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COPING STRATEGIES OF AFRO-AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN IN DETROIT: A BUSINESS EDUCATION STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY ENTREPRENEURSHIP

by

Gerald Lee Cox

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in
The University of Michigan
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Doctoral Committee:

Professor Emeritus John M. Trytten, Chairman
Professor Alvin Loving
Professor Howard McClusky
Professor Leo Schmidt

ABSTRACT

COPING STRATEGIES OF AFRO-AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN IN DETROIT: A BUSINESS EDUCATION STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY ENTREPRENEURSHIP

by

Gerald Lee Cox

Chairman: John M. Trytten

This study reports original information about four Afro-American (Negro) men who originated and managed manufacturing firms in Detroit. The four men were first interviewed in the summer of 1967 and a final interview using two questionnaires was conducted in March, 1969.

The operative premise was that by describing entrepreneurial activity in Detroit's Afro-American business community, information would be found that would stimulate needed educational change in inner-city high schools and colleges. These descriptions would also have significance for adult entrepreneurs who now see new opportunities for self-determination in business enterprise.

Theoretical foundations for the study were found in the economics of entrepreneurship, the new emphasis in economics that views education as a method to develop human capital, the sociological theory of social change, and the conceptualization of male identity and importance found in modern dynamic psychology (White, Maslow, Erikson, et. al.). Gordon Allport's elaboration of how the personality develops rational coping abilities provided a useful framework of the mature and healthy person.

Reference interviews were conducted with persons of influence and information in the community to identify entrepreneurial activity in manufacturing. A first set of unstructured interviews was done in the summer of 1967 with the four entrepreneurs. A final set of structured interviews was completed in March, 1969. Significant background information was obtained by participant observations at the Wednesday luncheons of the Booker T. Washington Business Association.

The findings of this study are:

1. Entrepreneurship is a highly satisfying means to gain control over one's life and environment.

2. The reports on entrepreneurial activity in manufacturing show how black Americans in Detroit today are effective entrepreneurs generating capital, creating employment, and inventing and planning for future economic and community development.

3. Evaluation of the literature and the experiences of the four entrepreneurs found that when the black American has a useful product, service, or skill, he finds acceptance in general American culture and his minority status recedes in importance.

4. The average age (51 years) of the entrepreneurs and their origin of birth in the south meant their experiences were different from that of students now enrolled in Detroit schools, however, these men were clearly supportive of the newer generation's demands for improved schooling.

5. No evidence was obtained that the school was an important agency of influence for these men in encouraging them to strike out on their own. Several respondents saw the Junior Achievement

program as valuable for black youth and encouraged its expansion in inner-city communities.

6. The study suggests that inner-city business educators can become more flexible by widening their focus from the traditional skill subjects to develop classroom and extracurricular activities more characteristic of realistic business management.

7. The study found that in the public schools of Detroit there is an extreme degree of racial isolation. Suggested means to avoid the dangers in such isolation are exchange programs between predominantly black schools and predominantly white, between inner-city and suburban schools, between private and public schools, and between the schools and business corporations.

8. Members of the Afro-American business community in Detroit are eager to cooperate with professional educators in updating business education programs in inner-city schools. There was little evidence that white educators were active in the Booker T. Washington Business Association or the Cotillion Club.

9. Economic and social integration is a crucible for testing the American value of equality of opportunity. The free movement of black and white will lead to the development of the potentialities of all citizens in a stronger American community.

PREFACE: THE PROBLEM, ITS BACKGROUND IN PERSONAL HISTORY, AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First statement of the problem. -- Time is of no consequence if you have no watch. So it has been with the black man in America. But now that his watch is as good as any other man's, he wonders how fast he can travel to become a fully participating citizen.

My concern in this study is not to chronicle the "what could have been" nor to measure social costs of abuse and misuse of human resources but to seek out and record the activities of successful, functioning businessmen and organizations in Detroit's Afro-American community.

A few notes of personal history. -- At the outset the reader may very well ask why I undertook this study. The question is a good one. There is an immediate benefit for me, for the research and report represent completion of part of the requirements in a Ph. D. program. As such, it represents an area of work that is the capstone to my formal education.

Beyond this, my experiences (which I will soon share with you) have led me to believe America has no more

pressing problem than to improve the quality of life for black and white citizens living in great metropolitan areas.

In World War II, I was one of many who fought Hitler's racism in Germany yet, paradoxically, I did not notice I was in a segregated army even though a Negro soldier replaced me in a foxhole one midnight along the Sieg River in Germany. Looking back, I recall my "pure" idealism as an 18-year old soldier on a crusade to kill the inhumane Kraut and to end forever the false philosophy of the Nazi Super Race. In 1945, little did I realize that in America, too, there were debilitating concepts of racial superiority.

Recently, my eyes caught this observation written by Hubert Humphrey which reflects my experience as a soldier and my subsequent growth as a student:

> The generation of World War II was the first in which great numbers of white Americans learned that racial equality is the most important of all the issues in American democracy. That realization was coming anyway, but it was greatly hastened by the encounter with a racist enemy abroad. Thus the war with fascism educated some white Americans.[1]

In completing this sociocultural study of Afro-American entrepreneurship, I have experienced several changes in awareness and values. The major attitudinal

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[1]Hubert H. Humphrey, Beyond Civil Rights: A New Day of Equality (New York: Random House, 1968), pp. 18-19.

change has been the growing realization that racism has influenced the American people as well as the Germans. White America must indeed fault itself for centuries of racial discrimination as it faulted the Germans and Nazism for the genocide of six million European Jews.

And so at least one former infantry soldier has an expanded view of man's inhumanity to man. But man can profit from his history, personal and collective. There must be the courage and hope that in facing human problems squarely, constructive answers will come about. The movement must be toward improved future living by our children's children.

One reward for returning veterans was an open-door college policy with tuition and subsistence paid by a grateful federal government.

And so I began college. In my undergraduate days at Michigan State, I studied sophomore sociology but, in continuing unawareness, didn't look about to see how many Negroes were in my classes.

After graduation in December, 1950, I taught for a few months in a vocational high school located in Chicago's south side where I found not only the biting winter wind from Lake Michigan but also the boiling, incipient hatred between the children of poor immigrants and blacks from the American South. One day, in the school cafeteria, the air became electric with expectancy

of physical violence beyond the cursing, name-calling, and fighting that had just taken place in the schoolyard. No further incidents. But it was distasteful and disturbing for me to see and feel deep distrust between these two groups of Americans.

When the semester ended in June of 1951, I went to New York City to seek business experience and joined the central office staff of one of the nation's largest railroads. One day I overheard the boss speaking with visiting railroad officials from St. Louis. He proved he wasn't <u>one</u> of those damn Yankee nigger-lovers by yelling to his male secretary, "Heh Pete, what's the name of that nigger playing for the Brooklyn Dodgers?"

Promoted to the Pittsburgh agency, I moved to western Pennsylvania in 1952, where after work I studied German and railroad transportation at the University of Pittsburgh. In the university's skyscraper Cathedral of Learning, there were on the ground floor ethnic rooms furnished by Pittsburgh's Yugoslavian-Americans, German-Americans, and other groups, but no contribution from the Afro-American. The "black problem" was still safely buried in poverty and ignorance. The Negro was in "his place" in the ghettos of the urban North and rigidly segregated by caste in the South.

Seeking wider experience and still enjoying the American practice of high mobility, I gave two weeks'

notice to my Pittsburgh boss and headed for Alaska. But first I went to Detroit where a close friendship with a college roommate meant Detroit was a "warm" city. To replenish my dwindling funds, I taught as a substitute at a specialized high school of commerce until June and then drove a driveaway car to Salt Lake City and from thence took a bus to the Northwest.

Seattle was, and I guess still is, full of people with first-hand experience in Alaska. I talked with many who had been there in going door to door selling furnace-cleaning services during the summer of 1953. Most opinions were, "Don't go to Alaska unless you have a job waiting for you." I took their advice.

But before returning to Detroit, the locale for this study, let me relate a story of neighborhood change as a southern white family expressed its distaste for Seattle's policy that all citizens could live anywhere. Loading a truck, this family was moving out, even though they had just moved in two weeks ago. Didn't I think it was terrible that, "Colored could move any damn place they wanted to?"

These are isolated experiences in Chicago, New York, Pittsburgh, and Seattle, but all are part of common practice that degrades people whose ancestors have been part of America since 1619.[1]

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[1]Lerone Bennett, Jr., Before the Mayflower: A History of the Negro in America 1619-1966 (3rd ed.; Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, Inc., 1966), p. 373.

I still did not ask why the Negro was the victim of so much discrimination and even with these experiences, I could not see the Negro in America as any but a southern problem.

I returned to Detroit and my choice teaching position at the High School of Commerce, where from 1953 to 1958 the only recognition of a racially changing Detroit was the principal's announcement in a faculty meeting that we would soon have a Negro joining our staff and we were, indeed, fortunate because now we could pick the best.

In September of 1961 I was promoted to business education department head at Northwestern High School at Grand River and Grand Boulevard across from the Fisher YMCA, where nine years before I had lived as a bachelor in segregated whiteness.

Northwestern was one of four Negro high schools (the school system was rather reluctant to label any school "Negro" -- at that time there were no Negro department heads in business education) in Detroit.

In observing the attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of fellow educators about the children entrusted to them, too often I heard that the students were lazy but too rarely did I find any movement or thought of educators to inquire why?

During my first year as department head, I made a real effort to effect good human relationships with all

segments of the school's clients and public. In the second year, my attention was given to getting better equipment. For the third year, my intent was to focus on curriculum.

Professionally active, I was asked to make a presentation on the "slow learner" as a panelist at the Eastern Business Teacher's Association convention in Buffalo, New York, April 13, 1963. I was slow to see then that the probable inference was that, since there were so many Northwestern High School students scoring below national test norms, I was seen as someone who knew something about how slow learners learn. Searching through the literature on the slow learner in several libraries, I found that most of it talked about the retarded learner in physical terms and in terms of rigid interpretations of IQ scores. Certainly, I could not fit my students at Northwestern High into a classification called "genetically or accidentally brain damaged," for students responded well to school demands and discipline. In fact, after a few weeks of "culture shock" at Northwestern, I was convinced that students at the "big NO" were like students everywhere, for some were fast and some were slow: but all were developing and growing.

Within the limits of time available I prepared a paper on "The Culture Concept Applied to the Inner City Business Student" and presented it at the convention's

closing session. In the paper I gave my reasons for choosing culture as the integral concept:

> I decided to focus on the culture concept as the most inclusive tool for comprehending the disadvantaged youth so numerous today in America's great cities. Inclusive for two reasons: it helps us to understand the learning process in the transmission of culture: and by widening our view to include the study of education in many different societies, we are better prepared for the difference in orientation that exists between disadvantaged children and cultured, middle-class oriented teachers.[1]

I was beginning to wake up, but in the fall of 1963 the Detroit school system asked me to take on a different kind of responsibility. An expressway required the demolition of the High School of Commerce. The business education department was scheduled to move across the street into Cass Technical High School where new curriculums, including computer equipment, would provide quality education for an integrated student body. I accepted the challenge which proved to be a three-year task.

At Cass, in working with the possibilities of computer-assisted instruction, I gained some understanding of how technology can contribute to education. I hoped along with Norbert Weiner that the computer would lead toward "the human use of human beings" and I learned that

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[1]The full paper is reproduced as Appendix I to this study.

human systems would have to encompass technology and not the other way around.

In the summer of 1966 I began a sabbatical year granted by the Detroit Public School system. At Ann Arbor, as a member of the first NDEA Institute in Advanced Economics, my interest came back to the condition of the Negro in the American economy. I wrote a paper on "Achieving Social Change in America through Curriculum Models Designed to Develop Entrepreneurial Attitudes among Secondary School Negroes."

The challenge of the title was greater than the response in the paper but the exercise of writing it gave me familiarity with the "human capital" approach in economics as used by Gary Becker, Dale Hiestand, Fritz Machlup, and Theodore Schultz.

During the Institute I began to see more clearly that economic development in the Negro community had historical, sociological, international, and profoundly psychological dimensions.[1]

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[1]Useful information was gleaned from August Meier, Negro Thought in America 1880-1915: Racial Ideologies in the Age of Booker T. Washington (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1963); Dale L. Hiestand, Economic Growth and Opportunities for Minorities (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); Margaret Read, Education and Social Change in Tropical Areas (London: T. Nelson, 1955); and Karl and Alma Taeuber, Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965).

To illustrate how these dimensions could be seen as important to urban educators, in the paper I raised these questions:

1. Can the anthropological concept of culture as given by Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, et. al., be applied to define the Detroit high school Negro student body?

2. What is the available U. S. census information and is the U. of M. Detroit Area Study material relevant?

3. What is happening in the job market to graduates or dropouts from the predominantly Negro schools?

4. Can recently developed techniques (such as cost-benefit analysis) in economics measure the "things that didn't happen" and the things that do happen when we have good educational programs?

5. Are there scars of intellectual under-stimulation or abuse in family backgrounds and if so, how can the schools counteract or seal these scars?

6. How effective are the separtists (Black Muslims or other advocates of "black power") organized and what impact do they have on Negro students and teachers?

7. Is the work experience program in business education finding an increasing number of students placed in integrated offices and stores?

8. Are the chief business leaders interested in providing financial support directly in dollars or indirectly in staff services to assist Negro boys in their aspirations to become businessmen?

To become aware that these were (and still are) substantive problems is in itself evidence of movement toward valid answers; but, as in my earlier search for information on the slow learner, little material was found in libraries thereby highlighting the need for field inquiry into these phenomena.

Returning to the question: why have I chosen to study the Afro-American businessman, I can answer by reporting the closing paragraph of the NDEA paper just mentioned:

> America has developed human capital out of the poor masses of Western European immigrants largely through the educational programs available in the free public schools. Compulsory school laws have meant that every child experiences common learnings in the meaning of America. But the blot on the record still seems to be schools within the black ghettos at the heart of every American great city, and unless massive amounts of added educational investment are made by infusions of improved buildings and equipment and better teachers we will perpetuate the family patterns so dysfunctional to American civilization and pay in two major cost areas: (1) the social costs of crime, mental retardation, and mental health, and (2) the costs in losing the productive possibilities inherent in the American Negro people.

The specific task to which this study is directed is toward improving the quality of education for children and adults. I address my efforts particularly toward high school teachers and curriculum planners in business education specializations in community colleges.

Acknowledgments. -- I would like to record my deep appreciation to my dear wife, Madeline Galia Cox; and to our children, David Alan, Gail Ann, Keith Anthony, and Suzanne Marie for their loving support. I have, also, a lifelong debt to Professor Emeritus John M. Trytten for teaching me how to channel my impulses, how to develop a problem rationally, how to accept all people, and how to relate education to business and business to education.

During my years with the Detroit Public School system, Mr. Leslie J. Whale provided the wisdom of the practitioner both as leader in business education at Wayne State University and as director of business Education in the Detroit Public Schools' Division for the Improvement of Instruction. I should also like to record my appreciation for the wise teachings of Professor Earl Kelley and Professor William Reitz of Wayne State University. Professor Frank Lanham (now at Wayne State) provided valuable assistance at various critical points in the study.

Three personal friends, Mr. Harold Friedman, Dr. Francis B. Chapin, and Dr. William J. Westmaas have made deep contributions to me and to this study.

I owe much to Mrs. Louise Grooms of the Detroit Institute of Commerce for many favors. To mention a few, introducing me to the members of the Booker T. Washington Business Association, for loaning me rare personal volumes, and for continued counsel and advice throughout the field research.

At the risk of leaving out many contributors to this study I wish to thank Mrs. Irma Craft and Mr. Alvin Bush, Mr. John Simmons, Mr. Edgar Brazelton, Mr. Homer Waterman, Mr. Joseph Williams, Mr. Wallace Williams, and Mr. Leon Clarke. This study could not have been completed

without the cooperation of four entrepreneurs: Dr. Austin W. Curtis, Mr. John Burns, Mr. Fairfield Butler, and Mr. Moses Brown. Faithful friends and interpreters of the current scene at Wednesday luncheon meetings of the Booker T. Washington Business Association have been Mr. John Outlaw, Mr. William Adams, Mr. David Alves, and Mr. Lawrence Farley. These latter four gentlemen are retired but they retain a lively interest in Detroit's business and political community. They are truly bridges of the present who remember the hard past and retain a youthful optimism for the future of America.

My doctoral committee has taken an active part in the study from early consultation to final editing. Words are hardly adequate to thank Prof. Trytten, Prof. Loving, Prof. McClusky, and Prof. Schmidt.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the problem. -- This study's major objective is to develop valid descriptions of the coping (problem-solving) behavior used by Afro-American[1] businessmen in organizing and operating business enterprises in Detroit.

A secondary objective is to provide up-to-date information for the improvement of business education programs in schools and colleges that have a high proportion of Afro-American students. This objective has its origin in the realization that curriculums in inner-city schools in northern metropolitan areas have not changed as rapidly as the racial, ethnic, and social class composition of the school community. The current condition is one of severe curriculum imbalance.

An intent of this study is to call attention to the uniqueness of personality as it is expressed in

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[1] Afro-American is chosen here largely because of the very positive connections (as examples, the development of ethnic identity and finding a significant place in the American economy) seen and anticipated between Americans with African origins and the increasingly modern countries on the African continent.

entrepreneurial behavior.[1] By placing an emphasis on rational coping[2] behavior, the search is limited to observing the positive functioning of individuals and has little to do with pathological behavior except as background contrast.

The study will ask what parental or familial encouragements were motivational in the entrepreneur's family of origin? What mobility patterns were there? What social forces in the Detroit community contributed to successful entrepreneurship? How does the entrepreneur view his power of producing effects upon his environment?[3]

Businessmen were asked to assess the adequacy of their high school education, their aspirations while in high school, their hopes for their children, and they were asked to make suggestions for young men thinking about entering the business fields.

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[1]I owe much to the thinking of Professor Earl C. Kelley for giving me an appreciation of the significance of uniqueness for the study of human behavior; to the very useful psychology textbook, Gordon Allport, Pattern and Growth in Personality (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965); and to the Research Center in Entrepreneurial History (located at Harvard University from 1948 to 1958), I owe a debt for their thorough and systematic investigations of entrepreneurship in varied social settings.

[2]A good description of the self as rational coper can be found in Allport, op. cit., p. 124.

[3]This concept of a sense of competence has been developed by Robert W. White. An excellent, short presentation is his article, "Competence and the Growth of Personality," in The Ego, ed. by Jules H. Masserman, (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1967).

Special problems of the Afro-American businessman.--The individual problems of four Afro-American enterprisers are studied in relationship to the general obstacles all businessmen face and the special obstacles encountered by black businessmen.

To start a business, an entrepreneur conceives a money-making idea, sees an opportunity for implementation, organizes scarce economic resources into an operating firm, and manages men and money to keep the firm going. The white businessman feels a genuine partnership with general American culture and is confident as he moves with the mainstream. The black businessman shares with his Afro-American brothers the feelings resulting from years of discrimination in everyday life, real estate, education, labor, business, the church, and government. An obstacle of prime importance is therefore the black businessman's ability to face realistically the facts of these obstacles and the courage to overcome them by force of personality and strength of character.

An inhibiting factor encountered by the potential black entrepreneur is the lack of group solidarity in ethnic business specialization among Afro-Americans.[1] There has been no identifiable area in which black business-

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[1]Nathan Glazer, "The Missing Bootstrap," Saturday Review, August 23, 1969.

men have excelled. The black experience is dissimilar from immigrant groups in that the Afro-American has few ties binding members together in an affirmative economic pattern. This is, of course, the result from centuries of fragmentation of black cultural institutions by white oppressors.

In Detroit's Afro-American community, the greatest number of people came to Detroit since World War II in response to labor demands in the factories of southeastern Michigan. The money earned on these jobs was spent in few black-owned enterprises for in Detroit, as elsewhere, neighborhoods were predominantly black and businesses predominantly white. Ownership of business and residential property has been (and is) in the hands of whites.

Even when initial capital is secured and transfer of ownership takes place, Afro-American businessmen are still faced with the poverty of their customers which can be described as that of a southern, poorly educated rural population caught in the northern ghetto where "home" and trust are many miles away.

Black businessmen have difficulty in obtaining financing and insurance from conservative firms demanding successful business experience and sophisticated accounting before transactions are made.

There have been few images of success for the Afro-American to emulate for business entrepreneurship has

not yet realized its potential as an important means to self-determination. And there have been few opportunities when sons and daughters could inherit the well-established businesses founded by grandfathers and fathers.

Significance of the study for business education.--An expected outcome from this study is enhanced perspective by those concerned with economic education and occupational preparation, the teachers of office education and distributive education in high schools and colleges. Through seeing successful entrepreneurial behavior by Afro-American citizens, classroom and extra-curricular activities can be designed which will provide motivation, variety, and opportunity to each student. The view here is that an appreciation of his uniqueness is a major step toward individualizing and modernizing instruction for him.

Beyond occupational roles there are performance objectives such as Maslow's measurements of desirable human goals: "These are the feelings of zest in living, of happiness or euphoria, of serenity, of joy, of calmness, of responsibility, of confidence in one's ability to handle stresses, anxieties, and problems."[1]

The displacement of apathy and lethargy with Maslow's qualities of the healthy personality would do

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[1]Abraham H. Maslow, "Psychological Data and Value Theory," in New Knowledge in Human Values, ed. by Abraham H. Maslow (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), p. 127.

much to improve student performance and enhance their personalities, their sense of importance and competence, and their sense of control over events in the present and in the future.

The operative premise of this study is that by interviewing a small number of Afro-American entrepreneurs in manufacturing, information will be gained about how they coped with their problems in operating firms within the American economic system. This information is seen as having value for students in the public school system and it also has meaning for adult entrepreneurs who now see new opportunities in business enterprise. In the long run, this study could contribute to community and economic development.

Rationale. -- This study, by asking questions and gathering and reporting original information about practicing Afro-American entrepreneurs and their supporting organizations, is seen as a first step toward improving urban business education.

Afro-American parents who see their children in educational programs meaningful to the realities of parental and grandparental experiences of slavery, segregation, and discrimination are likely to become strong supporters of the local school. As they measure the

effectiveness of education for their own children against what they received, they are looking for relevant education, for signs that the school is "up with the times."

Business education as a general approach to human development has much to offer the Afro-American community by providing employment and learning opportunities in business offices and stores. Parents look upon the business courses in specific areas like typewriting and bookkeeping as having immediate value in obtaining a job.

Education in the economics of living, the active choosing of a career, and entrepreneurial exercises in decision-making would enlist parental support at critical points thus aiding the role of the school as a center for understanding and encouraging neighborhood, community, and economic development.

At the continuing and adult education level, a convergence between economic and educational programs can take place for those who have been the victims of discriminatory educational and employment practices much in evidence in the past. Programs in entrepreneurship can have utility for the growing number of men and women interested in self-fulfillment through business enterprise. Dependence on others for a job means accepting a subservient role. Entrepreneurship is a way of exercising the power of personal

and economic self-control and self-determination in black neighborhoods.

