University of Missouri College of Agriculture- Food and Natural Resources Division of Applied Social Sciences Department of Rural Sociology

Successful Black Entrepreneurs in Columbia, Missouri

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Successful Black Entrepreneurs in Columbia, Missouri

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ABSTRACT

The focus this research is on the aspects of success for African American entrepreneurs in Columbia, Missouri that could be emulated to grow more sustainable black businesses thereby increasing the economy of the community. This ethnography will explore central phenomena of the sociology of entrepreneurship and group characteristics that aid in the development of successful business activity. These aspects may include positive community networks, family support, work ethic, and risk-taking behaviors. The research includes an analysis of entrepreneurial success based on education and experience, work ethic and passion, to help identify trends. These trends could assist in the growth and sustainability of Black business, increased economic and political power, and a greater socio-economic status in the community at large. Understanding the trends will maximize the potential for increasing African American businesses resulting in greater self-sufficiency, economic stability, and strengthen the overall economy. The ultimate objective is to add to the limited body of science on successful African American entrepreneurship and to promote the social and behavioral sciences and ensure an environment where equal opportunity, equity, and diversity are a priority.

My research accepts the John Sibley Butler theory that states "this area of sociology differs from traditional race theory which espouses the necessity for separate Black economic development to sustain a successful business. Rather, Butler asserts that to the extent to which an ethnic group is assimilated into a society the higher the probability for economic success for that group. Instead, the sociology of entrepreneurship concentrates on the process by which groups develop, maintain, and expand business enterprises within the economic structure increase economic success," (Butler, Page 1). Gone are the days of exclusive Black-on-Black trade—today's African American entrepreneur must tap into mainstream or white markets to successfully compete.

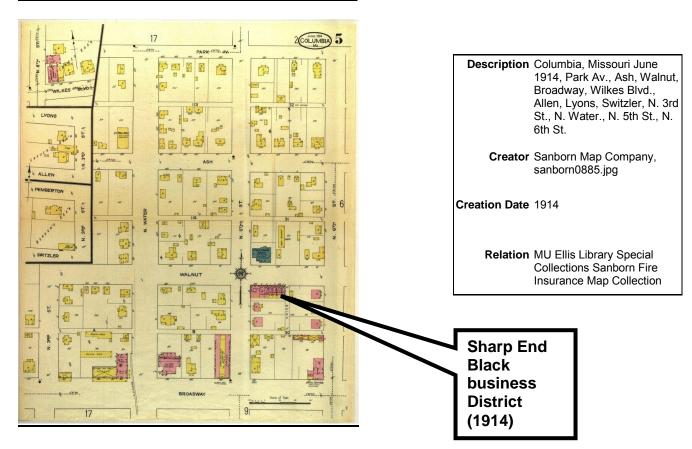
The data in this study was collected through a sample of 24 Black business owners who have a physical location, and personal experience with business success in Columbia, Missouri. These respondents represent 20% of all Blacks doing business as individual proprietorships, partnerships, or any type of corporation in Columbia. These respondents were willing voluntary informants selected based on their knowledge and availability. Nearly 29% operated in the retail trade industry, 25% in the beauty industry, 46% professional services which includes legal services, health and fitness, education, social assistance, and other services, construction, and repair and maintenance.

This study of growing sustainable Black business in Columbia, Missouri is grounded in classical Race Theory as the conceptual basis with economic uplift as the framework. This study suggests that a separate Black economy is no longer a viable option. The important question to ask moving forward is: how does the majority population gain awareness, and then how do they move beyond the traditional consumer practices to a more consumer-cultural-consciousness approach? White consumers may have to become more proactive in much the same way as they have embraced environmentalism. Black business owners may have to assimilate more into the dominate group in order to maximize the probability of economic success.

Chapter I: Introduction

In Columbia, Missouri the Black business community has diminished severely over the last century. During the 1800s and until the Civil Rights Movement in the last quarter of the 19th century, Blacks were not allowed by law to patronize White-owned businesses due to discriminatory practices and Jim Crow Laws. This gave rise to a flourishing Black business community in Columbia that regrettably does not exist today. The location of the once thriving Black-owned business community near the White downtown known as the "Sharp-End" (Table 1: Sharp End Map) that was booming with barber shops, restaurants, grocery stores, a doctor's office, taverns, and funeral homes—is now home to the Columbia Tribune and the U.S. Post Office and not a single Black business.

Table 1: Sharp End Map (Walnut & 5th Street)



The Civil Rights Movement unchained the oppression of Jim Crow and allowed Blacks to patronize the same businesses as Whites. The federal Urban Renewal Program allowed the property where the Black businesses were located to be condemned as "slums" and then bought by White business owners and "redeveloped", (Table 2: Urban Renewal Photo). Black families that once owned businesses could not compete with their White counterparts that had generations of solid business capital, social capital, access to the financial community, and substantial real estate holdings. Most Black families, who lacked this generational wealth, were forced out of business and their homes through eminent domain laws that seized their property and did not restore it with equivalent property. In fact, most were relegated either to public housing or substandard rental units with homeownership banished. Black family homes and businesses were systematically commandeered through eminent domain to make way for the progress of the White majority. The unfortunate bi-product of the desegregation and urban renewal was the dismantling of the Black business community.

This research will explore success strategies that have enabled the relatively fewer current Black businesses in Columbia to succeed. This research is based upon a listing that included the majority of known Black businesses in Columbia today.

Table 2: Urban Renewal Photo



Boone County Historical Society

Columbia Urban Renewal (1962)

A. Purpose Statement

I will focus on the currently successful Black entrepreneurs in Columbia, Missouri. I recognize that over the years there have been numerous attempts at establishing Black businesses that failed for a wide variety of reasons. It is nearly impossible to find any good sample of those who did not succeed. It is hoped the study of successful business will be used to produce more sustainable future Black business thereby increasing the economy of the community. This ethnography will describe the Black entrepreneurship and group characteristics that aided in the development of successful business activity.

An "entrepreneur" is someone who sets up and finances new commercial enterprises to make a profit. For the purposes of this study "success" is defined as self-sufficiency, economic stability, and the achievement of an actual bricks and mortar business. Though strength, courage, persistence, and prayer, some Black

entrepreneurs have sustained the pathway of success and ignited a post "Sharp End" renaissance or Black owned business in Columbia worthy of study.

This success in spite of what is likely to have been severe limitations is the impetus for my research. John Sibley Butler, in his book entitled *Entrepreneurship and Self-Help Among Black Americans: A Reconsideration of Race and Economics*, theorized that this area of sociology differs from traditional race theory which espouses the necessity for separate Black economic development to sustain a successful business. Rather, he asserts that to the extent to which an ethnic group is assimilated into a society the higher the probability for economic success for that group. Instead, the sociology of entrepreneurship concentrates on the process by which groups develop, maintain, and expand business enterprises within the economic structure increase economic success. Gone are the days of exclusive Black-on-Black trade. Today's Black entrepreneur must actively compete with mainstream predominantly White markets.

B. Research Question

My research will explore the specific aspects that contribute to the success of Black entrepreneurs in Columbia, Missouri. These aspects may include positive community networks, family support, work ethic, and risk-taking behaviors. In addition, I will analyze entrepreneurial success based on education and experience, work ethic and passion, to help identify other factors. These could assist in the growth and sustainability of Black businesses, increased economic and political power, and a greater socio-economic status in the community at large. Understanding these will

maximize the potential for increasing Black businesses resulting in greater self-sufficiency and economic stability in Columbia and strengthening the overall economy. The ultimate objective is to add to the body of knowledge on successful Black entrepreneurship (Table 3: Concept Diagram). As I noted earlier, I recognize that there are some Black owned businesses that have failed for various reasons, barring a complete survey of the Black population, there is no practical way of finding all such failed businesses. Even such a broad survey would miss failed entrepreneurs who left Columbia to find better opportunities elsewhere.

Black Business Concepts for Success Education & Growth & **Family** Culture & Economic & Experience Sustainability **Political** Support Religon Outcome Increased **Black Business**

Table 3: Concept Diagram

C. Methodology

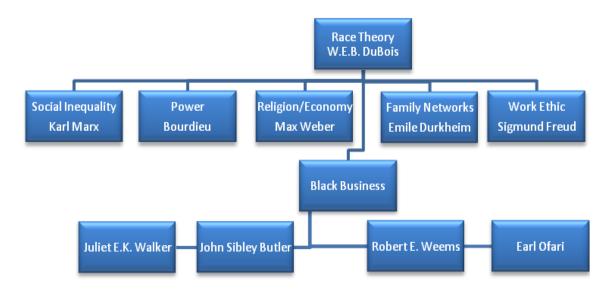
This ethnography starts with selection of a community, review of the literature pertaining to the culture, and identification of aspects of interest— typically aspects which are perceived as significant by members of the culture. A typical ethnographer then goes about gaining entrance, which in turn sets the stage for cultural immersion of

the ethnographer into the community. As a relative Columbia native and marrying into the Columbia Black business community, I gained a considerable amount of access and information. In the future, I plan to re-validate my findings by going back to members of Columbia's Black business community for their reactions to my results. This methodology assures that common cultural understandings will be identified for the research interest at hand.

Ethnography is a form of research focusing on the sociology of meaning through close field observation of socio-cultural phenomena. Typically, the ethnographer focuses on a community selecting informants (in this case successful Black entrepreneurs) who were known to have an overview of the Black entrepreneurial activities of the community. These informants were asked to identify other Black operated businesses in the Columbia community, thus I used chain sampling to obtain a relatively complete listing of businesses. From this listing I interviewed a sample of business owners to find common characteristics of the successful Black entrepreneurs. These responses were subjective but were a collective understandings that was often more significant than objective characteristics, (www.2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/PA765/ethno.htm [2008]).

It was useful to create a literature map to better capture the emerging themes on this topic and identify the key literary contributors, (Table 4: Theory Diagram).

Table 4: Theory Diagram



The aspects suitable for this qualitative study included general demographics and background, life events, successes and failures, frustrations, memories, and start-up stories. This methodology was reminiscent of the empirical information gathered in the house-to-house inquiry that W.E.B. DuBois utilized in the 1899 study of The Philadelphia Negro. The research utilized key concepts that I identified during my coursework which included: sustainability, economic uplift and empowerment, economic inequality, family, networks, work ethic, and equal opportunity.

This is a qualitative ethnographic study using open-ended questions posed to Columbia Black business owners. The interview protocol included audio taped face-to-face interviews using an interview guide that contained approximately thirty questions. I reviewed photographs and conducted audio interviews of a Columbia Black centurion with personal recollections of the Sharp-End. The interview guide was an adaptation of the *Life Stories Interview Guide* by Jay Gubrium, (Table 5: Interview Guide).

Table 5: Interview Guide

Background Information:

Race/Ethnicity	
Gender	
Level of Education	
Occupation	
Religion	

Life Events:

- 1. First of all, where were you born?
- 2. Did you have any brothers or sisters?
- 3. What did your parents do for a living?
- 4. Describe yourself as a child (a. what did you want to be when you grew up?)
- 5. What was your first job?
- 6. What inspired you to start your own business?
- 7. Does your professional require additional education or training?
- 8. Did anyone help you along the way that you considered a mentor?
- 9. Was religion a factor? How?

Success in Business

- 10. Tell me about your business.
- 11. How many years have you been in business?
- 12. Is your business certified as a minority or woman-owned business?
- 13. Has your business grown over the years?
- 14. Has your business been successful in this community?
- 15. Do you have family members or children working in your business?
- 16. Did your family help you get started in business? How?
- 17. How many hours do you work per week?
- 18. How many employees do you have?
- 19. What race is your primary clientele?
- 20. Where do you do your business banking?
- 21. Have you ever had trouble obtaining a business loan?
- 22. Do you own or lease your facility?
- 23. Do you manage your own accounting, bookkeeping, and advertising, etc?
- 24. Did you ever have to take a risk in your business?
- 25. What was type of risk?
- 26. Have you ever failed in a business venture?
- 27. What are you most proud of in your business?
- 28. What are your main concerns?
- 29. What advice would you give to someone who wants to start business?
- 30. What would help create a better climate for the minority-owned business community in Columbia?
- 31. What should local elected officials or economic developers do to help increase the number Black businesses in this community?
- 32. Would having more Blacks in positions of authority make a difference?

I began the interviews with a brief social conversational to put the respondent at ease; however because of my background I knew most of the respondents previously. I asked for permission to tape and photograph from the respondent and assured them it was voluntary and of the strictest confidentially, that all names and recognizable places will be coded and/or deleted from the transcriptions according to the University of Missouri Institutional Review Board (IRB) standards. In setting up the tape recorder, I made sure to test the digital voice recorder twice before starting the interview. I always maintained a friendly conversational tone to put the respondent at ease. I followed the interview guide but not in any precise way; just move through the interview in as natural a way as possible and let the respondent dictate the pace. In probing for details and requesting examples, use questions such as:

- Can you tell me more about that?
- I'm not sure what you mean? Can you explain that for me?
- Can you give me an example?

I started the interview proper by explaining that I was a University of Missouri graduate student completing a PhD in Rural Sociology in the Department of Applied Social Sciences and using life stories to explore successful Black entrepreneurs in Columbia. I explained that I wanted to talk with them about their own story and would begin with a few specific background items and then move directly into more general life-story questions. I also encouraged them to take the time to answer in whatever way you'd like because there was no right or wrong answers. In addition, I collected waiver signatures to allow me to take photos of each entrepreneur in their place of business.

Many of the respondents asked for copies of the photos as well as a copy of my research upon completion which will be useful in validating the findings of this research.

As an ethnographic researcher I strived to avoid theoretical preconceptions (ex. level of education) and instead allowed themes to emerge organically from the observation itself. It is common for the researcher to seek validation of theories by going back to members of the culture for their reaction. Some respondents have sought to forego the confidentiality agreement and submit their information to the Missouri Historical Society as a historical reference. The data analysis and theoretical implications came at the end, although some surprising trends emerged from early interviews, (Table 6: Interview Response Data).

Chapter II: Review of Literature

The literature review began with a database search of Mobius and Merlin from Ellis Library at the University of Missouri, Columbia. The identification of key words such as "Black, Business", "Black Entrepreneur", "Black business", and "Columbia, Missouri" proved fruitful. In addition, the search focused on newspapers, journal articles, dissertations, and books. One important discovery was a 1901 to 1903 Negro business journal entitled *The Professional World* by Rufus Logan, *The Trumpet* by Gene Robertson, and *Douglass Neighborhood Newsletter* an email newsletter from neighbors and the *Missourian*. The search uncovered approximately thirty resources specific to this topic and the region.

A. History of Black Entrepreneurship

According to John Sibley Butler in *Entrepreneurship and Self-Help Among Black Americans* an "entrepreneur" as a person who organizes and manages a business while assuming the risk for the sake of profit, (Butler, Page 1). The sociology of entrepreneurship addresses the context and dynamics of such activity. Applied to minority group members, it assumes that this activity leads to greater assimilation and autonomy in the larger society. The ability to do this is in part dependent upon the economic opportunities allowed by the host society, (Butler, Page 1). Historically, the field of entrepreneurial sociology has examined differences in business activity by religious denominations. The classic study, in this field is by the German sociologist Max Weber at the turn of the 20th century, who wanted to understand why Catholics in general were less likely to be involved in business than Protestants. Weber argued the

differences had to do with the "Spirit of Capitalism" found among Protestants, measured by the willingness to take risks and enter the economic world, in part for spiritual reasons, (Butler, Page 2).

Butler views the sociology of self-help as developing economic stability, not as simply owning a small business, or it could mean owning a successful professional practice. The emphasis is not on the size or prestige of the enterprise, but the fact that the enterprise may lead to self-sufficiency and economic stability. Economic stability is important because the parents of self-help groups are more able to pass their success to their children, (Butler, Page 2).

Prior to the Civil War, to the extent that Black entrepreneurial activity was possible, in the Black community varied by the historical era. The U.S. had legalized slavery, which severely limited the range of such activity. After the Civil War, Jim Crow statues and customs again placed obstacles if not prohibitions, on the freedom of Blacks to own and operate their own businesses. More recently, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 removed these structures, at least legally. However, the vestiges of Jim Crow linger on in the deeds and actions of some of those who would continue to discriminate against others.

Before the Civil War Black businesses fell into two categories. The first were free Blacks who accumulated enough capital with which to begin business activity. Many of these enterprises were very small but vital to the local economy. Furthermore, the Black-owned enterprises were associated with a wide array of business interests such as real estate, construction, and transportation. The second groups of Black business entrepreneurs before the Civil War consisted of slaves who because of thrift, knowledge

of industrial skills, and liberal attitudes of some of their masters were able to engage in business enterprise, (Butler, Page 36-38).

For free Blacks, engaging in business activity was a risky business as there was always the possibility of being recaptured or limited by government restrictions. However, despite these problems, wherever there were free Blacks, a business tradition soon developed. One of the best states for early Negro business activity was Pennsylvania, which was also the first state to emancipate slaves in 1780. Records show that in 1838 there were eight Black bakers, twenty-three Blacksmiths, and fifteen cabinetmakers or carpenters among others in Philadelphia. There were also businesses independently run by Black women ranging from dressmakers to papermakers, (Barnett, Page 5).

In the North, Blacks were very successful in the restaurant business before the Civil War, operating many first class businesses that catered to professional and upper class white clientele. In the south, a number of free Blacks established their own plantations and owned slaves. For example in 1830, there were 3,777 slaves owners in America who were Black, with the state of Louisiana having the largest number, (Butler, Page 51).

However, most of the businesses operated by Blacks before the Civil War were service enterprises. This tends to fall in line with the "middleman theory" which states that minorities tend to fill a niche in the middle of the production process. For example, Abraham Harris conducted a study of Negro businesses and found that many provided personal services, such as barbershops and beauty salons, and tended to have little competition (Barnett, Page 5). This was because many Whites tried to avoid work that

was perceived as being "servile" in status. In addition, many Whites did not have knowledge of specific trades such as working with Black hair and did not want the reputation of serving Black customers for personal service which may still hold true today.

Like today, Blacks found it difficult to borrow money in order to establish a business enterprise during the 1780s. In order to generate capital, Blacks joined together to organize for mutual assistance. These mutual-aid societies were a combination of secular fund raising and religious ceremonies. There was also an element of insurance attached to these societies. Philadelphia was the setting for one of the firsts of these mutual-aid societies. One of the first mutual-aid societies were founded by Richard Allen in 1787 and by 1838 there was a total membership of 7,448, and had taken in \$18,851 and expended \$14,172, (Butler, Page 47-48). The goal of these associations was to provide mutual assistance and support for Black businesses in cities such as Philadelphia and New York. An aspect of the mutual assistance included money lending practices that were funded primarily by successful Black businessmen in these associations,

In their analysis of Black business, Kinzer and Sagarin suggest that there were several factors that were advantageous to Black in business during the antebellum period:

- · Widespread knowledge of craftsmanship,
- Frequent lack of such knowledge among Whites,
- Relatively less significance for literacy and education in the conduct of business.
- Tolerant attribute of southern Whites, arising from general contempt for laborers, (Butler, Page 54).

Conversely, Kinzer and Sagarin also suggest that the following factors operated against Black business during this time period:

- Population distribution of slaves and free Negroes,
- Slave status of the majority of Negroes,
- Lack of education and business training, and lack of opportunities to obtain such education and training,
- Restrictive laws and customs, and opposition and restrictive activities on the part of Negro leadership,
- Lack of basis for the emergence of national Negro-sponsored banking, insurance, building and loan, or newspaper industries; and
- Depressed economic status of free Negroes, involving lack of capital for investment and poverty of market, (Butler, Page 54).

