

Responding to Growing Diversity:  
A Case Study of Mankato, Minnesota

A Dissertation

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# Table of Contents

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>  | <b>VI</b>  |
| <b>LIST OF FIGURES.....</b>  | <b>VII</b> |
| <b>CHAPTER 1 .....</b>   | <b>1</b>   |
| PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....                                    | 4          |
| PROBLEM STATEMENT.....   | 6          |
| RESEARCHER’S INFLUENCES .....  | 24         |
| CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK .....   | 26         |
| KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS .....   | 34         |
| GOALS OF THE STUDY .....   | 37         |
| ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION .....                                 | 38         |
| <b>CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>                              | <b>39</b>  |
| INTRODUCTION .....   | 39         |
| MINNESOTA IDENTITY AND IMMIGRATION .....                               | 40         |
| PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION STUDIES.....                              | 44         |
| INTERGROUP RELATIONS .....   | 46         |
| THREAT, FEAR, AND POWER .....  | 52         |
| ACCULTURATION STUDIES .....  | 56         |
| CULTURAL DEMOCRACY.....  | 62         |
| SUMMARY AND NEED FOR MORE RESEARCH .....                               | 63         |
| <b>CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY .....</b>                                    | <b>66</b>  |
| INTRODUCTION .....   | 66         |
| DESIGN OF STUDY.....   | 67         |
| PARTICIPANT SELECTION .....  | 68         |
| RESEARCH METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES .....                  | 72         |
| DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES. ....   | 76         |
| LIMITATIONS.....   | 80         |
| ETHICAL ISSUES .....   | 81         |
| CONCLUSION .....   | 82         |
| <b>CHAPTER 4: EUROPEAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY LEADERS’ RESPONSES .....</b> | <b>84</b>  |
| INTRODUCTION .....   | 84         |
| MOTIVATIONS .....  | 85         |
| ACTIONS.....   | 92         |
| COMMUNITY .....  | 111        |
| EA CL DATA: DISCUSSION .....   | 122        |
| <b>CHAPTER 5: DIVERSE COMMUNITY LEADERS’ PERCEPTIONS.....</b>          | <b>125</b> |
| INTRODUCTION .....   | 125        |
| TREATMENT BY LOCAL EAS.....  | 132        |
| EDUCATION .....  | 136        |
| WELCOMING. ....  | 139        |
| <b>CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION .....</b>                      | <b>143</b> |
| INTRODUCTION .....   | 143        |

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| THE APPLICATION OF SOCIAL COGNITIVE THEORY (SCT) TO A CHANGING COMMUNITY..... | 143        |
| LIMITATIONS.....  | 150        |
| CONCLUSION .....  | 150        |
| <b>REFERENCES .....</b>   | <b>152</b> |
| APPENDIX A INTERVIEW REQUEST LETTER.....                                      | 168        |
| APPENDIX B INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM.....  | 169        |
| APPENDIX C INTERVIEW PROTOCOL – EUROPEAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY LEADERS.....      | 170        |
| APPENDIX D INTERVIEW PROTOCOL – DIVERSE COMMUNITY LEADERS .....               | 171        |
| APPENDIX E FOCUS GROUP CONSENT FORM .....                                     | 172        |
| APPENDIX F FOCUS GROUP SCRIPT AND QUESTIONING ROUTE: EUROPEAN AMERICANS ..... | 173        |
| APPENDIX G CODE ELIMINATION PROCESS – EACLS .....                             | 175        |
| APPENDIX H CODE ELIMINATION PROCESS - DIVERSE COMMUNITY LEADERS .....         | 178        |

## List of Tables

|                |  |           |
|----------------|--|-----------|
| <i>Table 1</i> | <i>Population Growth in Mankato / North Mankato Metropolitan Region by Race and Ethnicity: 1990-2015 .....</i> | <i>11</i> |
| <i>Table 2</i> | <i>Participant Characteristics, Interviews, and Focus Groups.....</i>  | <i>74</i> |

## List of Figures

|  |    |
|--|----|
| <i>Figure 1. Growth of languages other than English spoken in ISD 77 students' homes...</i>      | 18 |
| <i>Figure 2. Many walls must come down. (Hönemann &amp; Beyer, 1990) .....</i>                   | 26 |
| <i>Figure 3. Model of Triadic Reciprocity, adapted from Bandura (1986) .....</i>                 | 27 |
| <i>Figure 4. Lindsay's updated model of triadic reciprocity.....</i>                             | 32 |
| <i>Figure 5. Adapted reformulated contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998) .....</i>                     | 48 |
| <i>Figure 6. Berry's model of acculturation strategies for ethnocultural groups (1997) .....</i> | 58 |
| <i>Figure 7. Berry's model of acculturation strategies of the larger society (2005) .....</i>    | 60 |
| <i>Figure 8. Model of acculturation processes, adapted from Ward (1996; 2001) .....</i>          | 61 |
| <i>Figure 9. Data collection timeline and process.....</i>                                       | 76 |

## Chapter 1

In her book *The Death of Distance: How the Communications Revolution Will Change our Lives*, Cairncross (1997) predicted many of the transformative effects of increased communications we are experiencing today: the loss of privacy, greater interactivity, and more customized content. Cairncross (1997) notes that Rupert Murdoch's media empire, trans-Atlantic teleconferences, and friends across the globe are everyday reminders of our increasingly interconnected world. Such global interconnections led her to predict that less international migration would occur as people around the world benefitted economically from the connectedness without the need to move away from their homes of origin. Migration, however, has only continued to grow.

Today more people than ever live outside of their home countries or familiar communities. The worldwide number of migrants has increased by 71 million in 15 years, to the current United Nations estimate of 243.7 million people (Population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), 2016). Whether the motivation is flight from war, famine, or ethnic cleansing, economic opportunity, or familial reunification, people of different races, ethnicities, beliefs, and languages are arriving in countries and communities that may or may not be prepared for them. Unlike past waves of migration where major gateway cities were the primary destinations, U.S. Americans, Australians, and Europeans living in rural, largely homogeneous communities now face increasing diversity. With such changes, the *Other* is no longer a distant and vague concept, but rather a daily encounter. Edward Said (1978) used the term *Other* to describe how Western Europeans and North Americans simplify and stereotype non-Westerners,

especially those from the Middle East, as the inversion of themselves. By pointing to the *Other* as everything they – European Caucasians or Caucasians of European descent – are not, Westerners define themselves as well. As individuals and groups from unfamiliar backgrounds come into closer and daily contact with Westerners in hitherto less heterogeneous communities, they are challenged to find ways to live together and acculturate, leaving open the possibility for misunderstandings, conflict, prejudice, and discrimination.

Inequities, discrimination, prejudice, and bias are a ubiquitous part of human existence and society (Livingston, 2011). Yet an unwillingness to accept this state of humanity has made prejudice “one of the most-studied areas in all of social science” (Oskamp, 2000a, p. 1). The negative consequences of prejudice are regularly on view in the U.S. media. One example occurred in St. Louis, Missouri, where protests following the acquittal of a White police officer in the death of Anthony Lamar Smith, a black suspect, in 2011, turned into yet another violent clash between protesters and police (Berman, Lowery, & deGrandpre, 2017).

Social science researchers from fields including psychology, anthropology, political science, sociology, and geography have contributed to explaining elements of the apparently universal need for groups and individuals to distinguish themselves by projecting negative characteristics onto the *Other*.

The consequences of these prejudices negatively affect individuals, groups, and entire societies (Bieber, 2006; Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999; Krenn, 2003; Stables, 2003). Individuals may be victimized emotionally or physically and denied opportunities

for education, work, and advancement (Fearfull & Kamenou, 2006; Yakushko, 2009). Groups of people, including those with mental or physical disabilities, are regularly limited by prejudice and discrimination in their educational, housing, employment, and familial choices (Lee et al., 2015). In the most extreme cases such as the country of Rwanda in 1994 and the city of Srebrenica in the former Yugoslavia in 1995, groups defined by those in power as *Other* have become the victims of genocide (United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and the Need to Protect, n.d.). Leaders manipulate and feed prejudices to incite wars that cost innumerable lives each year. Prejudice prevents both individuals and societies from fully developing their capacities.

The plethora of news reports (Espinoza, 2010; Rodenborg, 2012a), academic studies (Brown, 2010; Mertus, 1999), films (Eastwood, 2008; Loach et al., 2004; Selim, 2005), blogs such as Code Switch (National Public Radio, 2013), political statements, and books that illustrate and discuss pervasive prejudice and discrimination throughout the world demonstrate the ongoing challenges arising from increasing cultural, racial, and ethnic diversity.

In the years during which I worked on this dissertation (2013 – 2018), prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behaviors towards African Americans and immigrants were regularly in the U.S. national news, as the examples used here demonstrate. Accusations of racism within police forces followed a series of deaths of unarmed black men and boys by White police officers, including Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri (Buchanan et al., 2014), 12-year-old Tamir Rice in Cleveland, Ohio (Ezadi & Holley, 2014), and Freddie Gray in Baltimore, Maryland (The Baltimore Sun, 2015). In mid-June 2015, the shooting

of nine black worshippers during a Bible study in Charleston, South Carolina dominated the news. In his confession to the police, shooter Dylann Roof, a 21-year-old White man, admitted that the victims' race motivated him (Kauffman, 2016).

The hate speech continued, and throughout his campaign for the Presidency of the United States, Donald Trump made insulting and, some would say, racist accusations about Mexicans (Sky News, 2016). An August 2017 march by far-right White nationalists in Charlottesville, Virginia led to violent clashes with counter-protesters and one death (Heim, 2017). In Minnesota, a group calling itself the St. Cloud State White Student Union posted "unapologetically White" and other signs in the small central Minnesota town of St. Joseph (Baker, 2018). Within this context were innumerable rural Minnesota towns whose demographics were becoming increasingly diverse, and often accompanied by increased tension between members of the dominant and non-dominant cultures (Chase & Glass, n.d.; Tripp, 2015).

### **Purpose and Research Questions**

The purpose of this study is to identify community characteristics that affect the integration of diverse newcomers. As the diversity of its population has grown, the Mankato community has avoided the significant racial tensions experienced in other Minnesota communities. This study seeks to answer the questions "why?" and "how?" this has been the experience in Mankato. If elements leading to success can be identified, the possibility exists for other communities to adopt them. Relatedly, the study seeks to explore whether Bandura's social cognitive theory (SCT) (1986) adequately explains the phenomenon of Mankato's response to growing diversity. An applicable theoretical

framework would help the Mankato community as it continues with its efforts to create a welcoming community. The SCT could also guide other communities as they consider how to integrate diverse newcomers as smoothly as possible.

While living in the Mankato area between 2005 and 2016, I regularly heard county commissioners, mayors, and the public-school superintendent (all EA) emphasize their desire to create a community welcoming to diverse individuals. The term “welcoming” was used in public fora including speeches at Minnesota State University, Mankato and the annual Greater Mankato Diversity Council’s (GMDC) recognition lunch between 2005 and 2016. The idea of Mankato being a welcoming community became a motto of sorts, according to the local newspaper (Mewes, 2016). What those who used the phrase meant by welcoming, however, remained undefined. As an active community member, I wanted to know more about whether the public officials were deeply committed to moving the community toward greater inclusion, or did their statements express empty rhetoric? How broadly were leaders’ views shared by other members of the dominant EA culture? What did EA leaders actually mean by “welcoming?” Were they successful in their efforts? Is it possible to identify elements that could be adopted by other communities? Curiosity about this phenomenon led me to my topic and specifically, the following research questions:

1. How do the European American community leaders in Mankato, Minnesota describe the community’s adjustment to diverse newcomers?
2. How do leaders among the diverse population describe the community’s adjustment to diverse newcomers?

3. To what extent does Bandura's social cognitive theory (1986) explain the Mankato community's adjustment to the arrival of a large number of diverse newcomers?

I argue in this study that although dominant culture EAs in Mankato have been active in attempting to turn the rhetoric of a "welcoming" community into action, their understanding of the perspectives and issues that diverse newcomers face in the community remained superficial and focused narrowly on 'needy refugees.'

In this first chapter, I present essential information about the greater Mankato, Minnesota region, the focus of this case study. I document its changing demographics and some of the challenges faced by local residents. I then introduce the theory that frames the dissertation. As the site of the largest hanging by U.S. federal authorities in U.S. history, it is important to discuss the context within which the changes occurred. Finally, I describe the personal factors that influenced me as a researcher and influenced the selection of this topic.

### **Problem Statement**

Social scientists have studied national migration trends in the U.S. for over a century. Significant changes in immigration laws and enforcement have occurred on numerous occasions throughout U.S. history (USCIC History Office and Library, 2012). In recent years, the federal government's failure to respond to calls for immigration reform has led to pressure on state and municipal governments to take action (Singer, Hardwick, & Brettell, 2008). Hundreds of immigrant- or immigration-related bills were introduced in state legislatures and municipalities around the country in response to constituents' desire that something be done about immigration (Singer et al., 2008). A decade later, reform had

still not occurred, but overall support for continued immigration remained high: the Gallup organization reported that the percentage of U.S. residents who prefer a decrease in immigration dropped 30% between 1996 and June 2017, going from 65% to 35% (McCarthy, 2017). Despite the anti-immigration rhetoric, including from President Trump, the trend of those preferring a decrease in immigration continued to drop, with the 2018 Gallup Poll showing that only 29% of Americans preferred a decrease in immigration (Brenan, 2018). The 2018 poll, furthermore, showed a record-high of 75% of Americans thought immigration was a good thing for the U.S. (Brenan, 2018).

Social scientists are beginning to document the positive impact of diverse newcomers. In their research, Fennelly and Huart (2009) concluded that immigrants in Minnesota:

constitute an important resource to the nation and to the state, as a result of their entrepreneurial activity, consumer spending, tax payments, participation in the labor force and their less tangible, but no less important contributions to the social and cultural diversity of Minnesota” (p. 1).

In some small Minnesota towns, the immigrants allowed public schools and local industries to remain open (Owen, Meyerson, & Otteson, 2010).

Fennelly (2008a) uncovered some of the social challenges communities faced by exploring the attitudes of European American (EA) residents of a small town in Minnesota. She found, as did Myrdal (1944), ambivalence among EA residents who expressed support for diversity, but also feared that the newcomers were receiving undeserved benefits or that they were a threat to White majority power.

It is possible in large cities such as New York City, Chicago or Los Angeles to find schools and workplaces specifically designed around, and accommodating of, a particular group's unique religious, dress or other lifestyle practices. In smaller U.S. cities and towns with more culturally homogeneous populations, few people are familiar with the different beliefs and practices of newcomers. When the number of Somali Muslims moving to Mankato, Minnesota, began to grow in the late 1990s (see Figure 1), the overwhelmingly European American, Christian community faced fundamental questions that they had likely not considered previously. Should an employer, for example, be expected to anticipate the needs and accommodate the religious practices of every faith represented within the workforce? If an accommodation is made for one religious faith, does an equivalent accommodation need to be made for others?

An example of these unanswered questions occurred in a June 2012 incident in Le Center, a small town of 2,500 residents located 25 miles from Mankato in south-central Minnesota. Dianne's Fine Desserts is a company incorporated in Delaware with a Le Center bakery that employed approximately 30 Somalis baking high-end desserts. Somali women customarily wear long skirts and scarves for modesty, an expectation for female Somali Muslims. Following an incident where a Somali female employee's skirt got caught in a machine, the company issued a new dress code that, due to safety concerns, prohibited floor-length skirts (Rodenburg, 2012a). Nine Somali female employees walked out, followed by 20 of the male employees. Following two months of discussion and review by state authorities, the state awarded unemployment benefits to the nine women who walked out but not to the men who left in support (Rodenburg, 2012b, 2012c). In a personal

communication, a member of Mankato's Somali community informed me in June 2015 that a lawsuit with the company had been resolved recently with compensation paid by Dianne's Fine Desserts to both male and female employees involved in the dispute (personal communication, July 1, 2015). The company continued to employ Somali community members, including some who had originally walked out. This story demonstrates a number of the potentially competing interests that influenced the interactions between newcomers with different religious practices and established residents who often have little or no experience with people from Muslim-dominant countries like Somalia. In addition to enforcing established safety standards, in employing Somalis, the local Dianne's Fine Desserts manager had to consider English language skills and different cultural and religious practices.

How host communities respond to diverse newcomers and the complex challenges their arrival brings has long-term consequences for the social and economic well-being of the host community and its members, both new and old. A number of researchers have called for more research on the economic, political, and social impact of increasingly diverse populations on rural communities, including Lichter (2012), who pointed out the disproportional impact that each new minority person represents in rural, often insular, communities. Another interesting area for further research was identified by Griffith (2008) in calling for comparative studies to determine whether or not the settlement process is significantly different in rural and urban locations. With this study, I hope to build on and contribute to the research they called for by examining how and why European American Community Leaders (EACLs) behaved as the demographics of their community changed.

Therefore, this study seeks to identify strategies that communities with growing diversity like Mankato, Minnesota, use to prevent and mitigate prejudice and discrimination.

The south-central Minnesota metropolitan area of Mankato/North Mankato is the focus of this case study. The U.S. Census Bureau defines the metropolitan area as consisting of the neighboring Minnesota counties of Blue Earth and Nicollet (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a). Later in this chapter, I define this study's geographic parameters in the Key Terms and Concepts section. The term "Mankato community" will be used henceforth to refer to the metropolitan area of Mankato / North Mankato. In selecting the term "community," I recognize that it does not convey the diverse and complex mixture of experiences, education, culture, language, race, or ethnicity found among Mankato area residents. "Community" as used in this study refers to "an interacting population of various kinds of individuals (such as species) in a common location" (Merriam-Webster.com, n.d.).

Table 1

*Population Growth in Mankato / North Mankato Metropolitan Region by Race and Ethnicity: 1990-2015*

| Race <sup>a</sup>   | 1990    |      | 2000   |      | 2010   |      | 2015   |      | % Change<br>1990-<br>2015 |
|---|---------|------|--------|------|--------|------|--------|------|---------------------------|
|   | Number  | %    | Number | %    | Number | %    | Number | %    |                           |
| White alone   | 80,284  | 97.8 | 81,812 | 95.5 | 90,066 | 93.1 | 90,931 | 92.6 | 13.2                      |
| Black or African-<br>American alone                                   | 340     | 0.4  | 905    | 1.1  | 2,408  | 2.5  | 2,830  | 2.9  | 732.3                     |
| American Indian &<br>Alaska Native alone                              | 189     | 0.2  | 233    | 0.3  | 277    | 0.3  | 296    | 0.3  | 56.6                      |
| Asian, Native<br>Hawaiian and other<br>Pacific Islanders <sup>b</sup> | 1000    | 1.2  | 1,339  | 1.5  | 1,680  | 1.74 | 1,812  | 1.8  | 81.2                      |
| Some other race alone   | 300     | 0.4  | 580    | 0.7  | 795    | 0.8  | 596    | 0.6  | 96.6                      |
| Two or more races   | No info |      | 801    | 0.9  | 1,491  | 1.5  | 1,734  | 1.8  | 116.4                     |
| <b>Total</b>  | 82,120  | 100  | 85,712 | 100  | 96,740 | 100  | 98,211 | 100  | 19.5                      |
| Hispanic or Latino<br>Origin (of any race) <sup>c</sup>               | 683     | 0.8  | 780    | 0.9  | 2,812  | 2.9  | 3,548  | 3.6  | 419.4                     |

*Notes.* Adapted from U.S. Census Bureau, 1990, 2010b, 2010a, 2016. For the purposes of this dissertation, the following modifications have been made to the categories as they originally appeared in the U.S. Census Bureau data: <sup>a</sup> The One Race category does not appear in the 1990 census, was not relevant to this study, and was therefore left out. <sup>b</sup> The 1990 Census combined the 'Asian' category with 'Native Hawaiian & Other Pacific Islanders alone' found in later census data. Fewer than 50 individuals in the category of 'Native Hawaiian & Other Pacific Islanders alone' lived in the community throughout this period and never reached above 0.05% of the population. I therefore combined the two categories throughout the table. <sup>c</sup> The category of "Hispanic or Latino Origin (of any race)" used since 2000 refines the 1990 definition of "Hispanic Origin (of any race)" and I chose to apply it to each of the census reports, but to separate it out from the categories identified by race alone to clearly differentiate between the ethnic and race categories.

The Mankato community is typical of the changes occurring in cities around the United States that are European American (EA) dominant but have increasing numbers of immigrants of different races and religions (Fennelly, 2005). Table 1, above, shows that the Mankato/North Mankato metropolitan area experienced overall population growth of 19.5% between 1990 and 2015 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990, 2016). Although the number of individuals of EA origin increased by 10,647, as a percentage of the overall population

the EA population dropped by 5.2% (percentage of total population in 2015 in comparison to the percentage of total population in 1990). The percentage growth in all other population groups measured by the U.S. Census Bureau outstripped the growth of the EA population. The greatest increase was in Blacks or African Americans which, between 1990 and 2015, grew by 732.3%. The U.S. Census Bureau does not distinguish between U.S. and foreign-born Blacks or African Americans, but East Africans, and Somalis in particular account for a great deal of the growth, as shown later in this chapter with school district demographic data. The Hispanic population grew by 419.4%, and those who identified as two or more races grew by 116.4%.