Part of the turmoil in large urban centers is the desire for black business ownership, direction, and control. A contribution toward realizing these aspirations to participate in the economic institutions of American life would surely be significant. Chronicling the record of successful men has value for those who hope and aspire. Descriptions of successful entrepreneurship by community people in business enterprise can stimulate business activity in the black community, pride in one's blackness, and assist government agencies in facilitating exchange of goods and services in national and international trade.

Procedures. -- During the author's sabbatical year granted by the Detroit Public Schools in 1966-1967, intensive library work at the University of Michigan libraries in Ann Arbor and Dearborn, Wayne State University Libraries, and at the Detroit Public Library was completed. Card catalog listings under "Negro," "Manufacturing,"[1] and "Entrepreneur" led to a vast literature which will be reviewed in Chapter III.

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[1]To somewhat delimit the study, manufacturing was selected as the area of business most inclusive of invention, factory processing, and distribution. Manufacturing is also an extremely important type of business in southeastern Michigan.

A series of reference interviews in the spring of 1967 with officials of the Detroit Urban League, the Michigan Employment Security Commission, and the president of the Booker T. Washington Business Association answered first questions and provided names of successful entrepreneurs. During the summer of 1967, the author interviewed the following Afro-American manufacturing entrepreneurs:

Dr. Austin W. Curtis
Curtis Laboratories
454 Farnsworth
Detroit

Mr. John Burns
Burns Food Products Co., Inc.
11710 Goodwin
Detroit

Mr. Fairfield Butler
Vicki Foods, Inc.
3845 West Warren
Detroit

Mr. Moses Brown
May Rain, Inc.
13609 Stoepel
Detroit

Interviewing technique followed the procedures developed by R. Kahn and C. Cannell in The Dynamics of Interviewing and used the "non-directive" and unstructured procedures of Carl Rogers, et. al.[1]

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[1]The author owes much to the wisdom of the late Dean Harlan Koch of the University of Michigan and his class in Counseling Techniques where we used the popular text by Carl Rogers, Client-Centered Therapy. In this study, where establishing person-to-person communication or rapport was seen as critically important, only minor notes were taken during the initial interviews. As soon as practicable, the information obtained was recorded in the author's dissertation notebooks.

Useful concepts of positive adult psychology were found in White's Lives in Progress.[1] White's approach is one of studying normalcy in individual growth throughout the course of life rather than "crisis" analysis at unplanned points of breakdown. This approach has particular merit because of the new opportunities now open to black Americans in an improved climate of hope and expectation.

A final set of structured interviews[2] was completed in March, 1969. Much significant background information was obtained by participant observations at the Wednesday luncheons of the Booker T. Washington Business Association.

Some relationships between coping and entrepreneurship. -- An assumption in this study is that economic and social change in America can be assisted by raising the level of aspirations of students by developing entrepreneurial attitudes and activities. Since positive attitudes are developed through setting one's own goals and successfully completing purposeful tasks, a basic problem is one of structuring tasks that will help students grow through activities that meet the primary needs for self-fulfillment and ego strength.

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[1]Robert W. White, Lives in Progress: A Study of the Natural Growth of Personality (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1952, Second Edition, 1966).

[2]The interview schedules are Appendix IV.

An intent of the study is to encourage educators to recognize their opportunities for influencing the growth of students toward autonomous and initiatory behavior. The awareness of rational coping ability coupled with a sense of power over one's environment, is seen as a desirable human goal. The interpretation of coping as used in this study is that it is not a defense mechanism but a positive, rational act of human will expressing the individual's goals as a higher mental process. Defense mechanisms are seen as being at the unconscious, or better, nonconscious level where there is no awareness both of what is happening externally and unawareness of the individual's power to choose among alternative methods in meeting external and internal challenges.

The turning of defense mechanisms into coping strategies can be accomplished with the aid of a supportive person such as a skillful therapist or a perceptive teacher or counselor. The goal for both participants is to develop insight and awareness of defense mechanisms which interfere with coping and learning. As the student or client develops there should be an increasing sense of competence in his problem-solving abilities and renewed pleasure in living.

The highest level of coping for the individual is the practice of realistic planning, short and long-range, for the duration of one's life span. Characteristically,

an entrepreneur feels and knows the strength of his emotions; but he also knows the power of his intelligence to perform numerous roles including the role of business leader in economic development.

In the wider community of America, entrepreneurship provides a useful connecting link between the individualistic beliefs of the pioneer and the socioeconomic system of constructive capitalism (wealth-producing enterprise).

Through the development of original information about business behavior in contemporary Detroit by Afro-American businessmen, the study is expected to add to the growing evidence of untapped and misused human capacity suppressed by the restrictions of an oppressive and slave-holding society. But, while looking backward to get a more valid view of history, the study, by emphasizing the positive, is meant to encourage educators and businessmen to move forward in economic and social development within the institutional structure of American society.

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE COMMUNITY

The Detroit metropolitan area during World War II became an arsenal of democracy producing the weapons needed to assure the existence and continued growth of individual liberty and free institutions. Ironically, these weapons were used by racially segregated armed forces to annihilate the power of Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito.

But at home, in 1943, Detroit citizens were shocked by the worst racial riot in the city's history. From 1943 to 1967 there was progress in developing human acceptance of all people by whites and blacks. Now, still in the aftermath of even greater confrontation and conflagration from the summer of 1967, the metropolitan Detroit community continues its efforts to improve the inter-racial and inter-cultural participation of the Afro-American citizen in his own and his country's continued development.

Employment and its meaning for family stability. -- The plan in this chapter is to relate jobs, housing, and

schools as the black citizens of Detroit experience them.[1]

Our study begins with the most important human institution, the family. To get the personal behavior essential for family formation and stability, a job is necessary for the family head to function. The job should contribute to a person's self-respect and, in a truly open society, any job or political position is obtainable by every member.

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, long a student of minority groups, expressed with vigorous clarity the importance of employment in achieving status:

> From the very outset, the principal measure of progress toward equality will be that of employment. It is the primary source of individual or group identity. In America what you do is what you are: to do nothing is to be nothing; to do little is to be little. The equations are implacable and blunt, and ruthlessly public.[2]

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[1]The complexities of human behavior provide a partial answer as to why we don't have better answers now. Whitney M. Young, the Executive Director of the National Urban League, wrote, "this circle of deprivation that has produced the Negro statistics on broken homes, dependency, delinquency, dropouts, crime, illegitimacy and other social organization. A good job requires a good education, which in turn is dependent on good neighborhoods and favorable early environment. All these things cost money. Herein lies a choice for the white population of America." New York Times, April 24, 1966, sec. 11, p 12.

[2]"Employment, Income, and the Ordeal of the Negro Family," Daedalus,(Fall, 1965), p. 746.

The costs of unemployment have been measured in psychological terms by many researchers and summarized into this statement: "Prolonged unemployment typically leads to a deterioration of personality, passivity, apathy, anomie, listlessness, dissociation, lack of interest and of caring."[1]

Detroit has provided jobs. During periods of high labor demand, whether spurred by war or high-level activity in the automobile manufacturing industries, large internal migratory flows from the depressed areas of the South constituted the supply. These economic forces were part of "Northern-style" segregation in housing as described by demographer Philip M. Hauser:

> Thus, between 1910 and 1960, the Negro has been redistributed from the South to the North and West, and from rural to urban and metropolitan areas, but within the urban and metropolitan complexes the Negro American has become and has remained much more highly segregated than was true of white immigrants who flocked to the cities before them.[2]

Jobs and housing are basic requirements for healthy family formation -- facts recognized by the

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[1]Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964), p. 403.

[2]"Demographic Factors in the Integration of the Negro," Daedalus (Fall, 1965), 853.

Detroit Urban League for many years. The late Mr. John Dancy of the League described the job situation in World War II as limited in that few Afro-Americans had access to the more desirable positions:

> In March of 1943 Negroes constituted about 10 percent of Detroit's population. They held about 8.4 percent of the jobs, and these were mostly the poorer jobs, in 185 major war plants in the Detroit area. Fifty-five of these plants employed less than 1 percent Negroes. Of the 107,000 women employed in these same plants at that time fewer than 3,500 were Negroes, and most of them were holding custodial positions.[1]

A recent thorough study of occupational stratification pointed out that the situation now is not much better:

> The general conclusion to which these findings point is that the American occupational structure is largely governed by universalistic criteria of performance and achievement, with the notable exception of the influence of race. The close relationship between educational attainment and occupational achievement, with education being the most important determinant of occupational status that could be discovered, testifies to this universalism. So does the finding that there is little discrimination against white ethnic groups in occupational life, though discrimination against selected minorities unquestionably exists, concealed in our data due to the superior accomplishments of some members of the second generation. Most of the groups that are economically disadvantaged, such

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[1]Sand Against the Wind - The Memoirs of John C. Dancy (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966), p. 201.

> as those born in other countries and those born in the South, have lower educational attainments commensurate with their lower occupational positions. An important exception to this pervasive universalism is the severe discrimination the Negro suffers at every step in the process toward achieving occupational success. Although there is some indication that discrimination against Negroes has declined in this century, and hence that universalism has continued to spread, the trend is not consistent, does not encompass all areas of occupational life, and has only begun to penetrate into the South. But universalism cannot restore equality. Indeed, the data suggest that the relative position of the Negro in regard to higher levels of attainment has become worse in recent decades.[1]

The "universalistic criteria of performance and achievement" referred to by Blau and Duncan has much significance when black separatism becomes a major force. In the pluralistic American society of today, it is well to recognize that a crescive American identity is very much in process of development. A stronger America should come about as the Afro-American gains full access to the "mainstream."[2]

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[1]Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 241.

[2]To use the language of the sociologist, "The strong interdependence among men and groups engendered by the extensive division of labor becomes the source of their organic solidarity, to use Durkheim's term, inasmuch as social differentiation weakens the particularistic ingroup values that unite men in common bonds of mechanical solidarity. The attenuation of particularistic ties of ingroup solidarity, in turn, frees men to apply universalistic considerations of efficiency and achievement to ever-widening areas of their lives." Ibid., pp. 429-430.

The continuing impact of slavery and discrimination. -- Important as jobs and housing are to the well-being of black citizens, still to be considered are the burdens accumulated by the years of conscious and unconscious racial discrimination practiced throughout colonial and American history. Social attitudes that determine decisions in the area of black-white interpersonal and institutional relationships are deeply imbedded in American thought and are supported by economic systems that deny Detroit Afro-American citizens the essentials of mobility and free access to educational, housing, labor, business, and cultural marketplaces.

Indicating the impact of slavery upon the institution of the family, the present Executive Director of the Detroit Urban League wrote:

> Many historians have recorded a portion of the effects of slavery on the family life of Negroes. No other race in history has withstood such inhumanity perpetrated against Negro slaves in an attempt to destroy every fabric of the family life, stripping it of all filial value and reducing it to an animal stage. Every societal thread necessary for strong family relationships was completely broken, dissolved and eradicated. The Negro male became less than a man. The Negro has labored under great odds to shake these social tentacles which have enveloped him and prevented him from becoming a real person -- contributing to sound and strong family life. The achievement of the destruction of the family life of Negroes during slavery and its psychological effects have lingered on like a nightmare -- haunting succeeding generations. The social and

> economic pathologies of the low-income Negro family must receive immediate diagnosis and special treatment if equality of family life is to be extended to this group.[1]

Pertaining to jobs, the United States Commission on Civil Rights Report on employment concluded that the depressed economic status of Afro-Americans is the product of many forces. It specifically listed the following discriminatory practices as identifiable:

* Discrimination against Negroes in vocational as well as academic training.
* Discrimination against Negroes in apprenticeship training programs.
* Discrimination against Negroes by labor organizations -- particularly in the construction and machinists' crafts.
* Discrimination against Negroes in referral services rendered by State employment offices.
* Discrimination against Negroes in the training and "employment" opportunities offered by the armed services, including the "civilian components."
* Discrimination by employers, including Governmen contractors and even the Federal Government.[2]

Such institutional "freeze-out" by education, business, labor, the armed services, and government has had and still

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[1]Francis A. Kornegay, in a foreword to The Detroit Low-Income Negro Family, prepared by the Research Department of the Detroit Urban League, April 1, 1966.

[2]U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Employment, Report No. 3 (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 153.

is having tremendous deleterious effect on motivations and the mental health of Afro-American citizens, individually and in groups.[1]

Apprenticeship programs are significant measures of upward mobility in the occupational structure. In testifying before the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights on December 14, 1960, Walter Reuther stated: "Of the 3,517 apprentices in the Detroit metropolitan area, only 76 were Negroes, and this was in 1950 when Negro participation in apprenticeship was perhaps at an all-time high because of the GI training program."[2]

Afro-American teenage unemployment. -- Apprenticeship is one form of school, full employment another, probably a better one but as is well-known, the black American's experience is "last hired; first fired." Not so well-known is the alarming waste of our human resources in the months and years after high school graduation and after becoming a dropout. Sar A. Levitan, in a 1963 publication of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, analyzed aggregate unemployment statistics among teenage Afro-Americans:

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[1]Martin M. Grossack, ed., Mental Health and Segregation (New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1963).

[2]United States Commission on Civil Rights, Hearings before the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Hearings held in Detroit, Michigan, December 14-15, 1960, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 44.

> In some areas the problem of Negro teenage unemployment is of particularly alarming proportions. In a Detroit slum area with some 125,000 people, mostly Negro, 70 percent of the youth between the ages of 16 and 21 were out of school and unemployed, according to a recent survey. In a Chicago slum area, three out of every five Negro male youths between the ages of 16 and 21 were unemployed and out of school.[1]

In a speech delivered on October 26, 1966, Gardner Ackley, then Chairman of President Johnson's Council of Economic Advisors, showed great concern about black teenage unemployment:

> One of the most serious aspects of today's unemployment is its heavy concentration among Negroes, and particularly among younger Negroes, and its relationship with social discontent and protest. In this past year of general and substantial reduction of unemployment, it is disappointing to note that the average unemployment rate of Negroes has fallen relatively less than the rate for whites. In recent months Negro rates have been moving upward. Indeed, among teenage Negroes it is an unpleasant and intolerable fact that unemployment rates this year have been generally higher than a year earlier. The rate for teenage Negro females stands between 30 and 40%. And the rate for teenage Negro males in September was almost 24%.[2]

Locally, James B. Conant as Vice-Chairman of the President's Committee on Youth Employment, suggested a follow-up study, completed in October, 1964, of Detroit high-school leavers to Norman Barcus, Chief of the Research

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[1]Sar A. Levitan, Youth Employment Act (Kalamazoo, Michigan: The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1963), pp 2-3.

[2]"Full Employment -- Can it be a reality?" Vital Speeches of the Day, XXXIII, No. 3., November 15, 1966, 75.

and Statistics Division of the Michigan Employment Security Commission. This study of Northwestern and Northeastern high schools was pessimistic about employment opportunities in the motor city:

> Detroit is not an area in which the employment outlook for young people can be said to be very bright. The city has seen the development of a hard core of long-term unemployed who are primarily Negro, with a relatively low level of education, and no marketable skills. Many of the members of this hard core were workers with low seniority in the automobile and supplier plants whose operations within the Detroit metropolitan area were curtailed or eliminated in the post-Korea period.[1]

What is the situation in white-collar employment markets? A study of initial employment in offices and stores in Detroit concluded, "Sex and race were the most significant influences in Negro females not obtaining an entry job."[2] In recommending areas of needed research, this same study suggested that the attitudes of students and employees about themselves had much to do with how effective they were in learning job tasks. In writing job descriptions (and student tasks) the affective side

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[1]The Detroit High School Leavers Project, Final Report, October, 1964, Michigan Employment Security Commission, Detroit Board of Education in Cooperation with the United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Employment Security, p. 7

[2]Fred S. Cook and Frank W. Lanham, Opportunities and Requirements for Initial Employment of School Leavers with Emphasis on Office and Retail Jobs, Office of Education, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Cooperative Research Project No. 2378, 1966, page xviii.

needs greater emphasis: "Such an extension would perhaps provide models of the effective office and retail worker, level of aspiration, self-image, and similar 'feeling side' of jobs to judge employment needs with the capabilities of school leavers."[1]

But at this time (1969) the conclusion must be that open opportunity and access to prosperity in an affluent America are still denied Afro-American youth by decision-makers who set higher priorities on technological tasks.

Powerful protests at the cost of great human and property loss have been heard in California, New Jersey, Michigan, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Within the large metropolitan areas in these states and in the smaller cities, the public school systems must remain a critical national resource for the improvement of black-white interpersonal and intergroup relations. The task at hand is one f moving and persuading decision-makers (including business educators) to develop and implement strategies of economic and social change in the schools.

The intervention-through-education concept. -- Major decisions in working with complex human problems center around determining points of intervention likely to maximize desirable results. In allocating scarce resources, education, seen as an investment for society

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[1] Ibid., p. 133.

and the individual, is the single most important long-range institution for developing effective citizenship. This has been recognized in the language of the U. S. Supreme Court in its historic case ruling segregated education in public education inherently unequal and hence unconstitutional. This decision was clearly supportive of free public education:

> Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities, even service in the armed forces. It is the foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of education.[1]

As an agency of intervention to redress the evils of unequal and segregated socialization experiences, the school has positive possibilities to prepare students for living in an integrated society and educators have a heavy responsibility in the shaping of many lives.

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[1]Brown v. Board of Education 347 U. S. 483 1954, reprinted in The Supreme Court on Racial Discrimination, ed. by Joseph Tussman (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1963), 40-41.

In the next section, we will report the degree of racial integration in selected Detroit public high schools.

The school racial census as a first step toward problem awareness. -- Schools can not succeed as learning environments without citizen support. The major problem in Detroit, as elsewhere, is the residential pattern of metropolitan areas where the Afro-American is discriminated against in housing markets. His more acceptable white brother easily finds new housing, with ready and adequate financing, in near and distant suburbs.[1] Much more subtle than the openly practiced and defended apartheid of the Union of South Africa, the American housing pattern is one of all-black central city areas surrounded by lily-white suburbs. Few educators have the courage to openly question the value of this for America's future, especially in their school communities.

In Detroit it was not until January 25, 1960, when the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities (a committee formed by the Board of Education and the then Superintendent of Schools, Dr. Samuel Miller

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[1]Scholarly studies of housing are: Davis McEntire, Residence and Race (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), and Karl E. and Alma F. Taeuber, Negroes in Cities: Residential Segregation and Neighborhood Change (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965).

Brownell) met, that a census was begun on the number and racial designation of teachers, administrators, office staff, other employees, and students in every school unit. The rationale for this count was given in 1962 in this way: "...In order to achieve the goal of disregarding racial differences in staff selection and pupil opportunities, it will sometimes be necessary to notice specifically racial differences. Thus, in order to 'promote desegregation' whenever feasible in making necessary adjustments of school boundaries, etc., it is obviously necessary for the Board to notice the existing residential distribution of races in the area under consideration. The subcommittee holds that there is no real inconsistency in noticing race as a means toward achieving desegregation and eliminating unfair discrimination."[1]

The latest available census, Racial Distribution of Students and Employees in the Detroit Public Schools, School year 1968-69, contains this opening statement: "Since 1961, the Detroit Public Schools have conducted an annual racial census of pupils and staff for the purpose of evaluating progress toward equal educational opportunities and equal employment practices."[2]

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[1]Findings and Recommendations of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities, Abridged Edition, The Board of Education of the City of Detroit, March, 1962, p. 56.

[2]Published and distributed by Intergroup Relations Department, Division of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools.

The changing racial composition of the Detroit Public Schools can be seen in the following:

TABLE I

TOTAL NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES OF STUDENTS BY RACE IN THE DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1961-1968[1]

Date	White	%	Black	%	Other	%	Total
2/61	153,046	53.6	130,765	45.8	1,701	0.6	285,512
10/63	141,240	48.1	150,565	51.3	1,940	0.7	293,745
10/64	136,077	46.3	155,852	53.0	2,037	0.7	293,966
10/65	130,957	44.4	161,487	54.8	2,378	0.8	294,822
10/66	126,354	42.5	168,299	56.7	2,382	0.8	297,035
10/67	120,544	40.9	171,707	58.2	2,614	0.9	294,865
10/68	115,295	39.0	175,474	59.4	4,531	1.5	295,300

The trend is toward an increasing proportion of Afro-American pupils in the Detroit system. Were these students in racially isolated schools? In four inner-city high schools (Martin Luther King, Central, Northern and Northwestern) in October, 1967, there were 63 white students and 8,481 Afro-American students for a 99.3% Afro-American student population. In six outer-city high

[1]Intergroup Relations Department, Division of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools, Racial Distribution of Students and Employees in the Detroit Public Schools, School Year, 1968-69, p. iii.

schools (Cody, Redford, Osborn, Denby, Ford, and Cooley) in the same census there were 1,589 Afro-American students and 17,013 white students for a 91.5% white student population. The same data source indicates a grade-level racial distribution of more Afro-American students in the early elementary grades than in the senior high grades.

A significant measure of racial isolation is the number of schools that are unirace. As is seen in the following table, the Detroit system has been much more successful in reducing the number of schools with no Afro-American pupils than in reducing the number of schools where there are no Caucasian pupils. In fact, in the latter category, the number of schools has more than doubled:

TABLE II

RACIAL COMPOSITION OF SCHOOLS - PUPIL MEMBERSHIP[1]

Date	Schools with	
	0 Negro Pupils	0 White Pupils
2/61	73	8
10/63	49	9
10/64	35	7
10/65	30	10
10/66	22	14
10/67	15	16
10/68	17	19

[1]Ibid., p. lv.

In recent years, what changes in racial composition in these schools have taken place? To focus on high schools, the following analysis of schools into inner-city and predominantly black and outer-city and predominantly white, gives some idea of the amount of racial separation by reporting the number of pupils in the minority group (white or black) category. Following current use in the Detroit area, predominantly means more than 90 per cent.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF MINORITY GROUP STUDENTS IN SELECTED DETROIT PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOLS[1]

	1965	1966	1967	1968
I. WHITES IN PREDOMINANTLY BLACK HIGH SCHOOLS:				
Central	6	4	1	1
King	19	18	26	23
Northern	31	29	35	139
Northwestern	12	3	1	0
II. BLACKS IN PREDOMINANTLY WHITE HIGH SCHOOLS:				
Cody	33	48	78	66
Denby	76	151	148	160
Ford	75	82	108	230
Osborn	110	196	383	515
Redford	16	43	69	106

[1]Source: Intergroup Relations Department, Division of School-Community Relations, Detroit Public Schools.

Obviously, the opportunity of 2,090 black students to learn from one white student at Central High in October, 1967 was limited. Conversely, at Redford High, 3,590 white students could not have had much interaction with 69 black students. The "racial purity" of the suburban high schools would probably be even more extreme. A thorough analysis of racial composition of schools in the southeastern area of Michigan is outside the scope of this study. What is significant is, that if education is to be relevant for the student, educators should increase their knowledge about the experiences of the Afro-American citizen. A prevailing hope must be that realism will eventually triumph over obsolete racial myths in clarifying modern social and educational objectives. In single-race or unirace schools, interaction patterns in and out of school will for the most part be intraracial. Opportunities to explore solutions to relevant issues of the day directly with members of the opposite race[1] will be minimal. The

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[1]"Race", to say the least, is a mixed bag. The concept of "social race" is useful but any fixed and rigid classification is pure nonsense. Good information on racial classification can be found in An Introduction to Anthropology, Third Edition, by Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer (New York: Macmillan, 1967); the UNESCO pamphlets in the bound volume, Race and Science (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); and the inexpensive paperback by Ruth Benedict, Race: Science and Politics (New York: Viking Press, 1964). In American studies, social and cultural anthropology dominates physical anthropology. A fine example is Walter Goldschmidt's Exploring the Ways of Mankind (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961).

opportunity to explore the myth of race and its dangers would be abstract and academic. Implications of the study of "race" for future cultures and societies should be recognized by educational decision-makers, especially because of their roles in widening human identities. Unexamined concepts of race, like the unexamined life are likely to result in intellectual apathy.

