

# Personality and Life-Style of Young Male Managers

## A Logical Learning Theory Analysis

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With a Foreword by Douglas W. Bray



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*To my teachers*  
Julian B. Rotter  
George A. Kelly

## Foreword

In the mid 1950s AT&T, parent company of the Bell System, decided to initiate a longitudinal study of managerial careers. The then director of management training, Robert K. Greenleaf, was aware that adult life was a sadly neglected area of psychological research. This being so, management development efforts might not be optimally focused or designed. Greenleaf believed that an investment in basic research on managerial lives would be worthwhile and persuaded AT&T's top management to support the initiation of such an investigation. It was my good fortune to be employed to design and administer the study.

The Management Progress Study, as the research effort was named, has been funded on a year-to-year basis. Originally it was expected that intensive data gathering would last only 7 or 8 years, as it was anticipated that early careers would differentiate the most promising managers from the others and would be most important in motivational and value changes. However, returns from the study have been so rich both in scientific findings and in business applicability that data collection is still continuing at the 25-year mark. Nevertheless, the first 8 years were critical in many ways and were set off in the study by an initial assessment center at the start and one 8 years later. It is this first 8-year segment that provides the material for this volume.

The design of the study necessitated a great deal of professional labor. There were the two assessment centers, described in Chapter 1, at years 0

and 8, which evaluated several hundred participants at the rate of 12 a week. Then there were annual interviews of these many managers for the intervening 7 years. These interview reports alone filled thousands of typewritten pages.

Although several Bell System psychologists in addition to myself were involved in these activities, most of the work was done by university-based and other outside professionals. Some of these people served only once, say for 2 months as an assessment center staff member. Others, such as the author of this book, participated many times, year after year, and also worked on study materials while back at their academic or other posts.

Although professional work required a high level of expertise and provided unique experience, it was not always directly related to the main careers of the temporary staff members. They turned out their reports and ratings, which were absorbed into the data base to be used later by AT&T researchers. Like the masons of old they added their stones to the resulting edifice.

Meanwhile, of course, the main careers of those who stayed with the study for many years were developing in their own right. A notable example is the career of Joseph F. Rychlak, the author of this book. Rychlak first worked with me in 1957 immediately after earning his doctorate and is still much involved in AT&T's basic human resources research. During this time he has risen to full professorship, written an impressive personality and psychotherapy text, and written several landmark theoretical volumes developing his logical learning theory as a sound alternative to a behavioristic view of human nature.

Fortunately, the opportunity arose to combine one aspect of Dr. Rychlak's work on the Management Progress Study with this distinctive theoretical approach. For some years he had been evaluating the voluminous follow-up interviews with the study participants in terms of nine "life themes." Involvements on these themes had been related to occupational success in *Formative Years in Business* (1974), the first book reporting Management Progress Study results, but the relationships of such involvements to personality characteristics had not been explored. Such an analysis was expected to provide rich data for a marriage of a longitudinal view of life from the participants' points of view with teleological personality theory. This book is the result. I am delighted that the Management Progress Study has provided the material for such a unique and scholarly endeavor.

Douglas W. Bray

## Preface

*Personality and Life-Style of Young Male Managers* was written with three goals in mind. First, I wanted to present data gathered longitudinally on 311 young adults over an 8-year period. Second, I wanted to do more with these data than present them in the typical statistical-analytical fashion, with mean scores, tests of significance, etc. It was my hope to use case history material as a supplementary form of elaboration, adding what I take to be a certain phenomenological flavor to the "hard" findings on personality and life-style. I hope and trust that professionals and lay readers alike will find these phenomenal analyses and case history examples instructive. Finally, I wanted the contents of this volume to be underwritten by a teleological theory of behavior, one in which individuals are presumed to be agents of their behavior rather than mere conduits or mediators of influences funneling into their cognitive processes from current and previous external sources. The reader will not find the subjects of this volume described as *responding* to antecedent stimuli or related environmental inputs, but as *telosponding* based upon precedently affirmed meanings that are extended into behavior intentionally.