While demographic change was occurring among many small to mid-size cities, less typical, perhaps, was that Mankato EACLs regularly expressed the goal of making Mankato a ‘welcoming’ community. The local newspaper, the *Mankato Free Press* (Fischenich, 2016), credited the inclusion of language supporting greater diversity in the area’s strategic plan, but the leaders themselves did not emphasize such a connection when they spoke. My curiosity about what welcoming meant to the EACLs was piqued.

The changes in the environment brought about by rapid demographic change, community leaders’ statements about welcoming diverse newcomers, and the many public efforts to assist newcomers made the Mankato community a suitable location to use the lens of Bandura’s social cognitive theory (SCT) and his model of triadic reciprocity (MTR) (1986) to explain the community’s response.

In this study, I pursued two objectives: one theoretical and one applied. On the theoretical level, I applied Bandura’s SCT and MTR (1986) to the case of Mankato to

explore whether or to what degree the theory adequately identified and explained the ideas and strategies that shaped Mankato (majority EA culture) response to growing diversity. The foundation of the SCT is discussed in more detail later in this chapter. The study was applied rather than theoretical because as both a researcher and former community member, I was compelled to ensure that the research findings helped to inform community leaders as they consider on-going and future activities and investments. By comparing and contrasting the views of EA community leaders (EA CL) with those of diverse community leaders (DCL), I sought to identify DCL perceptions of welcoming and other concerns that needed further discussion and attention from the community. Participants also provided suggestions for improving the relationships among community members. By sharing such ideas with a broader audience, successful interventions could be identified and reinforced while improvements could potentially be put into action.

**The Mankato context.**

The context in which the growing diversity takes place is uniquely tragic and continues to influence relations among area residents. It is important to note that European American authors who referred to Native Americans in Minnesota used the accepted terminology of their time. For example, the name “‘Sioux’ was given to the Dakota by the Ojibwe . . . . before the word was co-opted by whites” (Berg, 2013, p. xv). Known as the Sioux War (Heard, 1864), the Great Sioux Uprising (Schultz, 1993), and the Dakota War (Clodfelter, 2006), the U.S. – Dakota War was the name chosen by the Minnesota Historical Society when, in close consultation with Dakota elders, it mounted

its major exhibit in 2012 which commemorated the conflict (personal communication, n.d.).

As the number of EA settlers grew during the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a series of treaties gradually compressed Dakota reservations. For instance, in the 1851 treaty signed at Traverse des Sioux [located in St. Peter, MN, 10 miles north of Mankato] "... the Wahpeton and Sisseton bands of the Upper Sioux [Dakota] ceded to the United States their lands in southern and western Minnesota Territory, as well as some in Iowa and Dakota" (Carley, 1976, p. 2). The Dakota people were also restricted to "two reservations, each twenty miles wide and about seventy miles long, bordering the upper Minnesota River" in south-central Minnesota (Carley, 1976, p. 3). A treaty in 1858 further reduced the reservation size by ceding the reservation lands north of the Minnesota River. In return, the Dakota were promised millions of dollars in cash and annuities. The treaties, according to Berg (2013):

had reserved set sums for the Dakota in the form of annual disbursements from the United States Treasury, which were paid out of a dedicated fund, and only after congressional approval in the form of an annual appropriations bill. That yearly bill, debated and signed by men who knew little of the treaty details, less of the treaty negotiations, and nothing of the Dakota, began the process not of disbursing the money to Indians, but of reserving much of it for whites (p. 20).

The treaties, in effect, created a system of dependency whereby the Dakota relied upon the U.S. government and its paid agents at the Upper and Lower Sioux Agencies for supplies and annuities to survive (Berg, 2013; Carley, 1976). The disbursement process,

however, was corrupt in numerous ways involving people at every level and contributed to growing dissatisfaction among the Dakota regarding because they did not receive the staples they were promised and there were significant delays in receipt of those supplies (Berg, 2013).

By 1862, the Dakota were facing starvation because of an 1861 crop failure, and the expected annuities were late in arriving. Under pressure, some additional supplies were distributed in July and August to the Dakota served by the Upper Sioux Agency but promised provisions by the Lower Sioux Agency were not forthcoming. A confrontation on August 17, 1862, between four young Dakota men and some settlers ended in the deaths of five settlers and set off the U.S. - Dakota Conflict. Battles and skirmishes with lives lost on both sides continued until September 26, 1862, when U.S. government forces took over a camp of Dakota and freed over 200 White and mixed-race captives, nearly all of whom were women and children (Carley, 1976). A military commission was created on September 28, 1862, and tried Dakota men who participated in the war. "When it finished its work on November 5, the commission had tried 392 prisoners, sentenced 307 to death, and given 16 prison terms" (Carley, 1976, p. 69). Following review by the federal government, a list of 303 prisoners condemned to die was sent to President Abraham Lincoln for approval. After reviewing the full case documents, Lincoln approved the death sentences for 39 of the Dakota prisoners, one of whom later received a reprieve (Berg, 2013; Carley, 1976).

Mankato thus became the site for the largest mass execution carried out by the federal government in U.S. history. 38 Dakota men were hanged on December 26, 1862. In the

aftermath, the majority of Dakota people, estimated at 7,000, were forcibly removed by government forces from Minnesota (Carley, 1976; Linder, n.d.)<sup>1</sup>.

For the last 46 years, the Dakota and non-Dakota communities have honored the 38 Dakota at the Mahkato Wacipi, an annual pow wow held each Fall in Mankato and aimed at promoting reconciliation (Mahkato Mdewakanton Association, n.d.). A new annual tradition inspired by a Dakota vision has since developed. It is documented in the film *Dakota 38* (Hagerty, 2012) when each year, Dakota people ride horses 330 miles from South Dakota, arriving on December 26 at Commemoration Park in Mankato where the original hanging occurred (Hagerty, 2012).

Since 1990, the number of Native Americans, including Dakota, living in the Mankato/North Mankato metropolitan area (Blue Earth and Nicollet counties) grew. The 1990 census counted 189 Native Americans, rising to 260 according to 2010 U.S. Census data. By 2016, the estimated number had increased to 296 according to the American Community Survey (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016), but Native Americans still represented only 0.3% of the Mankato community's population.

Since 1880, the EA population has dominated Minnesota (Minnesota State Demographics Center, 2015). Over the last thirty-five years, however, the ethnic, racial, religious, and cultural make-up of the state changed rapidly. As of 2016, Minnesota was still overwhelmingly EA (83.3%). However, the percentage of Minnesota residents of EA descent dropped by 11.4% between 1990 and 2015 (Brower, 2013; U.S. Census Bureau,

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<sup>1</sup> Minnesota was first included in the decennial U.S. census in 1860. Native Americans were not included in the counts until the 1890 census and so the number is an estimate from the U.S. government (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1996).

2016). People of Hispanic origin were not specifically identified in the 1990 census, but in the fifteen years between 2000 and 2015, their numbers grew from 2.9% to 5.2% of the state's population (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990, 2010b, 2016). Most notable is the increase in Blacks or African Americans: from 2.17% of Minnesota's population in 1990 to 6.0% in 2015 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990, 2010b, 2016). The U.S. Census Bureau does not differentiate between African Americans and the many African nationalities and ethnicities that have entered the U.S. in recent decades. Using the American Community Survey's data on foreign-born Minnesota residents, it was possible to identify 43,286 foreign-born residents from East Africa (Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Somalia) who resided in Minnesota in 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). In the following five years, this number grew by an additional 16,268 individuals (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016).

At 732.3%, Blacks and African Americans experienced the highest growth rate in the Mankato/North Mankato region. Referring again to Table 1, in 2015 there were an estimated 2,830 Black or African American residents in the area. Among that number were 938 individuals identified by the U.S. Census Bureau (2016) as being foreign-born individuals from Africa. Using these data points, one can infer that approximately 33% of the area's Black or African American residents were born in Africa.

The annual school demographic reports present a clearer illustration of the changes in the Mankato population. The 1997-1998 academic year was the first for which demographic information from the Mankato area public schools, officially known as Minnesota Independent School District 77 (ISD 77), was available. Using the reports' terminology, ISD 77 reported 6,783 White, 128 Black, 141 Hispanic, 188 Asian, and 25 Indian/Alaska Native students attending during that first year of reporting (1998). Non-native English speakers were first identified in the next academic year (1998-1999) when the district reported that 123 students spoke a language other than English at home, as shown in Figure 1. Growth of languages other than English spoken in ISD 77 students'

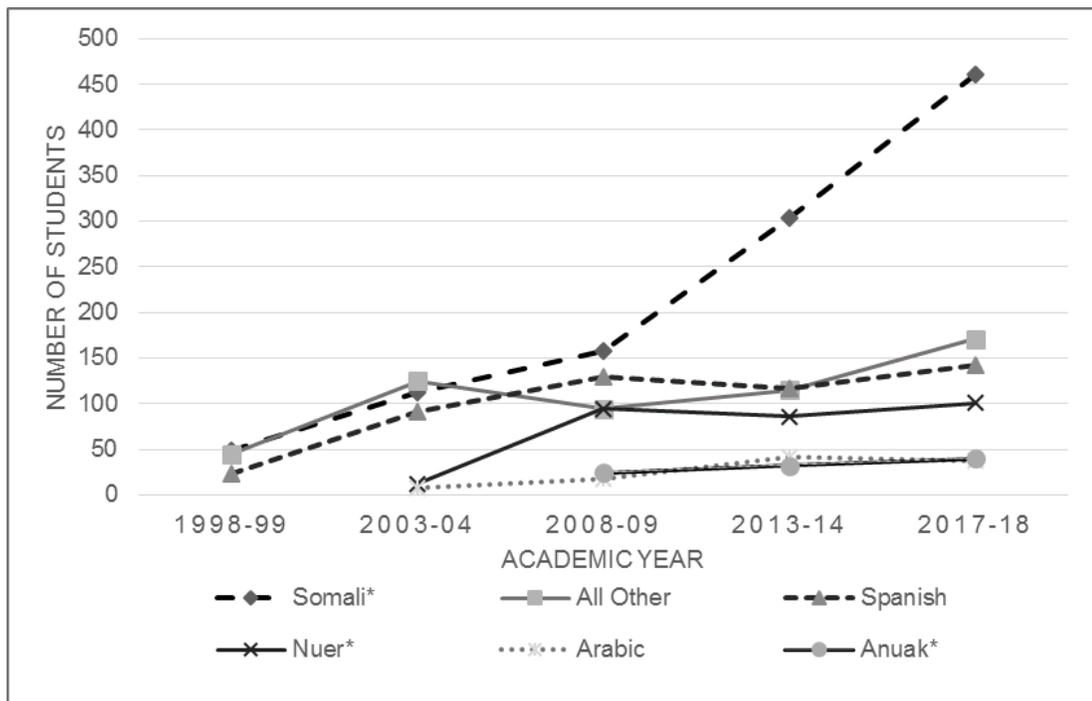


Figure 1. Growth of languages other than English spoken in ISD 77 students' homes

In the intervening nineteen years, students identified as non-native English speakers

rose by 602% to 864 students. By 2017, three of the four most frequently spoken languages in students' homes (with Spanish in second place) originated in East African countries: 444 Somali speakers (Somalia), 91 Nuer speakers (Ethiopia), and 37 Anuak speakers (South Sudan) (Diagram Group, 2000; Minnesota Independent School District 77, 2017). The growth of foreign language speakers, specifically East African languages, is shown in Figure 1, above.

Taking note of the growth in immigration and the diversity of the newcomers both in the Mankato region and throughout the state, Mankato leaders sought to be proactive in working to prevent prejudice and improve mutual understanding among community members. The *Mankato Free Press* reported (Murray, 2010) that one of the first things the Mankato leaders did was contact the city of Rochester, MN which had set up a diversity council following problems they experienced upon an increase of refugees of South Asia and Africa. One of the EACL participants in the study later confirmed the information in the newspaper article (personal communication, July 23, 2014).

One form of response was to create a diversity council in Mankato. The Greater Mankato Diversity Council (GMDC) was established in 2004 “to enhance the Mankato area’s commitment to creating an inclusive and welcoming community through diversity education. GMDC strives to give people an understanding of diversity and build their cultural competence...” (Greater Mankato Diversity Council, 2007). Funding for the GMDC, as stated on their website, included:

.... government, education, business and community-based organizations, including Blue Earth County, Nicollet County, the North Mankato and Mankato City Council,

Mankato Area Public Schools, Mankato Area Catholic Schools, Minnesota State University, South Central Technical College, Greater Mankato Chamber of Commerce (now called Greater Mankato Growth), the Mankato Area Foundation, the Greater Mankato Area United Way and its agencies, and more than 25 corporate sponsors (Greater Mankato Diversity Council, 2017a).

Since 2004, the GMDC's main program was to work with local schools and train volunteers to develop and deliver Promoting Respect Workshops (PRWs), formerly known as Prejudice Reduction Workshops (Greater Mankato Diversity Council, 2017b). The workshops were originally developed by the Rochester Diversity Council to begin educating children at an early age about the many ways people differ (personal communication, September 2010). The workshops were age-appropriate, incremental and offered annually for children in kindergarten through grade 12. The GMDC purchased the rights to implement the curriculum from the Rochester Diversity Council and used it until 2015 when it completed the development of its own curriculum (Greater Mankato Diversity Council, 2018). The GMDC also offered diversity training for local businesses, governmental units, non-profits, and other community groups.

2005 saw the start of another major community initiative. The Greater Mankato Chamber of Commerce, Greater Mankato Economic Development (the organizations later combined to form Greater Mankato Growth) and the group Citizens Voices met to begin a new community-wide strategic planning effort. Also included in the planning were local governments, NGOs, health care administrators, and educators. The final plan, entitled *Envision 2020*, identified six primary areas of focus (*Envision 2020 Final Report*, 2006).

Within the “Livability” focus, the planners recognized the growing multicultural make-up of the community and included goals related to affordable housing, community centers, and information delivery, all of which would benefit all residents. The goal and strategies which specifically addressed the increased diversity among area residents read: “Goal 5: Increase and raise awareness of diversity in the community .... Strategy: Develop mechanisms [to] enhance the appreciation, inclusion and participation of the diverse communities in the region” (Envision 2020 Final Report, 2006, p. 66). Among the measures of success the planners identified were: “An immigrant on the city council or county board .... more diversity in positions of power .... more diversity in higher level jobs” (p. 68). A more difficult to decipher measure of success read: “diversity training will be commonplace for all larger employers, minority being the majority to start in an organization ... then integration happens naturally” (Envision 2020 Final Report, 2006, p. 68). While the measures of success were ambitious, the dearth of business representatives, the people in positions to implement the task force goals, among the 39 members of the livability task force made the measures of success difficult to achieve. In addition, the organizations identified as key players also failed to include representatives from the business sector. Whether because of oversight or lack of interest, there was no participation of business leaders among the task force members or key players. It was not surprising, therefore, that the 2014 progress report (*Progress Report Envision 2020*, 2014) did not

demonstrate success in any of the measurements listed above.<sup>2</sup> The DCL data in Chapter 5 support the possibility that business leaders chose not to participate. Their influence on the overall strategic plan may also have forced a compromise resulting in a weak goal statement and strategy.

Since the emergence of the GMDC in 2004 and Envision 2020 in 2006, leaders in NGOs, health care, and government have taken additional steps to provide opportunities for all residents to learn about each other, many of which were described by the respondents in this study and appear in Chapters 4 and 5. For example, the Summit Center’s adult education activities, now integrated into VINE, Faith in Action’s Adult Community Center, offered cooking classes led by newcomers to older EA residents (personal communication, December 14, 2016). Since 2015, “VINE has assisted nearly 100 elders from 16 different countries. VINE’s outreach to refugee elders includes advocacy, phone contact, escort, translation, form assistance, and service coordination essential to successful independent community living” (“Diversity Programming - VINE Faith in Action,” n.d.).

The Mankato YWCA has also been a leader in promoting diversity and women’s development. Its “Walking in Two Worlds” program, established in 2006, assisted:

.... immigrant and refugee women and their families by acting as advocates, connecting them to community resources and empowering them toward self-sufficiency. The goal of this free program is to meet the basic needs of these families and to provide

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<sup>2</sup> As of August 2018, one Somali immigrant, Mr. Abdi Sabri, had been elected to the school board on his second run for the office. Mr. Bukata Hayes, Executive Director of the GMDC, and Mrs. Najwa Massad, a successful restaurateur originally from Lebanon, each earned their party’s nomination in the primary election for mayor of Mankato.

empowering educational opportunities. (“Walking in Two Worlds | YWCA Mankato,” n.d.).

In 2015, the Mankato YWCA, with the support of a local businessman, sponsored the first “It’s Time to Talk: Forums on Race.” The program provided an opportunity for small, diverse groups of people to “discuss race and all its implications for those who hold a stake in the future of Greater Mankato” (“It’s Time to Talk: Forums on Race | YWCA Mankato,” n.d.). As a facilitator at that first event, I learned that the program was originally developed by the Minneapolis YWCA and has since been used in communities around the U.S. At the end of the initial event, participants were challenged to provide financial support for future fora, a challenge that was taken up by numerous businesses and foundations, resulting in two more fora (“It’s Time to Talk: Forums on Race | YWCA Mankato,” n.d.).

As I completed this study, the heated anti-immigrant rhetoric, open racism, hate crimes, and nationalist demonstrations appeared to be moving the nation’s residents in both urban and rural areas across the U.S. ever closer to a boiling point. The urgency of studies such as this one was thus amplified. Identifying effective strategies to encourage respect between and among community members was, and continues to be, critical to the social and economic health of communities. This study identifies activities and strategies that Mankato community institutions implemented in their efforts to become a welcoming community. It also considers the efficacy of those efforts by comparing the perspectives of dominant and non-dominant community leaders.

## **Researcher's Influences**

In conducting qualitative research, the researcher must be conscious of her personal experiences, values, and potential bias in relation to the subject to be studied (Gunner Myrdal, 1969; Pillow, 2010). This study grew out of my life experiences and values and came into focus when I began to wonder about the community I lived in for 11 years.

I was born and raised in St. Paul, Minnesota – the daughter of German and Scottish immigrant parents. My upbringing as a first-generation White American influenced the development of my values and the selection of this topic. I wholeheartedly support and have benefited from the social and legal structures in the United States that offer the hope of equal opportunity and individual advancement based on merit. However, I was conscious early on of the chasm between the ideal of equal opportunity and the country's failure to put that ideal into action for *all* Americans (Porter, 2013). My belief in equal opportunity is tempered by my understanding that my life and opportunities have been affected both by White privilege and by sexism. My core values include social justice, equal opportunity, and respect for each individual.

I also lived and worked in vastly different cultural contexts for over 15 years so understand some of the Mankato newcomers' challenges and perspectives. I directly and regularly observed social injustice, prejudice, and discrimination while studying and working for significant periods of time in Germany, Chile, Kosovo, and Italy. Living in Chile shortly after the end of the Pinochet dictatorship and in Kosovo just a year after the end of its ethnic conflict—and specifically, becoming friends with people who had been

directly or indirectly victimized—had a deep impact on me and motivated me to contribute to mitigating the possibility of such injustice occurring in the future.

Upon returning to Minnesota after 15 years living overseas and on the U.S. East Coast, the demographic changes I write about here were immediately apparent. As well-educated, European Christians with strong or native English language skills, my parents lived the so-called American Dream, meaning they achieved economic stability for themselves and for their children through hard work, education, and saving for the future. Opportunities were open to them that were closed to non-Whites. When leaving their families in Europe in 1958, my parents never imagined being able to afford a return trip to see them again. Within seven years, however, they were able to make the first of many visits to Germany and Scotland with my sisters and me. By contrast, I wonder how achievable that ‘American Dream’ is, for example, for Somali refugees in Minnesota with little formal education and possibly limited English language skills.

I moved to a small town located near Mankato in 2005 and only recently—in 2016—moved to another state. During that time, I was active in the Mankato community and developed an understanding of many of the local cultural characteristics and much of the history associated with this region. I had a large network of contacts who generously assisted me in identifying cultural interpreters and interviewees for this study, including Mr. Bukata Hayes, Executive Director of the Greater Mankato Diversity Council.

