A Study of the Factors Associated with the Various Degrees of Perceived Marginality among Black Business Leaders

Janet M. Brenneman
A STUDY OF THE FACTORS
ASSOCIATED WITH THE VARIOUS DEGREES
OF PERCEIVED MARGINALITY
AMONG BLACK BUSINESS LEADERS

by

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND ITS BACKGROUND

Statement of the Problem

Sociologists have long acknowledged the fact that the Black members of our society occupy a marginal status in relation to the white society. This concept of marginal status seems also to be applicable to a segment within the Black society—the Black business leaders. Implicit within this assumption of marginality, and often not explicit in the research or the literature on the subject, is the fact that there are significant marginality differentials. It is these marginality differentials which are being explored in this research.

Generally speaking, using the white business community as a point of orientation, the Black business leader is a marginal man. However, it is the purpose of this research to become more specific and to examine the marginality differentials between the Black business community and the white business community and within the Black business community. This study thus hypothesizes that various factors such as age, militancy, sex of business leader as well as factors such as the type of clientele he serves may influence these degrees of marginality. However, it is recognized that the factors that increase the Black business leader's acceptance by the white business community may at the same time decrease his acceptance by the Black business community. For example, a Black business leader that serves only Black clientele

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may be widely accepted by the Black business community but rejected by the white business community. Thus, the focus of this research is the Black business leaders and their perceptions of their acceptance into the white business community and into the Black business community as well as the various factors which are associated with these perceptions.

Review of Literature

Any discussion about marginality would be deficient if Park and Stonequist were not mentioned. Park introduced the term and was the first to use the term as a sociological concept. It was his definition that provided the general matrix for the concept "marginal man." Although Park was the originator of the term, Stonequist extended it. It is Stonequist and his definition and application of the concept to which most writers refer and on which most researchers have based their work. From his use, others have further expanded and clarified the term and its applications.

Park\(^1\) defined the marginal man as follows:

The marginal man . . . is one whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different but antagonistic cultures.

Park\(^2\) also stated that the marginal man is "the man who lives in two worlds but is not quite at home in either."


\(^2\)loc. cit., p. 51.
Especially interested in the application of this term to the Jews, Park believed that the emancipated Jew was typically the marginal man. He was a

... cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. He was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely inter­penetrated and fused.¹

Although Park was the first to use and define marginality, the term is more often associated with Stonequist and his book, The Mar­ginal Man.² Stonequist³ defined the marginal man as follows:

The individual who through migration, education, marriage or some other influence leaves one social group or culture without making a satisfactory adjustment to another finds himself on the margin of each but a member of neither.

According to Stonequist,⁴ the marginal man is the product of the meeting of two races and/or cultures. He is associated with both; yet he does not belong wholly to either. Stonequist applied this defi­nition to both racial and cultural hybrids and the status character­istics found in them. He also stressed the personality characteristics of the marginal man.⁵ However, this research is not concerned with

¹loc. cit., p. 354.
³loc. cit., p. 2.
⁴loc. cit., p. 54.
⁵loc. cit. These characteristics are discussed by the author in Chapter V.
personality traits of the individuals involved and will not go into Stonequist's discussion of them.

In looking at the Negro as a cultural hybrid, Stonequist\(^1\) stated that

> It is the advanced and educated coloured people who are most acutely in the anomalous position of the marginal man. They live on the same level of culture as the corresponding white classes, but they are subject to the attitudes and treatment which the white man bestows upon less advanced Negroes. In their own race they occupy a high status; from the white point of view they are inferior.

Stonequist went on to say that among educated Negroes the mulattoes occupy a marginal position. The white man refuses to accept him because of the color of his skin. Thus, even in a marginal group such as the Negro, there are sub-groups that have greater marginality because of such factors as education and skin color.

One researcher who has used Stonequist's definition as the basis for his research is Smith.\(^2\) Smith looked at the hybrid in Hawaii as a marginal man. These hybrids mingle fairly freely with the Hawaiians, but there is much social distance between them and the Nordics. Many of the hybrid groups play an important part in Hawaii. As participants in two or more cultures they act as intermediaries and interpreters.\(^3\)

Although these hybrids are marginal, factors\(^4\) are present that make them less marginal than hybrids in other areas. For example,

\(^1\)loc. cit., p. 110.


\(^3\)loc. cit., p. 467.

\(^4\)loc. cit., p. 460.
the relative absence of racial prejudice on the part of the Hawaiians has created more favorable attitudes toward intermarriage which makes the hybrids more acceptable. However, some hybrids are considered superior and are accepted more than others. These are less marginal. For example, Smith\(^1\) said that the Chinese-Hawaiian is believed to be superior to the Caucasian-Hawaiian and is accepted more readily by the Hawaiians. However, the Chinese-Hawaiian has been accepted by all groups to some extent. Between the groups, the differences that affect marginality are related to factors such as their good name in the community and a high economic and political status.\(^2\) Therefore, the Chinese-Hawaiians who possess a greater number of these factors are less marginal than other groups.

Other hybrids such as the Caucasian-Hawaiians are given a lower rating. They are believed to be less stable and less industrious than the Chinese-Hawaiians. Because of the Nordic claim to superiority, they are not fully accepted. They usually are more accepted by the Hawaiians. Their physical features prevent them from becoming a part of either group and becoming accepted. However, these hybrids are familiar with both groups of which they are a part and are often interpreters and leaders of the hybrid groups. Also, there are several groups of multiple hybrids. These multiple hybrids are in a situation different from that of the dual hybrids. They cannot attach themselves to any of the pure-blood groups except in rare cases.

\(^1\)ibid.

\(^2\)loc. cit., p. 461.
Therefore, in Hawaii, the intermediate group of cultural hybrids is developing a different culture from any of the ancestral groups. In this marginal group, conflicts and fusions of culture are taking place.\(^1\)

Although Smith looked at the general area of a marginal man who is a member of two cultures, he still made some points that can be applied to the use of the term in other, more specific areas. Smith observed that some hybrids are less marginal than others. Thus, he looked at marginality as something that could be a matter of degree and not as something that either exists or does not exist. He also discussed the fact that certain factors influence this marginality. Smith\(^2\) went on to say that some hybrids are familiar with both groups and are often leaders of the hybrid groups. Thus, some marginal persons may not only be more accepted by both groups but may have more influence in one or both groups.

Liu\(^3\) conducted a study that dealt with the patterns of migration and adjustment of the Roman Catholic population of a southern community as an empirical test of the validity of the concept of the marginal man. In looking at the concept of marginality as developed by Park and Stonequist, Liu\(^4\) felt that the

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\(^1\)loc. cit., p. 468.

\(^2\)loc. cit., p. 467.


genesis of this concept seems to have been in the analysis of the social relations between the immigrants and members of the host group, since the marginal man is essentially the product of the retarded process of assimilation.

Relating this to the marginal Catholics, Liu believed that the adjustments of the Catholic migrant families to the host community depended largely upon their capacity to perform successfully the inherent local social roles. In his study, Liu was concerned with a migrant population composed of members of a religious minority. Adjustment of assimilation emphasized both the normative integration of the migrant Catholics and the external evidence of the individual's group. The components of adjustment include:¹

1. the acceptance-rejection pattern of the migrant Catholics to the known values of American Catholicism
2. the acceptance-rejection pattern of the migrant Catholics to the traditional values of the South
3. the extent of the individual's social participation in the host community
4. the degree of the individual's self-identification with the host community

The independent variables² used in this study were Catholicity, education, residential status, religious training, age, post-marital mobility, family income, and husband's occupation. Each of these was examined with the following dependent variables:³ Church Doctrine Scale; Labor Attitude Scale; the Birth Control Attitude Scale; the Race Attitude Scale; the Social Participation Scale; and the Southern Identification Scale.

¹loc. cit., p. 385.
²loc. cit., pp. 385-386.
³loc. cit., p. 386.
In the findings that pertained to the religio-social attitudes, Liu concluded\(^1\) that it was difficult to reach the conclusion that adherence to the Catholic church was not the all-embracing factor in determining identification with the values and symbols of the host community: age, length of residence, socio-economic status, and mobility each had a share.

Another finding was that the socio-economic status of the migrants influenced their degree of Catholicity. The degree of southern identification was influenced by the income of the family, the age of the individual, and the length of residence in the host community.

Further findings pointed out some pertinent aspects\(^2\) of marginality. First, the "manifestation of attitudinal inconsistency seemed to have been distinctive of 'high' rather than of the 'low' Catholicity group." Second, "the more distant from the center of the prescribed behavior norms of the original group (i.e., low Catholicity), the more the individual is detached from either social group and, therefore, the more anomie is he." The study also found that "among the migrant Catholics in the Protestant South, the 'true' marginal Catholic is 'high' in Catholicity and located in the inner sphere of the circle." The study states the following:\(^3\)

... the individual who is high in Catholicity is both dynamic and pluralistic and plays multiple roles and occupies a potentially shifting status. Since he endeavors to participate more both in parochial activities and in the secular community, and finds conformity promotes his acceptance by the host group in which he is making a new residence, he is compelled to make out his

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\(^{1}\) loc. cit., p. 387.


\(^{3}\) loc. cit., p. 390.
own blueprint in meeting new demands. In so doing, he finds that the strain toward consistency is greater. . . .

Marginality must be explained in terms of social relationships rather than of a 'split personality,' and the former are more important in creating incompatibility than the individual's several institutional roles. . . . Area of difference between a man who is 'marginal' and a man who is 'anomic.' The difference lies in the degree of normative integration of an individual in two or more groups. A man can be marginal only if he has attained a degree of integration in two or more groups simultaneously—a degree which in all the groups must be high enough to produce inconsistencies of behavior.

Thus, Liu looked at several factors and their relationship to marginality. He found that class values influence both verbal attitudes and overt social participation. Therefore, Liu concluded that the concept of marginal Catholic cannot be measured by using only a single continuum.

Liu looked at several aspects of marginality that have an important application to the development of other studies in this area. Liu focused on marginality as measured by performance of social roles rather than as structural factors. In measuring this marginality, Liu brought in components of adjustment so that marginality was measured by several factors and not just one. This deviated from other work, done by Stonequist and Smith, which tended to look at general cultural and racial traits.

Liu's study is of importance because he examined independent variables such as age, income, socio-economic status, residence, and mobility, and he attempted to relate them to marginality by objective measurements. Marginality was not assumed on the basis of general

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1 loc. cit., p. 383.
racial or cultural factors.

Liu's research and conclusions helped to clarify the measurement of marginality and provide the basis for further study. Liu stressed that it is the individual who has attained a degree of integration in two groups simultaneously that is the true marginal. This is important in that marginality is seen as a matter of degree and as related to not one but two groups. He concluded with a point that is important for further research when he stated that marginality is not absolute or even measured on one continuum but instead is seen as a concept that must be measured on several continua.

Wardwell\(^1\) analyzed the profession of the chiropractor in terms of role marginality. Wardwell felt that other writers have not considered the marginality in a social role. He stated that in a marginal role, the incumbent is only partially successful in attaining his goal for acceptance. He does not completely obtain all the rights and privileges of the role.

Wardwell stated that the role of the chiropractor is marginal to the role of the doctor because chiropractors have gained little acceptance from doctors. The role of the chiropractor is also marginal in regards to the general public. Several factors influence the chiropractors' role marginality.\(^2\)

1. the amount of technical competence
2. the breadth of scope of their practices
3. their legal status

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\(^2\) loc. cit., p. 340.
4. their income  
5. their prestige standing

On the average, according to Wardwell,¹ chiropractors rank below physicians on these factors. The chiropractor wants acceptance as a doctor, but society does not give him this status. Therefore, his role is marginal.

Chiropractors have a shorter period of formal education than do physicians. The quality of the instruction offered and the facilities available for training are often not as good as that for the physician. Organized chiropractic is not well developed because of a small membership. There is also a lack of dependence by a practitioner upon the high regard of his colleagues. There is no network of referrals. According to Wardwell,² the non-professional relations between physicians and chiropractors are often surprisingly close.

The chiropractor-patient relationship is often less formal and professional than the physician-patient relationship. The patient often has to have chiropractic "sold" to him. Wardwell³ stated that "the chiropractor cannot presume, as the physician often can, that patients will unhesitatingly accept him as a qualified practitioner of a healing art."

The social prestige of chiropractors is not high. In one study⁴ ranking 24 medical specialties, chiropractors ranked twenty-second.

¹ibid.
²loc. cit., p. 343.
³ibid.
⁴ibid.
Many chiropractors also run into trouble with the law for practicing medicine without a license. However, chiropractors appeared to be well-integrated into their local communities. Most chiropractors seem to get into public life as much as do members of related professions. The average length of time in practice was 21 years, and the average length of time in their present location was 12 years.

Chiropractic is handicapped by the fact that it has been developed almost entirely by men (1) who had no previous connection with medicine and (2) who were of low socio-economic status. This has resulted in little communication between chiropractors and medical physicians. The contacts that do exist are only at the local level. Consequently, chiropractors have not learned all the newer developments in medical sciences; and physicians know practically nothing about chiropractic therapy.

Wardwell concluded that

both the institutionalization of a role and role-marginality are relative matters permitting of degrees of more or less, . . . Always some [social roles] are in the process of becoming more fully institutionalized—others less so. Similarly, marginal roles may become more or less distinguishable from their primary role. Which sort of change is taking place must be empirically determined in each given instance.

The chiropractor is not marginal to two different cultures as the term "marginal man" usually implies. "He is simply an incumbent of a role that is marginal." This is due to the rapidity with which

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1 loc. cit., p. 346.
2 loc. cit., p. 348.
3 ibid.
new roles appear.

Wardwell's research reiterated further the application of the concept of marginality to a specific group. He considered marginality in a social role similar to Liu rather than in the cultural and racial context of Park and Stonequist. Wardwell's study, as does Liu's, points out that persons are marginal to two groups and not one. This study is important in that it introduces other variables that influence marginality such as competence, status, income, prestige, and size of practice. He also brings out other factors that may influence marginality such as integration into the community and involvement in public life.

Another point of value in this research is Wardwell's conclusion that factors of role-marginality are relative matters of degree and must be empirically determined in each case. This goes along with Liu's conclusion and gives support to the need for research on marginality with specific groups and involving several variables.

