

COMPANY PLANS FOR EMPLOYEE PROMOTIONS



INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS SECTION

Department of Economics and Social Relations

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

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FOREWORD

ECONOMIC conditions in recent years have caused the problems of employment stabilization and proper lay-off policy to loom large in personnel administration. Few industrial executives have had sufficient time or optimism to give sustained study to the reciprocal problem of rebuilding and enlarging their labor force. Yet the long-run efficiency of any employing unit will be determined more by its maintenance and enhancement of an effective superstructure of executive, supervisory and other key personnel than by the precise way in which lay-offs are determined. In some cases, seniority principles, which might be applicable in assuring security in continued employment, have for want of better determinants been followed in making promotions. A rapid recovery of business may well put serious strain on the supervisory levels of management, if procedures for their replacement are not planned well in advance.

It is probable that in many companies, the depression of the 1930's will leave a gap in the upward flow of supervisory and executive material for many years to come. The filling of this gap will in any case be difficult, since seasoned supervision cannot be produced by hot-house methods. However, carefully determined lines of promotion which will afford the maximum of experience in the minimum of time will serve to reduce the gap materially. Sound use of college material may likewise expedite readjustment.

Regardless of the extent or pace of business recovery, present-day problems require a degree of versatility and understanding in management which past promotional procedures have not always assured. The qualifications for foremanship or supervision have become more exacting with the increasing importance of group relations and labor legislation. To develop men who can meet these qualifications, requires a carefully planned coordination of selection, training, rating, and promotional methods.

The following report presents in brief compass an analysis of promotional programs in representative companies as a means of assisting those concerned in the formulation of industrial relations policies. As more experience accumulates, the Section will seek to broaden the basis of its analysis.

J. DOUGLAS BROWN,
Director.

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I. INTRODUCTION

THE effective balancing of security and incentive on the part of its employees has become of increasing concern to American industry. The specific industrial relations policies in force in any company determine to a considerable degree whether or not a reasonable balance between these two factors can be attained. The need for security clamors for attention and cannot be overlooked. The need for sustained incentive, however, is more elusive and can often be neglected with less immediately disastrous results. But the long-run effect of lack of incentive among an employee group may be the dry rot of lowered morale, initiative, and ambition—qualities fundamental to efficient production and to the development of progressive industrial leadership.

Company plans for employee security have taken a variety of forms. Old age annuities, sickness and accident benefits have helped the employed worker face old age or sickness with greater equanimity. Guaranteed employment, where possible, has given him the most fundamental financial protection—the assurance of a job. However, such guarantees have been rare and organized workers have attempted to devise some means of job security for themselves. They have sought legal protection against discriminatory discharge and have formulated seniority rules to assure the man longest on the job the greatest right to it. Many industrial executives have acknowledged the blind spots in management policies which caused the demand for strict seniority. None the less they are greatly concerned with the result of such rules, especially if applicable to promotions.

One executive wrote:

“...The abuse of power placed in and exercised by managers in the past was responsible for making it necessary for the problems of seniority and promotion to be dealt with more justly. However, I am fearful that as time goes on the representatives of the workers will fail to understand and appreciate the rights of management, just as the management failed to recognize, appreciate, and accord equal justice to the workers prior to 1933. By this I mean to say that seniority and promotion must be dealt with by applying the rules of reason and fairness and I am inclined to feel that the workers will not be agreeable to doing this. The ultimate result will be that incompetent men will be retained in as well as advanced to higher positions than their ability and the successful operation of the plant in which they are employed shall justify.”

Companies which have just begun to perceive the extent of the problem and which are endeavoring to solve it may gain help from a

study of two groups of companies: Those which have had definite procedures for employee progression for many years, and those which have recently developed promotional procedures as the result of seniority rules. No company of the former group, however, has a formal plan which can be said to have stood unchanged. The policy of promotion from within may have been closely adhered to throughout most of the life of the company, but procedures for carrying out the policy have had to change continually in accordance with other personnel activities and employment conditions. These companies have, however, the advantages of experience with methods of employee advancement under varying circumstances. What is perhaps even more important, their employees are likely to feel that management tries to pay a man according to his value to the company and is willing to give him a chance to develop to his full capacity. The companies which have not been sufficiently interested in providing opportunities for employee advancement may now be facing many difficult problems of job evaluation, merit rating, and supervisory training, and find that all these are made more difficult by their employees' lack of confidence in management.

A search for definite plans for employee advancement among a selected group of companies indicates that distinctly defined procedures are comparatively rare. Among one hundred companies, only approximately a dozen reported definite plans which assured employees of consideration for available jobs according to ability and experience. In a number of these companies, programs for employee development applied only to restricted groups, such as college graduate "trainees".

In a report on 25 companies with outstanding industrial relations programs only a few of the descriptions of company plans include mention of promotional procedures.¹ Other studies suggest that such plans are found in a larger percentage of department stores and banks.² A survey of employee promotional schemes in English industries³ shows that in England also systematic procedures for promotion are found more frequently among concerns whose employees are principally "white-collar" workers than in manufacturing. Whatever the cause, it appears that manufacturing industries which have usually been the leaders in industrial relations progress have not been greatly concerned with this aspect of employment-management relations. That industrial leaders are becoming more interested in the need for clearly

¹ C. C. Balderston, *Executive Guidance of Industrial Relations*. University of Pennsylvania Press. 1935.

² Industrial Relations Section, *Personnel Programs in Department Stores and Personnel Programs in Banks*; also *Business Week*, "Report on Personnel Policies in Banks", January 7, 1939.

³ International Congress for Scientific Management 1932. pp. 5-12.

defined procedures in employee advancement is shown by the amount of discussion on seniority and promotion.

From the employee's point of view, policies for employee promotion usually refer both to advancement to a higher job and to a salary or wage increase without a change in rank. For the purposes of this study, employee promotion has been used only in the sense of advancement to a new job or salaried position entailing greater skill or responsibility than the one previously held. The subject has been considered only in relation to personnel advancement below the higher supervisory level.

II. GENERAL PROCEDURES IN PROMOTIONAL PROGRAMS

ANY plan for employee promotions is inextricably bound up with other personnel policies. While it is important that the aims and procedures in such a plan be clearly defined, no promotional plan can exist except as a part of a broad personnel program. A few factors in particular appear to be fundamental to the development of a promotional plan. These are: (1) accurate job classifications upon which distinct lines of promotion can be built; (2) development and use of descriptive personnel records; (3) definite allocation of responsibility for selection of individuals for promotion at various job levels and training of supervisors and executives in this responsibility; (4) adequate training for every job with sufficient emphasis on development for the job ahead; and (5) plant-wide or company-wide coordination of promotional policies and procedures.

A. JOB CLASSIFICATION AND CLARIFICATION OF LINES OF PROMOTION

Certain angles of job classification are of particular significance to a promotional plan. One of these is the degree to which employees participate in the definition of jobs and are convinced of the fairness of the final rating. An important aim of the policy of promotion from within is to increase the employees' confidence in management's desire to afford them all possible opportunities for personal development. If the job ratings upon which promotional lines are based are determined wholly without the employees' participation or assent, the promotions made according to such a schedule may create as much discontent as goodwill.

Another point to be considered is the effect of the pricing of a job upon the complex interrelationship of reward for improved performance and incentive for promotion. The possibility of promotion out of a job may definitely influence the employees' attitude towards wage increases in the same job. If increasing proficiency and indications of developing abilities can be rewarded by promotion, the price range can be more narrow. If promotions are rarely made from a particular job, and if the men best fitted for the job are not qualified for continued advancement, then the chief incentive for increased effort and interest must lie in an opportunity to earn more or to gain some recognition for good work on the same job. Recognizing the "dead-end" jobs and the plateaus in promotional lines is an important factor in satisfactory job rating as well as in employee selection and advancement. The

companies which are trying to build a promotional program upon a sound job classification have found that differentials for any one job must be so related to differentials between jobs that men of ability have an incentive to prepare for the higher job and to accept greater responsibility.

A majority of the companies studied accept job classification as sufficient delineation of the logical routes for advancement and base their selection for promotions entirely upon job classes. Other companies have drawn more specific promotional charts which are followed both in upgradings and downgradings.

Practices in selection for advancement based on job and salary classification are shown in the following excerpts from descriptions of company plans:

"One of the most effective tests of any salary administration plan is how it operates with respect to promotions and transfers. It is our policy to train our personnel for jobs ahead, to fill vacancies from within the organization whenever a qualified candidate can be found and to promote the best qualified individual whether or not he is in the particular department in which the vacancy occurs. The salary administration plan and the lines of promotion based on it make this possible, because advancement is not limited to a departmental basis but is company-wide. When an opportunity occurs, ordinarily all those, regardless of department, in positions immediately below the grade at which the open job is rated are considered for promotion. An employee at or near the maximum of his present position is given very careful consideration, but he is never recommended for promotion unless he is as well qualified as any other candidate. If employees who possess proper qualifications and who are acceptable to the manager of the department involved are not found in this group, the second grade below is then considered. It has been our experience that it is seldom desirable to go further down the line than this to make most promotions".¹

"The policy of promotion from within is applicable to all employee groups. In the wage earners classification there are definite lines of promotion in operating, maintenance, and research divisions. Practically all first class operators are developed within the company from groups hired as common laborers or apprentices. Prospects for supervisory jobs are brought in especially in the college trainees group. They are, however, started down the line and must compete with the regular operators for promotion. Any outstandingly good workman who has been hired "at the gate" and developed to an assistant or second or first class operator is given the same privileges for special training as the college graduates. The outstandingly good are determined through personal interviews and merit rating."

¹ Robert I. Marshall. "A salary plan in operation". *Personnel*, February, 1938. p. 112.

