

A COMPARISON OF THE
ORIGINS AND ORIENTATIONS OF
THE BLACK ENTREPRENEUR AND
THE BLACK PROFESSIONAL

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
BETTE BEDDEN
1974

E-340

GROUP SPR 1983

ABSTRACT

A COMPARISON OF THE ORIGINS AND ORIENTATIONS OF THE BLACK ENTREPRENEUR AND THE BLACK PROFESSIONAL

By

Bette Bedden

The purposes of this study were threefold: 1) to extend the entrepreneurial studies of Collins and Moore (1964) and Soslow (1966) using a Black population, 2) to determine the extent to which the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional differ from one another in terms of their social origins, characteristics, and orientations, and 3) to determine whether "successful entrepreneurship" is independent of race and solely dependent upon social and psychological factors.

Fifty-two Black entrepreneurs and forty-eight Black professionals responded to a fifty-seven item mailed questionnaire which requested background information concerning attitude towards formal education, educational attainment, nature of childhood experiences, community and political involvement, values and work orientations. Correlational techniques were employed in all analyses.

It was hypothesized that the Black entrepreneur would score higher on size of family of origin, inter-firm movement, independence

during childhood, time at which vocational choice was made, concern for seeing the results of his work and self-confidence.

The Black professional was expected to score higher on socioeconomic background as measured by father's education and occupation, occupational transmission, extent of formal education, amount of emphasis placed on education in the parental home, attitudes towards work, community involvement, and participation in political activities.

The following research hypotheses were confirmed:

The Black entrepreneur tends to come from a larger family of origin than the Black professional.

The Black entrepreneur tends to be less well educated than the Black professional.

The Black entrepreneur tends to have experienced greater inter-firm movement than the Black professional.

The amount of emphasis placed on education in the home is greater for the Black professional than the Black entrepreneur.

The Black entrepreneur tends to show less involvement in political activities than the Black professional.

The Black entrepreneur tends to have had a relatively unhappy childhood characterized by economic hardship more often than the Black professional.

The results showed that the Black entrepreneur and the white entrepreneur are relatively homogenous in terms of their social and psychological requirements for entrepreneurial success. The apparent lack of Black success in the national economic structure must be a function of extra-social and extra-economic factors. Generally, access to the means of production, opportunities for education, and acquisition of skills have not been equal among all racial groups.

Methodological deficiencies were discussed and suggestions for future research were offered.

Approved_____

Date_____

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By

Bette Bedden

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Psychology

1974

65550

DEDICATION

To My Mother . . .

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With deep appreciation, I would like to thank Dr. Frank Schmidt, chairman of my thesis committee, for the many hours spent in consultation with me throughout this research. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee, Dr. John Wakeley, Chairman of the Psychology Department, and Dr. Michael Moore, Assistant Director, School of Labor and Industrial Relations.

Although not directly involved in this research, I would also like to thank Dr. Frederick Wickert for his encouragement during my life as a graduate student.

There is nothing inconsistent between Blacks maintaining a distinctive ethnic "identity" and Afro-heritage and still gaining assimilation into one (major) aspect of our society--the opportunity structure.

(Young, 1964, 1124)

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INTRODUCTION

Psychological inquiry into the nature of entrepreneurship has not been characterized by much fervor, although several theorists have used psycho-sociological variables to explain a person's predisposition towards a given occupation (McClelland, 1961; Hagen, 1962; Collins and Moore, 1964). Similarly, economists concerned with developing Black capitalism have ignored the role of psycho-sociological variables in entrepreneurial development (Brimmer, 1968; Cross, 1969).

Economics is clearly not divorced from culture. Cultural differences or differences from socialization could create differences between Blacks and whites in terms of their requirements for "entrepreneurial success." Admittedly, Blacks have been systematically denied access to and control of the means of production; and opportunities for education and acquisition of skills have not been equal among all racial groups. However, the concern of the present study is an extension of previous research findings to a Black population to determine whether the behavioral determinants of "entrepreneurial success" are, in fact, independent of race. The approach will be to generate a comparative study of the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional

(assuming distinct roles for the two in the economic set up). The position assumed by the writer is that private ownership and control of resources (entrepreneurship) as distinguished from Black participation in white corporations will have as its long term effect the Blacks' direct influence in policy making at both local and national levels. Secondly, it will provide the means of creating gainful employment opportunities and entrepreneurial models for aspirant Black youth.

The present research recognizes the operation of selective factors in occupational choice. If it is assumed that the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional differ from one another in terms of their social origins, characteristics, and orientations, a careful analysis of these differences would yield new grounds for perspectives on Black economic development. Further, such knowledge should provide banks and other credit institutions with additional criteria for examining loan applications to minorities for the purpose of starting new businesses and/or the expansion of existing ones. Indeed, such knowledge might lead to the re-evaluation of current interest rates on loans to Black borrowers for business purposes. It is further expected that persons engaged in vocational counseling and small business guidance might utilize this information in identifying potential Black entrepreneurs.

To date there has been no attempt to quantitatively compare the subgroups within the Black middle class. Previous research centered around the issue of ethnic identification of the Negro (Frazier, 1957; Lomax, 1960; Clayton and Drake, 1962; Fuller, 1963; Myrdal, 1964; Ginzber, 1967).

As previously mentioned psychologists have been remiss in examining the nature of entrepreneurship, although a significant contribution has been made by McClelland (1961). The discussion which follows will present the theory, point out the limitations of McClelland's research, suggest implications of the theory for the population under investigation and provide the theoretical rationale for research hypotheses concerning the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional.

A Theory of Entrepreneurship

In his analysis of entrepreneurship, McClelland (1961) maintains that entrepreneurship is directly linked to need achievement (n Ach). His basic hypothesis is that some societies produce a group of entrepreneurs who, in turn, produce rapid economic development. Secondly, he postulates that childhood rearing practices favorable to the development of this need are more frequently found among Protestants than Catholics. Further, individuals differ in the extent

to which their fantasy lives reflect an "inner concern in doing well" in competition with some objective standard. Persons whose fantasies reflect this need perform better than individuals with low n Ach under situations in which their behavior might have an effect on the outcome. In arriving at characteristics of entrepreneurship, he examines role characteristics associated with entrepreneurial behavior.

Risk Taking

Persons with high n Ach work best under conditions of moderate difficulty or uncertainty where their efforts may influence the outcome of a situation. He gives the example of five and six year olds playing a game of ring toss. The distance at which the child stands from the peg is taken as an indicator of the n Ach. The child with high n Ach chose to stand at a moderate distance from the peg. McClelland also states that persons with high n Ach perceive their probability of success as greater, particularly when there are no facts to justify their estimates. However, "As knowledge of difficulty is introduced, persons with high n Ach will set moderate expectations or perceive themselves as able to do a little better than they have done" (McClelland, 220). This tendency to perceive their probability of success as greater is equated with self-confidence.

Energetic and/or Novel
Instrumental Activity

McClelland differentiates between persons who have entrepreneurial status and those who fulfill the role of the entrepreneur. A businessman who does not innovate is not an entrepreneur. He cites Hoeselitz (1952) who refers to the person who neither assumes risk nor innovates as a managerial type. Persons with high n Ach tend to work harder only when it contributes to their personal aggrandizement.

Individual Responsibility

Satisfaction results from the knowledge that one's actions resulted in success rather than public recognition of an individual accomplishment.

Long Range Planning and
Organizational Abilities

While no evidence exists which shows that persons with high n Ach have superior organizational skills, McClelland cites a study conducted by French (1956) in which persons with high n Ach preferred to work with experts rather than with someone they know and like.

The Achievement Motive and Profit Orientation

Persons with high n Ach place a high value on money, but not for money itself, rather it is viewed as a measure of success; the degree to which one's actions resulted in success.

In studying developing nations, McClelland found high n Ach and middle class status to be associated with success in business. Support for the latter is traced to the research of Warner and Abegglen (1955) and Lipset and Bendix (1959). They found a tendency for sons to continue in the same or similar occupational classification as their fathers. According to Lipset and Bendix, fifty to eighty percent of "Big business leaders" come from a middle class background. This finding has severe implications for the population under investigation. The 'typical' Black American does not come from a middle class background. This finding would appear to proliferate the exclusion of Blacks from business activity. McClelland found that lower class Blacks were lower in n Ach than whites within the same class. He attributes their low n Ach to value-transmission. The implication is that Blacks are inferior to whites in their child-rearing practices, particularly as one descends the socio-economic scale. As the present writer sees it, Blacks have experienced strong feelings of powerlessness and anomie, and it is only after the Black pride movement that they have begun to alter these beliefs. It is expected that were

McClelland to conduct his study at the present time Blacks would score significantly higher in n Ach because of increased "Black consciousness" and Black power orientation.

Middle class status is also associated with the presence of both parents (Strodbeck, 1958; Hagen, 1962). Studies have shown that fatherless homes are more frequent among Blacks than whites (Moynihan, 1965; Kriesberg, 1967). However, Blacks can point to the efforts of 'significant others' who have been instrumental in implanting n Ach and other "focal values" such as effort-optimism and material well being in their socialization process. It is also reasonable to suspect that n Ach is imparted by the mother via her regular work force participation and the emphasis placed on her working and survival of the family.

McClelland's theory has been arduously criticized by Alexander (1967) on the grounds that the evidence presented in the theory does not lead one to conclude that a society which has high n Ach necessarily results in a larger number of entrepreneurs. Further he states

It is possible that the achievement syndrome, such as high energy, inner concern with achievement, concern with standards of excellence and of getting ahead, may manifest themselves through the medium of professional, artistic, military or other activities rather than through entrepreneurship (Alexander, 1967, 146).

As a methodological criticism, many of McClelland's findings were based on rather small sample sizes. Further, McClelland has been unable to

obtain a test-retest reliability coefficient for his projective measure greater than .22 within a two-week period.

The literature review which follows will examine relevant empirical findings and will provide the rationale for additional hypotheses concerning the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional.

REVIEW OF EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON ENTREPRENEURS

The literature is filled with narratives of successful managers and business executives (Ghiselli, 1971; Getty, 1971; Foley, 1964). One study relevant to the population under investigation was conducted by Lincoln University in cooperation with the Philadelphia Department of Commerce. In this study, information concerning status, performance, training, attitudes, and overall adjustment were obtained for Negro male college graduates employed in managerial and technical positions, in corporations in a Philadelphia area. They found that the Black professional was more satisfied with his job than whites in similar positions. The most significant finding was that Blacks have a high need for acceptance and recognition. "He feels a definite lack of positive reinforcement for work well done and conversely senses strong negative reinforcement if he makes a mistake" (Lincoln University, 44).