On a trip to Berlin in 2004, my mother collected a number of postcards of murals that had been painted on the Berlin Wall. The artwork in Figure 2, below, created the year after the fall of the wall and preserved only in photographs, symbolizes the convergence of

important facets of my life in this study. The caricature depicting an Asian individual is unfortunate, and sadly corresponds to some of my interactions with Germans, but as a

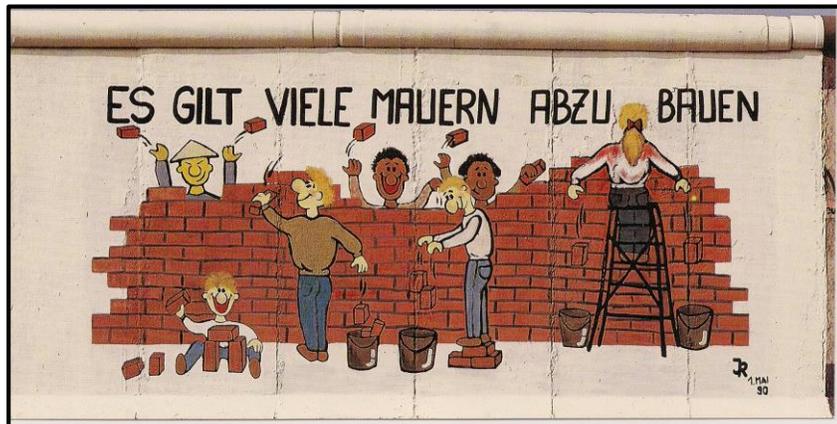


Figure 2 Many walls must come down. (Hönemann & Beyer, 1990).  
Translation by Caryn E. Lindsay

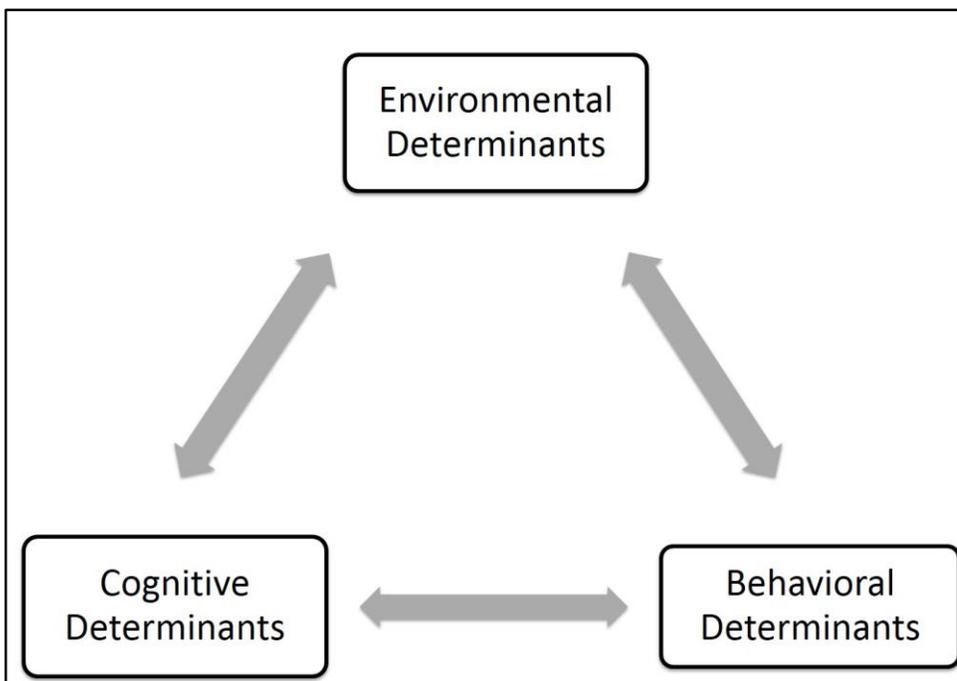
whole, the mural expresses my personal values of respecting each individual and removing physical and figurative barriers between people, regardless of their background. It also represents my lifelong connection to and interest in German history, politics, and identity.

### **Conceptual Framework**

The theoretical framework that guided this study was social cognitive theory (SCT). First developed by Miller and Dollard (1941), social learning theory was later refined by Bandura (Bandura, 1977, 1986, 1989, 2000, 2001a). In his 1986 book, *Social Foundations for Thought and Action: a Social Cognitive Theory* Bandura changed social learning theory to social cognitive theory to more accurately include the active cognitions of individuals that affect their behaviors and environments. Throughout his long career, Bandura developed and refined the theory which he graphically expressed in a model of triadic reciprocity (MTR), as seen in Figure 3, below. The theory posits that cognitive, environmental, and behavioral determinants influence beliefs and actions. Bandura further

developed the theory in later publications (1989, 1998, 2000, 2001b, 2001a, 2005b, 2012; Wood & Bandura, 1989) to more precisely describe how human agency, efficacy, and modeling impact the three determinants. This study tested the applicability of Bandura's SCT (1986) to understanding the Mankato community's efforts to create a welcoming community for all residents.

Unlike other models (discussed in Chapter 2) that seek to explain changes that occur when peoples from different countries and customs move into a new area, Bandura's MTR considers not just human thoughts and behaviors, but also the environmental factors that affect the individuals' responses to the changes.



*Figure 3* Model of Triadic Reciprocity, adapted from Bandura (1986)

The SCT's foundation rests upon the concepts of agency and efficacy. Human agency, according to Bandura (1986, 1989, 2001a), is the understanding that people are purposeful

in their behaviors. They act to make things happen, rather than thoughtlessly responding to outside influences. Agency includes four features: (a) intentionality; (b) forethought; (c) self-reactiveness; and (d) self-reflectiveness.

Intentionality is “the power to originate actions for given purposes” (Bandura, 2001a, p. 6). Forethought refers to motivating oneself to guide one’s actions to achieve specific outcomes. Intentionality and forethought are activated, for example, to pursue a college education. Imagining a future career, one takes action to enroll in school with the intention of earning a degree that will make the career possible. To achieve that relatively distant goal, one must motivate oneself to reduce spending on some items and forego other activities and opportunities in order to complete the daily studies required to achieve the goal. In this manner, forethought involves self-direction and regulating one’s own behaviors.

Self-reactiveness and self-reflectiveness are the second two features of agency and, like forethought and self-direction, involve all three of the triadic determinants: cognition, behavior, and environment. In seeking a particular outcome (self-reactiveness), we apply our individual standards and moral code to determine the behaviors we will pursue to achieve our future goal. Bandura stated that: “Monitoring one’s pattern of behavior and the cognitive and environmental conditions under which it occurs is the first step toward doing something to affect it” (Bandura, 2001a, p. 8). We also reflect on and evaluate our thoughts, motivations, and actions, as well as consider the behaviors others (self-reflectiveness). To continue the education example, opportunities exist to take short-cuts to earn a degree. When a course assignment is due, one may consider whether or not to purchase a paper

written by another (self-reactiveness). Different people will apply different standards to this choice. Exercising self-reflectiveness, a student may observe the actions of another who chooses to buy a paper and thoughtfully review the consequences, if any, that student experiences. Depending upon those consequences, the observing student's honest behavior could be reinforced, or the student could be tempted to adopt the behaviors of the student who cheated.

The example above describes personal agency, involving one individual. Bandura also theorized that agency might take the form of proxy or collective agency (2000). As a middle manager, I often utilize proxy agency to achieve my desired outcome by calling on the expertise or influence of my supervisor. In organizations, it is often difficult to achieve one's goals if one is not in a sufficiently influential position. One may be the subject matter expert, but need one's supervisor to take a proposal to a decision-making body for the proposal to be approved, thereby using the supervisor as a proxy. The third form of agency is collective agency, in which "people's shared beliefs in their collective power to produce desired results are a key ingredient" (Bandura, 2000, p. 75). Collective agency results from both the shared knowledge, expertise, and agency of a group's members, but also the coordinated actions and synergies that occur within the group. A recent example of collective agency is the political actions taken by students at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida, following the fatal shooting of 14 fellow students and three staff members on February 14, 2018 (Gonzales, 2018). They successfully developed a political action committee and a March for Our Lives rally in Washington, D.C. to "assure that no special interest group or political agenda is more critical than the timely passage of

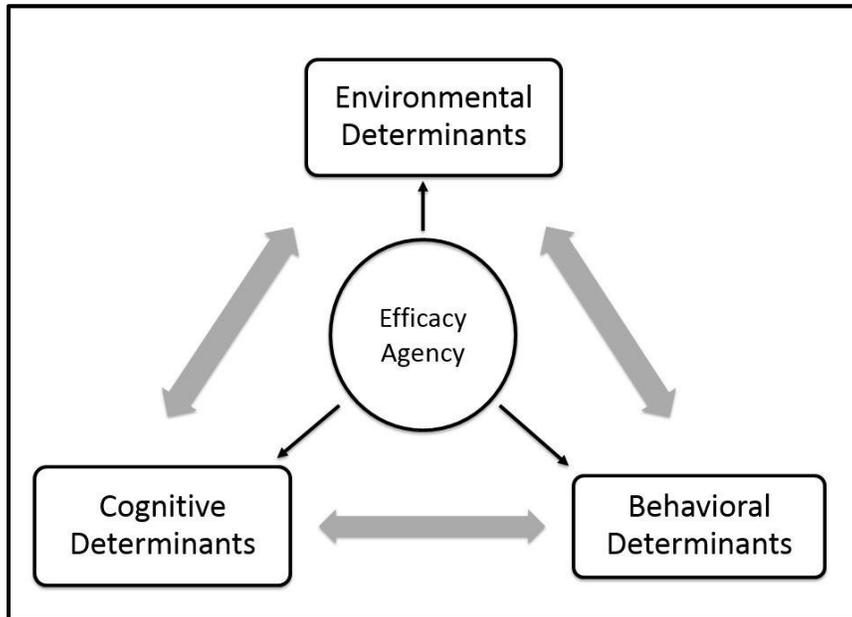
legislation to effectively address the gun violence issues that are rampant in our country” (“March for Our Lives: Mission Statement,” 2018). As of July 2018, they continued to expand their collective agency by meeting with other young people across the U.S. (Witt, 2018). The students’ collective agency emerged from Bandura’s second foundational concept, efficacy.

Efficacy beliefs, according to Bandura (2001), form the basis for all human agency and take the form of self- and collective efficacy. Without the belief that one or one’s group can produce the desired result, people have no incentive to act. “Perceived self-efficacy occupies a pivotal role in the causal structure of social cognitive theory because efficacy beliefs affect adaptation and change not only in their own right but through their impact on other determinants” (Bandura, 2001a, p. 10), the other determinants being environment and behavior. Efficacy beliefs influence personal, educational and career choices we make in life, including the selection of activities we participate in, such as sports or knitting, for example; environments we prefer such as a library, the beach, or a rock concert; and friendships we may, or may not, pursue. The Parkland students, as they came to be known, demonstrated high levels of self- and collective efficacy. They believed in their ability to exert more influence on politicians than other special interest groups or corporations did. While not explicitly stated, it is broadly understood that the National Rifle Association is the primary special interest group to which they refer. In exercising their agency, they made a commitment (intentionality), and motivated themselves to act in ways that would lead to their expected outcomes (forethought). They also applied their personal standards and moral reasoning as they considered different opportunities to act (self-reactiveness), and,

one presumes, reflected on the success or failure of their actions, as well as how others responded to their movement (self-reflectiveness).

The MTR introduced in Bandura' (1986) book and shown in Figure 3 takes into account the myriad factors that contribute to behaviors, including discrimination. The approach encompasses the environment, an individual's cognitions, and the observed behavior of self and others. From this theoretical perspective, human functioning is viewed as the product of a dynamic interplay of cognitive, behavioral, and environmental influences. For example, as individuals interpret the success or failure of their behaviors and repeat those behaviors, they then alter the cognitions of others in their environment and also their future thoughts, which leads to subsequent behavioral changes (Pajares, 2002). Bandura's MTR (Figure 3) shows each of the three determinants, cognitive, behavioral and environmental, influencing the others in a constant, reinforcing, flow.

The original MTR that Bandura developed in 1986 did not focus on the centrality of agency and efficacy within the SCT. Bandura refined the concepts and emphasis in later publications (1989, 2000, 2001a; Wood & Bandura, 1989). Recognizing the importance of agency and efficacy in interpreting the data in this study, I developed a slightly revised model to more clearly demonstrate the centrality of these two concepts when applying the SCT to the Mankato community (Figure 4).



*Figure 4* Lindsay's updated model of triadic reciprocity

Bandura's SCT (1986) has been applied in a number of educational and business settings to explain behavioral changes (Bandura, 2012; Frayne & Latham, 1987; Latham & Saari, 1979). The theory has been applied globally in conjunction with Everett Rogers' diffusion of innovation theory to model behavioral changes that countries have determined to be beneficial (Bandura, 2006). Through the use of radio and television dramas, new behaviors and the reasoning behind them are demonstrated, including examples such as new farming techniques, birth control, and HIV prevention. This study is its first application, to the best of my knowledge, to a changing community.

This study applied the SCT to identifying the determinants at work in the new context of a community. The study's design offers the opportunity to apply the SCT to an existing dynamic of interactions and to improve our understanding of its applicability. Rather than intentionally determining desired thoughts and behaviors and then developing means to

model those determinants to effect change, this application enters into a process that is already occurring. It attempted to identify and evaluate behaviors and cognitions within the community that may be changing the environment and leading to fulfilling the goal of creating a “welcoming” community. The SCT provides an excellent framework for addressing the research questions because it is one of continual process. The time and environmental constraints that one finds in clinical studies performed under artificial conditions do not apply. It assumes, for example, that the impact of an intervention to reduce prejudice continues over time as one reflects upon the intervention and is perhaps more alert to prejudicial attitudes and behaviors, or to positive acts of cooperation and respect among different people.

I used Bandura’s SCT to interpret the EACL’s conceptualizations and operationalizations of “welcoming.” To accomplish this, I needed to “capture transactions among all three triadic determinants – especially how socio-structural influences operate through psychological mechanisms to produce behavioral effects” (Zimmerman & Schunk, 2003, p. 451). Using interviews and focus groups, I collected data from both European American and diverse community leaders. The data described individual interactions, activities, and perspectives related to the changing demographics in the Mankato area. The EACL data was analyzed using the SCT’s elements of agency and efficacy, as well as the MTR’s three determinants to identify if and how cognitive, environmental, and behavioral influences could be identified within individual or group interactions.

Analyzing the data from DCLs using the SCT proved to be unsuitable. When discussing global uses of the SCT, Bandura emphasized that the application must be specifically

tailored to the cultural practices of the target community (Bandura, 2012). It is reasonable to deduce, therefore, that researchers would need to have extensive experience with the specific cultures of the study's participants to apply the SCT to the data and reliably evaluate the findings. Since I was the sole researcher and did not have the necessary knowledge or experience, the inability to apply the SCT to the DCL data must be recognized as a limitation of the study.

### **Key Terms and Concepts**

In many fields, accepted and acceptable terminology can change quickly. Understanding that the terms I used will likely become outdated, it was nevertheless important to define how certain descriptors were used in 2018 within the unique context of this study. The terms below do not encompass the complex and overlapping identities of the study's participants, nor the contested nature of some descriptions, but they served the purpose and context of this dissertation.

Adjustment: In this study, I use "adjustment" to mean long-term changes in attitudes or behaviors by an individual or a group in response to change occurring outside of themselves, such as physical environment or societal change. Adjustment does not occur only with newcomers. While newcomers adjust to their new physical and social environment, longer-term residents also adjust and respond to the newcomers.

African American: Mankato's black community consists of both African Americans born and raised in the U.S. and African newcomers. Unless otherwise specified, this term refers to African American, U.S. citizens who moved to the Mankato community from elsewhere in the United States.

Community leader: An individual who holds a position of authority or influence within their workplace or within a culture with which they identify.

Culture: Paige (2003) defined culture as the sum total of what a particular group of people has created together, share, and transmit. This common understanding has been contested, however, for being “fixed, essentialized, stereotyped, and normatized” (Hoffman, 1996, p. 549). The definition, some note, lacks the nuance to account for hybridity that occurs within a group (Demerath & Mattheis, 2012; González, 2004). González (2004) further noted that “culture came to stand as a proxy for race” (p. 19) and could be “appropriated and transformed to fit multiple political agendas” (p. 20). Nevertheless, Jahoda (2012) recognized this ongoing debate about utilizing the term, but found use of the concept of culture to be “indispensable” (p. 300). He suggested that “much of the time it is quite practicable and defensible simply to use the term without seeking to define it” (Jahoda, 2012, p. 300). Bartlett and Vavrus (2017) resolved many of these concerns in their description of culture by allowing for individual differences within groups. It is their understanding I used in this study. They explained culture as referring “to human activities that indicate commonality among a group of people in terms of their sense of a shared history or common rules governing social life that distinguish them *more or less rigidly* [my italics] from other people” (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017, p. 9).

Diverse/diversity: Goodwin and Longoria (2010) described two types of diversity: social category diversity as easily identified attributes such as age, gender, and race, and informational/functional diversity which “is defined by variance in less visible attributes such as attitudes, knowledge, education, and functional background or role within a group”

(p. 2). The American Association of Colleges and Universities' (AAC&U) definition reflects the current consensus among U.S. academics of the term and is, therefore, the one I used in this study: "Individual differences (e.g., personality, learning styles, and life experiences) and group/social differences (e.g., race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, country of origin, and ability as well as cultural, political, religious, or other affiliations)" (2018).

Diverse resident(s): Refers to individual and groups of residents whose culture, religion, or ethnic heritage is other than that of the majority of the Mankato community's northern European culture.

Dominant/non-dominant culture: Used primarily in acculturation studies literature (Berry, 1997b, 2005; Howarth, Wagner, Magnusson, & Sammut, 2014; Rudmin, 2003), the concept of dominant (or majority) culture describes the set of values, beliefs, language and traditions that prevail within a group. In this case study, the dominant culture is that of the Mankato community's European American (EA) residents.

Established resident: Unless identified with additional descriptors, an established resident refers to individuals of EA descent who have lived in the area for ten or more years, are currently or have earned their living in Mankato, and likely have family ties to the area.

Mankato community: The U.S. Census Bureau defines the Mankato/North Mankato metropolitan area as consisting of the neighboring Minnesota counties of Blue Earth and Nicollet (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010a). Residents and organizations loosely use the term 'Mankato community' to describe the region, referring to both a geographical and a

socially constructed concept. The usage also stems from the fact that Mankato is a regional center for employment, education, healthcare services and commerce and is, in effect, one large community despite the numerous jurisdictions that crisscross the area.

Newcomer: The term ‘newcomer’ in this context refers to first-generation, non-European immigrants who have immigrated from outside of the U.S. and their children born either abroad or in the U.S. For the purposes of the study, I did not distinguish between different immigration statuses of individuals, and neither the EACLs nor the DCLs contested the definition during the participant interviews or focus groups. I suspect that because the Mankato community is primarily a secondary settlement location, the question of immigration status is often assumed to have been resolved for those who arrive in the area.

### **Goals of the Study**

The study seeks to increase our understanding of how communities may ease the transition of both dominant and non-dominant populations when a rapid increase in culturally distinct newcomers occurs in a community. As a first attempt to employ Bandura’s SCT (1986) to understand the adjustment processes occurring in a community, it explores the limits of the SCT and MTR explanatory power. Unlike controlled studies with clearly defined, generally narrow parameters, this study takes a more holistic view and attempts to identify and explain the cognitive, environmental, and behavioral bases for changes occurring in an entire community. It will, therefore, help us to ascertain whether the SCT can be applied to explain human interactions within a group or groups.

I intend for the study to contribute to the growing body of literature on recent immigrant settlement in rural America, and in Minnesota, in particular.

### **Organization of the Dissertation**

The remaining chapters of this dissertation begin with Chapter 2, which is a review of the literature that informs the study. The literature focuses on theories of prejudice, discrimination, and acculturation and on studies that illuminated the context of the case study. Chapter 3 describes the design and methods employed to gather data, as well as the data analysis procedures. The major findings from EA participants are discussed in Chapter 4, with the major themes of Motivations, Actions, and Community forming the core of the chapter. In Chapter 5, I reveal the major findings from the diverse participants in the study. They included discussion of Employment, Treatment by Locals, Education, and Welcoming. The dissertation concludes with a discussion of the theoretical and practical implications of the study and recommendations for further research in Chapter 6.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

### **Introduction**

As discussed in the previous chapter, Bandura's social cognitive theory (SCT; 1986) provides the opportunity to bring three of the factors involved in human functioning (behavior, cognition, and environment) into one framework to analyze the Mankato community's response to growing diversity. In this chapter, I review and discuss three select areas of academic literature that contribute to our understanding of the social dynamics at work in the Mankato community. Together, these bodies of literature create an intricate tapestry of interwoven, interdependent concerns/issues at play when diverse newcomers join an established and relatively homogeneous community.

I first explore recent studies on U.S. immigration patterns and the impact of diverse newcomers on non-traditional destinations, including research that focuses specifically on Minnesota. I draw primarily on recent studies in sociology, political science, and geography that related to changing immigration patterns in the U.S. I include literature related to Minnesota identity and how it continues to frame the reception of newcomers.

I turn next to theories from the fields of psychology and political science that attempt to explain why individuals and groups experience prejudice and discrimination. One focus within the field of social psychology is individual prejudice and discrimination and ways to prevent or overcome it. Within this field, intergroup relations research is of particular relevance to the contact between distinctly different groups that occurred in the Mankato community between 1998 and the conclusion of this study in 2018. Political scientists and economists also contribute to our understanding of prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory

behaviors that are influenced by the environment or historical context and the way the individual or group makes meaning of that context.

The third field which illuminates this study is acculturation studies, which examine how individuals and groups respond to contact with different cultural groups. I scrutinize acculturation models that attempt to define and explain these processes.

### **Minnesota Identity and Immigration**

In the summer of 2000, *Daedalus*, the Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, devoted an entire issue to exploring the theme of “Minnesota: A Different America?” Identity—be it as a Minnesotan, as a Christian or as a U.S. citizen—influenced the EACLs, as well as my analysis of the data.