Wray examined the concept of marginality as it related to industry and the position of the foreman. He found that contrary to traditional assumptions "the foreman must be viewed as the recipient of union-management agreement or conflict rather than as a positive contributor to union-management relations." He is not an active force in determining this relation. The general pattern of union-management relations are settled by top management without the inclusion of the

\[1\] Wray, Donald E., "Marginal Men of Industry: The Foreman." American Journal of Sociology, XXXIV (January 1949), 298-301.

\[2\] loc. cit., p. 300.
foreman. The foreman is expected only to carry out decisions of union and management.

Any deviation from union-management decisions will bring forth censure from one or both sides, but in no case can the supervisor himself enter into the formulation of the rules under which he works. . . . The supervisor gets criticism from both management and union but he is pushed aside when decisions are to be made.1

Wray suggested2 that the foreman is neither an integral part of the rank and file nor an authoritative spokesman for management. He is not a full member of the management team; he shares with others higher up the responsibility for implementing policies but does not share in the making of them. Also, his position is different from those higher up in that he does not give orders to people who are identified with management; but he must transmit them to people who are not of management. He has some characteristics of management positions but lacks others. Thus, he occupies a marginal position—a position that is peripheral to the decision making process and caught in the interface between union and management.

Wray stated3 that "it is characteristic of such marginal positions that the people who occupy them consider that they are special victims of the disparity between social norms and social reality." They feel pressed to live up to the role of members of management, but they are not given the reward of full participation. This presents a dilemma which results in personal conflict. Sometimes this conflict

1 _loc. cit._, p. 301.
2 _ibid._
3 _ibid._
is solved by adopting an alternative role.

Wray's study looked at the marginal man in a rather closed type of setting. It pointed out how the concept may apply to a specific group. His article emphasizes, as do several preceding ones, that the marginal man has a position that is marginal to two groups. Wray brought out that the person who occupies this position is not given full participation in either group and is not accepted by either group. Wray stresses that the person in the marginal position may have some characteristics of both groups, but he lacks others. Wray did what Wardwell suggested in that he determined the amount of marginality in a specific case. By doing so, he extended the concept to new areas.

Kerckhoff and McCormick in their study of marginality defined the marginal man in a different way.

The marginal man . . . is one who used a non-membership group as a reference group. He may also be seen as one whose socialization has not been such as to prepare him to play the role assigned to him in the social sphere. As this implies, there are forces preventing him from making his reference group a membership group.

They go on further to state the following:

The marginal man is one who has internalized the norms of a particular group . . . but is not completely recognized by others as being a legitimate member of that group. . . . As long as this relationship prevails, his role in countless situations will be ill-defined . . . and he will suffer the effects of uncertainty, ambivalence, and the fear of rejection and failure.

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2 ibid.
In their report, the authors stated that some groups experience almost complete rejection by the dominant group in all areas where others meet with less rejection. They also concluded from their study\(^1\) that "the tendency of a member of the subordinate group to identify with the dominant group increases with the permeability of the barrier confronting him."

Kerckhoff and McCormick emphasized an important point when they stated that the marginal man may have internalized the norms of a group but that others do not recognize him as a member. Thus, other's perceptions enter into an analysis of marginality. This had not been mentioned in previous literature, but it could prove to be an important contribution to the measurement of marginality.

Besides the literature dealing with the application of marginality to actual problems, there is also much literature that deals with analyzing and revising the concept of marginality. One such article is by Antonovsky.\(^2\) Antonovsky was concerned with a refinement of the marginal man concept. He first distinguished marginality from alienation and anomie. Alienation and anomie refer to the feeling that one does not quite belong anywhere. He stated\(^3\) that this is "different from the state where one has ties to two partially incompatible societies, and does not wholly belong to either. One can be anomie without being marginal and marginal without being anomie."

\(^1\) loc. cit. p. 54.

\(^2\) Antonovsky, Aaron, "Toward a Refinement of the 'Marginal Man' Concept." Social Forces, XXXV (October 1956), 57-62.

\(^3\) loc. cit., p. 57.
He then went on to state\(^1\) that

multiple subculture membership can . . . be marginal, if there is a conflict between the values and patterns of the subcultures involved and a sense of belonging to both simultaneously is difficult to achieve. To the extent that this is so, marginality is not to be seen as a phenomenon limited to immigrant groups and their children.

It is the central point of his article that "members of a subculture will, in the course of time, manifest a number of different response patterns to a marginal situation."\(^2\) In other words, a cultural group emerging from a closed-off situation to a marginal situation will have varying definitions and adjustments to the new situation.

Antonovsky, after interviewing a sample of Jews, reached two conclusions. First Antonovsky concluded\(^3\) that "the members of a marginal group . . . are compelled to formulate a definition of their situation." In this way a variety of definitions come into being, at least in the Jewish group that he studied. He felt that these different definitions are expressed in different behavior patterns. Secondly, he noted\(^4\) that the traditional assumptions for the concept of marginality—instability, perpetual conflict, uncertainty—do not seem to be true.

Antonovsky made an important distinction between marginality and alienation and anomie. This differentiation prevents misunderstanding

\(^{1}\)ibid.
\(^{2}\)loc. cit., p. 58.
\(^{3}\)loc. cit., pp. 61-62.
\(^{4}\)loc. cit., p. 62.
of the concepts and prevents them from being interchanged. Antonovsky stated that traditional assumptions about marginality do not seem to be true. If these assumptions are not true, this suggests that marginality may need to be examined using other variables and approaches to find assumptions that do apply.

Golovensky\(^1\) offered an analysis and critique of the marginal man concept as defined and applied by Park and Stonequist. He believed that the original concept is so all-embracing and all-pervasive when applied to cultures and entire groups that it loses its claim to being a meaningful sociological concept and is a mere figure of speech. For example, he stated that the American culture is a denial of such a broad concept of marginality because of its many diverse elements that exist in equality.

He does believe, however, that the marginal man theory has a rightful place. Golovensky\(^2\) stated that the concept is valid in a restricted area. For example, the person whose mother is a Jew and whose father a Gentile is a marginal person, according to Golovensky. Golovensky feels that persons that are members of splinter groups that break away from minorities such as Catholics, Negroes, or other large groups are true marginals. As he stated\(^3\)

\[\text{when we dilute the concept of marginality as do Park, Stonequist . . . to embrace entire minorities and people, we destroy its value and validity and remove it from}\]

\[\text{Golovensky, David I., "The Marginal Man Concept: An Analysis and Critique." Social Forces, XXX (December 1951), 333-339.}\]
\[\text{loc. cit., p. 339.}\]
\[\text{ibid.}\]
the area of empirical sociology into the area of fruitless speculation.

Golovensky's article is important in that it points out the great need to limit the concept of marginality in order for it to have a valuable contribution to sociology. Golovensky referred to splinter groups of minorities as being valid marginal men. If this is true, the groups within these minorities could have the term applied to them in the same way. This would be another means of limitation. By rejecting the concept of marginality as used by Park and Stonequist as too pervasive, but by still accepting it as basically a valid term, Golovensky emphasized the need for research with a restricted group.

Green\(^1\) examined the psychological characteristics of the marginal man and made some observations that could apply to the sociological characteristics of the concept. Like Golovensky, he believed that the term as defined by Park and Stonequist "remains an omnibus term and, in fact, so dramatically descriptive a term must both exaggerate and fail to differentiate."\(^2\) Green\(^3\) went on to say that "it is only with categories of persons within the given racial or ethnic group, placed in types of situations, that the dynamic reality to which the term 'marginal man' refers, assumes substance."

Green's article supports Golovensky's idea that the concept of marginality is valid only if restricted. Green also supports the

\(^1\) Green, Arnold W., "A Re-Examination of the Marginal Man Concept." \textit{Social Forces}, XXVI (December 1947), 167-171.

\(^2\) loc. cit., p. 168.

\(^3\) ibid.
idea that groups within minorities may be studied as marginal. What is important here is that he went one step further and said that these groups are marginal only in certain situations. This is limiting the use of the marginality concept greatly in comparison with Park's and Stonequist's general application of it to whole racial and cultural groups. In doing so, this extends the use of the term.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of the present work was intimated in the review of the literature. The concept of marginality began with Park. His definition\(^1\) of the marginal man was one who lives in two worlds and is not at home in either. This original concept was developed by Stonequist\(^2\) who defined a marginal person as one who leaves one social group or culture without making a satisfactory adjustment to another and finds himself on the margin of each without belonging to either. Stonequist and Park applied this concept mainly to racial and cultural minorities.

In looking at Black businessmen, there is little in the work of Park and Stonequist that is of value. However, the concept of marginality originated with them, and it is this concept that is the basis of this study of Black businessmen. Even with the concept of marginality, to make it useful to a study of Black businessmen it must be revised and limited to apply to persons who are on the margins

\(^{1}\) op. cit., p. 373.

\(^{2}\) op. cit., p. 2.
of two groups (not necessarily cultural or racial groups) but are not fully accepted by either.

Many articles have been written with the same focus as that of Park and Stonequist. One such study is that of Smith and his study of Hawaiian hybrids. Although the focus of Smith's article is much broader than that of the present study, there are a few points that should be considered in reference to Black businessmen. One of Smith's main points was that not all hybrid groups are equally marginal. This should also be considered in relation to Black businessmen in that not all may have the same degree of marginality. Smith mentioned the factors that influence the marginality of various groups. Some of these factors may apply to Black businessmen and influence their marginality to the white business community and/or the Black business community. The economic status of the businessman may influence his marginality as a businessman. With a more successful business, he may be more likely to be accepted by other businessmen as a capable business person. Smith discussed the physical factors of the hybrid as they influence his marginality. With the Black businessman, this may be applied instead to the physical features of his business. Smith also mentioned that some hybrids may be accepted more by one group and less by another. The same may apply to Black businessmen. Some may be more accepted by the Black business community and others may be more accepted by the white business community. As Smith's hybrids, some Black businessmen may be more familiar with one community and may have more influence in one business community or in both business communities.
Others have expanded the use of the concept of marginality and have applied it toward more limited groups. Liu in his study of Southern Catholics looked at a small group within a larger one and the factors that made this small group marginal to the host community and to other Catholics. He felt that the adjustment of Catholic families to the host community depended largely upon their ability to successfully perform the local social roles. The adjustment of Black businessmen may depend upon their ability to successfully perform their business roles.

Liu's study suggests that marginality, such as that of Black businessmen, should be measured by several components and not one. Some of the independent variables he used may also apply to the marginality of Black businessmen. Variables such as education, residential status, age, socio-economic status, and religion may determine the degree of acceptance of the Black businessman by the business communities. The use of scales to measure these variables, especially a participation scale for marginality, also needs to be applied to the measurement of the several variables in relation to the marginality of Black businessmen. Liu's point that marginality is a matter of degree may be true of the marginality of Black businessmen. The variables mentioned above may influence this marginality to produce some businessmen that are highly marginal to one group or to both groups while others, because of the influence of these variables, are less marginal. Liu's conclusion that the concept of marginality cannot be measured on one continuum may be important to consider when analyzing the marginality of Black businessmen. One factor alone is not a good measure of marginality.
Wardwell and Wray also expanded this concept of marginality and examined other factors that could influence this marginality. Wardwell looked at marginality in terms of role, rather than culture, and at factors such as competence, income, legal status, and prestige that influence this marginality of the chiropractor. He also stressed that marginality is relative and is measured in degrees of more or less marginality.

Wardwell stressed marginality in terms of a role that is affected by various factors. As in Liu's study, these factors may apply to Black businessmen. The business competence of a Black businessman, the income of his business, his prestige and status in the community may exert an influence on his marginality in much the same way as they did on Wardwell's chiropractors. The Black businessmen may be able to have their marginality measured in degrees according to the influence of these variables. Wardwell also mentioned the public and organizational participation as influencing marginality. The same may be true of Black businessmen in that the degree they participate in public, private, or business organizations may influence their acceptance by businessmen in both business communities. Thus, all the factors that Wardwell considered important in influencing the degree of marginality of chiropractors this research suggests may be necessary for the consideration of the degree of marginality of the Black businessman.

Wray looked at the foreman as occupying a marginal position—one that is peripheral and not in the middle. Ordered to carry out the rules of both union and management, he has no part in making them. He
then transmits these decisions to non-management people. As with the
foreman, the marginal Black businessman can be seen as peripheral to
the Black business community and the white business community, because
he lacks an influential role in one or both groups.

Various other studies and articles deal with variations of the
marginal man concept. Many of the criticisms and analyses deal with
restricting the concept to make it more sociologically meaningful.
Antonovsky does this to some extent, but Golovensky and Green are very
strong in their belief that the marginal man concept should be limited.

Therefore, the research attempts to limit the concept to a cate­
gory of persons within the Negro group in specific types of situations
as recommended by Golovensky and Green. This study focuses on Black
businessmen in business-related situations or on actions and attitudes
related to their role as businessmen. It attempts to empirically
study these businessmen in relation to their acceptance into the white
business community and the Black business community.

Hypotheses and Operational Definitions

From the literature, the following hypotheses were formulated to
be tested by this research.

General Hypotheses

1. Black business leaders perceive varying degrees of mar­
ginality among Black business leaders within the Black
business community.

2. Black business leaders manifest varying degrees of mar­
ginality among Black business leaders within the Black
business community.
3. Black business leaders perceive varying degrees of marginality of Black business leaders to the white business community.

**Operational definitions:**

**Black business leaders:** persons of the Negro race who are owners or managers of business establishments within the limits of the city studied (see research methods). These individuals were identified by three methods: other Black businessmen, the Chamber of Commerce, and a list of Black businessmen that had been the basis for other research (see research methods).

**Black business community:** the totality of Black business leaders within the city limits. "Community" is a generic concept only.

**White business community:** the totality of persons of the Caucasoid race who are owners or managers of business establishments in the city. "Community" is a generic concept only.

**Marginality:** dealing with two groups of perceptions 1) perceptions by Black business leaders of the position of other Black businessmen to the Black business community, 2) perceptions by Black business leaders of the position of other Black businessmen to the white business community. Also, dealing with manifest actions—the amount of contact and nature of this contact of the individual Black business leaders to the Black business community. Measured by marginality indexes—scores computed from a number of items indicating three separate areas 1) degree of contact, nature of contact, acceptance, and influence in Black business community (see Appendix, questions 23, 25, 34, 36), 2) perceived contact and nature of contact of Black businessmen with Black business community (see Appendix, questions 27, 29), 3) perceived contact and nature of contact of Black businessmen with white business community (see Appendix, questions 26, 28).

**Sub-hypotheses**

1a. There is an inverse relationship between the age of the Black businessman and his perceived marginality to the white business community.