During the period after the Civil War W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington, both respected civil rights activists, held opposing views about the state of Black America. Booker T. Washington proposed the Blacks would eliminate the race problem and gain respect through industrial education and employment. W.E.B. DuBois touted the advancement of Blacks through education which would ultimately grow success and acceptance, (Barnett, Page 8). However, the reality of the racial segregation and the legal discrimination of the Jim Crow laws created an absolute bar against Black business growth no other ethnic group had to endure.

In his book, *The Philadelphia Negro*, W.E.B. DuBois created a study of class structure and business activity. The study divided the city of Philadelphia into four classes of people of which the top ten percent he called the "Talented Tenth". This group included professionals, entrepreneurs, and the children of this group who attending the best schools. This upper class later assimilated to into the middle-class of

America. DuBois identified the second class as the "respectable working class" which included servants, waiters, porters and laborers. The third class was the "poor" made up of recent southern immigrants who were unemployed. The last class was labeled "criminals" which made up slightly over five percent. After the Civil War these racial characteristics shifted and other immigrant groups began to compete for business leaving the Black business class relegated to a segregated market. Because of discrimination, Black businesses were not allowed to offer their products and services to the mainstream market. Black entrepreneurs were restricted from enjoying the economic stability and self-help that immigrant groups experienced causing what is known as the economic detour.

In 1940, M.S. Stuart published a major work on Black entrepreneurship entitled *The Economic Detour*. While he focused primarily on the insurance industry, he also research Black business in the broad sense. He argued that Blacks had to face a unique and detrimental experience in the business world which was influenced by discrimination and hostile treatment that other immigrant groups did not endure. Stuart called this the economic detour because the Black entrepreneurs were not allowed to take the same roads to economic stability and self-help that other groups have enjoyed. The idea is that after the Civil War Blacks were restricted by laws and discrimination for operating in the open market—yet they enjoyed the rewards of this country, (Butler, Page 76-77).

Theoretically, the economic detour can be explained in three elements. The first element concerns the institution of Southern segregation laws—known as Jim Crow laws—that constituted a kind of government program. This produced the intrusion of

government into the normal operation of the marketplace. The policies of the government had a detrimental effect on the development and operation of Black businesses. The second component is that Blacks were the only groups to which this policy of segregation applied. Other groups were not restricted to developing a market only among their own people. This is critical because expanding market share beyond one's own ethnic group is paramount to achieving success. The third element of the economic detour is that foreign groups which traveled the free market world and ended up in American had no service-to-country to their credit. Because of the economic detour, Blacks were forced into the role of consumer without reciprocity for the majority group, (Butler, Page 77-79).

One of the most influential debates uncovered in the literature review was regarding Black entrepreneurs after the Civil War. It had the effect of influencing the growth of Black entrepreneurship and took place between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois. Booker T. Washington argued that Blacks through industrial education and employment would begin to earn more respect in the business or commercial world, thereby eliminating the race problem in the South. On the contrary, W.E.B. DuBois argued for the advancement of civil rights for Black people and also for their continued intellectual growth. DuBois "believed that the higher education of the Talented Tenth who through their knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Negro into a higher civilization. He knew that without this the Negro would have to accept white leadership, and that such leadership could not always be trusted to guide this group into self-realization and to its highest cultural possibilities." (DuBois1, Page 70).

One of the scenarios Juliet E.K. Walker illustrated in her book entitled The History of the Black Business in America, was that while Black economic nationalist, W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington, held different views on education, civil rights, and Black political participation, both were resolute in their insistence that business was crucial for the survival of the race. The DuBois strategy called for (1) the college education of Black businesspeople; (2) Black businesspeople to encourage customer loyalty by being courteous and honest and by using careful business methods; (3) Blacks to patronize Black business, even to their disadvantage; (4) Black churches, schools, and newspapers to promote Black business; and (5) Blacks to engage in personal savings, (Walker, Page 184). Finally, DuBois proposed that every town where Black people live should develop a minority business league for the purpose of supporting Black business. Conversely, Washington who organized the National Negro Business League (NNBL), believed that industrial education or learning a trade was the salvation of Blacks. Another effort to further Black economic status on a global level was the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) established by Marcus Garvey in 1914. Garvey's program for economic uplift differed little from those proposed by Washington and DuBois except that his program established a business conglomerate the included the masses. Yet given the racial climate of the time, the three could only proceed on the assumption that Blacks would never get a chance to gain entry as equals to American big business. Consequently, the three men promoted the development of Black business within the context of a separate an independent group economy that would parallel mainstream American enterprise, (Walker, Page 222). This model had its place in history yet, I propose a different more inclusive market strategy to be effective in today's business climate—that is one that mirrors the Obama campaign which embraces class over race in order to break down economic and racial barriers. However, his presidency is struggling to maintain the same level of color-blind energy in the face of mounting economic challenges and healthcare reform.

B. Classical Social Theories

The W.E.B. DuBois theory in Dawn of Dusk proposed self-help and economic uplift of Black people in order to sustain economic empowerment without which Blacks are relegated to the "glass cave" that he refers to as caste segregation of entombed souls looking out from this dark cave. "This cave hindered their natural movement, expression, and development...It gradually penetrates the minds of the prisoners that the people passing do not hear; that some thick sheet of invisible but horribly tangible plate glass is between them and the world." (DuBois¹, Page 131). The concepts that can best be applied are vast and complex but most notably it is the DuBois concept of economic uplift. According to DuBois:

"This philosophy did not envisage a situation where instead of a horizontal division of classes, there was a vertical fissure, a complete separation of classes by race, cutting across economic layers. Even if on one side this color line, the dark masses were overwhelmingly workers, with but an embryonic capitalist class, nevertheless the split between white and Black workers was greater than that between white workers and capitalists; and this split depended not simply on economic exploitations but on a racial folk-lore grounded on centuries of instinct, habit and thought and implemented by the conditioned reflex of visible color, (DuBois¹, Page 205).

In his classic book *The Philadelphia Negro*, DuBois asked:

"How can any group of people earn a decent living, so as to maintain a decent standard of life. But when the question is complicated by the fact that the group has a low degree of efficiency on account of previous training; is in competition with well-trained, eager and often ruthless competitors; is more or less handicapped by a somewhat indefinite but existent and wide-reaching discrimination; and finally, is seeking not merely to maintain a standard of living but steadily to raise it to a higher plane—such a situation presents baffling problems to the sociologist. And consequently one never knows when one sees a social outcast how far this failure to survive is due to the deficiencies of the individual, and how far to the accidents or injustice of his environment," (DuBois², Page 69).

"Everyone knows that in a city like Philadelphia a Negro does not have the same chance to exercise his ability or secure work according to his talents as a white man...their economic rise is not only hindered by their present poverty, but also by a widespread inclination to shut against them many doors of advancement open to the talented and efficient of other races," (DuBois², Page 70). Keeping this in mind, DuBois explored the occupations the Negroes held and compared them to that of their white counterparts. Generally, 78% of the Negro population worked compared to 55% of the white population which was an indication of an absence of accumulated wealth on the part of the Negro, (DuBois², Page 78). While the Negro was practically excluded from industry, the occupations traditionally occupied by Negroes included; domestics, porters, barbers, bellmen, caterers, laborers, stevedores, and teamsters. There were also a small group of professional Negroes such as teachers, clergymen, physicians, lawyers, and dentists, (DuBois², Page 79).

The number of entrepreneurs in the Seventh Ward was small but growing. It included twenty-three barbershops, twenty-three restaurants, thirteen grocery stores, fourteen cigar stores, four candy stores, three liquor stores, four employment agencies, four funeral homes, three bakeries, eight shoemaker shops, five weekly newspapers, and a large number of caterers.

"Yet the Negro entrepreneur has not emerged unscathed; in every such battle when a Negro is fighting for an economic advantage, there is ever a widespread feeling among all his neighbors that it is inexpedient to allow this class to become wealth or even well-to-do. Consequently the battle always becomes an Athanasius contra mundum, where almost unconsciously the whole countenance and aid of the community is thrown against the Negro," (DuBois², Page 84).

DuBois argued that there were three contributing drawbacks to Negro entrepreneurship which include: lack of business training, both Black and white customers believe the business is poorly conducted because Black business was so rare; and Negroes were not used to cooperating with their people and the process of learning was tedious, (DuBois², Page 85). In other words, one of the great postulates of the science of economics—that men will seek their economic advantage—is in this case untrue, because in many cases men will not do this if it involves association, even in a casual and business way, with Negroes. And this fact must be taken account of in all judgments as to the Negro's economic progress," (DuBois², Page 99). He recognizes that the problem is hopelessly complex, yet he asserts that one remedy applied consistently over time could have a tremendous impact, (DuBois², Page 268), yet drafted this basic framework for progress:

- 1. Understand the Negro is here to stay;
- 2. It is to the advantage of all, both Black and white, that every Negro should make the best of himself;
- 3. It is the duty of the Negro to raise himself by every effort to the standards of modern civilization:
- 4. It is the duty of the white people not to hinder or retard the efforts of an earnest people to rise;

5. With these duties in mind and with a spirit of self-help, mutual aid and cooperation, the two races should strive side by side to realize the ideals of the republic and make this truly a land of equal opportunity for all men. (DuBois2, Page 270).

These words ring a prophetic tone given the recent paradigm shift in American politics—a reality that DuBois himself could not have possibly fathomed.

Karl Marx theory of the general society concentrates on the holistic influence of economics on all aspects of life. He argues that the contradiction between the social nature of industry and capitalism, and the continued focus on private property, will ultimately paralyze and tear down the economic system. The overall theoretical Marxist framework is the notion of equality and cooperation among people, not survival of the fittest. Marx held a core commitment to the notion of securing human dignity. It appears in Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 where he states..."an alien power opposed to him, which enslaves him instead of being controlled by him..." Marx describes what will happen when the basic human need to be active finds satisfaction in work that is no longer slave labor, serf labor, or wage labor. The fundamental nature of humanity is satisfied not by hunger, but by personal accomplishment. This Marx refers to as "species-life" or productive-life, (Kamenka, Page 139). He believed that if the worker simply sunk to the level of commodity and propertyless workers, society would be severed into two distinct classes of haves and have-nots. This speaks to the necessity for man to own and control property as a function of securing human dignity entrepreneurship is a key component to successfully reside in this class of "haves".

Max Weber's essays on power in From Max Weber reinforce the notion that all political structures use force to establish communities and therefore have a vested interest in cultivating prestige and expanding power. Besides women, cattle, and slaves, scarce land is one of the original and foremost objects of forceful acquisition. Weber believed the influence of race was a particularly complex issue which must disregard traditional attitudes. Weber stated, "The differences among anthropological types are but one factor of closure, social attraction, and repulsion. They stand equal right beside differences acquired through tradition. There are differences in these matters. Every Yankee accepts the civilized quarter-breed or octoroon Indian as a member of the nation; he may himself claim to have Indian blood. But he behaves quite differently toward the Negro, and he does so especially when the Negro adopts the same way of life as he and therewith develops the same social aspirations. This aversion is social in nature and has but one plausible explanation; the Negroes have been slaves; the Indians have not," (Weber, pg. 177).

Economically conditioned power is not, according to Weber, identical with 'power' as such. On the contrary, the emergence of economic power may be the consequence of power existing on other grounds. Man does not strive for power only in order to enrich himself economically. Power, including economic power, may be valued for its own sake and social honor, (Weber, pg. 180). Weber also explains that social status structure reaches extreme consequences only where there are underlying differences which are held to be 'ethnic'. They live in a diaspora strictly segregated from all personal intercourse and their situations are legally precarious. The Jews are the most

impressive historical example. Stratification by status goes hand in hand with a monopolization of ideal and material goods or opportunities, (Weber, pg. 189-190).

Beyond class and status, Weber devotes a considerable amount of the text focused on the characteristics of bureaucracy and economic domination through elected officials or party boss. Weber characterizes "the 'party boss' as an absolutely sober man and despised in respectable society", (Weber, pg. 109). One could even go as far as comparing these groups to a 'party boss' because of their cold, calculating, and methodical appetite for money and power. While it may not be the quest for power that these unscrupulous administrators seek, it is the silent anticipation of untold wealth at the expense of the entire economy that is comparatively disturbing.

Weber focuses on six major religions of the world, Confucian, Hinduist, Buddhist, Christian, and Islamist, and Judaism to explore the development of the modern economic ethic of the Occident. Weber defines 'economic ethic' points to the practical impulses for action which are founded in the psychological and pragmatic contexts of religions, (Weber, pg. 267). When religious virtuosos have combined into an active asceticist sect, two aims are completely attained; the disenfranchisement of the world and the blockage of the path to salvation by a flight from the world," (Weber, pg.290). In a nutshell good works will get you into heaven. Yet Weber does not ignore "that the universal and equal franchise within American democracy (of the Whites) for Negroes and all mixtures have, even today, no de facto franchise) and likewise the 'separation of state church are only achievements of the recent past, (Weber, pg. 311).

In terms of social structure and the economy, Weber focuses on rural society of various cultures and the social structures over history. Weber believed that the difficult

social problems of the South, in rural districts also, are essentially ethnic and not economic, (Weber, pg. 364). This implication here is relevant today in that the current economic climate arguably tends to lean more toward class than race. According to Weber, "Classes' are groups of people who, from the standpoint of specific interests, have the same economic position. Ownership of non-ownership of material goods or of definite skills constitutes the 'class-situation. 'Status' is a quality of social honor or a lack of it and is in the main conditioned as well as expressed through a specific style of life," (Weber, pg. 405).

Emile Durkheim's' Suicide stresses the critical role family and networks and suggests that "excessive individualism not only results in favoring the action of suicidogenic causes, but it is itself such a cause", (Durkheim, Page 210). He goes on to illustrate that in a cohesive and animated society a constant interchange of ideas and feelings from all to each and each to all, something like a mutual moral support, which instead of throwing the individual on his own resources, leads him to share in the collective energy and supports his own when exhausted," (Durkheim, Page 210). In this context, family and networks play an integral part in the success of any human endeavor including economic uplift and sustainability. Without these support structures most entities are doomed to a failure that could be likened to suicide.

Sigmund Freud's concept on the purpose of human life as being grounded in religion is most useful in this analysis. In *Civilization and Its Discontents* he argues that humans strive to be happy and want to continue experiencing happiness and pleasure.

The concept of a pleasure principle is also relevant as it addresses the need for continual satisfaction through life's work. Freud believed that the pleasure principle is what decides the purpose of one's life stating that "When a situation is desired by the pleasure principle it is prolonged", (Freud, Page 25). He contends that physical pleasure cannot ignore the individual's libido as an integral part of that happiness, yet religion contradictory. This is articulated by Freud when he proclaims the "If the believer finally sees himself obliged to speak of God's 'inscrutable decrees', he is admitting that all that is left to him as a last possible consolation and source of pleasure in his suffering in an unconditional submission", (Freud, Page 36). This paradox is likened to the Protestant work ethic in the contemporary United States.

Suffering and duty to one's calling is commonly diametrically opposed to one's happiness, yet civilization dictates acceptance and obedience from the prospective of the Puritan ascetic sect and Protestant work ethic. The Puritan and Protestant belief claims that civilization requires man to value beauty, order, and cleanliness as requirements in society. Freud believed that individuals would restrict themselves from possible satisfaction when relying on these moiré's of civilization and yet they were embraced through the inner life of methodical self-examination in a member of a Puritan ascetic sect. He also purported that "Human life in common is only made possible when a majority comes together which is stronger that any separate individual and which remains united against all separate individuals", (Freud, Page 49). This inconsistency between the instinctive man and the religious man were a conspicuous feature of cultural development according to Freud.

The Protestant work ethic and satisfaction is also grounded in the "compulsion to work concept that can be linked back to the external necessity for communal living", (Freud, Page 55) not in the power of love and sexual satisfaction. The outcome of the numerous dichotomies outlined by Freud is that of tremendous guilt and discontent of humanity. He believes that guilt is "the most important problem in the development of civilization and to show that the price we pay for our advance in civilization is a loss of happiness through the heightened sense of guilt", (Freud, Page 97). He argues that "the sense of guilt makes itself noisily heard in consciousness; it dominates the clinical picture and the patient's live as well, and it hardly allows anything else to appear alongside of it", (Freud, Page 98). This overwhelming concept is the forces that drives the Protestant work ethic and fuels the compulsion to work. In fact, Freud further claims that religions have never overlooked the power played by the sense of guilt and they claim to redeem mankind from this sense of guilt which they call "sin", (Freud, Page 99).

Freud's concept of the super-ego or conscience can be used to explain these feelings of guilt. They are particularly relevant in terms of a religious framework in that is regulates behavior manifested by the punishment and control. The looming threats of going to hell for non-compliance with social norms of Puritan civilization were the cattle prod used for appropriate behavior. Guilt continues to be used to control behavior in contemporary society in is grounded in many religions. Freud's analysis outlines the contradictions stating that "According to one view, that energy merely carries on the punitive energy of external authority and keeps it alive in the mind; while according to another view, it consists of one's own aggressive energy which has not been used and which one now directs against inhibiting authority", (Freud, Page 102).

In *Pierre Bourdieu's* book *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* the key theory of power relates to the classification struggle in which he indicates that power is the most critical aspect of the social world. To evoke power puts things in a different perception and exposes something previously unnoticed or relegated to the background such as common interests which tend to hide racial differences, a superlative power, a distinction, drawing respect out of formerly indivisible souls, (Bourdeiu, Page 479). According to Bourdieu, "Awareness of the economic and social determinants of cultural dispossession in fact varies in almost inverse ratio to cultural dispossession. The ideology of charisma, which imputes to the person, to his natural gifts or his merits, entire responsibility for his social destiny, experts its effects far beyond the educational system; every hierarchical relationship draws part of the legitimacy that the dominated themselves grant it from a confused perception that it is based on the opposition between 'education' and ignorance," (Bourdieu, Page 390).

C. Classical Black Studies

Juliet E. K. Walker is a consummate expert on Black entrepreneurship as evidenced in her book *The History of Black Business in America* which is one of the most prolific texts the contemporary discourse. This text explores the broad Diaspora of the African to Black economic experience not documented throughout traditional history. Walker said that in American colonies economic initiative was expressed in the development of independent Black slave activities, despite the ethnic or national origin of the slaves or the occupation forced on them by planters. The attempts made by African slaves to pursue independent economic activities, then, transcended ethnicity or

national origin and were based on the commonality of their production, marketing, and trade experiences in Africa, (Walker, Page 24).

According to Walker American racism forced Blacks to take and "economic detour" which actually created numerous industries that were able to flourish during the "Golden Age" of Black business which lasted from 1900-1930. During this era cottage industries were established by Black entrepreneurs to serve the Black communities which could not or would not be served by their white counterparts. These industries included Black banks such as Capital Savings Bank, and Douglass National Bank; insurance companies and mutual aid societies such as Atlanta Life and Mutual Life Insurance Company; real estate and construction enterprises such as Metropolitan Mercantile and Realty Company and Windham Brothers Construction Company; Negro Leagues Baseball; the invention and manufacturing of thousands of products; the Black Hair Care and Beauty Aids Industry which opened career opportunities for Black women such as Madame C.J. Walker, Anne Malone, and Sarah Washington; also funeral homes and undertakers, grocery stores and restaurants, taverns and barber, doctors and dentists and lawyers prospered-- all these industries would earn millions of dollars yet ultimately succumb to white competition by the end of the Jim Crow era.

