my grandmother never watched me. When I'm being watched I get just a nervous feeling that I don't like...if I'm being guarded or something.

I've been told by the students, I guess, I have a tendency to joke around with them, kid around, come on the same level and not be above them; like when I was teaching the console. Sometimes I'd work the board and I'd make mistakes purposely, and they would correct me; but I never would tell them that I made the mistake purposely. And I'd say, 'Oh, wow, I'm slipping myself,' and things like that. Some of the students would come to me instead of to the people above, because they would say, 'I trust you more.'

Charles as Perceived as a Manager by his Peers

S H A M U E L

As far as the manager and his relationship to his immediate job, I like the way that Charles handles himself. Now I don't know about the total job situation. People come up at night and Charles teaches them the console. And he stays in the station to hear on-air work and to observe the operators.

C I N D Y

See, you have a lot of people who don't want to do anything anyway, and you can give them a (record) 'can' and set them in the control room and leave them alone for hours and they sit in there and cue up records for an hour and they're happy, you know. They think they have accomplished something, and they think they have pulled something over on you. And this is the type of thing that goes on when Charles is training. Until it comes down to the last stretch,
you know, when people have to take the final test; and he'll say, 'Come up here some other time and I'll show you how to do this,' though the person is already supposed to know how to do it.

Charles' Perception of Management by Peers

I think we're in the drive to maturity now. But there's that thing in there that nobody wants to be told to do by somebody else. 'I do my thing and nobody else got the right to tell me what to do, how to do it.' You see, that's the big problem up here. It's a thing—everybody is in the thing for power. And they look at their department as if their department could run the station. In any huge organization you're going to have sub-groups; and I see that at this stage of the station. You got groups pulling against each other, and everybody pulling in different directions and not getting anywhere. Instead of reaching a goal, they're pulling away from that particular goal they're trying to reach. Sooner or later somebody is gonna have to go. And that's the thing I see we lack. We can't stand to take orders from anybody else.

This is one thing we lack. We see that everything, the whole station, belongs to us. We got the right to go in and do anything we want to, without nobody's permission. If we want to go in and play around with the board for an hour, we feel we should have that right and go right in and play around that board for an hour. The atmosphere should really not be that way. I think you have to tell them exactly what to do. It saves telling them three times what to do.

I don't know if interruptions are the cause of things not being finished. In my case it would depend on whatever you told me to do. If I felt it was important, more important than what I was doing, I would probably go do it.

If all managers were fourth year students I think it would improve the situation since all would be looking forward to graduation. I don't think you'd have the turmoil because nobody could be looking for a promotion, so they'd be more interested in concentrating on what they're doing.

When you correct them, they might say, 'You're wrong.' But once you tell them, they'll think about it. They may find themselves one time being selfish and realize, 'I was selfish,' or something like that. If you let them go along being selfish, they get the impression they got the right to do that. They go back in the world and somebody's going to tell them, and next thing you know they're going to blame it on you or whoever was in charge of the training.
I think as long as it's a student operation there's always going to be problems. You'll never find the perfect solution. Too, this is the first chance the students have had to have any kind of authority. They forget the steps you have to go through, the courtesy. And next thing, you know the whole attitude may change. And before you know it, your whole attitude has changed your whole personality. They don't respect a student as much as they do the head of the department. But the students don't go to you with suggestions, because they don't like the idea of any professional coming in.

And too, I see students at the station are put in a different situation than the average Afro student: that he has to give orders and tell people to do something. There's really a difference here! People at the station are the same as Afro students, but the situation is different here.
APPENDIX I

CINDY

Background

I was born and raised in the South, not far from the capital of this state. I am an only child and live with my mother who teaches Education and English. I was never around a Southern accent and I suppose that is why I don't have one.

I started singing in public at about age five. I started picking up little tunes. Later I took voice lessons in senior high school and the first year of college. I also play the piano and organ as well as all brass instruments except the French horn.

My mother is artistically inclined. She paints very well, and writes too. But she never pushed me. She didn't want to make me unhappy pushing me into something.

In high school I took creative writing. I had a very young white teacher, one of one or two whites in a black school. He was from New England and different background from Southern teachers. He made it different from the regular stuff.

I enrolled as a music major at a black college in another state. By the end of the first year, however, I discovered that the music major was really dull. Either you get discovered, or spend the rest of your life teaching other people how to play or sing. And, in the South, you are not likely to be discovered.

I got interested in broadcasting because I was not doing well in theory at the other college and I was looking for an escape...another field I could transfer to fast without taking a lot of extra courses. I took a course in broadcasting and found it was just as much—or more work than music. But I enjoyed it.

While I was there, they made me music director. It was strictly classical music there. Each week I had to write an evaluation on each person with a music show, and that was that person's grade for the week.
and most people think, 'Why is she doing that?' you know. She's just trying to play the role of being boss and just, maybe actually, she's not. But I don't see why she has to play the role. Just being herself and doing her job, she could get across her point and do just as well."

Jerome, a freshman with talent and spirit said, "New people lose their enthusiasm after they get up here. Cindy was exceptionally nice when X first met her. She was real nice. Then after I got up in the station, her attitude changed slightly toward me. First I was someone new, now I'm Jerome, freshman, coming up here."

Pedro pointed out that he could usually tell the emotional climate of the station by observing some of the students, including Cindy. "Before a meeting, I just roam around and look at Clyde, and look at Cindy because, if anything goes wrong, I know it's going to be Clyde, Cindy or Samuel. I always try to look at them and talk to them an hour in advance and see how they're doing and what they're thinking. And then I can tell what the meeting will be like. Like in the last meeting, Cindy was purposely trying to agitate because she was mad at somebody. Was was mad at Clyde for what he did to Ralph, letting Ralph do a sportscast when Clyde knew Ralph was not ready for it. I was talking to her earlier and knew what she was up to. The students don't yet know how to handle conflict. They have to be told. Loyalty to friends can be more important than loyalty to the station. I did until the middle of this year. I've gotten out of it, but I still see too much of it. Samuel will never say anything about Cindy, but Cindy will say anything about Samuel in a minute."

Cindy's Perception of Peer Management

The thing that bothers me most up here is incompetency. It's lack of reliability and indifference. And it bothers me, especially if they have that attitude now. They'll be sorry when they get out. Nobody's perfect. I make mistakes. But, when you make the same mistakes over and over again it really gets irritating, especially if the completion of your job depends on what somebody else has to do. I mean, the common kinds of mistakes like misplacing tapes; not filing scripts, which don't take that much time to do. They don't take that much ability to do, you know. These things are minor things, and make my job much harder.

I think that immaturity, weak judgment, and not following-through are most significant. Plus not enough experience on which to base the judgment. Seventy-five percent of the people don't give a
damn one way or another. They just go along with the tide, whichever way the wind blows, they go!

Volunteers here at the radio station can be a pain sometime; but we have so many majors who don't care. Volunteers don't know anything about broadcasting except what they see at the station. You don't have time to sit down and give a whole course. Last week I had a case with a young man who does Contemporary Artist; and he turned it into a Dee Jay show, completely opposite to what I had told him to do...whereas, with a major I don't think I should have had to explain it. Broadcasting attracts a special type of person. I think this is the main problem you have orienting the black person to the media because they have been brainwashed to a certain extent...that the only thing a black person could do is be a Dee Jay. I think students think managing is using people in peer group situation.
APPENDIX J

CLYDE

Background

I have no brothers and sisters. My father died when I was nine. There's just two now, my mother and myself. I think it's a help to be independent and an only child because if I had a brother and sister, I don't think I would be here. I wouldn't have the experience of being where I am. As far as babies, no I wasn't. At age five, when my father was still alive, my mother said, 'Well, meet me over in New York. You get on the bus and I would go on over. They didn't treat me as a little kid. When my father died and I was home, I had to clean up the house and I had things to do. My mother would leave me home when she'd go to work, and I'd have to clean up the house, you know, wash the floors and do the dishes.

I lived in Harlem the first four years, and moved to a suburb in New Jersey when I was four and one half, and have been living there since.

I was nine years old when I called a teacher a racist, and it became a big problem. At that time I just sensed that something wasn't right, because the white pupils did the same thing I was doing, but they weren't getting slapped on the wrist being made an example. And it wasn't because I was an above average student in the class. And it wasn't because I wasn't doing the work. I just told the teacher...I just got fed up one day and I just...another kid and myself were the only...well, there was three black kids in the class. So my mother came to school, you know, and she stood by me, which surprised them, and they said, 'well, they wanted to keep it down. So they didn't throw me out of school. They didn't want the publicity. Now the school system is going through another change because they've instituted black studies, this was in my senior year, but they didn't have any black teachers to teach it.

The only office I held was student council representative, and I didn't want to get into that because I've always had this opinion of politics and anything else, there was nothing accomplished. They would sit and talk, and then they'd have these nice ideas, and they would never be implemented, and I was in eighth grade when I was student council representative. And I'd come and initiate some
ideas and they'd say, 'Yes, that's good, Clyde,' and then they would never be implemented. So I didn't run again.

Personally, for myself, college wasn't a new thing because I went to a good college for two years before I came here, in Upward Bound. The only thing that's new here is the station. That is quite new. I don't think I'll ever get over it.

I had early piano, at age five, and music class and I didn't like it at all and I gave it up. In high school I took composition and music theory courses. My mother knew many musicians: Duke Ellington, Lionel Hampton, Dick Webb, and many of her friends has music backgrounds.