Correspondingly, there is a theoretical void in the literature on the entrepreneur. This discrepancy is heightened in the case of minorities. Sayigh (1962) examined the characteristics and social origins of 207 Lebanese entrepreneurs engaged in manufacturing,

agricultural, and service industries. He defined the entrepreneur as "The authority in a firm who makes decisions with regard to innovation, by way of adoption of new combinations as well as effective organization, whether the innovation requires the setting up of a new firm or is adopted in a going concern" (Sayigh, 21). Sayigh's findings support McClelland's theory of high n Ach of entrepreneurs. Although strongly oriented to the profit motive, Lebanese entrepreneurs derive satisfaction from the knowledge that they carried their establishment along a "path of success," rather than money per se. Further, Lebanese entrepreneurs show little community involvement, but manifest a keen interest in politics; albeit limited to issues which might have an effect on the growth of their firm.

In a similar study, Carroll (1965) conducted an investigation of the Philippino entrepreneur. He found the Philippino entrepreneur to have a strong profit orientation, but he points out that

The financial goals of entrepreneurship were really a symbol of, or means to, the achievement of a whole complex of other goals: personal independence, a sense of importance, of power, prestige and a higher standard of living. He maintains that economic factors (ie. capital, business experience, etc.) in combination with sociological characteristics of entrepreneurs--socio-economic origin, educational achievement give rise to entrepreneurship (Carroll, 197).

Carroll also provides an excellent summary of the research efforts of other countries: Turkey, India, Pakistan, and Puerto Rico.

Until recently, most of the investigations and case studies of entrepreneurs focused on the causes of failure of such businesses. One study worthy of note was sponsored by the Small Business Administration under the direction of Kurt B. Mayer and Sidney Goldstein (1961). They studied 81 retail and service firms located in Providence, Rhode Island. Information was gathered on racial background, circumstances underlying its establishment and the owners' expectations in regard to future success of the business. This information was obtained through interviews followed by personal contact with these firms over a two-year period. The significant findings were (1) few owners had formal education related to their businesses, (2) the owners were not consciously aware of their reasons for going into business, (3) only 6 of the 81 owners started their businesses to seek maximum monetary rewards. Self-employment was believed to offer greater security, higher prestige, and more independence. Although background information was retrieved, the predictors of entrepreneurship were not statistically isolated.

In another study, Filley (1963) as reported in Komives (1965) examines the conditions necessary for firm "take-off" after the initial survival period. He gives extensive treatment to delegation of tasks, controlled marketing arrangements, productive financial relationships, and orderly arrangement of people in various relationships. Killey fails to indicate that "The character of the entrepreneur is also an essential ingredient not only for bringing these resources and

conditions together, but also as the impelling force in the take-off process" (Komives, 1965, 3).

Komives studied the administrative organization patterns of thirty-six firms which had been founded in Michigan after 1946. He obtained information with respect to social origins, the entrepreneur's pattern for handling its affairs, its organizational structure and its future plans. The firms were to be distributed along a continuum from the least bureaucratic to the most bureaucratic. Komives' hypothesis that business leaders from blue-collar backgrounds tend to develop the least bureaucratic tendencies, and white-collar background business firm founders tend to create firms which have many more bureaucratic components was confirmed. However, no service and retail firms were included in the sample. Yet for the population under investigation, these seem to be the primary types of businesses.

Mabel Newcomer (1961) examined the social origins and characteristics of 5,368 proprietors in Poughkeepsie, N.Y. Although not a study of entrepreneurs exclusively, this study was the first quantitative attempt to arrive at an understanding of the characteristics of proprietors, inclusive of entrepreneurs. Further, she does not differentiate between a person who became an entrepreneur through purchase or inheritance. Approximately forty percent of her manufacturing entrepreneurs had less than a H.S. education, 39 percent attended or graduated from H.S., 19 percent attended or graduated from college,

and 2 percent attended graduate school. These results generally agree with other studies which have been cited in this research. She also found a tendency for the respondents to have been born near or at their present place of residence. Newcomer was primarily interested in job histories and origins of the respondents.

Considerable research has been generated at Michigan State University. Warner and Abegglen (1955) studied the characteristics, mobility patterns, and social backgrounds of successful business executives in America. They found that the amount and extent of geographic mobility were related to the size of his birthplace. The typical business leader was born in a city. They also found that the most inter-firm movement was shown by "true" entrepreneurs. They concluded "Men from lower occupational status backgrounds tended to move from one firm to another more frequently than men from business backgrounds" (Warner and Abegglen, 128). This study, while not a study of entrepreneurs, is significant because so many of the later studies have been patterned after their work: indepth interviewing, the format of the research, and content areas.

Collins, Moore, and Un Walla (1964) conducted the first major behavioral study of the social origins and psychological orientations of entrepreneurs. They investigated one hundred fifty manufacturing entrepreneurs located in a Michigan area. They found power motivation and feelings of discomfort in a dependency situation to be of major

importance in differentiating entrepreneurs from business hierarchs. The latter was defined as individuals who seek occupational success by climbing the ladder of an existing organization (Collins, Moore, and Un Walla, 20). The present research will attempt to verify their findings.

In an extension of their research Soslow (1966) compared the "true" entrepreneur to the "other owner." An individual who becomes an entrepreneur by purchase or inheritance was referred to as the "other owner." A mailed questionnaire was used in data collection. This 33 item questionnaire elicited background information, attitudes towards formal education, military experiences, and work orientations in an attempt to verify the research findings of Collins, Moore, and Un Walla. The biographical inventory was supplemented by the use of three tests: the Survey of Interpersonal Values, the Dogmatism scale, and the Authoritarian Personality scale. Soslow's return rate of 27 percent for the business owner sample was low in comparison to his return rate of 53 for the business hierarch sample. True entrepreneurs were found to have come from larger families than the other respondents, but the hypothesis that entrepreneurs tend to have had relatively unhappy childhoods was not substantiated. Business hierarchs tended to be better educated than the other respondents.

A more recent study has been conducted by Smith (1967). This study was concerned with identifying "types" of entrepreneurs and

"types" of firms they build. Ideal types were constructed utilizing a model developed by McKinney (1962). The "constructed type is a purposive, planned selection, abstraction, combination, and accenuation of a set of criteria that have empirical referents, and that serve as a basis for the comparisons of empirical cases" (McKinney, 1962, 7). The entrepreneur was defined as an individual who is primarily responsible for gathering the resources to initiate a business. The successful entrepreneur was defined as one who "Is able to maintain his existence, or reach a stage of aggrandizement" (Smith, 1967, 2). This research is similar to that conducted by Komives (1965). However, Smith does not generate any specific hypotheses. Two types of entrepreneurs emerged: Craftsmen and Opportunistic. The types of firms developed and the behavioral patterns displayed by these individuals are largely determined by their orientations and characteristics. These results agree with those of Komives. Although no comparisons were made with other occupational groups, this research provides some interesting insights into the nature of the entrepreneur. The Craftsmen entrepreneur delineated by Smith most nearly approximates the population under investigation. The Craftsmen entrepreneur exhibits "narrowness in education and training, has no management sponsor or role model" (Smith, 1967, 96). On the other hand, the Opportunistic entrepreneur exhibits "breadth in education and training, high social

awareness and involvement, and has a management sponsor or role model" (Smith, 1967).

Influenced by previous studies of the entrepreneur, Hornaday and Abroud (1971) have demonstrated the possibility of employing more objective tests to identify characteristics of entrepreneur than the traditional projective measures. The sample was comprised of forty entrepreneurs who had been chosen on the basis of criteria similar to that of Collins, Moore, et al. Also included were twenty respondents who had participated in an earlier pilot study. The authors were concerned with equalizing the number of Black and white participants, but the inclusion of respondents from the pilot study produced a disproportionate number of white respondents (36 vs 24). Only four females were included in the sample, which precluded any meaningful comparisons by sex. The structured interview was supplemented by use of a subjective rating form in which the respondents compared themselves to the general population. The authors predicted that entrepreneurs would rate themselves higher on items re: the need for power, innovative tendencies, independence, autonomy, aggression, support, recognition, benevolence, and leadership. Three tests were selected: the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS); the Strong Vocational Interest Blank (SVIB), and the Kuder Occupational Survey (OIS). They found that the EPPS and the SVIB yielded six scales which differentiated entrepreneurs from men in general. Entrepreneurs were found to be higher on scales reflecting

need for achievement, independence, and effectiveness of their leadership; and were found to be lower on scales reflecting a concern with support. The insignificant results obtained for the null hypothesis of racial differences supports the generalizability of previous research findings to the population under investigation.

Summary

This review indicates that there has been a striking consistency of findings across studies in regard to the social origins and characteristics of entrepreneurs and professionals. Relatively little attention has been given to the psychological orientations of the entrepreneur with the exception of Collins and Moore (1964), Soslow (1966), and Hornaday and Abroud (1971). The major weakness of the research to date is that it does not provide comparable data for Blacks. One is unable to determine whether "successful entrepreneurship" is independent of race and solely dependent upon socio-economic status, social origins, work orientations, and other variables chosen for study, notwithstanding Hornaday and Abroud (1971). The critical question is whether the same factors that are operative in determining the success of white business enterprises are also operative for Black business enterprises. The present research is an attempt to extend the research findings of previous studies for the Black entrepreneur.

STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESES

In light of those findings which were found to be consistent between the studies of Collins and Moore (1964) and Soslow (1966) confirmation of the following hypotheses is expected:

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Hypothesis I | The Black entrepreneur tends to have been born geographically near his present place of residence more often than the Black professional. |
| Hypothesis II | The Black entrepreneur tends to come from a lower socio-economic background than the Black professional as measured by father's education and occupation. |
| Hypothesis III | The Black entrepreneur tends to come from a larger family of origin than the Black professional. |
| Hypothesis IV | The Black entrepreneur tends to have had a relatively unhappy childhood characterized by economic hardship and broken homes more often than the Black professional. |
| Hypothesis V | The Black entrepreneur tends to be less well educated than the Black professional. |
| Hypothesis VI | The Black entrepreneur tends to have experienced greater inter-firm movement during his occupational career than the Black professional. |

As a result of within group differences among Blacks in terms of social class, the following hypotheses are proposed concerning the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional.

Hypothesis VII The amount of emphasis placed on education in the parental home will be greater for the Black professional than the Black entrepreneur.