According to Walker, the Great Migration after World War I was when Blacks from the South moved to large industrial centers in the North of that region. This increased the Black populations in segregated residential areas, which encouraged the development of Black business districts. Increasingly in the South, Black business districts would be anchored by Black financial institutions, banks, insurances companies, building and loan associations, and national offices of Black fraternal

organizations. In Durham Carolina, John Sibley Butler noted that Parish Street, where these enterprises were located, was known as "the Negro Wall Street". The same description was also applied to the Black business district in Tulsa, Oklahoma, but more as a testimony to the variety of its Black enterprises than to the large number of Black financial institutions. The districts success, however, was short-lived. In 1921 a race riot broke out—a white response to Black economic success. The Black business district was devastated and attacked by mobs of armed whites on the ground but also by bombs dropped from the air complete the destruction, (Walker, Page 213- 214). In the immortal words of Bob Marley, "every time that they would plant a seed they said kill it before it grows". This and many other racially motivated assaults, such as redlining, loan discrimination, and higher interest rates, was the primary basis for the longstanding economic detour that Blacks face when attempting to start or grow a business enterprise.

There were numerous barriers for Blacks who wanted to participate and end the economic detour which had been experienced for some many years. However, those barriers did not hinder the creative and tenacious ability of Blacks determined to become entrepreneurs who orchestrated a plethora of strategies to end this economic slavery. One of the most persistent barriers was the lack of access to capital for minority business enterprise (MBE) which made the "number racket" an alternative to grow a business. The numbers racket was an underground economy that was actually an early model for the modern day lottery. Another complicated barrier was the lack a market share in their own communities. A 1938 survey was conducted in Chicago which showed that seventy-five percent of the businesses with predominately Black

clientele were own and operated by Jewish merchants, a scenario which is prevalent In response to the limited profits by Black businesses were aggressive vet today. "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" campaigns which were launched by Blacks as a strategy of withdrawing patronage from non Black-owned businesses. The focus of this movement was the double-duty dollar. Throughout the depression and into World War II, the double duty dollar doctrine gained nationwide momentum in Black churches, the Black press, and Black organization. Blacks were told to spend their dollars at Black businesses and as the volume increased it would lead to higher profits that would be converted into salaries paid to new Black employees. (Walker, Page 227-228). The cooperative movement among Blacks where hundreds of people would pool their resources to establish retail enterprises such as grocery stores, drug stores, shoe stores, and department stores. In 1919 the pastor of the Metropolitan AME Zion Church in St. Louis organized the Cooperative Liberty Company. It was capitalized at \$50,000 with shares sold at \$10 each for the building of the first string of cooperative stores owned and operated by Blacks in Missouri, (Walker, Page 230). Unfortunately, all these ingenious strategies would not be enough to compete with the majority white financial domination which ultimately would lead to government intervention during the Civil Rights era.

After the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1965, Black economic empowerment was a central issue. In 1966 the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was beginning to focus its efforts on the plight of the poor. Black capitalism was also the mantra of numerous organizations including; the "Black Power" movement headed by Stokely Carmichael, the Nation of Islam under the

leadership of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, Operation Breadbasket in Chicago headed up by the Reverend Jesse Jackson, the Black Panthers, and the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE).

Preferential treatment for white businesses has been the established norm in America, (Walker, Page 267). The majority of the billions of dollars in federal contracts were systematically awards to white firms with in minuscule ration of crumbs allocated to Black firms. Until 1953, the Small Business Administration was empowered to make loans to businesses and the majority of those loans ended up in the hands of big business. This was the first form of "Affirmative Action" program which did not yield any criticism, yet by 1973 the 8(a) set-aside program (which guaranteed a certain percentage of government contracts for minority-owned businesses) was highly controversial. In 1969 President Richard Nixon expanded efforts to promote Black capitalism, first started during the Kennedy and Johnson administration, by issuing Executive Order 11458 which established the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE), (Walker, Page 277). Walker's text explores this and other details in-depth illuminating historical nuances of the Black experience in business rarely contemplated by the mainstream.

John Sibley Butler's book, Entrepreneurship and Self-Help among Black Americans: A Reconsideration of Race and Economics, describes the history of theories related to the sociology of entrepreneurship such as: Edna Bonacich's "Middleman Minority Theory", "Collectivism" pursued by Lawrence A. Lovell-Troy, the "Ethic Enclave" theory developed by Wilson, Portes, and Martin, Max Weber's angle on religion and oppression, and Karl Marx's theory on capitalism (Butler, Page 288-294),

the working class, exploitation, and conflict theory. Butler begins by defining the sociology of entrepreneurship as a study of race and economics through relationships and conflict between groups and the development of business activity. This area of sociology differs from traditional race and ethnic perspectives in that it asserts that to the extent which an ethnic group is assimilated into a society the higher the probability for economic success for that group. Instead, the sociology of entrepreneurship concentrates on the process by which groups develop, maintain, and expand business enterprises within the economic structure and increasing the probability for economic security. Butler applies this methodology to a variety of minority group members (Afro-Americans, Greek, Jews, Asians, Amish, Japanese, Mexicans, etc) and then explores whether this activity leads to greater assimilation and autonomy in the larger society. The ability to do this in part depends in part upon the economic opportunities allowed by the host society, (Butler, Page 1). He views self-help as simply owning a small business enterprise or it could mean owning a successful professional practice. His emphasis is not on the size or prestige of the enterprise, but the fact that the enterprise may lead to self-sufficiency and economic stability. He feels economic stability is important because the parents of self-help groups are more able to pass their success to their children, (Butler, Page 2).

The author discusses at length the extent to which entrepreneurial activity was evident in the Black community and was largely overlooked throughout history. Hundreds of innovations were which were created by Black inventors are the cornerstone of society and laid the foundation for the Black business tradition, (Table 2.4, Page 56-60). Prior to the Civil War, the United States had legalized slavery, which

severely limited the range of such activity. Black entrepreneurs engaging in business activity was risky as there was always the possibility of being recaptured or limited by government restrictions. However, despite these problems, wherever there free Blacks, a business tradition soon developed. One of the best states for early Negro business activity was Pennsylvania, which was also the first state to emancipate slaves in 1780, (Butler, Page 86). However, slaves managed to maintain businesses as well, in spite of the limitations. Sophisticated networks of banks, insurance companies, and beneficial societies creating mutual aid societies and ethnic enclaves began to flourish which contributed to the economic growth of Black entrepreneurs, (Butler, Page 149).

After the Civil War, Jim Crow statutes and customs again placed obstacles if not outright restrictions on the freedom of Blacks to own and operate their own businesses. Although some argue that Jim Crow Laws helped sustain Black business. Black entrepreneurs forced to take an "economic detour", all but destroying the Black business tradition, were not allowed to take the same road to economic stability and self-help that other groups have enjoyed. The idea of an economic detour is that after the Civil War Blacks were restricted by law (Jim Crow Laws) and discrimination against for operating their businesses in an open market. This produced an intrusion of government into the normal operation of the market place. The policies of the government had a detrimental effect on the development and operation of Black businesses, (Butler, Page 151-152).

This frustrating duality sparked one of the most influential debates in the Black community took place between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois. Booker T. Washington, who organized the National Negro Business League in 1900, argued that

Blacks through industrial education and employment would begin to earn more respect in the business or commercial world, thereby eliminating the race problem in the South. On the contrary, W.E.B. DuBois, who published "The Philadelphia Negro" in 1899, argued for the advancement of civil rights for Black people and also for their continued intellectual growth.

More recently, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 removed these structures, at least legally. The Black experience has been overlooked in the sociology of entrepreneurship. Butler believes that scholarship are also been overlooked by Blacks themselves. Those who can trace their roots back to the self-help experience possess a set of values which are similar, if not identical, to the middleman ethnic groups. Such an approach means we must reconstruct how we think about race and economics in America, and about policy which relates to that experience, (Butler, Page 327).

Butler asserts that the work of Karl Marx centers on an analysis of capitalism as an economic system. Capitalism depends on the exploitation of the working class or proletariat by the owners of capital, or the bourgeoisie. The profits of the latter are developed as a result of the difference between the wages of labor and the value of the products produced. The value of a product, or commodity, is determined by the labor time necessary to produce it. The difference between wage level and the product is surplus value, which capitalist take as profit, (Butler, Page 289).

Marx's overall theory of society concentrates on the influence of economics on all aspects of life. He argues that the contradiction between the social nature of industry and capitalism, and the continued concentration of private property, will ultimately paralyze and destroy the economic system. Nestled within the overall theoretical

Marxist framework are ideas about equality and cooperation among people, a situation which improves after the destruction of capitalism. Thus, according to Marx, communism is, in reality, the essence of the emergence of humanism. People react to each other, not as the result of their place in the economic system, but as people. It is on this level that Marxism has been applied to race relations in America, (Butler, Page 289).

For Marxist, the basic social divisions should be class-based, rather than racial. However, the empirical evidence, throughout history, is that race has been much more important than class in determining all types of economic outcomes in America. Marxist scholars have never been able to accept this, especially where Black business development is concerned. It seems however, that ethnic solidarity is what helps create economic stability, especially when among groups which experience hostility for core societies, (Butler, Page 291). Marx believed that one "cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where the Black skin is branded," (Butler, Page 292).

Robert E. Weems contributed greatly to this discourse in *Desegregating the Dollar* which offers a historical perspective on the issue of Black consumerism in America. He sheds light on the last century and presents issues from the Great Migration, Jim Crow, Aunt Jemima and mammy, races records, Negro appeal radio, Negro league baseball, "Don't buy where you can't work", civil rights, boycotts, the destruction of Black business, Blaxploitation, marketing and advertising, buppies, and ultimately to the contemporary cross-over economy.

Chapter 4 "The Revolution Will Be Marketed: American Corporations and Black Consumers" during the 1960s" holds the key to those involved in the ongoing discourse regarding Blacks' future role in capitalist America. This text challenges the reader to pause and extrapolate the future possibilities and shows how Blacks can successfully flip the script based on lessons learned in the 1960s. It explores that question of whether or not there the economic consequences of the civil rights movement worthwhile. It could be if Black entrepreneurs can take it to the next level by developing a successful strategy to tap into mainstream markets and not simply being relegated to niche markets.

Weems discusses the 1970s demise of Black business and the negative impact of entrepreneur John H. Johnson due to his self-interest. Johnson held himself up as the barometer for all things Black, packaged it, and sold it to white corporate American in an effort to increase his own business holdings through increased advertising. In some ways his strategy was pure genius in solidifying his market share by creating a niche market. It seems that society can still learn quite a bit from past experience to make informed decisions about the future.

This scenario sets up a potential strategic model that could be used today by modern Black entrepreneurs to break into mainstream consumer markets. This has been successful in the hip-hop industry and could be duplicated in other industries in much the same manner that President Barack Obama has in the political arena. These strategies could include advanced use of technology, giving the customer what he wants, staying on message, achieving academic excellence, a paradigm shift from race

to class. The fact of the matter is that Johnson was right about the fact that equal opportunity is good business as long as it is not always one-sided.

Weems also focuses on the contemporary reality of the socioeconomic divide between Black 'haves' and 'have-nots', while not the only ethnic group, proliferated during the Reagan administration of the 1980s. Black consumers have been taken advantage of long enough by White business. Weems repeatedly indicates that "the primary beneficiaries of this phenomenon were not Black consumers but the corporations that sought their relatively limited dollars", (Weems, Page 116). Now is the time to capitalize on the knowledge, talent, and expertise that has historically been denied them. An example is the Black Heritage Product company which is still in existence on line. However this concept needs to reach a broader mainstream market to really compete. The reality is still the same, "presently we only retain in the Black community 7 cents of each dollar made by us. The other 93 cents are spent with people that return no value, no support no concern, (Weems, Page 131). However, there is economic support from the larger community by the way of taxes for social programs, infrastructure and social service programs. There are also majority business owners and citizens who are concerned and willing to participate in finding solutions.

Reminiscent of Abram Harris, **Earl Ofari** held a one-sided, controversial, and conservative Marxist perspective of Black entrepreneurs in his book *The Myth of Black Capitalism* where he purported that most, if not all, Black business ventures were total failures, a theory which he later rejected. According to Ofari, Booker T. Washington and the National Negro Business League (NNBL) did nothing to help create economic uplift

for Blacks and Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" Plan was just another failed attempt to dupe poor desperate Blacks out of their hard earned savings, (Ofari, Page 31, 38). He argued that the "Double Duty Dollar Plan" was merely a selfish ploy by the Black ministers, (Ofari, Page 40, 51).

He fails to acknowledge the monumental accomplishments of successful Black entrepreneurs such as Alonzo Herndon founder of Atlanta Life Insurance; A. G. Gaston insurance and real estate mogul; and Madame C.J. Walker the Black beauty product millionaire who Ofari calls a "sad sell-out". This author completely ignored the fact that enslaved Africans brought with them a rich tradition of entrepreneurial businesses practices which were continued in the United States after captivity. Ofari believed that given historic racism it was easier for Blacks to achieve success in business during the 18th century than is today (Ofari, Page 13). He also believed that the Black elite were different from white entrepreneurs in that they should not concern themselves with profit for the sake of the betterment Black masses, (Ofari, Page 18, 30). According to Ofari, the Nation of Islam's separatist movement made sense given the repeated historical failure of Black capitalism, (Ofari, Page 53). He believed there was a clear pattern of failure that should not be ignored, (Ofari Page 69, 77), and instead endorsed the three (3) concept of Rebate, Economic Cooperatives, and Reparations to have any positive impact on Black business.

As mentioned previously, John Sibley Butler defined the sociology of entrepreneurship as a study of race and economics through relationships and conflict between groups and the development of business activity. This area of sociology differs from traditional race and ethnic perspectives in that it asserts that to the extent which an

ethnic group is assimilated into a society the higher the probability for economic success for that group. Instead, the sociology of entrepreneurship concentrates on the process by which groups develop, maintain, and expand business enterprises within the economic structure and increasing the probability for economic security. Butler applies this methodology to a variety of minority group members (Afro-Americans, Greek, Jews, Asians, Amish, Japanese, Mexicans, etc) and then explores whether this activity leads to greater assimilation and autonomy in the larger society. The ability to do this in part depends in part upon the economic opportunities allowed by the host society, (Butler, Page 1). Black entrepreneurs can take it to the next level by developing a successful assimilation strategy to tap into mainstream markets and not simply being relegated to niche markets. Butler views self-help as simply owning a small business, or it could mean owning a successful professional practice. The emphasis is not on the size or prestige of the enterprise, but the fact that the enterprise may lead to self-sufficiency and economic stability. Economic stability is important because the parents of self-help groups are more able to pass their success to their children.

Beverly Daniel Tatum, in Assimilation Blues, the basic structure centers around the theory of what it means to be a middle-class Black parent living, working and raising children in the midst of a predominately White community. She also explores the significance and outcome of minority families absorbing into the cultural tradition of the majority group or "assimilation"—conform to the norm. Tatum asserts that true assimilation can both create opportunity, success, and the realization of the American dream while also causing a sense of rootlessness, isolation, and alienation (Tatum,

Page 1). Tatum tries to expand our understanding of Black families through analysis which explores; the ways black families vary within different segments of the population, the black family's relationship to its history, and the family's relationship to the community.

To the extent that a middle-class black family conforms to the norms of a community and does not fit the deviant racial stereotypes that exist in the popular culture, the community may also view the family as exceptional, (Tatum, Page 17). The phrase "But you're not like them," is commonly articulated as thinly cloaked a compliment without regard for the venomous insult lurking beneath. Families whose life patterns have varied from those typically described have been "invisible" to family researchers and social scientists that have largely overlooked their lives and experiences. This group is invisible because most research on black families focuses on poor welfare families in urban ghettos. For this reason, if no other, Tatum believed these "invisible families" need to be made visible, (Tatum, Page 1).

Tatum surveyed ten middle-class black families living in the midst of a predominately white community in the late 1980's. Its residents were upwardly-mobile and living harmoniously nestled in the mountain foothills against the panoramic coastal backdrop of southern California. This community was far away from the crime, smog and violence of the big city. The average age of the respondents was thirty-four years old for the women and thirty-eight years old for the men. All respondents had a higher level of education and income than their parents. All of the families surveyed had an average of two school-aged children. The majority of the families interviewed migrated from predominately black poor rural communities in the south. Tatum inquired each

family as to "how parents socialize their children in communities which are very different from the one's in which they grew up?", (Tatum, Page 18). The over-arching themes that emerged from the group in response to this query included: instill a sense of history; encourage a cross-section of friends; construct artificial black peer groups; birddog their educational experience; and prepare them for inevitable racism.

Success factors included education, religion, family and economic survival strategies. Most had a least one parent that emphasized the importance of education. The upwardly mobile character of these families places strong emphasis on the importance of education as a means for advancement. One father indicated that education was critical because he was unable to own his own business which his children could inherit like many of their White counterparts—they would most likely work for someone else. Religious participation was a requirement for most families growing up, however, only four of the ten families surveyed have continued to include church attendance as a regular family practice. Several of those interviewed mentioned that as a child they spent literally all day Sunday in church and now that they were grown they opted to make different use of their time on the weekend. As children most experienced close relationships with extended family members, and respect for others, especially adults, was a norm, (Tatum, Page 111-112). Because these families are a long way from home and isolated for their biological families, some non-kin relationships become so close to fulfill family-type functions. Friends become fictive kin, honored with titles such as "play mother" (or father, sister, brother, etc.) to indicate the closeness of the relationship, (Tatum, Page 10). It all comes down to economic survival. On the job, some felt they were the objects of scrutiny, being closely monitored by the Whites with

whom they work. The pressure is always on to perform. The only Black amidst a group of Whites is suddenly transformed from an individual with his own strengths and weaknesses to the standard-bearer who is the proverbial credit (or discredit) to his race. The daily effort can take its toll in psychological stress, (Tatum, Page 115). It seems that "constant fear" would be a major source of stress. But some might argue that being aware of the threat, understanding your own dilemma is part of "knowing the rules," and that is supposed to make life easier. Not knowing the rules will definitely make life harder, (Tatum, Page 99).

As upwardly mobile Black families, Tatum explores how they perceived their own heritage and social context given the distinct difference from their family of origin. These families were forced to navigate two cultures successfully in order to survive. This "biculturality", or the ability to function in two worlds, has been described by many others since at least the turn of the century, some of who preferred terms such as "double-consciousness", (Tatum, Page 14). In W.E.B. DuBois' The Souls of Black Folk, he described "Double-consciousness" as "Measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity". The divided self would not remain flawed, compromised, unstable, or tragic. It would become in time stronger for being doubled—not undermined, (DuBois, page 37).

Tatums' book Assimilation Blues shapes the issue of being Black in a predominately White community through further exploration the costs of conforming to the norm. While desire to feel good about one's own community remains largely unfulfilled for many middle-class black families living in white communities, the trade-off is clean air, safe streets, good schools, and more opportunities. The question of "cost"

asks if something has been lost in the process, perhaps a sense of family, a sense of history, that sense of "Blackness". While these families function without the social supports of an identifiable Black community, without involvement in a predominately Black church, without frequent contact with extended family members, without Blackowned businesses and leadership role-models, they have successfully transmitted to their children the meaning and importance of education, (Tatum, Page 108-109). Parents made efforts to cultivate "Blackness" based on the awareness that their children were constantly under siege by a culture that was not their own choosing, (Tatum, Page 90). Parents made special efforts to send their children home to the south for the summer to immerse them in "Blackness". I, myself made that journey as a child, finding that within a matter of a few days in Louisiana, I spoke and thought differently than my customary lowa acculturation. Unbeknownst to me, this was a carefully orchestrated power play by my southern-born parents. It did indeed create a sense of history and roots that would be impossible to emulate anywhere else but on the red dirt country roads of rural Louisiana.