I played basketball, football, a little bit of track. And I wrestled...got a gold medal in wrestling.

When I was small I made my own (broadcasting) studio, a makeshift thing, and I would talk and play a record on the phonograph. This was when I was about 8 or 9. Then I got away from it. Then when I came here I just saw the equipment and I was wondering when I came here; I didn't know Afro had a radio station. And I was saying when I'd come here, I'd ask about the possibility of getting one... and I found out that they had one. I was here when it all started.
Clyde's Managerial Perceptions

My original concept of management was, 'I'm the boss, and you do what I say, and I'm running the show and I'll tell you what to do and you do it.' Now it can't be like that! It has to be an interaction type thing. I note that people my age hate to have people issue orders. So I try to do it by request. When I say, 'Would you do this?' that's what I mean by tact. I first thought management was, 'I'm the boss,' because I saw it on TV.

As managers you have to play a game with people, each person. You have to learn which game to play with certain people. A soft approach is misunderstood. A lot of people think it's a weakness, your being easy, that they can run over you. With me, I don't say anything. What I'll do, I don't miss too much. I'll just keep a record, and when it gets to a certain point, I'll confront this person and say, 'Here, this is what you're not doing.

Mr. Gary has the qualities to be a manager. He has the force and drive, which I think is essential. I admire that. The thing I don't admire is his lack of tact. I think it comes with age, maybe, that you acquire it.

I've learned how to deal with people. That's the most important thing. I've learned what you can't do, what you can do. I've learned in this type of situation you have to be a pliable person. If your way doesn't go, maybe you sit down and talk about it and try to find a new way. It just can't be, 'It's my ball and if you don't play my way I'll take the ball.'

Clyde's Perception of Himself as Manager

I think my type of leadership is creative, but I don't know if my peers agree. I'm happy working with a team but it depends on the team. I thought I was working with a team here, and it's not a team. (The last remark was made shortly after a big upset in the news department when it was discovered that Clyde had not followed established procedures all year, had not trained the new newsmen, and had not made specific job assignments.)

I usually set my goals too high for myself. I'm always trying to set high goals. So now, with the news department, I set high goals and I think I've met them, but they've changed, or someone changed them for me. That's the biggest disappointment when I set them and then can't meet them.
The way I give a person confidence, I'm not really jiving him, but I say, 'Go ahead! Go on the air! You might mess up, but at least he has the confidence that this guy will go out on a limb for me, and then we come back and we talk about it. He may sound terrible and maybe the worst thing you ever heard, but you give him the confidence, 'I did it."

Peer Perceptions of Clyde as a Manager

Pedro said, "One of the biggest problems is not coming to meetings. I remember when we were working on a new program schedule, and had finished it. Clyde came barreling in and said, "I don't like this Mrs. Weiss' schedule. 'I told him Cindy and the crew had worked it all out. Then he said, 'Well, Mrs. Weiss probably told her to do it.' And I had to remind Clyde that we all sat and voted on it but that he had not even come to the meeting."

"Another time," continued Pedro, "Clyde and I had a good talk. He said, 'You know perfectly well that Fred hasn't been coming on time.' 'Well,' I said, 'I know Fred hasn't been doing certain things, but I can't side with you even as far as making a decision, because it's actually the whole department back there that suffers if something goes wrong.' And he understood. But I think that's why Clyde wouldn't speak to me for two days, because he knew I was calling the meeting to straighten things out. And even then, calling the meeting and putting him on the spot...which I think was good the other day."

George discussed Clyde by saying, "If we look at Clyde, Clyde is far from growing. I think it's going to take Clyde's long time, because Clyde was brought up as an individual, and his background actually destroyed him a whole lot, being babied, and daddy wasn't there to play a part. I've seen him several times talking to kids working with him, boss-like, 'OK. If you don't do your news, tomorrow night goodbye!' Well, offhand you don't start like that. I think Clyde needs somebody in authority to talk very hard on him. That's the only way he can take a hint. Clyde is more an individual than a team person. You can see it. 'If you don't do it well, I'm going to go and do it myself!' is Clyde's way. He doesn't have patience."

Charles' impression of Clyde as a leader is indicated as he remarks, "Clyde, head of the news department, seems to be handling the people in the newsroom easy tempo, but he doesn't impress me
as a manager, leader, because of the attitude which I think I sometimes show myself, which is not that concerned about it."

Jerome, a freshman, was discussing the problems in the news department created by Clyde's failure to assign specific duties to new students, and refusing to follow established procedures or to create his own procedures and commented, "Clyde does need a little shaking up."

Clyde's Perception of Management by his Peers

I believe in the 'each one teach one' concept. In the beginning we were one big happy family, learning from each other, and it was great. But that stopped. I think it was an idea, 'I've gotten mine now and you'll have to get yours.' That's my honest opinion about it. Rather than helping them to learn, I think they use people at WBBP. Up here people have used other people as stepping stones, to get what they want. And, I guess that's what life is all about, you know, the strong survive and the weak don't. And if the manager up here is stronger than the rest of the people, he'll exert himself and people will either follow him, or they won't follow him. They'll rebel.

I strongly believe we have some people here who are not committed totally to the cause. I don't know if they are here to appease you, or what. And, maybe, you know, if you would make this clear, that if you happen to be a major and you don't like working at the station, don't work and it won't be any hard feelings and we'll still be friends.

They lean on the operations manager to light fires, because they are afraid to, you know, come out of their little areas, because they cause conflict. Personally, I'm not going to upset myself, if possible, to get into any conflict about somebody else doing their job until maybe I get into that position. You see, they bring their friendships into the station and they...which maybe we should work on—to a certain degree there's no friendship in the station. You're here to do a job. If you're not doing it, someone sees me taking a record and they're not saying anything, you're not doing your job. And I think there's another thing. A lot of the students just wait. If they don't do it, they make a mistake. And they won't say, 'I don't know how to do it.'

Why don't they speak up more? I think that's a general rule for Afro College, especially in my classes that I've been in. They won't talk at all, you know. They'll hand their work in but they won't open their mouths. Yet they talk when they're out on the block.
Maybe they're afraid they may say the wrong thing, and their peers will say something. But my mother told me a long time ago, 'If you have something, say it!'

Students here respect the doer more than the thinker. I have heard too much rhetoric. If I fail, at least I tried. You have to be creative to be that kind of doer.

I still think you give people too many chances. I believe in two strikes, you're out type of thing. Everybody deserves three chances. People up here have had more than three chances, I think. If I were in your position, because I'm sensitive to the things they do, I think people have gotten away with murder up here.

For example, the rule has not been enforced that sample record scripts should be prepared, because then they 'won't be my friend once I get out on campus.' I look at it this way; if they won't be your friend out on campus, they really wouldn't want to be your friend to begin with.

They're not used to detail and follow-through, definitely. And dull paperwork! And there are selfish self-interests. I think the lies goes along with the fear of looking ignorant. And there's lack of trust of heads of departments, both you to a certain extent, and some other departments. They hate paperwork. I know, I'm getting over mine. I agree they think their job is over after giving the order.

Omitting necessary information on purpose to mislead...that's been done. In fact, something was done here that's illegal and I don't even know if you know about it. The log errors on the operating log went back to September in '69, and the person in charge of that, instead of tracking all the people down, just destroyed them and made new ones, and had the people sign them. Everybody up here knew about it, and nothing was said.

This one burns me up: acting uninterested or dumb to hide true feelings. It's just like the last staff meeting we had and some staff members just strolled in, eating their food, late, really unconcerned and talking, and that burned me up because they had no respect for Pedro while Pedro's talking. That's the thing that really bothers me up here, the lackadaisical attitude about what they're doing. I think they feel that way inside, too, because I have talked to them about it.

If I could change the system here, I would evaluate the staff and fire everybody and rehire them after I would talk with the person, and have a checklist in front of me, and go over his record and what he's done from my observation and the observations of his co-workers. And, I wouldn't be here all the time. I wouldn't oversee them. I would let them know that the operations manager would be running it. I wouldn't see a student who came running to me for help, I would send them to the various managers.
APPENDIX K

EVELYN

Background

Although I am not an only child, I was raised like one. My two older brothers are much older than I am; and I was left alone. I always wanted somebody to be close to, like a sister. The brothers were always out. So my mother listens to me, sort of like a sister.

I don't know why I have no Southern accent. I was raised in the South, and both parents are from the South.

In high school I was in the band. I was also in a social club; and was secretary in a club. I have a checking account. My father objected at first, and put it on a trial basis. But, I still have it. I have proved I can use it and balance the end of each month and all that. So, I was raised independent; and that's what makes me the way I am today.

At first I was attracted to broadcasting, but was not sure I could adjust to the pace. But when I was told about job possibilities, I thought, 'Well, maybe I can.' And after taking a few courses, I began to like it. I like it now. There's just this one main aspect I want to concentrate on--that's management. I like the pace of it; though at first that's what scared me off. But now that I'm in it, well--I can see how you adjust yourself to the pace. I go along with it. I think what mainly brought me to it was the buttons and things; though I'm not electrically inclined. I like it, smiled the young lady who has passed all the console tests and has earned a third-class broadcast endorsed, FCC license.

In the future, I want to be somewhat like you are: in a position to teach management. I don't want to be a figure-head. If I'm going to work, I have to be involved. I get bored easy.