At 85.3%, Minnesota’s population is overwhelmingly European American (EA), although the proportion dropped by 4.1% between 1990 and 2010 (Minnesota Department of Administration, 2011; U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). A strong economy, a broad array of social services, and a reputation for welcoming newcomers has attracted immigrants to the state since Minnesota’s statehood in 1858 (Fennelly, 2005; Owen et al., 2010). Minnesota’s immigrant population is more diverse than that of most other states (Owen et al., 2010). Minnesota residents born in Asia and Africa exceed national percentages by 10% and 14% respectively, while the percentage of Latinos in the state is significantly lower than the national average (American Community Survey, 2005-2008 as cited in Owen et al., 2010).

Joseph Amato was among the first researchers to recognize and explore the impact of new, non-European immigrants in a rural Minnesota setting (Amato, 1996; Amato, Radzilowski, & Meyer, 1999). Amato and Amato (2000) reflected on identity and the

changing landscape of rural Minnesota, both figuratively and literally. They noted that the community cohesiveness was declining in ethnically homogenous towns and their surrounding farms. They saw the family-owned farm becoming an anomaly; for young people, the sacrifice of staying on the family farm was too high. Furthermore, they wrote that the “rural sons and daughters of ethnic-farm families have come to resemble their urban counterparts in their attitudes about happiness and comfort” (Amato & Amato, 2000, p. 71). They concluded that the divisions between urban and ethnically-based rural identities were collapsing, not only in Minnesota, but around the U.S. In other words, the goals and preferences of young people raised on the rural farm could no longer be met by staying on the farm.

Katherine Fennelly, Professor Emerita at the Humphrey School of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota, has been a prolific researcher on Minnesotans’ attitudes towards immigrants and refugees and local, state, and national policies related to immigration. Minnesotans, she found in 2005, were fascinated with immigration for three primary reasons: “1. the rapidity of the increase in foreign-born residents during the past decade; 2. the high proportion of immigrants who are refugees; and 3. heavy concentrations of foreign-born residents in certain parts of the state” (Fennelly, 2005, p. 113).

What does recent research reveal about Minnesotans’ views regarding newcomers and immigration? Like Fennelly and Federico (2008), Owen and his colleagues (2010) described a complex situation made more complicated by the newcomers’ diversity. On one hand, newcomers’ different languages, practices, religions, and cultures, as well as their need for services to address trauma or to learn English, created challenges for schools,

governments, health care providers, and non-profit organizations. On the other hand, community leaders recognized the economic and educational benefits newcomers brought to their cities and towns.

As in other parts of the U.S. (Massey, 2008), Minnesota leaders in business and education valued the contributions of newcomers and were proactive in attempting to help them integrate into the community (Fennelly, 2008b; Griffith, 2008; Owen et al., 2010). Exploring the relationship between socio-economic status (SES) and attitudes about immigration, Fennelly (2008a) found, for example, that community leaders in one rural, southern Minnesota town generally viewed immigration as a positive by-product of economic growth. Those in Fennelly's (2008a) study who came from middle- and working-class backgrounds, however, articulated a greater perception of threat from the newcomers. The EA middle-class focus group participants felt physically threatened by immigrants and also expressed that the immigrants created a threat to their White culture and English language. Working-class participants in the study felt less fear of immigrants than middle-class participants, but "were vehement in their perceptions of the foreign-born as a threat to white-majority power and in their conviction that immigrants were receiving unwarranted advantages" (Fennelly, 2008a, p. 175)

Griffith (2008) explored the responses of four rural U.S. towns (in Georgia, North Carolina, Iowa, and Minnesota) to large numbers of new immigrants. He found that "[s]chool leaders in the northern communities, in particular, view new immigrant youths as a potential source of vitality, culture, education, and revenues" (Griffith, 2008, p. 194). He went on to write that the two northern sites "have gone well beyond merely teaching

English to new immigrants” (Griffith, 2008). Griffith reported, for example, that in Marshall, Minnesota, the school district’s director of instruction took the time to learn about the culture and history of the Somali newcomers, including inviting a survivor of Somali state torture to speak to the staff about the impact of state-sponsored violence. They brought students and families from different new ethnic groups together and provided translators to help bridge the communication gap that was leading to difficulties in the schools. Finally, the district also hired school aides from among the newcomer groups.

Fennelly (2006) summed up Minnesotans’ attitudes toward immigrants and immigration as “complex and contradictory” (p. 15). Minnesotans agreed with programs and policies to support immigrants, a finding with which this study concurred, while also demonstrating xenophobia. Fennelly’s later work (2008a), discussed above, found that community leaders generally valued immigrants more than community members with lower SES. Ponterotto, Utsey and Pedersen’s (2006) findings may help to explain this inconsistent picture of Minnesota’s EAs’ attitudes. Directing their work toward school counselors and other educators, white racial identity development, they found, plays an important role in prejudice reduction efforts in the U.S. They specifically identified:

.... statistically significant correlations between statuses of white racial identity development and various measures of psychological health and prejudice. The trend in the findings is that white people in the higher statuses, particularly autonomy, tend to self-report higher levels of psychological health and quality of life, and they appear to be more comfortable in multicultural environments and exhibit less prejudice toward those who are culturally different (Ponterotto et al., 2006, p. 105).

Research demonstrates the complexity of factors affecting relationships between individuals and groups. The SCT provides a framework for beginning to disassemble the many factors by categorizing them into cognition (C), behavior (B), and environment (E). In this way, it is possible, for example, to discern Mankato residents' conception of themselves through their thoughts and reflections (C) upon their identity and how it influences their behavior (B) and their environment (E). The interviews and focus groups also allowed me to gauge the EACLs' levels of agency and efficacy.

Minnesotans' perspectives regarding diverse newcomers varied from seeing them as a sign of economic growth and as a resource, to feeling threatened by newcomers. Researchers have developed a number of theories to explain that feeling of threat and these are explored in the following three sections: prejudice and discrimination studies; intergroup relations; and threat, fear, and power.

### **Prejudice and Discrimination Studies**

Prejudice and discrimination play a role in the difficulties that arise from contact with different cultures. In the following section, I review different definitions of these terms and the area of study known as intergroup relations.

Definitions of prejudice and discrimination have evolved and contained variations in emphasis. Allport (1979) chose to focus on learned or chosen attitudes and behaviors toward specific individuals or groups. He grounded his influential book *The Nature of Prejudice* in the following definition of prejudice:

Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group. (1954/1979, p. 9)

Like Allport, Brown (2010) chose not to distinguish between the disparaging attitude (prejudice) and the destructive behavior (discrimination) toward others. Brown defines prejudice as “an attitude, emotion *or behaviour* [my emphasis] towards members of a group which directly or indirectly implies some negativity toward that group” (p. 11). Both Allport (1954/1979) and Brown (2010) included discrimination within their definition of prejudice.

In contrast, Schütz and Six (1996), in their meta-analysis of studies on the relationship of prejudice to discrimination, found that “only rarely is prejudice a valid predictor for social discrimination” (p. 457). They defined prejudice “as a widespread, but socially unaccepted attitude, which categorizes individuals and/or groups by negatively evaluated attributes” (p. 442). In line with the results of Schütz’ and Six’s work (1996), within this study, I used the term “prejudice” to describe a negative attitude or emotion one holds toward a group or individual based upon their membership in a particular group. “Discrimination” was used to describe any action taken against an individual or group, whether or not it can be attributed to a prejudicial attitude. Prejudice and discrimination are socially undesirable, with or without a causal relationship. Each merits further research, and they were therefore used as distinct concepts in this study.

## **Intergroup Relations**

The field of social psychology dominates publications examining prejudice. Often using controlled laboratory experiments, social psychologists seek to understand the prejudice phenomenon from the perspective of individuals and their membership in groups. Their goal is to identify interventions that can reduce prejudice in individuals (Brown, 2010; Oskamp, 2000b; Oskamp & Jones, 2000; Ponterotto et al., 2006). The starting point for much of this research is Allport (1954/1979), who formulated a hypothesis that has since served as the basis for efforts to reduce prejudice and improve intergroup relations. Allport's contact theory (1954/1979) hypothesized that increased contact between people of different groups could reduce prejudice *when several conditions are met* [my emphasis]. The four conditions are (a) social and institutional support for the contact; (b) acquaintance potential between participants, meaning that the possibility for an on-going positive relationship exists; (c) equal status of the participants; and (4) cooperation (Allport, 1954/1979; Brown, 2010). Researchers have found it difficult, however, to meet all of these conditions. Designing and then implementing studies that integrated all four elements and could be validated were likely too difficult to pursue because of finding appropriate venues, study participants of equal status and the opportunity to assess the interactions over time. Pettigrew (1998) nevertheless advanced the theory, with modifications.

Pettigrew (1998) acknowledged and then responded to the intergroup contact theory's limitations. He differentiated between essential and facilitative elements, specified friendship over acquaintance potential as an essential condition, and finally proposed a reformulated, longitudinal model. Pettigrew (1998) based his article on an examination of

many studies testing Allport's theory (1954/1979) and concluded that "(m)ost studies report positive contact effects, even in situations lacking key conditions" (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 68). Pettigrew (1998) identified and then addressed four specific problems with intergroup contact theory.

First, a causal sequence problem existed because "prejudiced people avoid intergroup contact, so the causal link between contact and prejudice is two-way" (p. 80). To overcome this limitation, Pettigrew (1998) proposed that one or more of following methods be utilized: finding a situation that makes participation mandatory; using statistical methods to compare the reciprocal paths of contact lowering prejudice and prejudice decreasing contact; or designing a longitudinal study.

Second, he noted that a number of studies added conditions such as a common language or a prosperous economy to Allport's original four conditions (1954/1979). Pettigrew (1998) asserted that "many factors suggested for optimal contact may not be essential" (p. 70). The third and fourth problems Pettigrew identified are that Allport's hypothesis does not predict how or why change occurs in participants and that it is not generalizable to other situations and groups. Pettigrew (1998) finally proposes a reformulated model that resolves these last two concerns (Figure 5, below).

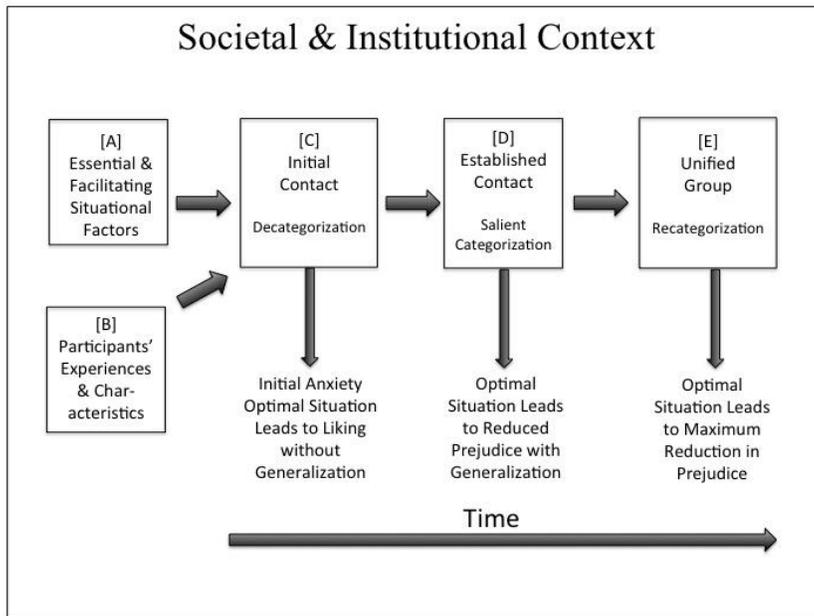


Figure 5. Adapted reformulated contact theory (Pettigrew, 1998)

The foundation of Pettigrew's reformulated contact theory (1998) is that contact and its consequences occur over time, as shown above. To illustrate, in a high school environment, a longitudinal study could be conducted that included, as above, under [A] Allport's (1954/1979) four elements of institutional support, as well as Pettigrew's elements of mandatory participation and statistical analysis to support the study's findings. Participants [B] would bring their home influences, socio-economic status, experiences with members of diverse groups, personal characteristics, and interests to the study. Researchers could document initial attitudes and experiences [C] using surveys, ethnographic methods, and tools such as the Intercultural Development Inventory (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003). Intentional interventions such as forming cross-cultural teams in classrooms and for co-curricular activities could lead to the later analysis of [D] and [E] using the same mixed methods. Ideally, a control group that would

participate in fewer or no interventions could also be surveyed and observed to contribute to the findings' reliability.

Both Allport's (1954/1979) and Pettigrew's (1998) work has been influential and led to the development of intergroup relations studies, a specialization within social psychology and a fruitful area for applied research. A significant emphasis of intergroup relations work examines student groups in schools and attempts to identify interventions that prevent prejudice and discrimination. Banks, et al. (2005; 2006) and Gaertner and Dovidio (2005) emphasized that in schools, superordinate groups that students can identify with, such as sports teams, band, etc., can improve intergroup relations because they "stimulate liking and cohesion, which can mitigate pre-existing animosities" (Banks et al., 2005). Banks warned, however, that if these superordinate groups "are not carefully structured and monitored, crosscutting groups can reproduce the dominant power relationships that exist within the school and the larger society" (2006, p. 610). He identified the need to focus on creating "deliberate interventions to increase equal-status and positive interactions" (2006, p. 610) in order to avoid increasing, rather than decreasing, intergroup tensions. In addition, interracial learning teams and cooperative learning activities lead to more interracial friendships, increased student motivation, self-esteem and empathy (Banks, 2006). Relatedly, Oskamp (2000b) found that "active participation generally produces stronger and longer-lasting attitude and behavior change than does passive participation" (p. 4).

Despite the limitations that the intergroup contact theory's conditions create, the results of Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis of 515 studies showed that its application

can reduce intergroup prejudice and that it applied to groups other than just ethnic or racial groups. Furthermore, among longitudinal studies, the effects were shown to endure over time (Stephan & Stephan, 2005). In addition, when Allport's conditions for prejudice reduction were fully implemented in the studies, the contact-prejudice effects were stronger (Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005).

Researchers have identified, tested and accepted some principles regarding individual and group interactions with those who are different (outgroup). A number of relevant and widely accepted principles contribute to the analytical framework in Chapters 4 and 5. It is therefore important to articulate them here. First is the understanding that "the psychological tendency to accentuate differences across groups and accentuate similarities within groups is well known and has been often shown" (Howarth et al., 2014, p. 2). Furthermore, Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory focuses on the self-worth individuals feel by belonging to groups that are evaluated more positively. They seek to identify themselves with the more prestigious groups and "will denigrate other groups and limit their opportunities in order to obtain this outcome" (Esses, Jackson, Dovidio, & Hodson, 2005, p. 233). Equally important is the conclusion that it *is* possible to reduce prejudice and bias through intentional education and activities (Allport, 1979; Banks et al., 2005; Banks, 2006; Livingston, 2011; Paluck, 2006; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000, 2006; Pettigrew, 2006). Livingston (2011) concludes, that "it is unlikely that individuals hold racial biases out of malice or failure to recognize the virtues of intergroup tolerance. Rather, prejudice may be the consequence of lower level affective processes that are not readily modifiable by higher order reasoning" (p. 34).

Of note in this last case is the differentiation that the editors make in the volume in which Livingston's article appears (Tropp & Mallett, 2011). Dividing the volume into four themes, Livingston devoted the last theme to applications of the contact theory in post-conflict environments. The chapters include looking at the roles of self-disclosure and empathy in Northern Ireland and South Africa (Swart, Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2011), proposing how to facilitate reconciliation in the distinct but often co-occurring cases of direct and structural violence (Nadler & Shnabel, 2011), and examining the roles of trust and forgiveness in Chile (Gonzalez, Manzi, & Noor, 2011). The three chapters within this theme are also the only ones written by researchers based outside of the U.S. and Canada. Although not stated explicitly, it is reasonable to assume that the volume's context, outside of the last theme, is the U.S. and Canada (Tropp & Mallett, 2011).

Other social scientists have tested, re-tested and refined the contact hypothesis (Esses et al., 2005; Livingston, 2011; Swart et al., 2011). Tropp and Mallett (2011) assert that "the problem of achieving positive intergroup relations is more complex than simply reducing prejudice. ....Indeed, emerging programs of research have begun to converge in identifying the many ways in which our constructions, motivations, expectations, and emotional responses impact prejudiced attitudes" (p. 4). By identifying the unique context, the elements that cause anxiety among participants, and the primary motivating beliefs leading to the prejudice, one could design appropriate programs to address the problem. For example, an educational opportunity for EA college students in Mankato could be designed to fully implement Allport's (1954/1979) conditions of social and institutional support; acquaintance/friendship potential between participants; equal status of the participants; and

cooperation. Similarly, in places where a shared prejudice is identifiable such as in Northern Ireland, Kosovo, or Rwanda, one could also construct interventions to address the prejudice, although it would be more difficult to meet all of Allport's conditions (1954/1979). I discuss interventions of this type in the future research section of Chapter 6.

Potential interventions such as those described above assume, however, that it is possible to identify the specific roots of the prejudice, and that the threat is not just individual, but shared. Realistically, it would not be feasible to create individualized interventions that address each participant's particular situation. Jervis (1976) and Mertus (1999) would likely argue that the time and intense effort required to do so makes such an investment unlikely.

Political scientist Irwin Katz (1991) acknowledged that Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954/1979) was very influential in directing social psychologists' research and theoretical approaches, but found his analysis too narrow. Katz (1991) criticized Allport's (1954/1979) neglect of "the societal context of intergroup phenomena—i.e., the larger environment of class structure, political alignments, economic forces, populations distributions, and the like that influence attitudes toward racial policy issues" (p. 152). The following section examines these issues and other environmental factors that may influence the outcomes of intercultural contact, but which the MTR also takes into account.

### **Threat, Fear, and Power**

Stephan and Stephan (2000) have made more progress than other social scientists in developing a theory of prejudice that considers both individual and contextual influences.

In their integrated threat theory, they hypothesized that four types of threat cause prejudice. The first was realistic threats, such as economic or political threats; the second was symbolic threats, which are perceived threats to the values and beliefs of one's ingroup. Intergroup anxiety, the feeling that contact with members of an outgroup will have "some negative outcomes for the self, such as being embarrassed, rejected, or ridiculed" (Stephan & Stephan, 2000, p. 27), was the third type of threat. The fourth type of threat proposed by Stephan and Stephan (2000) was negative stereotypes or the anticipation of negative consequences based on stereotypes of the other group. Van Oudenhoven and Ward (2013) supported the understanding of intergroup anxiety when they asserted that newcomers' "cultural maintenance, relating to norms, values, behaviors, and identity, and participation in the wider society...may also evoke competition and threat" (p. 86). While some of the literature reviewed in this chapter can be categorized according to the four types of threat proposed in the integrated threat theory, the theory fails to account for all of the factors involved in host community reactions to newcomers.

The fear of negative economic impact is a common theme in a large number of studies on immigration which all connected perceived economic threats to prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behaviors (Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; Fennelly, 2008a; Fennelly & Federico, 2008; Massey, 2008; Wagner & Machleit, 1986). Burns and Gimpel (2000) suggested that "the effect of economic hardship is to activate prejudices that are latent, adding fuel to the fire of preexisting views" (p. 224). Fennelly and Federico (2008) analyzed the results of a 2004 nation-wide telephone survey (Blendon, Pelletier, Benson, Altman, & Rosenbaum, 2004) to compare urban, suburban, and rural attitudes toward

immigration policy. Their analysis included looking at the degree of agreement with thirteen statements related to immigrants and immigration, such as “there are too many immigrants in the United States at this time,” and “immigrants are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing, and health care” (p. 165). They found that “rural residents hold more negative attitudes toward immigrants than their urban or suburban counterparts” (Fennelly & Federico, 2008, p. 166). Specifically, a majority of rural residents believed that immigrants took jobs away from Americans and that they were a burden on the country. They also thought there were too many immigrants and that the federal government should have tougher immigration policies. One could hypothesize that this split between urban and rural attitudes could be related to the greater amount of contact between urban dwellers and immigrants and to the variety of roles that immigrants play in their communities, from grocery to banker to political leader.

The desire to maintain power is another source of perceived threat. Three theories from the intergroup relations field attempt to explain such threats and the resulting behaviors. The instrumental model of group conflict (Esses et al., 1998) is based on the perception of limited resources and the presence of an outgroup. Crucial to this model is the belief that life is a zero-sum equation: that any benefit to one individual or group comes at the expense of another individual or group. The additional presence of fear and anxiety leads to attempts to remove the competition, causing the ingroup to avoid contact and increase competitiveness. Social dominance theory (Pratto, 1999; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) suggests that certain socially constructed groups create beliefs about the legitimacy of their superior position in society to maintain control over the societies’ resources. Age and gender can be

the basis for one group (older men, for example) to give themselves greater power and authority. Often dominant groups will create arbitrary outgroups based on ethnicity, religion, or race and develop myths to justify their privileged position in society.