Given the traditional pattern of Black families embedded in a support network of extended family and a larger Black community, Tatum explores how these families perceive and respond to their nontraditional environment. This framework illustrated the subject of what it means to be a middle-class Black parent living, working and raising children in the midst of a predominately White community. It broadens the context of community by expanding the stereotype of the Black family beyond its traditional urban ghetto norm. Tatum shines a spotlight on the topic of Black families with economic power and a rich heritage steeped in the tradition of hard work and family values.

It is applicable in Columbia, Missouri because there are numerous of these so-called "invisible people" here that have economic power and political potential. Future economic growth in Columbia and other communities could depend upon tapping into the wealth of expertise, buying power, and entrepreneurship of black families in increasing numbers. Columbia is very polarized in terms of racial groups. However, numerous middle/upper class black families live and work here in education, medicine, insurance, law, government, and are small business-owners. Families willing to make a race-conscious stand may be able to reap the benefits of the opportunities which drew them to this community in the first place, without sacrificing their children's Blackness in the process, (Tatum, Page 130).

D. The Theories for This Research

The key sociological framework in my research is the W.E.B. DuBois race theory as it relates to the problem of the sustainability of a separate Black economic development. DuBois said that the race problem then, as today, is difficult, extremely difficult, but the world has conquered worse problems before and will again. The specific example explored in this analysis turns the DuBois notion of a separate Black economic development on its head. I will refute the classical theory of a separate Black economic development by challenging it to increase Black businesses through mainstream marketing resulting in greater self-sufficiency and economic stability in Columbia; thereby strengthening the overall economy.

This study of growing sustainable Black business in Columbia, Missouri is grounded in classical Race Theory as the conceptual basis with economic uplift as the

framework. Yet, it considers the viability of a separate Black economic development is a key concept. Other relevant concepts for this research include social inequity using a Marxist slant; a Weber approach to evaluate the impact of religion and the economy; Emilie Durkheim to explore the value of family and networks in establishing sustainable Black business; an analysis of power from the Bourdieu school of thought; and the Freudian work ethic concept to establish a basis for sustainability. Important contemporary theorist and experts on Black entrepreneurship include: Juliet E. K. Walker, John Sibley Butler, Robert E. Weems, and Earl Ofari.

Chapter III: Findings

A. U.S. Census

Revenues generated by the nation's 1.2 million Black-owned businesses rose 25 percent between 1997 and 2002 to \$88.8 billion in 2002, while the number of such firms grew by 45 percent in the same five-year period, although Missouri firms only increased between 0% to 24.9%, (Table 6: Black-Owned Business Percent Change in Number of Firms).

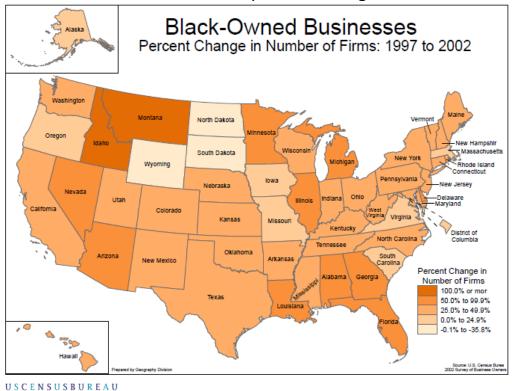


Table 6: Black-Owned Business (Percent Change in Number of Firms)

This is according to a new report, *Survey of Business Owners: Black-Owned Firms: 2002*, released by the U.S. Census Bureau. "It's encouraging to see not just the number but the sales and receipts of black-owned businesses are growing at such a robust rate, confirming that these firms are among the fastest growing segments of our

economy," said Census Bureau Director Louis Kincannon, (Bergman, U.S. Census Bureau News, 2006).

The 2002 Survey of Black-Owned (SBO) firms found there were 1.2 million black-owned firms in the U.S., employing nearly 754 thousand persons and generating nearly \$89 billion in business revenues. These black-owned firms accounted for 5.2 percent of all nonfarm businesses in the U.S., 0.7 percent of their employment, and 0.4 percent of their receipts. New York had the greatest number of black-owned firms with 129,324, followed by California (112,873), Florida (102,079), Georgia (90,461) and Texas (88,769). These five states accounted for about 44 percent of all black-owned businesses in the United States. Other states with high numbers of Black-owned firms include Maryland, Illinois, North Carolina, Michigan, Virginia and Louisiana, (Bergman, U.S. Census Bureau News, 2006).

The SBO defines black-owned businesses as firms in which Blacks own 51 percent or more of the stock or equity of the business. The data in this report were collected as part of the 2002 Economic Census from a large sample of all nonfarm businesses filing 2002 tax forms as individual proprietorships, partnerships, or any type of corporation, and with receipts of \$1,000 or more, (Bergman, U.S. Census Bureau News, 2006).

In 2002, nearly 4-in-10 black-owned firms operated in health care and social assistance, and other services, such as personal services, and repair and maintenance, where they owned 9.7 percent of all such businesses in the U.S. Retail trade, and health care and social assistance accounted for 28.7 percent of all black-owned business revenue. Fifty-four percent of the retail trade revenue was concentrated in

motor vehicle and parts dealers. Black-owned firms with paid employees accounted for 8 percent of the total number of black-owned firms and 74.2 percent of the gross receipts. There were 969 firms with 100 employees or more which accounted for \$16 billion in gross receipts (24.3 percent of the total receipts of black-owned employer firms).

A comparison of the 2002 and 1997 published data for black-owned firms and all U.S. firms shows that when compared to all U.S. businesses, excluding publicly held corporations and firms for which race is indeterminate, black-owned firms accounted for 5.3 percent of firms, 1.4 percent of employees, and 1.0 percent of receipts, (Table 7: Black-Owned Business Percentage of All Firms).

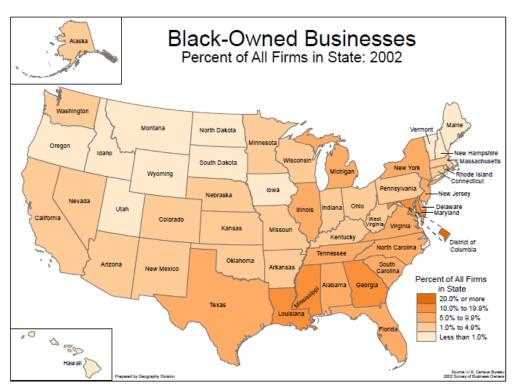


Table 7: Black-Owned Business (Percentage of All Firms)

USCENSUSBUREAU

Helping You Make Informed Decisions

There were 10,716 black-owned firms with receipts of \$1 million or more. These firms accounted for 1 percent of the total number of black-owned businesses and 55 percent of their total receipts, (Bergman, U.S. Census Bureau News, 2006).

B. Minority Business in Missouri

State policies toward Black businesses have been difficult to change given current attitudes and historic practices. The State of Missouri was a slave state. Slavery was big business with slaves being bought and sold like cotton, sugar or any other commodity. In 1823, each county in Missouri was authorized to establish slave patrols--primitive, often abusive guards who enforced evening curfews and punishments without process. This surveillance protected a vital industry, (Table 8: Missouri Law). Because of its strategic location on the Missouri River and the insatiable demand for slaves for the southern cotton plantations, St. Louis became a major slave market where humans were exchanged.

Table 8: Missouri Law

NEGROES AND MULATTOES. AN ACT respecting slaves, free negroes and mulattoes. § 1. Negreos or mulattoes not to be taught to read or write. 2. Where preacher is negro or mullato; certain officers to be present at service. 3. Certain specified meetings unlawful; how suppressed. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri, as follows: § 1. No person shall keep or teach any school for the instruction of negroes or mulattoes, in reading or writing, in this State.

Slave holding was common throughout the state. In the 1860 census, every county in Missouri except two reported having slaves. The two counties with the largest numbers of slaves in 1860 were in central Missouri: Howard (Fayette) and Boone (Columbia). The notorious Dred Scott v. Sandford 60 U.S. 393 (1857) set the tone for the rights of Blacks in Missouri and across the country. In this case, the Supreme Court held that Dred Scott, a slave, was not entitled to bring a suit in a federal court under the diverse citizenship clause of the Constitution. In effect, the Court held that Blacks were not United States citizens and that Scott had not become free as a result of his residence in Illinois (Warren², Page 5).

As a result of 50 years of ethnic cleaning in rural Missouri, by the time America prepared for the 1st World War, Missouri's Black people had been largely confined to the impoverished ghettos of St. Louis and Kansas City or in a limited number of much smaller ghettos in small towns. Black people had elevated the pain of economical, social, spiritual alienation, to the "St. Louis Blues". During the Great Migration, Blacks left Missouri in unprecedented numbers to provide labor for the factories in Chicago, Detroit, and other northern cities.

During the 1920's, a successful Black middle class began to emerge in Jefferson City. These individuals were primarily professors at Lincoln University which was founded in 1866 by members of the 62nd and 65th United States Colored Infantry. Yet, few economic opportunities for mainstreaming Missouri's Black communities, and "the disadvantages of segregation far outweighed any financial advantages gained by a few Black businesses," (Warren², Page 3). Black people were the last hired and first fired, as white unions became increasingly hostile to Black people.

With the entrance of the U.S. in World War II, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802 that required defense contractors to pledge nondiscrimination in employment on the basis of race, creed, color or national origin. It also established the first Committee on Fair Employment Practices which was authorized to investigate complaints and sanction agencies for noncompliance. That same year, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9346 which extended coverage of the nondiscrimination employment provisions to all Federal contractors and subcontractors "to promote the fullest utilization of all available manpower, and to eliminate discriminatory employment practices." Under the Order, all Federal contractors were required to include in all contracts with the government a provision obligating each contractor not to discriminate in its employment practices (Warren¹, Page 7).

In 1989, the United States Supreme Court held in City of Richmond v. Croson, 488 U.S. 469, that race-conscious, minority participation programs established by state and local governments were not permissible unless they could satisfy the "strict scrutiny" standard of review under the Equal Protection clause. This meant that such programs must be "narrowly tailored" to serve a "compelling governmental interest" to pass constitutional muster (Warren², Page 2). The guidelines established by Croson meant that governments had to have a demonstrated fact basis for concluding that minority businesses were ready, willing, and able to perform government contracts in numbers significantly greater than their actual participation in such contracts, and that low minority contracting participation was due to discrimination as opposed to other factors. Since Croson, state and local governments have attempted to establish this

foundation in fact through a type of statistical study that became known as a "disparity study," (Warren², Page 5).

In 1997, I had the opportunity to actively participate in statewide minority business development in Minority & Women-owned Business Initiative in Missouri. As the Director of the Office of Equal Opportunity, I provided the raw data for statistical analysis, drafted policy, presented progress reports the Missouri General Assembly and the Minority Business Advocacy Commission, and collaborated on plan implementation. In 1990, a directive from the Missouri General Assembly was issued to conduct a study and implement a plan to remedy any disparities in state government. The Office of Administration moved to "establish and implement a plan to increase and maintain the participation of certified socially and economically disadvantaged small business concerns or minority business enterprises, directly or indirectly, in contracts for supplies, services, and construction contracts, consistent with goals determined after an appropriate study conducted to determine the availability of socially and economically disadvantaged small business concerns and minority business enterprises in the marketplace," (Warren², Page 7). The study was conducted primarily during 1994 and 1995, analyzing the state's procurement in fiscal years 1989 through 1994 in three areas: construction, design, and general goods and services.

The disparity study surveyed Missouri businesses owned by women, Blacks, Asian-Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans. We dealt with the issue of discrimination by contracting with the experts of Mason Tillman & Associates, from San Francisco, CA to implement the Disparity Study and address the issues of exclusion in the State of Missouri contracting practices. In many cases, the State of Missouri

Disparity Study found a statistically significant disparity between the number of qualified available businesses owned by women and minorities in the state and the percentage of state purchases from such businesses. For example, the study found that Blacks represented 13% of available construction firms, yet received 2.2% of construction contracts; represented 15.1% of available design consultants, but received 2.7% of design consultant contracts; and represented 16.9% of available vendors and consultants in the general purchasing area, but received 2% of contracts and purchase The study found that White females represented 11.1% of available orders. construction firms, but received 10.8% of construction contracts; represented 12.9% of design consultants, but received 3.2% of design consultant contracts; and represented 10.5% of available consultants and vendors in the general purchasing area, but received only 5% of such contracts and purchase orders, (Warren, Page 13). We enhanced the capability of the minority business community to use its own appropriate information and engage companies in forming viable and sustainable progress through antidotal interviews at town hall meetings.

The Disparity Study was reviewed by an oversight review committee composed of representatives from the legislature, state departments and the private sector. That committee did a thorough and lengthy review of the study and its results, culminating in a report delivered to the governor in December 1997, (Warren, Page 15). That report contained a number of specific recommendations of measures for the state to take to increase its minority and women owned business contracting participation. In addition to the compelling governmental interest demonstrated by the disparity study, Governor Carnahan expressed a strong interest in developing minority and women business

participation in state contracting. In addition to approving the funding for the disparity study in 1993, he issued Executive Order 94-03 which directed state agencies to seek to purchase five percent of their goods and services from minority and women-owned businesses. In November 1998, the governor issued Executive Order 98-21 which raised procurement goals to twenty percent for minority owned and ten percent for women owned business. These goals apply to all state agencies. It authorized specific measures such as mandatory subcontracting, targeted procurements, and contractual penalty clauses to achieve these goals.

The plan stated that state government expenditures should reflect the diversity of all its citizens and businesses at all levels of employment and in all areas of the economy, (Warren, Page 9). We encouraged minority businesses to collaborate and develop new partnerships through joint ventures or strategic alliances. In addition, statewide initiatives were implemented to promote diversity in state government's contract opportunities which should reflect the diversity of its citizens.

The Office of Contract Compliance (OCC) collaborated with the Division of Purchasing and Materials Management, the Supplier Diversity Program, and the Division of Design and Construction on the enforcement of the Minority and Women-Owned Business Enterprise (MBE/WBE) participation and Certification programs. Together they developed policies and procedures to monitor contractor compliance and evaluate the availability and under-utilization of minority and women-owned businesses. While the OCC gave guidance to state agencies, each individual department elected a representative who served as principal advisor on all matters relating to minority and women-owned business participation in state contracts. Members had department wide

access with the authority to implement policy and procedural changes for the purpose of achieving the goal.

The study identified the barriers encountered by minority and women-owned businesses in state government procurements which included: resistance from staff decision makers; purchasing and contracting policies such as competitive bidding, volume purchase agreements, purchasing consortiums, and sole source specifications that immediately eliminate minority businesses. These barriers can be defined as "inhouse." In-house barriers are those inherent in the organization to which the MBE is attempting to sell. They are caused by operational rules and management traditions. They are also caused by traditional purchasers' attitudes. Minority purchasing totals are not, in total, indicative of "failed" actions designed to enhance minority contractor and vendor participation, but rather, previously identified barriers to minority participation.

We broadened the web of inclusion by publicizing the Supplier Diversity Program to provide internal and external awareness of the Supplier Diversity Program through orientations, informational sessions and workshops created inclusion. Also, outreach efforts through the Internet and appropriate external advertising formats (i.e. minority and women-owned business newspapers, journals, etc.) helped to cast a wide net. We produced the Supplier Diversity Program Newsletter on a quarterly basis to reach a broad group of business-owners. Having the opportunity to hear what was important to everyone involved was a key factor on the success of the project and promoted mutual understanding and shared responsibility.

During this process we held numerous town hall meetings around the state to capture the sentiments of the minority contractor community. They felt that the factors limiting minority inclusion and participation included:

- Large contracts are devastating to minority-owned business, particularly in the Information Technology areas, because it locks them out for years;
- Minority-owned businesses want to work as prime-contractor not just as a small subcontractor;
- The state needed to require an architect and engineer evaluation process to name their minority consultants upfront and assign a large percentage of the points (25 pts) for minority participation; and
- Majority prime contractors should submit the names of minority partners and be required to make good on it rather than never actually contacting them directly and never make good on the work promised, (Warren², Page 16).

We also held numerous town hall meetings around the state to capture the sentiments of the minority supplier community. They felt that the factors limiting minority inclusion and participation included:

- Decentralization of purchasing functions and smaller bids create less interest in doing business with the state, thus promotes less minority participation. Examples of decentralized purchasing are the procurement card, and delegation of purchasing authority to agencies;
- Smaller and less established businesses typically do not bid with the state because of the increased paperwork and delayed payment;
- Executive Order 98-21 which requires inclusion was felt to have a positive impact on meeting the goals; and
- Process improvements like prompt pay could have a positive impact on the number of minority firms willing to do business with the state, (Warren², Page 16).

Recommendations included: Improved reporting and tracking of expenditures through SAMII technology; continue the use of the Contract Compliance Council for the development of new methods for increasing participation; develop recommendation for supply side, as suggested by the Governor, including tax incentives; and update the disparity study to include more information on the capacity of existing firms and updated goals.

Ultimately, after this lengthy process concluded, the state and its partners created potential solutions which developed into an Action Plan which stated:

- Design a mechanism for automatically sending bid history to MBE's;
- The ability to negotiate if the bid is "close" in dollar amount;
- Raise the percentage counted for suppliers (from 20% to 100%) because general contractors don't even consider them if they don't get full credit;
- Develop a class for MBE's which meets monthly to help work through problems and issues limiting their participation and then graduate after a designated period of time. Repeat with a new class;
- Some categories have no MBE's in them and need to be developed.
 Good faith effort should not include a copy of the yellow pages, rather should require use of directories.
- MBE's should be required to "sign-off" on RFP to verify that they were actually by the prime contractors contacted.
- Put a clause in the Request for Proposal (like the State of Kansas) that states
 "if you can find the same product for equal cost from an MBE/WBE or small local business instead" you can purchase off contract.

The viability of minority entrepreneurs developing the capacity to compete for state and other contracts was the critical issue at stake. The State of Missouri had to

take a long hard look inward and ask some very difficult questions about how it did business. However, we successfully used a community development process that used proven techniques for listening skills, open discussion, brainstorming strategies, tools for managing long lists, dealing with difficult dynamics, collaborations, and designing realistic agendas. This process was vitally important to maximize the outcome, remedy historic discriminatory government policies, and develop win-win solutions. I am very proud of the work we accomplished at the State of Missouri. The policies set in motion in 1999 were proven effective in increasing minority participation in state contracting.

On November 10, 2009, at the St. Louis American Newspaper "Salute to Excellence in Black Business Awards Luncheon", Commissioner Kelvin Simmons provided insight into this process and the success and subsequent failure of the State of Missouri's Minority and Women-Owned Business program. The Commissioner explained with great pride that the State's Disparity Study project and implementation was a tremendous success initially. Minority participation in state contracting opportunities immediately following implementation of the plan met and even exceeded expectations. Several state agencies including the Missouri Departments of Insurance, Labor and Industrial Relations, and Economic Development reported minority participation in contracting well in excess of twenty percent. This was monumental increase from previous participation figures that languished around 0 percent only a few years prior to implementing the plan. However, hard-fought this victory in inclusion was, it only took just a couple of years, and a new administration to tear down the success and diminish the participation back to near zero percent. Commissioner Simmons proposed a challenged to all Missourians to reverse this travesty and return to an

inclusive process, stating that "We built the house and witnessed its subsequent destruction—and now is the time to rebuild!"

