

# “Don’t Buy Where You Can’t Work”: Leon Sullivan’s Fight Against Job Discrimination

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Process Paper: 498 Words

## Process Paper

Despite living in Philadelphia, I did not know about the Civil Rights movements that originated in my city. When deciding on what topic I was going to research for this project, I knew I wanted to study a topic that was unique to the city I lived in, because I was interested in understanding the local history in Philadelphia. After briefly researching the Selective Patronage Campaign, one of Leon Sullivan's projects, I became fascinated with the ways in which the black community was able to diminish the barrier of job discrimination through collective action. Leon Sullivan proved to be the perfect subject matter due to the wide array of projects he launched in Philadelphia, and his clear goal to diminish discrimination in the workplace.

Due to the fact that Leon Sullivan did most of his work in Philadelphia, I had access to a vast amount of primary sources. I made several trips to the Special Collections Research Center at the Temple University Libraries where I was able to read newspaper articles about Leon Sullivan's work, and I also found a plethora of images from their digital collections online. Furthermore, I read several books about Leon Sullivan's work such as *Up South* by Matthew Countryman, *The Problem of Jobs* by Guian Mckee, and *Build, Brother, Build*, which was written by Leon Sullivan. Lasty, I had the privilege of conducting interviews with those who were involved with Leon Sullivan's projects, such as Ms. Mable Welborne who participated in the Selective Patronage Campaign and worked with Dr. Sullivan for over fifty years, and Dr. Timothy Lombardo who wrote a book called *Blue Collar Conservatism*, which highlights information about Philadelphia during the 1950s and 1960s. These interviews provided me with content that was often overlooked by secondary sources.

I found that Leon Sullivan's work was very impactful, but ultimately forgotten. To convey his story, I decided to create a documentary because I felt that having visuals to support his narrative would be the best way to show his impact in Philadelphia and the Civil Rights movement. Using iMovie, I was able to combine interviews, images, and videos of Dr. Sullivan, to showcase the emotion of the Civil Rights movement and the impact of his work.

My topic relates to the theme of breaking barriers in history because Leon Sullivan dedicated his life to trying to break the barrier of job discrimination. He believed that the way out of poverty and into a prosperous life was by obtaining quality jobs. However, these jobs were not available to black laborers in the 1950s and 1960s. Leon Sullivan fought against this discrimination through several projects that targeted employment discrimination. Although his work did not entirely break this barrier, he was able to crack it. His work helped implement black people into jobs they were not previously allowed to occupy, create new businesses for African Americans in Philadelphia, and in the long-term, provide job training to people all over the world through the Opportunities Industrialization Center.

## Annotated Bibliography

### Primary Sources

“14th Straight Win for Local Pastors” 12 Jun 1962, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings, SCRC 169C, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This source is a newspaper clipping from the Special Collections Research Center. This newspaper clipping describes the immense success of the Selective Patronage Campaign after its 14th straight win. I included an image of this clipping in my documentary to show the success of the Selective Patronage Campaign.

“1940s African American Secretaries at Work in Office, Women.” *Youtube*, Thekinolibrary, 9 Feb. 2016, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=qTjH43cU82k](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qTjH43cU82k).

This source is a short video of black women working as secretaries. I used clips from this video in my documentary to show how black women were implemented into the clerical staff at Tasty Baking Company, after a victorious selective patronage campaign against the company.

“1960s Secretaries Typing in Huge Office.” *YouTUBE*, Thekinolibrary, 27 Nov. 2014, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=Etn2WBgWJ3o](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Etn2WBgWJ3o).

This source is a short video of office workers in the 1960s. The video shows people at their desks, filing paperwork, and taking calls. I used clips from this video to show the types of jobs that blacks typically did not have.

“About Us.” *Tastykake*, [www.tastykake.com/about-us-1](http://www.tastykake.com/about-us-1).

This source is an image from the ‘About Us’ page on the Tastykake website. The image shows a Tastykake truck from the 1960s. I used this image when describing how African Americans were being implemented into the position of driver salesmen at the Tastykake company.

“American Negro | Unreleased Documentary From 1960s.” National Archives, 10 Feb. 2017, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=uGFOM4ARzsU](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uGFOM4ARzsU).

This source is a documentary from the National Archives that was posted to YouTube. The documentary shows protests during the 1960s, as well as black people working lower paying jobs. I used several clips from the documentary in my documentary to show the limited opportunities available to black people in the workplace, and the protests that were taking place during this time period.

“Antique Tastykake Truck” 19 Jan 1979, Business--Tasty Baking Co.--Photos, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/72000/rec/>.

This source is an image from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image portrays an antique Tastykake truck. I used this image in my documentary when describing the Selective Patronage Campaign against the Tasty Baking Company.

“Camden Ministers Win Selective Patronage Effort Against Coca Cola Company” 2 Jun 1963, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings, SCRC 169C, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This source is a written press release from Reverend Watts in Camden, New Jersey. This press release details the success of ministers in Camden who followed Leon Sullivan’s Selective Patronage movement in Philadelphia. This shows how other ministers were able to combat job discrimination in their areas, using Leon Sullivan’s tactics.

“Classroom of the Opportunities Industrialization Center” 02 Mar 1964, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170 , Special Collections Research Center, Temple Universities Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10771/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image portrays a classroom full of students being taught job skills by a teacher. I used this image in my documentary when speaking about the services that the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) provides.

Davis, Myron. "People Waiting in Line for Unemployment Relief." *The LIFE Images Collection*, <https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/people-waiting-in-line-for-unemployment-relief-news-photo/50558321>.

This source is a photograph taken by Myron Davis that shows a line of black people waiting to hear about employment opportunities. This photograph contrasts the limited number of jobs available to black workers with the large number of black job seekers. I used this image in my documentary to show how black people had this barrier of job discrimination in the way of achieving economic prosperity.

"Dedicated to Sustainable Community Economic Development and Job Opportunities Since 1968." *The First Shopping Center in the Nation, Developed, Continuously Owned and Managed by African Americans*, Progress Plaza, 3 May 2019, [progressplaza.com/](http://progressplaza.com/).

This source is the official website for Progress Plaza, which was the first African American owned shopping center in the United States, and was started by Leon Sullivan. I used this website to find information about what Progress Plaza does today, including information about some of the organizations that were created under the Progress label. I also found information on the "About Us" page about Leon Sullivan and his contributions to Progress Plaza.

"Dilapidated and Abandoned Housing In North Philadelphia, 1967." *Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia*, [philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/model-cities/dilapidated-and-abandoned-housing-3/](http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/model-cities/dilapidated-and-abandoned-housing-3/).

This source is a picture from the Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia and it depicts abandoned and worn down houses in North Philadelphia. I used this source to give historical context on the neighborhood of North Philadelphia in the 1950s and to provide visuals of this neglected area.

"Executives of Opportunities Industrialization Centers" 1969, Organizations--Opportunities Industrial Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/search/searchterm/Executives%20of%20Opportunities%20Industrialization%20Centers>.