Evelyn's Perception of Management

My original concept was, 'Evelyn, you do this. Now go do!' But, it seems now you tell me what my job is, and then you let me do it. I thought you would stand over me constantly, daily, and tell me what to do.
I can see that as of working today, right today, I think they got the concept you stand over me and you tell me what to do, and if I don't do it you blast me, instead of your working with me— that although I did make a mistake, you don't blast me. We have an interrelationship, and we talk like you're my equal. We can talk to each other like I respect you etc.

I think people have to learn management, not just are born with it. The advantages of student operation are the learning processes, that's what. ...And the feeling that now I am ready for a job since I got into traffic. The one thing that has helped me most, and I've learned to do it, was to have patience. And my patience was very short.

I can't say who is the best student manager here. It's partially George Crawford. Last year, he was patient with me, but he wasn't overbearing. ... If he had been a little bit more forceful, I think he would have been ideal.

I think the students here respect the scheduler. If he writes down what he'll do at that time, he does it. They try to model themselves and keep the board like he does, she added, referring to students who run a tight board and keep accurate logs.

Evelyn's Perceptions of Management by Peers

It is harder to be spoken to harshly by students than by you. I could take it from you. There is a fear of conflict. I could just bring the message to you, whereas if I go to somebody else, you finally get the word. I think there's a great deal of that (going to a third party) instead of coming to me, they go all around, to the operations manager.

She laughed as she examined the list of common problems. Each one of them. Lack of trust of anybody in authority...they think each is trying to get higher. Like when we have to apply for jobs. That's a very tedious time at the station. The students think that politicking has some effect.

To make the station run, all of us have to do it together. I think we are in the drive to maturity. I don't think that if there were more discussions in class about station problems and how to understand different ways of looking at things, they would think, 'No, I'm trying to get on the good side of Mrs. Weiss and she's trying to get a "Pass" out of Mrs. Weiss. It's true, everybody says we have to work together, but I just really can't come up with anything how we just can do it, get together. Everybody just wants to be on their own, do their own thing.
I think that we really do have some facades. Acting tough and that, to hide their insecure feelings. Really, now, you know, I can see insecurity in a lot of people. Maybe it's just my perception of them, and sometimes you can really see through it.

I think the managers would resist coming to weekly seminars to learn how to manage, even if paid to come because they would think that you see something, some fault in them, and you are not actually trying to tell them. I don't think it would go over.

And I think some would rather have the title and not the responsibility. When visitors come to the station, it's more of a look.

I think it is common that students are too embarrassed to admit they do not understand and to ask, and they go on and do it wrong and explain I did not understand it. For myself, I've hit that situation myself a couple of times.
APPENDIX L

GEORGE

Background

Although I have two brothers and two sisters, I was raised like an only child, by a foster mother, in Liberia. I even took the last name of my foster mother. I considered taking my father's name when I was in eighth grade. But I consulted my father, and he helped me decide to keep the name of my foster mother.

I was raised with a sister, until I was seven, then alone with my foster mother. I feel living that way I was raised more independent, more individual.

There is a difference between the indigenous Liberians and what we call the American Liberians who are blacks who came from the United States after they were freed. When they got to Liberia they considered themselves the 'elite,' and at a certain time, only these could study abroad, and when they went home they did not want to associate with the indigenous Liberians.

In 1956, when I was twelve, I began to think seriously about studying abroad. I made the decision when I was about in sixth grade. You determine—"you make up your mind that I'm going to go and see what's so special about this place.

I was in the leadership racket, even in elementary school, like, when it was time for drilling, eventually I was going to be on the major staff, or I'd been a captain or something like that. It was always there. I guess I did not realize until I came to the United States that I had some leadership ability. At home, like, when I was in high school, I was either president or vice-president of my class. My first year in college I ended up being the vice-president of my class. I think it was there all the time and I didn't see it till I came over. Then I began to question it when I started working at WBBP. That's why I volunteered to be the first student station manager.

I think sports help you spot leaders. You see who's going to direct everything on the floor. In Africa I played soccer. The leading sport in Africa is soccer.

I came to America with a tuition scholarship from Afro college. When I arrived in New York I had only $18 in my pockets and I had to phone the college for help since that was not enough money to get me there. I work at part-time jobs for my living expenses. At
first I lived in the dormitory, but it was too expensive for me there. So I got an apartment off-campus with some of my home-boys and we cook our way and save money on food.

At first I wanted to be a psychologist. Then the second year here in college I read a bulletin board and saw a notice about anybody interested in broadcasting (the college) would send selected students to another university for the summer. I pondered whether it was worth it to go, and decided it was worth the sacrifice. I went through training, looking for the fun part. I did not question mass communications and its effect on society.

So after the five weeks I came back and then, once I got involved in WBBP and we began to talk about the community and mass communications and how it can affect or change people, then I started studying the theoretical part of communication, to question the value of it. And I began to see that I can make some contribution to broadcasting and mass media at home, or to Africa as a whole. Then I began to look at myself again, and I saw myself more as an internationalist than a nationalist, because being an internationalist I could contribute more to Africa.

One thing I notice in America is that the Southern student is more passive about speaking out. Life in the North is more hectic. At age 8 to 12 in the North you are fully grown and on the street in New York and New Jersey. Here in this Southern city you don't see anything bad on the street, no gang wars. That makes a difference.

George's Perception of Management

My original concept of a manager was to hand it down and not listen. Then as I got into it, and read more about the role of manager, it has changed. Now I think to be a successful manager you play the role at the right moment. To me this is the success of life.

I would name Pedro for the best model manager. But I've told him again and again that, well, you have to be cool with your temper. You can get very firm about things. In other words, you have to show your role.

At a beginning stage, if a group is used to authority, and you want to deviate from the authoritarian concept, I think you should start with authority and mold it eventually from there. I think the most respected, not the most popular, is the best manager. If popularity were the thing, Malcolm would be a beautiful manager. But coming down to do the work of the station, he couldn't
do it. I know he couldn't do it. Let's take my situation. People didn't respect me at first. It was probably to the extent that I was an African student who didn't think in terms of being discriminated because I was a foreigner. But I was popular to the extent that I talked to everybody, and everybody was my friend. Nobody could ever say that George Crawford was my enemy.

George's Perception of Self as Manager

I believe in role playing. I learned from my experiences. I would go home and think how to treat this guy and that guy. When you have about five guys around you, to get across to them at that time is hard, because everybody is trying to show off to his best. But, you get a guy in a one-to-one position and you see that you can really pin him down and know the kind of person he is, his personality. This is what I always tried to do and get what I wanted out of a guy.

When there were four or five guys together I said what I thought of saying, 'You guys are wrong. Don't you see this? They said, 'Well, I know you and Mrs. Weiss, you are buddies.' The word buddies was spoken in a derogatory tone. 'She looks at you and she respects you and that.' And I say to them, 'Well, I have won Mrs. Weisses respect, and if I have won that respect, I deserve it. Don't look at me that way! ...because I think I have acted like a mature person.' Now that I am away, and in graduate school, I've been told several times that even though they didn't look at it when I was here, they see me differently now. I begin to get the feeling that I was successful at some time or another.

They would say to me, 'George Crawford, well you're black, but you're not an American. You're an African, and yet here you're here, the manager of our station.' Then I said to myself, I didn't pay any attention. It did bother me. How was I going to communicate with these guys. Well, how I did was to get involved with them. I didn't just do my work. I partied with them, and talked the same way we talk about girls and parties and what not. We studied together, visited sometimes, and talked. These are some of the things I did to overcome the problem.

I learned a lot during my summer internship at a commercial station my third year of college. There everybody knew what responsibility was. Only once or twice did a manager say, 'Now you have to do this.' And that was meant not only to be a warning, but a threat as well, that next time we don't have time for such mistakes.
A student at an educational station is not self-disciplined because he does not have to do it. He can pull out at any time. I believe each student should have an internship his third year. Then you have more insights and the full impact of your major can be felt.

George's Perceptions of Management by Peers

These are all students and they aren't going to realize their responsibilities for a while. I don't think any one of us then had a sense of what a radio station was at first. The purpose of a radio station besides the commercials and music. What kind of message does the station relay? And what made it worse was coming to an educational station that had music you were not used to. That made it hard. Everybody wanted to do his own R&B show. There are some students who are majors and who do not like to get involved. And then again there are some who volunteer and yet who are not interested in the total output of the station, the purpose and the goals of the station. There are some students who want to work and want to listen to records while they work. That's what they want. The purpose is being able to listen to music. The excuse is, 'I want to work.'

People are different every hour of the day. Some students will say you are giving us too much hard work, and, 'Oh, she's running us. Who does she think we are?' But those students who are going to go out to work, or out to grad school, they ought to see it and say, 'I really appreciate what she did!'

Students here want to feel important more than to be important. And they respect the doers more than the thinkers. When students start deciding 'what am I going to do when I leave from here,' this may be the turning point, to respect thinking.

One very outstanding thing here is, when people are not doing things right, there is a tendency to delegate it to another person who is going to punish the person. They prefer to ask the operations manager or supervisor to do it.

Peer Perception of George as a Manager

Pedro said, "I think George Crawford was the best model of a manager. Now some people thought of George as weak, because of his self-control."
APPENDIX M

GLEN

Background

I came from a big city in the Northeast. Since coming to college here in the South, I think I've lost my northern accent. I was an only child for ten years. For the most part I was an only child. My sister is in California. We have the same father. But my brother and I have the same parents. In our family, everybody in the family goes to grandmother for advice. Since I lived with my grandmother, I was often the intermediary.