C. Black Business in Columbia, Missouri

Columbia is an education and healthcare city in Boone County, Missouri. The city has an estimated population of 90,947 as of 2006. The city was founded in 1819. Columbia is located roughly equidistant from St. Louis and Kansas City on Interstate 70. Columbia lies in the heart of the Little Dixie region of Missouri and is frequently ranked on various "top places" in the United States lists, such as Money Magazine's annual lists. The city is home to the University of Missouri–Columbia, the flagship campus of the University of Missouri System, Stephens College, a traditionally-female college, and Columbia College, which led in the past to Columbia being known by the nickname "College Town USA". Forty-two percent of Columbia resident have a college degree as compared to seventeen percent statewide.

As a whole the city has a very young and active population. The downtown area is self-proclaimed as "Mid-Missouri's cultural and entertainment center, featuring a diversity of restaurants, bars, live music, and independent films." Downtown is also host to many events including the True/False Film Festival, Art in the Park, The Blind Boone Ragtime and Early Jazz Festival, and the Roots n' Blues and BBQ festival. Recently an association of downtown business has initiated a campaign to rename the downtown area to "The District" (formerly home of the Sharp End neighborhood) though this naming has yet to catch on among locals, (Table 9-10: Sharp End).

Table 9: Sharp End Neighborhood



The District's West End was Columbia's first Black neighborhood--then known as Sharp End--and was the home of one of the city's most amazing citizens, J.W. "Blind" Boone. His story begin in the final year of the Civil War as Rachel Boone, a runaway slave from a family descended from Daniel Boone, gave birth to a baby in a Union Army camp near Miami, Missouri. Before John William reached his first birthday, he was diagnosed with "brain fever," a vaguely defined yet commonly reported disease of the time. The only option to relieve the swelling of his brain was the complete removal of his eyes. However, this didn't affect his amazing ear for music. He attended music classes at Christian College (now Columbia College) and soon became a nationwide ragtime sensation.

The Blind Boone home located on North Fourth Street is designated as "Nationally Significant" on the National Register of Historic Places. The house is currently undergoing a historic renovation. Future plans for this site include a ragtime museum dedicated to J.W. "Blind" Boone and his music.

http://www.discoverthedistrict.com/historic walk/sidetrips.html

Table 10: Sharp End Business Photo



Tiger Lounge, Sharp End, 4th & Walnut, 1950s

Courtesy of Wynna Faye Elbert

The population generally supports progressive causes such as the extensive city recycling programs and the legalization of marijuana's use medicinally at the municipal level (though this law has since been tightened). On October 10, 2006, the City Council approved an ordinance to prohibit smoking in restaurants and bars. The ordinance was passed with protest, and several amendments to the ordinance reflect this.

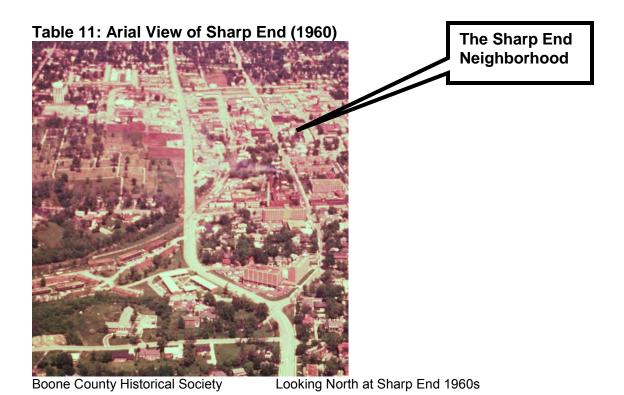
At the time, some of the residents of Columbia retain some attitudes and beliefs towards minorities from the "Little Dixie" era. One of the later lynching's (1923) of Blacks in Missouri was in Columbia. The Columbia police have been accused recently of using racial profiling and other discriminatory practices. Columbia can be said to have two faces both progressive and conservative, (Table 11: Arial View of Sharp End 1960), (Table 12: Demolition Photo).

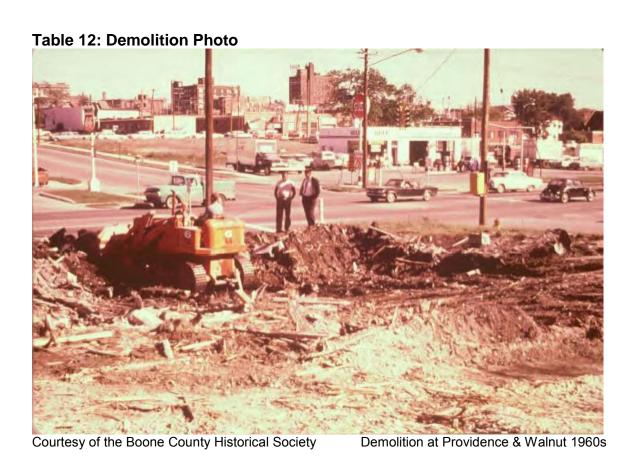
Demographics

As of the census in 2000, there were 84,531 people, 33,689 households, and 17,282 families residing in the city. There were 35,916 housing units at an average density of 261.3/km² (676.8/mi²). The racial makeup of the city was 81.54% White, 10.85% Black or African American, 0.39% Native American, 4.30% Asian, 0.04% Pacific Islander, 0.81% from other races, and 2.07% from two or more races. 2.05% of the population was Hispanic or Latino of any race.

There were 33,689 households out of which 26.1% had children under the age of 18 living with them, 38.2% were married couples living together, 10.3% had a female householder with no husband present, and 48.7% were non-families. 33.1% of all households were made up of individuals and 6.5% had someone living alone who was 65 years of age or older. The average household size was 2.26 and the average family size was 2.92.

The median income for a household in the city was \$33,729, and the median income for a family was \$52,288. Males had a median income of \$34,710 versus \$26,694 for females. The per capita income for the city was \$19,507. About 9.4% of families and 19.2% of the population were below the poverty line, including 14.8% of those.





D. Interviews with Black Business Owners

The most recent U.S. Census data on Black business in 2002 indicated that there were 1.2 million black-owned firms in the U.S. These Black-owned firms accounted for 5.2 percent of all nonfarm businesses in the U.S. According to the City of Columbia Business License Office, there are there are 3313 total businesses licensed in the city, of which 940 are home-based, leaving 2373 businesses with a physical business address. These businesses are subject to City code compliance, zoning compliance, fire code compliance, and other legal requirements. A list was compiled using the Columbia Minority Business Coalition, a relatively new grass roots minority business advocacy organization, information and other known entities which totaled 123 Black-owned businesses in Columbia which accounted for 3.7% of all Columbia businesses or 1.5% less than the national figure.

Methodology

The data in this study was collected through a sample of 24 Black business owners who have a physical location, and personal experience with business success in Columbia, Missouri. These respondents represent 20% of all Blacks doing business as individual proprietorships, partnerships, or any type of corporation in Columbia. These respondents were willing voluntary informants selected based on their knowledge and availability. Nearly 29% operated in the retail trade industry, 25% in the beauty industry, 46% professional services which includes legal services, health and fitness, education, social assistance, and other services, construction, and repair and maintenance.

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¹ Success was defined as being in business at the time of the interview.

The interviews were conducted utilizing an Interview Guide (Table: 5: Interview Guide), which stratified 30 questions that were derived from the research concepts outlined in the Concept Diagram (Table 3: Concept Diagram). These concepts were identified as critical issues that related to business success through my coursework and extensive readings. The interviews were voluntary. All 24 business owners agreed in writing to being photographed for the purpose of this research. The photos will be used for an academic presentation at the History of Black Business Conference in Athens, GA in the spring of 2010. The responses underwent extensive review and processing (Table 6: Interview Response Data). All identifying personal characteristics were coded to maintain confidentiality. The data was then tabulated and analyzed. There were 24 Black owned businesses that participated which included: Retail stores (7) or (29%); barber and beauty shops (6) or (25%); professional and/or human services (11) or (45.8%). The 7 retail stores included: clothing stores (2); a jewelry store (1); a florist (1); a market (1); equipment store (1); and a seamstress (1). The 6 barber and beauty shops included: barber shops (2); and beauty shops (4). The 11 professional and/or human services included: a law firm (1); and an insurance agency (1); a bakery (1) and a restaurant (1); a youth program gym (1); an instructional gym (1); a daycare center (1); a school (1); a construction company (1); an auto repair shop (1); and a dry cleaners (1).

The interviews focused on the concepts of Education and Experience, Family Support, Cultural, Growth and Sustainability, Economic and Political, and Community Networks as key aspects for business success that could be emulated in the future.

These concepts revealed a wide spectrum of information which will be useful for future growth of subsequent Black owned firms in Columbia, Missouri.

Education and Experience Concepts

As a college town, Columbia, Missouri has a highly educated population of over 40%, compared to a statewide average of only 17%. The interview respondents also possess a high level of education of 37.5% having an undergraduate degree, advanced degree, or professional degree. Another 33% completed some college beyond high school. Nearly half of the entrepreneurs interviewed were originally from Columbia, Missouri, and another 29% from elsewhere in Missouri. The strong ties to the communities likely strengthened their ability to succeed in business. Some of the business owners were inspired into entrepreneurship by having the knowledge and experience (33%). Others had the opportunity to take over an existing business were they had worked to gain skills. Several respondents describe on-the-job training which allowed them to learn all aspects of the business first hand. In many instances, the original owner retired and felt confident enough in selling the established enterprise to their former employee. Another Black business owner not only held a college degree, but completed the entire IBM business training program with further prepared him for success. Over 58% of the respondents prepared themselves for success through advanced education and training.

Case Study: One respondent described how his undergraduate and master's degree in business coupled with his experience coaching both high school and college basketball enabled him to start his own gym utilizing the same skill sets.

Understanding business from an academic standpoint as well as a pragmatic one prepared him to succeed in business. His earlier business experience also included marketing special events, coordinating advertisements and securing sponsors, purchasing equipment, and promoting the programs. All of these activities provided the transferable skills a strong baseline for a successful youth program and athletic facility.

The interview took place in the large metal building that housed the large gymnasium facility. Tucked deep back in an industrial park and adjacent to a commercial print shop, this is an unexpected oasis for kids from Columbia and surrounding communities. This building has ample parking and relatively easy access. Once inside you are met with a small table set up to collect admission fees and bleacher seats that are typically filled with enthusiastic parents and athletic fans. The court is used for a variety of sports including basketball, in-door soccer, volleyball and private events. The walls are adorned with over-sized banners advertising the home team name the Columbia Orangeman and the Lakers. There are also banners for program sponsors such as Hy-Vee and a scoreboard.

There is a corridor leading to the concession area passing the restrooms along the way. Once in this open area there is a counter top lined with snacks, a hotdog machine, and condiments. The wall behind the concession counter has several large refrigerators for sports drinks, soda and water. Mounted high above the refrigerators is a flat screen television which is generally set on a basketball game of some sort. This room is equipped with a half dozen 8-foot tables and orange padded chairs.

As I sat down in the orange chair to conduct the interview, I observed a voluminous amount of trophies, team photos, medals, plaques, and newspaper article

that lined the back wall. Several of the items were mementoes from the owner's professional basketball career in Australia where he was a local celebrity. Twenty-five percent (25%) of the interview respondents revealed that they were athletic when they were growing up. This characteristic could also explain success in business due to the hard work, determination, teamwork, and persistence that it takes to get ahead in both.

Family Support Concepts

Family support was an important aspect for success, although most respondents (45.8%) had no idea what they wanted to do when they grew up. Many respondents (37.5%) were committed to doing what they loved and were passionate about, and another 37% did not have a desire to work for someone else. When exploring childhood characteristics 33.3% of respondents had "out-going" personalities, 29% were very "independent", and 25% were "athletic". Often it seems that individuals, who have the drive and determination to excel in athletics, achieve success in business because of the same characteristics. Hard work, dedication, and commitment are all leadership traits that are indicative of people who possess the qualities that facilitate business success. One respondent described her independent nature as "deviant", explaining that she also wanted to do things her own way and never worried about being alone. She explained, "I was so curious, I just stayed in trouble!" She shared a poem that described how deviant she felt as a child [excerpt]: "I really didn't look like the others...No one liked me, and I replied by saying 'So what'. I could throw a rock as good as any boy, and I could make a rock follow you around the corner. In school I was deviant too. The teacher stopped me from wearing pants. One of my teachers said,

Maybe you will act like a lady if you dress like one. Another said, "I was sort of like the Denise Huxtable of the Cosby kids...different."

Many of the Black owned businesses interviewed had other family members help out in the business at a rate of 62.5%, with an average of 5 paid employees. Often family members such as a spouse, sibling, children, or members of the extended family work in the business. One respondent actually became interested in starting her own shop after working for her brother initially. The family had several other family members who were entrepreneurs as well, owning such firms as a daycare, a property management company, and a construction company. Yet, conversely, 62.5% of respondents had financial assistance from family to start the enterprise. Many family members offered sweat equity as a means of support because financial support was not available. Several had family member assist in the renovation of the facility such as painting, installing fixtures, laying carpet and flooring, landscaping, and carpentry. One respondent explained that her family provided a tremendous amount of moral support but were not able to provide financial support. Additionally, 46% of respondents had a mother with a professional occupation and provided a strong role model. If did not matter that it was not in the same industry, this role model was a likely example of achieving your goals through hard work, training, and commitment. Another respondent describe how her father had three jobs, two of which were entrepreneurial ventures, which showed her a strong work ethic and that she did not have to work for someone else.

Case Study: One of the businesses interviewed which exemplifies the epitome of successful family support. The owners are a wonderful mother-daughter team of

experienced professional master hairstylists. The mother is very soft spoken, honest, and accepting of new things. The daughter is very creative, talented, and out-going. Together they are dynamic duo that makes everyone feel safe and confident that they will be in good hands. They talk to their considerably large clientele about new styles, new products they have heard about at the national trade shows (that they travel to frequently to stay up on the latest trends), and current events. There are grandmothers, college students, business women, retirees, high school girls, and a few little girls that come to get "their hair did". Some are quiet and keep to themselves, while other engage in lively conversations about children, politics, local events, church activities, concerts, sporting events, school, anniversaries, weddings, and oh-yeah—hair. They talk about haircuts, hair color, hair rinses, hair weaves, ponytails, braids, waxing, updos, and wigs. The possibilities seem endless in terms of styles, techniques, and tricks to keep looking good.

The interview took place at the business which is located in an old house that has been renovated to accommodate a beauty shop. The entrance through the chain link fence and up the stairs brings you to the front door. It is locked at all times and you have to be buzzed-in to open the door for security purposes. The shop has been in business for over twenty-eight years. They have a loyal clientele that has moved with them from two previous locations. Its owner's are a mother and daughter partnership specializes in Black hair and nail care.

In the waiting room two elderly Black ladies visited about the good old days and cooking home cooked meals. One leaned back in her seat with a white stocking cap on with her hands folded in her lap. "Cooking was hard work! I used to heat up the kitchen

in the summertime cooking pies and cakes and all kinds of food. And you better have the house cleaned up before Mama got home! We used to go out in the yard and get a chicken to kill to feed all eight of us. I never did figure out what to do with the feathers! We had fried apple pies and little biscuits—they were so good! My Grandma use to cook on one of those little stoves—we used to work so hard! We never had any weight problems and never had to pay \$50.00 to go to the gym, no T.V., no phone, or electricity!" she laughed.

The waiting room has a large Coca Cola vending machine and a wonderful display cabinet of historical Black hair care equipment like Marcel irons, hot combs, picks, and hot curlers. There are newspaper articles on the wall about the shop owner and stacks of books from which to select a new "do", or "hairdo" that is. As you are called back by the stylist you pass a spotless restroom and walk over one of those old fashioned floor heater grates. In the salon area there are several work stations with styling chairs and mirrors all around. There are fantastic pictures on the wall depicting a grandmother having her hair combed by her granddaughter and state licenses for each operator. The floor is vinyl tile for easy clean up and the lighting is bright. The music is piped in through a DMX system that is always resting on either the classic R & B station, or the Urban Beat channel. It often sparks conversations about favorite songs and "Do you remember that jam?", or "I can't believe Barry White is dead!"

A group of ladies discuss the murder of a local businessman in Mexico, Missouri last night. He was someone well-known in the community and his death was a real shock. Another group discussed the upcoming holiday dance held by a sorority at the country club and how to plan for it—what to wear, how to wear your hair, and so forth.

Others talk about holiday vacation plans to warm places far away from the Missouri cold.

One mother mentioned that she wanted to bring her three year old in to have her hair washed and pressed. The shop owner, knowing how tender-headed the child is, laughed and said, "Wait until she is ten years old and then *maybe* we can do her head! One child with hair down her back came in for her first relaxer and did not like having the water on her head...she slung water and perm all over the shop...her mother finally had to hold her down in the chair to wash out the chemical!", she chuckled.

Cultural Concepts

Over 70% stated that they had a mentor who believed in them and supported their dream of business ownership. Many describe their former employers as mentors and supporters. One example was from a respondent who explained that "I just watched people and emulated them; they didn't even know they were my mentor." Plus my aunt to me "You do what you want to do, not what other people want you to do...Don't let them limit you!" A strong faith and the power of prayer was an extremely important aspect of success for 83.3% of Columbia's Black business community. In fact, one respondent said, "God keeps the lights on!", and another successful business owner has her products blessed every week by the minister of the church. She quoted a bible scripture which stated' "I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me." The aspect of success that seemed to be the highest source of pride is having the opportunity to help people (29%), and maintaining a successful and sustainable enterprise (29%), followed closely by faithful customers (21%). An example of helping

people emerged when a respondent described how she helped several other attorney by sending them work on cases, another business owner help almost every other hair stylist in Columbia by helping them get their license by working under her initially, yet another shared that she was a member of a Christian owned Business Network which was based on biblical principles. Several respondents hired Career Awareness Related Experience (C.A.R.E.) workers which is a City of Columbia Parks and Recreation Department summer program that provides job training for youth ages 14 to 18. This program has been in existence since 1982 and many Black business owners believe that it is a good way to give back to the community as well as provide valuable job skills for young people who may not have had the opportunity to ever see a successful Black business function. One entrepreneur actually started as a CARE worker herself before becoming a success business owner, stating "Each one should teach one!"

Case Study: One observation of cultural concepts is illustrated through the oldest Black business in central Missouri, (Table 10: Sharp End Neighborhood). Over the last forty years it grew from a single facility in Columbia, to include facilities in Mexico, and Fulton, Missouri. Like most other black businesses in this industry the clientele was historically predominately black ranging from poor, working, middle, and upper-class families. They were located near the Columbia Public Housing Projects and sits perch on a hillside where four abandon houses once stood. At one time, these circa 1920 homes provided shelter for crack heads, raccoons, and local vagrants. They had fallen in disrepair by absentee landlords and become an eyesore to a once proud community.

Today, a new red brick structure sits back on the property flanking the city water tower. However, the entrance reaches out into the street through the careful placement of a brick and wood business sign which is brightly lit at night. The grounds are carefully manicured and seasonal flowers grace the property flanking both driveways. The edge of the property, near the rear, is the lower parking level which also doubles as a basketball court for the proprietor's children as well as the neighborhood kids. The basketball goal was a gift from the next door neighbor who has lived there for the last 50 years. It might seem that the destruction of the other houses would cause tension in this old established community, but actually the homeowners supported the change. The addition to the neighborhood sparked improvements on other nearby properties.