This source is a photograph from the Special Collections Research Center. This image depicts the class of 1969 for the first Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) managerial training class along with Leon Sullivan. I used this image to show the success of the OIC.

"First West Phila. OIC Grads Find Jobs Waiting." *Philadelphia Tribune (1912-2001)*, 23 Oct 1965, pp. 5. *ProQuest*,  
<https://search.proquest.com/docview/532333205?accountid=70954>.

This source describes the success of seventeen students who enrolled in the program at the OIC (Opportunities Industrialization Center), which was founded by Leon Sullivan one year earlier. The article states that these students were able to find immediate positions after a short six week training session at the OIC. I used this source to show the success and the impact that this organization had for black people struggling to find jobs in Philadelphia.

"Five businessmen display stacks of cash outside vault" 03 Jun 1971, Money--Paper--Misc., George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/56071/rec/1>.

This source is a picture from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The photograph shows five white business men holding stacks of cash outside a vault. I used this image to highlight how the Selective Patronage Campaign was going to target white business owners financially, in order to convince them to meet their demands.

"Ford Model A Assembly." *YouTube*, King Rose Archives, 1 Apr. 2013,  
[www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZnGWJ\\_6BwU](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PZnGWJ_6BwU).

This source is a video of a factory assembly line during the 1960s. I used clips from this video to show the types of jobs that black people could not obtain at the Tasty Baking Company.

"Gary Geers: 1950's Philadelphia Television Ads." *YouTube*, 21 June 2011,  
[www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=129&v=Eg8VjVZ6Zi0&feature=emb\\_logo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=129&v=Eg8VjVZ6Zi0&feature=emb_logo).

This source is a short video of an advertisement made by Tastykake in the 1950s. I used clips from this advertisement in my documentary when describing the boycott against Tastykake during the Selective Patronage Campaign.

Gaye, Marvin. "What's Going On (Instrumental)." *20th Century Masters The Millennium Collection The Best of The Funk Brothers*, Motown Records, 2002, *Apple Music*.

This song works well within my documentary because both the tone and lyrics reflect the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC). This song became heavily associated with the struggle for civil rights during the 1970s. The tone is upbeat and reflective of the success of the OIC.

"General view of OIC International Meeting" 18 Nov. 1969, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10842/rec/1>.

This is a photograph from the Special Collections Research Center. The image portrays Leon Sullivan with other men discussing the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) International at a meeting. I used this image to show how the OIC became very widespread, with training centers opening across the world.

Gershanov, Holly. "OIC has Glorious History." *Philadelphia Tribune (1912-2001)*, 16 Feb 1988, pp. 2. *ProQuest*, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/532946526?accountid=70954>.

This source is a newspaper article that illustrates the impact the OIC has had for people across the country and the world. It also notes some of the impact that was made in Philadelphia within the first few years of its opening. I used this source to emphasize how successful the OIC was and how this organization would not have been created without the efforts of the Selective Patronage Campaign.

Graham, Theodore. "Hitting Where it Hurts!: Nation Eyes Selective Patronage in Phila. Area as Job Campaign shows Results; Pastors Press on." *Philadelphia Tribune (1912-2001)*, 2 Jul 1960, pp. 1. *ProQuest*, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/532224485?accountid=70954>.



This source is a newspaper article that describes how many people were involved with the campaign and how much it had already accomplished within the first year. I used this source to give information about how effective the campaign was after only a short period of time.

Hughes Cardwell, Renée. Personal interview. 24 February 2020.

I was lucky enough to speak with Renée Cardwell Hughes who is the President and CEO of the Philadelphia Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC). She served as a trial judge for over fifteen years before leading one of the largest markets of the American Red Cross Association. She spoke to me about how the Philadelphia OIC is operated and the impact it continues to have on many people across the city. She also noted how many of the graduates in the past year were able to find quality jobs and better their lives. I used part of this interview in my documentary to highlight the historical significance of the OIC, and to show how the OIC has bettered the lives of many people for over fifty years.

“Industrial Leaders to Explore Job Training Program” 7 Jun 1966, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings, SCRC 169C, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This source is a newspaper clipping from the Special Collections Research Center. The newspaper describes a meeting between Leon Sullivan and leaders from the King of Prussia Park Association, where they discuss opening a new Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) in King of Prussia. In this meeting, Leon Sullivan also describes the mission of the OIC and how they operate. I used this newspaper clipping in my documentary to give a definition of the OIC in the words of Leon Sullivan himself.

“James Johnson Homes” North Philadelphia, Housing Association of Delaware Valley Records, 38-17C, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p245801coll13/id/3463/rec/5>.

This source is an image from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image portrays a family standing between a fence in front of the James Johnson Homes in North Philadelphia. The James Johnson Homes were a housing project in Philadelphia. I used this image to provide visuals of North Philadelphia.

“Leon Sullivan at Progress Plaza construction site” Bio--Sullivan, Leon H.--News--1965-69--%, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Collection, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/53785/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from a digital collection at the Special Collections Research Center. It depicts Leon Sullivan working with men at Progress Plaza construction site. Progress Plaza was one of Leon Sullivan’s projects to help implement black businesses into a prominent section of Broad Street. I used this source to show the hard work being put into the project.

“Leon Sullivan and Richard Nixon " 09 Sep. 1968, Mosely, John W.--Photographs--People, John W. Mosely Photograph Collection, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll17/id/887/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from a digital collection at the Special Collections Research Center. It depicts Leon Sullivan meeting with President Richard Nixon about the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC). I used this source to show the national impact that the OIC had.

“Let’s Rebuild Tioga” Tioga, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Collection, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/44381/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. This image shows Zion Baptist Church, where Leon Sullivan preached for most of his life. I used this image when explaining Leon Sullivan’s time at Zion Baptist Church.

“Liberia Opportunities Industrialization Centre: Corporate NGO Partnerships.” *Liberia Opportunities Industrialization Centre | Corporate NGO Partnerships*, [www.globalhand.org/en/browse/partnering/4/all/organisation/42576](http://www.globalhand.org/en/browse/partnering/4/all/organisation/42576).

This source is the official website for the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) in Liberia. On the website there is an image of an OIC class being taught in Liberia. I used

this image to show how the OIC is an international program, and to highlight the impact it has had on many people across the world.

"Local Ministers Succeeding: New England Baptists Endorse Selective Patronage Campaign Against Tasty Baking Company." *Philadelphia Tribune (1912-2001)*, 18 Jun 1960, pp. 1. *ProQuest*, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/532336794?accountid=70954>. Accessed 11 Nov 2019.

This source is a newspaper clipping which describes the effects and progress of the Selective Patronage Campaign in New England. In this source, the Selective Patronage Campaign was endorsed at the New England Missionary Church Convention which included nine different states who all decided to boycott Tastykake as well. I used this source to show how the campaign was very widespread and had a lot of members participating, not just in Philadelphia.

Lopez-Bernal, Monica, and Debora Ferede. *Second Great Migration/Race Riots*. Venngage, [infograph.venngage.com/p/239648/second-great-migrationrace-riots](http://infograph.venngage.com/p/239648/second-great-migrationrace-riots).