In high school an English teacher made us write to different schools, as an assignment. I said, 'I'm not worried about it going to college.' I became despondent in her class, because she was pressuring me to do something which I didn't really feel was necessary, because I said, 'Well, I'm a good student. I don't have to worry about going to school. I can get in.'

The white kids came out with SAT's of 1200 and 1300. Then the black kids, they'd go and they'd come out with 1000, and people would say that was fantastic. It was unusual for my friends to make 1000. I took the test, and I was mad, because I did not do as well as I thought I should, even though I didn't study for it. I got 986. I'll think about taking it again. In my high school it was about 90% white when I started, and about 75% white when I graduated. I think they put more historical emphasis in them since white pupils are more interested in America than the blacks, and that's why the tests are written that way.

I was in the orchestra in second grade in New York--played the bells and impressed my father. It interested me in music. Now I play the trumpet. I didn't play for money until I came to college. It's more or less a worship type thing, because my father, he's a musician, and his father is a musician. I worship my father, whenever we can get together. We can't talk together, but can play together. We communicate through music. In high school I was in the band, but I enjoyed most being in the chess club.

I got involved in broadcasting here as an escape from college. I see that the longer I stay here, the less interested I am in my classes and in my work. The school has to set standards. It's 90% social atmosphere at Afro. Jerome and I were roommates.
We both got the same kind of blues. Everybody else was drinking and having a good time, and we got together and said, 'You know, we're not having any fun. This isn't us.' My dream world busted when I got to Afro. So I thought, 'They got a radio station, let me go up there and see what's happening.' And I went up and I could see that the people who were up there, for the most part, seemed to be working at something. They started talking about board operation and I thought I could do this. I liked to work with the equipment and to make tapes. So I just decided to come up. That's how I started coming up.

Glen's Perceptions of Management

Before I came to college I spent one year going around the country selling magazines. I talked to many people who owned companies, lawyers, and vice-presidents—and I could talk to them all. I got used to everybody having these titles. So I am not impressed by student titles. And I'm not impressed at the commercial station where I work part time if somebody comes up and says, 'I'm your boss!' I feel it's patronizing when the guy says he has power over you but not to let it interfere with your relationship. If the person says that, he's trying to impress you. I think of Alpha as timid. He'll have an idea, but he seems to be scared to bring it forth.

Glen's Perceptions of Management by Peers

Student management seems to be profitable, but many of the students seem to realize they're holding two keys in their hands toward their advantage. First thing they'll do, they'll come to you and they'll say, 'OK. I'm the manager up here, and this is the way I want everything done.' Then when you come to them, they say, 'Well, wait a minute, baby. You're a student, just like I am. How you goin' to tell me to do something!' And they'll use this. It needs a strong point to keep everything center.

It seems to me that everybody is more or less a peer group, so to speak. 'I'm a major and this is something I have to do. We should enjoy ourselves and not work ourselves to death.'

I feel it's good that you put students in a situation when they see something is wrong or disagree about that you encourage them to speak up quite a bit. But, I don't think it's good where you don't have that strong a hold over them.
There should be a professional at the head of each department and students under them, watched over by professionals. Students should not take over the position completely. It's a conflict at the station when managers break the rules. I've seen it a couple times. You get the feeling they're trying to keep a person out of the station, instead of in the station; yet they let other people ease right in.
APPENDIX N

JEROME

Background

I'm from the mid-South, but up to high school I went to Armed Service schools and mixed with service people mainly. Probably that's why I have no Southern accent.

I have an older brother and sister. My brother is six years older and my sister is three years older than I. We lived together most of the time. My mother said I was the most talented of them all. I wouldn't agree with that. For one thing, I've always been independent, you know. Basically I went through the temperament stage in grade school. I was very aggressive, always in trouble, and I did just enough school work to get by.

But all of a sudden I switched to high school, Catholic high, predominantly white. I just matured all of a sudden. I was quiet. I was friendly to everybody, and I just got more serious about my schoolwork. I was surprised with myself. My mother couldn't understand it. Here was the black sheep of the family, almost the nicest person in the family. I always did my work and always stayed at home. Even though I have the capability of being versatile, I tend to decide I'm going to do this and concentrate and put all my eggs in one basket.

My interest in music came with the 'Beetle Age.' 'Get a guitar and enjoy it' was my first thought. 'Make money' came later. I made money at age 16, playing bass guitar. I started guitar playing the folk mass in church. Then neighborhood and guys in public school did not dig that folk stuff, so I changed.

I am a letter man in baseball. I wanted to be a major league player, but quit in my senior year, after lettering every year. I decided it didn't mean anything to me.

In my senior year in high school I met a friend who went to Dee Jay school, broadcasting and announcing. There's a conformity among social groups and college students; it's either been business administration, elementary ed, political science, physical education, accounting or something like that. I tried something interesting in my mind and to help my people. I see the opportunities for blacks as just fantastic.
Jerome's Perceptions of Management

The atmosphere at the station has been a lot more serious since Alpha was named new operations manager. Because Alpha is a lot more serious and his temperament is a lot more serious; but his temperament is also easy-going, a lot more business-like, a lot more definite and sure. When Alpha says something, you know what he's saying, even when he's wrong. You don't get it from another person; you get it from him. For example, Alpha said, 'Jerome, we're going to do things a little different, and checked me out by asking, 'Oh, yeah? How do you do that? Have you ever tried this?' And I said, 'Yeah,' even if I hadn't. His approach was great!

Jerome's Perceptions of Management by Peers

The hope for the station is in the new people coming up here. I know Glen and I are unique in being among the first new students to come in after the station got really organized. I think we are really in serious business. I thought we had been here for six years and was surprised that it was only for two. I think we are in the takeoff.

I tend to cancel out a lot of these little feuds. At first everything was beautiful. Then when I got up there I heard, "Hey, Samuel did this; Pedro's doing this, Cindy does this all the time' ...oh, wait a minute, I don't want to get involved. That's why I didn't want to get any position up there.

The reason I think there are not more majors is it is not written up properly in catalogue. It is not mentioned in the catalogue. And the students' attitude; the station they take for granted; they're not really serious about this being a vehicle for them to go out and get jobs. It's more or less like a toy, like, 'Wow! we can spin records.' And it's part of the fault of the majors up there. They don't really sell Communications. They say, 'Look! I'm operations manager. Why don't you come on up. We can have a good time.'

Jerome's Perception of Self as Manager

I always want to lead, if I think I qualify. I took a managerial job because I wanted to learn. I like working with people, but my problem is I tend to let out little details.
APPENDIX O

MALCOLM

Background

I was born and raised in the Bahamas. I didn't come to the United States until I finished high school at home. Then they made me take high school all over again here. I am the youngest of three children. My older brother and sister are both teachers, and one is a principal.

My father is a businessman and has his own store and also owns stock in lots of things in Bermuda. When I go home for vacations I sometimes help by working in the store.

At home I went to a school that was run by a religious group, but all us little black kids had to go to the school at the bottom of the hill; the white kids went to another at the top of the hill.

Here in the United States I went to a private school in the mountains of New Jersey. It was terribly run down, wood was rotting, rats ran all over. And while I was a student there, they made me assistant manager of the maintenance department. They wanted everything fixed up and painted before they had a summer conference there, and I got the job of assistant manager. Then the manager didn't work out and I got the whole job myself. I hired 40 men, all black people, and boy, did I work. I agreed to meet the deadline or to give out to the workers all the money I earned. We were up all night before the deadline, and I had to use an air compressor to finish the painting; but I did it. When the contractor came up from Philly to look at the job, nobody could believe a student could do that.

I found there in high school it was much easier to manage the students than it is the students here at Afro. They were more mature than the students here at Afro. There are a heck of a lot of conflicts in personalities and egos here at Afro, and trying to overcome that is a major problem, and has been a major problem here at WBBP.

When I came to Afro, I was basically the same type of person I was in high school, the way I acted, conversation, and all. But I found out in order to survive, you had to be like everybody else; young, jovial, nonchalant, and I tried very desperately to mingle and become a part of it. And I found out, psychologically, this worked on my maturity to the extent that I felt less mature,
and acted that way. The student at Afro is doing basically the same thing, to be part of the group. I believe it important to be true to oneself, knowing what you can do. If you're a liar, then own up to being a liar. If you're a liar, then OK, lie. Just continue to lie; but realize that you're lying to others and you're not lying to yourself saying you're not a liar.

I got interested in broadcasting at a cricket match in Bermuda when its first all-black radio station made its debut that particular Sunday. My father had some stock in that particular radio station, and I didn't know what he was talking about. So I took a ride with my father. It was more of an order than an invitation. At the station the operator looked marvelous to me. All those huge reels, and records, and electronic equipment—wires all over the place. Now as I look back I realize how nervous he was.

"My father is now retired. He had no formal education, but is still a student, because he is still learning."

I had no musical training, or acting but I can walk on glass on fire as a form of self discipline. It is mind over matter. I can use a portion of my mind to control a portion of my mind. The will power is sticking it out when it gets rough. It is a ritual art that came over from Africa and has become commercialized in hotels and nightclubs in Bermuda. I saw it when I was working in a hotel and met a person who could relate to me. That particular individual danced on glass and taught me. He has been all over the world.

Malcolm's Perceptions of Management

When Management plays around, it is soft and weak. When management is stern and autocratic, authoritative, then the employees understand where they're supposed to be, and they'll get the job done. I haven't found any other way to resolve that except to be a strict dictator. If you don't do it, forget about it. And if you don't want to forget about it, follow the guidelines, and I'll help you much as I possibly can. If I can't help you, I'll find someone who can. It's the motto I got from where I have an internship: 'the job must go on! I don't care how you do it.'