"Definitely, promotional policies in all plants and offices, so far as the salary group is concerned, are correlated through our Wage and Salary Administration Committee. You will be interested, we believe, in the mechanism we maintain for bringing together the names of all persons, wherever located in the Company, who fill a particular job. That is, we maintain a list, and keep it posted daily to changes, that reveals at a glance all persons who are, let us say, Superintendents, General Foremen, Office Engineers, etc., even on down to the Office Boy classification and on up to Division Managers or Officers.

"The importance of this is that when a position is to be filled it is possible at a glance to review all those whose present positions would seem to be a logical preparation and do this with the full assurance that nobody is being overlooked or left out of consideration."

The above descriptions of promotional procedures are typical of the plans which are based upon job classification, but which do not include specific promotional charts. Such charts other than as a part of job classification, are a comparatively new development and are usually drawn up in conformity with the provisions of a labor agreement. The primary purpose of these charts is to simplify and clarify the working of seniority rulings both in upgradings and downgradings. One agreement provides:

"(24) Promotion Schedule. A satisfactory promotion schedule shall be set up in each department by the Management of the plant, showing the steps of promotion employes will follow providing they are qualified in accord with the foregoing paragraphs.

"(26) Employment office shall keep records of employes available for work in all departments, due to service with the Company or to outside experience. A card shall be kept of each employe setting forth his qualifications.

"(27) When a vacancy occurs it shall be the duty of the person responsible for filling the vacancy to secure from the Employment Office a list of available applicants or candidates. The oldest employe in point of service shall have first consideration, but in the event this employe cannot qualify, he shall be notified as to the reason for his not being placed or being retained on the job".

The departmental promotional chart involves not only the ranking of jobs and the determination of the vertical relationships between classes of jobs but also the determination of the most practical lines of transfer, promotion and demotion both vertically and horizontally.¹

The companies which have undertaken the development of these charts have found it an arduous and complicated business. In general, they approve of the resulting clarification of lines of employment changes. The question sometimes raised is whether seniority, working through these carefully drawn promotional lines, may not result in an unhealthy

¹ For an example of promotional charts see Appendix A, page 38.

lack of elasticity in personnel movements. One industrial relations executive who recognizes this danger is, nevertheless, optimistic about the result of the development of promotional charts. He feels that the requirement of strict adherence to them will be modified in later agreements. In the meantime, it seems to him, his company has gained in management efficiency and increased employee good-will through improved job rating and the establishment of logical lines of upgrading and downgrading.¹

B. SELECTION OF INDIVIDUALS FOR PROMOTION

Except in the companies which adhere to strict seniority in promotions, the final decision as to the choice of the individual to be promoted depends on the judgment of a few people. Even working under seniority agreements, management still has the responsibility for decision. Most labor agreements mention both seniority *and competency* as factors to be considered. A few companies accept satisfactory performance on the lower job as sufficient indication of ability to handle the next higher job. The predominating opinion is, however, that management should keep the privilege of determining fitness for promotion and must also accept its responsibility for defining fitness. Organized employees for the most part do not question management's right to select. It appears, however, that they would like to participate in the determination of the factors upon which the foreman or superintendent or personnel director recommends and chooses and rejects. They also want the right to appeal against promotions which seem not to have been made according to the accepted standards.²

1. *Personnel Records*

a. Scope of records

Experience indicates that the most useful tools in developing a satisfactory promotional system are adequate personnel records. The particular records which seem to be effective aids in determining promotions are concise card summaries of information on each employee, and job ability or occupational files. The companies which have special

¹ Job classification as well as distinct promotional charts are used as a basis both for upgradings and down gradings. While the problems of demotion and lay-off involve quite different factors from those of promotion, the former do, in the long run, have a definite effect upon the group from which promotions must be made. The few companies which have well-defined job classification and personnel procedures have found that these have been just as effective aids in determining demotions and lay-offs as in selecting individuals for promotion. A commonly-expressed opinion was that neither promotions nor demotions could be anything but haphazard except as they were based on a careful classification and ranking of all jobs.

² For a fuller discussion of unions' attitudes towards seniority and promotion, see Industrial Relations Section, *The Seniority Principle in Union-Management Relations*. 1939.

FIGURE I

NW 533-G (12-37)

EMPLOYEE PLACEMENT RECORD

NEW EMPLOYEE TO BE INTERVIEWED	FORMER SUPERVISOR				NO. YEARS IN PRESENT DEPT.	NO. YEARS ON PRESENT WORK	PHYSICAL RESTRICTION CASE
	GROUP CH.	SECT. CH.	ASS'T. DEPT. CH.	HIGHER			
NAME					NO. E-	DEPT.	
BIRTH DATE	SERVICE DATE		MARITAL STATUS	HEIGHT		WEIGHT	
OCCUPATION			OCC. NO.	DATE GRADE CHGD.	GRADE	RATE	
PRESENT							
HIGHEST SINCE 1-1-30				X X X X			
FORMAL /SCHOOLING (SHOW YEARS OR DEGREE)		GRADE	HIGH OR TECHNICAL	COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY			
SUBSEQUENT TRAINING							
OUTSIDE EXPERIENCE							
PHYSICAL DISABILITY				RESTRICTIONS			
GENERAL PHYSICAL APPEARANCE					COMMENTS		
RATINGS: -	EMPLOYEE'S OUTPUT MEASUREMENT	JOB VALUE SCORE	RELATIVE POSITION IN GROUP RATED	SUPERVISORY POSSIBILITIES SCORE	ANALYST'S RATING		
			OF				

promotional training groups usually also have a separate record system for each of these groups—apprentices, understudies, and college graduate “trainees”.

The usual “employee service record” is a one-card summary of the facts about an employee which in any way affect his relationship to the company. In addition to such basic information as name, address, date and place of birth, citizenship and marital status, the card may include a record of occupational experience outside the company, jobs with the company, education, production, earnings, attendance, and personnel rating. Figure 1 is an example of one of the most compact of these forms. Among the uses for this card which the company cites are:

“1. Checking regrades and transfers on employees promoted, to determine if line organizations are, in all cases, selecting the best man for the job. For this purpose, use is made of information concerning operators’ service with the Company, length of time on present occupation and grade, rate, age, height and weight, output measurement, job value score, position in group, etc. . . .

“4. Selecting candidates for openings of special nature such as inspectors, plant trades helpers and apprentices, screw machine trainees, relay adjusters, etc., where candidates for upgrading are not available within the department. In making these selections, practically all information on the card is used including, education, subsequent training and outside experience. . . .”

b. Ability rating

Most of the personnel record forms used by the companies studied contain space for periodic reports on ability rating, and most of these companies have established some form of regular appraisal of the employee’s effectiveness on his job. The emphasis on rating and the particular form of rating system vary from company to company, and even from plant to plant within one company. A few personnel officers are of the opinion that rating, in its present form, is of little value. Most of the executives interviewed, however, feel that it can be made a useful supplement to a man’s record on the job. One development in integrated employee records and supervision is going forward on the theory that the exact definition of job standards makes a man’s record on the job and his supervisor’s rating of him one and the same thing.

In most companies, the form of rating based on one man’s opinion of another’s qualifications and personality traits seems to be on trial. One plant personnel committee concluded:

“Fundamentally, the purpose of all methods should be one; the improvement of the man. . . . The committee considered the many ideas and methods and has discarded the idea of formal rating. . . . The proposed method [foreman’s reports based on regular interviews with employees] removes the worry of exact definition of attributes, removing not only the danger of inequalities from

this source, but also making the method simpler for all types of foremen. Every good foreman, regardless of education, can give a very clear estimate of the general worth of all his men."

Other companies are trying to develop employee rating based on standards which can be judged objectively. The following excerpt from a recent report shows the new approach one company is making towards the problem of determining an individual's proficiency through impersonal, objective measurements:

"Rating spread very rapidly throughout industry and a large number of corporations have some system today. An analysis of these plans indicates detailed study and consideration of personality traits and a decided absence of any measurement of actual performance. It has become apparent that the reason for this omission in respect to performance is due to the fact that conditions of good performance have not been clarified or established. . . .

"Factors for measuring performance can be definitely established so that they eliminate the element of human judgment. Standards can be so defined that it can be determined that results either meet or do not meet them. It is a question of facts and figures, and all individuals would come to the same answer. Personal traits and characteristics are a different matter because no two men will arrive at the same conclusion, regardless of what the measurement may be. . . .

"In view of the chance of error in human judgment in measuring personal characteristics, it seems unfair to record such judgments. . . .

"As a result of these conclusions, the following procedure is rapidly being adopted: analyzing an individual's present performance and comparing it with the standards of performance that have been established for his job, otherwise known as Individual Performance Analysis."

The actual weight given to personnel rating in promotions varies greatly. In most cases, however, an estimate of an individual's competency is based not only on personnel rating reports but also on a complete record of a man's training, experience, relative effectiveness on the different jobs he has filled, and any other data which are pertinent to the question as to his ability to handle a bigger job. Personnel records are essential to this evaluation, and almost every company attempting to develop definite promotional systems seems to have found it necessary to improve its system of personnel records.

2. Responsibility for Selection for Promotion

a. Below the supervisory level

Two extremes appear in the procedures in the choice of individuals for promotion below the supervisory level. On the one hand are the companies guided by agreements with strict seniority provisions which determine the order of promotions and demotions within the operating depart-

ments. Seniority is the controlling factor if the man of longest service is qualified. The test for qualification is a try-out on the job. On the other hand are the companies which give practically unrestricted control to the foreman in all promotions within his section. Most of the companies with well-defined promotional policies are between these two extremes. They have not accepted strict seniority for promotions, but they do consider length of service an important factor. Moreover they have established specific methods in developing the foreman's judgment and maintain checks on the soundness of his selections.