To combine empirical data with a telic image of human behavior we must take up certain philosophical questions relating to what constitutes "proper" scientific description. Psychologists have conformed to rules of procedure on this score that no longer apply in related sciences. For ex-

ample, in the present volume I defend the use of “verbal report” as reflected in my phenomenological explication of the data, and I show why the distinction between S–R and R–R lawfulness is fraught with outmoded scientific presumptions. The reader is made familiar with the vital role causation theory plays in scientific description and how a final-cause or teleological explanation of human behavior in no way violates the fundamental need for scientific validation. Empirical scaling devices are given a phenomenal examination in terms of the idiographic understanding gleaned of the men who answered such “objective” test items, and a humanistic explanation of why these scales predict overt behavior is advanced. Logical learning theory, the conceptual framework within which the data of this volume are encompassed, is presented in outline form in Chapter 2. A detailed glossary of terms taken from this telic theory of behavior as well as from the philosophical questions I have mentioned is provided for the reader at the end of the volume.

The basic data of the longitudinal study involve personal interviews and independent personality measures drawn from objective and projective tests. The personal interviews were broken down and coded according to nine *life themes* for each of the 8 years studied. The personality scales were administered at the outset and close of this 8-year period, which covered the chronological years of roughly 23–24 through 36–37 for young men of the sample. I was to find that the marital–familial and financial–acquisitive life themes were the predominant focus of life investment for *all* subjects, regardless of personality predilection. But there were also several interesting findings relating personality to life style on the nine themes, a sampling of which now follows:

- Men who invest on the *occupational* life theme reflect personalities in which there is a desire to get things underway, to “open up” the task, whereas the less involved men were those who like to “close” tasks, to see a job through to its conclusion.
- On the *ego-functional* life theme, men who are self-developers do not engage in such behavior out of a desire to correct personality deficiencies as much as they are continuing a life-long pattern of improvement, of getting “even better.”
- Men who invest themselves on the *financial–acquisitive* life theme tend to equate money with power and success on the job, rather than with a reward for a job “well done.”
- Involvement on the *locale–residential* life theme relates as much to the people one identifies with in various places as it does to the matter of region (climate, etc.) per se.

- Men who are invested on the *marital–familial* life theme are just as autonomous and oriented to leadership behaviors as men who find satisfaction on the job. This was the one theme that entered into all of the life-theme clusters, suggesting that it represents the core pre-occupation of men during this period of young adulthood.
- Rather than being dependent in personality, men who continued to involve themselves on the *parental–familial* life theme were intelligent, self-confident, and prone to be leaders.
- Being involved on the *religious–humanism* life theme is one of the clearest indicants that a man would be well adjusted in personality.
- Finally, men oriented to the *service* life theme seem to take on all types of personality patterns, ranging from effective leaders to affiliative, energetic followers. This life theme proved to be the least active one of the study.

In a previous report I had found a clustering of life themes that suggested an *enlarging* versus an *enfolding* life-style among our subjects. This distinction was based on impressions drawn from a limited sample, but in the present study I obtained clear support for the two life-styles in the cluster analysis. Enlargers move outward to seek investments on the job and personal improvement through self-development; they tend to be successful on the job, reaching middle-management positions more readily than their counterparts. Enfolders invest themselves in marital–parental–familial, and religious activities. I was to learn in the present analysis that this contrasting difference in life-style was *not* due to the enlargers having a stronger personality or being more intelligent (IQ). Enfolders were by all measurements equal to the enlargers in potential for successful living. They simply had opted for a different realm within which to enact their lives. There were socioeconomic differences in the enlarging versus enfolding life-styles. Men who had attended college before the study began, and who were therefore more likely to have come from middle-class families, were more likely to be enlargers than men who were not college graduates at the outset (though they might have earned college degrees later through evening school attendance).

The present volume consists of two parts. Part I (the first six chapters) deals with background considerations, including the basic research design, instrumentation, and also the broader implications of scientific description and theoretical analysis of methodological observations in the context of empirical proof. The nonprofessional reader may find certain aspects of the first six chapters difficult, but there is no real need to follow every point under consideration. Judicious scan reading at difficult

points is surely called for. Part II then reviews the basic findings of the longitudinal investigation. Professional colleagues and students of psychology will find that I place as much emphasis on theoretical as on methodological considerations. Indeed, without the philosophical-theoretical preparation of Part I, the traditional research psychologist might find that I go beyond the permissible bounds of data presentation and analysis.