This source is an image depicting the Great Migration. This image shows where many black Americans relocated to, and where they came from. I used this image in my documentary when describing the influx of African Americans in Philadelphia due to the Great Migration.

"Machine Shop at the Opportunities Industrialization Center" 13 Nov 1980, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10793/rec/2>.

This source is an image from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image shows a man working in the Opportunities Industrialization Center's (OIC) Machine Shop. I used this image in my documentary when describing the work done at the OIC.

"Machine Tool Operation Class" 12 Nov 1980, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170 , Special Collections Research Center, Temple Universities Libraries, Philadelphia,

Pennsylvania,

<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10825/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The photograph shows students working on machinery at a machine tool operating class in the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC). I used this image in my documentary when talking about the impact of the OIC, and how the training classes, such as the one depicted in this photograph, are still in use today.

“Man Speaks at OIC International Meeting” 18 Nov 1969, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170 , Special Collections Research Center, Temple Universities Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10843/rec/20>.

This source is a photograph from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. This image portrays Leon Sullivan at an Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) meeting. I used this image when introducing Leon Sullivan in my documentary to show how he was very passionate about this project.

“Meeting which Opportunities Industrialization Center is launched” 29 Jul 1963, Organizations--Opportunities Industrial Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10808/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from the Special Collections Research Center. In this photo, Leon Sullivan is debriefing about the opening of the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) which took place the night before. He is speaking to the founding formation group at Zion Baptist Church. I used this source to illustrate the hard work and concentration being put into the OIC.

Meisler, Stanley. “Job Discrimination Heads North's Racial Problems.” *Indiana Evening Gazette*, 26 June 1963, p. 16. *Newspapers*,  
<https://www.newspapers.com/image/19184028/?terms=Job%2BDiscrimination%2BHead%2BNorth%27s%2BRacial%2BProblems>.

This source is a newspaper from the Indiana Evening Gazette which highlights the issue of job discrimination in Northern cities such as New York and Philadelphia. The article provides historical context on racism in the North, and shows that although the North was considered to be more accepting than the South at the time, discrimination was still eminent. I included a clipping of this newspaper in my documentary to show how job discrimination was very prominent in Philadelphia.

“Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955.” *YouTube*, King Rose Archives, 1 Dec. 2015, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=ABcXaN6OhEA](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ABcXaN6OhEA).

This source is a video uploaded to YouTube by the King Rose Archives about the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The video portrays black people in Montgomery refusing to go on the buses and instead, forming carpools or walking. I used several clips from this video when talking about the Montgomery Bus Boycott in my documentary. I also used these clips to give historical context, as the Montgomery Bus Boycott inspired Leon Sullivan’s Selective Patronage Campaign boycott.

“Negroes Building Boycott Network” 25 Nov 1962, SCRC 169C, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Mounted Newsclippings, Urb, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This source is a newspaper article that describes the reasoning behind the formation of the Selective Patronage Campaign. It contains direct quoting from Leon Sullivan who explains how the Selective Patronage Campaign was formed. He notes that about fifteen black ministers met to discuss how they would end discrimination in the workplace and find good jobs for people in the black community of Philadelphia. This source gave me background information about the formation of the Selective Patronage Campaign and the goals they wanted to achieve.

“Nix Bill Asks Curb on States in Rights Fight” 13 Jun 1963, SCRC 169C, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Mounted Newsclippings, Urb, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This source is a newspaper clipping which covers Robert N. C. Nix’s praise of the Selective Patronage Campaign. Nix a Pennsylvania state representative at the time, stated how it was very effective and helpful in fighting racial discrimination in Philadelphia. He also stated how the campaign targeted 22 businesses, who all ended up meeting their

demands. I used this source to describe how the Selective Patronage Campaign was very successful and had a big impact on the city of Philadelphia.

“North Philadelphia homes earmarked for demolition” North Philadelphia, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Collection, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/search/searchterm/North%20Philadelphia%20homes%20earmarked%20for%20demolition>.

This source is an image from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The photo depicts young children playing in front of decaying homes that are set for demolition. I used this photo when describing North Philadelphia, to highlight the stark racial segregation and inequalities that existed in the city.

OIC Philadelphia. “About.” *OIC Philadelphia About Comments*, 2016, [philaoic.org/about/](http://philaoic.org/about/).

This source is the official website for the Philadelphia Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC). It contains information about the formation of the OIC, the history behind it, the services they offer, and some stories about people who found jobs after completing a course there. This source gave me a general understanding of what the OIC does, and it helped me better explain the OIC’s mission in my documentary.

“OIC Student March” 26 July 1965, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10789/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from the Special Collections Research Center. The picture depicts a line of women waiting outside the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) for service. I used this image to show how the OIC was a prominent place for women to learn job skills and how the services the OIC provided were in high demand.

“OIC to Dedicate Germantown Branch” 10 Oct 1985, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Mounted Newsclippings, SCRC 169C, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This source is a newspaper clipping from the Special Collections Research Center, which describes the new training center that was opening in Germantown, a neighborhood in the

Northwest region of Philadelphia. The article provides information on the success of the OIC and the excitement for new training centers. I used an image of this newspaper clipping in my documentary to show how the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) spread quickly.

“OIC to Open Training Center at 27th and Sedgley” 12 Nov 1963, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Mounted Newsclippings, SCRC 169C, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This source is a newspaper clipping from the Special Collections Research Center. The newspaper article describes the new training center that was opening in another part of Philadelphia. I used an image of this newspaper clipping in my documentary to show how the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) gained a lot of traction and many people wanted to use the services it provided.

“Opportunities Industrialization Center” 07 Jan 1965, Sullivan Leon H.--News/Group 65-69, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/51549/rec/7>.

This source is a photograph from the Special Collections Research Center. The image depicts Leon Sullivan at the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) working with Robert Fisher, a student who was working on a lathe. I used this source to give imagery of the OIC and to show what activities take place there.

“Opportunities Industrialization Center building” 02 Mar 1964, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple Universities Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10767/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image shows the building for the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) in 1964. I used this image in my documentary to provide a visual of the OIC.

“Opportunities Industrialization Center Dedication” 26 Jan 1964, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

Photographs, SCRC 170 , Special Collections Research Center, Temple Universities Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10792/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image shows a crowd gathered around the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) for a dedication service in 1965. I used this image in my documentary when describing the OIC to show how many people were eager to be a part of the organization.

Philadelphia OIC. *OIC and the Progress Plaza Story*. YouTube, 2014,  
[www.youtube.com/watch?v=XVQdAcnnSro](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XVQdAcnnSro).

This source is a short video about Leon Sullivan, and his creation of the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) and Progress Plaza. In the video, Leon Sullivan speaks about his plans for the OIC and Progress Plaza. This video was especially helpful because I could hear Leon Sullivan speak about his projects in his own words. I included a part of this video where Leon Sullivan speaks about the 10-36 plan in my documentary.

"PIA, Funded on \$10-a-Month Pledges Over 36 Months, among the Nation's Largest Minority-Owned Companies." *Philadelphia Tribune (1912-2001)*, Nov 08, 1977, pp. 7. *ProQuest*, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/532746954?accountid=70954>.