Man has certain basic needs: food, clothing, shelter, and transportation. However, the extent to which these needs have been met brings in the concept of class. Hypothesis II predicts that the entrepreneur comes from a lower socio-economic background than the Black professional. Accordingly, it is reasonable to suspect that these "basic needs" assume greater significance for the parents of entrepreneurs. This is not to imply that the parents of entrepreneurs place a lower value on education than parents of professionals (higher income persons); the implication is that the parents of entrepreneurs (low income persons) tend to be more survival oriented.

Hypothesis VIII The Black entrepreneur tends to be more motivated by economic concerns than the Black professional.

According to the theory of the professional class, the professional works primarily for psychic satisfaction and secondarily for monetary rewards (Lieberman, 1970).

Hypothesis IX The Black entrepreneur made his decision in regard to his career at a later point in time than the Black professional.

This hypothesis was based on the principle of social blockage. McClelland maintains that Blacks will contribute to their supply of entrepreneurs provided they are prevented from entering higher, more prestigious occupations.

Hypothesis X The Black entrepreneur tends to continue in the same or similar occupational classification as his father less often than the Black professional.

Harris (1936) points out that Blacks have been engaged in business activity since the pre-civil war era, nevertheless they have failed to develop an entrepreneurial class comparable to that developed in the professions.

Hypothesis XI The Black entrepreneur tends to show less "social involvement"--participation in community associations not directly related to one's occupation--than the Black professional.

This hypothesis stems from a realization that involvement and participation in political activities requires the investment of time and energy. Studies of the entrepreneur (Newcomer, 1961; Andraeson, 1971) describe the work day of the entrepreneur as one of long and strenuous hours.

Four additional hypotheses were formulated on the basis of McClelland's research:

Hypothesis XII The Black entrepreneur tends to have experienced more self-confidence during his childhood than the Black professional.

Risk-taking has been found to be associated with entrepreneurial behavior. This hypothesis examines the relationship between childhood experiences and role characteristics associated with entrepreneurial behavior. It is recognized that behavior is learned; and that present

behavior is, in part, determined by the extent to which past behaviors were reinforced.

Hypothesis XIII The Black entrepreneur has a less positive attitude towards work than the Black professional. Entrepreneurs consider their work to be a vehicle for the attainment of other goals. Work is performed only when it contributes to their personal aggrandizement.

It is expected that if given the opportunity to stop working, the Black entrepreneur will discontinue. This hypothesis also examines the theory of the professional class. If the entrepreneur is strongly motivated by economic concerns, he will discontinue working once these needs have been satisfied.

Hypothesis XIV The Black entrepreneur tends to be less influenced by reference group behavior than the Black professional.

For the entrepreneur, satisfaction results from the knowledge that one's actions resulted in success rather than in public recognition of an individual accomplishment.

Hypothesis XV The Black entrepreneur tends to have experienced more independence during his childhood than the Black professional.

Hypothesis III predicts that the Black entrepreneur comes from a larger family of origin than the Black professional. Accordingly, it is expected that as size of family increases, the application of controls over individual behavior decreases.

Hypothesis XVI The Black entrepreneur is more concerned with seeing the results of his work than the Black professional.

This hypothesis assumes that the entrepreneur assumes greater risk in pursuit of his occupation than the Black professional. The Black professional participates in white corporations; and therefore given the failure of a particular organization, will seek employment with another organization. The Black entrepreneur does not have such an opportunity. Therefore it is predicted that he will exhibit greater concern in seeing the results of his work.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Up to this point the reader has been presented with several definitions of entrepreneurship. At the same time other terms have been presented which are also subject to various interpretations. To facilitate clarity and understanding of the research hypotheses concerning the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional, the following definitions are presented:

Successful Entrepreneur--An individual who starts his own business where none previously existed and has been in business for a period of at least five years. This definition does not exclude "mom and pop" stores since the intent of the researcher is to include businesses similar to those employed in previous research; specifically those engaged in manufacturing, wholesale, and retailing.

Professional-- An individual engaged in one of the learned professions characterized by

conformity to technical and ethical standards. This category includes such fields as medicine, dentistry, social work, education, science, etc.

Small Retailer--

An individual who combines the function of ownership and management; closely supervises the store and has direct contact with customers.

Reference Group--

A group whose possible judgment influences the behavior of an individual or member of a group. It may be a group to which a person does not belong.

Mixed Type--

An individual who is considered a professional by training but also "moonlights" or engages in entrepreneurship.

METHOD

A pilot study was conducted in August, 1972, to examine the feasibility of carrying out the proposed research. The results of this investigation showed the major study described below to be possible, and resulted in an updating of the businessmen's directory.

Sample

Two mailing lists were developed to yield a group of entrepreneurs and a group of professionals. The names of the businessmen were randomly drawn from a directory published by the University of Michigan of all Black-owned firms located in the state of Michigan as of 1970. Another source employed in this research was a Guide to Black Businesses and Professions published by the Detroit Urban League (1971). In addition, recruitment of the professional sample was accomplished by eliciting the cooperation of university administrators. A large number of the professional sample were affiliated with the University of Detroit and Wayne State University at the time of the study. The preponderance of respondents from the university induces a certain amount of sampling error.

Procedure

Approximately two hundred questionnaires were sent out during the month of October and December of 1972, one hundred in each category. Each questionnaire was accompanied by a self-addressed postage-paid envelope and a one page cover letter explaining the purpose of this research. Ideally there would have been a number of businesses equal to their proportion in the population, but the use of a mailed questionnaire precluded control over the returns, due to the operation of a number of factors such as skepticism as regards intent and use of information. A considerable number of the respondents were retailers. The return rate for the entrepreneurial and professional sample was 52 and 48 percent respectively.

Instrument

The instrument employed in this research (see Appendix A) is a modified version of the personal history questionnaire used by Soslow (1966). The instrument was revised in light of the operational experiences of the researcher and the characteristics of the target population. In particular questions were added regarding political and community involvement, time at which vocational choice was made, reference group influence, and self-confidence.

Responses to the following items were used to measure political involvement:

- N 53 Did you vote in the last two presidential elections?
- N 44 How actively have you participated in the civil rights movement?
- N 42 Did you actively participate in political campaigns?

Item 9 asked the respondents when they had decided upon their present occupation. Response categories ranged from junior high school or earlier to after completion of the bachelor's degree.

Item 47 was designed to operationalize reference group influence. The following Likert type item was employed: To what extent are you concerned with being accepted and liked by people you work with?

Responses to the following Likert items were employed to measure self-confidence:

- N 42 Compared to other people you know, how much self-confidence do you have?
- N 43 Compared to other kids in your family or to other kids you knew when you were growing up, you were:
 - 1. Very shy and stayed around your home and parents
 - 2. Somewhat shy than most kids
 - 3. About average in shyness
 - 4. Less shy and more independent and adventuresome than most kids
 - 5. Much less shy and much more independent and adventurous than most kids.

The standard criteria of socio-economic status were examined: education, occupation, and income. In addition the questionnaire consists of items pertaining to childhood experiences, attitudes towards formal education, and work orientation. The format of the items varied from force choice to Likert. One open-end question was employed to allow free expression on the factors which they felt contributed to their success.

RESULTS

In this study the entrepreneur and the professional is treated as a discontinuous dichotomous variable. Analysis of the hypotheses entailed correlating the dependent variable of occupation with the following independent variables: educational achievement, size of family of origin, place of birth, childhood experiences, community and political involvement, inter-firm movement, reference group influence, self-confidence, and socio-economic background.

Table 1 presents a list of hypotheses and related items; and indicates which were confirmed, marginally supported, or not confirmed.

The point biserial coefficient of correlation was used on the following items: 9, 10, 12, 15, 22, 23, 25, 26, 28, 30, 33, 42, 43, 44, 45, 47, 50, and 52. The phi coefficient of correlation is used on items 4, 5, 14, 20, 39, and 46.

Because of the scoring procedure employed, negative values are associated with significant differences for the professional. The analysis employed in this research yields the same results that would have been obtained if separate t tests had been run on the individual items.

TABLE 1.--Summary of Hypotheses and Related Items.

Hypotheses	Related Items	Results
I	4	not confirmed
II	15 12	not confirmed
III	20	not confirmed
IV	22 23 24 25	marginally supported
V	12	marginally supported
VI	14	confirmed
VII	30	confirmed
VIII	39	marginally supported
IX	9	not confirmed
X	15	not confirmed
XI	44 45 53 54	mixed
XII	42 43	not confirmed
XIII	50	not confirmed
XIV	47	not confirmed
XV	26 28	not confirmed
XVI	52	not confirmed

Hypotheses I

The Black entrepreneur tends to have been born geographically near his present place of residence more often than the Black professional.

Table 2 contains information for examining the extent of geographic mobility among the target population. As indicated in the table, the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional did not differ significantly on place of birth. Thus, the research hypothesis was not supported. The East North Central region is of greatest concern to the present research since the bulk of the respondents were born and still reside in this area. A considerable number of the respondents were born in the South Atlantic region.

TABLE 2.--Place of Birth of Entrepreneurs and Professionals.

Region	Entrepreneur			Professional			r_t
	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	
South Atlantic	.40	.49	52	.38	.37	48	.03
Pacific	.00	.00	52	.03	.14	48	-.10
East North Central	.46	.50	52	.42	.49	48	.05
Middle Atlantic	.06	.19	52	.12	.27	48	.09
South West	.06	.23	52	.02	.30	48	.08
North West	.02	.13	52	.03	.14	48	-.01
Total	1.00			1.00			

Hypothesis II The Black entrepreneur tends to come from a lower socio-economic background than the Black professional as measured by father's education and occupation.

The Black entrepreneur and the Black professional did not differ significantly from one another in terms of the occupational classification of their fathers (see Table 4, Item 15). Table 3 presents a comparison of the occupational level of the respondents father's with Black males nationally during 1920-1940. The most striking feature which emerges from the table is that the respondents' fathers are heavily concentrated in the craftsmen, skilled, and semi-skilled occupations. The data also indicates that fathers in this sample came from middle class backgrounds, since many sociologists consider foreman and skilled craftsmen to be members of the middle class (Wattenberg and Scammon, 1973).

It is also seen from Table 4 that no significant differences emerged between the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional in regard to the extent of formal education of their fathers (see Table 4 Item 12C) although the difference was in the predicted direction. The fathers of Black entrepreneurs had completed eight or more years of schooling, while the fathers of professionals were high school graduates.

TABLE 3.--Occupational Levels of Fathers of Respondents in Comparison with Black Males Nationally, 1920-1940.