1b. There is an inverse relationship between the age of the
Black businessman and his perceived marginality to the Black business community.

**Operational definition:**

**Age:** as at last birthday

2a. The perceived marginality to the white business community is greater among female Black business leaders than among male Black business leaders.

2b. The manifest marginality to the Black business community is greater among female Black business leaders than among male Black business leaders.

3a. There is a direct relationship between the militancy of the Black businessman and his perceived marginality to the white business community.

3b. There is a direct relationship between the militancy of the Black businessman and his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

**Operational definition:**

**Militancy:** indicated by a militancy scale—items indicating degree of militancy, both in attitude and action (see Appendix, questions 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, 55).

4a. If a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church, his perceived marginality to the white business community is greater than if he attends a white-oriented church.

4b. If a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church, his manifest marginality to the Black business community is less than if he attends a white-oriented church.

**Operational definitions:**

Negro-oriented church: churches that have either an all-Black membership or a predominately Black membership.

White-oriented church: churches that have a predominately white or an all-white membership.

5a. The higher the formal education of the Black business leader, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

5b. The higher the formal education of the Black business
leader, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

Operational definition:

Formal education: the number of years of academic and/or business training received.

6a. There is an inverse relationship between the length of time the Black business leader has been in business in the community and his perceived marginality to the white business community.

6b. There is an inverse relationship between the length of time the Black business leader has been in business in the community and his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

Operational definition:

Length of time in business in community: the number of years the business leader has either owned or managed a business in the city studied.

7a. The closer the Black business is located to a major business center, the smaller is the perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white business community.

7b. The closer the Black business is located to a major business center, the greater is the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community.

Operational definitions:

Location: the address of the business.

Major business center: for commercial enterprises, those sections of the city that are areas of concentration for conducting commercial business, for example, a main shopping center or downtown area. For manufacturing enterprises, those sections of the city that are areas of concentration for locating manufacturing enterprises, for example, an industrial park.

8a. The more a Black businessman actively participates in business organizations, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

8b. The more a Black businessman actively participates in business organizations, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.
Operational definitions:

**Business organizations**: organizations that accept only businessmen as members.

**Active participation**: the degree of involvement in such organizations based on number belong to, committee offices held, attendance, and participation in activities and offices.

9a. There is an inverse relationship between the amount of business experience of the Black business leader and his perceived marginality to the white business community.

9b. There is an inverse relationship between the amount of business experience of the Black business leader and his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

Operational definition:

**Business experience**: the number of years in present business as well as other businesses owned, leased, or managed and/or previous jobs contributing to knowledge of present type of business.

10a. If the facilities of the Black business are in poor upkeep, the Black businessman has more perceived marginality to the white business community.

10b. If the facilities of the Black business are in poor upkeep, the Black businessman has more manifest marginality to the Black business community.

Operational definition:

**Facilities in poor upkeep**: externally determined by a building that is unpainted and/or has bricks or boards missing, windows broken and/or dirty. Internally determined by poor lighting, lack of neatness. Also includes equipment that is in poor working order and a sign that is lacking or that is broken and/or poorly done.

11a. The longer the Black businessman has resided in the community, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

11b. The longer the Black businessman has resided in the community, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.
Operational definition:

Residence in the community: the number of years the businessman has lived in the county of which the city was located.

12a. The more the Black businessman participates in the public life of the community, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

12b. The more the Black businessman participates in the public life of the community, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

Operational definitions:

Public life of community: membership in organizations that are oriented toward community service.

Participation: number of organizations to which belong, attendance, offices held, and committees and activities participated in.

13a. The greater the exclusivity of white clientele of the Black business, the less is the perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white business community.

13b. The greater the exclusivity of Black clientele of the Black business, the less is the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community.

Operational definitions:

Exclusivity of clientele: the relative distribution or proportion of Black and/or white clients of the business.

14a. The larger the size of the business, the less is the perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white business community.

14b. The larger the size of the business, the less is the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community.

Operational definition:

Size of business: the amount of gross annual income of the business.
CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

This section examines the research and the data analysis methods. The first part describes the sample, the research instrument and approach, and the methods and procedures used during the data collection phase. The second section describes the various indexes and statistics used in analyzing the data.

Research Methods

The area chosen for the focus of the study is a Midwestern city with a population of approximately 100,000. The city is the site for various industries, light and heavy, that employ a large share of the population. It also serves as the center for various institutions of higher education including a large state university and two private colleges. These educational institutions exert an influence on the city and give it a rather unique character unlike most cities of similar size. For example, research on some group, section of the city, or business is constantly in progress which may influence the subjects studied as well as future research. Also, the city is atypical in that it was awarded the All-American city award for its various community programs. This indicates the existence of various community programs that are not active in other cities. The city has many cultural and recreational facilities such as art museums, theatres, libraries, nature centers, and parks. However, the city has many
problems such as lack of adequate housing, poverty, and racial difficulties; in these, it is typical.

This city was chosen as the site of the study for several reasons. First, it was the residence for the researcher which reduced traveling time and expenses in gathering data. Second, a list of Black businessmen in the area was available giving the name of the business, location, and owner. Third, it had a fairly large number of Black businessmen engaged in various types and sizes of businesses.

The subjects who participated in this research were selected by random sampling. The following procedures were used to select the subjects. A list of all Black-owned businesses within the city limits was obtained. A decision was made to limit the population to those businesses within the city limits because of the time factor and lower traveling expenses in locating them. It was also felt that, for the purposes of this study, the city itself had a representative selection of Black businesses which would supply the necessary information. The list of Black businesses obtained was limited in that it had been compiled several months prior to its use for this study. Since that time some of the businesses had moved, others had gone out of business, and some new businesses had been started. Further, some of the names of the businessmen and some of the addresses of the businesses were inaccurate.

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1This list was obtained from Dr. Donald N. M. Horning, a professor at the state university in the city, who was working on a study of Black businessmen and had compiled a list of Black businessmen in the area. He had obtained this list from the Chamber of Commerce and from businessmen in the community.
From this original list of 66 businesses, a random sample was drawn by alphabetizing each business, giving each business a number, and then using the table of random numbers. Where more than one business was owned by a Black businessman, they were combined and treated as one. In this way, a sample of 30 businessmen was chosen. In conducting the research, when enterprises were out of business, they were replaced by another using the table of random numbers. In one case where an interview could not be obtained and in another case where an interview could not be used, the replacement process was the same. New businesses located during the research were noted but were not added to the original list. Thus, they were not included in the population from which the sample of businessmen was chosen.

Research Approach and Instrument

The interview was the approach selected to obtain the desired information. The alternative was a questionnaire, but this was quickly rejected for several reasons. One was the belief, which proved to be well-founded, that some of the businessmen had difficulty reading. Also, it was felt that, owing to the level of sophistication in several sections of questions, some of the businessmen would be unable to understand what was being asked. Another reason was that some of the questions were rather personal or touched on controversial areas and thus lent themselves better to an interview situation where the subject could be eased into them and could have more of a chance to explain his answers. This was found to be particularly true with topics such as militancy, income of business, and some of the questions on
marginality. In an interview situation, it was possible to obtain comments and views from the Black businessmen that would not readily be volunteered on a questionnaire. And, it was felt that some Black businessmen might be hostile to a stranger asking questions about their businesses and their actions and feelings in some areas—such as militancy. An interviewer could reassure the businessman and put him at ease by explaining the purpose of the study and by answering the questions he had. The interviewer could also determine when enough rapport had been established so that some of the questions could be asked when the subject was most receptive to answer them. The interviewer could assure the subject that he was not being "picked on" and that his name would not be used. The length of a questionnaire would have discouraged most businessmen from answering it, while an interview, although long, made it possible to ease the subject through by taking breaks to talk about other things and establishing a friendly, conversational atmosphere.

Since there was doubt about the correct addresses of some businesses, sending questionnaires might have resulted in some going to wrong addresses and to establishments out of business, without the knowledge of the researcher. By interviewing, the correct names of the owners could be ascertained. Also, it would definitely be known if the businesses were trading or not. For these reasons, as well as the fact that some people neglect to answer questionnaires, the return rate on questionnaires would probably have been quite small. This would have created problems in obtaining information and in obtaining a representative sample because of the relatively small number of subjects.
To standardize the interview, an interview schedule was developed (Appendix). Several changes were made before the completed form was presented to the Black businessmen. To test the schedule, several Black student volunteers from business and sociology classes were given the interview schedule and asked to play the role of a businessman. Appointments were made for these students, and they were given the same instructions and explanations that would be given the actual Black businessmen. Testing the interview schedule with these students was done for several reasons. One main reason was to obtain their comments as to how they thought a Black individual would react to various questions. The researcher wanted to see if the questions could be interpreted in any other way than intended or to see if some questions might be regarded as offensive to Black individuals. In other words, what was desired was to become aware of how Black individuals would view the questions. Also, this was a way to see if changes in wording should be made or if some questions should be placed in a different order. Although this procedure was not as good as testing the schedule on actual Black businessmen, it was felt to be adequate. Since the population from which the sample of businessmen was drawn was not especially large, it was thought best not to use any of these and thus reduce even more the source of the final sample. Many helpful suggestions and insights were obtained for improvement of the schedule and on how to approach the Black businessmen with some of the questions. Also, areas were pointed out that might be touchy to some persons and should be handled with special tact.

The interview schedule had several points of interest. First,
it contained eight different sections with each section relating to a different line of inquiry. The sections were placed in the schedule ranging from non-personal to personal in tone and in information desired. The sections were as follows:

1. General background information
2. Religious information
3. Educational background
4. Occupational history
5. Present business information
6. Organizational membership information
7. Participation information
8. Militancy information

There were some questions that were not part of any particular section of questions but were placed where it was thought they would be most appropriate. These were questions such as composition of clientele and gross annual income. The question of gross annual income was taken out of its logical section—present business information—which was located close to the beginning of the schedule. It was felt that this particular question would be too delicate to ask early in the interview. By putting it at the end of the schedule, it would 1) give the interviewer more time to establish rapport, 2) not interfere with or prevent the rest of the interview if it raised hostility or suspicion.

Several types of questions were used in the schedule. Structured questions of various types were used in most of the schedule. However, most of the structured questions were in a modified form in that subjects were free to make comments or explanations if they so desired. Identification type questions were used in several sections such as the one on business organizations. The fixed-alternative type of question was frequently used. The militancy and participation
sections were composed of questions of this type. A few open-ended
questions were used such as in the section on present business infor-
mation.

There was a further aspect to the arrangement of questions in
their sections. Questions that did not touch on personal or contro-
versial areas were asked first. In other sections, respondents were
first asked how they thought others felt or acted before being asked
about their own responses. More personal questions were asked later.
It was felt that this would give the interviewer more time to establish
rapport and would enable the interviewer to gradually lead the subject
to more personal questions. This technique was especially evident in
the militancy section where the subject was first questioned about
others and then about himself; the more controversial questions were
at the end of the section.

Methods and Procedures During Data Collection Phase

The data collection phase is important because it is here that
the instruments are put to use and the information is obtained which
is necessary to test out the hypotheses. The data was collected

Establishing contact

The Black businessmen were contacted by the interviewer at their
places of business. Businessmen that could not be reached at the
first attempt were visited again at their businesses; and later, phone
calls were made in attempts to contact the businessmen. Attempts at
contact were made until successful or until information was obtained as to why the businessman was not available. In some cases, no information could be obtained as to whether the establishment was still in business. After ten attempts, these places were assumed to be out of business and were replaced.

Of the original 30 businesses randomly drawn, 4 were found to be out of business or the owners were not in the area. One businessman was agreeable to the interview; but because of illness and business problems, no time could be found that was acceptable to both businessman and interviewer. One schedule was discarded because the subject refused to keep the interview private and had the family help answer the questions. These two were replaced by random sampling. Two businesses were closed and no information could be obtained about them. There were no refusals to participate in the interview.

The fact that there were no refusals is interesting in that the interviewer was Caucasian and female. The common feeling among other sociologists was that many Black businessmen would refuse to talk to a white, female interviewer about themselves and their businesses. However, this did not seem to be the case. It was especially surprising in that the length of the interview averaged approximately an hour and was a sacrifice on the part of the busier owners who had to take time from their work.

The interview

After contacting the Black businessmen, an explanation was given as to the reason for the contact, the nature of the research, and
their role. Enough was said either to get permission to do the inter-
view at that time or to make an appointment to do the interview at a
time more convenient for the businessmen. The fact was stressed that
the interviewer, as much as possible, wanted to make the interview at
a time most appropriate for the businessmen.

At the time of the actual interview, the interviewer went into
more detail explaining again that she was a graduate student at
_________ University working on a Masters' Thesis. She explained
further that she was doing a study of Black businessmen and was seek-
ing some general information from them. The interviewer stressed that
the information was entirely confidential and that their names would
not be used. She also stressed that she was not working for any
group or organization. The interviewer stated that she was not look-
ing for a specific answer so they did not have to try to give an
answer that they thought she wanted to hear. She stressed that she
only wanted the businessmen to "tell it like it is." The businessmen
were instructed that if they did not know the answer to a question to
say so and not to give a false answer. If they had any questions at
any time before, during, or after the interview, they were given a
chance to ask them.

During the course of the interview, the interviewer at various
points again stressed the confidentiality of the information received
and stressed the importance of honest answers. She also tried to
break the questioning at various places to give the subject a rest
so he would not become impatient and tired. This also seemed to help
in establishing rapport.
All of the interviews, except for five, were conducted at the places of business. The five were done at the businessmen's homes. In all cases, attempts were made to obtain the interviews in private as much as possible. At the homes this was not difficult as the interviews were conducted apart from other individuals in the home. However, at the places of business this was difficult especially if they were busy. Where possible, the interviews were conducted in a separate room or office. If this was not possible, the interviews were conducted in a corner that was relatively private or separated from others—for example, in a restaurant at a table away from the customers and waitresses. With some businesses this was not possible, and the interviewer had to wait for customers to be served and then continue the interview. This was especially true at barber shops where the owner was the only worker present. Even though interruptions occurred, the recognition that the interviewer accepted the fact that their businesses came first seemed to help in the establishment of rapport and made the businessmen more open and willing to answer the questions. This added to the length of time required for the interview, but it seemed to increase the businessmen's acceptance of the interviewer. None of the subjects discussed the interview questions with customers.