This source is a newspaper that describes the 10-36 Plan which went towards funding Progress Plaza and other entities that aided the black community. The article highlights the goals of the 10-36 plan and how the money raised greatly affected the black community in Philadelphia. I used an image of this newspaper when describing the 10-36 Plan in my documentary.

“President Lyndon B. Johnson visit to OIC” 29 Jun 1967, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10769/rec/1>.

This source is from the Special Collections Research Center. It’s a photograph of President Lyndon B. Johnson and Leon Sullivan watching a student work on a machine at



the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) This shows how renowned the OIC was, since the president was making a visit to see the work being done there.

“Progress Plaza Exterior” 27 Jan 1969, Business and Industry--Business--Progress Plaza Shopping Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170 , Special Collections Research Center, Temple Universities Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/2894/rec/2>.

This source is a photograph from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image portrays the exterior of Progress Plaza. I used this image when introducing Progress Plaza in my documentary.

“Protest against FEPC laws that discriminated based on race and religion” 1945, John W. Moseley Photograph Collection, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll17/id/888/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image portrays protesters in Philadelphia who are advocating for fair employment practices. I used this image in my documentary to show the struggle for equality in the workplace.

“Pulpit Boycott Rocks Empire of ‘Liquid Gold’” 15 Jul 1962, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Clippings, SCRC 169C, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This source is a newspaper clipping from the Special Collections Research Center. The newspaper describes a successful campaign against the SunOil company. I used the information in the article to get a better understanding of the other companies targeted during the Selective Patronage Campaign. I also used a picture of this newspaper clipping in my documentary to show the triumph of the Selective Patronage Campaign.

“Reverend Leon Howard Sullivan” 1972, Bio--Sullivan. Leon H., George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10766/rec/6>.

This source is a photograph of Leon Sullivan from the Special Collections Research Center. It depicts Leon Sullivan in front of an Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) Banner. I used this picture when introducing the title of my documentary because it shows Leon Sullivan standing proudly in front of his most renowned organization.

“Reverend Leon Howard Sullivan preaches to congregation” 16 Nov 1970, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10784/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from the Special Collections Research Center. The image depicts Leon Sullivan preaching to a congregation at Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. I used this image to show Sullivan’s early preaching career.

“Reverend Leon H. Sullivan Addresses group of investors” 23 Sep 1972, Business and Industry--Business--Progress Industrial Park, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/2919/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from the Special Collections Research Center. The image shows Leon Sullivan showing investors Progress Industrial Park. I used this picture to emphasize Leon Sullivan’s many connections with black citizens in Philadelphia.

“Reverend Leon H. Sullivan gives tour of Progress Industrial Park” 23 Sep. 1972, Business and Industry--Business--Progress Industrial Park, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/2920/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from the Special Collections Research Center. The image depicts Leon Sullivan giving a tour of Progress Industrial Park to a group of investors. I used this source to show how Leon Sullivan was able to convey his ideas to many different people in Philadelphia.

“Rev. Leon Sullivan speaks to crowd at ground breaking ceremony” 18 Jul 1965, Bio--Sullivan, Leon H.--News-- 1965-1969--½, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin

Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/53784/rec/1>.

This source is a digital photo from the Special Collections Research Center. The photograph depicts Leon Sullivan addressing a crowd about the Zion Gardens apartment complex. I used this photograph to highlight the presence and power Sullivan had when he spoke.

“Reverend Sullivan looks at oscilloscope” 07 Jan. 1965, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/search/searchterm/Reverend%20Sullivan%20looks%20as%20oscilloscope>.

This source is a photograph from the Special Collections Research Center. The photograph depicts Leon Sullivan looking at an oscilloscope with a student. I used this image to show Leon Sullivan working in the Opportunities Industrialization Center.

“Selective Buying Campaign Flyer.” Selective Buying Campaign Flyer | DPL DAMS, [digitalcollections.detroitpubliclibrary.org/islandora/object/islandora%3A141860](https://digitalcollections.detroitpubliclibrary.org/islandora/object/islandora%3A141860).

This source is an image from the digital collections at the Detroit Public Library. This image is of a poster used during the Selective Patronage Campaign. The poster details what stores hire black workers into quality positions, and which ones do not. The poster also includes the famous line “Don’t Buy Where You Can’t Work” which was a rallying cry during the boycott. I used this image when describing the Selective Patronage Campaign in my documentary.

“Selective Patronage” 19 Jan 1963, SCRC 169C, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Mounted Newsclippings, Urb, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This source is a newspaper clipping that shows how the Selective Patronage Campaign was successful. It cites that Dr. Martin Luther King supported and promoted it, in one case fifty-one of sixty six job spots were filled by black people, and that in Baltimore, seven companies complied with their demands by their deadlines. Also, it states how

more qualified black people were applying for jobs due to the fact that they were going to be more fairly evaluated. I used this source to show how the campaign was very successful in places outside of Philadelphia and encouraged black people to implement themselves into the workplace.

“Selective Patronage Campaign Opens Gates for Negroes Looking for Jobs” 29 Apr 1969, SCRC 169C, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Mounted Newsclippings, Urb, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This source is a newspaper clipping from the Special Collections Research Center. The article describes how the Selective Patronage Campaign was able to open up jobs for black people in Philadelphia. I used an image of this newspaper clipping in the documentary to highlight the success of the campaign.

"Six-Year-Old Progress Plaza is Fully Leased." *Philadelphia Tribune (1912-2001)*, Oct 12, 1974, pp. 5. *ProQuest*,  
<https://search.proquest.com/docview/532645993?accountid=70954>.

This source is a newspaper about Progress Plaza. The article describes what Progress Plaza had achieved and what stores were in Progress Plaza. I used an image of this newspaper clipping in my documentary, when speaking about the impact of Progress Plaza.

“Southern Baptist Convention” 8 Jun 1972, Churches--Baptists, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/20963/rec/1>.

This source is an image from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image displays Leon Sullivan speaking to a large crowd. I used this image in my documentary when speaking about the impact Leon Sullivan had on the black community.

Sullivan, Leon H. *Build Brother, Build*. Smith, 1969.

This source is a book written by Leon Sullivan himself about the work he has done for the African American community in Philadelphia. He describes his thought processes throughout the Selective Patronage Campaign, the beginnings of the Opportunities

Industrialization Center (OIC), and the creation of Progress Plaza. Furthermore, he elaborates on the economic situation black Philadelphians were faced with before the Selective Patronage Campaign. I used this source to get a more complete understanding of the work Leon Sullivan did through his own words.

“Sullivan Says Negro Hiring Must Increase” 11 May 1966, SCRC 169C, Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Mounted Newsclippings, Urb, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

This source is a newspaper clipping from the Special Collections Research Center. The newspaper issue details how Leon Sullivan felt that black labor was the backbone of the workforce in Philadelphia and how he urged for equality in employment. I used an image of this newspaper clipping in my documentary.

Sweet Honey in the Rock. “Keep Your Eyes on the Prize.” *YouTube*,  
[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D\\_tcZAqQUAg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D_tcZAqQUAg).