Occupational Category	Entrepreneurs		Professionals		National Proportions of Black Males		
	1972				1920	1930	1940
Professional, Technical, and Kindred	12.9 (6)		18.8 (9)		1.2	1.5	1.7
Proprietors, Managers	12.9 (6)		12.5 (6)		1.0	1.2	1.4
Clerical and Sales Workers	4.3 (2)		8.4 (4)		1.5	1.7	2.6
Craftsmen, Skilled Workers, and Foremen	29.7 (14)		16.7 (8)		4.6	4.8	4.4
Operatives (Semi-skilled)	23.3 (11)		20.7 (10)		7.0	9.0	11.7
Unskilled Laborers	10.6 (5)		18.7 (9)		30.9	31.7	23.0
Farmers, Farm Workers	6.3 (3)		4.2 (2)		46.7	40.7	41.5
Total	N = 47		N = 48		100%	100%	100%

Source: Scanzoni, John A. 1971. "A Century of Change: Negroes in the United States Economy, 1860-1960," p. 37.

Hypothesis III The Black entrepreneur tends to come from a larger family of origin than the Black professional.

Size of family of origin was found to be marginally significant in differentiating the Black entrepreneur from the Black professional. The average number of children for the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional was 4.63 and 3.62 respectively (see Table 4, Item 20).

TABLE 4.--Summary of t-Tests on Individualized Items.

Item		Entrepreneur			Professional			Difference in SD Units	r_t	
		Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N			
H ₂	15	5.50	3.41	45	5.09	3.36	44		.06	
	12C	2.90	1.43	50	3.68	1.69	37		-.13	
H ₃	20	4.63	2.59	50	3.62	2.92	48	.43	.16	.10
	20A	2.74	1.94	51	2.12	2.07	48	.31	.15	
H ₄	22	3.36	1.12	52	2.89	.99	48	.28	.22	.05
	23	1.28	1.43	52	1.43	.92	48		-.08	
	24	1.96	1.81	52	1.81	1.39	48		-.08	
	25	2.05	1.97	52	1.97	.86	48		.05	

Hypothesis IV The Black entrepreneur tends to have had a relatively unhappy childhood characterized by economic hardship and broken homes more often than the Black professional.

This hypothesis was also tested using the information contained in Table 4. Of four items which were designed to operationalize economic hardship and broken homes of the respondents (22-25), only one yielded significant results. The Black entrepreneur was significantly higher on the amount of poverty during his childhood.

Hypothesis V The Black entrepreneur tends to be less well educated than the Black professional.

The Black entrepreneur in this study had one or more years of college as compared to a master's degree held by the professionals. The research hypothesis was confirmed beyond the .001 level of significance (see Table 7, Item 12C).

Hypothesis VI The Black entrepreneur tends to have experienced greater inter-firm movement during his occupational career than the Black professional.

The research hypothesis was confirmed (see Table 7, Item 14). The data in Table 5 presents the mean score and rank ordering of the reasons for inter-firm movement. Item 14A, 14B, and 14G were cited most frequently as the reasons for inter-firm movement.

Hypothesis VII The amount of emphasis placed on education in the home will be greater for the Black professional than the Black entrepreneur.

This hypothesis examined the relationship between the amount of emphasis placed on education in the home and the extent of formal

education of the respondents. Item 30 emerged as significant in differentiating the Black entrepreneur from the Black professional in regard to the importance of education in the home. The research hypothesis was confirmed.

TABLE 5.--A Comparison of the Mean Score and Rank of Reasons for Inter-firm Movement.

	Entrepreneur		Professional	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Start own Business	.39	2	.12	3
Higher Salary and/or Better Job	.58	1	.29	1
Inability to get along with Supervisor	.00	6.5	.00	6.5
Boredom	.07	4.5	.00	6.5
Illness	.00	6.5	.04	4
Family	.07	4.5	.02	5
Other	.14	3.0	.16	2

Table 6 presents a rank ordering of the things a person may get out of going to school. Item 29F yielded significant differences between the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional. Professionals were higher on awareness that it is a highly competitive society. For

both groups the highest mean was for training for a profession. Social polish was considered to be the least important by both groups.

TABLE 6.--A Comparison of Mean Scores and Rank of Benefits to be Received from School Attendance.

	Entrepreneur		Professional	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Training for a Profession	1.86	1	2.06	1
General Cultural Knowledge	3.15	5	2.70	4
Personal Maturity	2.96	4	2.68	3
Social Polish	4.09	6	4.20	6
Basic Tools for Communicating with Other People	2.23	2	2.52	2
Awareness that it is a Highly Competitive Society	2.37	3	3.58	5

Hypothesis VIII The Black entrepreneur tends to be more motivated by economic concerns than the Black professional.

The results are interesting in that the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional did not differ from one another in terms of money as being a major motivating force in their lives. However, the Black entrepreneur was significantly higher on security. The Black entrepreneur and the Black professional did not differ from one

another in regard to the other motivating forces in their lives: prestige, intellectual and self development, and desire to help others (see Table 7, Item 39).

Hypothesis IX The Black entrepreneur made his decision in regard to his career at a later point than the Black professional.

Data for testing this hypothesis is found in Table 7. The obtained correlation coefficients were non-significant.

Hypothesis X The Black entrepreneur tends to continue in the same or similar occupational classification as his father less often than the Black professional.

Item 15 was designed to operationalize occupational transmission. The data presented in Table 7 indicates that between group differences were non-significant. As seen in Table 3, 12.9 percent of the entrepreneurs' fathers were proprietors, while 18.8 percent of the professionals' fathers were engaged in the professions.

Hypothesis XI The Black entrepreneur tends to show less "social involvement"--participation in community associations not directly related to one's occupation--than the Black professional. This social involvement also extends to participation in political activities.

Entrepreneurs and professionals differed significantly with respect to participation in political activities vis-a-vis participation in the Civil Rights Movement. Item 44 asked the respondents how actively they had participated in the Civil Rights Movement. Professionals scored significantly higher on picketing activities, Item 44D.

TABLE 7.--Summary of T Tests on Individualized Items.

	Item	Entrepreneur			Professional			Difference in SD Units	r_t	
		Mean	N	SD	Mean	N	SD			
H ₅	12C	5.05	52	1.46	7.68	48	1.44	1.53	-.67	
H ₆	14A	.39	51	.53	.13	48	.49	.26	.25	.02
	14B	.59	51	.48	.29	48	.46	.30	.29	.02
	14C	.00	51	.00	.00	48	.00		Var Co	
	14D	.08	51	.27	.00	48	.00	.16	.20	.05
	14E	.00	51	.00	.04	48	.20		-.15	
	14F	.08	51	.27	.02	48	.14		.13	
	14G	.14	51	.35	.17	48	.38		-.04	
H ₇	30	4.11	52	.78	4.45	48	.87	.28	-.20	.05
H ₈	39A	.04	51	.20	.10	48	.30		-.03	
	39B	.21	51	.41	.10	48	.30		.15	
	39C	.27	51	.56	.33	48	.47		-.05	
	39D	.65	51	.52	.27	48	.45	.39	.36	.001
	39E	.21	51	.54	.23	48	.42		-.01	
	39F	.10	51	.46	.18	48	.53		-.10	
H ₉	9	3.01	52	1.66	3.42	47	1.69		-.12	
H ₁₀	15	5.50	45	3.41	5.09	48	3.36		.06	
H ₁₁	44A	.49	51	.70	.83	48	1.13	.26	-.18	.10
	44B	.41	51	.50	.48	48	.50		-.07	
	44C	.31	51	.47	.39	48	.49		-.08	
	44D	.06	51	.24	.19	48	.39	.38	-.20	.05
	44E	.23	51	.43	.25	48	.56		-.02	
	45	3.44	52	1.29	2.54	48	1.33	.55	.33	.001
	53	1.43	52	.70	1.41	48	.65		.05	
	54	.96	52	.27	.91	48	.35		.07	
	54A	.52	48	.50	.59	42	.50		-.07	
	54B	.32	46	.47	.55	42	.50		-.07	
	54C	.05	19	.23	.03	29	.13		.00	
	54D	.11	19	.32	.10	29	.31		.03	
	542	.12	50	.32	.10	48	.31		.03	
	543A	.29	52	.46	.44	48	.50	.16	-.22	.05
	543B	.02	51	.14	.04	47	.20		.03	
H ₁₂	42	3.72	51	.92	3.66	48	1.09		.03	
	43	3.70	51	.94	3.41	48	1.25		-.13	
H ₁₃	50	1.96	52	1.00	2.04	48	1.09		-.04	
H ₁₄	47	2.65	52	1.24	2.56	48	1.39		.03	
H ₁₅	26	2.82	52	.92	2.97	38	1.10		-.08	
	28	2.31	51	.83	2.70	48	.89	.30	-.21	.05
H ₁₆	52	2.23	52	.46	2.27	45	1.06		-.02	

No significant differences were found in regard to boycott of stores, albeit there was a trend towards confirmation of the research hypothesis with respect to politics. Professionals showed marginally more involvement in political campaigns, 44A (see Table 7). Item 53 failed to yield significant differences between entrepreneurs and professionals on voting behavior during the last two presidential elections (see Table 7). The Black entrepreneur and the Black professional did not differ from one another in terms of their party affiliation (see Table 7, Item 54). They were equally represented in both the Republican and Democratic parties. Item 543A asked the respondents how actively they had participated in political campaigns. The Black professional was significantly higher in political involvement in that he was employed full time as a party regular or employed during the time of the campaign more often than the Black entrepreneur.

The hypothesis was not confirmed with respect to social involvement. Entrepreneurs showed more participation in volunteer work than professionals (see Table 7, Item 45).

Hypothesis XII The Black entrepreneur tends to have experienced more self-confidence during his childhood than the Black professional.

This hypothesis was not supported by the data (see Table 7, Item 47).

Hypothesis XIII The Black entrepreneur has a less positive attitude towards work than the Black professional. Work is performed only when it contributes to the entrepreneur's personal aggrandizement.

As seen in Table 7, Item 50, no significant differences emerged between the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional in terms of their propensity to continue working given the opportunity to live comfortably without having to work.

Hypothesis XIV The Black entrepreneur tends to be less influenced by reference group behavior than the Black professional.

This hypothesis was not supported by the data. It is possible that people the entrepreneur works with may not be his reference group (see Table 7, Item 47).

Hypothesis XV The Black entrepreneur tends to have experienced more independence during his childhood than the Black professional.

The hypothesis was not supported. Item 28 emerged as statistically significant for the Black professional. These results are opposite to that predicted (see Table 7). Item 26 failed to differentiate between the Black entrepreneur and the Black professional.

Hypothesis XVI The Black entrepreneur is more concerned with seeing the results of his work than the Black professional.

The between group differences were non-significant (see Table 7, Item 52).