From the point of view both of management and employees, it is essential that the decision of the foreman be based on an honest and intelligent consideration of all the factors involved. Considering a promotional plan both as a device for determining and using employee ability most effectively for the good of the company and at the same time as a method of gaining the goodwill and cooperation of the employees, the foreman's part is of immeasurable consequence. It is difficult to separate specific items which are checks on the foreman's control of selection from other items which are principally attempts to develop his judgment. Definitely among the checks are the company-wide policies expressed in standard practices, the required approval of the promotion by a personnel supervisor or line executive, and the right of employees to appeal against the move. Yet these practices are all excellent means of helping the foremen develop standards upon which to base his decisions. Broader foreman training, particularly the regular departmental conference, facilitates satisfactory promotions to the extent to which it improves the managerial ability and judgment of the foreman.

The companies which have issued standard practice bulletins covering promotional procedures outline the guiding rules both for intra- and interdepartmental transfers.¹ In companies without such standard instructions, a common ruling is that promotions and transfers shall be approved by the personnel department. This encourages the supervisors to make use of the available personnel records and discourages decisions based on personal bias. A number of industrial relations executives have stated, however, that, in practice, this ruling often breaks down, and promotions within a department are frequently reported to the personnel office after the move. If there are no complaints against the foreman's decision, management assumes that it is satisfactory.

In cases of interdepartmental promotion, the personnel department invariably plays a much more active part. The usual procedure is recommendation of several candidates by the employment office and

¹ See Appendix B, page 41.

selection from these by the foreman. The responsibility for calling the supervisor's attention to the most eligible candidates rests with the employment manager. The responsibility for *accepting* employees on upgrading assignments is vested entirely in the supervisors.

b. Into the supervisory group

Labor organizations appear not to question management's right to choose the individuals who shall be promoted into the supervisory class, and seniority clauses rarely apply to this move. Nevertheless the promotions at this level may have a great influence on employees' attitudes towards management's promotional policies. Because openings in this class are not frequent, and because they mark the first step from a wage earner to a "boss", they are likely to be of interest to all the employees affected. From whatever aspect promotions are considered, as a reward or incentive to employees or as a selection of workers best qualified to accept the responsibilities of management, selections for upgrading into the supervisory group are extremely important.

The best practices in the selection of a foreman include consultation between the next higher supervisor, the department head, and a member of the employment department. Assistants to the foreman or operating men who have substituted in supervisory jobs usually comprise the group from which the selection is made. Their full employee record, including background training and evidences of leadership ability, is considered in making the selection. Final decision rests with a line executive, usually the department head.

The greatest weaknesses in the procedures for promotion into the supervisory group appear in the level of jobs just below the foreman. These jobs—group leader, section boss, assistant to the foreman—may receive no more attention than other operating jobs. Only a few companies are giving the same care to selection for promotion to sub-supervisory jobs as to the foreman's position. They recognize that these assistants to a foreman are an important link between management and workers and that the future foremen will be of no higher quality than the best of the present assistants. For the selection of an assistant foreman or group leader, they require consultation with the personnel department and make the decision the responsibility of the department head. It is at this first level of supervision that a number of companies try to integrate their use of college graduates and their selection of wage earners for advancement beyond the labor group. Both selection and training are considered in relation to the increasing need for foremen who can assume the responsibilities of management.

C. COORDINATION AND SUPERVISION OF THE PROGRAM

Although weaknesses in line decision on intra- and interdepartmental promotions are often pointed out, none of the companies studied has suggested that responsibility in this matter be taken away from the foremen or higher line supervisors. The problem, rather, seems to be one of developing a greater interest in more careful and impartial selection for promotion and of using staff assistance more effectively in standardizing policies and procedures.

In all of the companies reporting, the chief coordinating agent of the promotional plan is the headquarters industrial relations department, working directly through the line organization and indirectly through the plant personnel departments. Principally the main industrial relations officer helps to formulate policies, draws up and distributes standard instructions, and maintains central personnel records including number and type of upgradings. This office rarely participates directly in discussion of personnel moves below the supervisory level, except in the case of college graduate "trainees". Usually the members of such a training group are selected by someone from the central personnel office and often that office maintains close supervision of their progress throughout the training period. Beyond this particular group, the headquarters industrial relations department is likely to take part only in interplant transfers and promotions of technicians and supervisors.

The plant personnel office, on the other hand, usually participates in all transfers and promotions within the plant. This may be only an *ex post facto* approval of advancements made within a department, or it may be definite consultation before each promotion. The latter is likely to be the case when promotional procedures are clearly outlined. The line supervisor or foreman is expected to consult the personnel records which are maintained in the employment office, and to discuss the contemplated change with the employment manager or personnel director. The employment manager acts largely in an advisory capacity—recommending and suggesting eligible candidates for promotion. The responsibility for selection rests with the line supervisor. It has been pointed out, however, that if the personnel office is to help keep practices up to the established standards, it may have to be able at times to exert a certain degree of authority through a higher line executive. Thus if a foreman or department head insists on promoting someone whom the employment manager considers not qualified, or if a foreman does not want an able worker to be promoted out of his department, the personnel director may discuss the case with the plant manager. In a few companies, appeals on such matters are taken to the chief in-

dustrial relations officer. One executive stated that such cases were infrequent in the plants in which promotional policies were clearly understood by the supervisors, and where foremen recognized that they themselves were rated according to their ability to develop men as well as on their production records. Appeals against the choice for promotion by the union representative are handled through the regular grievance procedure.

It is evident that the chief aim of the personnel staff in promotions is to help top management formulate a sound and workable policy and to strengthen line supervisors in making promotions in harmony with the company's policies. In every employee upgrading, adequate personnel records and consultation between the person responsible for the selection, the employment or personnel supervisor, and at least one higher line executive are considered essential devices to help supervisors gain a satisfactory basis for judgment. Only thus can the selection of the employee best fitted for the higher job be assured. With such definite checks established by management and the additional right of employees to take up as a grievance any promotion they may consider unfair, a company is likely to gain the greatest incentive value from its promotional policies.

III. TRAINING FOR PROMOTION

ADEQUATE records and careful selection reveal the employees who are capable of progressing to positions requiring greater skill or greater responsibility. Helping the employee develop his innate abilities and training him for specific jobs are also essential parts of a promotional plan. Practically all forms of industrial training are found to have some relationship to a program of promotion from within. General educational courses within the company or financial encouragement for outside courses both involve a preliminary selection of employees who are likely "promotional timber". Training through coordinated job progression and special courses, such as is given to college graduates, is based upon an even more specific selection of men who may develop executive ability. Instruction on the job, whether it be in a lower operating grade or in the supervisory class, determines to a considerable extent a man's efficiency on the present job, and thus affects his chances of being considered for the job ahead. Training one man for a variety of skilled or semi-skilled jobs is usually undertaken primarily to stabilize employment. Incidentally it may be an important item in promotions both by developing previously unrecognized abilities and by preparing the men for jobs requiring greater skill.

Most of the companies with well-defined promotional policies offer opportunities for taking general educational courses, have special training for selected groups, and train the individual on the job. The following discussion summarizes briefly the various types of company training which are most closely related to the development and promotion of employees.

A. GENERAL COURSES FOR EMPLOYEE DEVELOPMENT

The developmental courses available to employees of the companies studied varied from special classes for small groups within the company to arrangements for refunds on a wide range of outside courses. A typical statement of the purposes of such courses is "to develop the abilities and broaden the outlook of the members of our organization to the end that it will be more productive". The courses given within the company are more likely to be specifically connected with job requirements than the courses on which tuition refunds are granted. However, in a few large companies, a number of cultural courses as well as a great variety of subjects more closely related to occupations are offered by an employees' club or company-supported evening school.

The report on one company's evening school stated:

"As in the past, the majority of courses were closely related to the employees' occupations, and were those which promised most to benefit the employees in their occupations. It has been a policy of the school during both terms to promote courses of this character since it is felt that they operate to the maximum mutual benefit of the employee and the Company. . . .

"It has been our observation that in most cases the courses now given are too short to provide a very sound working knowledge of the subject matter. Therefore, if activity is sufficient in the future to warrant operation of the evening school, we would like to extend and intensify, on an experimental basis, the training in most of the subjects, with the objective that certificates awarded for such training will signify a standard of achievement sufficient to qualify recipients for various occupations in the plant, such as typist, clerk, stenographer, etc. At present it cannot be said that the certificates so qualify the students, although outstanding students have been able, in a great many cases, to accept upgradings partially because of training received in the evening school".

The policy of refunding tuition for accredited educational work done by employees is not widespread, but has been adopted by a number of companies who are giving all possible encouragement to employee preparation for advancement. In all of these plans, refunds are made only for completed courses which have been taken with the approval of the personnel department. This permits the company to decide whether or not the employee will profit by the course, and whether it is sufficiently related to his present or possible future occupation to justify the expenditure.

The company's interest in all of the general vocational or cultural courses taken by its employees is based on the premise that such continued education helps the employee do his present work more effectively, gives him a broader background, and, in some cases, directly prepares him for promotion. The degree to which the training is a specific aid to advancement varies according to the course and the opportunities in the company. However in all companies with definite promotional plans, the record of such training is entered on the employee's progress card and is an item in his favor when upgradings are being made.

B. TRAINING OF SELECTED GROUPS

1. *Apprentices and Special Courses for High School Graduates*

The importance given to apprentice training varies greatly from company to company and depends to a considerable extent on the need for skilled craftsmen. In a majority of the companies studied, the number of apprentices is not large and their training is usually limited to progressive development in maintenance jobs. In other companies

where mechanical skills are more important to operations, being taken on as an apprentice may assure a youth the chance of regular advancement in operating jobs and of being considered for promotion into the supervisory class. Reference to the possible opportunities beyond skilled labor jobs which may be open to apprentices was made in an article in the *Westinghouse Magazine* for February, 1938:

"Westinghouse is proud of its apprentices because many of our supervisors and executives started as apprentices and know the value of apprenticeship; and also because our Westinghouse boys are handling their jobs so well today that there is no doubt about the Company's being able to call on them for leadership when the need comes. . . .