This source is a song I used in my documentary while describing the hardships African Americans faced in the 1950s. This song became an influential Civil Rights song in the 1950s and 1960s. The song is slow and the lyrics refer to freedom. The seldom sound fit well with the visuals of protests during the 1950s.

“Tasty Baking Co.” 03 Jan 1979, Business--Name--Tasty Baking Co.--Photos, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/71537/rec/1>.

This source is an image from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image shows a photo of the Tasty Baking Company headquarters in Philadelphia. I used this image in my documentary when talking about the Selective Patronage Campaign against Tasty Baking.

"Tastykake Co. Surrenders to Phila. Pastors: Pledges Equal Opportunity for all; Boycott Ends." *Philadelphia Tribune (1912-2001)*, 09 Aug. 1960, pp. 1. *ProQuest*,  
<https://search.proquest.com/docview/532195845?accountid=70954>.

This source is a newspaper article from the Philadelphia Tribune about the Selective Patronage Campaign's victory over Tastykake. The article describes how with collective

action, the ministers were able to implement black people into positions they were not allowed to occupy before. I used an image of this newspaper article in my documentary when describing the selective patronage campaign against Tastykake.

“Teacher and Students in Class at the Opportunities Industrialization Center” 19 Jul 1965, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170 , Special Collections Research Center, Temple Universities Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10795/rec/2>.

This source is an image from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image depicts a teacher helping a student at a desk at the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC). I used this image in my documentary to show the work that is done at the OIC.

The Roots. “Ain’t Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Around.” *Soundtrack for a Revolution*, Entertainment One Music, 2014. *Apple Music*.

This source is a song that I used when describing the beginnings of the Selective Patronage Campaign in my documentary. During the 1960s, this song became associated with the Civil Rights movement. I used this song because it had an upbeat and hopeful tone, which fit well when I discussed one of Leon Sullivan’s most successful projects.

“This Is New York, 1950.” *YouTube*, TravelFilmArchive, 11 Nov. 2008, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=AQJQRGAo3KY](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AQJQRGAo3KY).

This source is a video uploaded to YouTube of New York in the 1950s. There are several shots of the city. I used clips from this video in my documentary when speaking about Leon Sullivan’s brief time in New York.

“Training program” 26 Feb 1981, Labor--Occupations--Carpenter, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, <https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/30020/rec/3>.

This source is a photograph from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image portrays a woman who is hammering a nail. I used this image to show some of the skills that people learned at the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC).

“View of Camden Opportunities Industrialization Center” 5 Nov 1976,  
Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170 , Special Collections Research Center, Temple Universities Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10816/rec/1>.

This is an image from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The image depicts two boys standing in front of the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) in Camden. I used this image in my documentary to talk about how the OIC spread to areas outside of Philadelphia.

“View of classroom at OIC” 12 Nov 1980, Organizations--Opportunities Industrialization Center, George D. McDowell Philadelphia Evening Bulletin Photographs, SCRC 170 , Special Collections Research Center, Temple Universities Libraries, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,  
<https://digital.library.temple.edu/digital/collection/p15037coll3/id/10788/rec/1>.

This source is a photograph from the digital collections at the Special Collections Research Center. The photograph shows a room of students listening to a teacher who is at the board in an Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) classroom. I used this image in my documentary to show a class at the OIC.

“Vintage Philadelphia Film Footage.” *YouTube*, Phillywebmarketing, 3 Dec. 2007,  
[www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=147&v=k15V2usqcQY&feature=emb\\_logo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=147&v=k15V2usqcQY&feature=emb_logo).

This source is a short video about Philadelphia culture in the 1950s. The video contains shots of Philadelphia and people enjoying Philadelphia traditions, such as the Mummers' Parade. I used clips from this video in my documentary to show what Philadelphia looked like during Leon Sullivan's time.

“Wake Up With WURD 10.26.18 - Wendell R. Whitlock.” *WURD Radio*, 26 Oct. 2018.

This source is a radio episode with Wendell R. Whitlock who was a prominent figure in Leon Sullivan's life and took part in many of his projects. Whitlock describes the founding of Progress Plaza, and its major accomplishments on its 50th anniversary. I used this source to acquire knowledge about Progress Plaza from someone who knew Leon Sullivan personally and is still heavily involved with the project.

Warner, Ralph. "The Most Politically Outspoken Black Athletes of All Time." *Complex*, 20 Oct. 2016, [www.complex.com/sports/2012/01/the-most-politically-outspoken-black-athletes-of-all-time/1](http://www.complex.com/sports/2012/01/the-most-politically-outspoken-black-athletes-of-all-time/1).

This source is an article about black athletes. In this article the author includes a picture of several black men in suits at a conference. I used this image to show how some of the black community was able to become economically successful due to the work of Leon Sullivan.

Welborne, Mabel. Personal interview. 10 February 2020.

I had the honor to speak with Ms. Mable Welborne, who is the board chairman of the Leon H. Sullivan Charitable Trust. I spoke with her about her experiences with Leon Sullivan and his organizations, which she has been a part of for over fifty years. She also spoke with me about her experience with the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), Progress Plaza, and the 10-36 Plan. The most notable part of the interview was when she told me about her experiences with job discrimination and how she participated in the Selective Patronage Campaign. I used this interview in my documentary to add a first-hand account of what it was like to participate in the Selective Patronage Campaign.

## Secondary Sources

Amott, David. "North Philadelphia." *Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia*, 2014, [philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/north-philadelphia-essay/](http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/north-philadelphia-essay/).

This source is an article about North Philadelphia and its history. The article provides information about the urban decay in this area due to redlining policies and neglect. In this article there is an image of an aerial view of North Philadelphia, which I include in my documentary.

APM Karaoke. "Lift Every Voice and Sing (Karaoke Version)." *Karaoke Hits: American Orchestra, Vol. 1 - EP*, 2007, *Apple Music*.

This song is the black national anthem. I felt this song was fitting for the end of my documentary because the lyrics are very empowering and powerful. I used this song to encapsulate the impact Leon Sullivan made on the black community.



Augenbraun, Eric. (2010). "Stand On Your Feet, Black Boy!": Leon Sullivan, Black Power, Job Training, and the War on Poverty. 2009-2010 Penn Humanities Forum on Connections, [https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=uhf\\_2010](https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1001&context=uhf_2010).

This source is a dissertation from the University of Pennsylvania. This source depicts Leon Sullivan's fight against job discrimination through his various projects. The dissertation goes into great detail about the Selective Patronage Campaign and how they carried out their campaign against Tasty Baking Company. I used this source to get in-depth details about the Tasty Baking Company campaign.

"Bay Area Civil Rights 1960s Images." *Harvey Richards Media Archive*, Estuary Press, 12 Jan. 2020, [hrmediaarchive.estuarypress.com/bay-area-civil-rights-in-the-1960s-black-and-white-unit-e-and-fight/](http://hrmediaarchive.estuarypress.com/bay-area-civil-rights-in-the-1960s-black-and-white-unit-e-and-fight/).