Racial segregation is only part of a growing stratification and separation in schools. Social and economic factors are operative as Fischer points out:

> City and suburban schools meanwhile (author's note: he is contrasting these with the rural school consolidation movement) have gone in quite the opposite direction, becoming steadily more segregated not only by race but also by social and economic level. The momentum of this movement creates one of the principal forces opposing integration in schools and communities. Combined with more common forms of racial prejudice, segregated housing, and repressive economic practices, the growing social stratification of the public school carries the most serious implications for the future of American society.[1]

Student performance in inner-city high schools. -- The observation may be made that the effect of the historic Supreme Court decision on segregated public schools has been one of updating the law by counteracting the earlier (1896) ruling in favor of separate and equal accomodations

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[1]John H. Fischer, "Race and Reconciliation: The Role of the School," Daedalus, (Winter, 1966), 35.

but in itself it has not had the force to change the racial patterns of neighborhoods and schools in the North to any significant degree. The cumulative effects of centuries of discrimination have placed the Afro-American where he has been deprived educationally (at one time it was a major crime to teach a slave to read) and where he has little trust in any white man, no matter how well intentioned.

The black student continues to be short-changed in ghetto schools. As urban sociologist Abrams says, in commenting on the polarization of America into black and white communities, "We have become a nation of a thousand Mason-Dixon lines."[1]

An important recent study concluded:

> Let us be clear on the issues. The question is not whether in theory or in the abstract Negro schools can be as good as white schools. In a society free from prejudice in which Negroes were full and equal participants, the answer would clearly be "Yes." But we are forced, rather, to ask the harder question, whether in our present society, where Negroes are a minority which has been discriminated against, Negro children can prepare themselves to participate effectively in society if they grow up and go to school in isolation from the majority group. We must also ask whether we can cure the disease of prejudice and prepare all children for life in a multi-racial world if white children grow up and go to school in isolation from Negroes.[2]

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[1]Charles Abrams, The City is the Frontier (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 365.

[2]United States Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools, Volume 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 214.

How successful are students from black ghetto schools? Students in Detroit inner-city schools are likely to resemble this profile: They are Americans of African ancestry, born in the South or are first-generation Detroiters -- pre-school and out-of-school social life is almost exclusively with black children since housing patterns are segregated -- symbolic representation in speech, reading, writing, and number skills is around the 25th percentile on a wide variety of nationally standardized tests -- successful performance at all levels of school has been difficult -- with weak language-arts backgrounds, these students have difficulty in using acceptable English, the words and ideas they encounter in their textbooks and with teachers do not correspond with their experiences, the speech they hear teachers use does not sound familiar -- when they check papers, much of their slowness and inaccuracy center around reading and spelling difficulties.

The position of the predominantly black high school on criteria of attendance, scholastic failure, a nationally standardized ability test, and the Cooperative English Test can be compared with the predominantly white school by reading the rankings in the table that follows. The near-bottom or bottom rankings of the black school on these measures point to the urgent need to achieve better results. Attendance rankings point to a need for individualizing instruction to partially compensate for unstable learning opportunities and social environments.

TABLE IV

SELECTED STUDENT PERFORMANCE BY CITY-WIDE RANK FOR INNER-CITY (PREDOMINANTLY BLACK) AND OUTER-CITY (PREDOMINANTLY WHITE) HIGH SCHOOLS[1]

	Attendance[2]	No Subject Failures[3]	Ability (SCAT)[4]	English Test[5]
I. Inner-City School:				
Central	18	16	14	15
King	21	14	20	20
Northern	20	15	21	17
Northwestern	22	20	11	20
II. Outer-City School:				
Cody	6	13	13	8
Denby	4	1	9	7
Ford	2	3	3	2
Osborn	3	4	5	4
Redford	5	6	4	3

[1]Source: The Report of the High School Study Commission, June, 1968, Detroit Public Schools. There are 22 senior high schools (excluding Aero Mechanics) in the Detroit Public School system: 21 are comprehensive and one (Cass) is a technical high school.

[2]Rank of the average of October average daily attendance (per cent of students present) for the years 1961-66; Ibid., p. 163.

[3]Per cent of students without any subject failures, 1965-66 (first semester); Ibid., p. 180.

[4]School and College Ability Test Battery Scores, 1966-67; Ibid., p. 122.

[5]Cooperative English Test, 12A grade (Spring, 1967); Ibid., p. 107.

A recent investigation of output performance of low-income high schools (these would be inner-city schools) and high income schools (outer-city) reports the percentage of entering 10B class graduating as 39 for the low-income school and 67 for medium-income schools.[1] The study reported that low-income area schools:

1. -- had a greater percentage of withdrawals.
2. -- had a smaller percentage of pupils graduating.
3. -- had fewer graduates who planned to enter college.
4. -- had fewer graduates matriculating in the three major state universities of Michigan.
5. -- had a greater percentage of pupils planning to enter employment after graduation.
6. -- had a smaller percentage of graduates who were promised employment in types of jobs for which they trained in high school.
7. -- had more graduates seeking employment through the Michigan Employment Security Commission.

The implications of these findings for public policy were seen as "...the public school system will have to expend much more time, effort, and money on pupils in low-income area schools if these pupils are to compete on an equal basis with others who have more economic advantages."[2]

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[1]"Relationship of Income to Some Indices of High School Success in the Detroit Public Schools," mimeographed, Research and Development Department, Detroit Public Schools, August, 1968.

[2]Ibid., 17.

Additional evidence of student performance in inner-city high schools can be obtained from the Urban League. On December 12, 1968, the Detroit Urban League released the following news release:

> Although job referrals and placements by the Vocational Services Department of the Detroit Urban League show a significant increase, too large a percent of applicants cannot be referred.
>
> In an effort to discover the reasons for this, the Research Department undertook a study of the characteristics of all persons applying for jobs during the months of March and August, 1968. In all 105 female and 95 male applicants were studied. Some interesting facts came to light.
>
> Eighty-three percent of the applicants were unemployed. Although 86% of the 200 had a high school education or better, 77% were classified as unskilled. Forty percent could not be referred because of insufficient skills. Although having finished high school they did not possess salable skills.
>
> The average age of the applicants was 23 years. Sixty-nine percent had been living in Detroit 10 years or more. Fifty percent was found to be living within the Grand Boulevard area.
>
> In commenting on these findings, Francis A. Kornegay, Executive Director of the League said, "This study points up the crying need for better trained persons. It also emphasizes the necessity for our high schools to eliminate the general curriculum -- substituting in its place a vocational and technical curriculum. In spite of all of the efforts now being made to prepare young people for the world of work and to hire the hardcore, we are far from achieving our goal of full employment."[1]

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[1]Detroit Urban League News Release, December 12, 1968.

Drawing on examinations given by the Selective Service System to 18-year-olds during the period, July, 1964 to December, 1964, Gregory made these comparisons:

> Almost 57 percent of the 18-year-olds in draft board areas from which Northern High School draws many of its students failed the mental examination. Almost half of the 18-year-olds from the predominantly black inner city also failed this exam.
>
> The failure rate of 30 percent in the entire City of Detroit was indeed substantially higher than the 22 percent rate for the entire three-county (Wayne, Macomb, and Oakland) metropolitan area. However, the difference is more than completely accounted for by the lower performance of youths from areas inhabited largely by Afro-Americans. Performance of students from the predominantly white central city areas exceeded that in white suburbia. The failure rate in the largely white outer-city in Detroit was 12 percent in contrast to 15 percent in white suburbia.
>
> Even a failure rate of 12 to 15 percent on a relatively elementary mental test is excessive. A study of job requirements shows that 80 per cent of the increase by 1980 will be for white collar workers. The U. S. Surgeon General notes a high correlation between mental test scores of the Selective Service System and job performances. And there is already an excess supply of the undereducated, with regard to job requirements. About 420,000 persons over 25 years of age in the Detroit Metropolitan area have only had 8 years of school or less.
>
> The brunt of educational inadequacies falls with shattering severity on black youths, although it affects a much larger number of persons. Many of them will be the army of the unemployed and the unemployables of the future.[1]

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[1]Karl D. Gregory, "The Walkout: Symptom of Dying Inner City Schools," New University Thought, Vol. 5, No. 3 (May/June, 1967), 33.

The Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal of American Dilemma fame, saw education as the means to eliminate the ghetto:

> Obliterating in America the Negro ghetto and all other pockets of subhuman existence, involving even more non-Negroes than Negroes, is a necessary condition for President Johnson's Great Society. As long as they are permitted to exist, they constitute a drag on American prosperity generally. Even leaving aside the moral issue of justice and the more perfect realization of the American ideals of liberty and equality of opportunity, and speaking in cold financial terms, eradicating the rural and urban slums and giving the youth there an education for productive employment are probably the most profitable investments that can be made in America today.[1]

The limitations of fair employment, open housing, and excellent schools as measures of freedom. -- At the beginning of this chapter is the sentence, "The plan in this chapter is to relate jobs, housing, and schools as the black citizens of Detroit experience them." The present study has very serious limitations. The most serious: the author is white.[2] This in itself would cause every reader who happens to be black to say, "He

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[1]Gunnar Myrdal in the foreward to Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power, by Kenneth B. Clark (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. x.

[2]The author, along with Professor Boas of anthropological fame, recognizes only one race, the human race. It is experiences that make one "white" or "black." But there can be little doubt that the institutions of America make it difficult to eliminate barriers of misunderstanding.

never experienced what I experienced since he is white. His view is limited."

But as the black citizens of Detroit pen their stories and poems, whites have an opportunity to read the personal stories of individual, family, and cultural struggles in finding dignity and societal worth in large urban settings in the twentieth century.

Jobs, housing, and education -- along with voting rights -- have been indicators of Afro-American progress for many years in the movement toward full and equal civil rights. But there is a felt need found in the respondents cooperating in this study for white Americans to undergo a shift of attitude away from begrudging acceptance or tolerance of Negroes toward full acceptance of black people as fellow Americans and fellow humans who possess the full range of potential and pitfalls.

Many institutions of America, including education, have perpetrated the concepts of white supremacy. Fairer historical analysis is one method to eliminate, at least by recognition, the racism inherent in the worst features of American life.

The search for ethnic and cultural recognition and relevance is directly related to student self esteem and their belief in their potential for filling leadership roles as citizens in or out of the Afro-American community.

In inner-city schools curriculum discussions still revolve around the stupid question of academic (college-bound) or vocational (world of work) and the general curriculum, as Kornegay pointed out above, is basically an indeterminate group of students lacking inner direction or outer direction. Individuality and uniqueness of personality are lost in the crushing boredom of outdated courses, textbooks, and teachers. The cognitive and intellectual is stressed at the expense of attention to the affective. There is little search for understanding of how students feel about themselves.

In being required by student unrest to understand the emotional life of the black person in America, white educators working in the inner city can find clearer definition of traditional values. Many Americans are still a long way from recognizing the motivational costs incurred in physical and social deprivation.

To take one striking quotation from a growing black literature, we can see how a black leader saw the American opportunity structure at the beginning of this century:

> The history of the American Negro is the history of this strive, -- this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into

> a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.[1]

These insights were published in 1903. The next quotation is taken from an extremely thorough and competent study of the Northern High School walkout in Detroit in April, 1966:

> Rapport is made difficult by the clash of the cultures of teachers and students. Some teachers are totally unfamiliar with the ways of life of the inner city -- another cost of the residentially segregated metropolitan area and city. The neighborhood is believed to be a place to work, and afterwards to depart, and cautiously. Sensational headlines and misuse of statistics on crime in mass media, abetted by other factors, may have the effect of producing fear, through an interpretation which associates crime with race rather than with individual behavior. Fear is easily discerned by students who then take advantage of it. Then reality reinforces the fear. It's a continuous, self-perpetuating cycle. Most Afro-American teachers are familiar with the environment and life-styles and therefore avoid paranoia, but there are other problems. For some, the failure

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[1]W. E. Burghardt DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk, reprinted as a Fawcett Premier Book, (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, Inc.), third printing, 1968, p. 17.

> of the child is a racial failure, not an individual one, and black failure is too personal to be excusable. For other black teachers, life is a never ending attempt to escape from the Negro stereotype. Among the most unsung heroes are the many dedicated teachers, black and white, who rise above these and other limitations to develop the intellectual curiosity of their students.[1]

Perceptive accounts of black thought and emotions are now available to interested educators. An illustration is the following section from a best-selling book by two black psychiatrists, and one of the authors is a former resident of Detroit.

> Observe that the amount of rage the oppressed turns on his tormentor is a direct function of the depth of his grief, and consider the intensity of black men's grief.
>
> Slip for a moment into the soul of a black girl whose womanhood is blighted, not because she is ugly, but because she is black and by definition all blacks are ugly.
>
> Become for a moment a black citizen of Birmingham, Alabama, and try to understand his grief and dismay when innocent children are slain while they worship, for no other reason than that they are black.
>
> Imagine how an impoverished mother feels as she watches the light of creativity snuffed out in her children by schools which dull the mind and environs which rot the soul.

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[1]Gregory, "The Walkout," p. 43.

> For a moment make yourself the black father whose son went innocently to war and there was slain -- for whom, for what?
>
> For a moment be any black person, anywhere, and you will feel the waves of hopelessness that engulfed black men and women when Martin Luther King was murdered. All black people understood the tide of anarchy that followed his death.
>
> It is the transformation of this quantum of grief into aggression of which we now speak. As a sapling bent low stores energy for a violent backswing, blacks bent double by oppression have stored energy which will be released in the form of rage -- black rage, apocalyptic and final.[1]

A constructive means for using aggression is to write a book. One prominent Afro-American businessman in Detroit, in writing about opportunities for black businessmen, stated, "We act as though we actually feel that we have no right to belong in business."[2]

The hard historical facts support his view. The Afro-American has not been participant in the American Dream -- he has not found full acceptance and easy integration into educational, economic, socio-political, and psychological events. A thorough-going national assessment of education found that school systems generally

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[1]William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage (New York: Basic Books, Inc.), p. 210, 1968.

[2]Fairfield Butler, Sr., The Perennial Paraders (Detroit: Defarma Publishing Company), p. 4, 1967.

have failed in "reducing the dependence of a child's opportunities upon his social origins."[1]

Dr. Broadus N. Butler of Detroit,[2] in a major speech to the Booker T. Washington Business Association, on July 31, 1968, spoke optimistically about the goals for a better Detroit:

> We want to transform this city into a livable and genuinely humane community. Our citizens want to live, work, play, and walk without fear in our town. We want to talk with assurance and confidence about our town. And, we want to feel personally involved in the mainstream of affairs of our town.
>
> These wants are not unrealistic, for they are the normal requirements of belonging and of citizenship. They are real, they are deep, and they are conscious demands which have been addressed to the city and to the nation continuously over the past thirty years with increasing crescendo. They were issued first from a base in law, then from an appeal to morality, equal justice and non-violence. In frustration of all of those, last year the address came from a base of power to produce violence and destruction. There is now a yearning for the freedom to return to the first two bases, but this yearning must be undergirded by specific conditions and guarantees of equal justice and equal opportunity especially for those who continue to vent their anger and frustration at being aliens in our midst. These conditions must not deal only with palliatives, hypocrisies, or with promises without substance such as have been too long paraded under the labels of equal education, equal employment opportunity, equal justice under law, and racial harmony. This

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[1]Johns Hopkins Professor John S. Coleman as quoted by Earl K. Ryan, Acting Director of the Research Department of the Detroit Urban League in a mimeographed report, "An Analysis of the U. S. Office of Education Survey, Equality of Educational Opportunity," November, 1966.

[2]Recently, Dr. Butler was appointed president of Dillard University, New Orleans.

> yearning is for true identification with and meaningful challenge in the recognized positive and legitimate mainstreams of economic, political, and community life. That is the arena which challenges and compensates, not stigmatizes, men for their efforts to be fully participating citizens.[1]

The schools of Detroit have an important part to play in developing the humane community Dr. Butler envisions. Teachers are in need of new information about how they can enlist the cooperation of businessmen to develop learning practices that will build the confidence, trust, autonomy, and initiative that characterize the entrepreneurial motives. This is particularly true for teachers in urban schools with high proportions of Afro-American students.

Before examining the history of Afro-American business there are advantages in stepping back or out of the current perspectives to inquire briefly about why urban schools are now so ineffective.

As a beginning point, we might claim that current teacher practices of measuring learning use yardsticks or standards set for an earlier and different racial and socio-economic group. Sociocultural change in student populations has exceeded the rate of change in eduuational personnel. Also there has been a dearth of

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[1]Broadus N. Butler, "Detroit Reassessment -- One Year Later," mimeographed, July 31, 1968, 20-21.

quality teachers willing to accept and love children from subcultures of poverty. Many teachers are slow to recognize that individual differences do apply to Afro-Americans. Individualizing instruction in America is important because of increased heterogeneity and greater mobility, economic and geographic. Many teachers are slow to permit students to share uniqueness with one another through group activities. Too often the individual classroom teacher sees the end of her responsibilities when the student leaves her class each day and at the end of the semester. The subject matter, in the eyes of the teacher, is more important than the student. Teachers have been unwilling to see that they could recognize the special problems of urban children and yet accept the child, individually, as a worthy human being with unfolding potential.

Entrenched by professional tenure and organizational philosophies of closed systems, business educators, like teachers in other curriculum areas, have been slow to change their dysfunctional and traditional methods even though the school population has undergone great change in a few years. Part of the problem, a major part, has been lack of experience and hence communication between individuals in the polarized black and white American society. Most white teachers and administrators lack experience with black people which leads to poor decisions and a lack of imaginative planning.

Thus it is reasonable to expect that the preparation of educators for inner-city positions will be improved through exploring ideas with representatives from our multi-racial and multiethnic society in university classrooms and dormitories. For most colleges, this means increasing the number of black students.

The challenge of urban education has yet to be met, for as Fischer wrote:

> In designing educational strategies to meet the special needs of Negro ghetto children the public schools are undertaking tasks they have never really faced up to before. The curricula of slum schools have almost invariably been no more than adapted versions of those designed for middle-class pupils. Even now, a number of the changes being introduced into slum schools involve little more than efforts to apply to the ghetto, although somewhat more effectively and more intensively, the characteristic practices of middle-class schools: smaller classes to teach traditional subjects, more time for reading, using standard readers, increased guidance service employing the customary techniques.[1]

Today's students in Detroit schools are tomorrow's family heads, job holders, house-seekers, employers, job creators, tax payers, and models of behavior for their children. If Detroit and the nation learned anything from the hot summer of 1967, it must be that more attention must be given to developing our human resources through the Detroit public school system.

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[1]John H. Fischer, "Race and Reconciliation: The Role of the School," Daedalus, (Winter, 1966), 37-38.

CHAPTER III

THE SEARCH OF THE LITERATURE AND A BRIEF CHRONOLOGICAL ACCOUNT OF AFRO-AMERICANS AS BUSINESSMEN

Introduction. -- Although the libraries used had millions of volumes, the effort required to bring the level of bibliographic works dealing with Afro-Americans up to that of more conventional academic interests has not yet been made. As top universities in the United States and elsewhere see the wisdom of expanding their institutions to provide for complete curriculums in Afro-American studies, more complete bibliographies will be written. Certainly the materials in specialized libraries such as the William L. Clements Library of Americana on the Ann Arbor (University of Michigan) campus have not been searched with an eye that relates volumes of American histories to business activities by Afro-Americans.

The present writer was acutely aware of time and financial limitations in reviewing the literature even though he was the beneficiary of an NDEA Institute, he was granted a sabbatical leave from the Detroit Public Schools, and he received a sizable loan from NDEA funds.

Search of the literature. -- Course work in anthropology provided some understanding of the culture

concept. Still useful is Bronislaw Malinowski's article on "Culture" in The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Volume IV, 1931, pp. 621-645. A book of readings by Walter Goldschmidt, Exploring the Ways of Mankind (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), develops the constructs of Malinowski in a highly readable way. A clearer picture of the complexities in measuring intelligence was gained by reading Chapter 14, "Cultural Background Factors Affecting Test Performance," and Chapter 15, "Intelligence and Culture," in Mental Subnormality: Biological, Psychological, and Cultural Factors, by Richard L. Masland, Seymour B. Sarason, and Thomas Gladwin, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1958).

In sociology, Robin M. Williams, Jr.'s American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959), reaffirmed American ideals for a just society of the future even if one was not now available. John Dollard's Caste and Class in a Southern Town (1937, but now available as a paperback) and Lloyd W. Warner's American Life: Dream and Reality (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) were helpful early readings in 1963.

As a member of the NDEA Institute on Advanced Economics at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in 1966, the author found the writings of Gary S. Becker, Charles S. Benson, Dale L. Hiestand, and Theodore W.

Schultz helpful to understanding the "human capital" approach of seeing education as an economic investment having rich dividends for the greater society.

In February of 1967 the material for Afro-American studies was found under these headings in the graduate library, University of Michigan: Negro, Negro college, Negro literature, Negro race, Negro songs, and Negroes.[1] Works on the Negro in general were found under Negro Race catalogued as: Bibliography, Colonization, Education, Employment, Moral and Social Conditions, Politics & Suffrage, and Social Life and Customs. There was a separate section, Negroes in business: Negroes as businessmen.

The vastness of literature by and about the Afro-American is best described by reference bibliographies such as Monroe N. Work's A Bibliography of the Negro in Africa and America, (first published in 1928 but reissued by Octagon Books, New York, in 1965) which is "A select reference bibliography on the Negro with more than 17,000 entries covering the most worth-while publications in different languages issued before 1928." A

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[1]Under this heading are recorded general works on Negroes in the United States; works dealing with Negroes in particular states or localities of the United States are recorded under Negroes - /local sub-division/ e.g., Negroes - Mississippi, Negroes - Philadelphia. Works on Negroes of countries, cities, etc. outside of the United States are recorded under Negroes in Africa, Negroes in Canada.

statement about Monroe Work by Anson Phelps Stokes appears in a forword to the book. It well illustrates views on race general to the world of white scholarship of that period:

> I, for one, am extremely glad that an American Negro, with only a trace of white blood, had the imagination to conceive of the work on broad lines, the scholarly mind to follow the best bibliographic standards in its preparation, and the persistance to carry it through effectively in spite of the enormous labor and difficulties involved. It is a monument of which any man or any race may well feel proud.

A modern and thorough guide to Afro-American materials and sources of material is The Negro in the United States: A Research Guide (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1965) by Erwin K. Welsch.

A useful recent reference book is that compiled for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences by Elizabeth W. Miller titled The Negro in America: A Bibliography (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), particularly Chapter VI, Economic Status and Problems where there is a section on "The Negro as Entrepreneur."