The entrance is balanced by four large white fluted columns which support the portico chere. The glass entrance doors allow clear view of the lobby within, squelching many fears of the unknown. Upon entry, your ears are greeted with the soothing sound of trickling water from roman-empire styled lions head decorative fountain, and your eyes are drawn to the large floral explosion of hyacinth, gladiolas, and ferns. The forest green laurel leaf carpet attempts to bring the outside in as it meanders through the lobby. The furniture is a combination of family heirlooms and new pieces added during the move from the tiny original facility. Hidden within an entertainment center is a television, juxtapose is a grandfather clock which proudly memorializes the date of dedication of the new facility. The lighting is repeated throughout the building has metal rope and tassel fittings in a chardonnay finish. There are doubled doors on the east side of the lobby which open into the large area with a capacity for one-hundred and twenty-five people seated in forest green chairs with gold frames that sparkle in the

light. The altar is arched and supported by white fluted columns reminiscent of the exterior. Huge floral arrangements flank the podium on each side and serve the dual purpose of ornamentation and filling in the gaps when the deceased has little or no flowers sent by friends and family.

South of the chapel is the administrative wing which houses offices for the proprietor and a conference room used for making family arrangements and a staff break room. The Queen Anne table seats six and a green and burgundy plaid camel-backed sofa from Rust and Martin seats three. Overhead is a famous piece of black art entitled "The Processional" by Ellis Wilson depicts an old-time funeral procession. Farther down the hall are the restrooms facilities and the Culligan water cooler. The selection room, which displays caskets, urns, and a hydraulic lift to the lab below, is located near the back. Near the lab, on the lower level, are the garage and the storage room. The 5000 square feet of space is a tremendous improvement from the old historic facility downtown.

A family of three walked into the lobby and sat down to wait for other members to join them. They begin small talk with the owner and talk about the weather getting colder and that they have known each other all their life. It seems a very comfortable exchange between everyone. Then the door flies open and six more people file into the lobby. One woman is crying into her hand and looking down at the floor. Family members console her as they walk down the long hallway to the conference room. Things quiet down again as the owner offers a cup of coffee and a tissue to the family.

Ten or twelve people rushed in to the lobby dressed in black frantically looking for a funeral which was actually being held down the street. They were from out of town

and had gotten lost. They all turned around and began to walk down the street to St. Luke CME church. The funeral started an hour ago but they are hopeful that they will make it in time to view the body. They made it—in the Black tradition, the minister had stretched his remarks out on and on and on. He was still talking when they got down there.

Two employees emerge from below preparing to set-up the display room. They first step outside for a smoke. They sit around outside while passersby honk their horn and say "hello", then come back in to begin work. They talk about getting the vehicles washed and going to pick-up the programs from the printer before they close. One younger white employee comes in to begin working on the yard. He opens a new weed-eater and begins to manicure the grounds. He has a cigarette hanging out of his mouth and a baseball cap perched on his head. Another seasonal employee stops by to wash the vehicles. He is seasonal because he has been in and out of prison for the last twenty years. He has a drug habit that owns his body and soul. While he has a good heart, he just cannot seem to break the grip of the poison he uses regularly. His lifestyle has also comes at a very high price—he is HIV positive due to his choice to submit to a transsexual acquaintance in exchange for room and board. Perhaps prison would have been a safer place after all. His family has long ago disowned him and the funeral home is the only place he can come to feel safe. He can do odd jobs to earn enough money to get by until he blows through next week. He spends the night with whoever will let him including halfway houses, faith-based missions, and frighteningly enough unsuspecting women.

An extremely skinny older white man pulls up in a big white van with "SKATE 1" on the license plate. His comes in and begins to talk to the owners about a carpentry project that he has an idea for. He comes in often and is considered part of the staff. He is gifted with wood and crafted a custom-made podium, a beautiful matching cherry stand, and helps with the company vehicles. At first glance, he seems an unlikely fit for this predominately black community, however, he and almost everyone, find that they are welcome in this place. There is a sense of family and community here. Although, people have extremely diverse backgrounds, both ethnic and socio-economical, it seems that everyone is at home and comfortable here.

The owner of the insurance business next door stopped in to have a cup of coffee and to visit. He is a nature lover and is concerned about maintaining the green space between the two properties. The City insists upon having the grass cut and he wants to let it grow like prairie grass to attract wildlife. Another local minority business-owner comes by to make a delivery. He stayed only for a moment to leave the merchandise and then left to make other deliveries. The baseball cap guy comes in carrying a can of Mountain Dew. He has his Oakley sunglasses on top of his cap because there is no sunshine today. He waits around for the owner to meet him to scrub the north-facing building façade which has grown a little moss. He walks through the lobby with a ladder, a bucket, and a long handled scrub brush as the melodious chimes of the grandfather clock ring out to signify the day is done. Not really, the day is never done around here.

A pretty young black women and her Mexican boyfriend walk into the lobby. He has come to mow the grass and she has come to work on the computer. They visit with

the other people standing outside and then jump right in to their tasks. You can hear him rev-up the motor on the riding mower as he drives around from the garage beneath the building. He wears a wide brimmed straw hat to block the sun and pays great attention to detail. She retreats into the main office and begins to surf the internet for job opportunities. They have recently relocated here from San Diego and have found the job market to be extremely tight. After numerous interviews and applications submitted she lands a job with one of Mid-Missouri's largest employers. It is not in her profession or the area of her college degree; however, it will pay the bills until something better comes along. He also finds work at a nearby manufacturing plant. The slow economy has really put the squeeze on people of color. Thankfully, they had family to fall back on until they could get on the feet.

The demographics crossed numerous cultural lines—parents, children, black business-owners, white business-owners, Hispanics, rich and poor, young and old, neighbors, cousins, preachers, community-leaders, church members, nature enthusiasts, and many others. This place seemed to attract people of all types and promote inclusion in terms of diversity of clientele and staff. While the industry is still highly racially divided, it was slowly changing to include wider segments of the population. It was a relatively new phenomenon to provide services to white families. Their open attitudes saw past race and instead focused on service, competitive prices, professionalism, prompt and courteous staff, which dispelled long-held stereotypes.

Growth and Sustainability Concepts

The same company discussed above is an example of growth and sustainability, although I have heard of numerous others. This was one of the oldest Black businesses in mid-Missouri for over forty years. The company had been through countless challenges, threats, legal battles, and financial turmoil and in 2009 succumbed to severe situations that would close its doors for good. Numerous challenges plagued the company including: a lengthy legal battle over the ownership and control of the company with a business partner and costing over thirty thousand dollars; large national corporations attempting a buyout and offering huge sums of money to seize control of the family-owned business; and large corporations used their clout and financial muscle to leverage suppliers and the terms by which they will do business with little guys similar to Wal-Mart tactics.

Property is keystone to economic development, so in 1992 the company dared to dream of expansion and began to explore the possibilities of moving out of the old Sharp-End area, and leave its historic facility that was once home to Blind Boone the famous ragtime pianist. The company opened a new facility in Fulton, Missouri and a few years later a third office in Mexico, Missouri. It looked at the Columbia commercial real estate market for several years to ascertain the feasibility of increasing the size its facility, parking, services and ultimately market share. Interestingly enough, the realtors kept showing tiny, miniscule, dirty, fixer-upper, "nothing that a little elbow grease couldn't fix", inadequate, urban, stereotypical structures that "they" believed appropriate for minority clientele. It was outside of their paradigm to believe that perhaps the firm wanted to improve and grow. Realtors showed old houses, old gas stations, and old

dumps until finally the firm abandoned the notion and the Columbia realtors and set about plan "B"—building a new facility. This established a whole new group of challenges that would take years and over a million dollars to sift through.

This firm was debt-free and uniquely positioned to face the future in a way that very few businesses are. The loan officer at the bank said that he had never seen an application so cut and dry and immediately approved the loan for the new facility. However, mysteriously that loan officer was fired and the Vice President suddenly retracted the approval sighting a lack of collateral. With property holdings worth well over a million dollars and a loan application was for only three hundred and eighty thousand dollars—the local bank declined. It is commonly referred to it as the "black tax" which in Boone County implies that no matter what you earn, how much you own, or how old and established your business is, you are still "black". In her seminal 1988 article on "white privilege and male privilege," the feminist philosopher Peggy McIntosh set about listing the perks of whiteness that often seem so natural to their owners as to require no second thought. McIntosh described white privilege as "an invisible knapsack of special provisions, assurances, tools, maps, guides, coda books, passports, visas,...emergency gear, and blank checks" (Roediger, Page 31).

To add insult to injury, the firm received numerous threatening letters vowing to never let this expansion happen in Columbia. One competitor had the audacity to visit the office in person and state "you will never build this expansion in this town". Undeterred, the company bounced around from one bank to the next always meeting the same brick wall. The company finally ended up having to shop their commercial loan nationally using an expensive attorney, which cost an additional twenty thousand

dollars. Once the firm finally secured funding for business expansion they began to move forward on finding a suitable site to build a facility. They decided that it was critical to engage other minority-owned businesses at all levels in an effort to empower the minority business community. They purchased land from a Black property owner and proceeded to demolish the abandoned structures using a Black construction company. They then contracted with a 100% Black general contractor, electrician, carpenter, masonry, heating and air-conditioning, painters, and landscapers, in an effort to recycle our dollars back into the minority business community. This tactic increases the economic base and builds capacity in new and sustainable ways by including companies that rarely get an opportunity to work on projects this large.

Case Study: Another example of growth in the central city is a business that successfully built a new facility. The new 4400 square foot daycare facility is nestled in a residential adjacent to the public housing projects. As you enter into the circular driveway, you are greeted with a large sign and well manicured landscaping. Cars must have their music turned off and not be left running for the safety and security of their 67 children. The front porch is supported by two over-sized pencils that create a sense of wonder and whimsy for small children. Parked to the left of the porch is a stroller for 6 infants that is topped with red and white stripped umbrella to protect the little ones from the elements.

Once inside the immaculately clean and bright daycare center you are immediately welcomed by a warm and caring staff, and not to mention a huge tropical fish tank intended to spark little imaginations. There is a mandatory sign-in sheet at the front reception desk with a bouquet of flowers that disguise the ink pens used to sign-in.

The director's office is positioned behind the reception desk. It is equipped with an Lshaped desk with a computer on it, notebooks, family photos, and books. Next the director's office is the kitchen that is used to prepare the children's meals each day. It is clean and spacious with counters that wrap around the entire space. The chef is working quickly opening up enormous cans of corn to serve a balanced lunch to the children. To the north of the kitchen and down the corridor is the where all the action takes place. There are 5 classrooms divided by age groups from infants, toddlers, preschool, and school-agers. There are age appropriate activities in each room with educational posters and pictures on each wall. Each room is appointed with the latest in educational furniture, bedding, storage cubbies, rocking chairs, cribs, story-time rugs, computers, and televisions. The rear of the building had the exits leading to the fences in playground. The playground used environmentally responsible mulch created from recycled old tires. There are several play structures and a basketball goal for the older kids. Most of this equipment was purchased through a federal grant awarded to the owner. She also jumped the numerous hurdles to gain the proper zoning, complete the construction process, and overcome financial barriers.

The average sustainability of the Black owned businesses interviewed have been successful for nearly 15 years. Another 37.5% have been in business in Columbia for over 20 years. It is said that most businesses fail within the first five years. However, 95.8% believe that they have experienced business growth. This growth was characterized by 66.6% serving more clients, and 29% have been able to expand into a larger facility. The respondents overwhelmingly stated by 91.6% that their business had been a success in Columbia. This success was explained by a variety of reasons

including: having a good reputation (25%); providing good service at a fair price (16.6%); helping people (16.6); and having the opportunity to do what they love and for which they have a passion (16.6%). This passion is critical because it is a strong work ethic which drives these entrepreneurs to work an average of 55 hours per week.

Over one-third of the respondents had 50% to 90% Black patrons, while over 40% of the respondents had 50% to 90% White patrons. This can likely be explained by the sheer nature of the types of business represented in this study. As stated previously, there were 24 Black owned businesses that participated which included: Retail stores (7) or (29%); barber and beauty shops (6) or (25%); professional and/or human services (11) or (45.8%). The 7 retail stores are relatively even on the racial make-up of its customer base. The 9 remaining professional and/or human services firms swing overwhelming to predominately a White customer base. This includes legal, insurance, automotive, restaurants, gyms, and cleaners who seem to have reached a more diverse client base. However, the 6 barber and beauty shops and 2 educational facilities were patronized primarily by Black customers over 75%. This could be due to the geographic location in Columbia's central city or the reality of social moirés which prevent consumers from stepping across the race line.

Economic and Political Concepts

Bank of America and Landmark Bank equally service the Black business banking market with 25% each respectively, followed closely by Commerce and Boone County Banks each serving 21%. This is an interesting finding considering that Boone County Bank is the largest bank in Columbia holding nearly 40% of all the banking services in

the city. It does suggest that there may be some issues related to why they do not have a larger percentage of the Black business market. According to the State of Missouri Disparity Study, access to capital has been a persistent challenge for minority business enterprise. This study supports that at least 29% of respondents experienced difficulty securing a business loan. However, this is likely due to the fact the other 71% of respondents had never attempted to apply for a business loan. At least 3 of the respondents used an owner financing arrangement as a means of securing start-up Most Black companies in Columbia have experienced successful business growth without the support of the lending community, using their own personal resources with over 40% ownership of the physical facility. The majority (96%) of these successful entrepreneurs felt that business ownership contained a considerable amount of risk, overwhelming sighting the "financial risk" by 54%. Financial and economic concerns topped the list of concerns, followed closely by concerns about lack of healthcare coverage and future expansion and growth both at 25% each. Many respondents explained that actually quitting their job to pursue their dream was a huge Although several conducted community surveys to determine customer need, risk. others did a considerable amount of market research before taking the plunge. Quitting a steady job meant losing a steady paycheck and losing health insurance. Several business owners mentioned that they do not have health insurance coverage because it is cost prohibitive. However, they remain hopeful that the new Health Care Plan in currently under consideration in the U.S. Congress will provide much needed relief for small business owners.

This group of successful Black business owners had words of wisdom for other start-up Black entrepreneurs including: develop and follow a business plan (45.8%); own your business assets (37.5%); and have a strong work ethic (29%). According to 33% of respondents, elected officials and economic developers should facilitate business development through loans and grant programs aimed at increasing opportunities for Black business. Educational programs to reach out to the Black entrepreneurs were identified (25%) as another important aspect to aid in increasing business success. Another 25% felt ending the negative attitudes and behavior by the majority community was crucial. Several respondents described on-going harassment of Black business by the Columbia Police Department. The seemed to occur persistently with Black businesses that were located in prime locations such as downtown or in the mall. Police would constantly find excuses to patrol these areas, at greater frequency than the White counterparts, until finally shutting the business down on several occasions—then permanently. The owner said they just grew tired of the problems and gave up. Another respondent echoed the same example, after noting numerous legal reoccurrences, again ending in closing the business for good. another respondent shared a long history of problems and shockingly disclosed that "If a Black business owner wants to be successful in Columbia they should 1) have a great location, 2) make White people feel at ease in the facility, and 3) keep Black people out. They then described an example of a successful mixed (Black and White) establishment in North St. Louis on Old Halls Ferry Rd. called the "Knock Out Bar and Grill" where everyone seems to commingle successfully. He felt Columbia and its bad attitudes are just not ready for that kind of togetherness.

Case Study: During an interview, one respondent expressed optimism that the election of President Barack Obama was a tremendous step toward political and economic equality. According to her, having Barack Obama as a role model reminded her of her own mother who was one of the first Black political leaders in Indiana during the 1960s. She has used the lessons learned for these leaders to sharp her own leadership qualities as a successful business owner in downtown Columbia. Those lessons included a strong work ethic and running her business with military precision.

Simply walking into this respondents business was a treat for the senses. The walls were covered with antique glassware and artwork depicting historical Black industrial themes. The staff greets you with a warm welcome and the clientele is extremely diverse. The long dinner counter can be used to have a quick lunch or you can choose to be seated in the main dining room. The kitchen is located to the far rear of the restaurant and protected by a hanging glass partition. The kitchen area has large refrigerators loaded with beverages, and homemade desserts. There is an original painting of a fish jumping up in the air that was commissioned by a regular customer to pay tribute to the enterprise. There is also an identical sculpture the sits on a shelf in the same area. The 14-foot high ceilings are made of the original square tin tiles which are circa 1890 and have probably witnessed an amazing historical journey. Never knowing that one day a Black owned business would live under its classic canopy. The main dining room is furnished with at least 24 tables of various sizes and shapes. The conversations at these tables undoubtedly turn to issues of the economy and politics.

Community Networks

Case Study: One business observed was a historical community landmark that became a restaurant and is located in an old house just off a busy central Columbia street. It has been there longer that I can remember and at one time was Croner's Grocery Store. When we were kids we would walk down to Croner's with all the other little neighborhood kids to get candy, bear claws, and tiger tails. A favorite item was those huge spicy pickles from the jar that sat on the counter by the cash register. We did not live in the area, but many of my church friends did, so when visiting we would always ask if we could go to Croner's. Another very vivid memory is that I never wanted to leave "in-town" and go home to the suburbs "way out" north of town. It seems funny now, because what we used to call "way out" was actually near the Columbia Mall where black cows use to graze on green grass and Stadium Boulevard was a two lane road. I never wanted to leave what they called "in-town" because it was where I was surrounded by people that at least "looked" like me.

Over time the small family-owned, neighborhood grocery store was run out by the big corporate grocery stores. The building lay dormant for several years, maybe ten or more years, before it reopened as a restaurant. The restaurant changed names several times, but remained a family-owned operation that specializing in home cooking. This place has wonderful, heart attack on a plate, down home (a reference to down south), Grandma's recipe, you talkin' 'bout good food! When you walk in the first thing you notice is the smell of bar-b-que smoking out back, sweet potato pies cooked in the oven that morning, fried catfish, macaroni and cheese, and whatever is on special that day.

The owner is a local Columbian. The business is family—owned and it has that feeling. People are welcoming and familiar. Several people scurry around in the back getting ready for the lunch rush. Different groups start to file in the door including; some regulars from the neighborhood, a groups of ladies from the University, some local businessmen, and an assortment of hungry Columbians. The owner stops over at our table to say "hello". We introduce him to some new people to town. He often caters functions for us and always does a great job!

A man sits alone over in the corner reading his newspaper and waiting for his food to come out. He looks like someone you have seen before but cannot remember where. Once his food comes out he gets busy enjoying his food. Our group has chosen to have catfish and several specials. As always we are not disappointed. A guy rushes in for an order that he must have called in previously and pays for his food and leaves. Then the next door neighbor and fellow Black business owner comes in with her husband over nearly 40 years. They say "hello" and sit down to relax from a busy morning of working out programs for school children. This year, the group of over 50 children and their parents traveled to several Historically Black Universities and Colleges (HBCU) around the country. This gave the students and opportunity to experience higher education in a new environment.