A station manager must be able to rule with a very hard hand. He has to be sensitive, persuasive. He has to be able to manipulate. He has to be able to do a hundred things—a god, in short. He must teach that (personal) problems come secondary.
Who is the ideal manager among the students at WBBP? Unbiasedly, and very candidly, I want to campaign—Me! I'll be very disliked. I'll be very fair.

I have changed to more practical, more realistic goals. Security, to stay longer than a disc jockey. I could advance further, the pay is higher. I get more satisfaction in creating, writing, and meeting people, and that sort of thing. I don't think news will be my ultimate goal. I think that I'll probably go into sales, so I can get my own station. It's changed (my goal). It's changed so much that I recall the days I used to go to that same station and watch the disc jockeys and when they would leave for their coffee breaks, I would spin records.

I enjoy working with people, the humanistic aspect. Planning? Fine! But I've had some very bad experiences with planning. Every time I plan something it never works out. Maybe in portions, but not in full. But I really hate to sit down and plan. I'd rather have something very flexible and be able to adapt it.

I also think that a high priority in my enjoyment is managing people and, very secretively, manipulating people. I've been able to do that very well and I enjoy it, because I see where it's being done every day, every day everybody, somewhere, somehow, manipulates somebody else. And I figure if I'm able to do it just that much better than the next person, then I can keep on trying to perfect that skill. And one day I'm going to reach that, I'm going to have all that I need. I consider 'manipulating people' is getting done something that needs to be done through that person, or by using that person. For example, in news, if I need some all-night cuts and there are ten of them, I'm going to manipulate somebody to get those all-night cuts so I can finish the rest of that newscast.

Management should always be aware of what goes on.

Malcolm's Perceptions of Peer Management

People at WBBP have a misconception of what management is, how to give orders. I think Pedro has seen the man he admires manage, and imitates him. People also have to be taught how to carry out things. They look for a number of excuses, as most people do, not to get the job done. A major problem is pay. I would like to see anybody up here paid a minimum salary. I would draw the line. Get rid of everybody and hire the people that I would consider good
potential. I believe in each-one-teach-one. I don't consider the courses training. Of all the courses I have taken, none of them have been really effective. A person needs the training first. Courses are retrogressive.

I would say one thing that's different about WBBP staff, managerial staff...different from the rest of the campus. WBBP staff is comprised of, he laughed awkwardly, "some people would consider them society's misfits. I say misfits jokingly, because everybody active up here does not socialize on Afro's campus. People here are very unique in that they have ideas and goals... not saying that the others don't... but these are more directed, more specific goals, and they're dedicated. Other students have more maturity. I feel that these students here, for some reason or other, these students here are a little bit different when it comes to wanting to get out and wanting to do something in a specific area.

Peer Perceptions of Malcolm as Manager

According to Pedro: It's according to how you value power. It breaks down to a personal thing. If Malcolm were Operations Manager of WBBP, the whole campus and all of the city would know it; but I can walk through campus now and some of my friends would say to me, 'Oh, are you still working at the station?' I say, 'Oh, I'm doing pretty good,' and I don't even tell them I'm the manager and practically running the whole thing.

I think that's one of Malcolm's main problems. When the station started out he was in the paper, and being interviewed. And what happened, it turned off so many other students because they had been doing just as much, and they lost respect for him because he was taking all the cake. And we'd be very leery of his coming back to the station to work, because he couldn't work as part of the team.

I definitely agree about the part about personal gain, immediate personal gain. Anything you do at this particular stage in life should be to prepare yourself for the future. If Malcolm were here, he would be using the station to get a job.

In George's opinion, where the problem lies is that the students think that working with the station they are more intimate with you and that that can compensate for passing courses. The same thing happened with Malcolm. He would cut class and go to get news, and you kept telling him, 'Malcolm your first obligation is to the classroom.' Malcolm isn't there now (at the station) but Malcolm isn't a team person.
APPENDIX P

MANUEL

Background

My father was in the Air Force. I was born in the mid-West. I lived in six big Northern cities and one large Southern city as my father was transferred around. I have two elder brothers, one is married and one out of school. We were not disciplined by our parents, 'Not to do this,' but instead, 'I will not appreciate that very much.' But although we weren't disciplined in force, we had to do things like, every night I had to write the time table for my father. Up till twelve o'clock. I'll never forget the time tables!

I am an independent thinker. Understanding from my parents gave me confidence to be a leader. If something happens to frighten them, don't scold them at the time, but give alternatives. For example, when I was little and could not swim I fell out of a boat and almost drowned. My father told me, 'If you go into the water again, next time be sure you know how to swim.' Or he would say, 'If I tell you this is right, believe me. But always have a doubt until it works for you.'

If everybody's doing it, I don't want to do it. In high school it was, 'Read that book, smoke a pipe and play chess.' That just turned me off because everybody was doing it. To this day I won't read Another Country.

I took music lessons in elementary school, and in junior high played with the fellows on double bass in the orchestra. I also played drums, I had a set of drums. In high school I took music theory and various appreciation courses. Radio is basically music. In a hearing test I learned I hear above normal level on decibles. That's why I take so long on production. I listen the next day, also for phrasing, breathing etc. I'm not pleased with my voice.

I tried to get away from being a star. When I played basketball I was a sort of star there, so I began to feed another person next year and made a star of him.

I was 21 when I came to Afro. I transferred from another college, in the North. I became interested in broadcasting originally because of my interest in records. I would buy records, and I had my own room. We had a phonograph, and it broke. I took it apart, and fixed it, and rigged up a system. I didn't realize the
many jobs available in broadcasting until two years ago, he concluded as he recalled that he was one of the original students to help activate the station.

Manuel's Perceptions of Management

At the beginning, it just seemed that the people were involved. It was a family, an immediate family of no more than maybe ten, and then the total family might have been twenty, and everyone worked. We had some hangups about not getting tapes on the air, but we all had...there was no ego-chasing of 'II have a show, 'I have this,' and I remember when I first came up I was in the control room running the console and you showed me what to do. You showed me, 'This is the way I do it,' and 'Now there's this way and this way, but which way do you want to do it,' and I learned. You didn't push us. You just, I think, more or less screened us. And out of the total, today there's only six or seven.

If it was up to me, when we had that immediate family, I would have closed it off, and all the rest just be made to observe. Students don't really like to be told what to do by another student. And new people come in and want to start on their own thing.

I know better what broadcasting is about. I have a reference. When I worked at the local TV station, I pointed out Emery's book and the Code about excess commercials. I said, 'You say you are a Code station, yet look here...'' to the man and surprised the man who implied, 'We subscribe to the code but that doesn't mean we have to follow it.'

Manuel's Perception of Management by Peers

They all fit in, he responded when shown the list of possible problems in an organization. "I see the gossiping. I call it political, broadcasting politics. You know, you get into little cliques--always people will, you know--in a situation the drinkers will stay with the drinkers, and the non-drinkers will stay with the non-drinkers. They'll stay there because one doesn't want the other one to go, for fear he might speak on him; and the other doesn't want the other one to go, because he's afraid--well, 'I gave him too much of myself. He knows too much about me, so I gotta stay close to him so I'm always with him, so he doesn't know what I'm saying,' and they take sides.
APPENDIX Q

PEDRO

Background

I am an only child. My father left at an early age. I had the problem of being overspoiled. But, as I grew older, I tended to be more independent as opposed to some of my friends who were the only child without a father, and I was always brought up under the pretense that you had to go out and do the best you could do for yourself, and try not to get hung up on things ... make the best of it. I was always inspired by my grandmother and my mother.

I remember, though, how my mother represented a county in New Jersey and how I thought it was a waste of time. I went along with my friends' opinions ... peer influence, you know. I lived in a large city and none of my friends' mothers did things like that. Now I realize how unusual she was.

In school, on occasions, I was encouraged by several white teachers to apply for certain offices. My mother encouraged it; but my friends did not. I think it was because you were really a token ... a treasurer of the choir. He just had you there when he had a dinner. You just stood up and looked around, but not when there was time for a decision.

Music permeated the family in many ways. It was a family experience. As I grew older there was always all kinds of music in the house: classical, jazz, rhythm and blues, blues, and gospel, and I was always inspired by people to go to musicals and concerts. My mother always had a thing about children being cultured and took me to Broadway plays. For example, I used to get sick and tired of going to Radio City for Christmas. As I grew older I began to see the value of it.

Basically I wanted to entertain. I used to sing a lot, till I lost my voice. I sang with a group in talent shows and competition. And I played violin for several years, but stopped it because my friends said, 'You're a sissy playing the violin.' And I guess that happens also in the white community, peer pressures, either do it or not feel a part of a group.

Then I became interested in playing the drums before I came here to Afro. In high school I would go home and turn on the record player full blast and actually sit there in a chair with a baton and
conducted the music. Even today I can listen to a professional production and I can hear mistakes. I can listen to an album and hear a guitar player playing the wrong note, or holding his note too long. I've always been motivated by music to do certain things. I can get up very angry, and listen to some music, and I'll go to school happy. Music helps me as far as thinking of three or four different things at the same time. I'm able to, for example, I can be in your class and you can be talking about something in the book and I can be thinking about something else and I can actually take it all in and be able to put it back out. I guess it's because, being a musician and playing with groups, you get involved with trying to carry your rhythm and also listen to the flute player and the bass player and the piano player, to see what they're doing.