Significant findings in the literature of Afro-American business. -- Professor W. E. DuBois organized and conducted a series of pioneer research studies while

at Atlanta University in the years 1896 to 1916. At the turn of the nineteenth century, a survey by his students found the following examples of entrepreneurship in thirty different states:[1]

89 Publishers and job printers
49 Builders and contractors
32 Wagon-makers and blacksmiths
9 Cotton gin proprietors
8 Proprietors of machine shops
8 Cigar manufacturers
5 Milliners

Geographically, the study located a shirt manufacturer in Little Rock, Arkansas; two broom manufacturers in Macon, Georgia; in Baltimore, Maryland, an ice cream manufacturer, a manufacturer of wire goods, a cigar manufacturer, and a bicycle manufacturer; and in New York City, two machinists.

By 1907, with the aid of research funds from the Carnegie Institution, DuBois listed the following black manufacturers:[2]

1. Florida Printing and Improvement Co.
   Jacksonville, Florida

2. Hill Horseshoe and Overshoe Co.
   Denver, Colorado

3. Spencer Red Brick Co.
   Spencer, New York

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[1]W. E. Burghardt DuBois, The Negro in Business (Atlanta: Atlanta University Publications), Number 4, 1899, p. 4.

[2]W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Economic Co-operation Among Negro Americans (Atlanta: Atlanta University Publications), Number 12, 1907, p. 57.

4. Savannah Mattress Co.
   Savannah, Georgia

5. Black Diamond Development Co.
   Chicago, Illinois

6. Crescent Manufacturing Co.
   Lynchburg, Virginia

7. Brown Manufacturing Co.
   Los Angeles, California

8. Western Automobile Repair Co.
   Washington, D. C.

9. Golden Chest and Freeman Mining Co.
   Denver, Colorado

10. Star Coal Co.
    Des Moines, Iowa

11. The Rolesville Colored Saw Mill Co.
    Raleign, North Carolina

12. Bruno Manufacturing Co.
    Boston, Massachusetts

13. Razor Strop and Leather Goods Co.
    New York, N. Y.

14. Lewis Cigar Co.
    Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The variety of business enterprises successfully operated in many communities indicates, motivation, competence, and acceptance deserving of further study. The men behind these business had the initiative to seek success in the wider community of America.

In a mid-depression study conducted for the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Professor Harris found Afro-Americans engaged in many wealth-producing

enterprises.[1] He listed personal service enterprises, livery stable, tailoring, clothing, cooking, catering, saloon-keeping, hotels, farming, hucksters, real estate, merchandising, grocery, and tobacco as business activities. That these enterprises were concurrent with other events in American history, even predating the Declaration of Independence and the Revolutionary War, can be seen in this report of colonial entrepreneurship by a citizen with ancestral roots in Africa:

> The first oyster and ale house in Providence, Rhode Island, was established in the middle of the eighteenth century by an emancipated slave named Emanuel who in 1769 left an estate valued at five hundred thirty-nine pounds and ten shillings.[2]

Farther west, black businessmen had established going concerns in Michigan as in this account:

> ...for many years prior to 1851, Robert Banks occupied the front rank as a tailor and clothes dealer in Detroit, Michigan. In the same city, Abner H. Frances and James Garrett conducted a clothing store with a gross turnover of $60,000 annually.[3]

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[1]Abram L. Harris, The Negro as Capitalist: A Study of Banking and Business Among American Negroes (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1936), p. 11.

[2]Ibid., pp 42-45. Harris is here using Martin A. Delaney's Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States.

[3]Ibid., p. 23.

Isolated examples perhaps, but as early as 1855, a convention was held in New York City to "encourage cooperation among colored entrepreneurs."[1]

Charles Wesley, a student of American economic history, traced the Afro-American labor movement from the period of slavery to 1925. By 1900 the black worker was still limited to agricultural and domestic service employment, thus limiting his access to information about business procedures. But the white foreign immigrant found ready employment in manufacturing industries.[2]

While the Afro-American was kept out of even the lowest occupations in factories, some black small businessmen still found entrepreneurial opportunity in some lines of business:

> Enterprising individuals in the Negro population were developing small business undertakings during this period. Restaurants, barber shops, grocery stores, dry goods stores, and general merchandise stores represented the largest number of Negro store proprietors. They were in the main, small businesses controlled by individual proprietors. Undertakers, real-estate dealers and contractors began to appear, and organized groups such as the Mount Alto Mining and Land Company of Virginia, which was incorporated and began business in 1880.[3]

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[1]Ibid., p. 23.

[2]Charles H. Wesley, Negro Labor in the United States 1850-1925 (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927), p. 249.

[3]Ibid., pp. 250-251.

From a conference on the economic status of the Afro-American held in Washington, D. C., May 11-13, 1933, under the sponsorship of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, some idea of restricted but increasing employment opportunities in various manufacturing lines and trades could be seen.

> Negroes in manufacturing and mechanical industries increased 492.4 per cent between 1890 and 1930, but upon a relatively small numerical base.[1]

In food products, "Few Negroes have been employed in the food products industry and those largely as unskilled workers.[2]

In iron, steel, and machinery industries, the percentage of Afro-American labor increased slightly between 1920 and 1930. The effect of the Great Depression was that the increase of unemployment among Negro laborers was greater than that of Caucasians in the period, April, 1930 to January, 1931,[3] further evidence that in times of less-than-full employment, the black suffers most.

In skilled crafts and construction, "The decline of Negro machinists between 1920 and 1930 was greater than

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[1]Charles S. Johnson, The Economic Status of Negroes (Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1933), p. 44.

[2]Ibid., p. 46.

[3]Ibid., p. 47.

the decline of machinists as a whole." A pattern of exclusion had developed for "White tool makers increased more than the Negro tool makers declined."[1]

The low-status of occupations traditionally open to the Afro-American in the South can be documented from a WPA study comparing father with son occupations in Atlanta, Georgia. The not-too-surprising conclusion is made that "Considering all the data it appears that it is more desirable for Negro sons not to follow their fathers' occupations."[2]

A 1938 federal study commented on education and restrictive union practices in this way:

> First, there has been little apprenticeship training for this group. Second, vocational education for Negroes in trades has been ineffective as a means of training men for skilled pursuits. Third, the attitudes of certain trade unions toward labor organizations in general have kept large numbers of Negro skilled men out of trade unions. Fourth, the low wage rates paid Negroes in the South have encouraged the migration of colored mechanics to the North.[3]

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[1] Ibid., p. 11.

[2] Works Progress Administration of Georgia, Father-Son Occupations Among Negroes in Atlanta, Georgia, mimeographed, 1937, p. 26.

[3] Ira De A. Reid and Robert C. Weaver, The Urban Negro Worker in the United States 1925-1936: An Analysis of the Training, Types, and Conditions of Employment and the Earnings of 200,000 Skilled and White-Collar Negro Workers, Volume I, Statistics by Regions, U. S. Department of the Interior (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), and Volume II, Male Negro Skilled Workers in the United States -- 1930-36, p. 7 of Vol. I.

Even into 1944 there were "At least fourteen American unions which specifically exclude Negroes from membership by provisions to that effect in either their constitutions or their rituals."[1]

Northrup reported black employment in the automobile industry as:

> ...in 1910 only 569 of the 105,759 automobile workers -- exactly .006 were colored. By 1930 the proportion of Negro automobile workers had risen to 4 per cent -- 25,895 of the industry's 640,474 workers.[2]

By 1940 the percentage had dropped somewhat to 3.8% of the industry's 562,500 workers.[3] These Afro-American employees were in the Rouge Plant of the Ford Motor Company, Buick Number 70 in Flint, Pontiac Foundry in Pontiac, Chevrolet Forge in Detroit, the Chevrolet Grey-Iron Foundry in Saginaw, and in the Dodge Main plant in Detroit.

As for opportunities available in the more desirable factory occupations, Northrup reported:

> The Ford concern was the only major company that was willing to force its white employees to work with Negroes in all departments and occupations. Once Ford's white employees became used to the idea, however, there was little or no friction.[4]

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[1]Herbert R. Northrup, Organized Labor and the Negro (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 2.

[2]Ibid., p. 22.

[3]Ibid., p. 186.

[4]Ibid., p. 189.

These harsh facts of limited employment opportunities could not have contributed to entrepreneurial attitudes on the part of fathers or sons. Obtaining a job -- any job -- was achievement in itself.

But the exceptions are meaningful for they illustrate that even with great odds against them, Afro-Americans in small numbers were persistent in developing businesses as Kinzer and Sagarin found in their 1950 study:

> Examples of Negro business enterprises in the ice cream, novelty furniture, livestock and other businesses, functioning more or less in the general market rather than the race market, are shown in Appendix A, Cases No. 7, 12, and 16.[1]

The cases referred to were the Baldwin Ice Cream Company of Chicago; the Novelty Furniture Company in Chicago; and a potato chip manufacturer, George McDermmod of Community Essentials Manufacturing, Crescent City, Illinois, which had a distributing plant in Detroit making porkskins, candies, and pickled pigs feet.

Any review of Afro-American scholarly studies would be incomplete if it did not refer to the encyclopedic study, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, whose principal author was Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal. He began the student in 1937 when he was asked by Frederick P. Keppel on behalf of the trustees of

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[1]Robert H. Kinzer and Edward Sagarin, The Negro in American Business: The Conflict Between Separatism and Integration (New York: Greenberg's Publisher, 1950, p. 122.

the Carnegie Corporation to become director of "...a comprehensive study of the Negro in the United States." Of forty-five chapters, eleven deal directly with economics. On the restrictive nature of segregated employment practices, Myrdal wrote:

> The Negro wage earner in the North has little or no chance in textile factories, sawmills, electrical machinery and supply factories, shoe factories, bakeries, or furniture factories -- to mention just a few examples of the numerous Northern manufacturing lines where the Negro has been unable to get in. Only in exceptional cases did Northern railroads use him for other than unskilled jobs. He was not hired by the utility companies. Thus, even in the North, the Negro remained confined to certain jobs -- either those where he had earlier acquired something of a traditional position or where he managed to gain a foothold during the extraordinary labor market crisis of the First World War.[1]

The Myrdal study contains many psychological insights into the effects of oppression on motivation in a closed society. A good illustration is the following discussion presenting a number of reasons for the present scarcity of Afro-Americans in manufacturing:

> The public, of course, is not always aware of the racial identity of those who produce. For this reason, the Negro, perhaps, would have been able to sell on the white market had he been allowed to become a manufacturer. But the obstacles have been too great to overcome. In most manufacturing lines he has not even been able to become a skilled worker, much less a foreman, engineer, or office worker. The chances of acquiring managerial skills, under such circumstances, were scant. Lack of adequate

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[1]Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), pp. 294-95.

> training made him inferior. His background in slavery enhanced his feeling of inferiority. The general belief that his inferiority was due to his race meant that even those individual Negroes who would have been able to overcome all other difficulties were stopped short. For one thing, it put the would-be Negro entrepreneur at a tremendous disadvantage in respect to the all-important problem of credit. One can almost count on the fingers of one hand the number of types of production where the Negro, as an ordinary workingman, has been allowed to enter when he was not well entrenched already during the time of slavery. If whites put up great restrictions against his activity as a wage earner, how could they be expected to risk their money on his attempts to become and independent producer?[1]

Continuing the distinguished series of Atlanta University research and publications conducted by W. E. B. Dubois, Joseph A.Pierce at the close of World War II:

> Negroes have had limited participation in the general fields of wholesaling and manufacturing. No wholesale businesses and only 19 manufacturing businesses were found to exist in the 12 cities studied [note: the cities were Atlanta, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Durham, Houston, Memphis, Nashville, New Orleans, Richmond, St. Louis, Savannah, and Washington]. The manufacturing businesses which were found to occur with a frequency of one were artificial flowers, cabinets, food, and hair: with a frequency of five, caskets, and with a frequency of eight, cosmetics. Thus beauty preparations and caskets lead the list, thereby showing the Negro's sensitivity to being beautiful and dying well. Yet Negroes should find it possible to gain a more solid foothold in the manufacturing business. Not only is there the Negro market, but a worthwhile product also would find sales on the white market.[2]

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[1] Ibid., p. 312.

[2] Joseph A. Pierce, Negro Business and Business Education: Their Present and Prospective Development (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), p. 224.

Both the Myrdal and the Pierce studies were published near the close of World War II -- a war fought against genocide and racism -- a war, however, with some benefits for the Afro-American since he was needed to fill job vacancies in defense plants.

The global trends of national employment practices serve as backdrop for reporting the microeconomic activities of black-owned manufacturing plants.

Pierce gave this succinct explanation for the lack of black entrepreneurs:

> The most reasonable explanation of the Negro's small progress in manufacture is that he has been unable to obtain the requisite experience for the operation of manufacturing concerns.
>
> Under such circumstances the chances of securing managerial training and skills have been extremely small. Added to these disabilities, the Negro entrepreneur faces the lack of capital and credit, inadequate access to sources of raw materials, restriction of markets, and the lack of fundamental business training.[1]

A recent administrator (in the closing months of President Johnson's administration and the early months of President Nixon's) of the U. S. Department of Commerce Small Business Administration reported:

> Nationally, minorities comprise 15 per cent of the population but they probably own no more than 1 per cent of the business -- no more than 1 per

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[1] Ibid., pp. 224-225.

cent of the nation's 6 million businesses.

> In Washington, D. C. where more than half the population is Negro, blacks own 2,000 businesses while whites own 28,000. And one-fourth of the black-owned businesses are barber shops and beauty parlors. They own no manufacturing enterprises.[1]

In addition to the restrictions in factories, business ownership, and education, attention should also be given to employment in business offices. President Walter Reuther of the UAW gave this testimony in December, 1960 on office employment in the automobile industry:

> Now, on the white-collar front, we have a situation of which no American can be proud. In the General Motors Corporation, to my knowledge, there is not one single Negro in the white-collar classification, and I say this is an intolerable, disgraceful situation in the 169th year of the Bill of Rights. In the Ford Motor Company they have three. Now, that might be convenient window-dressing, but it doesn't meet the problem. In Chrysler there are more, and this is the area in which there is more discrimination in America than any other with respect to employment opportunities.[2]

A more recent study of the Detroit office employment market concluded, "The influence of being a nonwhite female is the most detrimental of the factors in not obtaining an entry job."[3] An analysis of occupations of nonwhite (about

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[1]Howard J. Samuels, "Project Own: Compensatory Capitalism," delivered before the Asset Management Conference of the Virginia Bankers Association, Richmond, Virginia, December 4, 1968. Printed in Vital Speeches of the Day, February 1, 1969, 251.

[2]Hearings before the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Hearings held in Detroit, Michigan, December 14-15, 1960 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961).

[3]Cook and Lanham, Opportunities, p. 62

92% are Afro-American) workers by the Bureau of Labor Statistics found that "Between 1962 and 1965, the largest gains in employment of nonwhite workers occurred in fields from which they have tended to be excluded, such as professional and technical jobs, the crafts, and sales occupations."[1] The nonwhite worker in 1965 although 11% of the civilian labor force, had only 6% of the clerical jobs. As documented above, the Afro-American employee was still less likely to have a good job:

> Within each broad occupational group, nonwhite workers are more likely than the white to be employed in the least skilled categories, and at the lowest levels of the well-paid jobs. Penetration into desirable occupations has been much slower in the South than elsewhere. To be useful, evaluation of achievement must be made on a regional basis. For example, in the white-collar group, advances in nonwhite male employment from March 1960 to March 1966, ranged from 24 percent in sales to over 50 percent in the professional and technical group outside of the South. Changes in the South were substantially less, ranging downward from 24 percent in the managerial or proprietor occupations. Outside of the South, almost 4 in 10 of all nonwhite males had either white-collar or craftsman jobs in March 1966. In the South the proportion was less than 2 in 10.[2]

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[1] The Negroes in the United States: Their Economic and Social Situation, Bulletin No. 1511, June 1966, Bureau of Labor, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 25-28.

[2] Ibid., pp. 28-29.

An important consideration when applying for office employment is meeting employer qualifications. To become successful in passing tests given by personnel departments, an applicant requires competence in verbal and mathematical skills. To get these, he requires good education. However, the quality of general and vocational education a given applicant receives is often controlled by forces outside his control, especially when his family is residentially mobile. There can be little doubt that educational opportunities vary greatly throughout the country which limits the effectiveness of the labor supply.

Much vocational education, including business education, is aimed at obsolete jobs or at best, jobs where the Afro-American will maintain "his place" in jobs with little status or opportunity. The report, Employment, of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, expressed doubt that federally provided vocational education funds were used wisely:

> In spite of a declared policy that "there shall be no discrimination because of race" in the administration of federally aided programs of vocational education, a great deal of it appears to exist. Federal funds in some places support vocational education that is not only strictly separate but palpably unequal even in relation to current employment opportunities for Negroes. Moreover, the pattern of vocational education supported by Federal funds adopts the discrimina-

> tory employment patterns of the past and perpetuates them for the future by denying to Negroes the opportunity to obtain training in new fields. To the extent that openings for Negroes do occur in these fields, there are few who are trained to fill them. The circle of discrimination is complete -- few are qualified because few will be hired; few will be hired because few are qualified.[1]

Summary. -- The evidence is clear that the black American has developed and operated a variety of business enterprises in such traditional lines of business as printing, the construction trades, and manufacturing. In the surveys completed by DuBois, black entrepreneurship was national in scope for he found firms doing business in California, Colorado, Illinois, and in New England at the beginning of this century. The evidence is also clear that black entrepreneurship did not begin with the Emancipation Proclamation and the empty slogan of reconstruction, "forty acres and a mule." Enterprising freed men were in business in colonial times and in the decades before the Civil War. Indeed, even some slaves found they could engage in private business operations as they conducted their master's affairs.

But these were exceptional men and they were few in number. The vast majority of black Americans endured the restrictive and oppressive hardships of slavery on the back

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[1]United States Commission on Civil Rights Report Number 3, Employment (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 104.

acres of plantations and in the abject poverty of city slums. There were obstacles because most Afro-Americans were not physically located in environments where they could learn to read, write, and perform the bookkeeping operations so critical for successful performance in business. They were kept in a condition of enforced ignorance where poverty bred a style of life that perpetuated generation-to-generation privation. All their human resources were simply drained off by the "white man's system."

During the period of the American industrial revolution, the Afro-American found he was not welcome in any job except those in agriculture, domestic service, and similar low-status occupations. For many decades he was forced by a racially segregated and oppressive society to be witness to increasing numbers of white European immigrants getting jobs he was denied. Even up to World War II at least fourteen American unions specifically excluded Afro-Americans.

With the changing labor markets of a war economy and the peace-time need to make automobiles, the Afro-American found new employment opportunities. Roughly, from 1940 when the black worker constituted approximately four percent of the automobile workers, he has found steady employment in American industry. Apprenticeship programs

in skilled trades, however, followed a policy by educational tests and other means, of keeping the black man out.

Against the general conditions of ineffective and limited education, restrictive union practices, exclusion from apprenticeship programs as well as white-collar employment, and other restrictions, a small number of Afro-Americans became inventors, organizors, and businessmen throughout the centuries of the American experience.

The lesson of history is that others have coped with the obstacles black men encountered and one should be able to find in contemporary Detroit men of strong will who are succeeding despite the special problem of being black. There is in history much material for the aspiring black entrepreneur who wishes to identify with early figures in American business history who also had black skins.

For educators there is the task of guiding students to sources of information about these strong men who have prevailed against high odds. Business educators can explore history for information about Afro-American businessmen and they will find themselves better able to help black students find models to emulate thus lifting their levels of aspiration. Black businessmen will find there <u>is</u> a history that provides a tradition of business enterprise among blacks and they can take pride in evidences that the Afro-American, too, has entrepreneurial spirit.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS FROM INTERVIEWS WITH FOUR MANUFACTURING ENTREPRENEURS

The development of a proposal for U. S. Office of Education funding. -- Field research for this study began in May, 1967, when a proposal written in a format suggested by the U. S. Office of Education was completed.[1] This proposal was developed in frequent consultations with Professor Trytten at the University of Michigan while the author was on sabbatical leave from the Detroit Public Schools.

Field work for this study took place during the eventful summer of 1967. In March, 1969, a final series of interviews with the four manufacturing entrepreneurs concluded the basic data collection phase.

Rationale for limiting the study to manufacturing entrepreneurs. -- There were advantages in narrowing the study to manufacturing. A specific area of business operation, manufacturing requires all the innovative and business skills from invention to marketing and is an area where entrepreneurship could be studied within the

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[1]The proposal appears as Appendix II to this study along with two letters of transmittal and a letter of reply.

framework of economics at the level of the individual firm.[1]

The manufacturing entrepreneur has a secure place in a dynamic society where economic development depends on men of enterprise and imagination. A study of Afro-American entrepreneurial personalities located in the automobile center of the world was seen as having a great deal of meaning for potential entrepreneurs in other industrial centers.

Definition of entrepreneur. -- the concept of the entrepreneur still evades clear definition, although classical economists and a ten-year research center at Harvard University tried.[2] The simplest definition appears best: an entrepreneur organizes economic resources into a viable business activity. The concept is important; for it focuses on individual man in macroeconomic society characterized by large corporations, some of which are conglomerates, acting monopolistically or oligopolistically.

A significant aspect of the study of entrepreneurship is that it leads into a discussion of motivation.

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[1]Neil W. Chamberlain, The Firm: Micro-Economic Planning and Action (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1962).

[2]Arthur H. Cole's Business Enterprise in Its Social Setting (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959) gave a final account of the Research Center in Entrepreneurial History.

As a brief illustration of how the psychologist investigates the origins of entrepreneurial behavior, David C. McClelland of Harvard University has developed the topic of what motivates man to achieve in the social context of a wide variety of nations and cultures. His research into the effects of child-parent relationships on ambition and drive for achievement were summarized in this finding:

> Parental pressure for and reward of early achievement, when coupled with a high ratio of successes to failures, results in a high need for achievement (n Achievement) in later life, provided that the child has a good identification with his parents.[1]

The reference interview method. -- With a proposal in hand, it was possible to begin a series of orientation interviews with persons thought to be informed about Detroit's Afro-American community.[2] The interviews were with Professor Emeritus John Trytten (February 6, 1967) at the University of Michigan; Mr. Earl Ryan (February 7, 1967), Acting Research Director of the Detroit Urban League; Professor Howard McClusky (March 12, 1967) of the psychology and education departments at the University of Michigan; Mrs. Louise Grooms (March 14, 1967), President

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[1]Bernard Berelson and Gary Steiner, Human Behavior: An Inventory of Scientific Findings (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964), p. 80.

[2]These interviews as well as those with Afro-American entrepreneurs are listed in chronological order in Appendix III.

of the Detroit Institute of Commerce; Mr. Francis Kornegay (April 25, 1967), Executive Secretary of the Detroit Urban League; Messrs. John Simmons, Joseph Williams, Wallace Williams, and Mrs. Geraldine Bledsoe (May 5, 1967) at the Detroit office of the Michigan Employment Security Commission; Mrs. Marise Hadden (April 10, 1967), a Mott Foundation scholar at the University of Michigan; and Mrs. Irma Craft (May 18, 1967) of the Detroit Public Schools (now on leave at the People's Community Civic League of Detroit).