This source is a website about job discrimination protests on the West Coast, in the Bay Area. The website contains many images of people protesting stores with discriminatory hiring practices. The website also gives historical context about job discrimination in other parts of the country. I used several images from this website in my documentary to show that job discrimination was an issue that was felt across the country.

"Black Bourgeoisie to African American Middle-Class, 1957-Present." *Upon These Shores: Themes in the African-American Experience, 1600 to the Present*, by William R. Scott and William G. Shade, Routledge, 2000, pp. 335–340.

This source is a book about the African American experience beginning from the 1600s. The particular section I utilized was about the African American Experience in housing and urban decay in Philadelphia. This section explained the situation in North Philadelphia and why African Americans were subjected to living in a poorer area of the city. I used this source to give context on the poverty and decay that existed in North Philadelphia at the time.

"Black History and Autos 1: Great Migration to Jobs." *YouTube*, Toyota, 27 Feb. 2018, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=h-J2DEAgYNw](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h-J2DEAgYNw).

This source is a video about the jobs black people got after the Great Migration and the Civil Rights Movement. The documentary provides information about the Great

Migration and explains why so many African Americans moved to the North. There are several clips of black people working quality jobs which I included in my documentary.

“Black Poverty in the South 1930s.” *YouTube*, 2015, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=ialLE-fZqB8](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ialLE-fZqB8)

This source is a YouTube video uploaded by the King Rose Archives which depicts impoverished black people in the South. The video details how many African Americans did not have access to quality jobs in industrial enterprises, which led to the Great Migration. I used clips from this video to provide visual representation of the poverty that black people faced due to a variety of factors, one being job discrimination.

Blumgart, Jake. “How Redlining Segregated Philadelphia.” *NextCity*, 8 Dec. 2017, [nextcity.org/features/view/redlining-race-philadelphia-segregation](http://nextcity.org/features/view/redlining-race-philadelphia-segregation).

This source is an article about redlining in Philadelphia. The article talks about the history behind redlining and even provides a map of Philadelphia divided into categories. I used this image in my documentary when speaking about how redlining forced black Philadelphians into limited neighborhoods.

Blumgart, Jake. “Nation's First Black-Owned Shopping Center Celebrates 50 Years.” *WHYY*, *WHYY*, 28 Oct. 2018, [why.org/articles/nations-first-black-owned-shopping-center-celebrates-50-years/](http://why.org/articles/nations-first-black-owned-shopping-center-celebrates-50-years/).

This source is an article about Progress Plaza’s 50th anniversary. It describes the impact Progress Plaza has made on the Philadelphia community in the fifty years it has been functioning. I used this source to get a better understanding of the importance of Progress Plaza, and learn more about how it was created.

Countryman, Matthew. *Up South: Civil Rights and Black Power in Philadelphia*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

This source is a book about black movements in Philadelphia. It illustrates all the key events of the Selective Patronage Campaign, and the events that inspired it. Additionally, this source goes very in depth with the civil rights events that took place right before the Selective Patronage Campaign, and the direct effect it had on Leon Sullivan. I used this source to give details about the Montgomery Bus Boycott’s effect on Leon Sullivan.

DC Historic Preservation Office. "Tour: African American Civil Rights." *DC Historic Sites*, DC Historic Preservation Office, [historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12](http://historicsites.dcpreservation.org/tours/show/12).

This source is a website that contains many short descriptions about different Civil Rights Movements that take place in Washington D.C. There are several short descriptions about different marches against job discrimination. I used the information in this website to get a broader understanding of job discrimination during the early 1960s and I used several images from the March on Washington in my documentary to showcase how job discrimination was one of the many issues tackled in the Civil Rights Movement.

"DTH Wideman Davis New Work – PAST-CARRY-FORWARD " Imagery of Great Migration." *DTH Wideman Davis New Work PASTCARRYFORWARD RSS*, Duke University, Oct. 2013, [sites.duke.edu/dthrenaissanceballet/sample-page/](http://sites.duke.edu/dthrenaissanceballet/sample-page/).

This source is a website about the Great Migration. This website contains facts about the Great Migration, as well as images that depict black people and their families headed for the North. I used some of these images in my documentary when explaining the influx of African Americans in Philadelphia during the 1950s.

Gammage, Justin Terrance. "Fighting for Economic Stability in a Time of Uncertainty: African American Economic Development in Philadelphia 1940-1970." *Temple University*, Temple University Libraries, 2011.

This source is a dissertation from Temple Libraries. The dissertation describes the Selective Patronage Campaign and gives statistical research to show how African Americans were at a disadvantage in the workplace. It also describes the work situation for African Americans before the Selective Patronage Campaign. I used this source for overall context on the Selective Patronage Campaign.

Hoffman, David, director. America in 1957. "What a Time It Was!" *YouTube*, 16 July 2016, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=R6bHs8Vm3EQ](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R6bHs8Vm3EQ).

This source is a segment of a documentary made by David Hoffman. This section of the documentary contains videos and images of life in the 1950s for white, middle class, Americans. I used the information from this documentary to learn about how life was like for white people in the 1950s so that I could contrast that with the way black people were living in the 1950s. I also used various images and videos from this documentary to highlight these differences.

“How a Lunch Counter Sit-In Became an Iconic Civil Rights Movement — SFA.” *YouTube*, Eater, 11 June 2017, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=mT7xgLIYhaI](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mT7xgLIYhaI).

This source is a video about the Southern Sit Ins. The video describes the Sit Ins and provides video of people protesting the whites only lunch counters. I used clips from this video in my documentary when describing the Southern Sit Ins.

Jargowsky , Paul A, et al. “Poverty.” *Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia*, 2017, [philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/poverty/](http://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/archive/poverty/).

This source is an article about poverty in Philadelphia. The article details how certain areas in Philadelphia became prone to poverty, such as flawed anti-poverty organizations, and job discrimination. I used this article to get a better understanding of the history of poverty in Philadelphia and I used several images from this article in my documentary.

Jeffres, Emily, and Natalie Sportelli. “Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Class of 1930.” *Colgate at 200 Years*, 2015, [200.colgate.edu/looking-back/people/adam-clayton-powell-jr-class-1930](http://200.colgate.edu/looking-back/people/adam-clayton-powell-jr-class-1930).

This source is an article about Adam Clayton Powell Jr., who was a reverend and one of three African Americans in the U.S Congress in 1955. The article describes how Leon Sullivan served under him at his church in Harlem, before coming to Philadelphia. I also used an image from this article of Adam Clayton Powell Jr., in my documentary.

Jones, Ayana. “Nation's First Shopping Center Owned, Operated by Blacks Turns 50.” *The Philadelphia Tribune*, 21 Oct. 2018, [www.phillytrib.com/news/nation-s-first-shopping-center-owned-operated-by-blacks-turns/article\\_fd298795-3581-5d01-b3a6-d7979e135166.html](http://www.phillytrib.com/news/nation-s-first-shopping-center-owned-operated-by-blacks-turns/article_fd298795-3581-5d01-b3a6-d7979e135166.html).