Nearly 50% of respondents believe that having more Blacks in our community in positions of authority (such as banks, government, and city council) would improve outcomes because they would be more sensitive to the issues. Although, 29% believe that a "right-minded" person of any race could have a positive impact on the success of Black businesses in Columbia. A quote from one respondent is, "Everyone Black in not

your friend, and everyone White is not your enemy." There are people of all races and class that believe there is more to be done to increase Black business development in Columbia. There are people in key positions in government, the lending community, and the business community at large who want to make a change. Several respondents expressed appreciation for the type of hands-on community outreach that Vice President Valerie Shaw, from Commerce Bank, does for the Black business community. Suggesting more banks could mirror the type of outreach Ms. Shaw provides.

Columbia is a community full of dichotomies. There are very progressive and inclusive networks, and there is the old guard network that is reminiscent of its "Little Dixie" namesake. Some respondents (21%) expressed concerns that the "crabs in a barrel" syndrome threatened to diminish future success of Black business in Columbia. The "crabs in a barrel" syndrome is characterized by one segment of the population attempting to hold back the other more successful segment due to resentment. An example of this would be if someone chooses not to buy from Mr. "Black" because they did not like the fact that Mr. "Black" seemed to prosper in his business, drove a Cadillac Escalade, and lived in a fancy house in Southwest Columbia. Rather, they gossiped about Mr. "Black" to Mr. "White" and decided to purchase Mr. "White" instead out of spite. The literal explanation of "crabs in a barrel" is that if you had a barrel full of crabs, one crab might manage to crawl his way out of the barrel, but the other crabs would pull him back down in a futile effort to get out of the barrel too. In this situation everyone loses and no one gets out. This dynamic provides an opportunity for growth and understanding embracing diversity and inclusion. It was "community support" that 54%

of respondents identified as an important aspect necessary to create a better climate for successful Black entrepreneurs to flourish. The establishment of a minority business organization such as the Minority Business Council in St. Louis and Kansas City, which are both affiliated with the National Minority Supplier Development Council (NMSDC), was recommended (50%) as a viable solution for improving the minority business community climate. The Columbia Minority Business Connection, a new organization established at the grass roots level, has shown tremendous promise.

The interviews revealed that Education and Experience, Family Support, Cultural, Growth and Sustainability, Economic and Political, and Community Networks all emerged as key aspects for business success that could be emulated in the future.

E. Summary of Major Findings

The major findings identified as aspects to increase Black business success recommended; expanded market share, development of a viable minority business organization, and community support of elected officials, other businesses, the banking industry, and the community in general. The overwhelming majority of Columbia's Black business community experienced successful growth and sustainability. Expanded growth could be facilitated by following these three recommendations.

Unlike many other less inclusive communities, Columbia's Black entrepreneurs have been able to expand their market share into the majority community. While the norm is that the Black community only retains 7 cents of each dollar earned; Columbia's White community patronizes the Black firms by over 50%. This expanded market share could be a likely contributor to the sustainability and success that was experienced by

Black businesses in Columbia. It would be counterproductive for Black businesses to compete only for the narrow piece of the consumer market which is made up of the 11% of Blacks in Columbia. This would leave 89% of the majority consumer-base untapped and perpetuate the eventual demise of successful Black business enterprise in Columbia. Historic restrictions that allowed the Sharp End to flourish were abolished long ago paving the way for an inclusive business community today.

The second recommendation is the establishment of a viable minority business organization in Columbia similar to the National Minority Supplier Development Council. It was "community support" that 54% of respondents identified as an important aspect necessary to create a better climate for successful Black entrepreneurs to flourish. The establishment of a minority business organization may facilitate community support and business support by providing the necessary vehicle for awareness in the community. Surprisingly, most of the minority businesses interview had no idea there were so many other Black business owners with a physical location in Columbia. Most thought having an official listing or directory of Black businesses much like the NMSDC would be essential to increasing opportunities through awareness in Columbia.

They possessed a high level of education with 37.5% having an undergraduate degree, advanced degree, or professional degree. Over half of the success entrepreneurs are originally from Columbia, which optimizes community networks and strengthens the potential for business success. Family support was critical; however, that support usually came in the form of sweat equity because financial support was not an option for most family members. It was also important to follow your passion because according the local Black business owners; it requires incredibly hard work and

dedication. Along with the power of prayer, one entrepreneur summarized it as "do what you would do even if you did not get paid for it"—and that is your "passion".

The final recommendation to increase the success of Black business is community support. A critical aspect for success is the need for a mentor. It was the confident voice of support and having someone to reach out and share their knowledge that motivated the majority of people. Expanding that type of support in the community, by elected officials, other businesses, the banking industry, and the community in general is the final recommendation.

F. Lessons Learned From This Research:

- Unlike many other communities, Columbia is uniquely positioned to grow successful Black business due to its increasing population and progressive attitudes of White consumers who seem to be more open to patronizing Black business than in other communities;
- 2. There is an opportunity and a need for a viable minority business development organization to provide the necessary support and access for Black business to expand in Columbia;
- 3. Most businesses interviewed believed they were successful and sustainable;
- 4. The lending industry has an opportunity to expand its outreach to Black business in a more purposeful way; and
- 5. The Black business owners in Columbia are nearly 2 times more highly educated than the all other people in Missouri.

Chapter IV: Summary and Conclusions

A. Summary

The community is shaped by culture which is complex and shifting constantly. In order to survive in a competitive business community, organizations must expand its economic base. Columbia, at the most basic level, is at the brink of real and lasting societal change. People should begin to consider alternative sources, more economical choices not driven by race. Historically, business has been divided down rigid racial lines which are rarely crossed over, (Table 11: Sharp End Business Photo). Today there are more opportunities to expand to market share to diverse groups of people. Changes in culture can reshape the minority business community in new and exciting ways. Resources that were once limited to black-only dollars could experience future growth and expansion.

Unfortunately, two out of three of these Black businesses were forced to go out of business after many years of success. The common thread in observing these three Black owned businesses a restaurant, a beauty shop, and a funeral home was the sense of belonging that was pungent in each place. They all made you feel comfortable and welcome, which seemed to also be the case for most of the other people that spend time in these places. In a world that often times does not want you, or treats you as an afterthought, or a person on the fringes of the mainstream, it feels good to belong.

The observations in the case studies above were in direct alignment with the concepts in The *Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons, and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community* by Ray Oldenburg. Oldenburg argues that "third places" - where people can gather, put aside the concerns

of work and home, and hang out simply for the pleasures of good company and lively conversation—are the heart of a community's social vitality and the grassroots of democracy. To enjoy the specific service is important, but enjoy the company of our peers, neighbors and friends those we do not always see in our daily life we make a special effort to include from time to time. It seems to rejuvenate the soul and refresh the spirit when so often you live in the quiet isolation of the majority.

This observation reaffirmed the powerful need in humans to associate with one another will inevitably strengthen our communities and the people in it. The physical space or building is really secondary. It is the really the human interaction that is key to creating a "good place". The physical characteristics can draw people in initially, and keep them there longer which will also facilitate community. The space can promote communication by the way the furniture and fixtures are arranged. It can actually encourage dialogue and human relationships. If we cast a broader web of inclusion we will begin to promote a greater understanding of each other thereby strengthening the entire community.

Unfortunately, this scenario is not unique to the above mentioned example. Several Black businesses seeking to expand in the Columbia market have experienced similar circumstances reminiscent of the economic detour such as lending discrimination, artificial code compliance barriers, zoning complications, threats from the competition, and other barriers to property ownership.

Much of the lessons learned can be applied to my work as the Director of Equal Opportunity at the State of Missouri Office of Administration. The experience the above mentioned company is certainly not unique in minority business development.

Thousands of Black entrepreneurs around the United States find themselves in a similar predicament. You only need to look as far as the State of Missouri Disparity study to fully ascertain the magnitude of problem. This study, commissioned in Executive Order 94-03 by Governor Mel Carnahan, compiles the appropriate information with regard to state contracting practices and barriers Missouri minority businesses face using antidotal interviews, historical perspectives, statistical analysis, and town hall meetings. This report completely corroborates that the barriers that they faced were aligned directly to the experience most minority entrepreneurs. The study even goes as far as to set contracting goals for minority businesses. However, I believe that goals alone will not resolve the systemic barriers endured by minority economic and community development.

According to the Community Development Academy, genuine community development is a purposeful effort by community people to learn and work together to guide the future development of their communities and making full use of their own resources as well as external resources. It is a systematic framework for all development efforts is necessary for long-term success. The deeply entrenched barriers to minority business development make it critical to use innovative strategies for change. For sustainable development, the law is an effective organizing principle not simply because it is "the right thing to do". If there is a set of basic blocks for sustainable development, they are constructed from the law: the rule of law, the effective application of the law and the political will to use the law. Previous State of Missouri administrations have dismantled minority entrepreneur policies and programs that were intended to level the playing field.

Discrimination is the issue as it relates to minority entrepreneurship. Dealing with it is a multi-faceted process that can be approached from a community development prospective. However, it must first be analyzed for each of its numerous nuances, which include capacity, financial barriers, lack of social capitol, generational wealth, and policy. The fact that Black businesses continue to flounder while Asian-owned start-ups flourish is no accident. The fact that blacks don't own property at the same rate as their white counterparts is no fluke. The fact that people of color do not earn high school diplomas and college degrees at an equal rate as whites is not happenstance. They are based on an institutional, historical, systematic, and systemic manifestation of discrimination. Yet Columbia seems to have raised above many of these issues the outcome has remained similar. The percentage of Black owned businesses is substantially lower than the national average leaving an opportunity to support growth and sustainable success.

Minority entrepreneurs experience systematic barriers through traditions that are orderly, predictable, purposeful, intentional discrimination. They also experience systemic discrimination, which operates across systems to maintain power and privilege for those in positions of power. This culture of power exhibits one group's accumulation of power and the creation of "in groups" and "out groups". The "in groups" determine the cultural center while the "out groups" are marginalized. This reinforces the prevailing hierarchy of the white majority and ensures the perpetual exclusion of minority entrepreneurs. While some progress has been made there continues to be much work to do.

Efforts to restore minority participation in contracting and procurement through goal-based state policies and a new and more expansive disparity study are critical to moving forward. To make minority business development sustainable requires a new way of thinking about and implementing policies. Columbia should engage people in forming viable a minority business organization to sustain these efforts in a variety of ways such as; establish a group directory, identify Black businesses, collect and analyze information, create a purpose, develop a vision and goals, expand the organization, develop and implement an action plan, provide education and training, and celebrate success.

Jim Crow laws restricted the size and revenues of black-owned business in Columbia, Missouri until the 1950s. Discriminatory policies such as imminent domain and urban renewal wiped out entire districts of Black owned businesses known as "The Sharp End". The percentage of successful minority-owned owned businesses in Columbia continues to remain well below that of majority owned companies. Blacks face severe institutional constraints on self-employment in Columbia. Many black businesses have attempted to open only to fail due to lack of funding, government red tape, lack of education and expertise, and competition such as the big "box" stores. White people have a comparative advantage in running a business due to Socio-Economic Status (SES), education, and experience. Running and maintaining a business requires access to social and financial capitol. SES may expose people to cultural factors that affect risk-taking and management skills. Self-employment is inherently more risky than wage-earning. However, the reality is still the same for many communities, "presently we only retain in the Black community 7 cents of each dollar

made by us. The other 93 cents are spent with people that return no value...(Weems, Page 131).

B. Theoretical Implications

The most compelling finding discovered during this research is the correlation between minority business success and a diverse consumer base. Black business owners should be skilled in navigating multiple cultures successfully in order to survive and succeed. By the same token, the majority population should have a heightened conscientiousness and adopt inclusive consumerism practices. As Tatum pointed out, this "biculturality", or the ability to function in two worlds, has been described by many others since at least the turn of the century, some of who preferred terms such as "double-consciousness", (Tatum, Page 14). I contend that consumers can evolve beyond the W.E.B. DuBois' theory of "double-consciousness" described in The Souls of Black Folk. To address this issue, I recommend that a new theory be developed based on "consumer-cultural-consciousness" in order to remain competitive in the global marketplace. I would expand this notion into a new research effort to uncover the hidden perceptions of White consumers that may unconsciously impact their decisionmaking process when purchasing goods and services. Consumer-culturalconsciousness research could explore what takes place in the thoughts and actions of White consumers that causes the disconnect between patronizing a Black business and not patronizing a Black business. This could be an intentional process or an unintended or unconscious choice based on lack of awareness. This theory could be expanded and achieved through increased awareness, education, and support of the Black

business through the minority business council and community support. The Columbia, Missouri community at large could become stronger as a whole for being "doubled".

The key sociological framework in my research is the W.E.B. DuBois race theory as it relates to the problem of the sustainability of a separate Black economic development. DuBois said that the race problem then, as today, is difficult, extremely difficult, but the world has conquered worse problems before and will again. The specific examples explored in this analysis have rejected the DuBois notion of a separate Black economic development. This classical race theory of a separate Black economic development should be challenged to increase Black businesses through mainstream marketing resulting in greater self-sufficiency and economic stability in Columbia thereby strengthening the overall economy. However, I agree with the DuBois proposal that every town where Black people live should develop a minority business league for the purpose of supporting Black business.

Despite the fact that historically there was an absolute bar against Black business during slavery, some level of entrepreneurship managed to emerge. Although Columbia, Missouri is geographic epicenter of "Little Dixie" and vestiges of racism and discrimination continued to exist after the Civil War to modern times. Regardless of the setbacks suffered by Black business after Urban Renewal, Columbia's Black business community shows signs of growth. The research explored in this dissertation provided examples of self-help and economic uplift for Black people in order to sustain economic empowerment.

This study of growing sustainable Black business in Columbia, Missouri is grounded in classical Race Theory as the conceptual basis with economic uplift as the

framework. This study suggests that a separate Black economy is no longer a viable option. The important question to ask moving forward is: how does the majority population gain awareness, and then how do they move beyond the traditional consumer practices to a more consumer-cultural-consciousness approach? White consumers may have to become more proactive in much the same way as they have embraced environmentalism. Black business owners may have to assimilate more into the dominate group in order to maximize the probability of economic success.

Future economic growth in Columbia and other communities depends upon the ability to tap into the wealth of education and expertise, buying power, and the entrepreneurial wherewithal that Black business owner have to offer. While Columbia is very polarized in terms of racial groups and attitudes, progressive paradigm shifts are increasingly evident. Columbia was the only other community in the state of Missouri aside from St. Louis and Kansas City to vote for Barack Obama in the 2008 Presidential elected. Numerous middle and upper class Black families live and work here in education, medicine, insurance, law, government, and operate small businesses. The willingness to take a race-conscious stand in consumerism could promote beneficial growth opportunities for the entire community.

C. Recommendations for Further Research

Future research on increasing Black business success should include examinations of why the Black community only retains 7 cents of each dollar made by Blacks and the other 93 cents are spent with the majority community? The first step should be to explore "why" majority consumers tend *not* to patronize Black business. Is

it a lack of exposure, lack of trust, lack of knowledge, racism, cost, location, etc? The second step should investigate the phenomenon that consumers are embracing environmentalism and green consumerism through the "act and buy-local and think global" mantra, yet it does not seem to include Black business. Finally, scrutinize the process of understanding "cultural-consumer-consciousness" as the necessary action step to facilitate sustainable growth and success.

After exploring these questions through various business and social sciences sources, there seems to be little information available on this topic. While there are quite a few articles on Black-owned businesses, I not yet uncovered one that directly discusses White customer patronage of Black owned business. Some of the articles do contain what might be useful information about the businesses for other purposes, for example, many discuss disparities in getting loans and getting established without the benefit of prior ownership experience. Another issue seen is competition from other minorities, e.g., Koreans. There appears to be an opportunity for further research in this area. It is imperative to add to the body of knowledge relating to this issue. Until scholars can answer the questions as to "why" White consumers do not equitably patronize Black owned business, we will never be able to address the problem of how to expand the market share of Black businesses.

Appendix (Table 6:Interview Response Data)

Code	Race	Gender	Education	Occupation	Religion	(1) Hometown
A1	AA	F	College	Beautician/Owner	Christian	Columbia
A2	AA	F	College	Beautician/Owner	Baptist	Columbia
A3	AA	F	College	Florist/Owner	Methodist	Columbia
A4	AA	М	9th Grade	Mechanic/Owner	Baptist	Fayette
A5	AA	F	College	Owner	Christian	Columbia
A6	AA	F	B.S	Owner	Baptist	Bunceton
A7	AA	F	B.S.	Owner	Christian	Moberly, MO
A8	AA	М	College	Entrepreneur	Christian	Columbia
A9	AA	М	HS	Owner	NA	Columbia
A10	AA	М	B.S	Owner	Baptist	Waterloo, IA
A11	AA	F	HS	Owner	Baptist	Columbia
A12	AA	F	HS	Beautician/Owner	Baptist	Kansas City
A13	AA	М	M.S.	Owner/Exec Dir	Baptist	Columbia
A14	AA	F	College	Owner	Non-Deno	Terre Haute, IN
A15	AA	М	B.S	Owner, Professor	NA	Chicago, IL
A16	AA	F	B.A	Owner/Educator	Baptist	Stevens, MO
A17	AA	F	B.S	Owner/Director	Methodist	Columbia
A18	AA	М	HS	Owner/Contractor	Baptist	Ripley, MS
A19	AA	F	HS	Beautician/Owner	Baptist	Kennett, MO
A20	AA	F	College	Beautician/Owner	Baptist	Columbia
A21	AA	F	B.S	Owner	Christian	Jacksonville, AK
A22	AA	М	College	Owner	Methodist	Columbia
A23	AA	F	JD	Owner/Lawyer	Christian	St. Louis, MO
A24	AA	М	HS	Owner	NA	Chicago, IL
Totals						
	100%	F (15) 62.5%	Degree (9) 37.5%		Baptist (11) 45.8%	Col (11) 45.8%
		M (9) 37.5%	Some College (8) 33%		Chris (6) 25%	MO (7) 29%
			HS (7) 29%		Meth (3) 12.5%	Out of state (6) 25%
					NA (3) 12.5%	
					Non (1) .04%	

(2) Brother/Sister	(3) Mom	(3) Dad	(4) Childhood
2-Bro	RN	Deceased	Athletic
1-Bro 2-Sis	RN	Entrepreneur (ENT)	Independent
2 Dra 4 Cia	Hearital Food Worker	Hospital Worker (Food	Athlatia
2-Bro 1-Sis	Hospital Food Worker	SVC)	Athletic
2-Bro 3-Sis	Housekeeper	Farmer (Labor)	Liked to fix things
1-Bro 1-Sis	Campus Dining	Entrepreneur (ENT)	Independent, shy, creative
7-Bro 7-Sis	Deceased	Railroad (RR)	Independent, deviant
1- Bro 1- Sis	Teacher	Janitor (Labor)	Independent, out-going
1- Bro 1- Sis	RN	Railroad (RR)	Go getter, make \$, good
1- Bro 7- Sis	Housekeeper	Janitor (Labor)	Athletic, shy
2- Bro	Entrepreneur	Factory Worker (Labor)	Independent
5- Bro 4- Sis	RN	Entrepreneur (ENT)	Out-going, good, followed the rules
1- Bro 2-Sis	Housekeeper	Construction (Const)	Stern parents
3- Bro 2- Sis	RN	Chef (Food Svc)	Independent, athletic, out-going
			Out-going, curious, athletic,
0- Adopted	Politician	Air Force (Prof)	leader
1- Bro 1- Sis	Phone Operator	Putcher (Food Sye)	Independent, creative, responsible
1- 010 1- 315	Phone Operator	Butcher (Food Svc)	No friends, busybody, bossy,
6- Bro	Housekeeper	Farmer/Janitor (Labor)	poor
6- Bro 6- Sis	Homemaker	Forklift Driver (Const)	Quiet, avid reader, easy-going
4- Bro 3- Sis	Homemaker	Railroad/Navy (RR)	Hardworking, worked at church
7- Bro 4- Sis	Cook	Truck Driver (Const)	Quiet, out-going, curious
1- Bro 4- Sis	University/food	Funeral business (Prof)	Curious, shy, stayed in trouble
	Computer		Out-going, stayed in trouble,
1- Bro 1- Sis	Programmer	Construction Mgr (Const)	friends
2-Bro 1-Sis	Hospital Food Worker	Hospital Worker (Food SVC)	Athletic
1- Bro	Corp of Engineers	Corp of Engineers (Prof)	Different, Denise Huxtable type
3- Bro 3- Sis	RN	Railroad (RR)	Athletic, curious, bad
Totals			
Bro (61) 2.54Ave	RN (6) 25%	RR (4) 16.6%	Out-Going (8) 33.3%
Sis (54) 2.25Ave	Domestic (6) 25%	Const (4) 16.6%	Athletic (6) 25%
	Food Svc (5) 21%	Labor (5) 21%	Independent (7) 29%
	Prof (5) 21%	Food Svc (4) 16.6%	Curious (4) 16.6%
	Entr (1) .04%	Prof (3) 12.5%	Trouble-Maker (4) 16.6%
	Deceased (1) .04%	Entr (3) 12.5%	
	322222 (.).0.70	Deceased (1) .04%	
	1	l .	