It is my hope that this volume will find its way into psychology courses on methodology as an example of a liberal approach to the empirical study of people. It is liberal in the sense that it embodies the view widely accepted in modern science that facts *never* "speak for themselves." Hence, I insist on using the theoretical language that guided my original approach to the devising of the life theme analysis. This language departs dramatically from the reigning paradigm of modern psychology. I also apply this altered view of the human being to personality devices and the theory of scaling on which they stand. I would like to believe that in reading this volume a student would be challenged to think through what it can mean to say that empirical studies of people produce "research findings" on personality that can be conveyed to others meaningfully, with objective understanding, and that my efforts to keep the humanity of the person before the reader at all times will be appreciated. I strongly believe that it is not necessary to change people into quasi-computers or information-processing machines in order to conduct empirical research on them. By keeping our method of doing science separate and distinct from our theory under test we can capture teleological behaviors in a rigorous manner. This has been the guiding assumption I have followed over the past generation of effort, culminating in the present volume.

## Acknowledgments

There are many people deserving of thanks for their work on different aspects of the Management Progress Study, from which I drew my sample of subjects. First and foremost, I would like to thank Douglas W. Bray for his support and encouragement all these years. His monumental contribution to the study of adult human behavior assures him a place in the history books of psychology. He is also a great human being, and a longtime friend to whom I owe many of my life satisfactions. Walter Katkovsky also deserves my special thanks for the supportive friendship he has given to me over the years in our work on the Management Progress Study. I would like to thank Jack A. Meacham for his constructive suggestions in the drafting of the manuscript. My wife, Lenora S. Rychlak, performed in her customary role as the executive editor of our writing team, and I owe so much to her expertise and hard work. There have been many individuals involved in collection and collation of the data on which the present volume is based. I would like to thank the following: Ronald Aarons, Warren D. Bachelis, Robert C. Benfari, Richard J. Campbell, H. Weston Clarke, Jr., C. Keith Connors, Albertus Derks, Richard Dubanski, William S. Felton, Gary Garrison, Donald L. Grant, Robert K. Greenleaf, John Hemphill, Ann Howard, John Paul McKinney, Joel Moses, Murray S. Plissner, Peter Purpura, Donald L. Robinson, Gilbert Rothman, and Marvin B. Rytting. There are countless others I could mention by name, including those tremendously

cooperative men who year upon year had to put up with our assessment devices and personal interviews as subjects in the Management Progress Study. Finally, the management and related personnel of the participating operating companies in the Bell System as well as American Telephone and Telegraph Headquarters deserve my unqualified expression of gratitude for making it possible to complete this research.

# 1

## The Longitudinal Study and Its Historical Setting

### The Management Progress Study

This volume takes up one of the many aspects of the Management Progress Study, a developmental examination of the lives of over 400 young men who had either entered the Bell Telephone System directly out of college or who had reached the first level of management as noncollege employees. They came from different areas of the country and were studied in successive years as subgroups in terms of the regional telephone companies for which they worked. Although there is currently research underway on people in minority groups and women in the Bell System management, at the time when the present research sample was being identified there were only white men available for inclusion in the basic sample.

Robert K. Greenleaf, Director of Management Research and Development of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, first saw the need for conducting a basic research study on the lives of young adults in managerial positions throughout the Bell System. In 1956, he successfully recruited Douglas W. Bray to undertake this long-term effort, and the study has continued ever since, yielding a harvest of data on many different facets of life-span development. It is important to appreciate that although corporate concerns such as delineating the predictive indices of career success were of interest, the Management Progress Study was *not* framed as a study of the work environment or job progression per se. It was framed, rather, as a disinterested research project in which a sample of young, white men were to be followed as they lived out their lives having but one thing in common—that is, they all happened to be working in the same large business enterprise.