General Findings

Sex and Age

There were only two female respondents in the entrepreneurial sample as compared to nine in the professional category; thus, no meaningful comparison could be made by sex. The average age of the entrepreneurs and professionals in this study, irrespective of sex was 42. The average age of the entrepreneurs in previous studies was 52 (Warner and Abegglen, 1955; Collins and Moore, 1964; Soslow, 1966).

The differences in age may be attributed to the relatively shorter period of time in which Blacks have been engaged in manufacturing and wholesale enterprises on a significant scale.

Marital Status

Entrepreneurs and professionals did not differ significantly on marital status. Approximately 80 percent of the respondents were married and had one or more children.

Income from Present Employment

Entrepreneurs and professionals were relatively homogenous with respect to income from present employment. The median income for both entrepreneurs and professionals was between \$20,000 and \$24,999. These

findings are consistent with Soslow (1966). However, it is possible that the presence of "mixed types," persons who are professionals by training but engage in "moonlighting" or entrepreneurship, contributed to the lack of variance in regard to income from present employment.

DISCUSSION

Social Origins

The hypotheses that entrepreneurs tend to have been born geographically near their present place of residence more often than professionals was not supported by the data. This finding is inconsistent with previous research in the area (Warner and Abegglen, 1955; Collins and Moore, 1964). One approach to explaining this discrepancy is an examination of the effects of race and age. Prior to World War I, there was little occupational mobility for Blacks other than those engaged in the professions. As Myrdal (1944, 308) points out "While both business enterprises and the professions have developed as monopolies under segregation, generally the Negro community has supported a larger number of professionals than proprietors." The average age of the entrepreneurs in this study was 42 as compared to 52 in previously mentioned studies. This would place their mean birth year between 1930-1935. It is reasonable to suspect that had the entrepreneurs been higher on age, a tendency towards greater mobility would have emerged.

In general, the younger the respondents, the greater the probability that they grew up inside the study area. The results of the present study support Soslow (1966) in his notion that place of birth is secondary or of less importance than place where most of childhood was spent. Approximately ninety-two percent of the respondents reported that they grew up in cities of 100,000 or more in population. Occupational goals are related to the occupational structure of a society. Table 8 presents a comparison of the employed persons by occupation for the city of Detroit to the United States as a whole. As seen in the table, Detroit employed a significantly greater number of persons in white collar occupations relative to national statistics.

TABLE 8.--Employed Persons by Occupation: 1970.

	Blacks	
	United States	Detroit
Total Employed in White-Collar Occupations	16.1	22.5
Professional and Technical	4.8	11.5
Managers and Administrators	2.6	2.5
Sales Workers	1.5	5.2
Clerical	7.3	3.3
Total	16.1%	22.5%

Source: Census: 1970 Labor Force Characteristics. Department of Labor, Bureau of Statistics, 1972.

Entrepreneurs and professionals did not differ significantly on socio-economic backgrounds as measured by father's education and occupation. It will be recalled that in previous studies (Warner and Abegglen, 1955; Collins and Moore, 1964; Soslow, 1966) the fathers of professionals were significantly higher on level of educational attainment and occupation than the fathers of entrepreneurs.

One aspect of the "American Dream" is that positions are acquired on the basis of individual achievement rather than ascribed to on the basis of inheritance. However, during the time at which the respondents' fathers were going to school, formal education beyond high school was not considered to be a necessary prerequisite for economic security. Data collected by the National Opinion Survey (1947) showed that college training was given less emphasis among skilled and semi-skilled workers. The data presented in Table 9 suggests that the respondents in this study were somewhat advantaged in terms of social class origin. Approximately fifty-four percent of the Black population had completed 8 or more years of formal education. The median years of schools completed for the entrepreneur's father was 8 or more, while the fathers of professionals were high school graduates. It is also a well-known fact that Blacks with college training were relegated to lower paying, non-prestigious jobs as a result of discriminatory practices.

TABLE 9.--Percent Negro and Total Population 25 Years Old and Over by Years of School Completed: 1940.

	Detroit		Entrepreneur	Professional
	Negro	Total		
0 years	3.7	3.1	0.0	0.0
1 to 4 years	17.2	8.9	0.0	0.0
5 to 6 years	20.0	10.6	.05	0.0
7 to 8 years	29.1	32.5	.07	0.0
9 to 11 years	16.5	18.8	.10	0.0
12 years	8.4	16.6	.17	0.0
1 to 4 years of college			.51	.06
5 or more years of college			.10	.41
Master's or beyond			0.0	.52

Source: United States Census: 1940 Population, Volume II, Table A-39.

Geographic factors might be significant in explaining the findings in regard to father's occupation. Between 1950 and 1972 the median income of Black families rose considerably. In 1971 the median family income for Blacks in the United States as a whole was \$6,440 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1972). In comparison, the median family

income for Detroit Blacks was \$10,045 (Census: 1970). These figures suggest that father's occupation assumes less significance in an area such as Detroit because of the comparative earnings for blue- and white-collar workers. The Collins and Moore study was conducted in Michigan, but comparisons with the present study are not possible because they did not report the specific area in which the research was conducted.

Although Soslow (1966) found a tendency for business owners to come from blue-collar or business backgrounds, it was predicted that inter-generational occupational transmission would be higher for professionals than entrepreneurs. Hollingshed (1947, 285) found that adolescents he studied chose occupations with which they were familiar. Admittedly, Blacks have been engaged in business activity since the pre-civil war (Harris, 1936) but they have failed to develop an entrepreneurial class comparable to that developed in the professions.

The results were non-significant. One explanation of this finding is that the northward migration provided other means to earning a living for the children of professional parents. It is possible that many Blacks chose the professions because it supposedly guaranteed them a certain amount of income; but it was not always concomitant with a desire for the prolonged years of study, nor the discipline it required. The rise of Black businesses in the north is directly attributable to the inability and failure of the white economy to service the needs of

the Black market. Capitalizing on this failure, a large number of Black businesses sprang up in our major cities. As seen in Table 3, p. 33, 12.9 percent of the entrepreneurs' fathers were engaged in the professions. While this number seems small, it must be pointed out that during this period only 1.7 percent of the Black population were in the professional occupational classification.

The hypothesis that entrepreneurs tend to come from larger families than professionals was marginally supported. Soslow reported that thirty percent of his true entrepreneurs came from families with eight or more children, and eight percent from families with nine or more children.

A possible explanation of this discrepancy with Soslow is urbanization. In general there has been a decline in the Negro birth-rate. Kiser (1939, 141) reported that Census birthrates among skilled and semi-skilled urban Negroes were considerably lower than whites with the same occupational classification. During this period childlessness was more common among urban than rural women. Further, childlessness was greater for northern than southern women. At the 1940 Census the average number of children per Black family was 2.02. It is significant that this low fertility trend did not continue into the post-war era. As seen in Table 4, Item 20, the average number of children for entrepreneurs and professionals was 4.63 and 3.62 respectively. Although the obtained correlation coefficient was

non-significant at the .05 level, there was a trend for professionals to come from smaller families than entrepreneurs. The research hypothesis was marginally supported.

As predicted entrepreneurs were significantly higher on extent of poverty during their childhoods than professionals. This finding is inconsistent with the data on occupation of the respondents' fathers. Perhaps this incongruency may be traced to the research instrument. The respondents were asked "What is or was your father's chief occupation." This statement arrives at present behavior and gives no indication of past behavior. Wattenberg and Scammon (1973) report significant gains in the occupational status of Blacks. Both of the respondents' fathers, in the majority of cases, were employed as foremen, skilled, and semi-skilled workers (see Table 4). It is also possible that the number of children present while the respondents were growing up might explain these differences. The data reported in Table 4, item 20A, suggests that this is indeed the case. There was a slight trend towards a greater number of children present for the entrepreneur than the professional families of origin.

No significant differences were found between groups in regard to family wholeness (i.e. presence of both parents). These results are not consistent with Soslow (1966). Seventy-seven percent of his "true" entrepreneurs grew up in homes where both parents were present. The respondents in this study report a high incidence of one-parent

families as a result of death. Similar results were obtained by Collins and Moore (1964, 56). Scanzoni (1971, 34) maintains that family wholeness is less critical to the development of the child than the social stratum to which the child is born. The results of this study support this thesis. The entrepreneurs in this study have had one or more years of college.

Another hypothesis examined the nature of childhood experiences among the target population. Entrepreneurs and professionals did not differ on extent of happiness. Both groups described their childhood as ranging from very to quite happy. These results are consistent with Soslow (1966). Approximately eighty percent of his respondents regarded their childhood as being happy to very happy. No significant differences were found between 'true entrepreneurs and business hierarchs.' On the other hand, Collins and Moore (1964, 52-58) describe the childhood of the entrepreneur as one of insecurity, resulting from death of parents, and an over-riding concern with escape from poverty.

Professionals were found to be higher on independence during their childhood than entrepreneurs. These results are opposite to that predicted by the researcher. Respondents were asked to describe the type of upbringing they had. Response categories ranged from extreme permissiveness to maximum parental control. Soslow (1966) did not find any significant differences between business hierarchs

and entrepreneurs with respect to the amount of parental control exercised. Approximately fifty-eight percent felt that they had been given sufficient freedom. This finding is inconsistent with previous research in the area. It will be recalled that the respondents in this study reported a high incidence of one-parent families. Wasserman (1968, 297) reported that boys whose fathers are present receive more discipline than fatherless boys. In another study, Kriesberg (1967, 282) found that parental effort or control in regard to school work was greater for husbandless mothers whose children excelled academically. In testing Hypothesis IX, professionals were found to be higher on the amount of emphasis placed on education in the home. However, if we extend parental control to include value transmission Scanzoni (1971, 291) found that parents with high socio-economic status are most likely to stress intellectual autonomy for their children. Kohn (1971, 293) found that in homes where the mother was employed there is a greater stress on autonomy than obedience. This finding tends to support the present research, albeit entrepreneurs and professionals did not differ significantly on socio-economic status, the fathers of professionals were more heavily represented in the upper end of the occupational scale.

Education

Education has long been regarded as the "key to success" among the Black populace. In many instances it has spelled the difference between some mobility and none at all (Scanzoni, 54). At the same time, entrepreneurship has been regarded as the one occupation in which success is largely determined by one's initiative rather than formal education. Therefore, entrepreneurs were expected to be less well educated than professionals. The research hypothesis was confirmed.