(4a) Dream	(5) 1st Job
No idea	Fast Food (Food Svc)
Fashion Designer	State Farm (Prof)
No idea	Tiger Hotel coat check (Misc)
Truck Driver	Farm and outside work (Labor)
Writer	Restaurant (Food Svc)
Beautician	Data entry at @ MU (Prof)
No idea	Fast Food (Food Svc)
Entrepreneur	Paper route (Labor)
No idea	Haul trash (Labor)
FBI	Junk Collector (Labor)
No idea	Dry Cleaners (Labor)
No idea	Ironed (Labor)
Entrepreneur	Busboy (Food Svc)
Bio Engineer	Wendy's (Food Svc)
No idea	Clothing store (Retail)
Teacher	Housekeeper (Domestic)
Nurse	Public library (Prof)
Carpenter	Stock boy (Retail)
No idea	Baby-sitter (Domestic)
No idea	McDonald's (Food Svc)
Nurse	Math tutor (Prof)
No idea	Tiger Hotel coat check (Misc)
Lawyer	Library (Germany) (Prof)
No idea	Paper route (Labor)
Totals	
No idea (11) 45.8%	Food Svc (5) 21%
Prof (8) 33.3%	Labor (7) 29%
ENT (2) .08%	Prof (5) 20%
Service (1) .08%	Retail (2) .08%
Labor (2) .08%	Misc (2) .08%
	Domestic (1) .04%

(6) Inspiration	(7) Educ/Train	(8) Mentor
My brother	Yes	Yes
Worked for others	Yes	Yes
Retirement, for the community	No	No
Had a shop before	No	Yes
Don't always have to work for someone else	No	No
Saw poverty in Haiti-Port Au Prince	Yes	Yes
Husband's dream	No	Yes
Means to an end, support family, control own destiny	Yes	Yes
Boss offered to sell existing business	No	No
Buy low and sell high	Yes	No
Grandmother pressed cloths while she took care of me	No	Yes
Always been in business	Yes	Yes
College degree, master degree	No	Yes
Worked for others, son got sick and quit	No	Yes
To do what I would do if I were retired	Yes	Yes
Worked 21 years in CPS, black kids were losing out	Yes	Yes
Didn't want to put my child in daycare	Yes	Yes
House burnt down,(rebuilt), not work for someone else, support family	Yes	Yes
Worked as receptionist in beauty shop, styling seemed more fun	Yes	No
Liked to play in peoples hair	Yes	Yes
Loved baking, watching cooking shows, raw ingredientspassion	No	No
Retirement, for the community	No	No
Getting fired	Yes	Yes
Love of martial arts, years of world class experience	Yes	Yes
Totals		
Passion (9) 37.5%	Yes (14) 58.3%	Yes (17) 70.8%
Necessity (6) 25%	No (10) 41.6%	No (7) 29%
Financial (5) 21%		
Didn't want to work for someone else (9) 37%		
Family (6) 25%		
Experience/Opportunity (8) 33.3%		

(9) Religion	(10) Industry	(11) Years in Bus	(12) Certified	(13) Growth
Yes	Beauty	14	No	Yes
Yes	Beauty	19	No	Yes
Yes	Retail	20	No	Yes
Yes	Prof/Service	28	No	Yes
Yes	Retail	11	No	Yes
Yes	Retail	8	Yes	Yes
No	Retail	1	No	Yes
Yes	Beauty	25	No	Yes
Yes	Retail	29	No	Yes
No	Prof/Service	20	No	Yes
Yes	Prof/Service	7	Yes	Yes
Yes	Beauty	26	No	No
Yes	Prof/Service	10	No	Yes
Yes	Prof/Service	3	No	Yes
No	Retail	13	No	Yes
Yes	Prof/Service	15	No	Yes
Yes	Prof/Service	9	No	Yes
Yes	Prof/Service	28	Yes	Yes
Yes	Beauty	27	No	Yes
Yes	Beauty	5	No	Yes
Yes	Prof/Service	4 Months	No	Yes
Yes	Retail	20	No	Yes
Yes	Prof/Service	5	No	Yes
No	Prof/Service	12	No	Yes
Totals				
Yes (20) 83.3%	Retail (7) 29%	1-10 Years (9) 37.5%	Yes (3) 12.5%	Yes (23) 95.8 %
No (4) 16.6%	Beauty (6) 25%	11-19 Years (6) 25%	No (21) 87.5%	No (1) .04%
	Prof/Service (11) 46%	20+ Years (9) 37.5%		
		355.5 AVE 14.8 YRS		

(13 a) How?	(14) Success
More staff	Yes
More clients, larger shop	Yes
More clients, on-line shop	No
More clients, larger shop	Yes
On-line, design cloths now	Yes
Too much business	Yes
moved to office, more clients	Yes
More customers in mall	Yes
Added rental business	Yes
3X the number of policies	Yes
More customers, slower because of econ	Yes
	Yes
More participants, new facility, more	
programs	Yes
Open place on Broadway	Yes
More customers	Yes
More students, expand my knowledge	Yes
Built new facility, max capacity in 2 wks	Yes
More contracts, Columbia growing	Yes
Keep up with the styles, better location	yes
More clients, looking for bigger shop	Yes
Doubled orders since June	Yes
More clients, on-line shop	No
moved to office, more clients	Yes
More customer	Yes
Totals	
More clients (16) 66.6%	Yes (22) 91.6%
Larger facility (7) 29%	No (2) .08%
On-line business (4) 16.6%	

(14a) Why?
Fair, respect
Could be better
Still open
Nice things, good price
People supported me
People supported me
knowledge
Help people, service
Income, reputation, growth
know lots of diverse pp, husbands name, help
community
Help people
Diverse outreach, community partnerships
Faith, people love food, blessed oil, diversity
Do what I love, freedom
Students now in college
Did pre-community use survey
Guarantee work
Still open
Expanded notoriety
Prayer, offer unique products from scratch
Could be better
Make profit, freedom, flexibility
Everyone knows me, diversity, don't advertise
Totals
Good service/price (4) 16.6%
Reputation (6) 25%
Help people (4) 16.6%
Diversity (4) 16.6%
Preparation/skills (4) 16.6%
Still open (2) .08%
Faith/Support (4) 16.6%
Freedom (2) .08%
Passion (4) 16.6%

(15) Family Work	(16) Family Help	(17) Hours	(18) Employees	(19) Clientele Race
No	Yes	45	7	•
Yes	Yes	60	3	90% AA 10%W
No	No	4	0	50% AA 50%W
Yes	No	50	3	50% AA 50%W
No	No (Sweat Equity)	60	8	75% W 25%Other
Yes	Yes	40	0	50% AA 50%W
Yes	No	60	0	80% AA 20%O
Yes	No (Sweat Equity)	60	10	75% AA 25% W
Yes	No	60	18	85% W 15%AA
Yes	Yes	80	2	95% W 5%AA
Yes	No (Sweat Equity)	60	2	50% W 50% AA
Yes	Yes	55	3	99% AA
Yes	Yes	80	15	50A% W 35% AA 15%O
Yes	No	88	15	80% W 15%AA 5%O
No	No	60	2	80% W 15%AA 5%O
Yes	No	35	0	100% AA
Yes	No (Sweat Equity)	40	16	75% AA 15%W 10%O
Yes	Yes	40	6	90% W 10% AA
No	Yes	60	4	95% AA 5%W
No	No (Sweat Equity)	70	1	75% AA 25%W
No	Yes	90	3	90% W 10% AA
No	No	4	0	50% AA 50%W
Yes	No (Sweat Equity)	80	3	80% W 20% AA
No	No	48	0	90% W 10% AA
Totals				
Yes (15) 62.5%	Yes (9) 37.5%	55.375	5.041	99 AA (1)
No (9) 37.5%	No (15) 62.5%			95 AA (1)
				90 AA (2) 90+ 16.6%
				85 AA
				80 AA (1)
				75 AA (3)
				50 AA (4) 50-90 33%
				35 AA (1)
				25 AA
				20 AA (1)
				15 AA (3)
				10 AA (3)
				5 AA Less than 50 29%
				95 W
				90 W (3) 90+ 12.5%
				85 W (1)
				80 W (3)
				75 W (1)
				50 W (5) 50-90 41%

	35 W (1)
	25 W (2)
	20 W (1)
	15 W (1)
	10 W (2)
	5 W (1) Less than 50
	33%

(20) Business Banking	(21) Loan Trouble	(22) Rent/Own	(23a) Atg
Bank of America	No	Rent	No
Commerce	No	Own	Yes
Landmark	No	Own	No
Regions	Yes	Own	No
Landmark	No	Rent	Yes
Shelter	No	Rent	Yes
Boone County	Yes	Rent	No
Bank of America/Boone	Yes	Rent	No
Boone County	Yes	Own	No
Commerce, Callaway	No	Rent	No
US Bank	No	Rent	No
Bank of America	No	Own	No
Bank of America	No	Own	No
Commerce	No	Rent	No
Landmark	No	Rent	Yes
Boone County	No	Own	No
Premiere/SBA/Grant	Yes. Bank withdrew after they saw the address	Own	Yes
Landmark/Commerce	No	Own	Yes
Bank of America	Yes. Boone County	Rent	No
Bank of America	No	Rent	Yes
Landmark	Yes. SBA	Rent	No
Landmark	No	Own	No
Commerce	No	Rent	No
Boone County	No	Rent	Yes
Totals			
Bank of America (6) 25%	Yes (7) 29%	Own (10) 41.6%	Yes (8) 33%
Landmark (6) 25%	No (17) 70.8%	Rent (13) 54%	No (16) 66.6%
Commerce (5) 21%			
Boone County (5) 21%			
Regions (1) .04%			
Premiere (1) .04%			
US Bank (1) .04%			
Callaway (1) .04%			
Grants (1) .04%			

(23b)Taxes	(23c) HR	(23d) Ad	(24) Risk	(25) What?
No	No	Yes	Yes	Salary/Insurance
No	No	Yes	Yes	Small town, just starting
No	NA	Yes	Yes	Everything, maintain stock
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Bigger shop, more money
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Daily. What buy must sell
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Large projects
No	No	Yes	Yes	New community, smaller market
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not afraid to fail
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Buying the business
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	2 Bars, Restaurant, pallet comp
No	Yes	No	Yes	Get paid last, not easy, second job
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Upholstery and daycare center
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Buying the building, quit job
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Daily. Balance budget. Optimism
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Daily. What buy must sell
No	No	No	Yes	Financial. God keeps the lights on
Yes	Yes	No	Yes	New building, long hours
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Big jobs, big money, slow to pay
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Employees
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Financial.
No	No	Yes	Yes	Financial. Single person
No	NA	Yes	Yes	Everything, maintain stock
No	Yes	Yes	No	
Yes	No	No	Yes	Pay bills, blacks don't want to pay
Totals				
Yes (5) 21%	Yes (16) 66.6%	Yes (20) 83.3%	Yes (23) 95.8%	Financial (13) 54%
No (19) 79%	No (6) 25%	No (4) 16.6%	No (1) .04%	Expansion (6) 25%
				Failure (2) .08%

(26) Failed	(27) Most Proud
No	Honesty, family
Yes	Years in business
No	Happy customers
No	Good example for my kids
No	Socially conscious
Yes	Helping people
Yes	Having a shop
Yes	Still here, independent
Yes	Fair, positive reputation
No	Still in business, success, freedom
Yes	Still here
No	Helped other beauticians start, relationship with customers
No	People feel good about coming here
Yes	Myself
Yes	Still in business.
No	Being able to watch children grow. Help solve kids problems
No	There for the community. Columbia is home.
No	Communicating with people
No	Faithful clientele
No	My clients trust me
No	Honesty, family atmosphere, committed to growth
No	Happy customers
Yes	Help other black attorneys be successful
No	Everything
Totals	
Yes (9) 37.5%	Helping people (7) 29%
No (15) 62.5%	Faithful clients (5) 21%
	Still in business (7) 29%

(28) Concerns
Stereotypes
Bills, Health Insurance
Growth
Economy, Health Insurance
Slow business
Health Insurance, too much work
Making money
Black men all considered drug dealers, modern slavery
Where to go from here
Growth
Paying bills, location
Health Insurance, age, legacy
Keeping participants involved
Health Insurance, taxes, ex-employees
Never retireI'm only going out feet first
No
The economy, parents can't afford, bills
Could always do better
Other stylist, people don't get along in shop
Unexpected building improvements, county code issues
Growth
Don't spend enough time with kids, health insurance
None
Totals
Bills/financial/Economy (8) 33.3%
Health Insurance (6) 25%
Growth (6) 25%
, ,

(29) Advice
Good location, pray
Do your homework, demand, confidence
Start small, buy don't rent
Work hard, great rewards
Do your research, work hard, confidence
Have a business plan
Take a chance, work hard, strong desire, passion
Do your research, get credit right, buy the building
Work hard, go for your dreams
Be strategic, make sure the is a need
Have a business plan, work hard, protect your money, plan activities
Work hard, treat pp right, demand
Have a business plan
Work together, support each other, be professional
Not all blacks are your friends-not all whites are your enemies, do what you love
Have a business plan, be patient, maintain standards, will struggle, be confident
Understand law, needs, accounting, timelines, insurance, budget, implement
Work together, support each other, cost so much to get started
Have a business plan, have plenty of money, just do it
Have a business plan, stick to it, follow your plan
Be dedicated, you will work harder than you ever have in your life, business plan
Start small, buy don't rent
Start slow, don't get in debt, save money first
Be careful people will take advantage of you
Totals
Have a business plan/research (11) 45.8%
Work hard (7) 29%
Be confident (2) .08%
Buy don't rent/financial (9) 37.5%
Work together (2) .08%
Find your passion/dedicated (5) 21%

(30) Better Columbia climate
"How- To" workshops, landlord/tenant relations
Ability to get loans, support our own community
Work together, support our own community
Training for kids like the CARE Program
Education, start a minority organization
Minority business organization, work together
Minority business organization, loans available, less crabs in barrel
Education, start a minority organization, support each other
Minority business organization, bank support
It is a good climate now, but undercapitalized
Minority business organization
Minority business organization,
Minority business organization
Minority business organization, less crabs in barrel
Do more due diligence
Work together, support our own community
Support our own community, less crabs in barrel
Minority business organization
Make it easier to get loans
Work together, support our own, less crabs in barrel
Minority business organization
Work together, support our own community
NA
Minority business organization, support our own community, less crabs in barrel
Totals
Start a minority business organization (12) 50%
Less crabs in a barrel/Support each other (5) 21%
Make business loans available (3) 12.5%
Community support (13) 54%
Education/training (3) 12.5%

(31) Elected officials increase
20-year plan should include AA
How-To on taxes, getting started
Loans
NA
End small town mentality
NA
More support, radio advertising
Grants and loans available, share knowledge
Education programs, role models
Education programs, advocate, loans
Loans
Change their attitude, keep AA from opportunities
Education programs, grants,
Reach out to AA business
NA
Don't have our best interest at heart, no desire
Education programs, "How to do it", listen, involved
Reach out to AA business about opportunities
Stop playing games
How-to workshops on success, focus on AA needs
Start-up grants
Loans
Police set up artificial barriers, shut down AA business
No. Do it on your own
Totals
Educational programs (6) 25%
Loans and grants (8) 33%
Break down artificial barriers
Reach out (5) 21.1%
Stop negative behavior/attitude (6) 25%

(00) 11
(32) More AA in power Y/N
Yes
Yes. Banking
Depends on the person
NA
Yes
NA
Depends, don't forget where they came from
depends, need more like Valerie Shaw
Depends on the person
No. need more role models
Yes.
Depends on the person, must be committed
Yes. They can identify with issues
Doesn't matter what color
See past color, see the human race
No. Not much support. Come see what we do
Only if they were really going to help
Yes. government city council, P&Z, relax requirements for Boards and Commissions
Yes. They seem to understand
Yes.
Yes
Depends on the person
Yes. City Council would be more sensitive to issues
Yes. Obama factor
Totals
Yes (11) 45.8%
No (2) .08%
Depends (7) 29%

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VITA



Alisa Warren's dissertation and scholarly work brings a fresh perspective to the economic empowerment opportunity related to Columbia, Missouri's black owned businesses. While most research has focused on the barriers, her direction is on exploring the practices that promote success makes salient the opportunities. She describes her dissertation as the channel for

uplift. A key part of her research focuses on the actual individuals who participated in the study and puts a "face" on the issue. She has been guided in her research pursuits by her committee Chair, Dr. Rex Campbell, Professor of Rural Sociology, who has also served on the City Council of Columbia.

Alisa brings a unique perspective given her experience as the current Executive Director of the Missouri Human Rights Commission (MCHR) since January 2008. She has a long track record of commitment to diversity and inclusion. MCHR's powers and duties are to prevent (through education and outreach) and eliminate (through enforcement) discrimination. Persons who believe that they have been discriminated against because of their race, color, religion, national origin, ancestry, sex, disability, age, or familial status can file a complaint. The MCHR is authorized to investigate complaints in employment, public accommodations and housing.

She has previously served as the Director of Diversity Initiatives for the University of Missouri; the Executive Director for the Missouri Community Service Commission; the National Marketing Manager for a minority-owned information technology firm; the Director of the Office of Equal Opportunity for the State of Missouri leading the state diversity initiative for women and minority employment and contract compliance; the Director of the State of Missouri Supplier Diversity Program; and the Minority Contracts Coordinator for the State of Missouri Division of Design and Construction. She has conducted numerous presentations and seminars at both the state and national level.

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Alisa was born in Iowa City, Iowa, but moved to Columbia, Missouri in 1972 with her family. She has been a member of historic Second Missionary Baptist Church since 1974 where Dr. Clyde Ruffin is pastor. She is also a member of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority, Inc. She has traveled to Mexico, Italy, Austria, Germany, Greece, Australia, and plans to visit Africa soon. Her personal interests include; politics, art, travel, water activities, golf, and living each day to its fullest— Carpe Diem!