The present report is concerned with what might be called Step One of the Management Progress Study. Each subject began this phase by being put through a 3.5-day "assessment center" in which he was extensively appraised. This evaluation procedure was conducted at a convenient hotel in the region, and subjects often stayed on the premises over the evaluation period. Patterned after *Assessment of Men* (OSSAS, 1948), the assessment center method has since grown into a widely used tool for appraising various skills and talents of human beings (Barron, 1969; Holt & Luborsky, 1958; Kelly & Fiske, 1951; see Bray, 1976 for a complete overview of this method). At the assessment center subjects were administered ability tests, group exercises, personal interviews, and objective and projective personality scales. After the subjects had left, the assessment staff combined all information on a given man and assigned ratings to him on a series of Management Progress Study dimensions, such as primacy of work, ability to delay gratification, and need for advancement.

Following their inaugural assessment, subjects were followed for 7 years by having an in-depth personal interview with one of the assessment staff members each successive year. These interviews were conducted in a nonwork location, usually a hotel room, at a relaxed pace and ordinarily took 3 or more hours to complete. After the interview, the staff member usually had a meal with the subject and incorporated all such impressions and life commentary into a lengthy report, which was dictated and eventually transcribed. Naturally, after a few years it was possible for the interviewer to know a great deal about the subject, and thereby to deepen and enrich the storehouse of life information on him as successive contacts took place. When 8 years had passed (initial assessment plus 7 follow-up years), a subject was once again put through a 3.5-day evaluation, in which all of the appraisal devices used initially were readministered. This essentially "test-retest" design permitted us to relate the contents of the yearly personal interviews to the levels of skill, managerial performance, and patterns of personality noted at both assessment centers. There are several other aspects to the total study design, such as interviews held with supervisors, but for present purposes it is sufficient to focus only on that "slice" of the Management Progress Study relating to the personal interviews and the two assessment centers.

There were 422 young men who actually began the study at initial assessment. By reassessment this number had dropped to 311 because of subjects leaving the Bell System for one reason or another. This represented our basic sample ( $N = 311$ ). Of this latter figure, 167 subjects (54%) were newly hired college graduates and 144 were noncollege men

when they were hired some years before we first saw them. These noncollege men had worked their way up through the Craft's level to achieve a first-level position in management. Some of these noncollege men eventually earned college degrees through night school attendance. However, we have not taken these few "late born" degrees into consideration in assigning experimental conditions. The college-noncollege breakdown is thus an "at time of hiring" distinction. The major focus in this report is on the relationship between life-style and personality, with regional and educational differences looked at in only a limited fashion.

At the time of our study, American Telephone and Telegraph was the holding company for the Bell System, and though its personnel designed and carried out the Management Progress Study they could only do so with the cooperation of various telephone companies within the total system. In this project these will be referred to as operating companies. Six companies agreed to participate, and their personnel were entered into the sampling on 5 successive years beginning in 1956 and ending in 1960 (two of the companies were studied jointly). Hence, Step One covered the years 1956 through 1967; personal interviews were conducted with some subjects during each of these years. The last reassessment center of Step One was held in 1968. Table 1 contains the basic sample of 311 subjects, broken down by Bell System telephone company participating, years of (initial) assessment and reassessment, and educational status of the participants. Men who terminated their employment either voluntarily or involuntarily before reassessment are not included in this sample.

As a demonstration, note that Table 1 reveals that 44 young college graduates entered the Michigan Telephone Company in 1956 and were immediately identified as a major subsample of the Management Progress Study. They were interviewed at the initial assessment center, put through the various assessment techniques, and then interviewed every year for 7 years. In 1964 they were put through a second assessment center. Dropping down the table to the New York company we find that 83 noncollege hires who had worked their way into management were put through assessment in 1958, interviewed yearly for 7 years, and reassessed in 1966. As a final example, note that 20 college hires and 22 noncollege hires in the Northwestern company were assessed initially in 1960, interviewed yearly for 7 years, and reassessed in 1968. As would be expected, at assessment the noncollege hires were older as a group (*Mean Chronological Age* = 29.59, *Standard Deviation* = .14) than the newly hired college graduates (*MCA* = 24.61, *SD* = 2.39).