The hypothesis that entrepreneurs made their vocational choices at a much later point in time than professionals was not supported. Both groups made their decision during their first two years of college. It is significant that for many of the entrepreneurial respondents, this decision was concomitant with an interruption of their studies. The present research design made no attempt to ascertain the reason for leaving college. It is probably safe to say that there was more than one contributory factor. Factors which readily come to mind are the lack of finances, failing academic grades, and family influences. At another level, uncertainty about what they wanted to do with their lives might have culminated in their decision to leave college. Many of the entrepreneurial respondents returned to school at a later date. Most of the courses taken were business related. It will be recalled that Mayer and Goldstein (1961) found that few of

their small business owners had any formal education related to their businesses. In an examination of career-seeking experiences of high school graduates (Wash. D.C.) Grier (1963, 54) found that most parents wanted their sons to attend college and "Supported them both financially and psychologically, but according to the students' recollections of their parents' attitudes, going to college was the goal rather than the undertaking of a specific occupation."

The finding that professionals were higher on amount of emphasis placed on education in the home is consistent with previous research (Soslow, 1966; Collins and Moore, 1964).

No differences were found in the perceived benefits of going to school. Training for a profession and basic communicating skills were considered to be the most important benefit to be received by both groups of respondents in this and Soslow's study. Entrepreneurs were significantly higher on awareness that it is a highly competitive society than professionals. The differences were non-significant for personal maturity, general cultural knowledge, and social polish. It is significant that Soslow's "true" entrepreneurs attached greater importance to general cultural knowledge than the entrepreneurs in this study. Perhaps it reflects the influence of Afro-American identification and a general alienation from the dominant society vis-a-vis traditional values and heritage.

In an attempt to ascertain the attitude of the respondents toward formal education, they were asked where they felt they had gained the most knowledge. Entrepreneurs were significantly higher on experience as the best source of knowledge. As expected they have a rather pragmatic view towards education. These results are consistent with Soslow (1966, 112).

Work Orientation

The amount of satisfaction which an individual experiences from his employment is a function of what he wants from a situation and what he obtains from it. To the professional "Work is never viewed solely as a means to an end, it is an end in itself. The work life invades the after work life and the sharp demarcation between work and leisure hours disappears" (Lieberman, 1970, 67). Accordingly, the professional works primarily for psychic satisfaction and secondarily for monetary incentives.

The present research examined this aspect of the theory of the professional class. It was hypothesized that the Black entrepreneur has a less positive attitude towards work than the Black professional. Attitude towards work was operationalized by item 50 which measures the propensity to continue working given an opportunity to live comfortably without having to do so. The results were non-significant.

Both groups reported that they would continue to work, but on a part time basis. One approach to explaining these results might be an examination of American "focal values." Cora Dubois (1955) maintains that not only is work a necessary condition of existence, but also a positive good. It will be recalled that the respondents in this study had middle-class origins. Idleness is associated with laziness and is therefore dissonant with the Webberian Protestant Ethic. At another level, man is concerned with mastery and control of the universe and as a result work becomes intrinsically good.

Entrepreneurs were significantly higher on inter-firm movement than professionals. These results are consistent with previous research (Warner and Abegglen, 1955; Collins and Moore, 1964; Soslow, 1966). As seen in Table 6, the most frequently cited reason for inter-firm movement was higher salary and/or better job, and to start own business. A comparison with Soslow (1966) is not possible because he did not report the reason for inter-firm movement among his findings. Business hierarchs had a tendency to remain with the first employer--the 'other owner' moved directly into his father's business.

Warner and Abegglen (1955, 128) suggest that there is a correlation between inter-firm movement and the respondents' education and occupation. As the amount of formal education increases, the probability of attaining success with a single firm increases. As

previously mentioned entrepreneurs were less well educated than professionals. This research tends to support their findings.

It was further hypothesized that entrepreneurs are more concerned with seeing the results of their work than professionals. The obtained results were non-significant.

To further examine the validity of the theory of the professional class, it was predicted that entrepreneurs are more strongly motivated by economic concerns than professionals. The respondents were asked "What they considered to be the major motivating force in their lives." As predicted, entrepreneurs were significantly higher on gaining a position of security. Although the obtained correlation coefficient was non-significant, there was a tendency for professionals to score higher on prestige. This finding is in agreement with the theory of the professional class. Money, in and of itself, was not considered important by either group.

Community Involvement--Participation in Political Activities

Entrepreneurs showed more involvement in community affairs than professionals. These results are opposite to those obtained by Sayigh (1966). It will be recalled that his entrepreneurs showed little community involvement, but manifested a keen interest in politics. Black

businesses derive their income primarily from the local community. In some instances, the decision to locate within a particular community is a result of economic factors (i.e. property taxes, access to transportation facilities, etc.). These businesses generally are found to be in the manufacturing and wholesale industries. On the other hand, the small retailer must cater to the demands of the community. Since most Black businesses are concentrated in the retail and service industries, the obtained results are not surprising.

Political awareness among various groups may be said to be related to the significance of engaging in a given activity or the consequences for non-participation. Secondly, it has been shown that political awareness is related to the extent of formal education, albeit Saenger (1945) found that religion was more important in determining a person's political awareness. It has also been suggested that participation in political activities is related to the time and energy one is able to devote to an activity.

As predicted, professionals showed more involvement in political activities than entrepreneurs. The above factors support the present research findings. Professionals were found to be higher in educational attainment. The entrepreneurs in Sayigh's study manifested a keen interest in politics but it was limited to issues which could have an effect on the growth of their firms. Here again, we see the importance of time and energy as a consideration.

Characteristics

The hypothesis that entrepreneurs tend to be less influenced by reference group behavior than professionals was not supported by the data. An explanation of this finding may be arrived at by an examination of the research item designed to operationalize this variable. Item 47 asked the respondents "To what extent are you concerned with being liked and accepted by people you work with." In general, there is a tendency for persons to think of themselves as individuals. Admittedly, everyone is influenced by reference group behavior, but there is a reluctance to let it be known.

An alternative explanation and one which seems the most valid is that there were insufficient items pertaining to this variable. In developing the research instrument, the concern was in keeping the number of items at a minimum, since a mailed questionnaire was employed and the respondents were not reinforced by monetary incentives. It was felt that the item was unobtrusive and would therefore elicit truthful responses. Another consideration is that the people the entrepreneur works with may not be his reference group.

It is also reasonable to suspect that the size of the organization and the type of employees determine the influence of reference group behavior. In larger, more bureaucratic organizations, the influence of reference group behavior would be less pronounced. On the

other hand, in companies where a large number of the employees are relatives or close friends, there would be a concern for their approval and acceptance.

Another hypothesis examined in this research was that entrepreneurs tend to have had more self-confidence during their childhoods than professionals. As seen in Table 6, Items 42 and 43, no significant differences emerged. One approach to explaining this finding is an examination of social class. It will be recalled that the respondents in this study came from middle class backgrounds and one-parent families. Studies of early child-rearing practices suggest that the absence of an authoritarian father is conducive to the development of creative, assertive, and innovative personalities (Strodbeck, 1958; McClelland, 1961; and Hagen, 1962).

Child-Rearing Practices

McClelland (1961) maintains that entrepreneurship is directly related to need for achievement. Conditions favorable to the development of this need are middle class status, presence of both parents, and the absence of authoritarianism on the part of the father. It has been suggested that father absence is associated with overindulgence on the part of the mother (Strodbeck, 302). Concomitantly, the

presence of a "demanding tyrant" can stifle creativity and assertive behavior (Hagen, 1961, 220).

Given the high incidence of one-parent families as reported by the respondents, it will be interesting to review the findings in regard to early child-rearing practices. Item 57 of the research instrument presented a list of things pertaining to early mastery and independence training. The respondents were asked to indicate specific behaviors which they were required to perform by each of their parents by the age of ten. No significant differences were found between entrepreneurs and professionals in regard to specific behaviors required by their mothers. However, professionals were significantly higher in specific behaviors required by their fathers. These results are opposite to those expected ($r_t = -.26$, $p < .01$).

It is possible that these results may be attributed to the low level of response for the item. Although sufficient respondents completed the item to enable comparisons between groups, it is reasonable to suspect that those who did not respond would have responded differently from those who did. Secondly, the effect of memory loss given the age of the respondents might have been a contributory factor. An alternative hypothesis is that persons failing to respond to the item recognized the researcher's intent. This seems highly plausible given the educational background of the respondents and the general popularity of McClelland's research.

Factors of Success

In order to determine the frequency with which occupational success was associated with various factors, seven categories of responses were developed in response to an open end question. The respondents were asked "Looking back, what factors do you believe contributed to your present success? Please describe." Table 10 presents the mean score and rank ordering of factors associated with success. As seen in the table, a strong desire for economic security seems to be the most significant factor for both entrepreneurs and professionals.

TABLE 10.--Comparison of Mean Score and Rank of Factors Associated with Success.

	<u>Entrepreneur</u>		<u>Professional</u>	
	Mean	Rank	Mean	Rank
Desire for Economic Security	6.18	1	5.81	1
Family	.28	3	.00	6.5
Education	.28	3	.00	6.5
Perseverance, Determination	.10	6	.15	4
Parents	.54	2	.30	3
Desire to Make Something of Oneself	.04	8	.61	2
Proper Timing	.06	7	.04	5

Significant differences were found in regard to other factors cited. Parental influence was mentioned more often by the entrepreneurs than professionals. There was also a tendency for entrepreneurs to cite education more often than professionals ($r_t = .16$, $p < .10$). One explanation of this finding is that since a considerable amount of formal education is required for membership in the professions, professionals would tend to disregard its influence. It will be recalled that the entrepreneurs in this study had a rather pragmatic view towards education. Many of the respondents had returned to school and enrolled in business related courses. Upon acquisition of education, other factors assume importance for the professional.

Professionals cited a desire to make something of oneself more often than entrepreneurs as a factor in their success ($r_t = -.35$.001). Responses coded other are found in Appendix A.

Entrepreneurs and professionals did not differ from one another in terms of the other factors critical to their success and development. Irrespective of occupation, other factors mentioned were perseverance, family, and 'proper timing.' As one respondent indicated "Being Black at a time when it was an asset."

Limitations of This Research

Inherent in any research is the problem of external validity; the extent to which generalizations can be made to other populations. Important considerations in determining the validity of a test or measure are sample size, test length, and internal consistency.

From a methodological standpoint, sampling inadequacies might have contributed to the obtained results. As previously mentioned, there were no respondents whose businesses fell in the service category. Yet for the population under investigation, service oriented businesses are one of the dominant forms. Perhaps this can be explained by the fact that there was only one female respondent in the entrepreneurial sample.