I was active in sports, too. I know basketball well. In the North, coaches motivate the students they know by way of family tradition. Most of the males involved here at the station have been involved in sports some time or another. You would think it would help them understand team work better. They should be able to adjust to discipline. That is why I question some of their claims at times, of being in sports, and athletes, and things like this.

I've always been able to catch on to technical things. When I was little I always fooled around with a tape recorder, making like I was M-C-ing a show.

And, I guess I was always attracted to management. I remember when I was little, I used to sit at my little desk for hours and pretend to talk to people on the telephone and do business.

What attracted me to broadcasting? Here we go back again to, all my life, even when I was little, I would sit at home and would actually sit back, you know, and wonder what was going on besides what you saw on the screen. And then, as I got older, I started listening to WWRL, the Black station. And I got tired of it, like I was strange, because all the time my friends listened to Rhythm and Blues. And one day I went to a clothing shop to buy some clothes, and they were playing WLIB, and I heard it, you know, and I started listening to WLIB ... and the concept was so different. It was more of an education, as well as music. I was in junior high school. And I listened, I listened, I listened.

Then I left New York and I came here to college; and then my cousin was going into broadcasting. He was going into news at the time, and I saw how hard he was working at it, but it seemed it was so simple ... until I found out what he was really doing. And then I came to Afro.
Pedro's Perceptions of Management

My first concept of management was the same concept that Clyde has now, as a junior. It was that... 'OK, Pedro, you know a little about music and records so I'll leave you alone.' That was my original concept of management, because, you know, I didn't know anything. I was just used to being a follower and not worried about being a leader. I was interested in doing what I had to do, and not anybody bothering me. Then, as you grow, you see all the kickbacks from that. You sort of like to develop the type of theory that will involve everybody, hopefully, everybody.

Now I would say that anybody who's going to be a leader of a group has to be really unpopular, but in the long run, respected. Maybe the things that I've been doing with the people at WBBP now... they may not go along with it for maybe four or five years from now. Then, they'll be able to say, 'Well, Pedro, what you told me was right.' Then they'll be able to write me and say, 'You were right.' I think George Crawford was the best model of a manager because of the type of atmosphere he grew up in Africa, whereas everything from the time he was ten years old, he was old enough to understand the concepts of society. He was involved in politics... decision-making. He had to, as part of his culture. You see, a black child in America, the parent you know, had a tendency to stay away from the political. As George grew up, he learned to work with people; whereas in America the only thing we know how to do, as I was growing up, was if you get mad at somebody you smack 'em, and you fight and you curse or you swear. So I think of George as a model.

Now some people thought of George as weak, because of his self control. And I notice, even this year, myself, as of lately. Anyway, I don't get mad that much at the students. I can control myself and now they resent me more! They were happy when we could argue and curse each other out and discuss things. Now they know I know when they are only making generalities and it bugs them to see me stand there and look at them like they're a bunch of fools and say, 'Yeah, OK, you got anything else to say?'

Now I'm role playing, and that's why I, at the end of the day at the station... I like to go home, sit down, and relax, and watch TV. And on the weekend, like, I try to stay away from the students that I work with during the week and thus avoid getting that outside personal contact...trying to break it off when I come to the station.

...Like you said, it takes six or seven years to build up businesses and have good organizational structure. I think its going to take WBBP at least another year or so, because people will
see those goals. They will see that the ideal model of communication and organization is the way that you and I try to express it sometimes. It's still a 'maiden voyage' as far as some of the staff is concerned.

As long as they respect me as a man, and don't try and insult me; and as long as they respect other people, I'm not too concerned about being popular. I come in and speak: 'Have you done this, and have you done that?'

I see my job at WBBP as a professional job, lately. The last four months, or so, like, Manuel and I will have length telephone conversations on the telephone and, like, we're always referring to business; like we're always talking about business, business, business, business, business. I think you have to role play at WBBP...at least I do... and look at it as a professional job and not tolerating nonsense, because when you leave here...... students wait till after graduation to become professionals.

Pedro's Perception of himself as a Manager

I learned most here as operations manager, and the art of working with people. You can't say, like some of the students were saying, 'Well, George was a bad manager, and we hope you do a better job than he.' Well, they're going to be saying the same thing when I leave. And I hope Alpha will do even a little better job. But, I think it's all an experience. And you have to take the experiences and improve on them. Wherever I go, I can use the experiences, and I know exactly where to start from; what to do with the program directors the first day you start working with them, and so forth.

What bothers me most is people who try to be slick and try to say something to me and about me. I know, for example, last week at the staff meeting the whole meeting was focused right at me ... because I knew somebody told me previously that somebody was planning that. I'd much rather have a person come to me and tell me 'I'm like this, or I'm like that,' than to plan things when I'm not around. I hate when people get little caucuses together and try to go against people at the station because, for example now, I always try to pitch in wherever I can. I feel it is my responsibility as their fellow student, to work with them and help them out, you know. I'll be willing to give up maybe two hours of my weekend to help them out for late Saturday broadcasts, but, at least, when I have to do something that's official, at least they should try to cooperate with me. This is the same kind of thing that goes on in industry, only on a larger scale.
Peer Perceptions of Pedro as Manager

George Crawford, the station's first operations manager, had this to say about Pedro:

I would name Pedro for the best model of a manager. I've seen him grow older, and his ability to handle people, especially his friends. At certain times Pedro, he will go along with it; but, if he is pressured and if he has to do it, he did it. Like I used to pressure him when he was program director, like, 'You have to have this done!' and 'Get your friend to do it right!' Pedro would cross the campus and meet his friend, Ron, and use the most awful words, and say, 'You do it! You write a script or you don't go on the air again!' And I've told him again and again that, well, you have to be cool with your temper. You can get very firm about things. In other words, you have to show your role.

For instance, when you stand before him as a manager of a station "blow" him all that you can. And when you sit as a student and discuss things, talk to him as if nothing ever happened. Let the guy think about it and say, 'Oh, I think this guy was playing his role.' Well, that's Pedro.

I think one of the hangups is when students are doing wrong things and somebody, say Pedro the operations manager, threatens that, 'I'm going to tell Mrs. Weiss...or somebody,' they say, 'Man, I don't mind this any. We do our own thing, and you're not going to talk on me.' That is a breakdown, a failure of over-all operation of the station. I think he should give one warning, then the second time he must tell Mrs. Weiss as he said. They should look to delayed rewards, like, say in later life, 'Pedro was hard on me, but it paid off.' They don't see the delayed reward at first.

Charles also predicts that Pedro would most likely be a successful station manager in the future. He commented:

Uh...I know every staff member would disagree with me, but I really think Pedro would make it. He seems to have the management know-how. I think he can improve his attitude. He may have to learn to communicate with his employees...to work with them more smoothly...but he has the managerial procedures and know-how. He's been around the business; he sees how it operates.

Brenda, who worked with both George and Pedro, gives insights into the managerial maturation and working relationship between the two:

First of all, we found faults in everybody, but George was good...but he wasn't a very outspoken person. He let somebody take it almost to the end before he'd try to stop it. The kids would often
refer to him as "The African," and even though it was taken as a joke, and he took it OK, I think inside he felt something. You know, they would always throw this, "African, what do you know?" This was the big thing. Pedro always stayed on him about that.

One of the communication problems we have here is you have to be tactful. Sometimes Pedro's attitude, the way he phrases things, communicates the wrong message. When a moody person comes into the staff room and doesn't want to be bothered, that affects everybody, it really does. A moody person, a different person every day, you know, really turns me off. I would hire the person that shouts, because he'll let me know his inner feelings, because I know what's going on. He lets it all out. I could adjust to that. But that person that's moody, I couldn't work with him. Like Pedro shouts and throws books and things. We'll make it!

Samuel assessed Pedro's managerial style by saying:
The reason, maybe, why Pedro has not been all that effective in getting people to come to him is, because, I don't know, I think he has difficulty, well, I know definitely, he has difficulty in communicating effectively with not only the staff, but people in general. He has the type of attitude where he flies off before thinking. His main problem seems to be assuming things are wrong before asking for details. Nobody likes to be jumped on like they're at home.

Alice also discussed the problem of tact when talking about Pedro:
Now tact, that's definitely a problem. It's something that you learn as you grow up. I don't think maturity has anything to do with it, personally. It's just the way you say something.
I don't know why the students consider Pedro tactless. It could be jealousy, envying him, wanting to be in his position because they want to be like that so bad.

Two freshmen, Glen and Jerome, added the viewpoints of newcomers. In Glen's opinion:
A lot of it has to do with Pedro's temperament. He's a pretty easy-going guy and so kind of constitutes ... uh ... well, one thing that he doesn't have going for him, and I think it's a major fault he has, is that, it's happened to me many times ... he'll come to me and he'll say one thing, yet he'll go to a different person and say another.

Jerome stated his feelings about Pedro by commenting:
Pedro is the weirdest person. If you're the boss, you gotta be boss, and don't pull no punches or you're not going to be boss. I remember our first staff meeting we had, and parliamentary
procedure. I said, 'Yes, Mr. Gary.' 'Call me Pedro, man! I don't want none of that stuff,' he told me. His whole attitude is, you know,' Let's talk it over. You can lay me out. 'But then when it comes down to it, he'll say, 'Well, look! I'm boss! You can't!' So one day he's a boss, and one day he's a pal; and he doesn't know how to separate it.