Jost and Banaji (1995) assert in their systems justification theory that positive stereotypes of the dominant group and negative stereotypes of subordinate groups are utilized to justify and maintain the status quo. The researchers expanded on Sidanius and Pratto's (1999) social dominance theory by first acknowledging people's tendency to favor themselves and their ingroup members, but they continue that people can also "hold favorable attitudes toward the existing social system and the status quo" (Jost, Banaji, & Nosek, 2004, p. 912). They contended:

In contrast to other theories, that system justification theory unambiguously addresses the possibilities that (a) there is an ideological motive to justify the existing social order, (b) the motive is at least partially responsible for outgroup favoritism and the internalization of inferiority among members of disadvantaged groups, (c) it is observed most readily at an implicit, nonconscious level of awareness, and (d) paradoxically, it is sometimes strongest among those who are most disadvantaged by the social order (Jost et al., 2004, p. 912).

Fear, the perception of threat, viewing life as a zero-sum game, economic insecurity, a desire to maintain social or political privilege and power, and the tendency to prefer the status quo all are contextual factors that may have contributed to prejudice and discrimination. In Chapters 4 and 5, I identify if and when any of these perspectives may contribute to the beliefs and actions of Mankato community members.

## **Acculturation Studies**

The United Nations reports that most migration has occurred in the global South (Population Division, 2013), yet there exists a dearth of studies that examine the phenomenon in those regions. The few available studies originating in the global South include Gillespie, McBride, & Riddle (2010) who studied the acculturation of Mexicans in upper management and Zagefka, González, & Brown (2011), who explored acculturation preferences in Chile. The literature included in this section of the literature review is therefore inherently biased in favor of studies originating in North America, Europe, and Australia.

The present study seeks to understand the emic perspectives of Mankato leaders as the demographics of the community change. Such research falls within the area of acculturation studies. Berry (2005) describes acculturation as:

the dual process of cultural and psychological change that takes place as a result of contact between two or more cultural groups and their individual members. At the group level, it involves changes in social structures and institutions and in cultural practices. At the individual level, it involves changes in a person's behavioral repertoire. These cultural and psychological changes come about through a long-term process, sometimes taking years, sometimes generations, and sometimes centuries. Acculturation is a process of cultural and psychological changes that involve various forms of mutual accommodation, leading to some longer-term psychological and socio-cultural adaptations between both groups (pp. 698-699).

It is remarkable that while defining acculturation as a process of *mutual* accommodation, much of the research by Berry (2005; 1997a; 1997b) and other acculturation researchers focused only on the acculturation of non-dominant culture individuals and groups, be they refugees and asylum seekers (Phillimore, 2011), mixed-race families (Howarth et al., 2014), or sojourners, meaning those who stay temporarily in a country (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). In other studies including Bourhis et al., (2010), Esses et al., (2010), and Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, (2013), host communities are described only briefly in terms of the context migrants encounter, with most emphasis placed on host country immigration policies. Rudmin (2003) finds this focus on newcomers over host communities to be both “excessive” and “perplexing” (p. 5). In this dissertation, I attempted to provide a more balanced study that draws from the experiences of both host society and newcomers.

**Berry’s model of acculturation strategies of ethnocultural groups.**

Researchers have neither come to a consensus on how to define and explain the ways that individuals and groups acculturate, nor have they resolved the question of what characterizes successful acculturation. Berry’s model of acculturation strategies (Berry, 1997b) has, however, proven to be influential. He focused on “cultural maintenance (to what extent are cultural identity and characteristics considered to be important, and their maintenance strived for); and contact and participation (to what extent should they be involved in other cultural groups, or remain primarily among themselves)” (Berry, 1997b, p. 9). Using the two questions “Is it considered to be of value to maintain one’s identity and characteristics?” and “Is it considered to be of value to maintain relations with the

larger society?” Berry (1997b) defined four strategies that non-dominant groups adopt. These are shown graphically in Figure 6, below.

The four strategies are defined as follows: (a) assimilation occurs when individuals choose to put aside their cultural identity and seek to interact fully with the dominant culture; (b) separation refers to those who choose to maintain their own culture and avoid interaction with others; (c) integration refers to those who choose to maintain their own

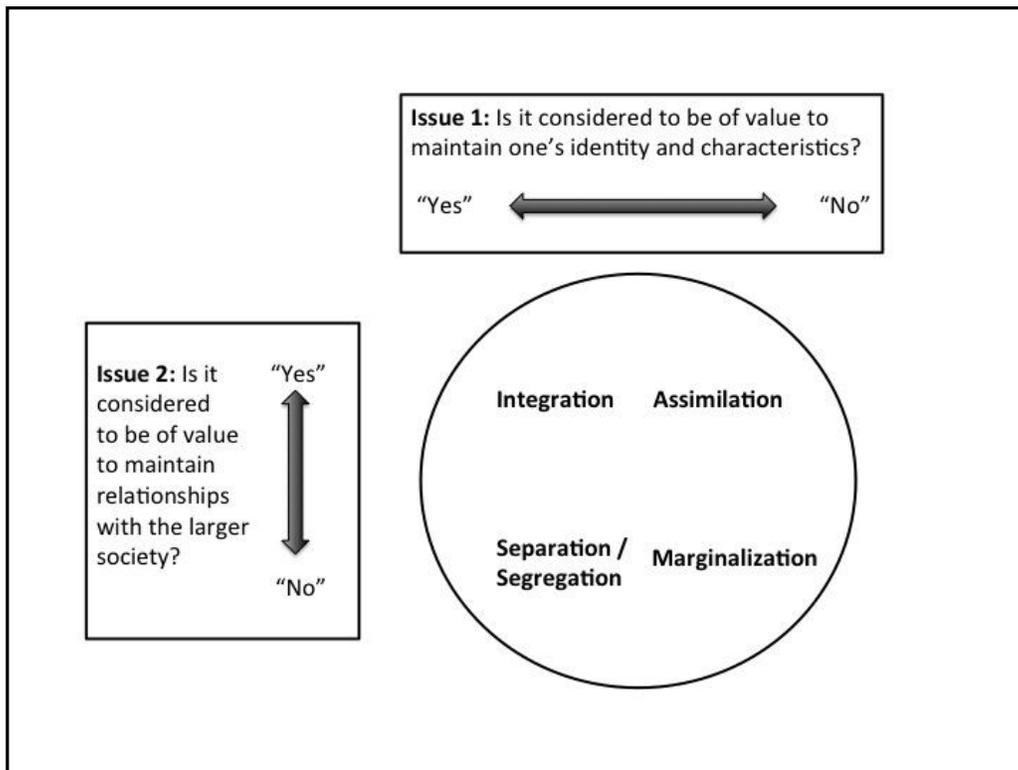


Figure 6. Berry's model of acculturation strategies for ethnocultural groups (1997)

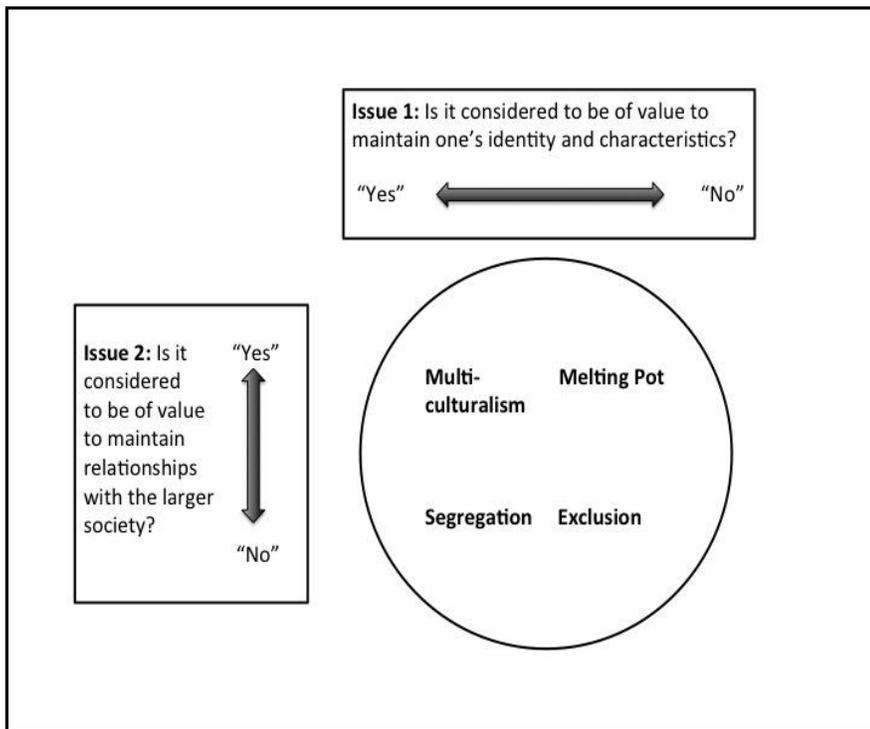
culture while also operating fully within the host culture; (d) marginalization defines those who demonstrate neither cultural maintenance nor interest in contact with the dominant culture.

In a comprehensive review and critique of acculturation research, Rudmin (2003) identified the complexity involved in the process of acculturation. In addition to citing the

failures of acculturation researchers to build a common foundation of terminology, Rudmin (2003) criticized the logic and lack of explanatory power of Berry's (1997b) fourfold theory. The choices that Berry assumed to be freely made, for example, were influenced by one's individual situation and psychological state, level of education, reasons for migration, perceptions of the preferred response by one's own cultural group and that of host community members, and many other factors, as demonstrated in the coming pages by Ward (1996).

Recognizing that non-dominant groups do not always have the freedom to choose how they wish to acculturate, Berry (2005) later adapted his bi-dimensional model to host communities' preferences (see Figure 7, below).

He asserts the importance of the host society's general attitudes towards immigration and pluralism while noting that some "societies seek to eliminate diversity through policies and programs of assimilation, and still other societies attempt to achieve the segregation or marginalization of their diverse populations" (Berry, 2005, p. 703).



*Figure 7. Berry's model of acculturation strategies of the larger society (2005)*

Berry's models (1997b; 2005) provide a framework for understanding, but they are too simplistic and do not adequately account for the complex, interdependent variables involved in host community and newcomer interactions. The host community's impact on acculturation was added as an afterthought and does not consider what are likely conflicting responses to the issues within a community. In addition, Berry's models (1997b; 2005) demonstrate the weakness of some psychological studies that, in an effort to show precise findings, are conducted in clinical settings, eliminating as many variables as possible. As one eliminates potential variables, the model's explanatory value diminishes. I would propose that a more appropriate and relevant question to ask when reviewing Berry's models of acculturation strategies (1997b; 2005) is: "Which group—host community or newcomers—is in a position to bring about the defined strategy?" In short, Berry's models

and definitions do not contribute to providing the answers to the questions posed in this study.

**Ward’s model.**

Ward’s (1996; 2001) model of acculturation processes (Figure 8, below) vividly exposes the many complex factors, relationships, and processes involved in acculturation.

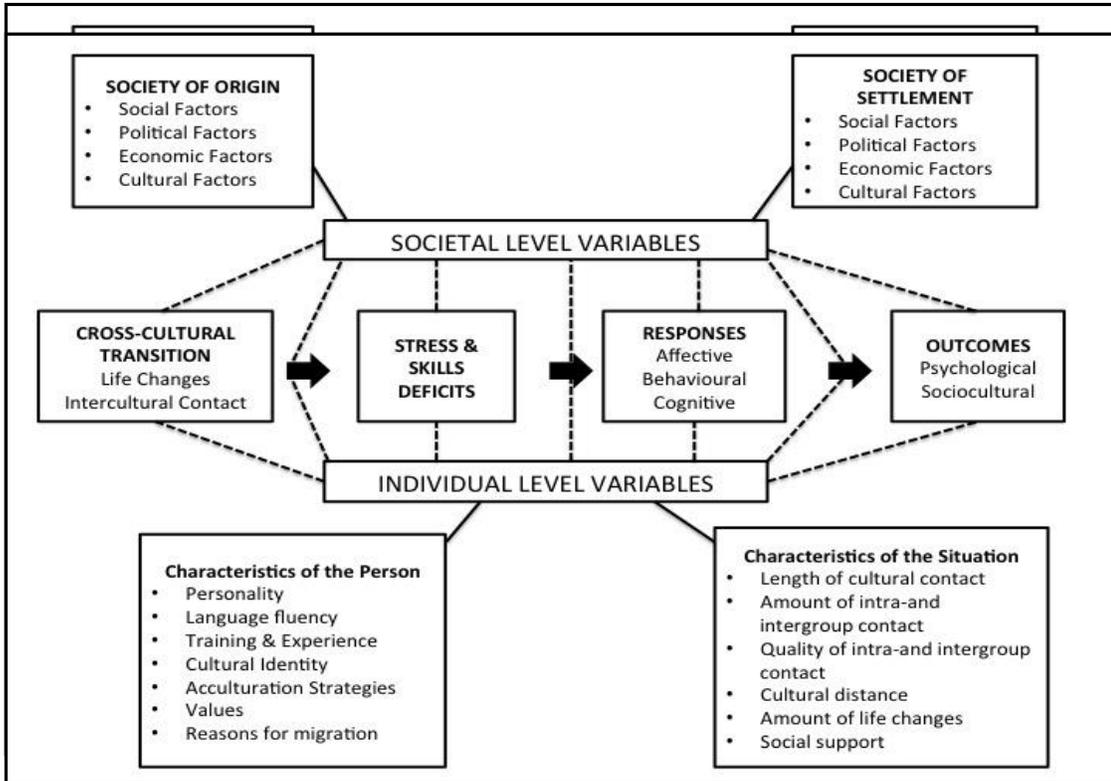


Figure 8. Model of acculturation processes, adapted from Ward (1996; 2001)

The model’s upper row highlights the unique societal factors that each group brings with them: the cultural, economic, historical, and political factors that influence groups. On an individual level (the lower row of Figure 8), each person has unique characteristics and experiences that factor into the process of acculturation.

For example, some Somalis in Mankato came via refugee camps in Kenya or Ethiopia, which offered fewer educational opportunities than in Abu Dhabi, Dubai, or Saudi Arabia,

where wealthier and more well-educated Somalis lived before coming to the U.S. (see Chapter 5). Ward (1996; 2001) identified many of the personal characteristics that also influence the acculturation process for members of both the society of origin and the society of settlement.

Ward (1996) identifies that situational characteristics will also affect individuals in contact situations. Is the environment supportive of the contact? Is the contact ongoing, as in a classroom, or of short duration with the cashier in a shop, for example? All of the factors, individual and societal, meet in the middle in what Ward divides into a four-phase process. In the first phase, all individuals and groups are in transition, either moving away from the known and familiar or receiving newcomers who are different. In the second phase, both groups experience stress and become aware that they may not have all of the skills needed to deal with the change easily. The affected individuals and groups respond with actions, emotions, and thought in the third phase, producing, finally, psychological and sociocultural outcomes.

Ward's model (1996) demonstrated why some psychological theories and methods are too narrowly focused on a single factor to encompass fully the many variables influencing intergroup contact. My goal in this study is to evaluate whether Bandura's SCT and MTR (1986) may be sufficiently expansive to provide a theoretical basis for the developments occurring in the Mankato community.

### **Cultural Democracy**

Ramírez and Castañeda's (1974) philosophy of "cultural democracy" suggests an alternative societal outcome whereby dominant culture residents would allow newcomers

the time and freedom to maintain their home culture as they begin to understand their new environment and culture. The non-dominant residents could then make informed decisions about whether and to what extent they choose to adapt their behaviors to the new environment. Based on the experiences of Mexican Americans in the U.S. and originally developed within an educational context, the underlying principle may be applied to the stated goals of Mankato community leaders. The concept of cultural democracy suggests that one can maintain the identity and values of one's home culture while also becoming familiar with the values of the dominant culture in the U.S. It further asserts that no one should be forced to choose between the two cultures until one is fully aware of the consequences of making such a decision. A community that demonstrates respect for an individual's cultural heritage would be a culturally democratic community.

Cultural democracy recognizes the power differentials inherent in communities experiencing acculturation. It depends upon the host community's beliefs, values, and desire to implement it for the benefit of all newcomers.

Although cultural democracy may describe the welcoming community that Mankato leaders seek to create, attempting to identify and measure it in the community would have required extended ethnographic fieldwork. My professional responsibilities prevented me from pursuing a study of that type.

### **Summary and Need for More Research**

The theories reviewed in this chapter contribute to understanding elements of the thoughts and behaviors of different individuals or groups within the Mankato community. Although this is not a study of prejudice and discrimination, a better understanding of the

two concepts helps to evaluate whether the intentions and actions that appear in the data may align with the findings to identify how to mitigate the effects of prejudice and discrimination.

Studies to date show that prejudice is contextual and influenced by personal experience and personality, past injustices and current feelings of fear, anxiety or threat. Such studies may account for the motivations and behaviors of some interviewees, but no single theory would be applicable in each and every case. Findings from intergroup relations theory could be applicable if the goals and programs the community developed had been defined from the start to work within the parameters and conditions of the theory. In this case study, however, it does not apply.

Berry's (1997a, 2005) acculturation models generalize and categorize in an abstract rather than specific manner. This study does not seek to categorize people and the community, but rather to identify effective strategies to avoid cross-cultural tensions when a relatively large number of diverse newcomers move into the community. Ward's (2001) acculturation model is more detailed but would require significantly more time and resources to attempt to apply it in this case. Despite great interest and significant research into the phenomena of prejudice, discrimination, and acculturation by social scientists from numerous fields, only Bandura's SCT (1986) accounts for environmental, behavioral, and cognitive determinants across contexts and time. It can elucidate each of the phenomena described above without having to eliminate variables or narrow the study to a specific individual, group, topic or behavior. The SCT is a more comprehensive and holistic theory than the others.

This study responds to the calls for further research into host community reception of newcomers in a rural context. It also answers Rudmin's (2003) invitation to use "qualitative methods to understand the motivations and emic perspectives of minority and majority groups, especially the political and cultural leaders of the minority and the policymakers and politicians of the governing majority (p. 30)" I explore each of these perspectives in the following chapters.

## Chapter 3: Methodology

### Introduction

In this chapter, I identify the research approach used in conducting this study, keeping in mind Hoy's (2010) characteristics of good research: "empirical, theoretical and replicable" (p. xii). I describe the design of the study and how European American community leaders (EACLs) and diverse community leaders (DCLs) were selected. The research methods and procedures to gather data using semi-structured interviews and focus groups are discussed, followed by a description of the data analysis procedures I followed. I conclude by identifying the ethical issues involved in the research. In this chapter, therefore, I lay out the methods used to investigate the research questions. In so doing, the study's overall methods become replicable for future social science researchers interested in case studies of communities such as Mankato (see Appendices A and B for interview and focus group questions).

To begin this chapter, it is helpful to reiterate the research questions:

1. How do the European American community leaders in Mankato, Minnesota describe the community's adjustment to diverse newcomers?
2. How do leaders among the diverse newcomers describe the community's adjustment to them?
3. To what extent does Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory (1986) explain the Mankato community's adjustment to the arrival of a large number of diverse newcomers?

## **Design of Study**

Qualitative research approaches consider multiple factors. Case studies in particular, according to Shields, “do not attempt to eliminate what cannot be discounted. They do not attempt to simplify what cannot be simplified. Thus, it is precisely because case study includes paradoxes and acknowledges that there are no simple answers, that it can and should qualify as the gold standard” (Merriam, 2009, p. 52). The case study design allowed me to investigate “a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin, 2009, p. 18). It would be difficult—if not impossible—to differentiate between Mankato leaders’ response to growing diversity and the context within which that response is rooted: the history, values, social dynamics, political perspectives, and demographics of the community. Although bounded geographically (Merriam, 2009), the data in Chapters Four and Five revealed that actions that occurred elsewhere prior to and throughout the study (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017) influenced the attitudes and actions of community leaders and diverse newcomers as demographics changed.

The case study shared some features of an ethnography in that it sought to illuminate how the study’s participants made meaning out of the demographic changes in the community. As a community member, I was immersed in its activities and influenced by my interactions and observations, another ethnographic element. The research design differs from an ethnography, however, because—due to time constraints and full-time employment—it did not include the extensive fieldwork and detailed observational notetaking which characterizes ethnographic research design (Fetterman, 2010). The case

study approach helped me to understand if and to what extent the EA leaders' aims were achieved by contrasting their goals with the lived experiences of non-EA residents.

### **Participant Selection**

#### **European American community leaders.**

My familiarity with the Mankato community, its leaders, and its institutions provided a practical foundation for my research. Based on my understanding of the context and key actors, I utilized purposeful selection because it “provides information that is particularly relevant to [my] questions and goals” (Maxwell, 2013, p. 97). Greater Mankato Growth (GMG) is the area's combined Chamber of Commerce and Economic Development Organization. I used GMG's list of major employers (2014) to identify the five major employment sectors in the community, which are also venues of contact between newcomers and community institutions: the business, educational, governmental, healthcare, and non-profit sectors. Politicians and some heads of the selected organizations had already spoken out publically about their desire to create a welcoming community. However, as spokespersons or elected officials, it was likely that they would feel more constrained in an interview and be less likely to share their personal beliefs. I, therefore, targeted second-tier leaders—those responsible for implementing programs and training—for participation in the study. I hoped that they would speak about the issues with greater candor than the politicians or public heads of organizations. I attempted to recruit five EA leaders from each of the five sectors to participate in the study. Among European Americans, I sent a letter of invitation and the consent form to 43 potential interviewees. The overall response rate was 27.9%, resulting in twelve interviews. One of the interviews

consisted of the co-owners of a business. The 12 interviews, therefore, involved 13 individuals, seven male, and eight female. To protect the identities of the small number of interviewees within the community, I limited references to participants to identifying their gender and the sector in which they work. Details about the different categories of the 13 EA participants are discussed below.