The interviewer had one section of questions on participation as well as the questions on composition of church and composition of clientele that were typed on cards and given to the businessmen to read themselves. These questions had several choices of answers and giving them to the subject to read made it easier for him to keep the
choices in mind. Since some of the questions were quite similar, it gave the subject a chance to take a little more time to think if he so desired. It also tended to take less time and to be less boring than having the interviewer read them all especially since there were quite a few questions in the participation section with each having several choices of answers. In some cases, however, the questions were read to the subjects. A few requested it. For others the interviewer read the questions because she was quite sure the subjects either could not read or had difficulty reading.

Methods of Data Analysis

This section consists of a description of the various indexes and statistics that were employed in the analysis and interpretation of the data. Beginning with a description of how the various indexes were derived, the section proceeds to a brief description of the various statistical measures that were used in the analysis of the data. It closes with a discussion of the validity of the responses of the businessmen.

Indexes of marginality

Three marginality indexes were used in this research and will be referred to frequently. The first is the index of "perceived marginality to the Black business community." This index was determined from two variables relating to the Black businessman's perceptions of other Black businessmen: 1) the frequency of contact with Black business leaders, 2) the nature of the contact with Black business
leaders. Two questions in the interview dealt with the perceived frequency of contact of Black business leaders and the perceived nature of this contact (see Appendix, questions 27 and 29). Each question was divided into five response choices numbered 1-5. The low numbers represented those responses indicating low perceived marginality, and the high numbers represented the responses indicating high perceived marginality. The index was computed by adding the number of the response choices of the two questions. Each businessman who answered both of these questions was given a score which was his index of perceived marginality to the Black business community. The possible scores ranged from a low of 2, indicating low marginality, to a high of 10, indicating high marginality.

The second index is that of "manifest marginality to the Black business community." This was determined from four variables relating to the Black businessman himself: 1) frequency of contact with Black business leaders, 2) nature of the contact with Black business leaders, 3) amount of influence in the Black business community, 4) amount of acceptance in the Black business community. As with the preceding index, four questions in the interview dealt with these variables (see Appendix, questions 23, 25, 34, and 36). Each question was divided into five response choices numbered 1-5 with the low numbers representing low marginality and the high numbers representing high marginality of the Black businessmen to the Black business community. This index score was computed as on the previous index by adding, for all four questions, the numbers of the response choices. Each businessman who answered the four questions was then given a score which
was his index of manifest marginality. The possible range of index scores was from a low of 4, representing low marginality, to a high of 20, representing high marginality.

The third index is of "perceived marginality to the white business community." This was based on two variables relating to the Black businessmen's perceptions of other Black businessmen: 1) frequency of contact with white businessmen, 2) nature of contact with white businessmen. Two questions dealt with the frequency of contact of Black and white businessmen and the nature of the contact (see Appendix, questions 26 and 28). Each question was divided into five response choices, number 1-5. As with the preceding index, a low score indicated low perceived marginality of Black businessmen to the white business community. A high score indicated high perceived marginality of Black businessmen to the white business community. The index was computed as the others by adding the numbers of the response choices for the questions. This was totaled, and each businessman who answered both questions was given a score which was his index of perceived marginality to the white business community. The possible range of index scores was from 2, representing low perceived marginality, to 10, representing high perceived marginality.

**Index of militancy**

A militancy index was used in this research and will be used in analyzing the data. This index was based on six variables: 1) involvement in local Civil Rights struggles, 2) awareness of the aims of Black action groups, 3) degree of support of Black action groups,
4) feelings on beneficialness of Civil Rights demonstrations, 5) feelings on Civil Disorders, 6) feelings on Black separatism. Six questions were used to assess this dimension (see Appendix, questions 47, 48, 49, 51, 53, and 55). The response choices to the first three variables were on a 5 point scale, with 5 representing a low militant response and 1 indicating a high militant response. The questions of Black separatism and Civil Disorders had only 3 response choices with 1 being high militancy and 3 being low militancy. There were only two responses to the question on Civil Rights demonstrations with 1 being a militant response and 2 a non-militant response (yes, no). The militancy index was computed by adding the response scores for the six questions dealing with the Black businessman's attitudes and actions in relation to militancy. The Black businessman was given a score based on his responses to the questions. The possible index range was from a low of 6, indicating high militancy, to a high of 23, indicating low militancy.

**Public life index**

This index was designed to measure the degree of involvement in community organizations. It was computed from the following factors related to community organizations: 1) membership, 2) attendance, 3) present offices, 4) past offices, 5) committees, 5) special activities (see Appendix, question 19). The public life index for a businessman was figured by assigning values to the degree of participation in each category for each organization. (If a businessman
belonged to no community organizations, he was assigned a score of 0. Businessmen were given 1 point for each community organization of which they were a member. Attendance was broken down into four measures: all meetings, $\frac{3}{4}$ points; most meetings, 1 point; few meetings, $\frac{1}{4}$ point; and no meetings, no points. A businessman was given 1 point for each major office he presently held (President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer), and $\frac{1}{4}$ point for each minor office (all offices except the four previously mentioned). This same point system was used for each major and minor office they had held in the past three years. One point was given for each committee on which the businessman was a member in each organization. If the organization had any special activities, the businessman was scored for his degree of participation in them on the following basis: always participated, $1\frac{1}{4}$ points; participated in most, 1 point; participated in few, $\frac{1}{4}$ point; and no participation, no points. The score for a businessman for each category was totaled, and this became his public life index which is referred to later in this research.

**Business organization index**

This index was designed to measure the degree of participation in business organizations by Black businessmen. As with the public life index, it was determined from the following factors related to business organizations: 1) membership, 2) attendance, 3) present offices, 4) past offices, 5) committees, 6) special activities (see Appendix, question 18). The degree of involvement for each businessman belonging to an organization(s) was figured by assigning values
for each organization. (If a businessman belonged to no business organizations, he was assigned a score of 0.) The same value assignment was used as in the public life index and is as follows:

- **membership:** 1 point each organization
- **attendance at meetings:**
  - all - 1 point
  - most - 1 point
  - few - ½ point
  - none - no point
- **present offices held:**
  - major - 1 point
  - minor - ½ point
- **past offices held (3 years):**
  - major - 1 point
  - minor - ½ point
- **committees:** 1 point each
- **participation in special activities:**
  - always participated - 1½ points
  - participated in most - 1 point
  - participated in few - ½ point
  - participated in none - no point

**Business experience index**

This index was designed to measure the amount of experience the Black businessman had in his present type of business. This was compiled by looking at the businessman's past work history (see Appendix, question 16). It required a judgment on the part of the researcher to determine those work experiences that contributed to the Black businessman's knowledge in operating his present business. Looking at the work history, those job experiences that contributed directly to the knowledge needed in the person's present type of business were given two points for each year of participation. This included 2
points for each year of ownership of the present business as well as performing the same work but for someone else. Those jobs that the Black businessman had performed in the same area as his present business but that did not contribute to his experience on how to run and operate a business were given 1 point for each year of participation. The total number of points was totaled for each businessman. This was his business experience index.

**Statistical measures**

Descriptive statistics such as the mean ($X$), median (Md), standard deviation ($\sigma$), and percentages (%) were used extensively in the analysis and interpretation of the data. In addition the chi-square ($X^2$) and the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient ($r$) were used. Using the chi-square was difficult because of the small $N$. To correct for this, Yates' correction was applied to the calculation of all chi-squares. As Walker and Lev state

$$1$$

In small samples the usual computation of $X^2$ gives too large a value, leading to rejection of the hypothesis more often than would the direct computation of probability of factorials. This error can be offset by a procedure commonly known as Yates' correction. . . . if there is only 1 degree of freedom, follow the suggestion . . . given for use of Yates' correction.

The procedure for Yates' correction$$2$$ is to change the frequency in each cell by .5, keeping the marginal totals unchanged and reducing the size of the chi-square.


$$^2$$loc. cit., p. 106.
Problem of validity

The problem of determining the extent to which the answers of the respondents correspond to their actual actions and attitudes is a problem of this research. This is accentuated by several factors. First, there is a tendency on the part of some Black individuals to be distrustful of the motives of white persons asking questions about personal or controversial areas. Some of the Black businessmen stated that they would not answer questions on race or questions of a technical nature about their businesses. Second, to share some of the information with the wrong person might have been embarrassing to the businessman and damaging to his business. Some of the responses, if repeated, would have made known some opinions that might have put the businessman in disfavor with other businessmen, both Black and white. Also, some of the information about the businesses could have been useful to competitors, if made known. Third, there was no basis for evaluating the obtained data. Black businessmen evaluated their colleagues when they named those that they felt had the most frequent and most genuine contacts with Black businessmen and with white businessmen. This was somewhat of a check on the responses of Black businessmen as to the frequency and nature of their contacts with Black businessmen and white businessmen, although certainly not a highly reliable one. The Black businessmen when naming their colleagues, may have been biased or may have based their decisions in relationship to the frequency or genuineness of the contact that they felt they had. Other judgments were not obtainable and would probably have
been biased due to relationships with other businessmen if obtained.

Thus, validity was based upon the determination of face-validity of the researcher. This took the form of the consistency in responses manifested by the subject within the interview. This was based on whether the subject appeared sincere and responded in a consistent fashion during the interview. None of the schedules were rejected because of insincerity or repeated inconsistencies in answers. Several of the businessmen gave answers to a few questions that led the interviewer to doubt their correctness. However, in none of the interviews did this occur throughout the whole interview and in no case did it occur in more than a few questions. The interviewer, even in these cases, was not certain whether this was due to an attempt to falsify answers or an honest attempt to answer the questions based on a lack of knowledge.
CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The first part of this chapter will describe the characteristics of the sample. Descriptive statistics such as means ($\bar{x}$), medians (Md), and percentages (%) are used in this section. The second section tests both the general hypotheses and the sub-hypotheses. Pearson product moment correlation coefficients ($r$) and chi-squares ($\chi^2$) are used in this analysis. The third section of this chapter gives a brief profile of the three most marginal Black businessmen and the three least marginal Black businessmen.

Descriptive Characteristics of Sample

By examining some of the general characteristics of the businessmen and of the businesses which comprise the sample, it may be possible to obtain a better knowledge of the people and the businesses which are the object of this study. This may be helpful later in understanding the relationships among variables and the factors that influence these relationships.

Sex, age

Both sexes were represented in the sample with 70% of the businessmen being male and 30% being female. The age range for male and female business owners combined was from 26 to 59 years with the mean being 41.3 years and the median being 42.5 years. However, dividing
the businessmen according to sex produced some differences in relation to age. The range of ages for males was from 26 to 59 years with the median age being 39 years and the mean age being 39.3 years. With the females, the age range was from 28 to 57 years with the median age being 45 years and the mean age being 44.9 years. Thus, the females had a slightly shorter age range and tended to have an average age about 5 years older than that of the males.

Marital status and children

Examining marital status, 83.3% of the businessmen were married, 6.7% were separated from their spouses, and 6.7% were widowed. Only one businessman was single. None of the businessmen were divorced.

The number of children of these businessmen ranged from 0 to 8 with the mean number being 2.8. Female owners had a range from 0 to 4 children with a mean of 2.2 children. With male businessmen, the range for the number of children was from 0 to 8; and the mean was 3 children. Thus, males on the average had slightly more children than the females that were in business.

Religion

In regard to religious affiliation, the Black businessmen seemed to be a fairly homogeneous group. The religious preference of 96.7% of the businessmen was Protestant, with one being atheist. Of those businessmen that were Protestant, approximately three-fourths, 75.9%, declared themselves to be of the Baptist denomination. The breakdown of the remaining businessmen was as follows: 10.3% Methodist, 3.4%
Apostolic, and 3.4% Church of God. Also, of those described as Protestant, 6.9% had no specific denomination with which they considered themselves affiliated.

Of the churches attended by Black businessmen, three churches, which were Baptist, had a majority (56.7%) of the attendance of the businessmen. The remaining businessmen attended various churches in the area with no other churches having any concentration. Of those businessmen that attended church, 77.8% stated that they were church members, and 22.2% stated that they were non-members. The length of time which the businessmen had attended their present church varied from 6 months to 31 years with the mean being 12 years.

The frequency of church attendance of these businessmen varied greatly. In looking at the businessmen as a group, 36.7% attended church 3-4 times a month and 26.7% attended 1-2 times a month. The other 36.7% attended less than once a month or not at all. Of those that attended church monthly, the median attendance was 3 times and the mean was 2.7 times a month. Dividing the group into males and females points out several differences between the two groups. Of the males, 28.5% attended church 3-4 times a month in comparison to 55.5% of the females. While 47.6% of the males attended church less than once a month or not at all, only 11.1% of the females were in this category. For the males that attended church, 54.6% attended 3-4 times a month in relation to 62.5% of the females. For the males that attended monthly, the average church attendance was 2.9 times a month. Thus, the females seem to attend church a little more often than the males.
The majority of Black businessmen attended churches where they came into contact only with other Black persons, with 25.9% of the businessmen attending churches that had an all-Black membership and 55.6% attending churches that had a predominately Black membership. Eleven percent attended churches that the businessmen considered to have a well-integrated membership. Only 7.4% of the businessmen attended churches with predominately white or all-white memberships.

**Education**

Education is considered to be valuable in any occupation and is a factor that is a constant source of interest. The range of completed years of education for the Black businessmen under study was quite broad with the lowest level being 4th grade and the highest being 3 years of college. Those that graduated from high school totaled 36.7% of the group. Of those completing high school, 6 (20%) went to college. The mean number of years of education completed was 10.5 years.

Separating the males from the females according to education produced some differences. The range for the number of completed years of education for the males was from 4 years to 15 years with the mean being 10.5 years. These statistics were the same as for the group as a whole. The range for females was from 8 to 14 years with the mean being 10.7 years. However, 41.9% of the males graduated from high school in comparison to only 22.2% of the females.

The age at which these businessmen last participated in formal education ranged from 12 to 30 years of age with the mean being 18.4 years and the median being 17.5 years. The age range for males was
the same as that for the whole group as was the mean. However, the
median increased slightly to 18 years. The females had a range of
15 to 25 years of age with the median being 17 years of age and mean
being 18.3 years. Thus, comparing the mean, there was little differ­
ence in the age of last school participation for males and females.
However, the ranges and medians did differ slightly.