But I tend to see people's faults and not hold it against him. I respect him. He knows a lot of things I'd like to learn; and you know he doesn't do everything right. No human being ever does. I might disagree with him for that minute; but it doesn't affect our over-all relationship. So, I have that feeling toward Pedro ... and he does care. He does really care. You know, everybody has their hangup they can't communicate with other people. That's Pedro's only problem. He can't communicate at a certain level. Other than that, he's a great guy. He's serious.
Excerpts from Paper written by Pedro as part of a Course

Let me begin by saying the large amount of problems encountered at WBBP are based on the problems of adjusting to change, yet this to a degree can be justified in that many of the student managers are for the first time in their life being given the chance to manage and make decisions for themselves without always being reprimanded, and this is a very important factor in any man's or woman's life, to be able to feel free. Black people are finally seeing some sunshine and not just the shadow of the basement as the past held for us.

In the Gardner book, he refers to the person's incapacity to bring about self-renewal within himself, when people are young and have fresh ideas, they tend to be creative and not so vulnerable to fixed habits and the group's way of doing things. We do not realize we have been in a prison until we break out into a new experience. Too often at WBBP students tend to always be just satisfied with making an excuse for not wanting to venture into new territory. I must admit at times I am guilty of the same negative however, I become very frustrated when I see young black minds wasting time and using their personal problems as the scapegoat when we should be trying to help black people who haven't the chance to attend college, they barely find food to eat. Gardner refers to one's potentialities and what they should be: sensering, wondering, learning, loving and aspiring.

Motivation is what I think really becomes an important factor in the plight of the black college student. It may seem that I am wandering away from WBBP, however, the very same problems we encounter at WBBP are equal in many instances to the black race in general. We as students must pave the way for our children. In doing so we must have a positive attitude toward ourselves and, having this type of attitude, we will be motivated to not only renew the black society, yet if the white masses re-evaluate themselves, they will have to make some type of self-renewal of themselves in order to deal with the masses of minorities that are about to redefine their role in society. WBBP must re-define itself not only as a means of radio but for the sake of mankind. We have the ears of the public, yet some say we don't, then we must get up off our "rears" and go out and find just why we do not have the public listening to us. . . . If we plan to make society a better place we must change and sacrifice even if it cause pain.
Pedro's Impromptu Farting Remarks to Staff at Final Staff Meeting prior to his Graduation

I had the pleasure of going home last week, and I had a meeting with some people about a job. They could not emphasize enough the importance of black students to stop 'shucking and jiving' in college, because they have made it very clear that when they establish their business that they are not going to hire you because you're black; they're going to hire you because you can do something, and they're not concerned with what you did in college, what you were in college. They're concerned with what you can do, because they're looking for qualified black students to run their businesses.

I was speaking to Del Shields last week, and they've just completed Bill Cosby's Man and a Boy . . . they had something like 50 black applicants to come and apply for jobs when they first started out. And out of 50 they could only use 16, because everybody that claimed that they were ready . . . Bill Cosby got the guys on the set, and the guys couldn't run the cameras, the guy didn't know anything about microphones, the guys didn't know anything about lighting—and in so many words . . . Del told me to remind the students that they've got to get all the technical skill that they can and learn how to write; because if they plan to get jobs with blacks in broadcasting, and blacks in film, blacks in anything, there is going to be more of a demand on you. They only want the best. And if you're going to stay here clowning and shucking and jiving and trying to be slick, you forget about it! . . . I hope you go on to become black mass communications specialists and not just disc jockeys.
APPENDIX R

SAMUEL

Background

I am an only child. I spent most of my life with my mother. My parents were separated when I was about seven. No one ever tried to influence my opinions. They sort of set me out there to see what I would do. I think maybe my opinions were formed, to a great extent, by the people—by my environment in general. I come from a suburban town, of about 50,000. I lived there all my life. I'm more of a city mouse. We moved about three times in the city. You can walk from one county to another because the railroad runs down the middle of the main street.

In school I was president of my class several times. But there was no paperwork involved. In high school I sang in the choir and liked it. And I wanted a guitar in high school. I got a guitar for Christmas my sophomore year and learned to play during the summer. It came sort of easy. The next summer I got an electric guitar and began to play R&B. I did have piano lessons for about six months and wish I had gone back. I have an ear for music and can play from sheet music, but I'd rather play without. I have a knack.

My second year here at Afro I played all over the city with a group. But it was sort of taxing all the while, so I gave it up.

The reason I wanted to work here was that I was interested in radio. We had a radio broadcasters club in high school, and we studied about getting a license, but it never got off the ground. It sounded too complicated. I started here by doing a record program. In broadcasting, the things I have done have come natural to me. I guess it's a gift, not a matter of sitting down to study.

Samuel's Perceptions of Management

In view of what I was thinking at the time, I think that my opinions of management had already been formed, because I had an opportunity to work in a tobacco factory. I did not think the foremen were particularly good. They were of the 'old school.'

Since this experience I found out that management is not only the actual physical thing of supervising what is going on, and so forth, but it also involves a lot of thinking about things to come. I think that the best thing I learned about that was the
fact that being a manager you should plan at least a year ahead of
time what you're going to do. The only thing about it, being a
student and being a manager, you're not able to put into practice a
lot of things that you should, because of the time factor.

The best managers are people who are respected the most. It
is not a popularity contest.

Samuel's Perceptions of self as Manager

I am not a group follower. I go into a situation knowing,
'I'm here because I want to be here.'

Although I never stopped to think about it, I agree it is bad
management to assume a job is completed when requested. I know sub-
consciously I always avoid asking somebody to do something and not
check on it. But I don't check when they're around.

Being in a managerial position, I can look at things in
another way than if I wouldn't have had the management experience.
I got my lumps here. It's probably harder to manage college students
than when you're out on the job. I think any student that doesn't
get it, is really missing something.

Working here has definitely aided me in talking to the
various people in employment interviews, because most of the time
they say, 'I've had X number of management courses,' but this
carries a lot of weight when I tell about my actual experiences here.
I hate to half-do anything.

When I was music director, in choosing music...as far as
popular appeal, I try to look at it, not as a critic but as a person
when I go to listen to a record. And if it strikes me, then I
figure it will strike the next person. I try usually not to look at
who the artist is to affect my judgment. Seven out of ten they come
out pretty good. Five of my choices were in a national magazine
which substantiated my choices. But if you do it too long you may
start to conform and listen for certain things, become sort of stale.

Samuel's Perceptions of Management by Peers

I would think that we're in the drive toward maturity.
Everybody here, more or less, is generally aware of the way things
should be, but it's just a matter of getting things, like systems,
getting people to accept responsibilities and carry them out--
actually implementation, you know. And I think one of the biggest
helps toward this would be, if possible, to have this management practicum course that we had last year taught as often as possible.

It's peculiar...that the newer people seem to be the more devoted people at first and, it's just like when a kid goes to school, he is very eager to learn and eager to please the teacher, and yet as soon as he gets in with some people who have been there, he starts to hear people criticizing him about, 'Well, why do you love the teacher?' And then suddenly he's caught in a bind between what he believed originally and what the people are saying, since there is nobody to back up what he originally believed. Then he begins to conform, even though he may be trying to guard against it. So it's the same thing here. They're here doing it because they love doing it. But then, they see things are not the way they are written in the book, people are doing things differently, and they think, "Why should I go by the book?"

I don't think you really can ever go by the book as such. I think what it eventually has to boil down to would be a set of basic rules. As students I guess you can't really get away from the book, but then I'm not sure it would be required that you stay with the book. The only way it's going to work is if the older people set an example.

Yes, people are beginning to speak up in staff meetings, but the problem is in a lot of cases they're not speaking up in the right way, and I think this overall thing of speaking is coming, we're having more of it. It would be much better if the people would speak up--the slightest little thing and throw it in. It may not be anything, and whoever's running the meeting can decide if this is relevant or not. But if you just keep on holding things in and holding things in, then all of a sudden you come to a meeting and everybody has something to say and it's an explosion, whereas if you'd been discussing things all along, then it would be much better. I think maybe the operations manager would be the key. If he could sit down with the people involved instead of bringing it to the whole meeting...as a sort of mediator.

I think the operations manager should be a full time professional, not a student. This would take away a lot of the animosity that comes about because if this person's a full time professional it puts all the students in the same boat, just like you'd be in the real world. All the managers would be answerable to this full-time professional because, to say you're answerable to the student operations manager, well, there's nothing he can do.

A student might appear dedicated and put on a beautiful front for you to a certain extent, and you will eventually find him
out. If this particular manager isn't around much and palms his work off on other people, students hate to come out and say anything because of the fact that they feel that, 'Well, I'm telling on somebody.' But then, on the other hand, they realized, but they realize too late, that it's best to go ahead and expose somebody that's not doing their job earlier, so that it will take the pressure off you, rather than you being worried to death with them and they're getting all the glory. So that's the way it is.

People tend to shy away from really confronting somebody saying, 'Well, look, I don't appreciate this, I don't appreciate that.' But they'll always put it off and say, 'Well, I'll tell about it later,' or, 'If it happens again, I'll tell them about it.' So that's the way it is.

I'd say immaturity and poor tact are the most common causes of problems here.

The biggest value from the standpoint of the organization, it doesn't offer all that much. The organization suffers because of student management. But from the point of view of the student, which should be the point of view of the thing, it's valuable, because it allows them to put into practice what they have learned in the classroom.