Another factor which might have introduced a degree of error is the number of test items. Many of the respondents failed to respond to the last item which measures need for achievement via an examination of early child-rearing practices. Given the age of the respondents, it is possible that this failure to respond to the last item may be attributed to lapse of memory. On the other hand, complete and accurate responses to the items required a minimum of forty-five minutes.

The respondents in this study are somewhat unique in that they reside in an area which has a lower unemployment rate and higher per capita income than nationally. It must also be pointed out that the

data on which these findings are based were obtained from a relatively small sample size. At best, these findings apply to a particular location. Generalizations to other locations must be made with the aforementioned considerations in mind.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The most significant finding which emerged from this research is that entrepreneurs and professionals are remarkably similar in terms of their social origins. No significant differences were found between entrepreneurs and professionals in regard to the nature of their childhood experiences and socio-economic status as measured by father's education and occupation. Similarly, entrepreneurs and professionals did not differ from one another on the extent of geographic mobility. There was a tendency for entrepreneurs to come from larger families than professionals. Perhaps these findings are not generalizable to other populations since Detroit Blacks tend to fare better economically than Blacks in most other cities.

The entrepreneur was found to be less well educated than the professional. However, this is true by definition, and more importantly, it does not reflect a lack of education resulting from a deprived background, but is more conditioned by greater technical skills required in the professions. The typical entrepreneur in this study had one or more years of college. In general, entrepreneurs were found to have a rather pragmatic view towards formal education. Edwards

(1959) cites cases in which sons of businessmen left school, because of the general notion that formal education is not necessary for success in business. However, many of the entrepreneurs in this study returned to school at a later date. Many of the college courses taken were business related. This suggests a recognition on the part of Black businessmen that one of the reasons for failure of minority-owned businesses is a lack of management training in accounting procedures, marketing techniques, etc.

The occupational career of the Black entrepreneur has been characterized by a considerable amount of inter-firm movement.

Entrepreneurs were more involved in community work than professionals, but were not active in political activities. Time limitations were given as a reason for their lack of participation.

No significant differences emerged between the two groups in terms of their possession of self-confidence during their childhood or the influence of reference group behavior.

In general the results of the study fail to support some but not all of the major research hypotheses, although the thesis was supported in regard to educational background, attitudes towards formal education, and work orientations.

IMPLICATIONS

It will be recalled that the critical issue raised in this research is whether the Black entrepreneur and the white entrepreneur differ from one another in terms of the factors associated with entrepreneurial success. The results of the present study suggest that they are relatively homogenous in their requirements. Although economics is clearly not divorced from culture, survival in society is highly dependent upon access to and control of the means of production.

If the social determinants of successful entrepreneurship among whites and Blacks are homogenous as shown in this study, it may be necessary to re-examine the real reasons--extra-social and extra-economic which are responsible for the apparent lack of success of Blacks in the national economic structure. What is needed is a re-orientation of views on race and entrepreneurial success since ability to manage enterprises and opportunities for education and acquisition of skills have not generally been equal among all racial groups.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH
OCCUPATIONAL SUCCESS

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FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH OCCUPATIONAL SUCCESS

"I worked very hard; long hours, days, holidays and Sundays. What I wanted I've gained. Now it's time for me to stop; and I do not think I will anytime soon."

"Any one can be poor."

"Refusal to quit in the face of adversity."

"Strong supportive mother."

"Luck, reduced prejudices, etc."

"Native intelligence."

"Success is the natural result of effort."

"The absence of Dr. Spock's theory on child psychology and its resulting permissiveness."

"Reading the handwriting on the wall--It read get prepared at the highest level you can achieve and put your preparation to work--be a role model for those who must come after you."

"Desire to bring unity and Black input to policy making decisions."

"Being Black at a time when it was an asset."

APPENDIX B
THE RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE
AND COVER LETTERS

APPENDIX B

THE RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE AND COVER LETTERS

I am a black graduate student in the Psychology Department at Michigan State University. Presently, I am engaged in some research aimed at identifying characteristics of successful black entrepreneurs and you have been chosen as such an individual. The results of this study will be used not only for basic research but also to enable us to do a better job of management development and executive training.

I have been interested in black entrepreneurship for quite some time. My interest stems from a realization that ownership and control of businesses by blacks is necessary if we are to be successful in our attempts at "Nation Building." Your participation in this study will add much to our understanding of the factors conducive to and necessary for Black economic development.

The enclosed questionnaire has two major parts, including questions on personal background and an opinion inventory. Please feel free to respond to all questions; your anonymity will be maintained. The questionnaire will take approximately one and a half hours to complete. I realize this is a lot of time to ask of a successful business person like yourself, but the potential benefit of this research to students and potential black businessmen is great. The success of this research depends on everyone returning the questionnaire. A postage-paid, self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

If you have any questions concerning the study or questionnaire please feel free to contact me. Upon completion of the study, I will be glad to send you either a summary of the results or indicate where the results are published. This will be facilitated by your sending me your name and address at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Bette Bedden

I am a black student in the Psychology Department at Michigan State University. Presently, I am engaged in some research aimed at identifying characteristics of successful black professionals and you have been chosen as such an individual. The results of this study will be used not only for basic research but also to enable us to do a better job of professional development.

The enclosed questionnaire has two major parts, including questions on personal background and an opinion inventory. Please feel free to respond to all questions; your anonymity will be maintained. The questionnaire will take approximately one half hour to complete. I realize this is a lot of time to ask of a successful business person like yourself, but the potential benefit of this research to students and potential black businessmen is great. The success of this research depends on everyone returning the questionnaire. A postage-paid, self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your convenience.

If you have any questions concerning the study or questionnaire please feel free to contact me. Upon completion of the study, I will be glad to send you either a summary of the results or indicate where the results are published. This will be facilitated by your sending me your name and address at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Bette Bedden

This questionnaire was prepared so that a minimum of effort and time will be needed to accomplish it. It appears long (10 pages), but it actually contains only 57 items, which will take not more than an hour to answer. (The reason for the large number of pages is to make each item clear and easier to comprehend.) All, except the last question contain choices of pre-recorded answers and statements for the respondent to check or mark. It may be, that a respondent or respondents may not have any answer for some or any item. In which case, place, "don't know," "no answer," "none," etc., but do not leave any space blank or unanswered. The last question is open-ended, in which candid but short answers will be very essential to the study and appreciated.

Please return all materials in this questionnaire and other tests connected with the study.

Thank you.

1. Sex:

- 1. Male ()
- 2. Female ()

2. Present age:

_____ years

3. Present marital status:

- _____ 1. Single
- _____ 2. Married, no children
- _____ 3. Married, one or more children
- _____ 4. Widowed
- _____ 5. Separated or divorced

4. Place of birth:

Self _____

Wife or husband _____

Father _____

Mother _____

5. U.S. Citizen:

	Yes	No
Self	()	()
Wife or husband	()	()
Father	()	()
Mother	()	()

6. If U.S. Citizen, state present place of residence:

City _____ State _____

7. Do you receive any income other than your present employment?

Yes () No ()

a. If yes what %?

_____ %

8. What is your present occupation?

9. When did you decide upon your occupation?

- ☐ 1. In Jr. High School or earlier?
- ☐ 2. In High School?
- ☐ 3. First two years of college?
- ☐ 4. Second two years of college?
- ☐ 5. After receiving Bachelors Degree?

10. How would you describe your ambition during your childhood?

- ☐ 1. I intended to make something of myself -
Very Ambitious
- ☐ 2. I took it for granted that I would make something
of myself - Quite Ambitious
- ☐ 3. I was not overly concerned, but I did think about it
occasionally - Average Ambition
- ☐ 4. I was not concerned about it -
Little Ambition
- ☐ 5. I did not care about it, nor did I ever think about it -
No Ambition

11. The area in which you spent most of your childhood was:

- ☐ 1. Farm or Rural area
- ☐ 2. Town of less than 2,000
- ☐ 3. Town of 2,000 or more, but less than 10,000
- ☐ 4. City of 10,000 to 100,000
- ☐ 5. City larger than 100,000

12. Extent of formal education of yourself, Mother, and Father (please check highest level attained by each).

	SELF	MOTHER	FATHER
Grade school or less	()	()	()
Less than H.S.	()	()	()
Some H.S.	()	()	()

	SELF	MOTHER	FATHER
H.S. grad	()	()	()
Some college	()	()	()
Post Grad study	()	()	()
Master's Degree	()	()	()
Post M.S.'s	()	()	()
Doctoral Deg.	()	()	()

13. If you attended college, please fill in the following:

Institutions Attended	Major Subjects	Years Attended	Degree	Year Received
--------------------------	-------------------	-------------------	--------	------------------

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

14. If employed in more/other business firms other than present, state firm and reason for leaving, last firm first.

Firm (Name of firm not essential. State "last (5th) or "third, second firm"	Reason for Leaving
--	--------------------

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

15. What was (or is) your father's chief occupation?

Farmer	()
Unskilled Worker (day laborer)	()
Semi-skilled Worker (factory worker)	()
Skilled Worker (machinist, tool & die)	()
Office or Store Clerk	()
Sales Work	()
Foreman or Supervisor	()
Para-professional (Teachers or Nurses aide)	()
Sub Professional (Bookkeeper, Pharmacist)	()
Scientist or Professional (Lawyer, Engineer)	()
Small Business Man	()
Executive in a large firm	()

16. Have you ever owned your own business?

Yes () No ()

17. If yes,

a. How many _____

b. Have you ever had a partner? Yes () No ()

18. Do you presently own your own business?

Yes () No ()

19. If yes, please answer following questions:

a. How many years has it been in existence? _____ years

b. What type of business is it?

Manufacturing ()

Service ()

Retail ()

Wholesale ()

c. What is your form of business organization?

Sole partnership ()

Partnership ()

Corporation ()

d. If partnership, are your partners close relatives?

Yes () No ()

e. Did you ever have any partner(s) in your present business?

Yes () No ()

f. Did you

Start the business from scratch ()

Inherit it from a relative ()

Purchase from a non-relative ()

Purchase from a relative ()

Purchase assets from a relative but change the business before re-opening ()

Purchase assets from a non-relative, but change the business before re-opening ()

g. What are your approximate gross sales per year?

_____ 1. Under \$10,000

_____ 2. \$10,000 - \$25,000

_____ 3. \$25,000 - \$50,000

_____ 4. \$50,000 - \$75,000

_____ 5. \$75,000 - \$100,000

_____ 6. \$100,000 - \$249,000

_____ 7. \$250,000 - \$499,999

_____ 8. \$500,000 - \$999,999

_____ 9. \$1,000,000 - Over

h. Do you own more than one business?