For a detailed presentation of the assessment center, its procedures,

TABLE I

Basic Sample of Three Hundred Eleven Men, Broken Down by Company, Years of Assessment and Reassessment, and Educational Status<sup>a</sup>

| Telephone company    | Assessment year | College subjects | Noncollege subjects | Reassessment year |
|----------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Michigan             | 1956            | 44               | 0                   | 1964              |
| Chesapeake & Potomac | 1957            | 54               | 0                   | 1965              |
| New York             | 1958            | 0                | 83                  | 1966              |
| Pennsylvania         | 1959            | 28               | 39                  | 1967              |
| Northwestern         | 1960            | 20               | 22                  | 1968              |
| Mountain States      | 1960            | <u>21</u>        | <u>0</u>            | 1968              |
|                      | Totals          | 167              | + 144               | = 311             |

<sup>a</sup>The sample breakdown does not include job terminators.

and the results obtained in light of these techniques, the reader is referred to Bray, Campbell, and Grant's (1974) *Formative Years in Business: A Long-Term AT&T Study of Managerial Lives*. This volume approaches the Management Progress Study data from the point of view of job progress, changes in managerial abilities, and the role of job attitudes on performance. Only the college hires are included in the data analyses. The motivations of subjects who remained with the Bell System were contrasted with those who left. Personality dimensions were considered in light of the test-retest measures taken on various scales at the two assessment centers, but, unlike the procedure that will be followed in this book, they were not systematically related to the life history contents of the personal interviews. The personal interview data *were* related to job success, and an interesting contrast in life-style (enlarging versus enfolding) was delineated in light of this analysis (Rychlak, 1974). We shall return to this in Chapter 17.

### Time Setting of the Study

Though it is common for certain psychological investigations to result in data that are unrelated to the times in which they are gathered, it seems questionable whether such a removed and "antiseptic" approach to the study of personality can be justified. Riegel and Meacham (1976) have observed that for too long psychologists have been studying the person as if he or she "were developing in a socio-historical vacuum [p. vii]." Though we are willing to "control for" social class and/or educational level in most of our studies, rarely do we consider the historical

“moment” within which we conduct our research. It would seem that personality and life-style would be especially sensitive to such ongoing “signs of the times.” At the very least, we would hold that a psychological study over time should convey to the reader of its findings as accurately as possible the essential ambience of the times during which data were accrued. Also, as will become clear in the chapters to follow, the theory of human behavior on which the present data analysis rests demands that we give consideration to what subjects premise or predicate about their lives. Hence, though we do not believe that sociohistorical forces direct behavior as if through the manipulations of a grand “reinforcement machine in the sky,” we do believe that the contents of a person’s life premises are based upon the ongoing panorama of sociohistorical *as well as* highly individualized life experiences.

Our subjects were born primarily between the years 1926 and 1933, making them “depression babies.” They matured in the context of traditional values, stressing hard work, “getting ahead,” and respect for country and community. They all had vivid memories of the World War II period. About half of the sample were either veterans or active in the reserves. Over 90% of these men had been given religious instruction in their formative years, and fully two-thirds gave a church affiliation at the outset of study. Although many of the college hires were single when they attended the initial assessment, in time all but a few of our subjects married and began a family. In sum, it would be correct to say that the young men in our sample were living fairly conventional lives over the Step One period. What were some of the historical highlights of this period?

In 1956, the year of initial data collection in Michigan, electronic devices for the recording of television programs on tape were in the “demonstration” stage. Movie queen Grace Kelly was married to Prince Ranier III of Monaco, and Albert Sabin of the University of Cincinnati announced the successful development of an oral, antipolio vaccine. Don Larson of the New York Yankees pitched the first no-hitter in world series history, which also happened to be the first major-league perfect game in 34 years. The trustees of the University of Alabama suspended the university’s first black student, Autherine Lucy, because of demonstrations by whites against her classroom attendance. The Egyptian government seized the Suez Canal. The United Nations censured the Soviets for their invasion of Hungary and issued pleas for relief aid.

Washington, D.C., was host city for the Chesapeake and Potomac assessment center in 1957. President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon were sworn in for their second term in office. The United Nations demanded that the Israelis withdraw from Egypt following their brief

armed conflict. Rudolf I. Abel was indicted by a federal grand jury on charges of spying for the Soviet Union, and anxieties were raised later in the year when the USSR announced it had successfully launched a man-made earth satellite (Sputnik). Federal troops were sent to Little Rock to enforce a "cease and desist" order, and James R. Hoffa was elected President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Althea Gibson proved to be the first black to win a Wimbledon singles title.