**Special training or courses**

Special training or courses are required before a person is allowed
to enter some businesses while in other businesses they are strongly
suggested. Of the group as a whole, 66.7% had some kind of special
training or courses. Separating the men from the women owners, 75.2%
of the men had special training or courses in comparison to 88.9%
of the women. The type of training engaged in by these persons varied
greatly with some taking more than one kind. The largest number of
businessmen participated in beauty school (40%), barber school (20%),
and business courses (20%). Other types of training and courses tended
to be highly diversified with no concentration of businessmen in any
one area.

The length of time these businessmen participated in special
training or courses, some of which were attended part-time, ranged
from two weeks to 10 years with the mean being 1.8 years and the
median being 1 year. The range and median for the men was the same
as that for the whole group, but the mean increased to 2.2 years. The
range of time for special training and courses for women was from 6
weeks to 2 years. The median was 1 year, and the mean was 1.1 years.
Of those taking specialized training or courses, 90% received a certificate or diploma stating that they had met the requirements and had completed the course. A few businessmen completed more than one course. All of the women and 83.3% of the men received certificates.

Length of residence in community

Some of the Black businessmen were relatively new residents to the community while others had lived in _______ all of their lives. The range was from 4 years to 42 years, and the mean was 20.3 years. The range for the men was the same as that of the whole group, but the mean increased to 22.1 years. The women tended to have lived in the community for a shorter period of time. The range for women was from 5 to 26 years, and the mean dropped to 16.2 years or about 6 years less than that for men.

Type of business

The types of businesses making up the sample were quite varied with a wide range of services and products being offered. Table 1 shows the various types of businesses as well as the percentage of each type composing the sample.  

As seen from Table 1, the sample represented a wide range of businesses and had no large concentration in any one area. The areas of slight concentration were indicative of the higher concentration of these services offered by Black businessmen as a whole.

---

1 The N is 37 due to the fact that some businessmen owned more than one type of business.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Business</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>% of Businesses in Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beauty shop</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber shop</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car repair</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocktail lounge</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery store</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Record store</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service station</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoe shine parlor</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upholstery store</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car sales</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car wash</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry cleaning</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial equipment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pool hall</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubbish removal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoe repair</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Business ownership

All of the businessmen in the sample owned their own businesses, and several businessmen owned more than one business. None of the businessmen in the sample were managers of businesses. The length
of time these businessmen had owned their businesses ranged from 3 weeks to 24 years with the median being 3.5 years and the mean being 5.8 years in business. Separating the male from the female owners points out some differences in length of time in business. The men had the same range for length of time for business ownership as the group as a whole. However, the median number of years of business ownership for men was 3 years, and the mean was 6.6 years in business. The range for women owners was from 2 months to 11 years. The median of years of business ownership was 4 years, and the mean was 4 years also. Thus, the women owners had a shorter range of years in business than the men. They also averaged fewer years of business ownership than the men.

**Reasons for starting own business**

The reasons business owners gave as to how they got started in their businesses varied considerably. Responses tended to fall into two general areas: the motivational objectives or the reasons given for starting their businesses and the mechanics or how they started their businesses.

In examining the motivational objectives, many businessmen stated that they had a desire to be independent (40%). Other reasons frequently given by businessmen were the following: a perceived need in the community (16.7%), a suggestion by someone else (16.7%), a desire for a "better life with more money" (13.3%). Various other answers were given, but none by more than a single businessman.

Analyzing the mechanics of business, businessmen stated that they
had either obtained a loan (33.3%) or had started their businesses from their own funds (30%). No other answers were as frequently given.

Dividing the motivational objectives and the mechanics of business into separate divisions for men and women points out some differences as well as some similarities. In the motivational objectives, the same percentage of both men and women desired to be independent (33.3%). However, more men (28.6%) than women (11.1%) started a business because they perceived a need in the community for the business. More women (22.2%) than men (9%) stated as a reason for entering business that they wanted a "better life and more money." However, more men (19%) than women (11.1%) started a business because of a suggestion by someone else. Looking at the mechanics of business, more women (44.4%) started businesses from their own funds than men (19%). However, women obtained loans to start their businesses more often than men (44.4% to 33.3%).

Size of business

The sizes of businesses as measured by gross annual income varied considerably. A couple of the businesses were part-time\(^1\) which may have slightly influenced the variations in income. Of those that responded to this question (26), the range of gross annual income was from $3,000 to $240,000. The median income was $26,000 and the mean income was $54,908.

\(^1\)Two businesses of the sample were considered part-time businesses. With one, the owner could only work half days because of health restrictions. In the other business, the owner held another job during the day and worked at his business in the evening.
Clientele

The composition of the clientele varied from those businesses that had an all-Black clientele (9.7%) to those that had an all non-Black clientele (6.5%). Most of the Black businesses did at least some business with other races. The clientele of 38.7% of the businesses was at least 80% Blacks, and 22.6% of the businesses had a clientele that was from 40%-80% Blacks. The clientele of 16.1% of the businesses was from 20%-40% Blacks and of 6.5% of the businesses was less than 20% Blacks.

Organizational memberships

Organizational memberships were divided into three types: business, community, and private. Forty percent of the business owners belonged either to a local, state, or national business organization. Of the men, 42.9% were members of business organizations, and 33.3% of the women belonged to a business organization of some kind. Of the persons that belonged to business organizations, the majority (66.7%) belonged to only one organization. In looking at community organizations, 36.7% of the total sample of businessmen stated that they were members of community organizations. Breaking this down, 42.9% of the men belonged to community organizations and only 22.2% of the women. Of those that belonged to community organizations, 72.7% belonged to only one organization. Only 26.7% of the total sample of businessmen belonged to any private organizations. Twenty-eight and six-tenths percent of the men were members of private organizations, and 22.2% of the women were members. Of those businessmen
belonging to private organizations, 50% belonged to one organization; and 50% belonged to two organizations.

Testing of Hypotheses

This next section will present the hypotheses and the findings relevant to them. Possible explanations for some of the results will also be discussed.

Perceived marginality to Black business community

General Hypothesis 1 states that Black business leaders perceive varying degrees of marginality among Black business leaders within the Black business community. This hypothesis was supported by the research. Of those Black businessmen on which an index of perceived marginality to the Black business community could be computed (N=27), the scores ranged from a low of 2 to a high of 9 (out of a possible range of 2-10). The mean for the index was 5.1 and the median was 5. The standard deviation was 1.89. The marginality scores had a wide range indicating various degrees of marginality. The mean and median point out a slight tendency toward the lower scores indicating that the businessmen tend to perceive other Black businessmen as having low marginality to the Black business community. The standard deviation shows a fairly wide dispersion of scores around the mean. Thus, the scores indicate that Black businessmen perceive varying degrees of marginality among other Black businessmen in the Black business community.

Looking more closely at the two variables making up the index--
perceived frequency of contact with Black businessmen and perceived nature of contact with Black businessmen—the degrees of perceived marginality are more evident. Table 2 shows the responses of perceived frequency of contact and Table 3 shows the responses of perceived nature of contact. Combining the perceived frequency of contact and the perceived nature of contact produces the results in Table 4.

**TABLE 2**

Perceived Frequency of Contact of Black Businessmen with Other Black Businessmen (N=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of Contact</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very frequent, frequent</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely, never</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 3**

Perceived Nature of Contact of Black Businessmen with Other Black Businessmen (N=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Contact</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very genuine, fairly genuine</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>53.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat genuine</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally superficial, very superficial</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 4

Relationship of Perceived Frequency of Contact and Perceived Nature of Contact of Black Businessmen with Other Black Businessmen (N=27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perceived frequency of contact</th>
<th>Perceived Nature of Contact</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Very genuine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fairly genuine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Generally superficial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very frequent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequent</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As illustrated by the tables, Black businessmen perceive other Black businessmen as having varying degrees of marginality in the Black business community. There was no one marginality score for all Black businessmen. The hypothesis was supported.

Manifest marginality to Black business community

General Hypothesis 2 proposes that Black business leaders manifest varying degrees of marginality among Black business leaders within the Black business community. This hypothesis is concerned with the actual marginality of Black businessmen to the Black business community. This hypothesis was also supported by the data. The scores (N=29) in the index of manifest marginality in the Black business community range from a low of 4 to a high of 16 (possible range 4-20). The mean was
9.7 and the median 9. The standard deviation was 2.78 which indicates a large deviation of scores from the mean. Thus, Black businessmen manifest varying degrees of marginality as indicated by the range of scores.

A closer inspection of the responses to the four questions making up the manifest marginality index—frequency of contact with Black businessmen, nature of contact with Black businessmen, acceptance by Black business community, influence by Black business community—further illustrates the various degrees of marginality of Black businessmen. Table 5 shows the frequency of contact of Black businessmen with other Black businessmen, and Table 6 shows the nature of the contact that Black businessmen have with other Black businessmen.

**TABLE 5**

Frequency of Contact of Black Businessmen with Other Black Businessmen
(N=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of Contact</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very frequent, frequent</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely, never</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 6
Nature of Contact of Black Businessmen with Other Black Businessmen (N=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Contact</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very genuine, fairly genuine</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat genuine</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally superficial, very superficial</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The amount of acceptance by the Black business community varied also as shown by Table 7. Black businessmen exerted varying degrees of influence in the Black business community. Table 8 reveals this variability.

TABLE 7
Amount of Acceptance of Black Businessmen by the Black Business Community (N=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amount of Acceptance</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Complete, much</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>63.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little, none</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An examination of the data in the above tables indicates that a wide range of responses regarding degrees of marginality exists in the Black business community. Thus, the hypothesis that Black businessmen manifest varying degrees of marginality to the Black business community is supported.

**Perceived marginality to white business community**

General Hypothesis 3 states that Black business leaders perceive varying degrees of marginality of Black business leaders to the white business community. This hypothesis was supported by the data. The index of perceived marginality to the white business community for those businessmen responding to the question (N=27) ranged from a low of 2 to a high of 10. The index mean was 5.5 as was the median. The standard deviation was 1.97 which indicates a fairly wide dispersion of scores around the mean. Thus, the index scores had a wide range—from the lower limit to the upper limit of the index range. Therefore, the wide range of scores in the marginality index supports the
hypothesis that Black businessmen perceive varying degrees of marginality of Black business leaders to the white business community.

The responses on the questions making up the marginality index illustrate the varying degrees of perceived marginality of Black businessmen in the white business community. The responses of the perceived frequency of contact of Black businessmen with white businessmen are found in Table 9. The responses to the perceived nature of contact of Black businessmen with white businessmen are in Table 10.

**TABLE 9**

Perceived Frequency of Contact of Black Businessmen with White Businessmen (N=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of Contact</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very frequent, frequent</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occasional</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarely, never</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 10**

Perceived Nature of Contact of Black Businessmen with White Businessmen (N=30)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Contact</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very genuine, fairly genuine</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat genuine</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Generally superficial, very superficial</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to the data in Tables 9 and 10, various degrees of perceived marginality do exist among Black businessmen as measured by a wide range of responses. Therefore, the hypothesis that Black businessmen perceive varying degrees of marginality to the white business community is supported.

**Age and perceived marginality**

Sub-hypothesis 1a states that there is an inverse relationship between the age of the Black businessman and his perceived marginality to the white business community. To test this hypothesis, a Pearson coefficient of correlation was computed between the age of the businessman and his index of perceived marginality to the white business community. The computation yielded a correlation of \(-.20\) \((r)\). Although the relationship was in the predicted direction, the correlation was not high enough to be significant. Therefore, the hypothesis was not supported.

In examining the data, the age group with the largest percentage having both the most frequent contact and the most genuine contact of Black businessmen with white businessmen is the 40-49 category rather than in the oldest category (50-59) as predicted. With perceived nature of contact with white businessmen, the percentage of businessmen perceiving a high degree of genuineness of contact increases until age 49, then decreases in the 50-59 age group. No trend was seen with age and perceived frequency of contact.
Age and manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 1b states that there is an inverse relationship between the age of the Black businessman and his manifest marginality to the Black business community. A Pearson coefficient of correlation was computed with age and the index of manifest marginality. The correlation was \( r = .12 \) which is not significant. The hypothesis was not supported.

In analyzing the data, no significant trends were noted. The responses were varied and no particular patterns or concentrations emerged.

Sex and perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 2a states that the perceived marginality to the white business community is greater among female Black business leaders than among male Black business leaders. To test this, a chi-square was computed with the result being .91. At the .05 level, this was not large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis. Therefore, this indicates that there was no difference between male and female Black business leaders in respect to perceived marginality to the white business community.

The responses to the questions composing the index of perceived marginality to the white business community revealed little difference between the male and female businessmen. If there was any

\[1\] Yates’ correction factor was used for small sample size (27). See Chapter II, page 46.
differences at all, it was that the females had slightly less perceived marginality. However, this difference was not large enough to be significant.

Sex and manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 2b proposes that the manifest marginality to the Black business community is greater among female Black business leaders than among male Black business leaders. The chi-square, using Yates' correction, was .58. At the .05 level, this was not large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis. Therefore, this indicates that there was no difference between male and female Black business leaders in respect to manifest marginality to the Black business community.

In examining the data, there were slight differences in the responses of the males and the responses of the females. For example, the males had more frequent contacts with Black businessmen than the females; but the females tended to have more genuine contacts. The males had more influence in the Black business community. However, both male and female Black business leaders had about equal degrees of acceptance by the Black business community.

Militancy and perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 3a states that there is a direct relationship between the militancy of the Black businessman and his perceived marginality to the white business community. A Pearson $r (.33)$ was computed between the militancy index of each businessman and his index.
of perceived marginality to the white business community. This correlation was in the hypothesized direction, but was not large enough to be significant. Thus, this hypothesis was not supported. Examining the relationship between militancy and the responses to the marginality questions, no significant trends were evident.

**Militancy and manifest marginality**

Sub-hypothesis 3b states that there is a direct relationship between the militancy of the Black businessman and his manifest marginality to the Black business community. To test this hypothesis, a Pearson $r$ was computed between the militancy index of each businessman and his index of manifest marginality to the Black business community. The correlation was .26 which was in the hypothesized direction. However, it was not large enough to be significant. The hypothesis was not supported. As in sub-hypothesis 3a, no trends were evident in an analysis of the data.

**Racial composition of church and perceived marginality**

Sub-hypothesis 4a states that if a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church, his perceived marginality to the white business community is greater than if he attends a white-oriented church. A chi-square, using Yates' correction, was 2.93. At the .05 level, this was significant. The sub-hypothesis can be accepted. It can be asserted that racial orientation of church has a high association with perceived marginality to the white business community for the Black
Racial composition of church and manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 4b states that if a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church, his manifest marginality to the Black business community is less than if he attends a white-oriented church. The chi-square, using Yates' correction, was 3.96. At the .05 level, this is significant. Therefore, the sub-hypothesis can be accepted. Racial orientation of church has a high association with manifest marginality to the Black business community for the Black businessman.