"Trades training with Westinghouse is the best form of job insurance which a young man can take. Many generations of Westinghouse boys have advanced to positions of responsibility in industry by this route. . . ."¹

Several executives expressed the opinion that apprentices often are given preference in upgradings because they have been carefully selected and have had, from the beginning of their employment, special training by the foremen.

Only two of the companies studied reported special training courses, other than trades training, for high school graduates. These special programs are in the nature of business apprenticeships, and while giving the selected high school graduates training on a variety of office jobs, prepare them for more responsible positions in finance, accounting, and shipping.

It appears that apprenticeship is a much more definite factor in an employee's advancement in machine manufacturing companies than in industries in which operating jobs are principally for semi-skilled labor. However, in all of the companies in which training is closely integrated with promotional policies, the operating or maintenance employee entering the company through some special training course apparently stands a better chance than the average employee of being considered for promotion as openings occur.

2. College Graduate "Trainees"

The stated purpose of most industrial training courses for college graduates is to help these employees make the best adjustment to industry to the mutual advantage of the company and the employee. To some extent, this training is also vocational guidance. The name given to it—"Adjustment Course", or "Orientation Course"—is often an indication of this. A few companies not only permit members of this group to learn the rudiments of one division of the business but also

¹ *Westinghouse Magazine*, February, 1938. "Our youth are our future". By C. S. Coler.

facilitate their moving from operating, to research, or to sales, if their experience at work develops special interests or aptitudes not recognized in making the first placement.

The number of graduates taken into a company for special training is limited, and selection is a careful process. The usual procedure includes distribution of material describing the company and the types of work which might be of interest to the college graduate, personal interviews with interested seniors, and sometimes preliminary summer work to test the boy's interest and ability.

Some companies have encountered definite problems in developing such a program, in addition to the questions of selection and training of the individuals in the group. They have found that giving college graduates special attention and, in general, making advancement easier for them than for other employees has caused ill-feeling among ambitious employees who have not had as much education. This feeling was so pronounced among the office workers of one company that the plan was discontinued except for engineers in one operating unit. However, other companies have found it possible to avoid such a feeling of injustice by pointing out the technical qualifications necessary for certain jobs and by choosing a few outstanding employees each year to be given the same concentrated training as the college graduates. Moreover the company usually offers the special advantages and personal attention during the training period only, and thereafter requires the college graduate to compete for further promotion on the same basis as any other employee.

Another important point in planning this special promotional training is not to employ so many college graduates that they replace satisfactory non-college employees in operating or office jobs in which the college-trained person will not be satisfied for long. One company in particular stated that it had felt at times that it had more college graduates as employees than it had promotional opportunities. It is now careful not to "oversell" these opportunities and not to employ more men in the special group than can be assured of permanent work which holds some interest for them.

The specific training given the college graduate is different in every company and depends considerably upon the type of industry. Usually, however, it includes experience on a variety of jobs, and evening courses or reading assignments to increase his technical knowledge and understanding of problems directly related to his job. One company has classes for these employees in the larger operating units, but when there are only two or three of the group in an isolated plant frequent individual consultation with supervisors and department head and participation

in regular departmental conferences substitute for the class work. Throughout the period of preliminary training, management tries to find out the type of work in which each graduate has most ability and to give him the opportunity to progress along that line.

The companies which have established a training program for college graduates feel for the most part that it has been worthwhile. A number have reported that many of their younger supervisors and executives have come from this group. One company which began recruiting college graduates in 1925 reported that to date 72 per cent of all those employed have remained with the company and fill a variety of jobs in operating divisions, in research, and in sales. Another company stated that the majority of its superintendents, technical men and staff executives had been developed by way of this special program.

The preliminary selection and general supervision of the college graduate "trainees" is usually the responsibility of the training or personnel division of the industrial relations department. This company-wide coordination is necessary to facilitate interdepartmental transfers, to plan the outside courses, and to assure standard procedures in the various divisions in which the young men are placed. It is stressed, however, that it is important to have the cooperation and interest of the line executives and supervisors. In general the line executives select the particular "trainees" for their department, are responsible for the new employees' training on the job, and participate in discussions concerning the placement of these employees after their initial training.

C. TRAINING ON THE JOB

Most of the companies whose promotional plans were studied in detail report that all training, other than of apprentices, foremen and college graduates, is handled by the first-line supervisors. An outstanding exception is one company which has established an extensive system of trades training through job progression. Instruction in certain craft skills is given in a separate training shop and the whole program is supervised and coordinated by training specialists. As stated above, this type of training is undertaken primarily to facilitate employment stabilization. It may, however, definitely improve a man's chances for promotion within the upper level of operating jobs.

Except for this type of special training in a variety of skills, the development of an employee's efficiency on the job depends on the foreman and the employee himself. The effectiveness of the foreman's instruction varies with his understanding of the job and his teaching ability. Companies recognize the need for improvement in both respects. By defining standards of performance for each job and clarifying lines of

promotions, they attempt to give the foreman a basis for guiding the worker on his present job and helping him develop skills required on the next job ahead.

While job training is recognized as a definite factor in promotion at all levels, the development of employees in first-line supervisory positions is accepted by a few companies as of particular concern to management. The selection of employees for training with the college graduates is often from among the assistant foremen or group leaders. However, the total number given this opportunity is small. A few companies have adopted what seems to them a most effective method of giving these new recruits to supervision a chance to develop and the department head a chance to appraise them. Assistant-foremen, and, sometimes, group leaders are included in the regular foreman training, whether this is in the form of a special course or regular departmental conferences.

A number of executives have emphasized the need for greater attention to the development of the group of workers just on the edge of supervision. Often men have been picked for assistant foremen principally because of their superior mechanical skill. It has been pointed out, however, that if assistant foremen are eventually to become satisfactory foremen, they must have other qualifications than good mechanical ability. One vice-president wrote:

"To our mind, the development of present executive and supervisory forces is a pressing problem for industry. Our attack has been to improve, develop, enlighten, and enlarge the scope of those now in the positions rather than to rebuild with new material. Needless to say, the intensity of our work during the last year has brought to light some at the foremanship level who are at the point or beyond the limit of capacity. These will necessarily be replaced by natural process."

Many other companies are also recognizing that the present-day responsibilities of the foreman require more careful selection and a broader training for the job than has been customary in the past.

This limited survey of training programs suggests that the instruction and supervision on the job is the most important promotional training for the rank and file. Evening courses, it appears, give only slight assistance in technical proficiency. Their chief value is in bringing the employee who is eager to get ahead to the attention of management and helping the company to evaluate his intellectual capacities and interests. The technical courses offered college graduates are usually a better integrated part of a company's promotional program. However, even this type of outside study seems to be successful to the degree to which it is coordinated with training through job progression. In the long run, the effectiveness of promotional training depends primarily upon the interest and ability of the line supervisors.

IV. PUBLICITY ON PROMOTIONAL POLICIES AND OPPORTUNITIES

TWO points of view have been expressed as to the wisdom of keeping employees well-informed on the company's promotional policy and on its action in specific cases of upgrading. One attitude is that, if promotions are to be any incentive, all employees should be acquainted with the company's policy and all employees affected should know the basis for decision in each promotion. The other view is that to talk about opportunities for advancement, especially when promotions are few, is but to create dissatisfaction; that the company's fairness in selection should be revealed in action rather than in words. The majority of companies studied express the former point of view, and attempt to keep before their employees the company's policy of promotion from within, to encourage them to prepare for advancement, and to discuss with all the candidates for any job the basis for selection.

The lag that can exist between established policy and employee recognition of the policy is well illustrated by the experience of one company. This organization has long followed a policy of promotion from within, has a wide range of training activities to encourage employee growth, and maintains a central personnel record file to facilitate best selection for promotion. Yet it found recently that only 29 per cent of its workers felt that the best qualified people were chosen for advancement. From this experience it would seem that action is not enough, that, if employees are to feel they have been treated squarely, they must know management's basis for decision.

A. INFORMATION ON THE COMPANY'S PROMOTIONAL POLICY

The various channels for acquainting employees with the company's policy of promotion from within include handbooks, printed statements of labor policy, employee magazines, union agreements, and interviews with employees. No one of these means of publicity is used by all the companies. The method most commonly used is the employee handbook. The following statement is representative of the information on promotional policies given in such handbooks:

"Every opportunity for advancement is open to employees who qualify. The management defines the standards of qualification.

"Under our system of selecting men for promotion or desirable work, employees may file application with the Timekeeper for the jobs they want. Vacancies are filled, other things being equal, by these applicants."

The statement in handbooks distributed to college seniors is likely to be somewhat longer, and, in addition, the pamphlet usually describes the company's organization and suggests the departments in which men with certain special training will find most opportunity.

Statements of labor policy may contain only a broad statement such as, "To provide every possible opportunity for advancement", or describe in more detail the basis for promotion. The following is typical of these:

"...Promotion, demotion, transfer, lay off, retention in, or termination of service will be made on the basis of merit and efficiency, with regard for length of service.

"When vacancies occur employees will be given first consideration. If an employee is found to be unsuited for the duties he is assigned, an effort will be made to place him at other work for which he is better suited. Employees should be aided by training on the job and, wherever practical, should be given opportunity for obtaining a variety of experience."

Articles in employee magazines are more likely to refer indirectly to promotional opportunities. Frequently individual promotions are given as news items. In describing training programs or new rating systems, their relationship to employee advancement may be stressed. One employee newspaper has had several articles on a recently established rating plan, and included the following statement in one of them:

"Justice to the individual. . .