A key interview was with Mrs. Grooms. She spoke from personal experience about the Bryant (George) Casket Company; Dr. Austin W. Curtis, Mrs. Carmen Murphy; Mr. S. B. Fuller of Chicago; Mrs. Fanny Small; Parker Sausage of Chicago; Crayton's Sausage of Cleveland; the Jones Casket Company of Cassapolis, Michigan; Mr. Ed Davis, a Chrysler dealer in Detroit; and Mr. Fitzhugh of Pepsi-Cola and the National Association of Market Developers.

In the spring of 1967, Mrs. Grooms introduced the author to the Booker T. Washington Business Association's Wednesday Luncheon group. These meetings are open to the general public and have proved to be a valuable source of information about events and personalities in the Afro-American business and professional community.

She presented the author with a complimentary copy of <u>The Guide to Better Service</u>, the directory of the Booker

T. Washington Business Association which carried on page 41 an advertisement of the Negro Manufacturers and Distributors Association. It listed as members the following four companies: A. W. Curtis Laboratories, Burns Food Products Co.; Nu-Method Pest Control Service, and Vicki Foods, Inc. The question arose, "Was there a connection between the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM), the big organization, and the Negro manufacturers?" Who were these men and what types of problems did they encounter? What problems were met with what coping strategies? And what information could be gleaned from them that would be of use in improving curriculums in inner-city schools?

Interviews with Afro-American manufacturing entrepreneurs. -- Dr. Austin W. Curtis was interviewed on May 24, 1967 and March 7, 1969 at his laboratory and retail outlet located in a poverty area. He was born in 1911 in Institute, West Virginia, the second of two children.

Curtis stated that both parents had made equal contributions to his personal development. He rated his high school education, "good," and reported that while in high school his college aspirations were already established for, "It was understood you would go to college since both parents were college graduates." Following high school, he went to Cornell University, graduating in 1932. He

majored in plant physiology at Cornell and continued his studies as an assistant to the famed Dr. George Washington Carver of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. Keeping his lifelong interest in education, Curtis recently completed a course in advertising at the Wayne State University Applied Management and Technical Center. At the time of the second interview he planned to attend a series of four Saturday morning meetings on franchising given by the Small Business Development Center (a component of the Mayor's Committee for Human Resource Development).

Curtis did not serve in the armed services and has never had labor or union affiliations. He was married in 1938 and has two daughters both of whom graduated from Michigan State University. His oldest daughter is now a graduate student at Wayne State University while also holding a fellowship at the Detroit Institute of Arts. When asked if he would like his daughters to follow a career in business, Curtis said, "They have to be guided by their particular talents. One was talented in art and showed this interest as a small child." His youngest daughter is in radio and TV work and is now in an executive training program at Hudson's.

Dr. Curtis had a clear idea of the role of the school in providing occupational information for when he was asked what suggestions he had for young men thinking about entering business, he replied, "I don't think it actually differs

from any other profession as far as the Negro youngster is concerned and this applies to everything else. His exposure is limited. The responsibility of the schools is to let the youngster know about the opportunities that are available."

A. W. Curtis Laboratories. -- The A. W. Curtis Laboratories, a single proprietorship, became family-owned as an incorporated concern in 1957. The firm, located at 454 Farnsworth in an older section of Detroit, has eight employees, four men and four women.

The idea of the business had developed as expressed by Dr. Curtis "Out of my association with Dr. Carver. We recognized the importance of developing black business."

There are seventy products manufactured by the firm covering items in general drugs, household products such as space deodorants, rug and upholstery cleaners, and cosmetics. Particularly well known are two products, the Curtis Hair Set and Curtis RubbingOil. The first products were sold in 1945.

The manufacturing process is invention in his laboratory, pilot testing, and manufacturing on the Farnsworth premises. He has a variety of sources for his raw materials and notices prices increasing but does not feel there is any price discrimination against him. Once or twice a year government agents for the U. S. Food and Drug Administration inspect his operations.

Dr. Curtis identified the person or organization most helpful in meeting the early problems of the business as Mr. Richard Austin of the Firm of Austin, Washington, and Davenport (Austin is now Wayne County auditor and is a candidate for Mayor of Detroit in the November election.)[1] Initial financing was never any problem for it was obtained through his family. He has no manufacturing representative.

His principal advertising media are newspapers, the Michigan Chronicle and the Chicago-based, Muhammad Speaks; and radio programs on WCHB and WJLB beamed to black people. He stated that he had found the most effective advertising medium to be the Black Muslim newspaper, Muhammad Speaks.

Curtis said his present sales outlets are agents and to some extent, the large retail store, and A & P and Wrigley's. Asked if he had help from the community in getting outlets for his products, he replied, "Yes, and the greatest help has come from the militant groups."

He does not have a line of credit with a local bank. His bookkeeping and accounting is done by "Austin's firm" but he does have his own bookkeeper.

Curtis specified his most successful years of operation as 1956 and 1968. He plans to expand his operations.

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[1]Austin lost by a margin of less than one per cent.

Mr. Fairfield Butler, Sr. was born in 1924 in Birmingham, Alabama, the third child in a family of four children (three older sisters). He believes his father contributed the most to his personal development. In high school he followed the academic curriculum (at Westfield High, a Birmingham suburb). While in high school, Butler worked part-time selling produce. He also worked as cleanup man at Sears Roebuck.

He rated his high school education "average." At that time he didn't know about going to college. As he stated, "I certainly wasn't preoccupied with college for a skill is more important."

In 1955 and 1956 he took fifteen months of accounting at Detroit Institute of Technology. He doubted if he would take any further adult education courses.

During World War II Butler served with the engineers at Honolulu and on Saipan. He worked in the motor pool where he found the Army Specialized Training Program helpful.

His labor affiliation was with the juke box mechanics union and he worked in TV servicing from 1946 to 1956. He married in 1946 when he was 23 and has three children; two boys (22 and 20), and a girl who is 19. His oldest son was a student at the University of Mexico at the time of the first interview (July 12, 1967) and

when interviewed on March 11, 1969, his son was in the air force.

When Butler was asked, "Would you like your children to finish college?" replied, "I don't care. I'd prefer that they would care. College education inhibits, affects them adversely and develops rich tastes. It doesn't help them learn how to produce and do it well."

Butler would like his children to follow a career in business. In his words, "Yes, by all means, but I doubt that they will. I have nothing but faith in my daughter."

He had some specific suggestions for young men thinking about entering business: "Get a good background in business administration with a strong emphasis on accounting. Stay away from large companies as a specimen to set your pattern for the bigness of them frightens and overawes."

Butler has lived in Detroit since 1943. When asked if he had participated in any school programs, said, "No. I thought the idea of Junior Achievement was good. I've tried to get Negro youth interested in it. A lot don't even know about it. Detroit kids don't know about it. Junior Achievement is for the total community but they have never been informed about it."

Vicki Foods. -- Vicki Foods (Butler's firm) had five outside stockholders but Butler bought them out. At

the time of the first interview, July 12, 1967, the firm had four employees, two men and two women.

The idea for the product, a barbeque sauce, first came in 1959 and in 1961 the first products were sold.

Butler described the manufacturing process as: "Taking the raw materials, blending them with spices, cooking it and then, storage, bottle, label, and carton it."

The chief source of raw materials was California Packers and Growers by direct purchase using warehouse space and keeping carload warehouse receipts. His source of glass was from Owens-Illinois and was by truckload lot.

Vicki Foods was inspected periodically by the Federal Food and Drug Administration, the Michigan Agricultural Department, and the Detroit Health Department.

Replying to the question, "What person or organization was most helpful to you in meeting the early problems of the business?" he stated a group of black ministers were effective in breaking down barriers to distribution by organizing a boycott against what he identified as a "tacit policy to limit" and a "gentlemen's agreement right across the board."

He had no problems in initial financing and by being persuasive with the bank president, Butler obtained a line of credit with the Detroit Bank and Trust Company, perhaps Detroit's most conservative bank.

His manufacturing representatives were Jerry Kay and Associates, E. A. Danielson, and Mr. Winston. As

advertising, he used, "TV, newspapers, daily and weekly, trade papers, you name it, we had it! We spent a good $45,000 on advertising. $125 per month for big billboards which were in specified spots six months in advance. We had TV spots on Lady of Charm for seven months at $200 a minute."

Sales outlets were all major chains: Abner Wolf, Grosse Point, Tobacco Brand, and Spartan Stores.

At the time of the second interview March 11, 1969, Butler gave as his major reason for discontinuing the manufacture of Vicki Barbeque Sauce his inability to keep a supply of glass during the long glass strike. Asked if he planned to go back into manufacturing, he said, "Possibly, but only for the institutional market."

Mr. John Burns was born in 1918 in Birmingham, Alabama, as an only child. He could not recall the program he took in high school but rated his education, "average."

During World War II he served in the Army artillery in Alabama, California, and New York. In Italy he was an infantry replacement.

He married in 1938 when he was 20 and now has a son who is 18. He was of the opinion that, "Every parent, naturally, would like to have their children finish college" but he would be happy to see his son finish high school. He would like to see him follow a career in business and has his father's support, "I'd help him in anything he wants to do."

Burns has this advice for young men thinking about entering business: "Determination is the thing. Find something that they would like to do and stick with it."

Burns Food Products. -- Burns Food Products is a closed corporation located at 11710 Goodwin in Detroit near Highland Park. The firm has nine employees, six male and three female.

The idea or invention first came to Mr. Burns in 1946 and can be described as the manufacturing of French-fried products. They are now on the general market under the Bakon Chips brand, the Fairmont Snacktime brand, and other private brands. Burns Food Products, as distributor of J-J Krispy Potato Chips and J-J Cheese and Pop Corn, is an established member firm of the general snack industry

in Detroit where Mr. Burns exchanges work and labels with other manufacturers.

The date of the first sale was 1946. The person he sees as most helpful to him in meeting the early problems of the business was, "John Burns, I guess." His initial financing came from his own pocket.

When asked, "Do you have a manufacturing representative?" Burns indicated he had a retail broker, "out East somewhere."

Because "private labeling" is a basic way of doing business in the general snack industry, Burns does no advertising except in the Booker T. Washington directory.

He could not think of any help from the community in getting marketing outlets established.

When asked if he had a line of credit with a local bank, Burns stated, "We keep our money in the bank."

The accounting firm of Austin, Davenport and Washington does his bookkeeping and accounting.

Mr. John Burns looks upon 1967 as his most successful year of operations using as measures; sales, profits, volune, and net. When interviewed on March 7, 1969 he had plans to expand his operations.

Mr. Moses Brown was born in 1919 in Montgomery, Alabama, the first of five children (three boys, two girls). He had no hesitation in stating that the member of his family who contributed the most to his personal development was his grandmother. He knew all four grandparents but she stood out for "She always wanted me to get an education. She kept the whip on me."

In high school, Brown followed a trade curriculum (cooking and bricklaying). Part-time work while in school was "All kinds -- paper route, youth program (NYA), washed windows, swept floors."

He rated his high school education "average" and when asked, "In high school, what was the highest education you wanted to get?" said, "All I had in mind was getting good grades, a B average."

Following high school, in fact while still in the 12th grade, Brown became an apprentice bricklayer working with Mr. Felt, a journeyman who helped build Maxwell Air Force Base. He worked with him for approximately two years and then attended Alabama State in Montgomery where he and Mrs. Brown met. His major at Alabama State was history.

Asked, "If a desirable adult education class (one that would help you in your business) was given in a local high school, would you be able to attend?" said, "No, but my wife would. But I do need some business work."

Brown served in World War II in the Merchant Marine as a cook. He had held a union card as an apprentice bricklayer.

Married when he was nineteen in 1938, he has two sons, Chuck, who is thirty, and Brett, who is eight. Chuck graduated from Detroit's Central High School and was a student at the University of Michigan, Eastern Michigan University, and the University of Detroit Law School. Compiling an excellent record, he was second in his class at law school. Brown was very definite in wanting his youngest son to complete college. He would like him to follow a business career saying, "Chuck went his way."

His advice for young men thinking about entering business was, "Go right ahead. Let no one tell you no. Stick with it."

Brown attended Cass Adult evening school where he studied air conditioning and TV. His support for Junior Achievement is evident in that he is a regular contributor.

May-Rain Products, Inc. -- Originally, May-Rain Products, Inc. was a single proprietorship but Brown could not get insurance as a company so he incorporated. Located at 7442 Fourteenth in a garage, the only employees are Brown and his wife who operate a simple rig in producing and packaging their hair preparation products.

The idea for the product germinated for a long time from when Brown was about ten years old. "Back home,

at the first of May, people had an idea about the first rain in May. My grandmother would get herbs and lard and put this hair preparation together."

Products manufactured are scalp conditioners and shampoo. The first product was sold in 1959. Brown described the manufacturing process as, "Assembly of raw material into a finished cosmetic product. There is a secret process in making a key protein ingredient."

Sources of raw material were found by reading labels on drums and boxes. They were Eaton Chemical Corporation, Durkee Famous Foods, Onyx Chemical Co., and Olender Food Products. He has two suppliers of glass which is apparently a critical item for the small manufacturer as illustrated by Butler's experience with Vicki Foods.

Brown's factory is inspected by the Food and Drug Administration of the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He showed me his HEW Form FD-482 which attested to his inspection in December of 1968.

Market outlets in the beginning were provided by Paul's Cut Rate Drugs. Brown identified Mr. Charles Pennington as very helpful in getting started. Brown got initial financial help from the Municipal Employees Credit Union of Detroit, Associates Finance, and Sterling Finance.

His manufacturing representative is Abe Meadows Distributor. Sales outlets are Superior Barber and Beauty Supply on Grand River, Mr. Charles Pennington, and All-Brands (Mr. Arthur Berlin). Brown advertises May-Rain products over radio stations WGPR and WJLB. He also places ads in the Michigan Chronicle and in the Detroit Free Press.

Asked, "Have you had any help from the community in getting outlets established?" Mr. Brown said, "No help, sir. No one even knows I'm in it. They think this product belongs to Old Blue."

He does not have a line of credit with a bank. Brown anticipates that 1969 will be his most successful year of operation and has plans for expansion "If money is available." Mr. Thomas of Peter and Joseph Bookkeeping Service does his bookkeeping and accounting.

In summary, Brown wanted to keep in the background of community affairs. His salesmen making contacts are white when necessary and black when conditions call for it. He is knowledgeable and realistic about exclusive dealerships, franchises, and territories. At the time of the first interview in August of 1967 he anticipated successful entrance into the Clveland market. He looks upon the national market as a real opportunity.

Assessment of the four businesses and the coping strategies of entrepreneurs. -- The firm that seemed most like a part of general American industry was Burns Food Products. Over the twenty-three year period that he has been in business, John Burns has become an integral part of the general snack industry in Detroit. He shares the marketing practices and information as an equal entrepreneur in a competitive trade. By making a quality product and developing a reputation for reliability, Burns has met the increasing demand for his products. He has exchanged labels and services with other enterprisers in the snack field -- he's part of a producing group and supported by them.

Fairfield Butler, the other manufacturer in foods, has ceased making Vicki Barbeque Sauce. He was successful in getting his product into local markets and did have an extensive (perhaps too much so) advertising program. The given reason for terminating production was that he could not get a supply of bottles from his source because of a long glass strike. He continues to operate his prosperous barbeque restaurant on West Warren.

Butler, a person of much persuasive ability, coped with the problem of financing by going to the bank president of the second largest bank in Detroit, laying out his case, and obtaining a line of credit. At 45, he has a strong sense of direction and personal destiny, a drive that takes him to the core of problems quickly, and a confidence in

his ability to compete. He has taken a leadership role in the small but significant Negro Manufacturers and Distributors Association. This organization evidently provides a chance to plan marketing strategy. Butler has the drive and knowhow which could be of major importance in working with militant groups and economists in developing businesses which would be owned and operated by Afro-Americans. A highly engaging and stimulating personality, he was written a short but dynamic book encouraging black men to assert themselves in American business.[1] As owner-manager of Vicki Foods, he gained a great deal of business experience. He will probably have many opportunities to put his experience to work in future ventures.

Dr. Austin Curtis has considerable strength as an inventor and producer in carrying on the product development undertaken by Dr. George Washington Carver. A mild-mannered person, he has undergone a shift of opinion and now sees the value of militancy in achieving the necessary goals of breaking down barriers to distribution. Both he and Butler appear to be moving toward a more aggressive entrepreneurial stance and this very aggressiveness may be of tremendous help in obtaining new markets and in obtaining additional capital. The channels of help provided by the

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[1]Fairfield Butler, Sr., The Perennial Paraders: A Primer for Progress (Detroit: Defarma Publishing Company, 3835 W. Warren, 1967).

Small Business Administration (which includes the Small Business Investment Corporations and the Small Business Development Center) do not appear to be helpful in either providing capital or managerial counsel. Dr. Curtis, who is active in the Inner City Business Improvement Forum,[1] and other entrepreneurs will probably find more money and understanding at the new black bank being established, The First Independence National Bank of Detroit.

Moses Brown has developed an idea into a money-making business that he can control by limiting production to that done directly by him and his wife. He has found reliable outlets for his products through black-owned distributors (Superior Beauty-Barber Supply) and a Jewish distributor (Mr. Arthur Berlin of All-Brand).

Brown strongly identifies with his personal God, keeps a close working partnership with his wife, and is dedicated to providing the best possible education for his children. He is the only manufacturer of the four interviewed who was not a member of the Negro Manufacturers and Distributors Association. When asked why he hadn't joined he replied, "I've never been asked."

Brown has a sense of his own competence to meet problems independently and, by maintaining two separate sources for crucial packaging supplies, "plays the game" to get the material he needs to stay in business, his

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[1] See Appendix VI for information about ICBIF.

bottles. He has learned to lose ($10,000 in the Chicago market where he made several mistakes in merchandising) and to win (he feels 1969 will prove to be his most prosperous year in business.)

The four entrepreneurs had considerable travel which widened their experience and probably contributed to their confidence in coping with varying situations and environments. With the exception of Dr. Curtis, they were active in the services in World War II.

These entrepreneurs found success in business and enhancement of their masculine self esteem in Detroit. Perhaps it is significant that three of the four left the deep south where the etiquette of race relations[1] perpetuates a pathology of fear and inhibits the development of normal masculine drive (useful in salesmanship where aggressive behavior is deemed valuable in American culture).

The evidence gained from interviewing these four businessmen is that they fit the general characteristics of entrepreneurial personalities.

A salient trait is that entrepreneurs are eternal optimists who learn from their mistakes. They know they can work, that they can get others to work, and they have a basic confidence in their abilities. They are healthy

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[1]See the chapter on "The American Caste System" in Bertram P. Karon's The Negro Personality: A rigorous investigation of the effects of culture (New York: Springer Publishing Company, Inc., 1958).

personalities engaged in constructive work, family life and recreation, and they possess a strong sense of their ability to persuade and influence others. They see themselves as shapers of their environments.

To return to the questions raised at the beginning of this study, three of the four entrepreneurs were able to identify a member of their family of origin who they felt made important contributions to their personal development. Dr. Curtis, the son of college graduates, grew up in an environment where there were expectations of successful performance. His experience must be seen as atypical of that of other black youngsters of his time (he was born in 1911). Three entrepreneurs were born in Alabama (two in Birmingham, and one in Montgomery.)[1] Dr. Curtis was born in Institute, West Virginia.

An expectation in America is that at high school graduation the individual goes to work, college, or the military. Entrepreneurs were asked, "Did you go directly

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[1]A suggested hypothesis from this observation is that entrepreneurial activity is more likely to occur among migrants to Detroit than among Detroit-born Afro-Americans. A related hypothesis came out of Seymour Parker and Robert J. Kleiner's extensive interview study of Philadelphia Afro-Americans: "...is the movement of the southern migrants associated with upward mobility, downward mobility, or status stability? Or is it merely a change of place of residence?", Mental Illness in the Urban Negro Community (New York: Free Press, 1966), p. 344.

to college after completing high school? Dr. Curtis went to Cornell and Brown went to Alabama State in Montgomery, Alabama, the city where he was born.

From the date given as their first arrival in Detroit -- 1939, 1943, 1945, and 1940 -- these budding entrepreneurs first entered Detroit's Afro-American community during the World War II period when Detroit was the arsenal of democracy. As mentioned above, three of the four were involved in military service which probably enhanced their feelings of personal wealth as well as widened their horizons.

While no attempt was made during the interviews to ask whether it was the lack of opportunity in the south or the existence of opportunity in the north that was the critical factor in their decision to locate in Detroit, their migration can be seen as part of the great shift by the Afro-American from the deep south to the north and west during the past three decades. The motivation to improve one's lot in life by moving from one area to another has been and remains a vital force in American life.

A major question today is, does Detroit have a favorable climate for the black businessman? Is it a place where he can best exercise his talents and entrepreneurial drives? If we can judge from the experience of these four entrepreneurs, the answer must be yes!

In Detroit, Dr. Curtis made his first sale of his products in 1945; John Burns in 1946; Moses Brown in 1959; and Fairfield Butler in 1961. For Brown this meant a thirty-year span from the germination of his idea at his grandmother's feet to its eventual realization in the cosmetic market.

The social force most helpful to Curtis and Butler was the militant leadership position taken by interested clergy in organizing boycotts for the purpose of setting up realistic communication with major chain stores to overcome "gentlemen's agreements" to exclude their products. Selective boycotts, as elsewhere, have been effective in Detroit in improving conditions for blacks.

No evidence was obtained in the interviews that any school, course, curriculum, or teacher was instrumental in raising the level of aspirations of the four entrepreneurs. A possible exception is Dr. Curtis who gained a "sense of mission" from working with Dr. George Washington Carver, the genius inventor who saw in manufactured products a market for the agricultural (particularly peanuts) products of the south. An unusual aspect of this relationship is that Dr. Curtis chose to go from the north to the south to work with Dr. Carver. This was the choice of a mature man seeking study with an outstanding leader. Today, Dr. Curtis continues to reap benefits from that close relationship by developing the inventions and ideas discussed at Tuskegee.

The four entrepreneurs are of course a very small sample[1] but one can observe that they shared the human goals of wanting independence, of wanting to live the good life, of having the desire to achieve economic status, of possessing the will to create a product of real value to others.

They were eager to identify with successful businessmen in the mainstream of American business and were not self-conscious about the color of their skin. Two of the entrepreneurs were proud that their products were advertised without any racial or ethnic identification -- they wanted their products accepted in the main distribution channels of the American economy and felt strongly about their power to successfully compete.

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[1] In the 1960 census there were 1,376 self-employed Afro-American businessmen in manufacturing. See Table XX in Andrew F. Brimmer, "The Negro in the National Economy" in The American Negro Reference Book, ed. by John P. David (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966), p. 292.

CHAPTER V

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY FOR THE BUSINESS TEACHER AND EDUCATOR

Introduction. -- This study, by seeking competence or coping models, describes patterns of individual behavior constructive for the welfare of the individual and his society. While there can be little doubt that the basic motivating forces are found in the early childhood experiences of love and acceptance, man through his organizations can find the type of individualized assistance which provides a person the reflected security that helps him solve problems and choose worthy goals and methods of achievement. The need for such attention in improved educational systems is particularly great for black Americans. Business teachers can make a meaningful contribution to educational reform by enlisting the support of the black business community to meet the need for better education in America's inner-city schools.