Education and perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 5a states that the higher the formal education of the Black business leader, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community. Correlating education and the index of perceived marginality to the white business community, the result was .23 (r). This does not support the hypothesis but indicates a possible direct relationship rather than an inverse one. However, it was not high enough to be significant. The data show a fairly even distribution of responses for the different educational categories.

Education and manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 5b proposes that the higher the formal education of the Black business leader, the less is his manifest marginality to the
Black business community. The Pearson coefficient of correlation between education and the index of manifest marginality was -.27. This was in the hypothesized direction, but it was not large enough to be significant. Thus, the hypothesized relationship between education and manifest marginality in the Black business community was not supported.

Examining the relationship between education and the responses to the marginality questions, no significant trends are evident. However, there does seem to be a tendency for those in the group with the most education to have a large number of low marginality responses. This trend does not follow through in that there was not a consistent decrease in marginality with an accompanying increase of education.

**Time in business and perceived marginality**

Sub-hypothesis 6a states that there is an inverse relationship between the length of time the Black business leader has been in business in the community and his perceived marginality to the white business community. The coefficient of correlation for the amount of time in business and the index of perceived marginality was .002 ($r$). This indicates that the hypothesis is not supported and that the length of time in business has no apparent relationship to the perceived marginality to the white business community.

The data reveal no conclusive trends. However, with the perceived frequency of contact of Black businessmen with white businessmen, those having frequent or very frequent contacts increase with
years in business up to 5 years and then slowly decrease. Table 11 shows this relationship.

**TABLE 11**

Length of Time in Business and Perceived Frequency of Contact of Black Businessmen with White Businessmen (N=32)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in Business</th>
<th>Very frequent</th>
<th>Frequent</th>
<th>Occasional</th>
<th>Rarely Never</th>
<th>No Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 1</td>
<td>2  28.0</td>
<td>4  57.2</td>
<td>1  14.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>2  33.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3  50.0</td>
<td>1  16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>3  42.9</td>
<td>4  57.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>2  33.3</td>
<td>1  16.7</td>
<td>2  33.4</td>
<td>1  16.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-24</td>
<td>1  16.7</td>
<td>3  50.0</td>
<td>1  16.7</td>
<td>1  16.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding the perceived nature of contact, two categories (1-2 years and 6-10 years) in business have the highest percentage of businessmen who perceive other Black businessmen as having genuine or very genuine contacts with other businessmen. Table 12 reveals this.
TABLE 12
Length of Time in Business and Perceived Nature of Contact of Black Businessmen with White Businessmen (N=32)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years in business</th>
<th>Very genuine Genuine</th>
<th>Somewhat genuine</th>
<th>Generally superficial, Very superficial</th>
<th>No response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 1</td>
<td>3 42.9</td>
<td>2 28.6</td>
<td>2 28.6</td>
<td>- 16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>5 83.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5</td>
<td>3 42.9</td>
<td>2 28.6</td>
<td>2 28.6</td>
<td>- 16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>4 66.7</td>
<td>1 16.7</td>
<td>1 16.7</td>
<td>- 16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-24</td>
<td>2 33.3</td>
<td>1 16.7</td>
<td>2 33.3</td>
<td>1 16.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time in business and manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 6b states that there is an inverse relationship between the length of time the Black business leader has been in business in the community and his manifest marginality to the Black business community. In correlating the time in business and the index of manifest marginality, the correlation coefficient was .42 (r). This reveals a tendency toward a direct correlation rather than an inverse one. However, this correlation was not high enough to be significant. Since the correlation does not substantiate that increased time in business produces less marginality to the Black business community, this hypothesis was not supported.

Examining the relationship between the marginality responses and
length of time in business, no significant trends are evident except in frequency of contact. Here, the businessmen at the extreme ends, those with least and most time in business, have the less frequent contacts.

Location of business and perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 7a proposes that the closer the Black business is located to a major business center, the less is the perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white business community. The chi-square, using Yates' correction, was .60. This is not significant, and the sub-hypothesis cannot be accepted. The location of the Black businessman to a major business center is not related to perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white businessman.

An analysis of the data indicates that the location of the business has little effect on perceptions of the frequency of contact of Black businessmen with white businessmen. The businessmen all tend to have a rather low estimate of the amount of contact that Black businessmen have with white businessmen.

Location of business and manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 7b states that the closer the Black business is located to a major business center, the greater is the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community. The chi-square, again using Yates' correction, was .31. This is not significant at the .05 level, and the sub-hypothesis cannot be accepted.
Therefore, this indicates that the location of the Black business to a major business center is not related to the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community.

The owners of those businesses located at the extremes, those closest to the main business centers and those furthest away, responded to the questions on contact with Black businessmen and amount of influence in the Black business community with more marginal responses than those businessmen with businesses located in other locations. The Black businesses located close to the major business centers had the most genuine contacts with Black businessmen while those furthest away from the major business centers had the most acceptance.

Business organizational membership and perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 8a states that the more a Black businessman actually participates in business organizations, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community. To test the hypothesis, the business organization index was correlated with the index of perceived marginality in the white business community. The coefficient of correlation was .30 ($r$). This correlation does not support the hypothesis but indicates a tendency for a direct relationship rather than an inverse relationship. However, the correlation was not large enough to support the assumption of a direct relationship.

The data show that perceived frequency of contact increases with the amount of participation in business organizations until the highest
category where the perceived frequency of contact decreases. One explanation may be that those businessmen with greater participation in business organizations may associate more in these organizations with white businessmen. Because of their frequent contact, they may expect other Black businessmen to have a large amount of contact with white businessmen. Those Black businessmen who have the greatest degree of participation in business organizations are in the minority. Because they are such a small group, they might tend to see others as participating less in business organizations. They might also feel that if others participate in business organizations less, then they are missing an opportunity to meet white businessmen. Thus, these Black businessmen may believe that other Black businessmen, if they do not meet white businessmen in the business organizations, may not be meeting them in other situations.

In analyzing the perceived nature of the contact, as Black businessmen have more participation in business organizations, they tend to see other Black businessmen as having very genuine or fairly genuine contacts with white businessmen. This tends to support the hypothesis at least in degree of genuineness.

**Business organizational membership and manifest marginality**

Sub-hypothesis 8b proposes that the more a Black businessman actively participates in business organizations, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community. The correlation for the index of business participation and the index of manifest marginality was \( -0.01 (r) \). This suggests that there is no relationship...
between the degree of participation in business organizations and the Black businessman's marginality to the Black business community. This hypothesis was not supported.

Examining the data, some factors seem to be evident. Those businessmen that have the most frequent contacts with Black businessmen are the ones that have the lowest index scores for participation in business organizations. This may indicate that Black businessmen are meeting elsewhere than in business organizations. However, those businessmen that have the most frequent contacts with Black businessmen at business organizations have the least genuine contacts as compared with other Black businessmen with fewer contacts. Thus, although Black businessmen may have less contact with each other at business organizations, the contact they do have may be more genuine. Those businessmen with the largest participation index have the most influence in the Black business community but are not accepted more than those with low participation.

**Business experience and perceived marginality**

Sub-hypothesis 9a proposes that there is an inverse relationship between the amount of business experience of the Black business leader and his perceived marginality to the white business community. The business experience of the businessman was correlated with the index of perceived marginality to the white business community. The correlation was \(-.15\) (r). Although this was in the hypothesized direction, it was not high enough to indicate a relationship. The hypothesis was not supported by the data. In analyzing the data, no significant
trends were evident.

**Business experience and manifest marginality**

Sub-hypothesis 9b states that there is an inverse relationship between the amount of business experience of the Black business leader and his manifest marginality to the Black business community. The business experience index of the businessmen and the index of manifest marginality were correlated. The Pearson coefficient of correlation came to .37. This correlation is not in the hypothesized direction and is not large enough to have statistical significance. Therefore, the hypothesis cannot be accepted.

In examining the data for this hypothesis, no significant trends were evident. The responses were varied and no category seemed to have a concentration.

**Upkeep of facilities and perceived and manifest marginality**

Sub-hypothesis 10a proposes that if the facilities of the Black businessman are in poor upkeep, the Black businessman has more perceived marginality to the white business community. Sub-hypothesis 10b states that if the facilities of the Black business are in poor upkeep, the Black businessman has more manifest marginality to the Black business community. These hypotheses could not be accurately tested. In conducting the research, it was found that 1) the items designed to evaluate the facilities of the Black businessman did not effectively differentiate, 2) there was little difference between
businesses in respect to upkeep, 3) with the many different types of businesses, it was impossible to effectively compare them with regard to upkeep of facilities. Comparing an automotive body shop to a restaurant was impossible or required a much more rigorous evaluation than that of this research. This study was not designed to inspect each business as carefully as would have been necessary to make a comparison. It can be said that the businesses were generally in good upkeep, and there was not much difference between them of an obvious nature to allow for any differentiation.

Residence in community and perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 11a proposes that the longer the Black businessman has resided in the community, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community. Correlating length of residence and the index of perceived marginality to the white business community, the resulting Pearson $r$ was -.03. This indicates that there is no relationship between length of residence and perceived marginality to the white business community. Thus, the hypothesis was not supported.

The data do not indicate any trends as responses are fairly irregular. However, the businessmen with the greatest number of years of residence in the community tend to demonstrate more perceived marginality in their answers. This is contrary to what was hypothesized and indicates that other factors may be influential here. For example, these may be the older businessmen who do not care to become involved with other businessmen but are only interested in keeping
their status quo. These businessmen may tend to see others in the same way.

Residence in community and manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 11b states that the longer the Black businessman has resided in the community, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community. The correlation between years in the community and the index of manifest marginality to the Black business community was \(-.06 (r)\). This indicates the absence of any relationship, and the hypothesis was not supported.

The data produce no significant trends with any of the variables making up the marginality index. There was a slight tendency for influence in the Black business community to increase with years of residence, but it was not a distinctive trend. Those businessmen with the fewest years of residence (4-10) also have less frequent contact. However, their contact seems to be more genuine than that of the businessmen in the category of longest residence (26-47). Those with the most years in the community also have slightly less acceptance. The Black businessmen with more years of residence may know the sources of power and influence but may have ideas that are not accepted by the younger businessmen or those newer to the community.

Participation in public life and perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 12a proposes that the more the Black businessman
participates in the public life of the community, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community. A correlation between the public life index and the index of perceived marginality to the white business community was computed and the result was -.43 (r). This correlation is in the hypothesized direction, but it is not large enough to be significant. Thus, the hypothesis cannot be accepted.

**Participation in public life and manifest marginality**

Sub-hypothesis 12b states that the more the Black businessman participates in the public life of the community, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community. The correlation for the public life index and the index of manifest marginality was -.44 (r). This correlation was in the hypothesized direction, but it was not high enough to be significant. Therefore, this hypothesis was not supported.

In examining the data, the Black businessmen who participate in public activities tend to have more frequent contact with other Black businessmen; and this contact seems to be more genuine than those with less participation. They also have a tendency to be more accepted and to have more influence in the Black business community. However, the small number of businessmen prevents making any generalizations. Although they seem to be less marginal, this is not always evident in all categories.
Exclusivity of white clientele and perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 13a states that the greater the exclusivity of white clientele by the Black businessman, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community. The chi-square, using Yates' correction for 1 degree of freedom, is 4.09. At the .05 level this is significant so the sub-hypothesis can be accepted. Exclusivity of white clientele by the Black businessman has a high association with perceived marginality to the white business community.

Exclusivity of Black clientele and manifest marginality

Sub-hypothesis 13b states that the greater the exclusivity of Black clientele by the Black businessman, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community. The chi-square, again using Yates' correction, was 3.23. At the .05 level, this is significant. The sub-hypothesis can be accepted. Exclusivity of Black clientele by the Black businessman has a high association with manifest marginality to the Black business community.

Business size and perceived marginality

Sub-hypothesis 14a states that the larger the size of the business, the less is the perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white business community. The business size was measured by the gross annual income of the business. This gross annual income was correlated with the index of perceived marginality to the white business community.
business community. The Pearson $r$ was .12. This does not support the hypothesis. The data show no really significant trends. However, with nature of contact, those at the extremes—those with lowest income and those with highest income—have the least marginal responses.

**Business size and manifest marginality**

Sub-hypothesis 14b proposes that the larger the size of the business, the less is the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community. The correlation between business size—represented by gross annual income—and the manifest marginality index was -.09 ($r$). This does not indicate a relationship. Thus, business size and manifest marginality are not related and the hypothesis was not supported.

In examining the data, those businessmen with the highest income have the most frequent contact with other Black businessmen. However, the nature of their contacts is less genuine than those with lower income. The businessmen with the least income have the most genuine contacts. The businessmen at the extreme ends—those with the lowest and highest income—have the most acceptance by the Black business community. With amount of influence, those businessmen in the two highest categories of income ($40,000-$99,000 and $100,000+) have much more influence in the Black business community. Thus, it is the businessmen with either the highest or the lowest gross annual income that have the most extreme marginality responses.
Profile of Least and Most Marginal Black Businessmen

A comparison was made of the three Black businessmen with the least manifest marginality and the three Black businessmen with the most manifest marginality to determine if there was any difference between them in relation to the variables in several of the sub-hypotheses. This was done in order to see if the responses of those businessmen at the extreme ends of the manifest marginality scale would support the sub-hypotheses. If they did, this would point out that those businessmen in the middle range of scores were clouding the relationships of the variables to manifest marginality and were preventing significant correlations.

The three most marginal Black businessmen had manifest marginality scores of 16, 16, and 14. The three least marginal Black businessmen had manifest marginality scores of 4, 5, and 6. It was interesting that none of the least marginal businessmen had been often named by other Black businessmen as having frequent and genuine contacts with Black businessmen and/or white businessmen (see Appendix, questions 38, 39, 40, 41). This indicates that those businessmen who are seen by other businessmen as being less marginal do not perceive themselves in this way.

Comparing the means of the responses of the least marginal businessmen and the most marginal businessmen for the variables in some of the sub-hypotheses produces the results in Table 13.