***Business.***

I consulted the directory provided online by GMG to identify businesses from which to recruit interviewees. I specifically targeted businesses that I understood employed newcomers, including light manufacturing and grocery stores. Of six interview invitations sent, two interviews occurred.

***Education.***

School administrators and teachers are in key positions to provide information about the climate in their towns because they are both residents and people who work every day with a diverse student body and their parents. Mankato has two primary high schools: Mankato East and Mankato West. Since 2000 when the first school district demographics book became available, the White population at West remained consistently higher than that at East. East's percentage of White students dropped by 15.9% between 2000 and 2015 while West's percentage of White students dropped by 8.08% in the same 15 years (Minnesota Independent School District 77, 2000, 2015). I invited thirteen West High School and six East High School employees to participate in the study, first with a letter and then with a follow-up email. Three of the West High School employees responded to

the request but no interviews materialized. Six East High School employees expressed their willingness to be interviewed, which resulted in two interviews.

***Government.***

Between 2005 and 2016, I attended numerous public gatherings such as the Mankato International Festival, the Blue Earth County Citizens Academy, the Greater Mankato Diversity Council Annual Recognition Lunch, as well as events at Minnesota State University, Mankato where local mayors and county commissioners regularly identified diversity as a community value. Whether and how that value is operationalized in programs and services is the responsibility of second level government leaders. I invited six administrators and office directors for the City of Mankato and Blue Earth County to participate in an interview. Two responded positively and were interviewed.

***Healthcare.***

Accessing the U.S. health care system can be confusing because of the requirements patients must complete for their care to be covered by their insurance providers. Identifying in-network vs. out-of-network providers, understanding deductibles, and learning of required pre-authorizations prior to procedures are just a few of the hurdles. It is likely more confusing when one's expectation of appropriate practices<sup>3</sup> is significantly different. Many newcomers also have linguistic challenges that can exacerbate the anxiety with which many approach medical professionals. I contacted eight employees of the three

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<sup>3</sup> See Fadiman (1997) for a compelling story of a Hmong family's experiences with doctors in the United States.

primary health care providers in Mankato to participate in the study and interviewed one EA employee from each provider for a total of three interviews.

***Non-profit.***

The rich experiences and perspectives of local non-profit employees who work directly with Somali and Sudanese newcomers, I believed, would round out the interviews on the community's response to growing diversity. The GMG online directory included contact information for area non-profits, and I followed the same selection and invitation protocol as for the other four sectors. Three of the four invited individuals who agreed to an interview worked in the non-profit sector, but in the course of our discussion, it became clear that each also had over ten years of experience in a second of the major employment sectors. I therefore added the category of 'multi-sector' to recognize the significant experience these individuals had in more than one employment sector.

**Diverse community leaders.**

Linda Tuhiwai Smith's book, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (2012), introduced researchers to ways of knowing outside of standard Western academic practices and underpins my interactions with the diverse participants in this study. Smith (2012) challenged the Western, positivist epistemology that knowledge can only be gained through empirical evidence. She described the fear and threat that indigenous peoples feel toward Westerners who entered their communities, conducted research based on Western thought (often objectifying the individuals) and then left, with no tangible benefit to the community. As an educated EA researcher, I was cognizant of my relative position of power. I also recognized that I was still learning about the cultural

norms of the newcomers from Somalia, South Sudan, and elsewhere. Throughout the study, I used my basic understanding of these cultural norms to adapt my behavior and expectations, for example, by conducting interviews with Muslim men in public spaces and re-confirming interviews and focus groups the week of the appointment. I also made extra effort to assure prospective participants that there was no obligation to participate.

I sought to recruit a parallel group of diverse community leaders from the business, education, government, healthcare and non-profit sectors. I identified leaders using public employee listings on websites, requested referrals from acquaintances, and obtained the agreement of Mr. Bukata Hayes, Executive Director of the Greater Mankato Diversity Council, to assist me to identify additional diverse community leaders to invite to participate in the study. I invited ten individuals to participate in the study. Six, five men and one woman, agreed to be interviewed. Two worked in the healthcare sector, one in NGOs and the remaining three had experience in multiple sectors (see Table 2 ).

In sum, I conducted 18 interviews with 19 individuals: 12 interviews with European American community leaders (EACLs) and six interviews with diverse community leaders (DCLs).

## **Research Methods and Data Collection Procedures**

### **Semi-structured interviews.**

Upon approval from the University of Minnesota Institutional Review Board in February 2014, I mailed letters of invitation to participate in the study via the U.S. postal service or via email, if available. I sent a letter and the consent form (Appendices A and B) and then interviewed those who responded positively. Interviews were conducted at the

interviewee's preferred location, including private offices, conference rooms in the interviewee's workplace, coffee shops, and the public library.

At each interview, the key actors were asked for their agreement to participate in a semi-structured interview of about one hour and for permission to audio-record the interviews with a small digital audio recorder. Each signed one copy of the interview consent form and were given a copy for future reference. Interviewees' identities were protected by limiting references to work sector and gender in all documentation. Upon completion of the interview, the interviewees were sent a thank you card with a \$15.00 Barnes and Noble gift certificate as a personal expression of gratitude.

Individual semi-structured interviews with leaders from the business, government, healthcare, non-profit and educational sectors formed the core of my data. I conducted the interviews in a naturalistic manner, but I also had a short list of essential topics to ensure that I covered the primary issues in the interviews. Maxwell (2013) advocated for such "less structured approaches" (p. 88) when the focus of the study is a unique phenomenon, and the goal is not generalizability, but rather nuanced understanding and internal validity. The questions I asked in the interviews focused on the individual interviewee and his or her specific experiences and perspectives. Each interview was recorded and transcribed, with most lasting approximately 45 minutes.

### **Focus groups.**

The data collected for this dissertation relied on self-disclosure of deeply held beliefs. Focus groups promote self-disclosure "when participants feel comfortable, respected and free to give their opinion without being judged" (Krueger & Casey, 2009, p. 4). With the

aim of gathering additional rich data, inviting thoughts and opinions that may have occurred to interviewees after the initial interview and to triangulate the findings, I organized focus groups with the interviewees. The focus groups also helped to mitigate any unintentional influence I may have exerted during the individual interviews with my body language, facial expressions or verbal expressions such as “hmmm” or “ah ha” (Krueger & Casey, 2009).

Table 2

*Participant Characteristics, Interviews, and Focus Groups*

| Participant | Employment Sector                       | Gender | Ethnicity         | Focus Group Participant                                  |
|-------------|---|--------|-------------------|--|
| 1           | Education                               | M      | European American | No   |
| 2           | Education                               | F      | European American | Yes  |
| 3a          | Business                                | M      | European American | No   |
| 3b          | Business                                | F      | European American | No   |
| 4           | Business                                | M      | European American | No   |
| 5           | Multi-sector<br>(Government & NGO)      | F      | European American | No   |
| 6           | Healthcare                              | F      | European American | Yes  |
| 7           | Multi-sector<br>(Education & NGO)       | F      | European American | Yes  |
| 8           | Education                               | M      | European American | No   |
| 9           | Multi-sector<br>(Business & NGO)        | M      | European American | Yes  |
| 10          | Government                              | F      | European American | Yes  |
| 11          | Government                              | F      | European American | No   |
| 12          | Healthcare                              | M      | European American | No   |
| A           | Multi-sector<br>(Business & NGO)        | M      | Asian             | Only 1 of 4 of those who confirmed arrived, FG cancelled |
| B           | NGO                                     | M      | East African      |  |
| C           | Healthcare                              | M      | South Asian       |  |
| D           | Multi-sector<br>(Business & NGO)        | M      | East African      |  |
| E           | Multi-sector<br>(Business & Government) | M      | Middle Eastern    |  |
| F           | Healthcare                              | F      | Hispanic          |  |

Upon completion of all interviews with the EAs and DCLs, and my preliminary analysis of the interview transcripts, the 19 interviewees were asked to participate in focus

groups made up of only EA and only DCL participants. I sought to check my preliminary data analysis and to refine and gather additional data by bringing the interviewees together in a safe, non-judgmental environment (Krueger and Casey, 2009). I also hoped that hearing each other's experiences would bring to mind similar or contrasting experiences or stories that would further enrich the data. Two focus groups with a total of five EAs were completed. A third focus group with DCLs was scheduled, and four interviewees confirmed their participation. Despite my confirmation email the week of the planned focus group, only one arrived, requiring me to cancel that focus group.

Before starting the focus group discussions, I obtained a second consent form from each participant, including permission to record the session. A light meal was provided at the community center where the meetings were held. In sum, I held two focus groups that lasted approximately one hour each with five of the EA interviewees. Figure 9 on the following page summarizes the data collection timeline and process. Because of the low number of respondents, participant recruitment for both EA and DCL groups continued for approximately six months beyond the interviews, but these efforts did not generate additional participants.

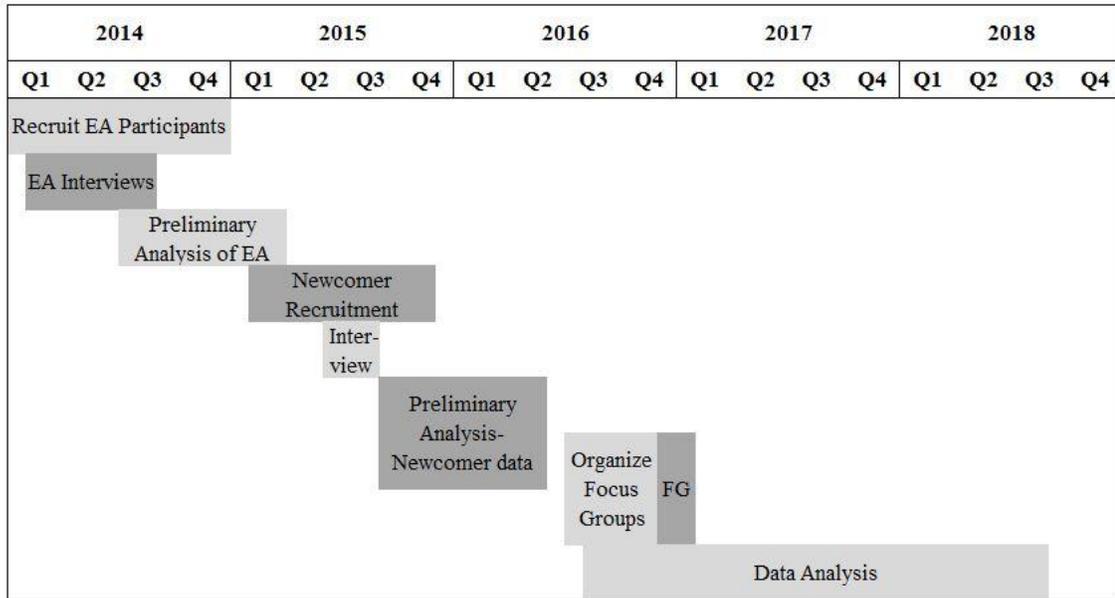


Figure 9. Data collection timeline and process

**Data Analysis Procedures.**

I completed the interviews with the European American participants first to identify themes and issues that could be considered in the later interviews with diverse community leaders. Subsequently, I utilized the themes that I had identified in the DCL interviews to inform and guide the focus group discussions with the EAs. The recordings were transcribed by a trusted colleague and corrected by me, or transcribed by me alone and then uploaded to my personal account in Dedoose (SocioCultural Research Consultants, 2017) which is password protected first, to access the program and second, to retrieve the project data. I utilized the Dedoose software to organize and code the data. It facilitated my ability to develop and apply codes and sub-codes to specific sections of the data. I was then able to easily identify all data with a particular code attached to it and combine them into a single document which, in turn, allowed me to focus on what the data related to that particular code were saying. Had the number of interviews been larger, the software would

also have allowed me to examine whether a particular code was associated with one or more of the participants' descriptors, such as gender, sector, or ethnic background.

In coding the data, the method I used corresponded most closely to a holistic approach, but with structural coding also contributing to the process. Saldaña (2013) identifies coding as holistic when it is utilized to simultaneously code the data when it touched on more than one of the emerging codes or suggested an additional code. I applied structural coding to the process in order to collect "the similarly coded segments...together for more detailed coding and analysis" (Saldaña, 2013, p. 84)

I generated 60 codes from the individual interviews and focus groups with EA participants. Upon initial review, it became apparent that the coding required additional refinement for analysis. The process of collapsing the codes described below is displayed in Appendix G. I combined the original codes "actions" and "programs" when it became clear that the codes referred to the same type of activity or were used interchangeably over the course of coding. I identified and then eliminated the codes that I had used as markers for the *type* of data they contained, rather than for the data *content*: 'explanation,' 'key quotes,' 'stories,' and 'key individuals,' as well as the codes of 'theory,' 'behavioral,' 'cognitive,' and 'environmental,' referring to the elements of the triadic model. I also eliminated the code 'terminology' and its sub-codes because they represented an exploratory idea that was not supported by the data (Appendix G, Step 2). I then reviewed the remaining 40 codes ordered by the number of occurrences, calculated the median number of occurrences (19.34), and eliminated the median and all codes below it (Appendix G, Step 3). I then re-organized the codes so that the remaining sub-codes were

again associated with their primary code, leaving 18 codes and sub-codes (Appendix G, Step 4). I further reduced the number of codes by removing all but the three primary codes with the highest number of occurrences, leaving the final three codes and their sub-codes: “Motivation,” which initially had no sub-codes associated with it, but upon later analysis, I identified two primary motivational categories: Pragmatic and Personal Values. “Actions,” which encompass Aimed at both, Aimed at diverse pop., Aimed at EA; and “Community,” including Belonging, Cooperation, and Welcoming means. Each of these themes will be discussed in the following chapter.

I followed a similar process for the DCL participants. The codes were developed and applied as I reviewed the data. The small number of interviewees (6) meant that all topics described in the data were important, however, the reoccurrence of codes by a number of the interviewees directed me to the common themes among these individuals. The process of collapsing the initial 29 codes that I describe below is displayed in Appendix H. After eliminating markers for “story,” “key person,” and “key quote,” and the four codes, as opposed to sub-codes, that applied to only one individual’s data, 22 codes and sub-codes remained (Appendix H, Step 2). I re-ordered the remaining codes based on the number of occurrences and eliminated all that fell below the median of 9.25 (Appendix H, Step 3). I matched codes and sub-codes again and eliminated all but the top five codes and sub-codes (Step 4). The final data set was small with many intersecting excerpts. For clarity, I present the data in Chapter 5 in four sections for the top five codes of data. The code that appeared most often, “Employment,” is presented in the first section of Chapter 5. The next three codes were “Treatment by locals,” “Education,” and “Explaining.” Early in the DCL

interview process, I noted that the DCLs offered more explanations and justifications for their thoughts and actions than the EACLs had. I therefore originally coded such data under an “explaining” code to better identify when this occurred. It was impossible, in most cases, to separate the comments and experiences that DCLs related from the explanations that they used to make meaning. The data coded as “explaining” is therefore not presented separately, but as an integral part of the Treatment by locals and Education data. “Welcoming” is the final code presented.

It should be noted that most data were associated with multiple codes to reflect the numerous and overlapping meanings contained therein. Data that I selected to illuminate a particular theme in the following chapters could, in many cases, appropriately be used in relation to another theme. Selecting to use data to illustrate one theme over another, therefore, constituted an element of my analysis. Upon completing the first draft of Chapter 5, I returned to the data to check if I had selected the data that best illustrated the theme and in one case, moved the data to a different theme.

I attempted to validate the findings (Maxwell, 2013; Merriam, 2009) by sending a draft of Chapter 4 via email to those who had participated in both interviews and a focus group and for whom I still had a valid email (4 EAs and 1 DCL). I also sent the same draft to Bukata Hayes, Executive Director of the Greater Mankato Diversity Council. I received two responses from EA participants who expressed that the data was true to their experiences. I did not receive a response from the DCL or Mr. Hayes.

## **Limitations**

The case study is limited in place, time, and context as it was a study of the Mankato community. While it would be problematic to generalize the findings from this unique case to other communities, identifying effective strategies and interventions to reduce prejudice and discrimination provides the opportunity to suggest interventions that may apply in similar locations and contexts. In addition, the number of perspectives I was able to include in this study was severely limited for several reasons:

- Only a small number of individuals responded positively to my invitation to participate in the study. Although finding a mutually available time was a challenge in a few cases, I suspect that some EAs were uncomfortable talking about the subject matter, although I have no concrete proof;
- No more than three perspectives were represented from each of the five sectors;
- There is a dearth of diverse community leaders working in the community and therefore available for participation in the study; and
- I moved out of the state before gathering sufficient data to improve the case study's validity, thus limiting my ability to re-schedule the DCL focus group or to meet personally with participants who may have felt more comfortable commenting about the initial findings verbally, rather than in writing.

The study was further constrained by the fact that participation was limited to those who can converse easily in English. As a result, the small sample size must be considered when evaluating the study.

As a former member of the Mankato community and volunteer for the Greater Mankato Diversity Council (GMDC), my personal biases opened up the possibility for both positive and negative impact upon the study. My own experiences in the community and unanswered questions about it not only formed the basis for the study but allowed me to follow lines of inquiry in my questioning that another researcher might not have had sufficient background to pursue. Nevertheless, I was conscious throughout the study of my potential bias in favor of the community leaders' efforts and that I may have been insufficiently critical of their claims. Therefore, I carefully and regularly reflected on all aspects of this study, asked a trusted Minnesota State University, Mankato faculty member to review questions and observations for bias, and checked for validity by sharing my initial findings with study participants.

The topic of diversity can be a highly sensitive subject. A further limitation is that some participants may have perceived that questions about diversity were an attempt to identify racism, bias or other forms of prejudice and discrimination. Participants' candor was an important element contributing to the study's validity, and it was, therefore, vital to do everything possible to maximize individual participants' anonymity. For this reason, I made every effort to speak and behave in a manner that promoted confidentiality and trust between the interviewees and myself and I carefully constructed and vetted questions for value neutrality.

### **Ethical Issues**

Data privacy was a significant concern. Over the course of the preparation and data collection for this study, regular news reports about governments' capabilities for

uncovering information, as well as news of government and private systems being hacked to steal personal data, demonstrated that it was impossible to guarantee absolute data privacy. Social science researchers developed the Dedoose software (SocioCultural Research Consultants, 2017) and included firewalls and security profiles to provide an acceptable level of protection. In addition, I only accessed the data through my password-protected personal computer, and my Dedoose account required two different passwords to access the study's data.

Mankato remains a small, but growing town and the institutions and leaders are easily identifiable through internet search engines. To reduce the likelihood of identifying individual participants, I have not identified any individual by name or position, but rather used characteristics such as “female educator” or “businessman.” Newcomer participants are potentially more vulnerable as refugees or people seeking employment. Using only vague characteristics such as “an East African man,” or “a Hispanic mother” was intended to help guard their identities.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I described how my research was designed and how the participants were selected. I discussed the process of gathering data through interviews, preliminary analysis, and focus groups; reported on response rates, and identified in general terms interviewee demographics. I identified the software that facilitated coding and the process used to analyze the collected data. Other researchers will be able to evaluate, refine, and adapt these methods to other communities. I briefly discussed the challenges of identifying potential participants in this chapter: the discussion will be expanded in the next chapter

that elaborates on the study's findings. In the next chapter, I reveal and discuss the findings from the European Americans' perspective and analyze those findings using Bandura's MTR (1986).

## **Chapter 4: European American Community Leaders' Responses**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter, I present and discuss the major themes identified in the interviews and focus groups with EA community leaders (EACLs) in Mankato. Three primary themes emerged from the data (see Appendix G) and make up the three sections of this chapter: Motivations, Actions, and Community. These themes help to illuminate my first research question about how EA leaders describe the community's adjustment to newcomers. Within each section and subsection, I discuss the data from that theme and how it may be interpreted through the lens of Bandura's social cognitive theory (SCT) (1986). This analytical perspective demonstrated the applicability of the SCT to the changes occurring in the Mankato community and showed that the EACLs had strong levels of agency and self-efficacy. In most cases discussed, their efficacy and agency contributed to the outcomes that they sought.

The theme of "Motivations" included references that EA participants made to explain why they or others took action to ease the transition from relative homogeneity toward a more diverse community. Motivation, as a cognitive function, often precedes action and is therefore discussed first in this chapter. Two types of motivation which I categorized as "pragmatic" and "personal values" were identified in the data.

"Actions," the second theme, was frequently discussed by the EACLs. The term referred to actions that they or their organizations took as the Mankato demographics began to change. The Actions fell into three categories and were assigned the sub-codes of "aimed

at diverse residents,” “aimed at EA residents,” or “aimed at both EA and diverse residents.” Each is discussed and analyzed in this chapter.