In 1958, assessment of the New York company got underway. That year, President Eisenhower signed the bill creating the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) to meet the Soviet challenge in outer space. A world's fair opened in Brussels as the treaty establishing the Common Market in Europe was signed. The turmoil in the Middle East continued, with Israeli bombings in Beirut, the Iraqi Monarchy being overthrown, and Jordan terminating diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic. The first scheduled transatlantic crossing by commercial jet aircraft was made, going from New York to London in 6 hours and 12 min. Pope Pius XII died and was succeeded by Pope John XXIII.

The year 1959 found the Management Progress Study picking up the Pennsylvania sample. This was the year in which Batista resigned as president of Cuba and Castro seized power. The U.S. flag gained two more stars as Alaska and Hawaii were given official statehood. Vice President Nixon and Premier Khrushchev held their celebrated "kitchen debate." The major international concerns centered on disarmament and world peace. China seemed a growing threat to peace. A Soviet space rocket hit the moon. The Taft-Hartley injunction halted the longshoremen's strike, but within days a steel strike took place. The big money quizzes on CBS television were canceled following the scandal in which it was found that contestant Charles Van Doren was being given answers before showtime.

In 1960 the Management Progress Study moved westward to pick up the Northwestern and Mountain States samples. Egypt initiated construction of the Aswan dam. Francis Gary Powers was sentenced to 10 years in a Soviet prison after his U-2 "spy plane" was shot down. The movie *Ben Hur* won an Oscar as the best picture of the year. Caryl Chessman was executed after eight stays in 12 years. United Nations peace keeping forces went to the Belgian Congo as Patrice Lumumba was named to form a government there. Several African republics received their independence. John F. Kennedy defeated Richard Nixon. For the first time in history, the Archbishop of Canterbury visited the Holy Roman Pope.

The initial assessments were now complete, and for the next 3 years

the activity of the Management Progress Study would be confined to personal interviews. In 1961 the United States terminated diplomatic and consular relations with Cuba. The National Council of Churches approved use of artificial methods of birth control in family planning. The Twenty-third Amendment to the U.S. Constitution gave Washington, D.C., residents the right to vote in national elections for the first time. Adolf Eichmann's trial opened in Jerusalem for crimes against the Jews. The Russian cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin was the first man to orbit the earth. President Kennedy assumed blame for the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba. Newton Minnow, Chairman of the U.S. Federal Communications Commission, decried the violence and mediocrity of television's "wasteland." The Peace Corps became a permanent organization, and United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld died in an airplane crash.

The year 1962 found America entering the space race with a successful orbiting of the earth by astronaut John Glenn. Gary Powers was released from a Soviet prison in exchange for convicted spy Rudolf I. Abel. The U.S. State Department confirmed that American pilots were flying combat training missions with South Vietnamese airmen over guerrilla-held regions of South Vietnam. Adolf Eichmann was found guilty of war crimes and hanged in Israel. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled six to one that reading official prayers in New York schools violated the First Amendment of the Constitution. The Cuban missile crisis was successfully resolved. U Thant was elected Secretary General of the United Nations. Sonny Liston KO'd Floyd Patterson to become heavy-weight boxing champion of the world.

In 1963 there were large "ban the bomb" demonstrations in England. The U.S. Congress passed a bill requiring equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex, and the Defense Department announced that the U.S. armed forces had been successfully racially integrated. A church was bombed in Birmingham, Alabama, and four young black girls were killed. Pope John XXIII died. Joseph M. Valachi began testimony that revealed the workings and membership of La Cosa Nostra, or the Mafia. America was severely jolted by the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas. Lyndon B. Johnson was sworn into office at Love Field, Dallas, Texas. Shortly thereafter, Jack Ruby killed Lee Harvey Oswald and the conspiracy theories regarding the Kennedy assassination were launched. Studebaker announced the end of its production of automobiles in the United States. Roger Stauback, of the U.S. Naval Academy, was named the Heisman trophy winner in collegiate football.