"We try to accomplish it in many ways, the combination of which insures that each individual employee gets a square deal, that his work obtains the recognition to which it is entitled, and that adequate means are placed at his disposal to advance himself within the Company to positions of greater responsibility at consequent higher pay just as soon as opportunity offers".

Clauses in labor agreements referring to promotion are usually in connection with seniority rules. Many of these are simply broad statements citing the factors which shall be considered in making promotions. Other agreements outline more explicitly the procedures to be followed in selecting individuals for upgrading. An example of this type of agreement is:

"5. Seniority. . .

"(a) Departmental seniority and competency shall entitle employees to first consideration for promotion as opportunity shall offer and in the manner indicated by department promotion schedule. Interplant and interdepartmental seniority is not recognized, except as hereinafter provided. When a number of employees are considered as competent for promotion, seniority shall determine. In the reduction of forces and re-employment, seniority shall determine. If disagreement exists in any case of promotion, discharge, lay-offs, or re-employment, the case may be handled as a formal complaint in the manner hereinbefore provided.

"6. Promotion Schedule. Promotion schedules will be established and posted in each department, by the management of the plant, and explained and discussed with the Industrial Relations Committee, showing the steps of promotion employees will follow, providing they are qualified in accordance with the foregoing paragraphs."

The regular interviewing of employees established in a few companies is not especially a part of a promotional plan, but has been found to help management gauge employee opinion as to promotional policies and opportunities. It is also a useful means of guiding individual employee interests into possible channels of development in the company. Other companies which have no formal system of employee interviewing discuss promotional possibilities with new employees and encourage all employees to talk over their ambitions with employment supervisors.

B. POSTING VACANCIES

Although a number of companies have stated definitely that they do not consider it wise to post vacancies, others, without any compulsion through joint agreement, feel that, whether posted or not, vacancies should be made known to interested employees and the decision discussed with each applicant. One company which posts all vacancies including those for foremen outlines its entire procedure:

"Promotions

"1. When there is a vacancy in any job up to and including foremen and the vacancy is not of a temporary nature nor due to vacations or leaves of absence nor reserved for employees undergoing special training, notice of such vacancy shall be posted on all of the bulletin boards of the department in which the vacancy occurs.

"2. Such notices shall describe the job available and shall state any special job requirements relating to age, physical condition, experience, education or other factors properly applicable to the job.

"3. Any employee may make application for the job, using such forms and following such rules of procedure as may be prescribed by the member of the Board of Directors operating the department.

"4. Recommendation for the filling of the job shall be made from among applicants, by the superintendent or head of the division of the department involved, reviewed by the Personnel Department, and the final appointment shall be made by the member of the Board of Directors operating the department. Such recommendations, review and appointment shall be based on ability, accomplishment and length of service. Where ability and accomplishment are approximately equal, length of service shall control.

"5. All applicants for the job shall be notified of the result in such manner as may be prescribed by the member of the Board of Directors operating the department".

If the jobs are not posted, the predominating opinion among the companies with promotional policies is that all employee applicants should

be given explicit information as to the qualifications required, and, if not chosen, in what way they fail to meet these qualifications. One company which gives first consideration on upgradings to employees of longest service in the next lower grade but makes the selection according to ability reported:

“There has been no evidence of any disturbance among the employees due to disappointment following interviews in which they were not successful in receiving the upgrading assignment. In general, employees have shown appreciation of the opportunity to be considered rather than any undesirable effects because they were not selected.”

Similar experience in other companies and the employees' desire for definite information on openings as shown in joint agreements would suggest that the policy of handling all promotions in an open way has employee approval. It is felt that the employees' lack of confidence in the foremen's judgment in promotion can only be overcome by the most straightforward announcements and procedures on all upgradings. One industrial relations executive stated that even where management attempts always to upgrade according to definite qualifications, nepotism or unfair discrimination may slip in at times, and one such move may destroy the good will created by a dozen sound promotions. Publicity on the company's promotional policy and fair consideration of all employee candidates for a higher job seem to be essential to the employees' understanding and approval of the policy. Management's recognition of the individual's interest in the basis of selection appears to be a most important item in maintaining employee confidence. It is evident that without this confidence, no promotional plan can serve as an incentive for greater cooperative effort.

V. EVALUATION

WHILE the broad problems involved in a consideration of incentive and security in a democratic country are of increasing interest, the more practical questions for the industrial executive are: (1) whether or not a definite promotional plan tends in the long run to make a more efficient and more successful business organization, and (2) what constructive measures can be taken in face of increasing employee demands for promotion according to seniority. Any answer to the first question requires consideration of the effect of promotional policies upon the quality of the supervisory and executive group as well as upon the *esprit de corps* of the rank and file. Both conditions are so closely related to other personnel activities and dependent upon so many other factors in management that it is impossible to state categorically that a well-qualified supervisory group and good employee morale are the result of a sound promotional plan. Yet experience definitely indicates that such a plan is a factor in maintaining the goodwill of employees and even more important in securing intelligent and competent supervision.

A. THE EFFECT OF A PROMOTIONAL PLAN ON EMPLOYEE EFFICIENCY AND MORALE

A common statement of company executives is that not more than ten per cent of manual workers are interested in promotion beyond their particular class of work. While accepting this as a fair estimate of the number of noticeably ambitious employees, other executives have pointed out the rashness of thinking the remaining ninety per cent are not affected by promotional policies. They have suggested that even a slight advancement is important to the individual, and that the group as a whole gains a better or worse opinion of management as it weighs the justness of each upgrading. If favoritism or discrimination is shown in any selection for advancement, not only the rejected candidates but the whole department is likely to call it a "dirty deal".

Confidence in management is a state of mind built up gradually as a result of many experiences. Even in a period of low business activity, normal employee attrition results in a certain number of vacancies throughout a company. When a policy of promotion from within exists, one vacancy in an upper classification may result in a half dozen upgradings. The very fact that management's policy permits this upgrading is an incentive for workers to qualify for advancement. The

incentive is increased or decreased as the workers understand and approve of the basis upon which the upgradings are made.

Since goodwill is so difficult to measure, the tests of its existence are often the negative ones of few or no complaints on promotions, and no general demand for upgrading according to strict seniority. A number of companies with definite promotional procedures have stated that they feel that their employees' understanding and approval of the policy has been a distinct factor in the prevention of unreasonable demands in seniority rules. One company which has acceded to the request for promotion according to seniority reported as follows:

"It is very difficult to estimate the extent to which a definite policy of promotion from within is an incentive to employees to put forth their best efforts in their work, but as this is the policy we have followed for some time we naturally feel that it has a definite bearing on the morale of our staff and is an incentive to the employee to do his best to qualify for the better position. However this policy has not prevented organized labor from insisting upon strict seniority rules [within the hourly-wage group], but we have reason to believe that some employees resent the strict adherence to these rules. . . .

"In those cases where we have not selected men for promotion on the basis of length of service seniority, the Workmen's Committees have invariably filed complaints, but as we do not deviate from the seniority basis without good reason, we have usually been able to present evidence that convinces the Committee of the merits of the case. So far, only one case of complaint has been submitted to arbitration, and this was decided in favor of the company."

B. THE EFFECT ON THE QUALITY OF THE EXECUTIVE GROUP

A criticism often made against a too-stringent policy of promotion from within is that it is likely to result in an unhealthy inbreeding in the supervisory and executive force. Some executives who have had experience with carefully developed promotional plans feel, on the contrary, that their best supervisors and executives are products of training within the company. They point out, however, that this satisfactory executive growth is not the automatic effect of a policy of promotion from within, but follows only from the combination of careful selection, adequate training, and sound promotions.

The following comments show the various points of view that have been expressed on this aspect of promotions:

"It has been our experience that promotion-from-within, *without the under-study program outlined above*, results in a very mediocre grade of supervision. Occasionally we were fortunate to get an outstanding man, but to most of them supervision is only a higher degree of performance on their previous occupation. They lack the breadth of viewpoint, and other inherent characteristics of management usually apparent in men who are capable of assimilating good educational background and experience."

...Company has maintained its policy of promotion from within for years and the majority of the management group have secured their positions by gradual promotion from the ranks. . . . The company must keep its right to decide who is qualified to be promoted into the supervisory group. So long as the ambitious and able are given an opportunity to undertake the same special training that is made available to college graduates, there is no likelihood of any complaint against the company's promotional policies.

"Because technical requirements have increased substantially in the — industry in the past twenty years, we have found it necessary to employ technically trained university graduates for operations and for staff divisions, but men so selected must justify promotions in competition with employees who have come up through the ranks as well as with other technical men.

"...The Industrial Relations Division, through a periodic personnel inventory, reviews the progress of men who are in training for management responsibilities and those who have distinguished themselves in junior supervisory capacities.

"...Answering the question, 'To what extent have supervisory and executive positions been filled by promotion from within?', I know of no deviation from this principle in my eleven years with the Company, unless it were some special staff job that had not previously existed and required specific training and experience."

"In the broad, the policy of our Company throughout the years has been one of promotion from within its own ranks as higher positions of responsibility have become vacant. A majority of our officers and principal employes have a long history with the Company—many of them having come in as students or apprentices at young years. This is true not only of executives, but, in not a few cases, of men who are in high technical positions.

"On the question of increase of demand for promotion according to seniority. . . It might have some effect at the first step toward supervisory work, which would be from the ranks, say, to Assistant Foreman or Group Leader.

"There is, however, no question in our minds whatever but that our Works Supervisors who come up from within the organization are those in whom we can put the greatest dependence."