The third theme discussed in the chapter is “Community.” Within that theme, another three sub-codes appeared most frequently: “cooperation,” “welcoming means...,” and “belonging,” all of which I examine in this chapter. Each of the themes and sub-themes contributes to ascertaining why and how the Mankato experience of rapidly growing diversity has not resulted in major racial tensions.

In discussing the data throughout Chapters 4 and 5, I use abbreviations referring to Bandura’s three factors: Environment (E), Cognition (C), and Behavior (B), as well as arrows  $\leftrightarrow$ ,  $\rightarrow$ , and  $\leftarrow$  to indicate the direction of influence among factors in Bandura’s (MTR), shown in Figure 1-1. For example, (E  $\rightarrow$  C) refers to the environment’s influence on cognition, while (C  $\leftrightarrow$  B) refers to the reciprocal influence that cognition and behavior have on each other.

### **Motivations**

The EA participants’ comments on the motivations that prompted individuals or the community to take action can be classified as one of two types. One type I identify as *pragmatic* in that they were based in the objective observation that diverse newcomers were increasingly choosing the Mankato area as their new home. The second type of motivations was categorized as *personal values* in that they came from interviewees’ subjective feelings and beliefs about human relationships. Both types reflect features of agency that play a vital role in the SCT and MTR.

### **Pragmatic motivations.**

The data related to pragmatic motivations conforms to what Bandura (1986, 1989, 2000, 2001a) described as agency and cognition. In the following paragraphs, I identified more specifically the features of agency that appeared in the data. Two interviewees pointed to their observations of difficulties in other Minnesota cities as diverse groups of newcomers moved into the area as a pragmatic motivating factor for themselves and other EACLs (E → C). One long-time educator provided rich background information about what occurred in the early 2000s. He described how a number of “visionary leaders” learned of the problems that other Minnesota communities with large numbers of diverse newcomers were facing (personal communication, July 23, 2014). This male resident also reported that an underlying motivation for the Mankato community to be proactive was this awareness within the education, public, and private sectors. In the public sector:

They [Minnesota City A] went through some very difficult times with the diversity changes that they saw. [City A] was also a member of our conference and the Big 9 Conference so that on a monthly basis I got together .... and I heard the struggles that [City A] was going through and so forth and so on and they were having a lot of difficulties with every area you could think of across the whole spectrum of their community - with violence and poverty and education and all those things providing services to families and the children that needed it. They really struggled. They weren't prepared for it and –er, er. So, I've witnessed that for a number of years and then our diversity started changing as our community started to grow (personal communication, July 23, 2014).

The same male educator reported that discussion of the changing demographics occurred among the EA leaders in education, local government, and Greater Mankato Growth (the local Chamber of Commerce):

There's another group that I met with on a monthly basis, and that was the college presidents which would be [name] from Bethany, [name] from Minnesota State University Mankato, [name] from South Central as well as the city managers and mayors from both Mankato and North Mankato and then er.. our chamber, [name] Mankato Growth they call it, director. So we met on a monthly basis. The colleges were feeling a big change. They were recruiting more international students; they needed to get more diverse student populations, and er... they were talking about the challenges that diverse students faced coming to our community. No place to get their hair done the way they normally would- all those little things that none of us would ever think about were true (personal communication, July 23, 2014).

In the same interview, I asked if the experienced male educator could speak to the motivations different local organizations had to take action (C → B):

Well, it was really very easy, it was, well, I think I think we had some very visionary leaders here, we always have had. You take the city managers, [two names] at that time - they both said, "you know, if we don't get on this we are going to need more police officers." You know, they were smart enough to know. They had seen what was gonna happen. That we could be reactive and spend a lot more, or be proactive and spend a lot less and have a lot healthier community and they all said that. "Let's go down the proactive phase" (personal communication, July 23, 2014).

This participant's experiences showed that EACLs from the public, education, and private sectors met regularly to share perspectives and that they identified common concerns and questions. From an SCT perspective, the data demonstrated that many EACLs engaged their cognitions by gathering together and discussing the changing demographics. Despite sharing experiences which may have led to individuals or separate organizations then activating their agency, there was no evidence of collective agency in which, according to Bandura (2000), evidence of more wide-spread collaboration on commonly articulated goals would have occurred. Applying the MTR, it could be explained that EACLs' changing environment affected their cognition and behavior: (E → C → B). A female with experience in both the public sector and in NGOs in Mankato and other regional cities as well expressed a similar understanding of the pragmatic motivation that arose among EACLs. Observing what was occurring in other Minnesota communities, she spoke about what the possible outcomes could be in Mankato:

If this was to happen – if, if the influx of refugees that we have seen in this community would say happen in – well, when it did happen I was still in [Minnesota City A], and it was ignored. I think in some respects it felt like it was ignored. Very much, so the same thing happened in [Minnesota City B] back in the early 80's and mid 80's there was an influx of Hmong and Cambodians and the same way in [City A] and it was like - it was ignored. People - I think the individuals [diverse newcomers] that moved to those communities didn't feel like they could belong there. So, they started segregating themselves into one part of town and then that became an issue because everything was going to pieces then. So, I think here in Mankato, just the, the attitude and it's gotten

better. It wasn't the greatest back when the refugees started coming here in 96, 97, 98, um things were a little different (personal communication, June 23, 2014).

One businessman identified a pragmatic motivation based on economics (C). Speaking of the Mankato community, he said that “you change and adapt, or you die” (personal communication, June 29, 2014). He continued in more detail:

.... if we try and stay the same, separate and not be inclusive, we'll quit growing. And sooner or later we die. We'll die a slow painful death. Especially in a smaller community. We are not a large community like Minneapolis that integration happens whether anybody wants it or not, okay, its gonna happen cause it's so big. It can - smaller communities a lot of times, don't accept that. At least in my experience. And when a community does, it allows different things to come together and it's what makes us grow. I think one of the biggest reasons why Mankato has been able to grow, is because of that willingness to take that risk, and be more diverse, than a lot of maybe its counterparts.

The same businessman expressed another pragmatic motivation for employing diverse individuals: “If you want to sell to everybody; you gotta have everybody working here. Um, you can't [pause] if you are going to exclude a group; then why would they shop here?” (personal communication, June 29, 2014).

Leaders in the Mankato community, according to the data, were cognizant of the problems occurring in other regional towns and cities as diverse newcomers moved to those areas (E → C). The data suggests that a strong motivation for Mankato area leaders was to prevent problems they observed in other cities to modify their (C) and (B), an example of

self-reflectiveness. They were motivated (exercised agency and self-efficacy) to be proactive and prepare for newcomers (C → B).

**Values-based motivations.**

The businessman quoted above also spoke of the personal values which motivated him to hire a diverse workforce and which could be summarized by his statement: “I don't know, I guess I just think it's the right thing” (personal communication, June 29, 2014). This last comment showed that his personal views, rather than just a business consideration, influenced his behaviors (C → B). In applying his personal standards to his work, this person showed self-reactiveness.

Like the businessman above, a female business owner who employed diverse newcomers also spoke in more personal terms about her motivations: “It's pretty important to us, you know, our kids experiencing diversity” (personal communication, June 12, 2014). She continued as follows:

I think to make the world a better place you need to be it, it, there needs to be the opportunity to grow up together with different personalities, different colors, different religions and to understand that you know, we're, we're all kind of in this together. So, if our kids have a little piece of that rather than no piece of that it's a bonus for us you know, and I think obviously it helps, it starts at home with us and you know helping them understand the differences and differences are okay (personal communication, June 12, 2014).

The two quotes above revealed that the speakers' values were a factor motivating them to employ diverse individuals. In the last quote, the woman surrounded herself and her

family with diverse individuals to pass on her values to her children. In this excerpt, the complete cycle of triadic reciprocity is discernable. The mother understood her current environment (E); had a vision of the world she would like her children to live in (C) and a belief that she can change it (agency and self-efficacy); and therefore adapts her behavior at home and in her business (B) which, in turn, contributes to realizing her initial vision (E).

**Motivations: Discussion.**

Mankato EACLs' motivations for taking action as the community's diversity changed included both pragmatic and values-based impetuses. The pragmatic motivations included hoping to avoid problems they observed in other Minnesota cities, responding to a new customer base, and adapting to the community's greater diversity in order to maintain the business' and community's viability. The data demonstrated the strength of the reciprocal relationship between (B) and (C), with the influence of (E) on each of the other elements. The data showed that EACLs' motivations were based primarily on their cognition, including their understanding of economic and demographic trends, and the articulated values they hoped to convey to their children. Data also supported environmental influence on their cognition because of the EACL's observations of challenges experienced by other regional cities and towns.

In summary, the data demonstrate that in regards to EACLs' motivations, the SCT has explanatory power to explain the phenomenon. The environment of changing demographics and the experiences of other cities led leaders to consider the impact on the Mankato community and to be pro-active and prepare pragmatically for the anticipated

growth of diverse newcomers in the area. EACLs also spoke about how their values motivated them to hire diverse newcomers and to contribute toward building the environment in which they wanted their children to grow up. These motivations serve as an introduction to actions EACLs took using their strong levels of agency and self-efficacy.

### **Actions**

The EACLs reported that numerous activities and programs, both for the EA residents and for newcomers, were created since diverse newcomers began to arrive in large numbers, thus constituting action on the part of the community. The data revealed that the actions were aimed at different audiences: diverse newcomers, the EA community, and both groups. The actions focused on helping newcomers adjust to life in the U.S., promoting diversity among the EA community, and engaging both the EA and diverse residents through actions (most often programs). Within the data was evidence of a strong sense of agency and self-efficacy among the EACLs. They expressed no doubts that their actions would lead to the desired outcomes.

#### **Actions to help diverse newcomers adjust to the U.S.**

The greatest number of actions sub-codes were assigned to data related to programs and activities to assist diverse newcomers to adjust to life in the U.S. One of the Mankato community's earliest efforts, as described by a female with experience in the public and NGO sectors, was in response to the difficulties that newcomers experienced adjusting to Minnesota temperature variations which, over the course of an average year, can swing from as low as -35° F to as high as 100° F:

I started seeing the people that were coming from other countries, mainly Somalia probably early in '98. Spring of '98. By that fall, early winter, the housing agencies, Mankato HRA (Housing and Redevelopment Authority) . . . . were seeing a lot of issues. Individuals in these homes, were – in these apartments – these families in these apartments were turning the heat up to the point where their heating bills were extravagant and then they couldn't afford those heating bills and they would then open the windows because it would get so hot and humid in the homes because the heat was so high, and then they'd open windows, and the cold air would come in and the heat would go even further (personal communication, June 23, 2014).

The behaviors of the diverse newcomers observed by housing managers, heating assistance coordinators, and building owners led the EAs to think about the problem and consider the situation from a different perspective (B → C). In doing so, they called upon their sense of agency. The story continued below:

Nobody, I don't think at that point prior to that had ever thought about "Well, they have never had to use central heat." You know, or in the summer, that summer they would not run the air conditioner and they would keep all the drapes and the blinds pulled so that it was very, very humid and hot in the apartment, so there started to be mold issues. Especially because the individuals would cook a lot of pasta and rice as is their staples in their food. So, there were those issues. That's what started it. Was the issue of heat in the apartment. So, the HRA and I, and I believe the YWCA at that time was also involved. We decided to hold a meeting and invite all tenants and try to give them some tenant education. About the heating and etc. So, we started doing that and sometimes I

look back and I think well at least we were proactive. Though it was reactive, we were also proactive with trying to accomplish something and make things better. That meeting that we had, we had a lot of people there. Lot of the Somali tenants. And I vague... so clearly remember how thankful those individuals were. Because we didn't just ignore them and scold them say, or not help them with their heating bills. 'Cause we had fuel assistance people there also to try and help them understand with what they could do (personal communication, June 23, 2014).

This account, in addition to being a concrete example of pragmatic problem-solving with both EAs and diverse newcomers, also highlighted the cooperation of organizations from different sectors. All parties involved benefited from the action taken to organize a meeting: the residents, apartment building owners and managers, the energy company, and the NGO and government employees assisting the newcomers to familiarize themselves with the expectations and responsibilities of tenancy in Mankato. The story also exemplified the reciprocity aspect of the MTR ( $C \leftrightarrow B$ ). The problem was brought to the attention of the EAs because of the behavior of the newcomers ( $B \rightarrow C$ ), they considered how to respond, and then did so with an informational meeting, ( $C \rightarrow B$ ). While not expressed explicitly, the activity (related by 2 EACLs, both female, in government and the NGO sector) suggests that the successful collaboration (B) among institutions from different sectors that occurred in the early days of diverse newcomers moving to the area, contributed to the creation of an environment (E) in Mankato that was supportive of such efforts. Discussion of additional acts of cooperation described by many EACLs will appear in the third section of this chapter.

A woman leader within the governmental sector confirmed that assisting diverse newcomers to adjust was an on-going activity involving the collaboration of different sectors. The Tapestry Project to which she refers below brings together EA and diverse community members for facilitated discussion, mutual learning activities and sharing of life experiences.

The Tapestry Program came through the Minnesota Council of Churches and that was around the time that MRCI [a human services organization focusing on “creating opportunities for people with disabilities and disadvantages” (MRCI Worksource, 2017)] had let go of their refugee services and Minnesota Council of Churches had picked that up. Um, I oversee the City Council’s Community Grant process, and I had gotten a call from [name] saying she wanted to do a program pulling people in and kind of talking about what it’s like to live within the United States (personal communication, August 4, 2014).

The project continues to be a collaborative effort with participation and support from the MN Council of Churches Mankato Refugee Services, the City of Mankato, the City of North Mankato, the Mankato area public schools, Lloyd Management, Inc. (property managers) the Blue Cross Blue Shield Foundation, and Blue Earth County (Minnesota Council of Churches Refugee Services, 2017).

Similarly, Mankato’s educational institutions, as described by a male educator, sought to help diverse newcomers with school-aged children to understand the U.S. educational system:

You know we've done things like the Circle of Parents where we will bring in immigrant families and meet with them, but to be honest, we've found more, it's more effective to visit with them where they are. So, we've been meeting families at the Lincoln Community Center [where newcomers can learn English] (personal communication, February 26, 2014).

The excerpts above demonstrate agency, in that the organizers believed they could successfully provide the information and education they perceived was needed. Upon consideration of activities that brought parents to the school (B), it was determined (C) that a more effective manner of achieving the desired outcomes was to go where the parents were, showing (B ↔ C).

The EACLs were transparent about activities to assist diverse newcomers that did not meet the organizers' expectations. A female with experience in multiple sectors described one such attempt below:

Minnesota Council of Churches started a leadership training program to take some of the leaders in those diverse communities or cultures or groups of individual communities, like some from the Sudanese, some of the Somalis, a couple of people from Iraq or Iran that they matched them up with others in the community to have leadership mentors. That can help, but unfortunately, the individuals that we wished we could have reached out to, to have come to those, refused (personal communication, June 23, 2014).

In this instance, the organizers' behavioral expectations were not fulfilled. Using Ponton's and Carr's observation that "the environment either facilitates or impedes" action

(2012, p. 5), in this instance, the home environment (E) or the individuals' preferences (C) likely exerted more influence over the decision to participate in the proposed activity (B) than the activity itself or the individuals issuing the invitation.

**Actions to help diverse newcomers: Discussion.**

The actions taken to assist diverse newcomers involved the EACLs observing behaviors within both the EA and diverse newcomer populations, engaging their cognition to consider those behaviors, and then taking action they believed would be helpful to the newcomers in adjusting to the U.S. (B ↔ C). The diverse newcomers also engaged their cognition to determine if they would attend, in learning how and why they might benefit from changing particular behaviors and then determining whether or how much to adjust their behavior based on that understanding and their environment and cognition about behavioral expectations.

**Actions aimed at European Americans: Promoting diversity.**

The EACL data included actions taken to promote diversity within the EA population. The examples in the following pages include actions taken within an organizational context, as well as an example from an individual EACL. Using Hammer's Intercultural Development Continuum (2015), adapted from the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (Bennett, 1993), the actions generally consisted of initial steps toward developing intercultural competency, namely exposure to objective, colloquially described as visible, differences.

*Individual EACL actions.*

One participant shared a poignant story of how her own cultural competency grew based on her interactions with a Somali American over a period of a few years. It is notable that only one EACL spoke in detail about interacting closely with a diverse community member. It suggests that few of the respondents actually interacted on a daily basis with diverse newcomers. Given the dearth of diversity among Mankato community leaders and professionals, it is not surprising. The mid-level, female employee with work experience in both NGOs and the public sector shared the following account of working with her first Somali employee:

I hired my first Somali staff in 1999. Fall of 1999. Well, that first Christmas we were always all the rest of us been having a Secret Santa so that first Christmas we all just assumed we'll all have a Secret Santa<sup>4</sup>. So, we all drew names. Well, the staff I had at that time, this Somali woman she drew a name but she didn't know about Secret Santa. Even though she had lived in America for a long time. She had two masters' degrees from California and you know she was very well educated but she didn't know the Secret Santa. So, we all had our Secret Santa stuff and we were all giving each other our surprise presents through the month of December. Well, there was one person that didn't get anything. So, it finally dawned on us, she [the Somali employee] didn't know what was going on. (personal communication, June 23, 2014)

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<sup>4</sup> Secret Santa is an activity among groups of acquainted individuals in the weeks before Christmas. Each person secretly draws the name of another in the group and gives them small gifts. The game normally ends with a party before Christmas where each person reveals who they were giving gifts to.

The story excerpt above demonstrated a situation where the SCT and MTR were helpful in defining and understanding the interaction between EAs and, in this case, a Somali-born woman. The EA staff members' observations of the behavior occurring (one person receiving no small gifts) led them to consider the behavior (C) with the result that they understood that the Somali woman was not familiar with Secret Santa and what it involved (B → C). The story continued as follows:

So, the woman that had her - had the Somali woman's name - had given her a tree, a Christmas tree. And every day she'd put an ornament- a little teeny, tiny ornament that she would put on the tree before the woman got there. At the end of that time when it was Christmas time and we were going to have our Christmas Party, [the Secret Santa] asked this woman "Where did your Christmas tree go?" And she said, "Well, I gave that away because we are giving gifts." Because at that time Ramadan was the same time as Christmas that year and she said, "during Ramadan if we get gifts we don't keep them. We pass them on." (personal communication, June 23, 2014)

The thoughts of the EA staff members about their Somali colleague led them to a series of incorrect assumptions and behaviors (C → B). First was the assumption that an educated person living in the U.S. for an extended period of time would be familiar with Secret Santa. A second, implicit assumption was that each staff member celebrated Christmas, revealed both by holding a Christmas party and by the gift of a Christmas tree given to the Somali colleague. In explaining why she gave the Christmas tree away (B), the Somali woman demonstrated agency and self-efficacy, in that she believed that her colleagues

would understand and take her explanation seriously, thus influencing her EA colleagues' thoughts (C) and future behaviors (B ↔ C), as shown in how the story ended:

So, it dawned on me when I found all of that out that we'd better start educating each other on our Christmas or on our holiday celebrations so we started... I remember that Christmas celebration we kind of shared stories and then a couple years later when I had a staff retreat, we shared Christmas and Ramadan traditional information and so it took a while but I think it's because I had her as staff and then I had the two gentlemen from Sudan, now I still have the one that started with me in 2003. [Name] has been with me all these years. They have educated me (personal communication, June 23, 2014).

This example established that the respondent's reflection about the behaviors she observed in her Somali employee served to change her behaviors (B ↔ C), and possibly, the thoughts and behaviors of others who participated in the Secret Santa activity. The same respondent spoke of other behavioral changes she initiated to accommodate the dietary preferences of her Muslim colleague, demonstrating the ongoing cycle of interplay between, especially, individuals' thoughts (C) and behaviors (B) and how she then applied those revised thoughts and behaviors in other circumstances. It is important to recognize, however, that this story is from the supervisor's perspective and demonstrates how she chose to behave given the new information to which she was exposed. Because of her position of power, she was able to have an impact on the office environment, but it is unknown whether the other EAs in that office shared her new understanding or whether they chose to change their behaviors toward their Muslim colleagues.

*Actions within organizations.*

A woman with experience in both education and the NGO sectors explained that her community organization offered a variety of activities to promote greater understanding of cultural differences among the EAs. She identified the challenge of drawing uninterested people to activities that can improve their understanding of differences:

[We offer] enrichment kind of activities for older adults. And in that realm, you know, we've had many programs, films, lectures, discussions about lots of issues of different cultures and you know, I think people are curious. I don't think that these programs are well attended, but as you can imagine um [pause] the people who would attend those things aren't necessarily the ones that have the most learning to do. But we just keep punching away at it, you know (personal communication, July 15, 2014).

The last sentence above demonstrated an understanding that promoting diversity was a process that would take time to reach all community members through education (C), and that varied and repeated actions (B) were necessary in order to have a lasting impact on (B) and (C), and ultimately (E).