This source describes Progress Plaza and some of the history behind it. The article contained several pictures from Progress Plaza during the late 1960s as well. I used this source for pictures as well as historical context on Progress Plaza, and its importance at the time.

Jones, Jacqueline. “Black Workers Remember.” *The American Prospect*, 30 Nov. 2000, [prospect.org/features/black-workers-remember/](http://prospect.org/features/black-workers-remember/).

This source is an article about the work that black people were subjected to in the 1950s and 1960s. The article explains how many black people were put to work in jobs that required menial labor and often required less skill than the jobs that slaves were made to do. I used this source to get a better understanding of the types of jobs black people had before the Selective Patronage Campaign began.

Lane, Kaia, director. *"Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" Campaigns*. *YouTube*, 6 June 2018, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=fTo6Llf4x6I](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fTo6Llf4x6I).

This source is a short video about the “Don’t Buy Where You Can’t Work” campaigns from the 1930s. The Selective Patronage Campaign stemmed from the idea of these campaigns. The video provides information on the tactics used in the campaigns. I used several clips of protesters with “Don’t Buy Where You Can’t Work” picket signs, in my documentary.

Legend, John ft. Common. “Glory (Instrumental).” *YouTube*.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GwDkC1Kz0GM>.

This source is a song I used in the introduction of my documentary. This music encapsulates the sadness of the discrimination that motivated the Civil Rights Movement, as well as the hopefulness of Leon Sullivan’s projects.

Leopard, Snow, director. *We Work Again*. *YouTube*, FDR Presidential Library, 31 Aug. 2010, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=1I82qaanZHI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1I82qaanZHI).

This source is a video about black jobs in the 1940s and 1950s. The video describes how many circumstances made it so that black people had a harder time finding jobs than white people. I used this source to learn about the different occupations skilled and unskilled black laborers had. I also used images of black people working menial labor jobs in my documentary, when speaking about the disadvantages black people had in the workplace.

“Leon Sullivan.” *Newsmakers*, Gale, 2002. *Gale in Context: Biography*, [https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/K1618003496/BIC?u=philly\\_free&sid=BIC&xid=ead7cc73](https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/K1618003496/BIC?u=philly_free&sid=BIC&xid=ead7cc73). Accessed 9 Oct 2019.

This source touches on the effects of the Selective Patronage Campaign such as the formation of the OIC and the creation of three thousand new jobs after a year. It also

mentions the phrase, “Don’t buy where you can’t work”, which became a rallying cry during the boycotts. I used this source to show how the barrier of not being able to work in certain companies was broken. I also used this source to highlight the quick success that stemmed from the campaign.

"Leon Sullivan's Legacy." *Philadelphia Tribune (1912-2001)*, 27 Apr 2001, pp. 1. *ProQuest*, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/533366733?accountid=70954>. Accessed 11 Nov 2019.

This source is from the Philadelphia Tribune where they did a segment about the legacy of Leon Sullivan. The article talks about how he provided job training for over a million people and successfully boycotted many big corporations that refused to hire black workers. I used the information from this article to get a general summary of Leon Sullivan’s achievements, which were mainly the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) and the Selective Patronage Campaign.

“Lesson Plans: The March on Washington.” *PBS LearningMedia*, 2 Aug. 2019, [www.pbslearningmedia.org/collection/lesson-plans-on-the-march/#.XlSaJG9KjBJ](http://www.pbslearningmedia.org/collection/lesson-plans-on-the-march/#.XlSaJG9KjBJ).

This source is a website that contains images from the March on Washington. The website provides information about the March on Washington, where one of the issues being tackled, was job discrimination. There were several images from the march depicting protesters with many signs demanding equality in the workplace. I used this image to emphasize how job discrimination was a major issue during the Civil Rights Movement.

Lombardo, Timothy. Personal interview. 04 February 2020.

I had the opportunity to speak with Dr. Lombardo who is a professor at the University of South Alabama and author of *Blue-Collar Conservatism: Frank Rizzo’s Philadelphia and Populist Politics*. Dr. Lombardo has also published many articles regarding civil rights in Philadelphia and why black people had disproportionately less opportunities than white people. During the interview Dr. Lombardo gave me detailed information on Philadelphia during the late 1950s and 1960s. He also spoke about the Selective Patronage Campaign and how it became so successful.

Mckee, Guian A. *The Problem of Jobs: Liberalism, Race, and Deindustrialization in Philadelphia*. University of Chicago Press, 2008.

This source is a book that describes the formation of the Selective Patronage Campaign, past attempts at desegregating jobs and attempting to get more black workers in better job positions, the Tastykake boycott which was the toughest boycott they were faced with, and gives numerical data that showed the disparity of black people in quality job positions. I used this source to show the data on discrimination in the work place before the Selective Patronage Campaign, describe the Tastykake boycott in depth, show the outcome of the Selective Patronage Campaign, and describe some of the past efforts that were taken before the Selective Patronage Campaign and how they were unsuccessful.

McKnight, Justin. "BLM 2017 vs. Civil Rights Movement 1960's." *Reasonable Dose*, 5 July 2017, [www.reasonabledose.com/blm-2017-vs-civil-rights-movement-1960s/](http://www.reasonabledose.com/blm-2017-vs-civil-rights-movement-1960s/).

This source is a website about the Black Lives Matter Movement and the Civil Rights Movement. The website describes the goals and important details of each movement. I used this information to get a general understanding of the Civil Rights Movement. There are also several images depicting protests from the Civil Rights Movement, which I used in my documentary to show the protests for fair employment.

Mitchell, John N. "Stretch of Broad Street to Be Renamed after Rev. Leon Sullivan." *The Philadelphia Tribune*, 14 Nov. 2019, [www.phillytrib.com/news/local\\_news/stretch-of-broad-street-to-be-renamed-after-rev-leon/article\\_8cdbf2bd-f72f-5a98-a3bf-f6281314a617.html](http://www.phillytrib.com/news/local_news/stretch-of-broad-street-to-be-renamed-after-rev-leon/article_8cdbf2bd-f72f-5a98-a3bf-f6281314a617.html).

This source informs the reader about a street that was named after Leon Sullivan, and gives context about his achievements during his lifetime. This article also contains several images of Leon Sullivan and the street he is named after. I used this source for historical context and for pictures of Leon Sullivan in the 1960s.

"Montgomery Bus Boycott." *The Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute*, Stanford University, 30 May 2019, [kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/montgomery-bus-boycott](http://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/montgomery-bus-boycott).

This source gives an overview of the Montgomery Bus Boycott that took place in 1955-1956. The boycott consisted of black people staying off buses for a year in response to the arrest of Rosa Parks, who refused to give up her seat to a white man on a bus. I used this source to give an overview of an event that inspired Leon Sullivan and his boycott.

Murrow, Edward R, director. *1960: "Harvest of Shame."* *YouTube*, CBS, 24 Nov. 2010, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=yJTVF\\_dya7E](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yJTVF_dya7E).

This source is a documentary about black people who were made to do menial labor on farms for one dollar a day. The documentary highlights how people found ways to degrade black people by making these poor jobs the only ones available to them. I also used clips from this documentary of people working jobs that only required menial labor in my documentary.