It is apparent from the above and similar statements by industrial executives that developing effective supervisors and at the same time using promotions to increase incentive among the wage-earners is a continual process of careful selection for promotion from within, with sufficient infiltration of new employees qualified for promotion into the supervisory level. More and more companies are making a special effort to employ and train college graduates for management jobs. When these better educated employees are the only ones who are encouraged to prepare for advancement, there is usually some feeling of bitterness among other employees. When a plan of promotion from

within applies to all employees and upgrading in all classes is according to acceptable technical requirements, then there seems to be little criticism against the special training program for college graduates.

C. SENIORITY AND PROMOTIONS

The problems arising in connection with seniority rules undoubtedly are the principal reason for interest in the subject of promotions at a time when promotional opportunities are scarce. While many executives are reiterating the dangers to efficient management in promotion according to seniority, some have pointed out that a similar danger had already existed in haphazard selections for promotions by untrained supervisors. The experience of certain companies with joint union-management discussions of the complexities of seniority rulings and statements of union leaders suggest that, so far as promotion is concerned, the problem is primarily that of giving the worker the assurance of fair consideration for advancement. The solution of the problem of adjusting the demand for seniority to the need for developing the most able workers rests largely with management. It appears that a lack of clearly defined promotional procedures adds to the feeling of employee insecurity and resultant ill-will, and that the establishment of definite procedures helps to build up a confidence in management's fair-dealing which keeps at a minimum the demands for promotion based entirely on seniority.

Viewed as a management problem, employee demands for consideration of seniority in promotions and the company's aims in a carefully defined promotional system are not so diametrically opposed to each other as is usually presumed. Both attempt to substitute a definite system for haphazard promotions based largely on personal favoritism. A number of companies have always given as much consideration to length of service as a factor in promotions as current labor agreements with flexible seniority provisions require. These companies feel that, with competent supervision and definite standards of performance for each job, the older employee may be the most valuable worker within a limited area of jobs. They feel also that most wage-earners do not seek promotion beyond the class of work for which they are qualified. Without clearly-understood promotional procedures, employee dissatisfaction has resulted in demands for strict seniority. A promotional plan is a constructive effort to balance employee desire for job security and fair consideration for advancement with management's need for sustained efficiency and intelligent supervision.

D. CONCLUSION

Judging from the available information on experience with promotional plans, one must conclude that their major impact on the wage

earner is in increased employee confidence in management. To what degree this effects increased efficiency is difficult to say. However, industrial leaders have long recognized the influence of morale upon production, and recent experiments have shown definitely that this relationship exists. Systematic promotions also have a more direct effect upon the general efficiency of the organization by helping workers to develop to their highest capabilities, and in every level of operation fitting the man to the job.

While the influence of a sound promotional plan upon industrial productivity is important, it is perhaps not of as great concern to industry as the effect upon the quality of the supervisory group. Many companies have recognized the need of special effort to develop leaders equal to the increasingly complex problems of industry, and in an attempt to meet this need, have given particular encouragement to young college graduates. These men are largely in sales, research, statistical and other "white collar" jobs. The individuals placed in operating departments are trained "from the ground up" and may temporarily fill assistant-foremen and foremen jobs. But the indications are that, for the most part, the college graduates employed in special groups are soon placed in technical work, or advanced to higher supervisory positions. The first-line supervisors, including foremen, assistant foremen, and group leaders are apparently largely recruited from the rank and file. It is this particular area of management that seems to have been given least attention under casual promotional policies.

The solution of the problem of securing satisfactory first-line supervisors involves careful selection and continual training. Experience of certain companies indicates that effective and capable foremen are the outgrowth of job classification and sound promotions in the operating jobs, but that the most important factor is distinguishing between mechanical skill, and ability as a "boss" at the first step into supervision. Management is rarely restricted by seniority rulings governing promotions into the supervisory group. However, apparently few companies have distinctly defined the requirements for sub-foremen or have given adequate attention to their selection and training. The companies which have recognized the importance of this first level of supervision have established checks on selection for the group and attempt to train them for the full responsibilities of foremen *before* they are promoted into that class.

The current interest in seniority and its effect upon employee efficiency and the quality of management suggests that in the near future many more companies will attempt to build up definite promotional procedures. The experience of companies which have long had such a program shows that successful promotions are the result of a number of well-integrated industrial relations policies, including job classification,

adequate personnel records, and training in job requirements at all levels. With these basic programs in use, the company's next step in establishing a well-rounded promotional system is to clarify the aims and procedures in the lines of progression within all grades of work and supervision. This clarification of specific aims and methods has been found to be essential to the attainment of the two purposes of a policy of promotion from within—increased incentive for employee skill and effort, and continual development of capable supervisors and executives.

SELECTED REFERENCES

Very little printed material is available on specific promotional plans. The following references are discussions of principles and suggested best procedures. The Section will be glad to supply on request bibliographies on relevant subjects such as job classification, employee rating, training, and seniority.

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The former considers the fundamental values of a promotional plan in any organization. The latter gives the results of a survey of practices in Great Britain.

Tead, Ordway, and Henry C. Metcalf. *Personnel administration; its principles and practice.* New York. McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. 1933, (third edition, revised). 519 pp. Chapter XV "Transfer and promotion", pp. 206-216.

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APPENDIX A

PROMOTIONAL CHART: LIBBEY-OWENS-FORD GLASS COMPANY

RULES GOVERNING THE OPERATION OF THE ROSSFORD GRINDERS PROMOTION PLAN

GENERAL RULES

(A) Straight departmental seniority shall rule throughout, except as hereinafter qualified or modified.

(B) It is agreed that before an employee is eligible for consideration for promotion to any of the three highest brackets in any division on the promotion plan he must have served at least one year in the immediate lower bracket.

(C) It is agreed that any employee demoted from a higher bracket regardless of through how many brackets his departmental seniority carried him on the demotion, is eligible for recall for the first vacancy in that higher bracket. If two or more men have been demoted, the one having the most departmental seniority shall return first, and so on. However, if the demoted man is off the higher bracket job for more than a year he shall no longer be eligible to return to it except as regularly provided for in the promotion plan. The year shall start from the date of the signing of this agreement.

(D) Temporary vacancies will be taken care of by the provision of the Wage Agreement. If it is known that a vacancy will exist for more than one month it will be filled by the employee next entitled to promotion.

(E) In case of departmental shut-down regardless of duration, it is agreed that the same set-up existing at the time of the shut-down will apply upon resumption of operation.

(F) In the event production is curtailed to a one-line operation, employees who originally worked on the one-line as of December 1, 1934 will assume the same duties they held at the time. Vacancies caused by deaths, quits, discharges, etc., will be filled in the regular manner herein provided for, in the one-line setup.

(G) When a two-line operation is again resumed all employees shall go back to the same positions they held when the operation was reduced.

(H) The rule that on a demotion men shall descend only to brackets through which they have passed on the way up shall apply everywhere. In other words, "out as in".

(I) Sand. Lab., Sand Graders and Grinders operators are each separate divisions within the Grinding Department each of which carry separate seniority.

DETAIL

(1) *First Layer* vacancies will be filled by taking competent second layers by departmental seniority as provided for under Section B.

(2) *Second Layer* vacancies will be filled by taking competent third layers, matchers or first plaster mixers by departmental seniority as provided for under Section B.

(3) *Third Layer* vacancies will be filled by taking competent fourth layers by departmental seniority as provided for under Section B.

(4) *First Plaster Mixer* vacancies will be filled by taking competent fourth layers by departmental seniority as provided for under Section B.

(5) *Matcher* vacancies will be filled by the management from any qualified third layer or third turn-over men.

(6) *Transfer car operator* vacancies will be filled by taking competent layer or turn-over bolters by straight departmental seniority. Transfer car operators will be allowed to promote to the lowest bracket in the Grinding and Polishing Main-

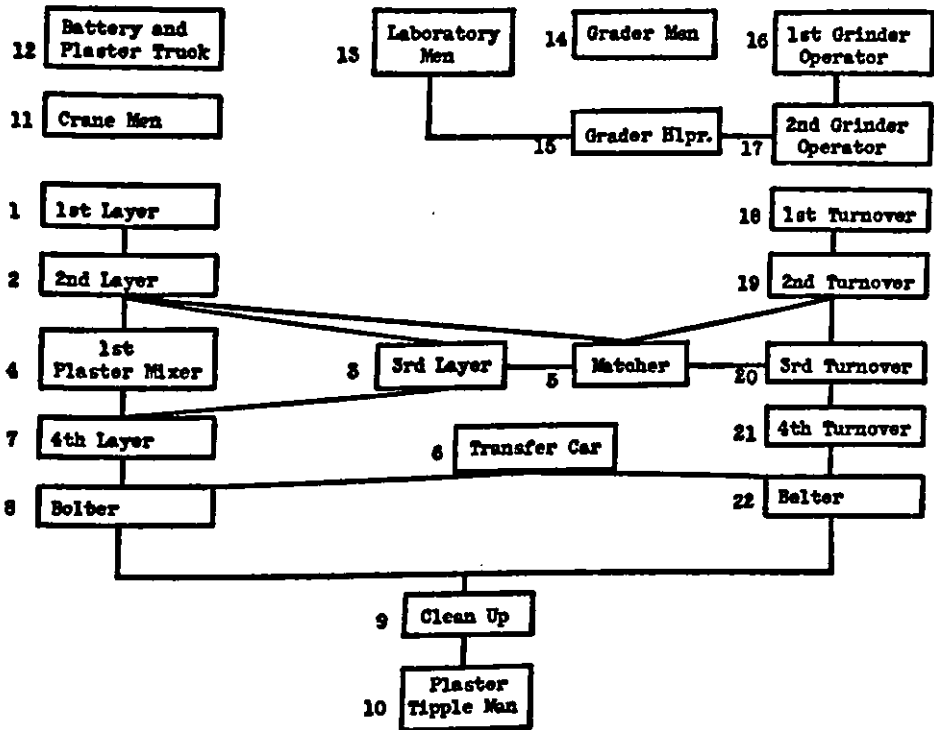


FIGURE II

tenance Department but will maintain G. and P. seniority which will allow them the right to return to the department and take their proper place according to departmental seniority when a reduction of force is necessary in the Maintenance Department.