In this preliminary study, the emphasis has been upon finding illustrations of Afro-American men who have overcome great obstacles to establish manufacturing firms.

These and other entrepreneurs hold promise for the future of America because enterprising and creative men and women are crucial to further economic growth. Entrepreneurs,

like others who are active individuals, develop in a societal context of achievement values passed on by parents to children and modified by education. Entrepreneurs demonstrate mastery of themselves and maintain an interpersonal aura of engaging optimism as they relate their experiences in coping with the ever-changing environment. Their life styles are ones of social, individual, and economic power at work. In its healthiest sense, the entrepreneurs interviewed in this study were enduring and useful models of black power.

Previous chapters in this study have documented the existence of entrepreneurship by Afro-Americans historically throughout the American experience and geographically across the continent. The reports on entrepreneurial activity in manufacturing presented in Chapter IV show how black Americans in Detroit today are effective entrepreneurs generating capital, creating employment, and inventing and planning for further economic and community development.

In this concluding chapter the findings of the study are applied to the practical problem of how educators can develop relevant programs for Afro-American youth.

The implications of the findings for urban education. --

1. The Afro-American can look to entrepreneurship as a satisfying and durable means to achieve personal growth by exercising his right to make independent decisions in business operations. Interviews with four businessmen at

their places of business found that, over an extended period of time, they had successfully coped with the problems found in any business. They had pride of workmanship and saw themselves as effective competitors.

These enterprising men had certain things going for them that contributed to their spirit of enterprise. There was evidence that in childhood they found acceptance, security, and warmth in the family into which they were born. They had good working relationships with their wives. They were strong breadwinners who wanted their children to achieve. In business, these men had developed dependable sources of supply of raw materials and maintained credit ratings; they created the necessary laboratory and special machinery to produce their inventions; and they found distribution outlets in local retail stores as well as through food and cosmetic wholesale and brokerage firms. In community life, they willingly accepted leadership roles and held strong feelings that business offered many real opportunities.

2. In seeking the influence of schools or colleges upon the business behavior of entrepreneurs, no evidence was found that school was a significant factor in their becoming entrepreneurs. Indeed, there was evidence that the "trade school" orientation of black education in the deep south (three of the four) entrepreneurs had their public schooling in Alabama) had left a bitterness for,

in looking back to the limited educational opportunities available twenty-five years ago, one entrepreneur was highly critical of the Booker T. Washington pattern of accomodation in education.

Entrepreneurship, since it emphasizes motivation, has a place in the school's efforts to use the interests and talents of children in designing learning activities. Entrepreneurial attitudes: the willingness to try novel ways to solve problems, the value in seeing failure as a learning experience on the way to success, the staying open to business and career opportunities, etc. can be developed in classroom and work experience situations.

One promising area is the Junior Achievement program.[1] Several respondents in this study held opinions that this program is uniquely valuable for black youth and wished to see it expanded to the same extent it has become part of the educational environment of the white student.

3. The four entrepreneurs by age (they averaged 51 years) and experience could not be seen as representative of students now enrolled in the public schools of Detroit. These businessmen had had the experiences that go with being black in the deep south. They expressed some bewilderment

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[1]In Junior Achievement, corporate executives volunteer their time to help high school youngsters organize and operate small businesses which often manufacture a small but useful article. For an essay on how one black inner-city student at Cass Technical High School looks upon Junior Achievement, see Appendix V.

about the seeming inability of their children to recognize the educational opportunities now available. Thus, in addition to the "generation gap" between father and children, youth in Detroit schools have the pressure which leads to total unwillingness to accept without protest patterns of discrimination and humiliation still found in American life.[1] But it was evident from the interviews that these men were proud of their success in keeping their families together.

From frequent observations taken at weekly meetings of the Booker T. Washington Business Association, this researcher has seen that the older generation supports the newer generation's demands for better schooling through a more relevant curriculum. Thinking back seven years to his experience at predominantly black Northwestern High School, he recalls how students were held to older and external standards of performance. Little attention was given to the human goals of good education. There was little belief among the white faculty that the Afro-American had meaningful experiences in his culture which could be incorporated in teacher attitudes and interaction

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[1]Malcolm X was educated in Lansing, Michigan where he found teacher discouragement when he expressed his desire to become a lawyer. Stokely Carmichael graduated from the Bronx High School of Science in New York City. Both of these creative men evidently found few socially useful ideas in the curriculums of schools they attended.

patterns on an individual or a group basis. Today, in student protest educators can find a solid base for improving the high school curriculum. The constructive use of this force is a valid challenge for urban educators.

4. In general, the present Detroit high school curriculum is still skill oriented with the result that there is conflict over symbols rather than rational discussion over substance. Purposes are imposed from without. The student finds little opportunity to prepare himself for the highly interrelated functions of personnel in the modern office. Also damaging to the encouragement of entrepreneurship and initiative is the curriculum's blindness to "make-a-job" possibilities in activities relevant to experiences and current needs of students. In a well-taught course in bookkeeping or in a classroom where the project method is understood by the teacher, job creation by management decision has appeal as a means to develop the functional activities that are basic for successful business operations.

Where business enterprise is not a major factor in an ethnic group, the need is greater for the stimulation of thinking about how to capitalize on opportunities seen through imaginative student eyes. This help can be given black students by alert teachers who conceptualize constructive channels for student energy. Perhaps the most outstanding economic accomplishment of the entrepreneurs interviewed for this study is that they were

job creative. Not only did they find a job that supported their families but they created work for others. The significance of their stories is simply that if they made it, others can.

5. To implement a student-centered curriculum, urban educators could profitably examine subject matter, student evaluation, and school organization. Subject matter can be seen not as an end but as a means to developing the general tool skills needed in a complex society: the abilities to communicate via words by typewriters and telephones and to use quantitative thought via calculators and modern computers. Equally important good education is building an enduring context of respect for human life by improved value systems. Here the teacher must excel as a model for young people.

In addition to these skills that aid in general adjustment, there is on the part of every student, a desire to master some technical[1] or "make-a-living" skill where what he produces is valued by others in a worthwhile job. The world of work is full of prospective employers who ask the first question, "What can you do?" and the person with a ready response has the advantage of confidence.

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[1]Erik H. Erikson, who has done much to develop the concept of identity, stated "Probably the most inclusive and most absorbing identity potential in the world today is that of technical skill." From Chapter VIII, Race and the Wider Identity," Identity: Youth and Crisis (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1968, p. 316.

As technology in its forward thrust helps Americans become materially richer and leads to greater leisure time, the development of "living" skills, of finding satisfying human relationships with others and a sense of personal direction within, must be seen as a desirable curriculum focus leading to the production of better people, which is, after all, the chief aim of education and economics.

6. Business educators could develop joint programs of economic education with their teaching colleagues in the social studies. Economic education, because of its value for developing entrepreneurial and civic thinking, is a relevant topic, particularly for the black student concerned with his opportunities in the American business environment and his perception of his chances and abilities to cope with and change that environment through his efforts.

7. A curriculum linkage could be made through Afro-American history where life histories reflect infrequent but significant examples of entrepreneurship by black people throughout colonial and American history.[1] A means of updating teacher experience could take the form of a workshop where teachers of history could explore Afro-American history for individuals with records of business enterprise. But in any curriculum effort, student

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[1] A source book of great value would be William L. Katz, Eyewitness: The Negro in American History (New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1967).

views must find avenues for expression and therefore students would participate in planning their own curriculum. In taking partial responsibility for planning the school program, students would find themselves expressing their views about experiences happening to them now, they would recall what had happened to them, and they could become involved in setting attainable and realistic goals. Students, in being asked to "make the curriculum" will find that they can identify their successes or gains and they can come up with educational expectations that make sense.

8. The evidence reported in this study is that in the public schools of Detroit there is an extreme degree of racial isolation which, for the black youngster, effectively "limits his exposure" to career opportunities. There is thus a need for exchange programs between predominantly black schools and predominantly white, between inner-city and suburban schools, between private and public schools, and between the schools and corporations. Such experiences would widen the view of opportunity and increase the prospect of mobility in a free society. An interesting and significant finding that deserves greater emphasis is that the black American in striking out on his own throughout the land has found clear acceptance and his minority status is forgotten, when he has a useful skill. The diffusion of the Afro-American into every small hamlet of the United States may become an important measure of his full acceptance into an open democracy.

9. A finding that derives from the special research for this study and from sixteen years' experience in education in Detroit is that white educators have been very slow to enlist the aid of black businessmen in systematic programs. The men and women who served as respondents in this study as well as the membership of the Booker T. Washington Business Association and the Cotillion Club would be willing to contribute time to serve on an advisory committee organized by the principal or business education department head. There is no reason why an enterprising teacher or community leader could not organize a business education advisory committee or board to work with the school in updating business education programs in inner-city schools. A need is for those with initiative and courage to volunteer their services to create and enhance learning environments.

The ideal inner-city educator and a note on curriculum. -- From being involved with urban education for some time, the author has come to the point where he feels he can postulate an ideal inner-city educator.

America needs teachers who can see the individual student, who can correctly diagnose behavior, and who have imagination for constructing learning experiences that contain a maximum of student participation in all program phases from incipient idea to final evaluation. The need is for teachers who can help students find themselves as

feeling, knowing, and self-directing human beings. Our ideal educator would assist the student in his preparation for roles as leader in family formation, husband, father, and grandfather. America needs teachers who can guide a class of students in their efforts to find meaningful jobs which will lead to satisfying lives of work. They will know how to channel student interest. We need teachers who will work cooperatively with teachers in other departments to help students find a trusting and satisfying relationship with their government. We need teachers who will provide black youngsters the warmth, welcome, and support that can nurture the student's confidence in his capacity to cope with the problems he faces. We need teachers who look upon tests in a healthy, non-punitive way and who can use testing as signals for redirecting efforts to improve the level of teacher-student performance. With Afro-American youngsters, there is a need for sensitivity and understanding on the part of educators if the teacher is to be an aid in helping the black child find value in his feeling and thinking powers.[1] An encouraging word from a kind teacher may be critical to a student's self-esteem and level of aspiration.

In rethinking programs, it would be unwise to perpetuate the notion that so many Carnegie units make an

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[1]John M. Trytten, "Full Utilization of Human Resources," in the yearbook of the National Business Education Association, Business Education Meets the Challenges of Change (Washington, D.C.: NEA, 1966), p. 41.

education. The newer definition of curriculum must be in terms other than subjects: it must be child-centered in that the program helps the student move toward an increasing mastery of himself to take his place in making a contribution to mankind. With improved communication technologies and a highly fluid occupational nomenclature, the student must be prepared for life in wider communities than the neighborhood school.

A final conclusion is the author's conviction that a great need for America, as it approaches the third century of its existence, is for Americans to look to the values possible in a fully integrated society where all men are treated equally well by all men . . .

A P P E N D I X E S

APPENDIX I

THE CULTURE CONCEPT APPLIED TO THE INNER CITY BUSINESS STUDENT

Gerald L. Cox
Department Head,
Business Education
Northwestern High School
6330 Grand River
Detroit 8, Michigan

Eastern Business Teachers Association
General Meeting, Sat., April 13, 1963
THE CHALLENGE OF THE SLOW LEARNER
Buffalo, New York

An important dimension for consideration today is speed of learning and its correlative, amount of learning. Our ever-accelerating technological development continues to widen the social-economic chasm between the man with the strong back and his slide rule operating counterpart. Longitudinal studies of individuals in school groups indicate the smart get smarter and if the dumb don't get dumber they at least continue to lose out as time passes. Most of us here are in the "smart" category; in fact our being here at this convention is going to make us smarter than our stay-at-home professional colleagues -- at least I hope you feel this is so after attending such stimulating conventions as the one we've been having here in Buffalo.

I teach in the inner or central city portion of Detroit where currently I have 100 students -- students I can classify in infinite ways but selecting one category, skin color as defining race, I group my students into 99 Negroes and 1 white. In many respects we who are in similar

educational environments would just as soon forget racial censuses and go on with our primary task of education. Possibly we envy those in the universities who hold that such census-taking is either beneath the dignity of an ivory tower or impossible to accomplish since race cannot be exactly determined. Be this as it may, every Detroit teacher has participated in two formal racial censuses. As to why this has been done, we can get some perspective by examining the reasoning of the Organization and Administration Subcommittee, Citizens Advisory Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities, Detroit Public Schools:

> ...In order to achieve the goal of disregarding racial differences in staff selection and pupil opportunities, it will sometimes be necessary to notice specifically racial differences. Thus, in order to "promote desegregation" whenever feasible in making necessary adjustments of school boundaries, etc., it is obviously necessary for the Board to notice the existing residential distribution of races in the area under consideration. The subcommittee holds that there is no real inconsistency in noticing race as a means toward achieving desegregation and eliminating unfair discrimination. (pg. 56)

To give you some idea of my teaching situation and to provide information as to the results of these racial censuses, the Detroit Public Schools Racial Count of February, 1961 indicated 154,625 white; 131,115 Negro; 705 Asiatic; 145 American Indian; 865 "other" pupils in the nine districts. Of the three high schools in the Center District, all have a predominantly Negro (90% to 99.9%) pupil population.

The numerical description provides a demographic context for the question, "Are my students slow learners?" Let's see. The inner city business student is an American of Negro ancestry, born in the South or a first-generation Detroiter. His pre-school and out-of-school social life is almost exclusively with Negroes since housing patterns are segregated; in fact more so now than they've ever been. Symbolic representation through his speech, his reading and writing, and his number skills, score around the 25th percentile on a wide variety of nationally standardized tests. Successful performance for him in school has been difficult. With his weak language arts background he has difficulty in using shorthand symbols in acceptable grammatical form, the words in his bookkeeping text do not correspond with his experience, the speech he hears his teachers use is unfamiliar, therefore hard to understand. When he checks his typing papers much of his not finding his mistakes centers around his inability to recognize one.

Biologically, we agree with the physical anthropologists or the use the more modern term, human biologists, that there are no significant differences in learning ability between the races (three or thirty) of mankind. Nevertheless we must recognize that achievement is at a relatively low level leading me to believe not that my student is a slow learner but simply that he is a non-learner of the things I'd like him to learn. These things I'd like him to learn can be summed up in a word: "culture." I don't mean

"enlightenment and refinement of taste acquired by intellectual and aesthetic training," -- the Robert Hutchins and Great Books idea, important as it is. Culture, to me is both product and process. I want my student to have developed and be now in the process of developing a self respect, a receptive attitude for learning, a confidence that permits adaptation in small or large social groups, and value systems in accordance with accepted principles of American democracy. I want him to achieve not only these important goals of general or liberal education but also the specific occupational skills we business educators know are important in obtaining an economic position that can support good citizenship. Regardless of speed of learning ability, these aspects of acculturation are obtainable for the vast majority of our school youngsters, mine and yours.

When Mrs. Meinhardt asked me to serve on today's program I thought of the following topics as worthy of development: 1. Personality development as a path to providing initial job competency, 2. Curriculum and "standards" modification required for central city business education students and teachers, 3. Aspiration levels and accomplishment by business education slow learners, 4. Methods of overcoming language difficulties, 5. Social-Psychological stress teachers must expect in central city teaching situations, 6. Bookkeeping, Office Automation,

and Clerical Practice for the Inner City Business Education student, 7. Implications of the World of Work Program for vocational and business education.

I decided to focus on the culture concept as the most inclusive tool for comprehending the disadvantaged youth, so numerous today in America's great cities. Inclusive for two prime reasons; it helps us to understand the learning process in the transmission of culture, and by widening our view to include the study of education in many different societies we are better prepared for the difference in orientation that exists between disadvantaged children and cultured, middle-class oriented school teachers.

Our convention theme "The Challenge Ahead" reflects a key American value; the belief that progress -- better education, economic advantage, intellectual and recreational -- will occur and confidence the belief will continue to be sustained. As we move forward into realizing the American dream, there will be inevitable adjustments in allocating national resources. The question of dollars for moon research or dollars for education now faces the American people through their elected representatives. Our international position requires that we do both. But the hard fact is that local communities continue to defeat operating and capital construction school finance proposals. School taxes have become as unpopular as income and sales tax. Yet the necessity for education at all levels grows

with the changing nature of our society, and new methods must be found for raising additional funds.

Within America's great cities, the price of education is high -- in fact, to redress the condition of America's culturally deprived children, whether they are white mountaineers, marginal farmers, Puerto Ricans, or American Negroes so that well informed, economically competent citizens may be the result, there is a current necessity that such programs as Detroit's Great Cities School Improvement Project not only be continued but expanded. To those who question the price, let me remind them that the price of direct support of human wrecks is much higher.

There is a distinct challenge for business educators who teach in areas that have large numbers of deprived children. We can raise our voices jointly with other subject-matter specialists to ask for a larger share of the educational dollar. We can allow ourselves enough freedom to think out constructive solutions to our problems. May I venture a few ideas: newer school buildings, fewer students, less classes, additional salary increments, more research designed to test response speed-up equipment such as the tachistoscope, and continued efforts to work with other professionals in finding better methods.

Let us realize the "slow learner" is a cultural phenomenon in all of America's great cities, a phenomenon that is the result of historical slavery and continues as a

consequence of residential segregation. Recently in our town, Dr. Miriam L. Goldberg, in a lecture at the Merrill-Palmer Institute, described the ideal teacher of disadvantaged youth:

> Our ideal teacher understand what the children are striving for and the scars of their intellectual under-stimulation.
>
> The successful teacher understands their family background, fatherless homes, working parents, poor housing, large numbers of relatives living with them and the stress of family activities.
>
> He understands their ethnic group membership and this unique background and recognizes the functional quality of their language, which is not the "coin of the realm" and that the teacher's job is to modify it, to open doors for them.
>
> He is aware that our rapidly automated economy provides less opportunity for the under-trained and knows that some kinds of intellectual behavior of the disadvantaged can't be measured.

No single facet of education is more important than the teacher. For the slow learner, the unlearned, or the nonlearner -- let us express our conviction that we can get better results by allocating more dollars and better teachers to their needs.

If you are now concerned about the present and the future of my 100 kids -- their futures in American society and American business -- I'll consider my efforts worth while, because you have the capacity and the position to improve learning conditions.

There remains always the task of developing programs worthy of financial support, a job that requires interdisciplinary approach, for we recognize our problems are not only educational but also societal.

One final plea: Could we have more attention given in our publications and professional activities to the problem of the poor kid in the big city?

* * * *

RECOMMENDED READING

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APPENDIX II

PROPOSAL FOR RESEARCH SUBMITTED TO THE U. S. COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION FOR SUPPORT THROUGH AUTHORIZATION OF THE BUREAU OF RESEARCH

Title: THE NEGRO BUSINESSMAN IN MANUFACTURING: An Interview Study in the Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

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Applicant Organization: The University of Michigan
Ann Arbor

Initiator:

Gerald Lee Cox
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(On Leave, 1966-67)
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(sponsor) John M. Trytten
Professor Emeritus
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University of Michigan

(sponsor) Frank W. Lanham
Associate Professor
School of Education
University of Michigan

Transmitted by:

Duration of Activity: The ten-week period, June 26, 1967 through September 1, 1967

Date Transmitted: May 22, 1967

(Abstract)

Title of Project: THE NEGRO BUSINESSMAN IN MANUFACTURING: An Interview Study in the Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area

Principal Investigator: Gerald Lee Cox

Contracting Agency: The University of Michigan

Amount of Federal Funds Requested: $3077.50

Proposed Beginning and Ending Dates: June 26, 1967 - September 1, 1967

The goal of this study is the development and encouragement of those Negro men who think enough of themselves to engage in success-or-fail business ventures on an open "if I do not succeed at first, I'll try, try again" bais in various manufacturing fields. Findings are to be used in school programs with emphasis upon adult education.

Problems of unemployment, an underdeveloped managerial leadership class, together with obsolete curriculum patterns in the schools indicate a pressing need to expand Negro business activity into the manufacturing sector of the economy. As an educational objective to meet this need, curriculum change in the business education departments of predominantly Negro high schools and in continuing education programs must be based on empirical fact not limited by traditional concepts of skill development for office occupations. This project sees business and vocational education as a means to create the managerial skills and attitudes that lead to ever-widening spheres of individual and group activity, creating jobs and contributing to continued economic growth.

Theoretical foundations for this study are to be developed from the economic history of the entrepreneur, the new emphasis in economics that views education as a key method for developing human capital, the sociological theory of social change, and the conceptualization of male identity and importance found in modern dynamic psychology. In addition to library research field work would be conducted by locating Negro men who operate businesses in manufacturing, establishing rapport, and completing with each a series of six interviews of approximately one hour in length spread out over a six-week period.

The present information gap about the Negro manufacturing entrepreneur in the Detroit area should be closed by this research.

Recommendations, expressed as suggested guidelines for curriculum development, will be made to the administrative staff and department heads of the Detroit Public Schools. Articles will be prepared for publication in business, vocational, technical and adult education journals and the popular press.

Today's present realities of social turbulence and rapid change, combined with recognition of the great economic loss taken by neglecting this source of human managerial potential, require updated educational programs leading to the creation of job opportunities through extension of Negro business in the manufacturing sector of the American economy.

Problem and Objectives. -- Available research evidence indicates unemployment among Negro school leavers (which includes high school graduates) is two to three times that of the white population.[1] Job entry controlled or limited by the white entrepreneurial or managerial group is postulated as contributing to feelings of deprecation and unworthiness in the Negro male. By increasing the entrepreneurial or middle-class group of Negro businessmen-employers we can obtain behaviorial models school youngsters and job seekers can easily identify with.

The present realities of social turbulence and rapid technological change, together with the recognition of the great economic losses taken by neglecting this untapped source of managerial potential, require updated educational programs leading to the creation of job opportunities through extension of Negro business into the manufacturing fields.

The goal of this study is the encouragement and development of those Negro men who think enough of themselves to be willing to engage in success-or-fail business ventures maintaining an attack attitude of "if

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[1] See the Economic Report of the President, 1965, page 61, and subsequent reports.

I don't succeed at first, I'll try, try again." No less than his white counterpart the Negro manufacturing entrepreneur must develop the stamina not to be intimidated by an uncertain future. Increasingly he must demonstrate a willingness to take the risks that go with business investment.

This researcher is already aware through his preliminary field work in Detroit that this type of study will in or itself engender an interest in expanding Negro business activity into the manufacturing sector of the economy. He is also aware that a significant concern of business and vocational education is the creation of managerial skills and attitudes that lead to ever-widening spheres of individual and group activity creating jobs and contributing to continued economic growth.

As noted recently by the mayor of Detroit, long-standing employment in the automotive industries has helped to create a stable, middle-class Negro citizenry with substantial economic power. Detroit, with its hugh industrial complex and with its community spirit, is also a leader in intercultural relations. During the past twenty years this stability has meant that many

Negro entrepreneurs and highly motivated people have been attracted to the area. Success in assisting the Negro entrepreneur in Detroit can provide basic information useful throughout America, but particularly in those locations conducive to manufacturing.