Comparing the means of responses of the three least marginal and the three most marginal businessmen produced only three relationships...
TABLE 13
A Comparison of the Means of the Most and Least Marginal Black Businessmen in Relation to Variables of the Sub-hypotheses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors</th>
<th>Most</th>
<th>Least</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age (years)</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Militancy</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (years)</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business organizational membership</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time in business (years)</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business experience</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residence in community (years)</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public life participation</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business size</td>
<td>$8,750</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

that supported the hypotheses. Militancy scores were less for those businessmen with the least marginality. This supports the hypothesized direct relationship of the sub-hypothesis. The mean for the index of public life participation was greater for the least marginal businessmen. This supports the hypothesized inverse relationship between manifest marginality and public life participation. The least marginal businessmen also had larger businesses than the most marginal businessmen which supports the sub-hypotheses.

The least marginal businessmen had a slightly higher mean for education than did the most marginal businessmen, but the difference

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was not large enough to definitely support the hypothesized inverse relationship. The same is true of length of residence in the community where the mean for the least marginal businessmen was higher than that for the most marginal, which was as hypothesized; but it was not large enough to conclusively support the hypothesis.

The other variables compared (age, business organization participation, time in business, and business experience) indicated a relationship to manifest marginality opposite to that hypothesized. The mean age for the least marginal businessmen was slightly lower than the age of the most marginal businessmen. This was not as predicted. The least marginal businessmen had a lower mean for participation in business organizations than the most marginal businessmen which is opposite to the hypothesized relationship. The mean for length of time in business for the least marginal businessmen was much lower than for the most marginal businessmen. This does not support the hypothesized inverse relation of time in business and manifest marginality. The least marginal businessmen also had a much smaller mean for years in business than the most marginal businessmen. This does not support the predicted inverse relationship.

Therefore, this brief profile tends to show that except for three variables (militancy, public life participation, and business size) those businessmen with the least and most manifest marginality do not support the sub-hypotheses any more than does the sample as a whole. Thus, it is not just those Black businessmen with the marginality scores in the middle ranges that keep the sub-hypotheses from being supported; but it is also those Black businessmen that have scores at
the two extremes.
CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The concept of marginality has been of interest to sociologists working in many different areas. The term has been used to apply to cultural and racial groups as well as more limited groups such as chiropractors and industrial foremen. In some of this research, marginality was seen as a matter of degree of acceptance which could be influenced by a wide range of factors. This present research attempted to look at the degree of marginality of a rather limited group, Black business leaders, in relation to the Black business community and the white business community. It also proposed to see if certain factors, unquestionably accepted by many sociologists, influenced the position of the Black business leader in his relationship to either the Black business community or the white business community. These were variables such as age, sex, business experience, education and the other independent variables making up the sub-hypotheses.

Summary of Results of General Hypotheses

To determine whether the Black businessmen evidenced various degrees of marginality to the Black business community and to the white business community, three general hypotheses were stated. These three general hypotheses are as follows:

1. Black business leaders perceive varying degrees of marginality among Black business leaders within the Black business community.
2. Black business leaders manifest varying degrees of marginality among Black business leaders within the Black business community.

3. Black business leaders perceive varying degrees of marginality of Black business leaders to the white business community.

The data supported each of these hypotheses. Black businessmen were found to vary in the amount of perceived marginality to the Black business community, the amount of manifest marginality to the Black business community, and the amount of perceived marginality to the white business community. Some businessmen had low degrees of marginality while others had fairly high degrees of marginality. Thus, the hypotheses were supported and Black businessmen were found to occupy varying degrees of marginality to the Black business community and the white business community.

There was also found to be a degree of relationship between the general hypotheses. There was a slight trend for the two hypotheses pertaining to the Black business community to be related ($r = .49$). Thus, Black businessmen who see others as being marginal will have a tendency to see themselves as marginal to the Black business community. There is some relationship between what a Black businessman perceives and what he manifests in relation to the Black business community. A tendency for the hypotheses pertaining to the Black business community and the white business community to be related was also indicated. The hypotheses on perceived marginality had a tendency toward a direct relationship ($r = .47$). A businessman that perceived Black businessmen as marginal to the Black business community may also see them as marginal to the white business community. Also, manifest marginality to
the Black business community and perceived marginality to the white business community have a tendency to be related ($r^* = .61$). Thus, not only do perceptions of the marginality of Black businessmen to the Black business community and to the white business community tend to be related, but manifest marginality to the Black business community also tends to be related to perceived marginality to the white business community. The trend toward a relationship between the hypothesis referring to the Black business community and that referring to the white business community may indicate that the Black businessman sees a close relationship between the two communities and feels himself to be in the same position in each. Thus, if he feels highly marginal to one he will feel highly marginal to the other. If he perceives Black businessmen as being highly marginal to the Black business community, he will also perceive them as being highly marginal to the white business community.

**Summary of Findings of Sub-Hypotheses**

In examining the sub-hypotheses, many different results were found. The next section will restate the sub-hypotheses and will briefly summarize the findings.

1a. There is an inverse relationship between the age of the Black businessman and his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .20$) was in the hypothesized direction but was not significant.

1b. There is an inverse relationship between the age of the Black businessman and his manifest marginality to the Black business community.
This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .12$) was not significant and, if anything, indicated a slight tendency for a direct relationship.

2a. The perceived marginality to the white business community is greater among female Black business leaders than among male Black business leaders.

This hypothesis was not supported. The chi-square ($X^2 = .91$) was not large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

2b. The manifest marginality to the Black business community is greater among female Black business leaders than among male Black business leaders.

This hypothesis was not supported. The chi-square ($X^2 = .58$) was not large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

3a. There is a direct relationship between the militancy of the Black businessman and his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .33$) was in the hypothesized direction but was not large enough to be significant.

3b. There is a direct relationship between the militancy of the Black businessman and his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .26$) was in the hypothesized direction but was not significant.

4a. If a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church, his perceived marginality to the white business community is greater than if he attends a white-oriented church.

This hypothesis was supported. The chi-square ($X^2 = 2.93$) was large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

4b. If a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church, his manifest marginality to the Black business community is less than if he attends a white-oriented church.
This hypothesis was supported. The chi-square ($X^2 = 3.96$) was large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

5a. The higher the formal education of the Black business leader, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .23$) indicates a possible direct relationship rather than an inverse one.

5b. The higher the formal education of the Black business leader, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = -.27$) was in the hypothesized direction but was not significant.

6a. There is an inverse relationship between the length of time the Black business leader has been in business in the community and his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .002$) indicated no relationship.

6b. There is an inverse relationship between the length of time the Black business leader has been in business in the community and his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .42$) indicated a tendency for a direct relationship.

7a. The closer the Black businessman is located to a major business center, the smaller is the perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The chi-square ($X^2 = .60$) was not large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

7b. The closer the Black businessman is located to a major business center, the greater is the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The chi-square ($X^2 = .31$) was
not large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

8a. The more a Black businessman actively participates in business organizations, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .30$) was not significant. There was a trend toward a direct rather than an inverse relationship.

8b. The more a Black businessman actively participates in business organizations, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .01$) indicated no relationship.

9a. There is an inverse relationship between the amount of business experience of the Black business leader and his perceived marginality to the white business community.

The hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = -.15$) was in the hypothesized direction but was not large enough to be significant.

9b. There is an inverse relationship between the amount of business experience of the Black business leader and his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

The hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .37$) indicated a possible direct relationship rather than an inverse one. However, it was not large enough to be significant.

10a, 10b. These hypotheses could not be tested for reasons stated in Chapter III.

11a. The longer the Black businessman has resided in the community, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = -.03$) indicated no relationship.
11b. The longer the Black businessman has resided in the community, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation (r = .06) indicated no relationship.

12a. The more the Black businessman participates in the public life of the community, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation (r = .43) was in the hypothesized direction but was not large enough to be significant.

12b. The more the Black businessman participates in the public life of the community, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation (r = .44) was in the hypothesized direction but was not large enough to be significant.

13a. The greater the exclusivity of white clientele by the Black businessman, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community.

This hypothesis was supported. The chi-square ($X^2 = 4.09$) was large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

13b. The greater the exclusivity of Black clientele by the Black businessman, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was supported. The chi-square ($X^2 = 3.23$) was large enough to accept the sub-hypothesis at the .05 level.

14a. The larger the size of the business, the less is the perceived marginality of the Black businessman to the white business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation (r = .12) was not as predicted.
14b. The larger the size of the business, the less is the manifest marginality of the Black businessman to the Black business community.

This hypothesis was not supported. The correlation ($r = .09$) was not large enough to be significant.

Therefore, in looking at the results of the data, only two sets of hypotheses were supported. Sub-hypothesis 4a states that if a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church, his perceived marginality to the white business community is greater than if he attends a white-oriented church. Sub-hypothesis 4b states that if a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church, his manifest marginality to the Black business community is less than if he attends a white-oriented church. These hypotheses were supported and indicate that if a Black businessman attends a Negro-oriented church he not only is less marginal to the Black business community but he perceives other businessmen as being more marginal to the white business community. Thus, if a Black businessman attends a church that has an all-Black or a predominately-Black membership, he is much more likely to meet other Black businessmen than white businessmen. This is especially true since 56.7% of the Black businessmen attended the same three churches. He will have contact with Black businessmen in a situation where contacts are more likely to be more genuine than in some business situations. Because of this type of contact, it may influence the acceptance of the businessman by the other Black businessmen. Therefore, he will have less marginality to the Black business community. In contrast, at a Negro-oriented church, the Black businessman's chances of meeting white businessmen are quite small. Hence, he will
tend to perceive other Black businessmen as having little contact. Thus, if they have little contact, they do not have the opportunity for acceptance by white businessmen, at least in this situation. Therefore, Black businessmen tend to perceive other Black businessmen as marginal to the white business community.

Sub-hypothesis 13a states that the greater the exclusivity of white clientele by the Black businessman, the less is his perceived marginality to the white business community. Sub-hypothesis 13b states that the greater the exclusivity of Black clientele by the Black businessman, the less is his manifest marginality to the Black business community. These were supported and indicate that the race of clientele served will influence marginality of the Black businessman. If the Black businessman serves mainly white clientele, he may be more familiar with the white business community. He may have more contact with white businessmen. Since he serves white clientele, he may be accepted and have influence in the white business community. If the Black businessman serves only Black clientele, he may not be as interested in the white business community but may only be interested in Black businessmen who, like himself, serve Black clientele. Thus, he will have more contact with Black businessmen. Because he does not serve mainly white clientele, he may not be as active with white businessmen and may not be well known to them. Instead, he may have more contact with the Black business community and may be accepted by it.

In trying to explain why these hypotheses were not supported by the data, several factors may have to be considered. Black businessmen
may not have accurate perceptions either of their position in the Black business community or of the position of others in the white business community. In conducting the interviews, it was found that some Black businessmen, especially those new to the business world, felt they had much more influence and acceptance in the business community than was perceived as being true by other Black businessmen. Some new Black businessmen who stated in the interview that they were influential in the Black business community were not even known by many other Black businessmen. This may result from an inflated sense of importance due to their new position as businessmen. They feel they have more importance as businessmen in relation to the non-businessmen but may not realize that simply being in business may not give them the elevated sense of importance in the business community that they imagine.

Another factor that may influence the results is the lack of communication among Black businessmen and/or the lack of knowledge about other Black businessmen. Some businessmen interviewed knew only one or two other Black businessmen and had no idea that there were more than just a few Black businessmen in the city. With some of the businessmen they knew, they were not sure where the businesses were located. This lack of knowledge could tend to distort their perceptions about their position and the positions of others in the Black business or the white business community. If a Black businessman has few contacts with others who are not representative of the Black business community, then he will have a distorted perception of the Black business community as a whole. Some of the Black businessmen had no
knowledge of the business organizations in the community or of the projects being undertaken by some of the Black businessmen. Some of these businessmen were so far removed from the mainstream of the business community that they did not realize what was really happening. Some of these businessmen participated so little that in many respects they could barely be called members of the Black business community. This relates to a point made by Liu. Liu stated that "a man can be marginal only if he has attained a degree of integration in two or more groups simultaneously—a degree which in all the groups must be high enough to produce inconsistencies of behavior." It might be questionable whether some of the Black businessmen have a high enough degree of integration in the Black business community to even be marginal.

Other Black businessmen do have contacts with both Black businessmen and white businessmen and have a high degree of influence and acceptance. They may be recognized by other businessmen as leaders in the community. However, these businessmen may not perceive themselves as having the importance that others seem to bestow upon them. These businessmen may feel that, although they have more influence and contact than other Black businessmen, they are still not achieving as much in these areas as they should. The most active persons are the ones who often see the need for more activity in the area while those who are less active have a false sense of importance because they are not aware of such needs.

The number of Black businessmen was too small to sufficiently test

\(^1\)op. cit., p. 390.
the hypotheses regarding their involvement in business organizations and public life. However, it does indicate areas in which Black businessmen are not active. In talking to Black businessmen, many of them stated that they had belonged to some organizations at one time but that their businesses increasingly consumed their time until they were not able to participate.

The lack of verification of the hypotheses may indicate two factors. One, the variables really do not have the influence on the marginality of the Black businessmen as commonly assumed. Two, these variables taken singly do not have an influence but interrelated may be influential. Thus, business experience alone may not influence marginality; but combined with age and education, it may have a great influence. Therefore, it may be that, instead of examining single variables, researchers should be looking for the combination of variables that have the most influence.

In examining the results of the study, it may be that the wrong persons were being designated as marginal in the sense that it may not be the businessmen who are the least active, the least educated, or the least experienced who are the most marginal. On the contrary, it may be those businessmen who, for example, are the most educated, have the most experience, and participate most in organizations, that are the most marginal. As Liu stated in his conclusion in his study of marginal Catholics, "the 'true' marginal Catholic is 'high' in Catholicity and located in the inner sphere of the circle." He goes

\[1\] ibid.
on to say in reference to marginality, "he endeavours to participate more both in parochial activities and in the secular community."

This may be applicable to Black businessmen. The true marginal Black businessman may possess large amounts of business experience, participate in business organizations, have a high level of education, and a high degree of the other variables studied. He may be the one who participates most in the Black business community and in the white business community. If this is true, then the concept of marginality as applied to Black businessmen would need to be studied from a completely different standpoint.