(7) *Fourth Layer* vacancies will be filled by taking competent layer bolters by straight departmental seniority.

(8) *Bolter* vacancies will be filled by taking competent cleanup men by departmental seniority.

(9) *Cleanup men* vacancies will be filled by taking competent plaster tipple men by departmental seniority

(10) *Plaster tipple men* vacancies will be filled by the Employment Office, first from men laid off by departmental seniority, and if there are no department men laid off, then from men with plant seniority in accordance with the employment rules.

(11) *Cranemen* can be selected by the management from any bracket within the entire department, seniority not governing unless two or more employees are considered equally qualified by the management, then departmental seniority shall govern. Promotion for cranemen is to the lowest bracket in the Grinding and Polishing Repair and Maintenance Department, but they will maintain their G. and P. seniority and reserve at all times the right to return to the Grinding Department and take their proper place according to departmental seniority when a reduction of force is necessary in the Maintenance Department.

(12) *Battery truck operators and plaster truckers* will be selected by the management from any bracket within the entire department, seniority not governing unless two or more employees are considered equally qualified by the management, then departmental seniority shall govern. Promotion for battery truck operators and plaster truckers is to the lowest bracket in the Grinding and Polishing Repair and Maintenance Department, but they will maintain Grinder seniority which will allow them the right to return to the department and take their proper place according to departmental seniority when a reduction of force is necessary in the Maintenance Department.

(13) *Laboratory men* vacancies will be filled by taking the man with the greatest grader helper seniority providing he is competent. Inasmuch as the laboratory is a separate division (See I, General Rules) he receives a new seniority date upon entering the laboratory but maintains his grader helper seniority which assures him of the right to demote back through the brackets from which he came.

(14) *Grader men* vacancies will be filled by taking competent grader helpers by grader division seniority.

(15) *Grader helpers* will be selected by the management from the Grinding Department, seniority not governing unless two or more employees are considered equally qualified; then department seniority shall govern. Inasmuch as the graders are a separate division (See I, General Rules) they receive a new seniority date upon entering the graders but maintain their Grinding Department seniority which assures them of the right to demote back through the brackets from which they came.

(16) *First Grinder Operator* vacancies will be filled by taking competent second grinder operators by grinder operator seniority.

(17) *Second Grinder Operator* vacancies will be filled by taking the men with the greatest grader helper seniority providing they are competent. Inasmuch as the grinder operators are in a separate department they will upon entering the second grinder operator's jobs receive a new seniority date but will maintain their grader helper seniority which assures them the right to demote back through the brackets from which they came.

(18) *First turn-over* vacancies will be filled by taking competent second turn-over men by departmental seniority as provided for under Section B.

(19) *Second turn-over* vacancies will be filled by taking competent third turn-over men or matchers by departmental seniority as provided for under Section B.

(20) *Third turn-over* vacancies will be filled by taking competent fourth turn-over men by departmental seniority as provided for under Section B.

(21) *Fourth turn-over* vacancies will be filled by taking competent turn-over bolters by straight departmental seniority.

APPENDIX B

PROMOTIONAL PROGRAM IN THE KIMBERLY-CLARK CORPORATION

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

The Industrial Relations Department assumes the responsibility for company wide coordination of promotions. (1) They survey the needs, develop the policies, submit same to top management for approval and then issue such to the mills in the form of Standard Instructions. (2) They advise with top management and local supervisors on council problems. (3) They periodically follow-up and evaluate the results of their policies and efforts.

The Personnel Departments in the various mills pass on to employees and supervisors by way of individual and group conferences the letter and the spirit of all administration instructions issued by the Industrial Relations Department. From time to time they are called upon to give significant interpretations of such instructions and are expected to refer borderline cases or situations not covered by the Standards to the Industrial Relations Department for ruling or further amplification.

STANDARD INSTRUCTIONS—EMPLOYMENT AND TURNOVER POLICIES—FEBRUARY 16, 1939

A. . . .

B. *Factors to be Considered in Employment and Turnover Transactions*

1. *Merit*

- a. Proficiency in present and previous K-C occupations.
- b. Experience with other employers.
- c. School training and home study.
- d. Health and physical fitness.
- e. Attitudes, temperament, personality, and character.
- f. Abilities and capacities which can be developed.

2. *Seniority*

- a. Length of service with K-C and subsidiary organizations, in occupation, department, mill, other unit, and/or total.

3. *Social Responsibility*

- a. Individual and family needs.
- b. Obligations to community.

C. *General Principles, Applicable to all Employment and Turnover Transactions*

1. The decision on any transaction shall be based upon a consideration of all available data concerning the factors of merit, seniority, and social responsibility. Where data in the form of definite records and measurements are not available, estimates and opinions shall be relied upon.
2. The factors listed in Section B above are not in the order of their importance. All factors shall be considered in each transaction, but the weighting of each factor shall not necessarily be the same for one transaction as for another.

Other factors being equal, any one factor may become the determining factor. The intent is to reach a decision based upon a balanced consideration of each and every factor involved in the transaction.

3. The employee interests which this instruction is designed to safeguard are: placement of employees in work for which they are best suited; employees' opportunity for self-improvement, for securing full benefit of abilities, and for steady work; consistent and equitable treatment in regard to all employment and turnover transactions.
4. In employment and turnover transactions Management has certain responsibilities and duties which must be recognized. The organization must be kept in a position to successfully meet competition. Effective supervision and leadership must be provided. An efficient working force must be built up and maintained, not only with reference to present, but also with reference to future operating requirements. Management has responsibilities in policy formulation and policy execution. Management is not released from these responsibilities by the fact that designated Union representatives have a definite function to perform in the establishment of policies governing employment and turnover transactions, and are concerned with all questions regarding adherence to these policies.
5. Conferences between supervisors and designated Union representatives in regard to employment and turnover transactions are recognized as desirable and mutually beneficial. So far as time and operating conditions permit, Management shall keep the designated Union representatives informed of the necessity of future employment and turnover transactions. The contact shall be as indicated in Section D below. The local Management and designated Union representatives concerned, in light of local conditions, shall agree upon workable methods of contact, and upon such other matters as are necessary to the carrying out of the intent of this instruction. It shall be the duty of the Mill Manager, or corresponding executive, with such assistance as he may desire from his Personnel Department Superintendent, to encourage contact between supervisors and designated Union representatives in regard to employment and turnover transactions, and to see to it that all contacts are properly made and followed up.
6. In emergencies it is recognized that Management must be free to make, without delay, such employment and turnover transactions as it deems necessary in the maintenance of quantity and quality of production. Typical emergencies are sudden resignation, illness, death, breakdown, unusual operating demands and similar situations which could not reasonably have been foreseen, or pending results of Union negotiations or arbitration. The Management shall promptly notify the Union after making such emergency transactions.
7. If a designated Union representative is personally involved in a promotion, transfer, or other transaction, or for any reason is unable to perform a representative's functions as specified in Section D below, a deputy may serve in his stead.
8. Neither political nor religious affiliation, nor membership in any trade union or other organization, shall have any bearing on Management's action in hiring or any other transaction, except as may be provided in the Labor Agreement.

9. Nothing in this instruction shall interfere with established procedures for the adjustment of grievances, or infringe on employees' rights to appeal, through their chosen representatives and the Union organization, in regard to any action taken by Management in any transaction. Questions regarding Management's adherence to the policies and principles set forth in this instruction may be brought before the local management by a designated Union representative concerned, either for explanation and discussion, or as a grievance to be adjusted as provided in the Labor Agreement.
- D. *Definition of Transactions, Specific Principles, and Procedures*
1. . . .
 2. *Promotion*
 - a. Promotion is the movement of an employee from an occupation classified in one family to an occupation classified in a higher family.
 - b. If the promotion is from an occupation under Union jurisdiction, this instruction shall govern the transaction, regardless of whether the occupation promoted to is or is not under the same Union's jurisdiction.
 - c. It shall be understood that the factors of merit and seniority necessarily overlap. Merit is frequently, but not always, acquired through experience: i.e., the employee of longer service is frequently, but not always the employee who merits promotion. However, promotion shall not be made on the basis of seniority alone. Seniority shall not compensate for obvious lack of merit. Merit, indicated by unusually proficient service, or exceptional technical or supervisory ability or capacity, shall be recognized as the principal determining factor in promotion. Increasing the efficiency of the working and supervisory force as a whole, and preparing for future operating requirements shall be primary considerations in all decisions concerning promotion.
 - d. A promotion shall be made only where there is a vacancy or where there is an opening caused by the creation of a new occupation, except where doubling up is necessary for breaking in or training.
 - e. The necessity of interdepartmental and intermill promotion shall be recognized, because such promotion may clearly be to the advantage of both employees and Management. An interdepartmental or intermill promotion shall not be made if the vacancy can be properly filled from within the department or mill.
 - f. Arrangements may be made for a qualified employee to temporarily serve in a progression of operating jobs, for the purpose of acquiring such experience as is prerequisite to some position in the sales, accounting, laboratory, research, or other non-operating field. Management shall keep the designated Union representatives concerned fully informed of any such training program. If it becomes necessary for the employee to abandon this training and to permanently take a regular operating job, he shall be placed in accordance with the policies governing the promotion, transfer, or demotion of regular employees. It is understood that this provision shall in no way work a hardship on any employee who is regularly employed, nor shall it deprive any regular employee of a promotion for which he might have become eligible had the Trainee's program not been abandoned.