Parallel to the economic growth in this great urban community there has been increased enrollments in public and private schools. Some of this is in the increased enrollments in public and private schools. Some of this is in the increased enrollments of non-white pupils relative to the white population. Content materials and curriculum have not changed to reflect the new racial composition or change has been minimal. One of the principal investigator's interests is curriculum change in the business education departments of predominantly Negro high schools where teaching, counseling, and administrative energies are now concentrated in the traditional skill areas (typing, shorthand, and bookkeeping) with little emphasis on establishing or extending entrepreneurial thinking.

By collecting illustrative examples of successful performance by Negroes in manufacturing in the Detroit area, counseling and teaching materials can be developed thus providing identification patterns for the Negro male student. As an important byproduct in collecting this

information the communication gap between the business community and school and adult education programs would be improved.

In widest perspective the study of the socio-economic profile of entrepreneurship in manufacturing is seen as a means to further the American Negro's participation in the economic, educational, socio-psychological, and political events of American life. The objective is simply a society where the Negro's contribution is recognized and accepted on merit without regard to racial or ethnic origin.

Narrowed down, the specific, problematical situation seen in this study is the large numbers of Negro boys in predominantly Negro neighborhoods attending predominantly Negro high schools. These youngsters, nurtured in a social world that has not created a role expectancy of successful business behavior and without a father figure who has a white-collar job,[1] find little interest or encouragement in business education programs emphasizing clerical skills of stenography and typewriting;

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[1]Rashi Fein in "An Economic and Social Profile of the Negro American," Daedalus, Fall, 1965, page 829, provides a comparison: "The sharply different occupational structure among Negroes surely has an impact on the child and narrows his horizons. In 1963 -- as in earlier years -- the white child, for example, had a far greater opportunity to meet white-collar workers than did the Negro child: 47 per cent of whites were so employed, but only 18 per cent of Negroes."

skills that have little masculine appeal.[1] Business education, no less than other curriculum areas has been slow to overcome the traditional emphases and methods of commercial education even though the school population has changed drastically in the northern great city.

Thus there is a need for curriculum revision and construction. Teaching methods and styles must be dovetailed with improved learning materials. Cost is important but beyond the question of providing equal opportunity in per pupil dollar expenditure we must provide experiences for every student to express and communicate those things he can do best. We must find methods of learning that blend with student knowledges and goals, means not at variance with cultural patterns. The disadvantaged, impoverished, and hungry have additional problems when they go to school. Among

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[1]There is even some question of the occupational value of the business education office skills for the female Negro looking for a job. A recent investigation in the Detroit labor market concluded: "Female Negroes have more difficulty obtaining jobs than do any other group." While this study (Opportunities and Requirements for Initial Employment of School Leavers with Emphasis on Office and Retail Jobs by Drs. Fred S. Cook and Frank W. Lanham, OEUSDHEW CPR No. 2378, 1966) is not definitive, it contains a great many helpful suggestions for further investigation into the relationship between school curriculums and the job market.

these are evaluation standards that emphasize his shortcomings and neglect his strengths in curriculums appropriate to schools fifty years ago.

Up to this point we may summarize into four central problems:

1. The entrepreneur in the Negro business economy -- how to strengthen his role thereby creating new jobs.

2. The lack of available jobs within the Negro ghetto and the consequences in dollar terms in loss of human potential and property decay. Costs in mental health, crime, and public relief fit into this as disinvestment in human capital.

3. The circularity that exists from generation to generation in the transmission of behaviorial patterns from father to son. What is the psychological impact of father's employment, unemployment, or absence upon the family structure, the learning processes, and the aspirational and entrepreneurial attitudes of the children?

4. The dysfunctionality of a feminine skills business education program in all-Negro high schools which results in low interest and high dropout rates among males.[1]

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[1]See the final report of The Detroit High School Leavers Project, Michigan Employment Security Commission, October, 1964 for a curriculum breakdown of data from two predominantly Negro high schools (Northwestern and Northeastern.)

Description of Activities (Procedures). -- Thoughtful and simple educational programs for discovering and developing entrepreneurial attitudes can contribute very significantly to improved educational models and systems. Such programs must be based on fact valid at present and for the years ahead. Library research indicates a paucity of material on the Negro as manufacturing entrepreneur in the Detroit area (the researcher has been working at the Detroit Public Library, Wayne State University Libraries, and at the University of Michigan Libraries in Ann Arbor and Dearborn). The Detroit Area Study of the University of Michigan has briefly touched the subject for Negro families.[1] The Urban League of Detroit, as well as specialists at the Michigan Employment Security Commission, concur that no one has researched the Negro as manufacturing entrepreneur in the Detroit area. Initial contact with the Booker T. Washington Business Association has been very encouraging. Listed as manufacturers in their 1967 directory are:

1. George P. Cobb
   7900 Mack Avenue 923-9356

2. Moses Brown
   May Rain, Inc.
   13601 Stoepel WE 3-8375

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[1]Daniel R. Miller and Guy E. Swanson, The Changing American Parent: A Study in the Detroit Area, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1958, Pages 155-158. A helpful psychological construct used by Miller & Swanson is child training the "entrepreneurial" and in bureaucratic" families.

3. A. W. Curtis Laboratories
   Austin Curtis
   454 Farnsworth TE 3-6979

4. House of Beauty
   Carmen C. Murphy
   8401 Woodward 871-5748

5. Burns Food Products Co., Inc.
   John Burns
   11710 Goodwin 48203 TO 8-3649

6. Fairfield Butler
   Vicki Foods, Inc.
   3845 West Warren TY 4-9906

7. Fanny B. Small
   Fuller Products Co.
   9350 Grand River 933-9113

These manufacturers constitute a nucleus for study. At this time the intention is to conduct a series of repeated interviews of approximately one hour in length spread out over a six-week period with each manufacturer. Interviewing technique would follow procedures developed by R. Kahn and C. Cannell in The Dynamics of Interviewing and the "non-directive" procedures of Carl Rogers. An attempt to evaluate interpersonal competence will be made following the scheme developed by Chris Argyris in Organization and Innovation (Irwin-Dorsey, 1965, page 6). Factual data would follow, in general, the U. S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census Annual Survey of Manufactures (Form MA-100 and Form MA-101).

Additional Negro businessmen in manufacturing are to be located by library research, personal and institutional reference (agencies high on the priority list are the Detroit Urban League, the U. of M. Detroit Area Study, the Booker T. Washington Businessmen's Association, the Michigan Employment Security Commission, the Detroit School System, United Auto Workers, National Manufacturers Association, and the Greater Detroit Chamber of Commerce).

The choice of manufacturing is made on the assumption that the size of the population used in this study will be small enough to enable drawing accurate parameters. Rather than a broad treatment of the Negro as businessman, this approach will provide an in-depth study of entrepreneurial thinking and problems.

Manufacturing is an important activity in the Detroit area, accounting for 42.4% of the wage and salary employment.[1] Data is readily available to contrast Negro and white entrepreneurs in manufacturing.[2]

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[1]Research Department, Detroit Branch, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago, Detroit Area Economic Fact Book, Detroit Area Economic Forum, March, 1966, page 15.

[2]There may be some difficulty in doing this for in a letter of March 15, 1967, Mr. Maxwell R. Conklin, Chief, Industry Division, Bureau of the Census, has indicated that "No question is asked in connection with manufacturing surveys or censuses regarding race or color of respondents."

Following identification and location, rapport would be established between researcher and manufacturer. The series of interviews would be used to construct case studies similar to those collected by Professor William M. Hoad of the Graduate School of Business Administration at the University of Michigan.[1] These case studies would be analyzed to find clustered variables and a computer search program run to generate hypotheses.[2]

But more important that a statistical treatment or development of hypotheses about entrepreneurial attitudes among Negro manufacturers, the chief benefit to be derived from this study is to stimulate potential and existing Negro businessmen to enter the manufacturing fields--the research is intended to enlist cooperation and participation of entrepreneurs and in effect become an educational process leading to more effective economic behavior.

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[1] William M. Hoad, Selected Cases in Small Business, Michigan Business Reports Number 32, Bureau of Business Research, School of Business Administration, the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1960.

[2] The researcher hopes to enlist the aid of Professor Clement Johnson of the University of Michigan and Professor William Reitz of Wayne State University as statistical consultants.

Library research and other information retrieval techniques (ERIC, etc.) are planned to identify relevant research using the common bibliographic sources[1] searching the entrepreneurial history of the Negro American from 1900 (a convenient beginning point since this date is the approximate beginning point of Booker T. Washington's influence) to the present on national and local material. A major effort is to be made to relate the traditional economic analysis of entrepreneurship presented by Schumpeter and others to the newer psycho-economic approach used by Professor Everett E. Hagen of M.I.T., the "human capital" material of Professor Theodore Schultz of the University of Chicago, and to the "bureaucratic-entrepreneurial" styles of child rearing studied by Professors Miller and Swanson of the University of Michigan.

The researcher in his field work will be alert to others working in the same general area (to date, no comparable effort is underway). Scanning newspapers and general periodicals for relevant material will be a daily task. The present gap in information about the

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[1]Particularly helpful will be The Negro in America: A Bibliography compiled by Elizabeth W. Miller for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966. Mrs. Rita Sussman of Harvard University's Clearinghouse on Educational Differences has provided valuable references.

Negro entrepreneur in manufacturing in the Detroit area should be closed at the conclusion of the dissertation binding. By the end of summer, 1967, when his year's sabbatical leave from the Detroit Public School system terminates, the major portion of the work including writing and abstracting, should be ready for distribution to schools, university libraries, and community colleges in the area.

The Use to be made of Findings. -- Direct use of the findings could be used to influence business education, adult education, and community college programs in the Detroit metropolitan region. The systematic presentation of successful entrepreneurship in manufacturing in the Detroit area is likely to influence key people in other cities where Negroes represent a significant portion of the population. In Michigan, this would include Inkster, Flint, Benton Harbor, River Rouge, Willow Run, Ecorse, Lansing, Grand Rapids, and other cities.

Recommendations, expressed as suggested guidelines for curriculum development, will be made to the administrative staff and department heads of the Detroit Public Schools. Articles will be prepared for publication in journals with wide, influential circulation such as Phi Delta Kappan, Bulletin of the

National Association of Secondary School Principals, and *Parents Magazine*.

PERSONNEL AND FACILITIES

Principal Investigator: Gerald Lee Cox
Department Head, Business Education
(On Leave, 1966-67)
Detroit Public Schools

Positions Held:

1964-66: Curriculum Head and Department Head
Cass Technical High School

1963-64: Department Head, Business Education
High School of Commerce

1961-63: Department Head
Northwestern High School

1959-61: Business Teacher
Wilbur Wright Co-operative Vocational High School

1958-59: Assistant Professor of General Business
School of Business Administration
Wayne State University

1953-58: Business Teacher
High School of Commerce

1951-53: Executive Trainee
Southern Pacific Lines
New York and Pittsburgh

1950-51: Business Teacher
Chicago Vocational School

Education:

Undergraduate: Majored in business administration, was graduated with honors

from Michigan State University, East Lansing, December, 1950. Minor fields were economics and social science.

Graduate: Majored in business education at Wayne State University, received Master of Education degree in June, 1956.

Ph.D.: Completing program at the University of Michigan in business education under the joint chairmanship of Professor John Trytten and Professor Frank Lanham.

NDEA Institute in Advance Economics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Summer, 1966.

The principal investigator plans to devote full time during the ten weeks to the project described. Library privileges at the University of Michigan will be in effect since he was a full-time student during the academic year. Computer facilities can be obtained by request to Professor Clement Johnson of the Office of Research Services, School of Education, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

CONSULTANTS WHO HAVE AGREED TO SERVE:

1. John M. Trytten, Ph. D.
   Professor Emeritus
   School of Education
   University of Michigan
   Ann Arbor

2. Frank W. Lanham, Ph.D.
   Associate Professor
   School of Education
   University of Michigan
   Ann Arbor

3. William K. Medlin, Ph.D.
   Associate Professor
   School of Education
   University of Michigan
   Ann Arbor

4. Howard Y. McClusky, Ph.D.
   Professor
   School of Education
   University of Michigan
   Ann Arbor

5. Leo A. Schmidt, C.P.A.
Professor of Accounting
Graduate School of
Business Administration
Ann Arbor

6. William M. Hoad, Ph.D.
Professor of Small
Business, Graduate
School of Business
Administration
Ann Arbor

7. John Parker, Ph.D.
Economics Department
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor

8. Tom Palm
Doctoral Candidate
Economics
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor

9. Frances Cousens, D.Ed.
Sociology Department
University of Michigan
Dearborn Campus

10. David L. Angus, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor
School of Education
University of Michigan

11. Thomas Quinlan
Principal, Adult Day
Detroit Public Schools
770 E. Grand Blvd.
Detroit, Michigan

12. Mrs. Louise R. Grooms
President
Detroit Institute of
Commerce
1308 Broadway
Detroit, Michigan

13. Francis A. Kornegay
Executive Director
Detroit Urban League
208 Mack Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

14. Earl M. Ryan, Acting
Director, Research
Department, Detroit
Urban League
208 Mack Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

15. Howard Young, Actuarial
Consultant, Social
Security Department,
International Union,
United Automobile,
Aerospace and Agri-
cultural Implement
Workers of America,
UAW
8000 East Jefferson
Detroit 14, Michigan

16. William F. Dorn
Director, Planning,
Methods and Standards
Division, Michigan
Employment Security
Commission
7310 Woodward Avenue
Detroit 2, Michigan

17. John T. Simmons
Chief of Applicant
Services, Employment
Service Division,
Michigan Employment
Security Commission
7310 Woodward Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

18. Joseph W. Williams
Consultant
Equal Employment
Opportunity Section
Michigan Employment
Security Commission
7310 Woodward Avenue
Detroit 2, Michigan

19. Leonard E. Plachta, Ph.D.
Chairman, Accounting
Department, College of
Finance and Commerce
University of Detroit
Detroit, Michigan

20. Dr. Estemore A. Wolfe
Secretary-Treasurer
Wright Mutual Insurance Company, 2995 East Grand Blvd.
Detroit, Michigan

21. Edgar Brazelton
President
Booker T. Washington Business Association
Brazelton's Florists, Inc.
11555 Twelfth Street
Detroit 6, Michigan

22. R. Conrad Vaughn
Chairman, Executive Committee, Booker T. Washington Business Association
R. Conrad Vaughn Business Service
1740 West Grand Boulevard
Detroit 8, Michigan

23. Dr. Austin Curtis
A. W. Curtis Laboratories
454 Farnsworth
Detroit, Michigan

24. Clarke L. Oldenburg
President
General Industries, Inc.
34529 Ford Road
Garden City, Michigan

25. Mrs. Irma Craft
Secretary
Career Development Center
5961 Fourteenth Street
Detroit, Michigan

26. Walter R. Bunn
District Manager
South-Western Publishing Co.
5001 West Harrison Street
Chicago, Illinois

27. Lyle O. Willhite
District Manager
Gregg Publishing Division
McGraw-Hill
18285 Archdale
Detroit, Michigan

ANTICIPATED CONSULTANTS

1. Richard V. Marks
Commission on Community Relations
150 Michigan Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

2. Earnest T. Marshall
Detroit Public Schools
Guidance Department
5057 Woodward
Detroit, Michigan

3. Harold C. Crandall
Fisher Branch, YMCA
2051 W. Grand Boulevard
Detroit, Michigan

4. Robert R. Tindal
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
242 E. Warren
Detroit, Michigan

5. Guy S. Peppiatt
Federal-Mogul Corporation and the National Association of Manufacturers
Southfield, Michigan

6. Theodore O. Yntema
Ford Motor Company and the Committee for Economic Development
Ford Motor Company, Dearborn

7. Miss Jeanne Reed
Director, Business Education World of Work
Division for the Improvement of Instruction
Detroit Public Schools
5057 Woodward
Detroit, Michigan

8. Miss Ann Lind, Supervisor, Distributive Education, World of Work, Division for the Improvement of Instruction
Detroit Public Schools
5057 Woodward
Detroit, Michigan

9. George H. Owen
Divisional Director,
Continuing Education
Division for the
Improvement of Instruction
Detroit Public Schools
5057 Woodward
Detroit, Michigan

10. William Reitz, Ph.D.
Evaluation and Measurement
College of Education
Wayne State University
Detroit 2, Michigan

11. Fred S. Cook, Ph.D.
Business Education
College of Education
Wayne State University
Detroit 2, Michigan

12. Clement Johnson, Ph.D.
Office of Research Services
School of Education
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor

14. Karl Gregory, Ph.D.
Economics Department
Wayne State University
Detroit, Michigan

15. John Brickner
Consultant, Office Education
State Department of Public
Instruction
Lansing, Michigan

16. Mrs. Marise Hadden
3457 Rangeley Drive,
Apt. 7
Flint, Michigan

17. Gale Jensen, Ph.D.
School of Education
University of Michigan
Ann Arbor

18. Wallace Williams
Michigan Employment Security
Commission
7310 Woodward Avenue
Detroit 2, Michigan

BUDGET WORKSHEET GUIDE FOR RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

Initiator Gerald Lee Cox
Institution University of Michigan
Duration of proposed activity: 10 weeks
Beginning Date: 6/26/67 Ending Date: 9/1/67

Category	Project cost by line item Federal	Local
I. DIRECT COSTS		
A. Personnel		
Allowance for principal investigator*	$1,200	
Dependents allowance (5)**	900	
Secretarial: 2 weeks, full time (40 hours) wage: $3.00 per hour	240	
B. Employee Benefits - none		
C. Travel: 50 miles per day 5 days for 10 weeks at a cost of 8¢ per mile	200	
D. Supplies and Materials	250	
E. Communications		
Telephone ($.50 per day for 50 days)	25	
F. Services: Duplication and Reproduction	250	
G. Postage: ($.25 per day for 50 days)	12.50	
II. TOTAL COSTS	$3,077.50	

*and ** This subsistence allowance follows the unding of the University of Michigan, Experienced Teacher Fellowship Program, 1967-68.

APPENDED ITEMS

Other information --

(a) This is an original proposal, not submitted to any agency.

(b) This is not an extension or addition to a previous or current project supported by the Office of Education.

(c) There has been no previous communication with the Bureau of Research relating to this proposal.

February 25, 1968

R. Louis Bright
Associate Commissioner for Research
Bureau of Research
Office of Education
U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Dear Dr. Bright:

Enclosed is a copy of a proposal developed under the direction of Professor Trytten (U of M at Ann Arbor) during my sabbatical year. It follows the format suggested in OE-12025, Office of Education Support for Research and Related Activities.

Perhaps you might appreciate the proposal as feedback in terms of research methodology: what happens when you provide researchers with a "cookbook"?

Then, too, you might ask about content. Is the study helping the black businessman in his efforts to rebuild Detroit? Could it? Or, where do we go from here?

As points of information: 1. The study was never formally submitted, 2. It was discussed by the members of the U. of M's administration of research division, 3. I did take it to Lansing and talked with Mr. Charles Langdon of the Vocational Education Research Department, 4. Even though not funded, I carried out the preliminary research at my own expense from April to September last year.

This advisory copy is being sent to you now with the hope you may see some value in a research undertaking of this nature and come up with suggestions as to how to further it.

Respectfully yours,

Gerald L. Cox
Business Education Dept. Head

cc: Prof. Trytten
Prof. Lanham

32761 Maplewood
Garden City, Michigan 48135
February 25, 1968

Mr. Philip F. Zeidman
General Counsel
Small Business Administration
Department of Commerce
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Zeidman

The substance of your seminar presentation, "The Negro Businessman -- The Need for Help" last December 8 (reprinted in Vital Speeches, January 15, 1968) leads me to believe you are the proper person to assist in harnessing the personnel and facilities of SBA with my own research effort entitled, THE NEGRO BUSINESSMAN IN MANUFACTURING: An Interview Study in the Detroit Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area.

Eugene P. Foley did focus in on Philadelphia in writing "The Negro Businessman: In Search of a Tradition" for the winter, 1966 issue of Daedalus but I know of no comparable write-up for the Detroit area. Do you know of someone here in Detroit who could help?

I am enclosing a copy of my proposal. Would you be kind enough to give it a critique and your suggestions for improvement in form and in substance.

Respectfully yours,

Gerald L. Cox
Department Head

cc: Prof. J. M Trytten
Prof. Frank Lanham

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Washington, D.C. 20416

Mr. Gerald L. Cox
Department Head, Business Education
Detroit Public Schools
11600 E. Seven Mile Road
Detroit, Michigan 48205

Dear Mr. Cox:

Since my acknowledgement of your letter of February 25, 1968, I have obtained the comments of several Small Business Administration officials on your proposed study on the Negro Businessman in manufacturing in the Detroit area.

The comments are not what one would call a consensus. However, with your request having been couched in terms of a thorough-going critique, and, because the area of inquiry is still for the most part new, untried territory, I feel it would be more useful to you to have those comments substantially as submitted. You should be aware that these comments come from individuals with varying backgrounds: an economists, a former Negro businessman-educator now involved in SBA employment problems, an attorney-journalist familiar with Negro problems, and the Regional Director of an SBA office in a metropolitan area with a substantial Negro population.

The comments are as follows:

1. The researcher has the germ of a very good idea. However, most of the proposal is devoted to obiter dicta which, while demonstrating familiarity with some of the literature, is not particularly germane to the inquiry. He should indicate much more explicitly what he is going to study, both on the business curriculum in the Detroit public schools and the Detroit Negro entrepreneur in manufacturing. Before going into the latter, it would be wise to determine whether there is a sufficiently large

number of Negro entrepreneurs in manufacturing in Detroit to permit the formulation of useful conclusions.

2. The researcher is trying to deal with two different subjects in one dissertation. It would be preferable if he would focus on one, the need for curriculum change in the business education departments of the predominantly Negro high schools in Detroit.

3. The proposed study should have some merit. An inventory of Negro businessmen in manufacturing in Detroit will reveal a great shortage in such businesses. But, the in-depth interviews with the few that exist should bring out some answers to vital questions such as -- how they got into manufacturing -- the most critical problems they faced -- how and to what extent they solved these problems -- the sources of greatest assistance in conducting the enterprise, etc. The number of Negroes in Detroit in manufacturing is so limited that the survey will probably not be representative. However, it should be worth digging into even on a small scale.

4. The approach is somewhat unrealistic. How interviewing a handful of Negro manufacturers in the Detroit area can do much to stimulate more Negroes to enter the manufacturing field is not clear. After all, the problems of Negro manufacturers are not unlike those of any other manufacturers, and these problems are generally well known without any particular need for further studies and interviews. But there is a need to tie-in high school curriculums with business careers and such a study, geared toward this objective, would have some merit. However, this should be done for all kinds of businesses, not just manufacturing.

5. There is a role that successful Negro businessmen can play in stimulating Negro youth to seek business careers and to provide them with the success symbols that they need. These men should be invited to address high school classes and assemblies. Tours of Negro businesses should be arranged to give high school students first-hand information on how successful businesses are operated. It would also be helpful if the Negro businessmen themselves organized a Junior Chamber among Negro youths.

6. Something good might come out of such a study. The researcher apparently knows interviewing techniques and should be aware of sources of information as to why the number of Negro manufacturers is extremely limited. He should also be referred to the Small Business Development Center in Detroit; to Deputy Police Chief Stanley Rich who headed the SBDC and is one of the most knowledgeable people in Detroit about regional problems; and also to SBA's own Regional Director. But because of the limited number of Negro manufacturers, why limit the study to manufacturers? Why not consider Negro employers with more than ten employees, for example?