Pedro was aware of Samuel's attitude and told me, "Samuel was, like last week, running off his mouth like a tape recorder and, like he's not even doing his job, and he brought the idea of, like, we shouldn't run to Mrs. Weiss and tell her everything that's going on. I knew he was talking about me, even though a week ago I said, 'Samuel, you haven't been coming to work on time. You haven't been doing this and that. This is between you and I. Let's see if you and I can straighten it out before we go to Mrs. Weiss.' Then he was in this [staff] meeting and contradicted the very same thing. So, that's what made me mad. He knows, and I know what we did. So I don't get emotionally involved with them anymore."

Samuel had an important position as president of the college choral society, which took much of his free time for rehearsals and concerts. But we had arranged it so that he could still fulfill his station duties without discomfort. Unfortunately, romance also charged in the window, unexpectedly, and this caused a slackened work attitude for about five months.

Although Samuel did not contribute outstandingly to the managerial aspects of WBBP, he did help simmer down a great number of hot tempers when they would flare up. Also, during the final staff meeting, prior to his graduation, he made the following remarks:
I was of the same thinking as Joy \[that we should stay on
the air later hours at night and all night on weekends\] until the
marathon a few weeks ago. Then I found out where everybody stood.
And I found out that when you stick your neck out to say, 'Well,
we're going to do this. You know everybody's with you. Yeah!
We're going to be behind you.'---then, when you get there and it
comes down to the actual work, then it's you! (meaning himself).

And you hear people tell you," as he spoke the following
words he raised his voice to a high pitch to imitate a girl's
voice, and continued, 'Yeah! I enjoyed you on the air the other
night.' His voice resumed its natural deep resonance, 'and that's
what it boiled down to: you on the air, you on the behind-the-
scenes work. It's not a matter of giving the people what they
want. If they want to come in and have this thing \[marathon\] so
bad, they have to be willing to sacrifice some time to get in off
the block. To stay off the block and come up here and do some work.
Stay up here some Friday and Saturday nights and work, instead of
going out somewhere and getting high or something . . . I won't be
here, but I'd definitely do a lot of thinking before I'd--you know--
and be very discriminating in picking the people who're going to be
working if you do decide to change your hours or anything. Because
it's very disappointing, you know, to be sitting up here, and you've
got to leave and go somewhere at five o'clock, and the man who's
supposed to come and relieve you at five o'clock calls you at a
quarter to six and tells you he can't make it. Well, by then you
figure he can't make it! And, believe it or not, we got these kind
of people. They don't have no professional standards. They're
supposed to come at five, and they call you at a quarter to six and
tell you, 'I can't make it man.' Or, they're supposed to prepare a
program for you to use on the thing, and they come up the last minute,
'Well, I couldn't git it.'

Samuel continued saying to the staff, "and not only a broad-
cast major, but whatever your major is, you gotta get off the block.
Quit gettin' high and get in your books. And this sounds like
somethin' out of the first grade. You know, you say, 'Well, I can
do this, I can get over this teacher.' If you got a teacher that
ain't makin' you do it, you better get up and do yourself' because
when you come down to the wire, you're going to wish you had . . .
I don't care what you do. In the final analysis it comes up what
you make of it. And if you goin' to spend your time on the block, or
with your woman, or gettin' high, you can forgot it; because that's
what you're going to be doing the rest of your life--on the block, or
getting high, or hanging out with some women--that's all you're goin'
to be doing, because--you know--well, let's face it--we talk about the
system, but you know you have to live in it, so you have to be able to
get out there and do what the people do."
EMPLOYEE SELECTION GUIDE

HOW TO USE THIS GUIDE: The purpose of this guide is to help management think analytically about the job of selection. It measures an applicant on two counts, "job competence" and "a good employee". The elements of "job competence" should be determined and listed by the interviewer prior to the interview. The qualifications of "a good employee" apply generally to all applicants, although with varying emphasis on the different characteristics depending on the job. Here are the steps to follow in using the guide:

1. Have applicant fill out NARTS or similar application blank.
2. Before interview, you fill out "Applicant's Name" and "Job to be Filled" sections on upper half of first page of guide and also list elements of "Job Competence" on second page. Use of "Job Description" and "Job Specifications" sections on fourth page of guide is optional.
3. Conduct interview by following listing of desirable characteristics on Pages 2 and 3, asking a sufficient number of questions on each point so that applicant can be rated.
4. After interview, rate applicant according to "excellent", "good", "fair" or "poor" on pages 2 and 3 and then make final rating on lower half of this page. In making ratings, use information available from reference checks and tests as well as from interview.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPLICANT'S NAME</th>
<th>JOB TO BE FILLED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HOME ADDRESS:</td>
<td>DEPARTMENT:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPERVISOR:</td>
<td>PAY RANGE:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FINAL RATING**

**Job Competence:**
- specialized knowledge and technical skills
- general abilities
- special personality traits

**A Good Employee:**
- decent citizen
- appearance, manner, health
- willingness to work
- ability to get along
- maturity

**SUMMARY**

**Final Rating of Applicant for This Job:**

**INTERVIEWER'S NAME**  **COPYRIGHT. 1961 NAS**  **DATE**

*Use page 4 for job description and job specifications if needed.*
JOB COMPETENCE

Note: Job competence is broken down into three categories: specialized knowledge and technical skills, general abilities, and special personality traits. You should consider the job and its content carefully before entering the characteristics which are to be placed under each of the headings. Make sure you have listed all of them and have determined the relative importance of each. Job competence is determined by measuring one or more of the following:

1. level of performance on same or similar jobs . . . check by interview and by references.
2. ability to handle job components . . . check by interview, references and tests.
3. aptitude for learning . . . difficult to determine, particularly for more complex jobs. Expert help desirable.

Specialized Knowledge and Technical Skills . . . such as shorthand for a secretary, electronic theory for a chief engineer or accounting for an auditor.

1. ______________________________________
2. ______________________________________
3. ______________________________________
4. ______________________________________
5. ______________________________________

Summary Rating:

General Abilities . . . such as business judgment for a station manager, accuracy for an accounting clerk or good voice for an announcer.

1. ______________________________________
2. ______________________________________
3. ______________________________________
4. ______________________________________
5. ______________________________________

Summary Rating:

Special Personality Traits . . . list special personality traits required by particular job environment or by people working in it.

1. ______________________________________
2. ______________________________________
3. ______________________________________

Summary Rating:
A GOOD EMPLOYEE

Note: The following qualifications are desirable in all employees. Naturally, there will be different emphasis with different jobs. For example, the standard of dress and grooming for a receptionist will be different from that for a cleaning woman. The standard for self expression for a salesman will be different from that for a technician.

To get the most information from the applicant, ask questions requiring qualitative or value answers such as: "What did you think of the last company you worked for?" Upon getting the answer, follow up with the questions "Why?" Don't ask: "Your last company was a pretty good place to work, wasn't it?"

Be careful in evaluating information received in response to questions. Try to determine what it means in terms of predicting job success for the applicant on the particular job. No one will rate "excellent" on all characteristics. Most people who are employed represent a compromise choice. For example, one arrest, if adequately explained, might not necessarily rule out an otherwise promising applicant. Lack of maturity might be acceptable for certain types of work where other characteristics are very important.

Decent Citizen

POINTS TO CHECK: Record of arrests, use of alcohol, reasons for job terminations, credit rating, law suits.

Appearance, Manner and Health

POINTS TO CHECK: Manner of dress and grooming ... speech, poise, interview reaction ... chronic diseases, hospitalization during past 5 years, number of working days lost because of illness during last 3 years, with reasons therefor.

Willingness to Work Hard

POINTS TO CHECK: Part-time jobs as child and during schooling ... grades in school and effort expended to get them, high school and college extracurricular activities, with specifics on positions held and time expended, efforts at self-education, night school courses ... job progress over period of years, hours worked per week in last few jobs, attitude toward night or day off work ... importance of motivation for working, interest level in this and prior jobs.

Ability to Get Along with Others

POINTS TO CHECK: Activities and interests as a child, school activities and organizations, with emphasis on degree and type of participation from a social point of view ... present social activities, community activities, recreational interests ... amount of cooperative activity in past jobs; attitude toward fellow employees in previous work situations.

Maturity

POINTS TO CHECK: Marital history, present family situation, number of dependents, living arrangements, role in family life, relationship to spouse and to children ... financial situation, debt problems, ability to live within income, long-haul financial aims ... job stability, friction in job situations, realistic nature of vocational objectives, unexplained unemployment.
JOB INFORMATION

Job Title: __________________________________________________________

Job Description: ____________________________________________________

Job Specification:

PHYSICAL REQUIREMENTS: AGE__________ SEX__________

UNUSUAL PHYSICAL DEMANDS________________________________________

MANUAL SKILLS____________________________________________________

SPECIALIZED KNOWLEDGE___________________________________________

INTELLIGENCE RATING______________________________________________

EDUCATION________________________________________________________

EXPERIENCE_______________________________________________________

* Listed here are standards set for job not qualifications of a particular applicant.
BIBLIOGRAPHY
OF
WORKS CITED
AND
SOURCES CONSULTED

BOOKS


Warner, Lloyd and Lunt Paul S. The Social Life of a Modern Community New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941.


ARTICLES IN JOURNALS


REPORTS


MISCELLANEOUS


288
PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE


TAPE RECORDINGS

UNPUBLISHED DISSERTATIONS