- g. Management may give special training in the operating field to specially qualified employees, if such action is necessary in preparation for operating requirements. When promotions are essential to the completion of this training, they may be given. However, employees who are to receive this training shall be chosen, if at all possible, from among the regular operating employees, rather than being brought in from the outside. Furthermore, Management shall keep the designated Union representatives concerned fully informed of any such training program.
- h. So far as time and operating conditions permit, Managers and Department Heads shall keep the designated Union representatives concerned informed of the necessity of future promotions. If a supervisor has reason to believe that a designated Union representative has significant data in regard to a forthcoming promotion, the supervisor is expected to contact with the representative and discuss the matter with him. Designated Union representatives shall be free to voluntarily submit, through organization channels, any information and opinions which they believe have a bearing on any past or forthcoming promotion.
- i. As set forth in Section C, Par. 6, of this instruction, Management may make certain promotions without delay. However, it is understood that Management shall, at the earliest opportunity, fully explain such emergency promotions to the designated Union representative. The intent is that under normal conditions Management shall give full explanation to the designated Union representative before promotions are made.
- j. Subject to the provisions of the above paragraphs and Section B and C of this instruction, Management may make promotions on its own authority and responsibility.

**STANDARD INSTRUCTIONS—EMPLOYEE PROGRESS REPORT
SYSTEM—FEBRUARY 16, 1939**

A. Purpose

- 1. To promote systematic analysis of the performance and abilities and capacities of employees; in order that employees and Management may be kept informed concerning employees' progress in their work and their opportunities and ways and means of improvement; and in order that decisions as to promotion, transfer, demotion, lay-off, discharge, education and training, individual rate adjustment, etc., may be based upon systematically assembled facts and made with as much uniformity and fairness as possible. The employee progress report system is designed to encourage and facilitate intimate and personal relationships between supervisor and employee, and to provide the uniform and methodical recording of employee progress which is necessitated by the size of our organization.

B. . . .

C. Use of Progress Reports

...

3. Use of Progress Report Data in Executive Decisions

- a. Information secured in the preparation and analysis of progress reports, and in supervisor-employee conferences thereon, shall be taken into con-

sideration in decisions on promotion, demotion, transfer, lay-off, discharge, education and training, individual rate adjustment, and all other questions involving employee's performance, ability, and capacity. All other available and significant information shall also be taken into consideration.

**STANDARD INSTRUCTIONS—MAIN OFFICE AND STAFF EMPLOYMENT
AND TURNOVER POLICIES—JANUARY 1, 1936**

A. . . .

B. *General Principles*

1. The handling of employment and turnover transactions for the Main Office and Staff shall be centralized in and coördinated by the Industrial Relations Department. This does not mean that the Industrial Relations Department shall make the final decision, or have the final responsibility in regard to hiring, transfer, promotion, demotion, lay-off, or discharge. That is the function of the executive or department head. This does mean, however, that the Industrial Relations Department shall take part and assist in the transactions.
2. In addition to participating as specified in the following paragraphs and in Section C below, the Industrial Relations Department shall be responsible for maintaining all records which are involved in employment and turnover transactions, and shall through organization channels promote uniform and proper application of Corporation policies concerning such matters.
3. Before hiring from the outside, and before arrangements are made for promotion, transfer, or demotion of present employees between departments of the Main Office or Staff, or between the Main Office or Staff and other offices or mills, the head of the department in which the vacancy exists, in coöperation with the Industrial Relations Department, shall give consideration to all present employees, including understudies, who may be qualified to fill the vacancy. No such promotion, transfer, or demotion shall be made before the employee's present department head, mill manager, or corresponding executive has had opportunity to consider and discuss the move with the Industrial Relations Department, and with the head of the department to which the employee is to be moved. . . .

**STANDARD INSTRUCTIONS—TUITION REIMBURSEMENTS FOR
APPROVED EDUCATIONAL COURSES—FEBRUARY 16, 1939**

A. When an employee completes an educational course, the Corporation will reimburse him for one-half his tuition under the conditions provided below.

1. *Approval prior to enrollment*

- a. Approval shall be given only upon evidence that the proposed course is directly related to, and will increase the employee's proficiency in, his present occupation or an occupation in his own or another department for which he is actually in line.
- b. Approval must be obtained from the Mill Superintendent of Personnel, the employee's Superintendent, the Mill Manager, and the Industrial Relations Department, Neenah. In case the employee is preparing himself for an occupation in another department, the Superintendent of that

department must also approve the course. The Personnel Department Superintendent shall make the necessary contacts with the superintendents concerned and the Mill Manager. . . .

2. *Approval after completion of the course*

- a. When the employee has satisfactorily completed the course, and paid his tuition in full, the Mill Manager shall make written application to the Industrial Relations Department, Neenah, for reimbursement to the employee of one-half the tuition. The letter shall be accompanied by a receipt showing that the employee has paid the tuition in full, and by a certificate from the school showing that he has satisfactorily completed the course. . . .

UNDERSTUDY TRAINING PROGRAM

Definition of an Understudy

Any employee who is considered qualified as potential material for a supervisory, technical or other specific salaried mill or staff position may be designated as an understudy by agreement of the staff head and/or mill manager concerned, and the Industrial Relations Department.

Number and Classification of Understudies

There are approximately 57 young men throughout the corporation who are designated as understudies. They are in the Engineering, Personnel, Materials, Handling, Planning, Production Standards, Technical, Operating and Sales Departments. The number hired each year is based on our estimates of future man-power needs. Current employment conditions and current needs also are given consideration.

These understudies are classified into two groups: (1) Salaried understudies on scheduled occupational progression who are being trained to eventually step into key supervisory and staff occupations. (2) Young men who are filling regular hourly paid jobs, but who give evidence of ability over and above the requirements of their jobs, and who, accordingly, are being watched.

Progress and Duration of Training Period

An understudy may be scheduled to spend all or part of his training time on a special occupational progression. The occupations to be included in the progression and the approximate time to be spent on each is determined for each individual. Training, education, previous experience, individual progress, interest of individual, man-power needs, etc., are factors considered in drawing up progression schedules. Depending on training needs and operating requirements, latitude is exercised in the movement of understudies between occupations on a progression.

Duration of the understudy period is not fixed but varies with man-power needs, progress of the individual, etc. On the basis of past experience, the period usually is not less than one year nor more than three. An understudy terminates his status as such when he has completed his training program or when, in the opinion of those concerned, he has reached the status of a regular employee on any occupation. . . .

APPENDIX C.

EMPLOYEE PROMOTIONS IN THE WESTERN ELECTRIC COMPANY

The general policy of the Company is promotion from within. The program provided to fulfill this purpose at the Point Breeze Works has as its chief objective the discovery of employees qualified for upgrading, the development of employees through job experience for subsequent advancement, and improved assignment of personnel. It is believed that the fundamentals of the placement job include first, a flexible personnel system; second, a periodic audit which gives employees an opportunity to indicate what they want to do; and third, functional authority to do a Works-wide placement job.

Under the method of operation adopted, supervisors received in substance a practical assurance that employees transferred into their organizations on upgrading assignments would do satisfactory work, and if not, could be returned to the organization from which transferred. However, the responsibility for accepting employees on upgrading assignments was vested entirely in the supervisors who interviewed the indicated prospective candidates and selected the one who seemed best qualified.

GENERAL METHOD OF OPERATION

All requisitions for employees clear through the Placement Organization before being routed to the Employment Department. The Placement Organization determines whether the opening offers an opportunity for any present employees before passing the requisition along. This determination works out along the following lines:

1. It is part of the placement program to have supervisors hold an annual interview with each of their employees and fill out an interview form. Notes are entered on this form covering self-improvement activities and plans and real job interests of nonsupervisory employees. This interview form is filed with Placement Organization.
2. The Placement Organization makes an analysis of the interview form, employment record and data pertaining to each employee to determine upgrading opportunities for which the employee seems to be qualified.
3. A classification file is prepared which shows under each type of job the individual employees, in order of length of service, who should be considered when openings occur in this type of work.
4. Records to support the classification index are maintained in an upgrading folder for each employee, including the results of any employment tests or ratings.

By quick reference to the classification index for the type of job for which a requisition is presented, the Placement Organization determines whether any present employee should be referred to the supervisor submitting the requisition for consideration before the Employment Department receives the requisition.

When examination of records for individual employees indicates they are not qualified for upgrading openings, the facts are presented to supervisors in order that an educational and development program may be worked out.

Slips for employees are filed under job classifications in order of service, and employees are interviewed in that order when recommended for upgrading opportunities. Selection is based on the supervisor's judgment without influence of seniority except the preferential order of consideration. While the relative grades of certain classifications among salaried employees have not been established, it is the practice to report upgradings in terms of employee understanding. Many lateral changes which prepare the way for advancement are listed as upgradings. Among hourly rated employees, the upgradings can be reported more precisely because of the well-established grades.

ACCEPTANCE OF CONTROL BY CENTRALIZED PLACEMENT ORGANIZATION

No problem has existed at Point Breeze in securing coöperation from all organizations for the upgrading and downgrading of employees through the medium of the placement Organization. When an employee in an organization has the necessary qualifications and service to fill a promotion, the Placement Organization is ready to approve the upgrading of such an individual. Through personal contacts, the Placement organization is in a position to see that a better qualified employee in another organization is not overlooked in respect to upgrading. This is done in such a manner that no embarrassment seems to result when the Placement Organization directs attention to a better qualified candidate.

RESULTS

The operation of a central placement organization is felt to have had the following results:

1. By selecting candidates on a Works-wide basis upgradings are made logical and fair.
2. The wider scope of attention to upgrading has increased the number of employees given better jobs.
3. The Works-wide approach has increased the mobility of employees between divisions, branches, and resident organizations.
4. Centralized placement control has contributed a disinterested point of view bearing on the matter of personnel changes.