Yes () No ()

20. How many children were there in your family (including yourself)?

A. If more than one (1), how many could be classified as children (under 18 yrs.) at the time that you were growing up? _____

21. Are you:

- _____ 1. An only child
- _____ 2. The oldest in your family
- _____ 3. The youngest in your family
- _____ 4. Between the oldest and the youngest

22. Which of the following statements most clearly describes your childhood?

- _____ 1. Poverty stricken most of the time
- _____ 2. Poor, but somehow managed to get along
- _____ 3. Fluctuated between poor and comfortable
- _____ 4. Lived comfortably most of the time
- _____ 5. Lived very comfortably
- _____ 6. Wealthy

23. During most of your childhood, with whom did you live? (Check one of the following)

- _____ 1. Both parents
- _____ 2. One parent
- _____ 3. A relative
- _____ 4. Foster parent or non-relative
- _____ 5. In a home or institution
- _____ 6. Other (please specify) _____

24. Did your parents live together all the time you were growing up?

- _____ 1. Yes
- _____ 2. No, one died
- _____ 3. No, both died
- _____ 4. No, were separated
- _____ 5. No, were divorced

25. Looking back on the days spent in your family and childhood, how happy were they?

- ☐ 1. Very happy
- ☐ 2. Quite happy
- ☐ 3. Neither very happy nor very unhappy
- ☐ 4. A little unhappy
- ☐ 5. Very unhappy

26. What kind of upbringing did you have?

- ☐ 1. You were allowed to do whatever you pleased
- ☐ 2. Plenty of freedom, but parents were interested in what you were doing
- ☐ 3. Sometimes complete freedom, sometimes very restricting, without apparent reason
- ☐ 4. They watched everything you did but were quite fair about it
- ☐ 5. You were hardly ever permitted to do anything

27. Before you were 18 years of age, how many times did your family move from one house to another?

- ☐ 1. Never
- ☐ 2. Once
- ☐ 3. Two or three times
- ☐ 4. Four or more times
- ☐ 5. Every year or so

28. How much independence do you feel your parents allowed you while you were in High School?

- ☐ 1. Quite restrictive
- ☐ 2. About as much as the rest of your friends
- ☐ 3. Quite lenient
- ☐ 4. As much as you wanted
- ☐ 5. Practically none

29. Below is a list of things that a person may get out of going to school. Please rank the following items from 1 (most important) to 6 (least important).

Training for a profession	1	2	3	4	5	6
General cultural knowledge	1	2	3	4	5	6
Personal maturity	1	2	3	4	5	6
Social polish	1	2	3	4	5	6
Basic tools for communicating with other people	1	2	3	4	5	6
Awareness that it is a highly competitive society	1	2	3	4	5	6

30. How important was education considered in your childhood home?

- ☐ 1. Unimportant
- ☐ 2. Nice to have, but not necessary
- ☐ 3. Helpful, but not necessary
- ☐ 4. Important, but not imperative
- ☐ 5. Very important, practically imperative

31. Which statement below most closely describes your feelings toward your formal education.

- ☐ 1. Very helpful
- ☐ 2. Helpful on the most part
- ☐ 3. Interesting, but not very practical
- ☐ 4. Not very interesting nor very practical
- ☐ 5. A place to mark time until something better came along

32. What was your general impression of the teacher(s) you had in school?

- ☐ 1. Great admiration for them all
- ☐ 2. Admired many of them
- ☐ 3. Admired some of them
- ☐ 4. Admired none of them

33. Where do you feel you gained the most knowledge?

- ☐ 1. Home
- ☐ 2. School
- ☐ 3. Personal experience
- ☐ 4. Examples set by others

34. Which of the following best describes your work:

- ☐ 1. Exhausting
- ☐ 2. Very tiring most of the time
- ☐ 3. Sometimes tiring
- ☐ 4. You know that you have done a day's work, but are not tired
- ☐ 5. Not the least bit tiring, you can work and still enjoy the evening without feeling it

35. With respect to work habits, do you:

- ☐ 1. Work best under a regular schedule whether under pressure or not
- ☐ 2. Work best under pressure
- ☐ 3. Work best when you are in the mood
- ☐ 4. Work best whether under pressure or not

36. To what extent do you feel that hard work is the basic factor of success?

- ☐ 1. A great extent
- ☐ 2. Some extent
- ☐ 3. Small extent
- ☐ 4. Very small extent
- ☐ 5. Not at all

37. To what extent would you prefer working alone (as compared to working with supervisors, peers, and etc.)?

- ☐ 1. A great extent
- ☐ 2. Some extent
- ☐ 3. A small extent
- ☐ 4. A very small extent
- ☐ 5. Not at all

38. How are you more inclined to approach a situation in order to settle it?

- ☐ 1. With tact
- ☐ 2. Get it taken care of as soon as possible

39. What do you consider to be the major motivating force in your life?

- ☐ 1. Prestige
- ☐ 2. Money
- ☐ 3. Intellectual and self-development
- ☐ 4. To gain a position of security
- ☐ 5. To help others
- ☐ 6. Other (specify) _____

40. When your opinions differ from others, do you generally:

- ☐ 1. Keep them to yourself
- ☐ 2. Express them only to associates
- ☐ 3. Express them regardless of status of person(s) differing with you

41. How persistent or aggressive are you in gaining recognition of your ideas?

- ☐ 1. Very
- ☐ 2. Quite
- ☐ 3. Somewhat
- ☐ 4. Not very

42. Compared to other people you know, how much self-confidence do you have?

- ☐ 1. Definitely less than most people
- ☐ 2. Somewhat less than most people
- ☐ 3. About the same as most people
- ☐ 4. More than most people
- ☐ 5. Much more than most people

43. Compared to other kids in your family or to other kids you knew when you were growing up, you were:

- ☐ 1. Very shy and stayed around your home and parents
- ☐ 2. Somewhat more shy than most kids
- ☐ 3. About average in shyness
- ☐ 4. Less shy and more independent and adventuresome than most other kids
- ☐ 5. Much less shy and much more independent and adventuresome than most kids

44. How actively have you participated in the Civil Rights Movement?
- ☐ 1. Politics
 - ☐ 2. Boycott of Stores
 - ☐ 3. Protested
 - ☐ 4. Picketed
 - ☐ 5. Not at all
45. How much volunteer work are you engaged in within your community?
- ☐ 1. Very much
 - ☐ 2. More than average
 - ☐ 3. Some
 - ☐ 4. Little
 - ☐ 5. None
46. To what extent does your job interfere with your family and/or social life?
- ☐ 1. To a large extent
 - ☐ 2. Some extent
 - ☐ 3. Small extent
 - ☐ 4. A very small extent
 - ☐ 5. Not at all
47. To what extent are you concerned with being liked and accepted by people you work with?
- ☐ 1. To a large extent
 - ☐ 2. Some extent
 - ☐ 3. Small extent
 - ☐ 4. Very small extent
 - ☐ 5. Not at all
48. On most days on your job, how often does time seem to drag for you?
- ☐ 1. About one half of the day or more
 - ☐ 2. About one-third of the day
 - ☐ 3. About one-fourth of the day
 - ☐ 4. About one-eighth of the day
 - ☐ 5. Time never seems to drag

49. Some people are completely involved in their job--they are absorbed in their job--they are absorbed in it night and day. For other people, their job is simply one of several interests. How involved do you feel in your job?
- ☐ 1. Very little involved; my other interests are more absorbing
 - ☐ 2. Slightly involved
 - ☐ 3. Moderately involved; my job and other interests are equally absorbing to me
 - ☐ 4. Strongly involved
 - ☐ 5. Very strongly involved; my work is the most absorbing interest in my life
50. If by some chance you had enough money to live comfortably without working, would you
- ☐ 1. work anyway
 - ☐ 2. continue to work, but on a part-time basis
 - ☐ 3. continue to work, but voluntarily
 - ☐ 4. not work
51. Gaining the respect of family and friends is one of the most important rewards of getting ahead in an occupation.
- ☐ 1. Strongly agree
 - ☐ 2. Agree
 - ☐ 3. Neither agree nor disagree
 - ☐ 4. Disagree
 - ☐ 5. Strongly disagree
52. It is important that a person be able to see the results of his own work.
- ☐ 1. Strongly agree
 - ☐ 2. Agree
 - ☐ 3. Neither agree nor disagree
 - ☐ 4. Disagree
 - ☐ 5. Strongly disagree
53. Did you vote in the last two presidential elections?
- Yes () No ()

54. Do you belong to any particular political party?

Yes () No ()

if yes:

1. What party _____

2. Did you actively participate in political campaign?

Yes () No ()

3. If yes, was it as a:

_____ a. Party "regular" (full time employed or employed during campaign time)

_____ b. As volunteer during campaign time

55. What is your approximate yearly income from your present employment?

_____ 1. Less than \$5,000

_____ 2. \$5,000-\$6,999

_____ 3. \$7,000-\$9,999

_____ 4. \$10,000-\$14,999

_____ 5. \$15,000-\$19,999

_____ 6. \$20,000-\$24,999

_____ 7. \$25,000-\$50,000

_____ 8. \$50,000 or more

56. Looking back, what factors do you believe contributed to your present success? Please describe:

Beside each statement there are four blanks, two each under Mother and Father. In the first one put an "X" mark if it is one of the things your mother (father) wanted in you by the time you were ten years old. In the second one put the approximate age by which you think your mother (father) expected you to have learned this behavior. The sample below illustrates how to do this.

Mother

Father

X 7 To obey traffic signals and street lights when you were out alone.

This person has checked this as one of the things his mother wanted in him and expected him to learn this by the age of 7.

<u> </u> <u> </u>	To stand up for your own rights with other children.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To know your way around your part of the city so that you could learn to play where you wanted without getting lost.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To go outside to play when you wanted to be noisy or boisterous.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To be willing to try new things on your own without depending on your mother (father) for help.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To be active and energetic in climbing, jumping, and sports.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To show pride in your own ability to do things well.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To take part in your parent's interests and conversations.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To try hard things for yourself without asking for help.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To be able to eat alone without help in cutting and handling food.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To be able to lead other children and assert yourself in children's groups.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To make your friends among children your own age.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To hang up your own clothes and look after your own possessions.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To do well in school on your own.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To be able to undress and go to bed by yourself.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To have interests and hobbies of your own. To be able to entertain yourself.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To earn your own spending money.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To do some regular tasks around the house.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To be able to stay at home during the day alone.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To make decisions like choosing your clothes or deciding how to spend your money by yourself.	<u> </u> <u> </u>
<u> </u> <u> </u>	To do well in competition with other children. To try hard to come out on top in games and sports.	<u> </u> <u> </u>

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