In 1964 the cycle of reassessment began in Detroit Michigan (see Table 1). As in all of the telephone companies, by this stage in their job experi-

ence there was a range of success across the Michigan sample. Many of the subjects had completed training and job rotation and were now on their way up the corporate ladder of promotion. Others had left the Bell System through personal decision or at the instigation of management. By reassessment many of our men were at the second level of management, which is either a job requiring broad supervisory skills, or a technical position without great managerial demands. A distinction between line and staff work is often involved here. *Line jobs* ordinarily demand more supervisory talent at the lower or middle management levels than *staff jobs* because they relate to bringing the product (telephone service) to the customer by way of craft people, face-to-face contacts with coordinates and subordinates, and so forth. Staff jobs can involve predominantly impersonal duties, such as the design of equipment, statistical projections of usage, safety studies, and so on, none of which call for excellent managerial ability. At higher management levels, of course, the successful individual must have adept managerial ability regardless of the staff versus line distinction, which ultimately breaks down in any case.

A few of the men at reassessment had achieved the third level in management. This is a *district level* position, for now the range of influence extends across a certain area (i.e., district) of the corporate regional boundaries. A District Manager has both first and second level managers under his responsibility, particularly on a line assignment, where he might be in charge of several thousand telephone outlets or the maintenance of a fleet of trucks. Some of the more successful men of the sample had been released by their company for a 2-year rotation to a staff assignment at American Telephone and Telegraph headquarters in New York. Here they conducted various studies, developed manuals of procedure, and generally acquired a broader perspective of the total Bell System than they had at the outset. The rotation to New York was prized by many of our subjects, whereas others cringed at the very thought of having to pull up roots and relocate their families in this bustling metropolitan area. It should be noted that the telephone companies of our sample generally followed a policy of rotating their management people to job assignments in various locations within their regional boundaries every few years. Most of our subjects believed that if they wanted to maximize their chances for promotion they would have to accept the moves that came their way. It followed that the man's wife had to concur in this willingness to change residences when the opportunity (or "necessity") arose.

Returning to 1964, this is the year that the New York World's Fair opened. The Twenty-fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution abol-

ished the poll tax. Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Civil rights demonstrations were held extensively across the United States, and the first Roman Catholic mass in English was celebrated in St. Louis, Missouri. The United Nations ended its 4 years of occupation in the Congo. The Johnson–Humphrey ticket defeated the Goldwater–Miller ticket in the presidential race. Jack Ruby was found guilty of murdering Lee Harvey Oswald and was sentenced to death. Cassius Clay (later Muhammed Ali) defeated Sonny Liston for the heavyweight boxing championship and the Yankees lost a seven-game world series to the Cardinals.

In 1965, when the Chesapeake & Potomac sample returned to the assessment center, the situation in Vietnam was rapidly deteriorating. In March of that year, U.S. Marines had engaged in their first skirmish with Viet Cong forces. There was also considerable civil unrest throughout the United States. The southern states had many demonstrations, and the Watts riot resulted in 35 deaths and \$200 million in property damage. The investment in NASA was paying off as *Mariner 4* returned pictures of Mars, showing it to be lifeless and pockmarked with craters. The largest blackout in history hit New York and parts of eight northeastern states and Canada.

The year 1966, in which the New York company was reassessed, was marked by civil rights unrest and riots in dozens of cities across the United States. Vietnam was also becoming an issue both in America and abroad, where U.S. policies were continually criticized and demonstrated against. The Soviets announced that two of their “space dogs” had returned to earth after 22 days in orbit. The U.S. Supreme Court voted five to four in the immensely important *Miranda* decision, which gave guarantees against self-incrimination and placed restraints on police interrogation of crime suspects. Robert Weaver, the first black person in a U.S. Cabinet, was named Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Medicare programs of health care for the elderly went into effect.

The Pennsylvania sample returned to the assessment center in 1967, a year of continuing resistance to the Vietnam war. Over 100,000 Americans demonstrated against this conflict at the United Nations. The war was escalating, with the first attack on Hanoi by U.S. bombers taking place, as well as the first offensive into the demilitarized zone (DMZ) by American marines and South Vietnamese forces. Hostilities flared again in the Middle East with the Six Days war occurring in June of that year. Racial rioting plagued several American cities, Detroit led the list of destruction with 40 dead, 2000 injured, and over \$250 million in property loss. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Stokely Carmichael were much in