As for people in the Detroit area who might help, there were some names in addition to Deputy Police Chief Rich and the SBA Regional Director (who is Mr. Robert F. Phillips, 1249 Washington Boulevard, Detroit). Mr. Francis Kornegay, Executive Director of the Detroit Urban League, was mentioned but I notice he is on your list of consultants. Also mentioned was Mr. Edward Davis, Chrysler Automobile Dealer, former Vice President of the National Business League, 11825 Dexter Boulevard, Detroit.

Another name suggested was Dr. Percy Julian, President of Julian Laboratories, 9352-58 North Grand Avenue, Franklin Park, Illinois. He achieved a breakthrough when he became the first Negro to become a top research chemist for Hidden Paint Company. Dr. Julian is former Professor of Chemistry at Howard University and at Fisk University. He is a Trustee of Fisk at the present time. Even though Dr. Julian is not located in the Detroit Area, an interview with him would produce some valuable answers to questions and some significant recommendations regarding educational programs to meet the needs of the Negro interested in the field of manufacturing.

As for my own reaction, it is not in some respects too dissimilar from some of the comments noted above. The emphasis is too much on the Negro manufacturer now in business and not on the curriculum. The problems of manufacturers are similar irrespective of the race of their owners and managers. There are capital problems, personnel problems and marketing problems. There are difficulties of adapting to constantly changing technology and developing new products and methods of operation. There are many others which you are probably in a better position to enumerate than I.

But who are the Negro manufacturers you would now survey? Realizing the handicaps that Negro businessmen have had to meet, I would guess they are persons who have become successful because of exceptional talents. Realistically, those who excel are relatively few. They can be useful as symbols of achievement but a curriculum such as you envisage must necessarily be concerned with the larger number of persons with qualifications somewhat less than excellent.

The technical aspects of a curriculum, therefore, should cover the usual problems and solutions of businesses without regard to the question of race. Beyond this, the high school student requires something that will assure him that his business talents will be allowed and encouraged to develop. He needs to know that financial and technical resources available to today's businessmen will be available to him when and if he decides to becd e an entrepreneur. Accordingly, representatives of the financial and business community, regardless of race, should participate in this endeavor. There are now several - overnment assistance programs available to businessmen. The students whould know what they are and how they can be used, directly or in conjunction with private resources now gradually becoming available.

As you can see from the comments you have elicited from us, you have undertaken quite a large task for yourself. I have no doubt that good results will come from it. I trust that that the comments presented here will be useful to you in achieving that end.

Sincerely,

Philip F. Zeidman
General Counsel

APPENDIX III

SCHEDULE OF KEY INTERVIEWS

Person	Position	Place	Date
Dr. John Trytten	Professor, Univ. of M.	Ann Arbor	Feb. 6, 1967
Mr. Earl Ryan	Acting Research Director, Detroit Urban League	Detroit	Feb. 7, 1967
Dr. Howard McClusky	Professor, Univ. of M.	Ann Arbor	Mar. 12, 1967
Mrs. Louise Grooms	President, Detroit Institute of Commerce	Detroit	Mar. 14, 1967
Mrs. Marise Haddon	Mott Scholar, Univ. of M.	Ann Arbor	Apr. 10, 1967
Mr. Francis Kornegay	Executive Director, Detroit Urban League	Detroit	Apr. 25, 1967
Mr. John Simmons	Chief, MESC	Detroit	May 5, 1967
Mr. Joseph Williams	Consultant, MESC	Detroit	May 5, 1967
Mr. Wallace Williams	Consultant, MESC	Detroit	May 5, 1967
Mrs. Geraldine Bledsoe	Chief, MESC	Detroit	May 5, 1967
Mrs. Irma Craft	Training Director, Career Development Center	Detroit	May 18, 1967

Person	Position	Place	Date
*Dr. Austin Curtis	Entrepreneur, A. W. Curtis Laboratories	Detroit	May 24, 1967
*Mr. John Burns	Entrepreneur, Burns Food Products Co.	Detroit	May 24, 1967
Mr. Edward Brennan	Research Administrator, Univ. of M.	Ann Arbor	June 9, 1967
Mr. R. Conrad Vaughn	Business Consultant, R. Conrad Vaughn Bus. Services	Detroit	June 7, 1967
Miss Ann Lind	Supervisor, Dist. Ed., Detroit Public Schools	Detroit	June 28, 1967
Mr. Charles Langdon	Research Administrator, Dept. of Public Instruction	Lansing	June 29, 1967
Mr. Robert Fitzpatrick	Research Administrator, Univ. of M.	Ann Arbor	July 10, 1967
*Mr. Fairfield Butler	Entrepreneur, Vicki Foods, Inc.	Detroit	July 12, 1967
Dr. Karl Gregory	Professor, Wayne State U.	Detroit	July 19, 1967
+Mrs. Irma Craft	CDC	Detroit	August 10, 1967
Mr. Alvin Bush	Director, Career Development Center	Detroit	August 10, 1967

*Afro-American Manufacturing Entrepreneur.

+Return interview.

Person	Position	Place	Date
*Mr. Moses Brown	Entrepreneur, May Rain, Inc.	Detroit	August 15, 1967
Mr. Asa Spaulding, Jr.	Insurance Executive, N. C. Mutual Life Insur. Company, Durham, N.C.	Detroit[1]	October 2, 1967
+Mrs. Louise Grooms	DIC	Detroit	February 17, 1968
+Dr. John Trytten	U. of M.	Ann Arbor	May 4, 1968
Dr. Alvin Loving	Professor, Univ. of M.	Ann Arbor	May 2, 1968
+Mrs. Irma Craft	CDC	Detroit	August 30, 1968
+Mr. Alvin Bush	CDC	Detroit	August 30, 1968
Mrs. Sue Smith	VISTA and CDC	Detroit	August 30, 1968
Mr. Harold Kempner	Consultant, Small Business Development Center	Detroit	September 10, 1968
Mr. E. Q. Miller	Consultant, SBDC	Detroit	September 19, 1968
Dr. Frank Lanham	Professor, Wayne State U.	Detroit	November 4, 1968
+Dr. Frank Lanham	WSU	Detroit	November 11, 1968
Mr. William Swanton	Management Specialist, Small Business Administration	Detroit	January 9, 1969
Mr. Jesse Butler	Management Specialist, Small Business Administration	Detroit	January 17, 1969

[1]Interview held during international meeting of Systems and Procedures Association. He is the chief systems officer for the largest black-owned business in the United States.

Person	Position	Place	Date
+Dr. John Trytten	U. of M.	Ann Arbor	Feb. 23, 1969
+Mr. John Burns	Entrepreneur	Detroit	March 7, 1969
+Mr. Fairfield Butler	Entrepreneur	Detroit	March 11, 1969
+Dr. Austin Curtis	Entrepreneur	Detroit	March 13, 1969
+Mr. Moses Brown	Entrepreneur	Detroit	March 14, 1969
+Dr. John Trytten	U. of M.	Ann Arbor	March 23, 1969

+Return interview.

APPENDIX IV

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Interview Schedule One: Personal History of Entrepreneur

1. Year of birth _____.
2. Birthplace _____.
3. Number of children in family of origin and their sex:

_____.

4. What was your birth order? _____.
5. Which member of your family do you feel contributed most to your personal development? _____.
6. What program or curriculum did you take in high school?

_____.

7. Did you work part-time while in school? _____

_____.

8. How would you judge the adequacy of your high school education on a five-point scale?

Excellent	Good	Average	Inadequate	Very Inadequate
x	x	x	x	x

9. When you were in high school, what was the highest education you wanted to get? _____.

10. Did you go directly to college after completing high school? _____.
11. What were your college major and minor studies? _____

_____.

12. When did you go to school last? _____.

13. If a desirable adult education class (one that would help you in your business) was given in a local high school would you be able to attend? _____.

14. Were you in the armed services? _____

_____.

15. What labor or union affiliation have you had? _____

. _____.

16. When did you get married? _____.

17. How many children have you and how old are they? _____

_____.

18. Would you like them to finish college? _____

_____.

19. Would you like them to follow a career in business? _____

_____.

20. What suggestions do you have for young men thinking about entering the business fields? _____

_____.

21. Have you ever participated in any programs in the Detroit Public Schools? _____.

22. How long have you lived in Detroit? _____.

Interview Schedule Two: History of the Firm and Its Present Operating characteristics

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1. Name of establishment _____.
2. Type of business (i.e., single proprietorship, partnership, or corporation) _____.
3. Address _____.
4. Number of employees _____.
5. When did the idea or invention first come to you? _____

_____.
6. What products are manufactured? _____

_____.
7. When were the first products sold? _____.
8. In general terms, would you describe the manufacturing process? _____

_____.
9. What are your sources of raw materials? _____

_____.
10. Do any governmental agents inspect your manufacturing processes? _____.
11. What person or organization was most helpful to you in meeting the early problems of the business? _____

_____.
12. What were some of the problems you overcame in getting initial financing? _____.

_____.
13. Do you have any manufacturing representatives? _____

_____.

14. What types of advertising have you used? _____

_____.

15. What sales outlets do you now have? _____

_____.

16. Have you had any help from the community in getting these outlets established? _____

_____.

17. Do you have a line of credit with a local bank and do you use it? _____.

18. Who does your bookkeeping and accounting? _____

_____.

19. Are you familiar with the U. S. Department of Commerce Annual Survey of Manufactures form? _____.

20. Do you make comparisons of your current ratio (current assets/ current liabilities relationship) with other firms like yours? _____.

21. What was your most successful year of operation? _____.

22. Do you plan to expand your operations? _____

_____.

APPENDIX V

WHAT ABOUT JUNIOR ACHIEVEMENT?

- by Jo Ann Lang,
a student at Cass Technical
High School, Spring, 1969

In our present society there are very few organizations that are organized for the purpose of supplying young people with the experience and training that will be important in their roles as future adults. Yet, there is one organization that has taken the challenge of training youth in the field of economics and business. This organization is well-known throughout the world as Junior Achievement.

Junior Achievement is designed to give practical business and economic education to teen-agers while they are still in high school. In Junior Achievement you are "in" business experiencing first hand everything from incorporation through liquidation. The principles you apply in Junior Achievement enable you to acquire valuable business training and know-how which will make the individual a more desirable employee when he is ready to work at a steady job. Junior Achievement attempts to provide youth with the knowledge of the values, freedoms and responsibilities of the business system. It attempts to motivate leadership through the development of skills, abilities, and confidence.

All of this is very interesting and nice. After being in Junior Achievement for almost three years, I have been able to develop ideas of my own. Junior Achievement speaks of helping and working with youth. Yet, what youth?

The youth who are the privileged. Those who could probably make it very well on their own. Or, are they referring to the under-privileged youth of America. Those whose life is so meaningless to them that Junior Achievement is a foreign language. I must ask again, what youth of America? I have found that most of the teen-agers who are in J.A. come from well-to-do homes. Those who range in the low average families are very few.

As a black person and one who has been very fortunate, I have been able to gain a lot from J.A. I have been a member of a company determined and even dedicated to being successful. Yet, J.A. itself did not knock on my door and ask me to join. Nor had I any knowledge of what J.A. was; nor did I care. I had to go to Junior Achievement.

While recruiting many poor blacks and whites, many complaints have been that they are not really interested in J.A. This is probably true and realistic. How can you say to someone who has never had much of anything, "Join Junior Achievement and you will learn about business." Their first question will be "What for?" And, what answer can you give them that will be meaningful to them?

As an organization for all, J.A. should be devoted to recruiting members who really need the quidance that J.A. can offer.

I went to J.A. because I wanted to accept the challenge. As poor as I was, I was determined to get a share of the opportunity and advantage that everyone seemed to tell

me that I had. I wanted to get into the "action."

In J.A., I have learned a lot. But most of all, I have gained self-confidence and I have found out what I want out of life and the means by which to accomplish it. I want others to get that same opportunity.

APPENDIX VI

ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS ASSISTING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF AFRO-AMERICAN BUSINESS

Introduction. -- Entrepreneurship takes place in a social setting. Detroit, like so many other large cities of America, has been experiencing a tremendous change in population. Perhaps, in historical perspective, the migration of the Afro-American out of the caste of the South to the black ghettoes of the North and finally into a fully open American society, will stand as a great social triumph for the rest of the world to emulate.

Men need one another. This is true of the black businessman who is finding a new ethnic solidarity and stimulus for success in organizations and movements.

In this appendix, three organizations in Detroit that have promise for entrepreneurs are described.

The Booker T. Washington Business Association. -- The Booker T. Washington Business Association's Wednesday luncheon takes place the year around in the modern headquarters of black-owned and operated Great Lakes Mutual Life Insurance Company on Woodward Avenue in Detroit. Attendance is open to the public, is voluntary in the sense that members suffer no penalty if they don't attend,

and is predominantly male. In number it fluctuates from about fifteen to 150 out of a paid membership listed in the 1969 directory as 296.

Mr. Turner Matchett, black restaurateur (he owns two Pelican Restaurants in Detroit) and caterer provides food service that sometimes includes a distinctive touch of soul food, such as kale and turnip tidbits.

Food for the mind is usually given by a speaker or panel selected by the luncheon chairman, Mr. Joseph Williams, of the Michigan Employment Security Commission, and his assistant, Mr. Longworth Quinn, editor-manager of the Michigan Chronicle. Following the speech, which begins during the latter part of the meal, the chairman extends to the audience the opportunity to question the speaker. Questions raised often reflect major concerns of members and visitors.

The small businessman is not usually present at the luncheons, but he does support BTWBA with his $30 annual membership dues and advertises in the Guide to Better Service, the annual directory.

In addition to individual memberships, corporate memberships are available with dues ranging from $110 to $1,000. This is a recent innovation and an important method for gaining wider recognition for black entrepreneurs. The

list of corporate memberships now includes the National Bank of Detroit, Chrysler Corporation, Gerber Baby Foods, Vernor's Ginger Ale, The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Company, and twenty-two others.

During thirty-nine years of continuous operation, the Booker T. Washington Business Association has been an effective training ground for many prominent men and women. It was called a trade association in 1930, but in 1960 the name was changed to "business" as part of a constitutional revision administered by the then president, Mr. Richard Austin. The Reverend William H. Peck, pastor of Bethel A.M.E. Church, president from 1930 to 1936, was principal organizer of what was then a small group of Detroit professionals and businessmen. Mr. Homer Waterman, current president, was selected by the nine-member executive committee whose membership includes four past presidents.

The standing committees, whose titles reflect the interests and activities of the association, are: annual golf tournament, luncheon club, annual managers and bookkeepers conference, annual Christmas party for boys, community service, front people workshop (for clerks, receptionists, and others who meet the public), anniversary banquet, annual brotherhood luncheon, business service, membership, principal's day luncheon, and auditing.

These committees function to achieve the stated objectives of BTWBA: 1. to engender a spirit of fair play and to support efforts to achieve equal economic opportunity; 2. to bring about a better understanding between the consuming public and business and professional people; 3. to encourage improvement of the standards of business and professional service; and 5. to sponsor and conduct activities for promotion and protection of the interests of members.

Hearing that these luncheons were an excellent source of observations from several persons knowledgeable of Detroit's Afro-American community, the author began regular attendance in May, 1967 at which time he was introduced to the luncheon group by Mrs. Louise Grooms, founder and chief executive officer of the Detroit Institute of Commerce. Mrs. Grooms had served as secretary to BTWBA in its early years.

Customarily, the participants are officers, executive board members, retirees, and insurance and real estate executives and employees. Frequently members bring guests from out of town.

Mr. Homer Waterman, current president of the BTWBA, is completing a two-year term of office as successor to Mr. Edgar Brazelton. In his tenure Mr. Waterman has vigorously pursued the conviction that business between black companies and those corporations and individuals in the mainstream of economic life can help the slogan, "Make

American Business a Two-Way Street," become an economic and social reality. Mr. Waterman, a successful businessman in printing (Waterman & Sons)[1] recently made the following comments in an address to the Greater Detroit Chamber of Commerce:

> The black businessman, who has struggled and made it usually in spite of, instead of because of, any help from the general business community, must be given a chance to prove his ability to deliver on a competitive basis. Large corporations garnering bountiful profits from business generated in the black community should consider using the services of black firms.
>
> If you're building a new store, there are black architects and contractors who can do the job. There are black suppliers with everything to offer from flowers for the grand opening on down to maintenance supplies. When you are ready to tell your story to the public there are black-owned advertising and marketing agencies and black-owned newspapers and radio stations.[2]

The firms suggested as possible suppliers of goods and services are listed in the Guide to Better Service, a 62-page multicolor publication printed by his firm.

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[1] A group of nine black printing firms in Detroit (Craftsman Press, Bolar Printing & Publishing, Book Printing Company, King & Sons Printing Co., Odom & Son Printing Co., Powell Printing Co., Valley Publishing Co., Waterman & Sons Printing, and Wright Bros) were reported organizing their efforts to secure large volume jobs in the face of "freeze out" pressure by conventional typographic unions. June 1969 Newsletter, Booker T. Washington Business Association.

[2] Detroiter, April 14, 1969.

In August, 1969, the Newsletter of the BTWBA carried the following president's report on how Ford Motor Company made positive responses to a list of suppliers presented by Mr. Waterman:

Miracle Household Products	Invited out to discuss the manufacture of soap and wax.
McClendon Home Improvement Co.	Facilities Purchasing Office considering this company for office additions.
Satisfactory Construction Co.	Referred to Facilities Purchasing Office
E. H. Harrell Plastering Co.	Referred to Facilities Purchasing Office
Big D. Paving Co.	Referred to Facilities Purchasing Office.
Accurate Electric Co.	Declined to bid.
All Service Electric Co.	Recently awarded contract. Now performing
Hill-Crawford Landscaping	Invited to quote tree planting job.
All-Trades Construction Co.	Referred to Facilities Purchasing Office.
Guss Carpets	Further Investigation planned. Possibilities appear good.
Lindsay's Janitorial Service	Invited out to submit proposal.
Price Office Supply	Investigation reveals this company is retail and could not compete with distributors and manufacturers.

Kennedy Travel Agency	This company is being considered a potential travel agency for FERA.
Vista Travel Service	Further investigation at a later date planned.
Ray's Machine Shop	Now doing a regular volume of work for Ford.
Field's Vending Service	Recommended referral to P & O Staff for consideration as vending machine concessionaire.
Waterman & Sons Printing	This company now doing a sizable volume of printing in both forms printing and general promotional type printing for Ford.

The report concluded that, "Doing business with Ford has created a number of new jobs within the above named businesses."

The BTWBA, as a member of the National Business League, participates in national programs such as Project Outreach which provides management training and service to present or potential entrepreneurs. Mr. Conrad Vaughn, a former president of BTWBA, is the project director in Detroit. In 1970 Detroit will be the convention city for the National Business League.

In the past several summers it has become customary for educators from Michigan State University and Wayne State University to visit BTWBA businesses and attend a Wednesday luncheon. Detroit school executives

participate in the Principal's Day Luncheon, the Wednesday of American Education Week in November. The annual banquet along with the Brotherhood Luncheon and Principal's Day are the three major events held every year.

To summarize observations of the BTWBA, the group offers opportunity for members to air grievances and plan programs for solution of problems such as inadequate capital, unavailable insurance, segregation and separatism, refusal to accept or display products, and the larger questions of unequal Afro-American representation in existing institutions, including government and education. More than a "knife and fork" debating club, the BTWBA has become an independent organization run by black people of competence and character who are free to work cooperatively with external agencies and individuals or withhold their support.

The door is kept open to the black militants. Their vitality and that of young, aggressive entrepreneurs such as Al Morrison, Jr. should motivate others to accept leadership roles in economic development at the grassroots level along streets like Joy in the blocks between Linwood and Grand River.

As is seen above in the communication with the Ford Motor Company, BTWBA is serving as a powerful group to enhance black economic power and participate in American democracy.

The ICBIF Story. -- In Detroit, a strong expression of the Afro-American community's self-determination to improve conditions of life can be seen in the activities of a local development company, Inner City Business and Improvement Forum (ICBIF as it is popularly known).

Early organizers in August, 1967 included U. S. Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (he still serves as treasurer) and economist Karl Gregory.

ICBIF provides financial and technical assistance to small black businessmen, especially those in the inner city.

This non-profit corporation[1] has rapidly become the main coordinating agency in Detroit bringing together black people, community organizations, Model Cities, and the Mayor's Committee for Human Resources Development (MCHRD), etc.

Dr. Charles E. Morton, chairman of ICBIF, and Mr. Walter M. McMurtry, executive director, announced in the July 12, 1969 issue of the Michigan Chronicle that a fund of $650,000 venture capital would be part of a $1 million federal grant for developing business opportunities in an area in Detroit's inner city bounded roughly

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[1]General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, and Michigan Bell Telephone Company were early ICBIF backers in August, 1967 when they provided $150,000 as "breakthrough money." ICBIF cooperates with the Economic Development Corporation of Greater Detroit which is coordinated by the Greater Detroit Chamber of Commerce.

by Fort Street, Dexter Avenue, Van Dyke, and Chicago Boulevard. This is a 19-square mile area including Model City boundaries.

A major project of ICBIF is the organization of The First Independence National Bank of Detroit at State St. and Washington Blvd. which is scheduled to begin operations in early fall (October 1, 1969) as a member bank of the Federal Reserve System and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. Directors and organizers of the bank include Mr. Louis Beatty, owner of Beatty Brothers Construction Company; Rev. Charles Butler, pastor of New Calvary Baptist; Mr. Wardell Croft, president of Wright Mutual Insurance; Dr. Karl Gregory, president of Accord, Inc.; Mrs. Roberta Hughes, Director of the Detroit Commission on Children and Youth, and Dr. Charles Morton, pastor of Metropolitan Baptist.

The People's Community Civic League. -- The Career Development Center of the People's Community Civic League (PCCL) is located about a block south from ICBIF headquarters on 14th street.

From its beginning on December 29, 1966[1] when the Henry Ford II Fund contributed $10,000, the center has been able to enlist the support of The Rev. Leon Sullivan of

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[1]The People's Community Civic League was incorporated in 1957.

Philadelphia, Mr. Charles Helin of Helin Tackle Company, Mr. Dwight Havens, president of the Greater Detroit Board of Commerce, Mr. Ross Roy (advertising), Mr. William Hall of the Detroit Bank & Trust Co., Mr. William Brigham of the National Bank of Detroit, Mr. Ernest Brown of Michigan Consolidated Gas Company, Mr. Richard Austin, Wayne County auditor, and other prominent individuals and corporations in the Detroit metropolitan region.

The operating attitude of Mr. Alvin Bush, President, and Mrs. Irma Craft is to eschew any aid from "government money."

On a recent tour of expansion facilities, the PCCL is operating a highly successful Mobil station on Livernois, is in the process of renovating a seven-store shopping center at Woodward and Seward, is preparing a TV center at 67 Edmund with the active assistance of the ABC network, has obtained for $3 a year lease of a modern building on Oakman Blvd. from Excello corporation, and is preparing to set up an automotive mechanics and printing trades branch in the former Holcroft factory.

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