The factors, such as economic status, that Smith found to be important in influencing the marginality of Hawaiian hybrids did not seem to apply to the marginality of Black businessmen. For example, the hypothesis relating economic status—measured by business size—was not supported. The same is true of the variables that Liu found to be important in his study of Southern Catholics. Age, income, and length of residence were not related to the Black businessman's marginality in the manner as hypothesized. However, some of Liu's conclusions seem to apply. As mentioned in the previous section, just as the true marginal Catholic is high in Catholicity so may the true marginal Black businessman possess a high degree of business skills and experience. The factors stressed by Wardwell as influencing the marginality of a social role were not related to the marginality of Black businessmen. The marginality of the Black businessmen, unlike the

\[\text{ibid.}\]
chiropractors, was not influenced by participation in community affairs as few Black businessmen participated in either business or community organizations. Of those who did, this participation had no relationship to degree of marginality. Wray saw the foreman as marginal because he had no influence either in the union or in management. However, this does not seem to apply to Black businessmen as only 10% responded that they had no influence in the Black business community and only 16.7% responded that they had no influence in the white business community. Kerckhoff and McCormick mentioned the influence of others' perceptions in their discussion of marginality. The Black businessmen's perceptions do not seem to be a reliable source from which to determine marginality. Those Black businessmen who were named by others as having frequent and genuine contacts with other Black businessmen—thus being less marginal to the Black business community—were not the ones who had the lowest scores on the index of manifest marginality to the Black business community. Antonovsky noted that the traditional assumptions for the concept of marginality did not seem to be true. In this study, none of the variables commonly assumed to influence marginality did so. Thus, the factors these authors stated as being related to marginality were not found to apply to this study.

Liu's conclusions seem to be relevant in looking at the businessman who is most involved in the business community as being most marginal. However, other aspects may also need to be considered. It is possible that the Black businessman identifies with another group rather than the Black business community or the white business community.
If so, it is his relationship to this group that should be studied. Instead of looking at the Black businessman in his role as a businessman, his relationship to his racial group possibly should be the source of study. Maybe Green, Golovensky, and others are unjustly criticizing Park and Stonequist as using the concept of marginality too broadly. With Black businessmen, possibly it is their identification and acceptance to the Negro race that should be considered. Also, this study did not examine the personality characteristics of the marginal man as did Stonequist. Maybe these characteristics, stressed by Stonequist, are not so easily separated from the status characteristics.

Limitations of Research

The fact that the research was conducted with many businessmen who had been interviewed by various organizations for other research may have influenced the study. Some of the businessmen may have tried to answer the questions with answers they thought were desired based on their experiences with other interviewers. Also, although the interviewer stressed that no organization was conducting the research, it is possible that all the businessmen did not fully believe this. At the same time the interviewing for the present study was being conducted, there were some persons interviewing Black businessmen who claimed to be college students but who were discovered not to be students. The Black businessmen may have learned of this misrepresentation and may have tended to distrust all interviewers.

Other researchers have strongly stressed the use of Black interviewers to interview Black individuals. Although the interviewer did
not feel this influenced responses to any great extent, it is still a factor that needs to be considered. It is possible that some Black businessmen were more suspicious than the interviewer realized.

The small size of the sample, especially with some variables such as business participation and community participation, may have limited the findings in some areas. It is difficult to compare responses with such a small number or a small number of responses in the categories.

Suggestions for Further Research

Replication of this study in a different type of community may indicate whether the results are unique to this community or whether they hold true with other communities. It is possible that the replication of the study in another section of the country may produce different results.

A study of marginality interrelating the variables named in the sub-hypotheses may be valuable and may yield different results. Instead of predicting that a single variable may influence marginality, it would be valuable to predict the influence on marginality of an interrelated set of variables. Thus, instead of looking singly at age, years in business, and education, it may be more realistic to examine the interrelationships of these variables on marginality.

Further study might examine marginality from the standpoint that those businessmen with the most participation in the business community are most marginal. This would be the reverse of this study. A study such as this would indicate whether some of the trends in relationships indicated by some of the data are significant or just
chance occurrences. A study from this standpoint may put the concept of marginality in a different frame of reference than the one used here.

Since most of the variables that were hypothesized in this study to influence marginality did not do so, it would be valuable to investigate other variables to see if some could be found that would influence marginality. To obtain some of these variables, it might be necessary to study in depth Black businessmen and their relationships with other Black businessmen and with white businessmen.
1. Name ____________________________ 2. Date ____________

3. Name of Business _____________________________________________

4. Location ____________________________________________________

5. Sex of Owner ________ 6. Age last Birthday ____________

7. Present Marital Status S _ M _ D _ Sp _ W _ Rm _

8. Number of Children __________

9. Religious preference C _ J _ P _ Other (denomination) ________

10. Name of church presently attending ____________________________

   Member ________ How long attended __________

11. Average church attendance per month __________

12. Please specify the racial composition of your church

   ____ all Black membership  ____ well integrated membership
   ____ predominately Black   ____ predominately White membership
   ____ membership           ____ all White membership

13. Last year of school attended _____

   If college-major __________________
   -degree __________________
   Age when last attended __________

14. Special training or courses ____________________________________

   Length of time attended ________
   Age when attended ____________
   Certificate ____________________

15. How long lived in Kalamazoo Present __________ Past __________

   If past, when __________________

16. Trace briefly your occupational history: (Please specify dates to

   best of knowledge)

17. What is the nature of present business:

   Type of service or product _________________________________
   Number of employees ______
   Positions previously held in present business ____________

   If manage: Is business owned by: Black owner(s) ____
   White owner(s) ____ Corporation ____ Other ______
   How long have you been managing ______

   If own: How long have you owned the business ____________
How did you get started in the business


18. Do you belong to any business organizations or clubs either national, state or local?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State or National:</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Attendance at Meetings</th>
<th>Offices Present</th>
<th>Offices 3 Yrs.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Committees</th>
<th>Special Activities</th>
<th>Participation</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>All, Most, Few, None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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Local:

19. Do you belong to any community organizations?

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Attendance at Meetings</th>
<th>Offices Present</th>
<th>Offices 3 Yrs.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Committees</th>
<th>Special Activities</th>
<th>Participation</th>
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20. Do you belong to any service or private organizations or clubs?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Attendance at Meetings</th>
<th>Offices Present</th>
<th>Offices 3 Yrs.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Committees</th>
<th>Special Activities</th>
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21. Specify the answer that most accurately reflects the composition of your clientele:
   ____ 100% Black           ____ at least 20% Black
   ____ at least 80% Black    ____ less than 20% Black
   ____ at least 60% Black    ____ 100% non-Black
   ____ at least 40% Black

22. Which of the following statements most accurately describes the frequency of contacts which you have had with white businessmen in the last 12 months?
   1. Very frequent (everyday) Comments:
   2. Frequent (several a week)
   3. Occasionally (once a week)
   4. Rarely (once a month)
   5. Never

23. Which of the following statements most accurately describes the frequency of contacts which you have had with Black businessmen in the last 12 months?
   1. Very frequent (everyday) Comments:
   2. Frequent (several a week)
   3. Occasionally (once a week)
   4. Rarely (once a month)
   5. Never

24. Which of the following statements most accurately describes the nature of your contacts with white businessmen in the last 12 months?
   1. Very genuine Comments:
   2. Fairly genuine
   3. Somewhat genuine
   4. Generally superficial
   5. Very superficial

25. Which of the following statements most accurately describes the nature of your contacts with Black businessmen in the last 12 months?
   1. Very genuine Comments:
   2. Fairly genuine
   3. Somewhat genuine
   4. Generally superficial
   5. Very superficial

26. Which of the following statements best describes the frequency of contact which most other Black businessmen have had with white businessmen in the last 12 months—as you see it?
   1. Very frequent contacts Comments:
   2. Frequent contacts
   3. Occasional contacts
   4. Rarely have contact
   5. Never have contact
27. Which of the following statements best describes the frequency of contact which most Black businessmen have had with other Black businessmen in the last 12 months—as you see it?
   1. Very frequent contacts
   2. Frequent contacts
   3. Occasional contacts
   4. Rarely have contact
   5. Never have contact

28. Which of the following statements best describes the nature of the contacts which most Black businessmen have had with white businessmen in the last 12 months—as you see it?
   1. Very genuine
   2. Fairly genuine
   3. Somewhat genuine
   4. Generally superficial
   5. Very superficial

29. Which of the following statements best describes the nature of the contacts which most Black businessmen have had with other Black businessmen in the last 12 months—as you see it?
   1. Very genuine
   2. Fairly genuine
   3. Somewhat genuine
   4. Generally superficial
   5. Very superficial

30. Which of the following statements most accurately describes your feelings on the frequency of your contacts with white businessmen in the last 12 months?
   1. Would like much more contact
   2. Would like a little more contact
   3. Satisfied with amount of contact
   4. Would like less contact
   5. Would like no contact

31. Which of the following statements most accurately describes your feelings on the frequency of your contacts with Black businessmen in the last 12 months?
   1. Would like much more contact
   2. Would like a little more contact
   3. Satisfied with amount of contact
   4. Would like less contact
   5. Would like no contact

32. Which of the following statements most accurately describes your feelings on the nature of your contacts with white businessmen in the last 12 months?
   1. Would like contacts to be much more genuine
   2. Would like contacts to be a little more genuine
   3. Satisfied with nature of contacts
   4. Would like contacts to be more superficial
   5. Would like contacts to be completely superficial
33. Which of the following statements most accurately describes your feelings on the nature of your contacts with Black businessmen in the last 12 months?
   1. Would like contacts to be much more genuine   Comments:
   2. Would like contacts to be a little more genuine
   3. Satisfied with nature of contacts
   4. Would like contacts to be more superficial
   5. Would like contacts to be completely superficial

34. Which of the following statements best describes the amount of influence that you feel you have had in the Black business community in the last 12 months?
   1. Very much influence   Comments:
   2. Much influence
   3. Some influence
   4. Little influence
   5. No influence

35. Which of the following statements best describes the amount of influence that you feel you have had in the white business community in the last 12 months?
   1. Very much influence   Comments:
   2. Much influence
   3. Some influence
   4. Little influence
   5. No influence

36. Which of the following statements best describes the amount of acceptance which you feel that you have had by the Black business community in the last 12 months?
   1. Complete acceptance   Comments:
   2. Much acceptance
   3. Some acceptance
   4. Little acceptance
   5. Not accepted at all

37. Which of the following statements best describes the amount of acceptance which you feel that you have had by the white business community in the last 12 months?
   1. Complete acceptance   Comments:
   2. Much acceptance
   3. Some acceptance
   4. Little acceptance
   5. Not accepted at all

38. Name 3 Black businessmen whom you feel have the most frequent contacts with other Black businessmen--in Kalamazoo

39. Name 3 Black businessmen whom you feel have the most frequent contacts with white businessmen--in Kalamazoo

40. Name 3 Black businessmen whom you feel have the most genuine contacts with other Black businessmen--in Kalamazoo
41. Name 3 Black businessmen whom you feel have the most genuine contacts with white businessmen—in Kalamazoo

42. Rank the following situations according to frequency of contact with white businessmen.
   ( ) luncheons
   ( ) business and trade association meetings
   ( ) social affairs in homes
   ( ) business transactions
   ( ) church
   ( ) clubs, service organizations

43. Rank the following situations according to frequency of contact with Black businessmen.
   ( ) luncheons
   ( ) business and trade association meetings
   ( ) social affairs in homes
   ( ) business transactions
   ( ) church
   ( ) clubs, service organizations

44. Which of the following statements best describes the extent to which Black businessmen in general have been involved in the Civil Rights struggle in Kalamazoo—other than as employers of Blacks?
   1. Very involved
   2. Often involved
   3. Occasionally involved
   4. Seldom involved
   5. Never involved
   Comments:

45. To what extent do you think that Black businessmen are aware of the aims of the Black Action groups in Kalamazoo?
   1. Very aware
   2. Aware
   3. Somewhat aware
   4. Little aware
   5. Not aware
   Comments:

46. Which of the following statements best describes the extent to which Black businessmen support the aims of Black Action groups in Kalamazoo?
   1. Strongly support
   2. Support
   3. Somewhat support
   4. Little support
   5. Do not support
   Comments:

47. Which of the following statements best describes the extent to which you have been involved in the Civil Rights struggle in Kalamazoo—other than as an employer of Blacks?
   1. Very involved
   2. Often involved
   3. Occasionally involved
   4. Seldom involved
   5. Never involved
   Comments:
48. To what extent are you aware of the aims of Black Action groups in Kalamazoo?
   1. Very aware  Comments:
   2. Aware
   3. Somewhat aware
   4. Little aware
   5. Not aware

49. Which of the following statements best describes the extent to which you support the aims of Black Action groups in Kalamazoo?
   1. Strongly support  Comments:
   2. Support
   3. Somewhat support
   4. Little support
   5. Do not support

50. Do you think that most Black businessmen in the community feel that Civil Rights demonstrations have been beneficial in helping to achieve the goals of Black Americans?  Yes____ No____
   Comments:

51. Do you feel that Civil Rights demonstrations have been beneficial in helping to achieve the goals of Black Americans?  Yes____ No____
   Comments:

52. How do you think most Black businessmen in the community feel about the use of civil disorder to achieve the goals of Black Americans?
   1. Feel is the only way
   2. Feel is necessary only sometimes
   3. Feel that are better ways to achieve these goals
   Comments:

53. How do you feel about the use of civil disorder to achieve the goals of Black Americans?
   1. Feel is the only way
   2. Feel is necessary only sometimes
   3. Feel that are better ways to achieve these goals
   Comments:

54. In general, how do you think Kalamazoo Black businessmen feel about Blacks forming an all Black nation in the United States (Black separatism)?
   1. Approve
   2. Undecided
   3. Disapprove
   Comments:
55. In general, how do you feel about Blacks forming an all Black nation in the United States (Black separatism)?
   1. Approve
   2. Undecided
   3. Disapprove
   Comments:

56. What is the gross annual income of your business? _______________

Physical conditions of business
57. Building/office-external
   painted, in good repair—boards or bricks not missing
   Good ___ Fair ___ Poor ___

58. Windows-clean, unbroken
   Good ___ Fair ___ Poor ___

59. Inside building/office
   clean, painted, well-lighted, neat, uncluttered
   Good ___ Fair ___ Poor ___

60. Sign
   Present ___ Not present ___
   Not broken, neatly done, readable
   Good ___ Fair ___ Poor ___

61. Equipment and supplies
   in good working order, clean, neat, arranged with some order
   Good ___ Fair ___ Poor ___
Antonovsky, Aaron, "Toward a Refinement of the 'Marginal Man' Concept." *Social Forces*, XXXV (October 1956), 57-62.