“Opportunities Industrialization Centers History Marker.” *ExplorePAHistory.com*, 2019, [explorepahistory.com/hmarker.php?markerId=1-A-368](http://explorepahistory.com/hmarker.php?markerId=1-A-368).

This source describes how Leon Sullivan was displeased with the conditions the black community was facing in Philadelphia and how he decided to help troubled youth train to get jobs through his youth employment program. However, it was not very successful because employers were discriminatory towards his youth even though they were qualified for certain positions. It also describes how in 1959, Sullivan organized pickets to show his support for Martin Luther King’s campaign to open the Southern lunch counter to black people. I used this source to give background information on the motives behind the Selective Patronage Campaign and show how these events were key for Sullivan’s to launch his campaign.

“Promise for a Better City (1944-1964) - Philadelphia: The Great Experiment.” *YouTube*, History Making Productions, 2013, [www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=159&v=PRarFD4S6So&feature=emb\\_logo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=159&v=PRarFD4S6So&feature=emb_logo).

This source is the first part of a documentary series about Philadelphia and race. This section talks about Leon Sullivan’s attempts to fight job discrimination, and the backlash from white people who felt that black people were going to take their jobs. I used several images and clips from this documentary to show Leon Sullivan’s efforts to combat job discrimination through the Selective Patronage Campaign.

“Rev. Leon Sullivan Documentary Excerpt.” Motion Masters Video, 2009, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=9lkAADTT2ho](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9lkAADTT2ho).

This source is an excerpt from a documentary about Leon Sullivan. The excerpt shows Leon Sullivan preaching and describes his major accomplishments throughout his life.



The video also shows clips of Leon Sullivan speaking with people outside of the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC). I used this source to get information about Leon Sullivan as a reverend and to show his dedication to the OIC.

“Seeing Black Women in Power.” *National Museum of African American History and Culture*, 5 July 2019, [nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/collection/seeing-black-women-power](http://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/collection/seeing-black-women-power).

This source is an article about black empowerment. The article describes the period of black power that arose after the heroic era of the Civil Rights Movement. This information gave me a broader understanding of how the events from the 1960s shaped the rest of the Civil Rights Movement. I also used an image from this article of black women with their fists raised in my documentary, when talking about black self-empowerment through Leon Sullivan’s projects.

“Sit-Ins.” *The Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute*, Stanford University, 5 Apr. 2018, [kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/sit-ins](http://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/sit-ins).

This source is an article about the Southern Sit-Ins, which were protests that inspired Leon Sullivan to launch his own non-violent protests. This source describes the beginnings of the protests and the people who were involved. I used this source to get a better understanding of how the protests started, and why they were successful.

“Suburban Growth.” *Ushistory.org*, Independence Hall Association, [www.ushistory.org/us/53b.asp](http://www.ushistory.org/us/53b.asp).

This source is an excerpt from an online United States history textbook. This particular section talks about the suburban life that many Americans were living in the 1950s. It also describes the great things that were happening in the 1950s, such as lower unemployment rates, and more children. I used this source to give background information about life for Americans in the 1950s, right before the Selective Patronage Campaign takes place.

“The History of Civil Rights In The USA - Awakenings, 1954-1956.” *YouTube*, Eyes on the Prize, 1 Aug. 2016, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=ogsiBE5N-1M](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ogsiBE5N-1M)

This source is a documentary on YouTube about Civil Rights in the 1950s. The documentary details the violence and protests that encapsulated the black community

during this time. I used the information in this documentary to provide historical context about the civil rights movement before Leon Sullivan launched the Selective Patronage Campaign. I used several clips from this documentary that depicts violence towards black people, and some of the protests, to show the political climate of the 1950s.

“The History of Protests in St. Louis.” *Saint Louis Magazine*, 16 Oct. 2017, [projects.stlmag.com/the-history-of-protests-in-st-louis](http://projects.stlmag.com/the-history-of-protests-in-st-louis).

This source is an article about St. Louis protests which contain images of a protest against Carter Carburetor, which had no black employees. This article highlights the efforts made in other cities to end job discrimination and provides information on why they were not always successful. I used an image from the article to show how there was a struggle against job discrimination prior to the beginning of Leon Sullivan’s work.

“The Rise of African American Entrepreneurs in America.” *YouTube*, PHP Agency, Inc., 15 Sept. 2014, [www.youtube.com/watch?v=kJjPEBCfBFQ](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kJjPEBCfBFQ).

This source is a video about the history of black entrepreneurs. The video describes how black entrepreneurs were common in segregated neighborhoods, but not in integrated areas. I used the information in this video to understand why barriers that existed in integrated workplaces, did not exist in segregated workplaces. There are also several images and clips of black people managing their own businesses which I used in my documentary when describing the new job opportunities black people had after the Selective Patronage Campaign.

“The Sit-In Movement”. *Ushistory.org*, Independence Hall Association, 2016, [www.ushistory.org/us/54d.asp](http://www.ushistory.org/us/54d.asp).

This source describes the Southern Sit-Ins, which were non-violent acts of protesting by college students. The black students would be refused service from whites-only lunch counters and in retaliation, they would sit in the stores that refused them service, until they served them. This resulted in a lot of arrests and backlash from white people. I used this source to gain general information on the Southern-Sit ins which was one of the events that inspired Sullivan to launch his own non-violent campaign.

“The State of Black Philadelphia.” Urban League of Philadelphia, 2013, [https://www.urbanleaguephila.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/ULP\\_SOBP.pdf](https://www.urbanleaguephila.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/ULP_SOBP.pdf).

This source illustrates the equality gap between black and white Philadelphians today in the five areas of economics, health, education, civic engagement, and social justice. The report uses statistical analysis and documented facts to highlight the disparities between the black and white community in Philadelphia. I used this source to provide numerical data on the state of black employment in Philadelphia during the early 1960s.

“Timeline: the American Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s.” *HistoryExtra*, 20 Mar. 2019,  
[www.historyextra.com/period/20th-century/timeline-the-american-civil-rights-movement-of-the-1950s-and-1960s/](http://www.historyextra.com/period/20th-century/timeline-the-american-civil-rights-movement-of-the-1950s-and-1960s/).

This source is an article that highlights the most important civil rights events in the 1950s and 1960s. It describes events such as the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and the Southern Sit-Ins. I used this source to give historical context on the Civil Rights Movement during the late 1950s and early 1960s, at the same time that Leon Sullivan launched his first Selective Patronage Campaign.

Wilkerson, Isabel. “The Long-Lasting Legacy of the Great Migration.” *Smithsonian.com*, Smithsonian Institution, 1 Sept. 2016,  
[www.smithsonianmag.com/history/long-lasting-legacy-great-migration-180960118/](http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/long-lasting-legacy-great-migration-180960118/).

This source is an article about the Great Migration. The article describes why many black people moved from the South to the North during WWI and the effects it had in the North. I used images from this article in my documentary when describing the large number of African Americans that came to Philadelphia during the 1950s.