A female educator described similar educational efforts aimed at the EA students at a local high school:

I'm thinking back to when I was the adviser for that, but we had like Cinco De Mayo, and so we made Pico de Gallo, and we made guacamole and we served chips at lunchtime you know—that was before you had to have all store-bought snacks and that kind of thing—you know, but ummm... the kids loved it and - and we had - we brought in dancers that came and danced on the stage. We've taken the SHINE [Seeking

Harmony in Neighborhoods Everywhere] group of kids to um...Festival of Nations up in the [Twin] Cities, so they've been able to experience other cultures there. Um, we've had, we've, we've partnered with MSU [Minnesota State University] to do the International Day, and so we've had a lot of our students work at that, you know, we have our moms do the henna hand painting and different things like that. (personal communication, March 23, 2014)

Many EACLs mentioned diversity training within their organizations as another action taken to promote a better understanding of individual differences. A male NGO leader who had also worked in business described how a series of misunderstandings between staff and members prompted him to seek out additional diversity training for his staff members:

We had that training because we were having a lot of problems with minorities in the building um and we wanted – we wanted to m-make sure we understood and one of the main things that came out of that, you know – it's- it's- it doesn't take a lot of brains to figure it out, but it's to build relations with those kids. You know just don't think of them as a black kid, think of them as Jeff. You know and have a conversation with them and when they come in say “How's it going Jeff, what's going on? What are you going to do in the [organization] today? You know. What did you do last night?” You know and have that relationship with them um... because when you have a relationship with them, number one you start to understand them and they will start opening up to you and they will start to understand you. And it's a little harder to steal or to treat somebody bad if they become you know someone that you know, that you have conversations with instead of just a face, you know? So, um so we've tried to do more

of that with the kids, um and just think of them not as part of a ... a racial minority that is causing us problems but thinking of them as a person and getting to know 'em has really been helpful (personal communication, May 27, 2014).

Numerous elements of interpersonal relations are apparent in this data. The excerpt revealed the persistent power differential between dominant and non-dominant cultures in this organization. The EA, despite his best intentions, was operating from a position of power. As a male EA in a position of authority, he was able to initiate diversity training and was able to require that his staff participate. He operated under the assumption that it was the EAs who should approach the diverse members, which can be interpreted as another expression of power over "minorities."

From an SCT perspective, all three elements of the MRT were represented in this example. The reciprocity between (B) and (C), in this case, resulted in an improved (E). The same interviewee later shared in a focus group that the organization's efforts with diversity training and discussions had improved the organizations' environment by improving relationships between staff and members. The training and practice identified two strategies that Bandura identified as contributing to self-efficacy: (a) practice and mastery of a skill and (b) vicariously experiencing interactions and their outcomes (Bandura, 1998).

Within the healthcare sector, improving EA employees' understanding of diversity was a priority, according to the interviewees, although their approaches contrasted sharply. A male healthcare administrator within a large local system of clinics spoke of:

.... tapping into those local resources that are available to us, making sure that um, you know, our employees here at the [name] clinic also, you know, understand some of the unique nuances of some of the other cultures that are present within the Mankato community” (personal communication, August 20, 2014).

His comments and tone in the excerpt gave me the impression that promoting a diverse workforce was a company policy he complied with, but was that it was not a personal priority. I also perceived that his picture of diversity education consisted exclusively of EA professionals learning about the objective aspects of the diverse cultures represented among their patients.

In contrast to the gentleman above, during a focus group, a female healthcare administrator at the Mankato community’s non-profit, sliding fee, healthcare center talked about the concrete successes within their workplace. “We’ve made a lot of ground in the last year in terms of staff reflecting the cultural diversity of our patients that we serve” (personal communication, December 15, 2016). In other words, the clinic was creating an (E) that put more of their clients at ease (C) by seeing and interacting with people (B) similar to them in one apparent characteristic or another. The clinic also helped their workforce to expand their understanding of diversity to include socio-economic status and sexual orientation:

We tend to focus a lot on ethnic diversity training, create awareness about just cultural differences, understanding well-off versus poor, and in all of those things because we have staff that are white and maybe make a decent living or their husband works and they have insurance and they have cars and all those things. But it still happens that

they [patients] say they qualified for the highest-level discount but they've got nails (murmurs of agreement in the background) and a [computer] tablet and they just drove up in an Escalade, whatever. And it's like you don't know. Maybe they borrowed that car; their sister does nails, and the tablet is the only way they have of communicating to the outside world. .... So even internally that work is never done for us. Just creating understanding, just across the board, heterosexual or homosexual or just any number of ways (personal communication, December 15, 2016).

A male educator's story exemplified the significant socio-economic differences that existed among Mankato families, as well as his interpretation of diversity to include socio-economic status. He organized training for his school staff in what the trainer termed "relational capacity":

You know the example that I use with staff a lot is, you might have two students in your first-hour class that go home when they leave your classroom and you've given them an assignment. Student A goes home and Mom and Dad are waiting, have supper on the table, they eat, they get a little time to do their homework with their mom and dad, conversation, er... they've got a bedroom to themselves. When they get up in the morning, they have breakfast ready, and they go off to school. The student that sits right next to that one might go home and mom is waiting there for her to come home because mom has to go to work and it's her job to take care of three or four other kids in the home. And there's nobody else to make supper and take care of those kids but her the whole evening. Piles into a bedroom with three or four other kids sharing a bed. Gets up in the morning and mom worked until two or three a.m. so now it's her job to

get all the brothers and sisters ready, get them on the bus. She gets up and gets on the bus and then she gets to first-hour class and the first thing that we do is say, “Well, why didn't you get your homework done? Why are you failing my class?” And we've already created an adversary [sic] relationship instead of a partnership. That's what we talk about with relational capacity (personal communication, February 26, 2014).

**Actions aimed at EAs: Discussion.**

In the data above which described actions taken to promote a better understanding of human diversity among EAs, we see the reciprocal interplay of all three of Bandura's determinants: cognition, behavior, and environment. The changing environment (E) of increased diversity within the community impacted EAs' thoughts (C) and behaviors (B). Observed behaviors prompted one NGO leader to seek to change the environment within his institution through diversity training and was reportedly successful in doing so. Using Bandura's model (1986), the process would continue uninterrupted as those participating in the training reflected on that training. It demonstrated a continual process. NGO and school staff who participated in diversity training may, or may not, modify their thoughts or behaviors based on a particular training activity. An unknown number of actions involving personal reflection, the environment, or the behavioral examples of others may need to occur before an individual decides to modify a perspective or behavior.

The EACLs, activating self-efficacy and agency, acted as individuals because they believed that they could affect the thoughts and behaviors of their constituents, be they school children, co-workers, or customers. Hints of collective efficacy within different organizations appear in the data, for example, the organization that changed its interactions

with their members, but beyond the example of cooperation earlier in the chapter and in the following subsection, there was no evidence in the data of community-wide collective efficacy. The Mankato community's Envision 2020 plan, for example, was not mentioned by any of the EACLs, and by only one DCL. The EACLs did not talk about the possibility of their organizations intentionally collaborating to improve how differences were understood within the community which, from the perspective of SCT, would likely result in a greater impact at both the organizational and community levels.

**Actions Aimed at both EAs and diverse newcomers.**

The EAs described the meeting between housing managers and newcomer residents about heating and cooling in the newcomers' apartments as an action taken to assist diverse newcomers. EA meeting participants also benefited directly because the residents reportedly adapted their behaviors based on the new information, thus reducing the problems for owners and managers that mold created and high utility bills for which residents needed assistance. The fact that two different EA respondents brought up the example after approximately 10 years shows that the situation also had an impact on the EAs' cognition in those intervening years. Whether unintentionally, as above, or deliberately, some actions reported by interviewees targeted both groups of residents in an effort to improve mutual understanding. The rich data obtained from the woman with experience in both government and NGO sectors continued as she explained the actions taken by her public agency's job placement services for diverse newcomers. They created a training consultant position to liaise with local employers and their diverse new employees:

If he [training consultant] gets a phone call from an employer, he not only goes and educates the employer - takes in some diversity training, him and [NGO representative] - but when it comes to the orientation for the new workers, he's there. Providing interpreting, free interpreting, for that orientation. He will also go and troubleshoot if there is an issue. Um...we were having issues at one employer where they [Muslim employees] were making a mess in the bathrooms because they were washing their feet all the time. Well, he went and he took the Imam with him [who] said, "You don't need to fill the sink with water and wash your feet. You can take a paper towel and wipe your shoes and that will suffice." So, it's like you, say looking at options and other ways of doing things and making it work (personal communication, June 23, 2014).

Through the SCT lens, agency is evident in this example among all of the identified parties. For example, the employer clearly exhibited features of agency by a) intentionally committing to hire a diverse workforce; b) demonstrating foresight in thinking about what training would be needed; and c) reflecting on the behaviors he observed and consequently reaching out for assistance. Accounts such as this demonstrated the willingness of some EA employers to hire diverse newcomers (B) and the collaboration with other community institutions to provide additional support. The next section of the chapter contains additional examples of community cooperation

The actions organizers took to recruit a broad representation of the county's residents to participate in the Blue Earth County Citizen's Academy also exemplified a deliberate attempt to integrate EA and diverse residents. As described below by one of the two female public sector employees, the activity meets the conditions of Pettigrew's reformulated

contact theory (see Figure 5) because not only were the friendship, equal status, institutional support, and the opportunity to cooperate in place, but it also occurred over a period of time.

You know we have had a couple of people in our citizens ... to try to get a diverse group of people so we have had a couple of people go through the Citizen's Academy program from the Somali community or other, you know, people and diverse... Like this last year, we had a quadriplegic person and that was an interesting perspective. .... the group and like how people adapt to having someone who's different as part of the group. I wasn't quite sure how it would go... (personal communication, August 14, 2014).

Another female government administrator spoke of the City of Mankato's efforts to reduce prejudicial responses to the public information they are required to make available, such as arrests:

I think there is and there's going to continue to be always um...some tension within the community. Um...we have been mindful for information that we release when we release public information, if it's a police incident, making sure that we are framing descriptions of people the same every time um so that if something goes out on me it's treated the same as if someone was Somalian[sic]. I think that having that context is very helpful too (personal communication, August 14, 2014).

Self- and collective efficacy are discernable in this excerpt in that both the individuals creating the press releases and the government agency had confidence that taking this action would model greater equity (E) in the community.

A willingness among both diverse and EA community members to meet to talk about issues and concerns was apparent in the following story shared by a long-time educator:

There was a group of the Somali community, not all of them, but there was a group that was upset you know, and er.... and I couldn't believe what was happening and they were really upset and er... so I said, "Bukata [Hayes, the Executive Director of the Greater Mankato Diversity Council] let's have a meal and an evening with them and let's get together and we'll talk about what their concerns are." I suppose about 20 Somali adults came and Bukata had a wonderful little layout, it was just a light supper- I talked for a little bit, Bukata talked for a little bit um... took some questions back and forth - we had some of our School Board members there. Got all done with the meeting and said, "Where do you want to go from here? Do you want to meet on a monthly basis?" .... I know that at the end of the night the leader of their group got up and said, "Oh no, we are fine now. We just didn't know you. This has been a special evening. We will work with Bukata when we need to and we'll get together when we have to" (personal communication, July 23, 2014).

The story above also draws attention to another major theme within the data, which is the third primary theme among EA respondents: community, and more specifically, community cooperation.

**Actions: Discussion.**

The data provided by EACLs on actions demonstrated the applicability of the SCT to Mankato EACLs. They took action to assist diverse newcomers to learn about and adapt to their new home. The data also suggests two additional elements that must be considered.

Each excerpt could be interpreted as demonstrating a power differential between EACLs and DCLs. The EACLs spoke from a privileged position; they controlled the dynamic and could choose whether and how to act. The action excerpts also suggest that the EACLs placed all diverse newcomers into a single category of ‘needy refugees,’ rather than seeking to learn about the individuals. Chapter 5 shows further evidence of this bias.

### **Community**

The theme of community encompasses the three sub-codes of “cooperation,” “welcoming means ...,” and “belonging,” each of which contributes to understanding the case of the Mankato community’s adaptation to growing numbers of diverse newcomers. The sub-codes facilitate the application of the SCT to this case study because the data can be better understood if explored as one or more of the MTR determinants. As shown in the data below, cooperation, for example, can be interpreted as both (B) and (C).

#### **Cooperation.**

Throughout data collection, while respondents spoke of organizational or personal motivations and actions, there was no indication that the actions initiated by the EAs were part of an intentional, community-wide vision, goal, or defined set of actions. It may be because they were not familiar with the Envision 2020 report that identified the goal of increasing EA understanding of diversity, or the EACLs may not have associated that document or goal with their work. Nevertheless, the data included numerous examples of cooperation among organizations.

A woman working in local government explained the informal nature of the area’s efforts to integrate diverse newcomers in this way:

I think to your question; it's not necessarily a community goal. It's agencies and people saying "There's a gap here. How can we come together?" [Name] brought a lot of people together, law enforcement and county and others, as I understand it, just to say "There's a problem and a lot of us are affected by the misunderstandings or miscommunication or lack of understanding. How do we bridge this gap and set them up for success?" (personal communication, August 14, 2014).

This observation provided an example of the reciprocity between (B) and (C) in the MTR. EA community leaders observed behaviors within the community that resulted in a problem or difficulty. They considered the gaps, as it is referred to above, and sought to address them with new or different behaviors. As the number of people brought in to collaborate on solutions grew, exposure to (B) and (C) would have grown, ultimately affecting (E).

Despite the absence of a well-defined strategy to do more than "raise awareness of diversity in the community" (Envision 2020 Final Report, 2006, p. 66), eight of the thirteen EACLs from four of the five sectors provided examples of cooperation in their interviews or focus groups. They cited cooperation among institutions as a reason that the Mankato community had avoided some of the difficulties that other Minnesota communities had had with the arrival of diverse newcomers. One individual with significant experience in both the business and the NGO sectors explained it in a focus group. The comment is another example of implicit categorization of newcomers as needy people:

I have to say, I think the success and what has made it huge in the welcoming aspect of this community for the diverse populations that we see, is the non-profit agencies in

the community are the best partnering people I have ever worked with in my 30 years (personal communication, December 14, 2016).

A female city employee credited organizational structures for some of the cooperation: Some of that is, I think, how we are structured. Our chamber of commerce is an integrated chamber of commerce with economic development. The cities - both Mankato and North Mankato - both belong to the organization, and we have a permanent seat on the board or other organizations of Greater Mankato Growth including the City Center Partnership, Visit Mankato, the city has seats at the table. So, we really look at private, profit and non-profit in an integrated role and um, I think that's really important and if your business leaders are leading that way of doing business or that culture of the community, I think it helps ground how we all operate too (personal communication, August 4, 2014).

Information sharing and collaboration between and among businesses, NGOs and the public sector about a variety of common concerns were commonplace, according to the respondents. They reported, for example, informal monthly meetings that Blue Earth County (BEC) commissioners had with city mayors in the county, as well as regular meetings of the presidents of the three post-secondary educational institutions with Greater Mankato Growth and the mayors and city managers of Mankato and North Mankato. With the school district serving five local communities, one male educator explained that the district does “a lot of partnering-partnerships ... you're only going to be successful if you get a lot of buy-in” (personal communication, February 26, 2014).

An apt example of the type of cooperation uncovered in the data came from a female city employee as she described a collaboration that developed in 2009:

We went through all the services that we deliver, and we involved all staff at all levels and said, “Okay, how do we work and how can we work differently or better?” Within the City of Mankato, we do not do recreational programming. We look to the school districts and to non-profits to provide the programming. However, for example, we have Tourtellotte pool [the name of the public outdoor swimming pool]. We are great at maintaining the pool, but we are not so good at staffing or programming it. Well, just down the road we have the Y and it started when an HR employee said, “Do you know we have a lot of lifeguards that work at the Y and at the City?” So, now the “Y” oversees the pool operations, they hire all the staff. As a community, it’s a better use of dollars because you are only training staff once. These are generally part-time employees, they can work in both locations so it’s better for the employee, it’s better for efficiency, and how we structured it is we kept the same budget, and we told the Y, “You know, if you can work within this budget, you can get a profit at the end of the day.” So, there’s a little incentive. But from our standpoint, we don’t have the administrative overhead we used to have so it’s a win-win from the community standpoint (personal communication, August 4, 2014).

Collaborative efforts such as the one described above would, in Bandura’s MTR (1986), change the environment (E) by providing a model of successful cooperation for other organizations and people in the community to observe and potentially emulate. It also is an expression of community standards and expectations. It would also lead collaborators

to repeat the successful behavior, further reinforcing the impact on the community's environment.

The cooperation of school superintendents and principals, of classroom teachers in each grade, in every school, every year, as well as the commitment of volunteers to lead the workshops, was required to implement the GMDC's flagship program, the Prejudice Reduction Workshop curriculum (Greater Mankato Diversity Council, 2017b). The community continued to provide financial support for the GMDC's expanded activities (Greater Mankato Diversity Council, 2018). The creation of the GMDC is another example of not only community cooperation, but given data on motivation discussed earlier in this chapter, also Mankato community leaders' motivation to prevent, rather than react to, problems that could arise as the area's demographics changed.

The owner of a successful local business that employs a large number of East African newcomers credits cooperation among local institutions as a key factor in the business' growth.

Government agencies, business, and non-profits seem to work well all together. You know in community banking the - the institutions here no matter what their designation is or what their objective is, they all seem to kind of work together pretty well and for us, we were a benefactor [beneficiary] of that. I mean we were a small business trying to get started um .... We had all these organizations. Non-profit, for-profit banking, government, come together to help finance a small business that was showing growth that then created more jobs... Um because you know businesses can't grow without financing, without growth capital um...so if, if organizations in the community

continue to operate like that and continue to take risks with their citizens, it's gonna pay off (personal communication, June 12, 2014).

**Cooperation: Discussion.**

The data showed that EACLs held themselves to a high standard. In one focus group, the male participant with both business and NGO experience compared the attitude of Mankato area EA residents to those in another Minnesota town that had experienced conflict between the EAs and Somali newcomers. He expressed his belief that similar types of open prejudice and discrimination would not be accepted in his community. “Come on, this is Mankato, right? Mankato is better than that!” (personal communication, December 15, 2016).

Despite efforts to encourage them, I was rarely successful in soliciting responses that considered and expressed all-encompassing, community-wide attitudes and actions that would address the first research question about how the EA community was adjusting to diverse newcomers. The EACLs spoke about their individual experiences in the workplace, primarily, and generally shied away from speaking on behalf of other people in the community, or the community as a whole. I believe the hesitancy to speak beyond their individual experiences is further evidence that they are uncomfortable speaking about racial, cultural, and religious differences.

It was surprising that few alluded to the Greater Mankato Diversity Council (GMDC) and when they did, it was only tangentially with reference to the executive director, not the organization. A number of reasons might account for this fact. First, the lack of familiarity with the GMDC program areas shows that none of the EACLs interviewed were at the

time, or had been, volunteer workshop facilitators or members of the GMDC Board of Directors. Second, if they had participated in a diversity training session that Mr. Hayes facilitated, it may not have been clear that he did so as the GMDC Executive Director. Finally, if they did not have children in the public schools or if their children did not speak at home about the annual Promoting Respect Workshops, they may not have been aware of that program. Overall, however, it indicates that diversity issues were not the personal priorities of a number of the EACLs. If it had been, the many newspaper reports would have not only drawn their attention to the council and its activities, but the GMDC would have naturally been brought up by the EACLs.

### **Belonging.**

When relocating to a new community, the speed with which new residents feel at home, if they ever do, can be an indication of how welcoming the new community is. In my experience living in cities both within and outside of the U.S., this is true whether one travels 30 miles (as one respondent described below) or 3,000 miles. The sense of belonging in and to the Mankato community (or the lack thereof) was a common theme for six of the seven EA women interviewed. They commented on the difficulty they had feeling like they belonged in the Mankato community despite residing there for ten and more years. The experience they described has come to be known as “Minnesota Nice.” Minnesota Nice is a social phenomenon used to describe Minnesotans’ behavior toward others as being “loyal and neighborly, yet they tend to keep outsiders at a comfortable distance” (“Newcomers say it’s ‘nice,’ but not warm,” 2012). When EAs with many shared

characteristics feel disconnected from the community, it elicits questions about how diverse newcomers experience the Mankato community, the subject of Chapter 5.

It will be important for Mankato community leaders to recognize what the EACLs expressed about not feeling like they belonged in the Mankato community, that they were unable to form the social connections they sought. This data suggests that feeling a sense of belonging is an even greater obstacle for diverse newcomers and thus requires intentional action if all community members are to connect with the community.

A woman working in the public sector expressed confusion about her role in the community:

[I feel] like people aren't as welcoming. It is hard to put a finger on it, but it's just I don't like, I'm from here and went to college here and I still feel like [pause] you know I'm vested in the community because, because I volunteer even outside of work for a number of community organizations and I do that type of thing, but socially, it still feels like – a little off (personal communication, August 14, 2014).

She continued by saying that although she and her husband have good community connections through their jobs, “it's not like we have groups that we're going out to dinner with” (personal communication, December 15, 2016).

An educator who has lived in the Mankato community for more than sixteen years shared her expectations when moving to the community. Her tone conveyed that she still felt a sense of loss:

You know, I had been in [a town fewer than fifty miles from Mankato] as [an educator] there prior to coming here and I loved that little community. It was just, it was so

welcoming and so you know, close, and I think part of it is identifying and finding your group. Your people. Your tribe, you know? I felt like when I was there, there were a few other teachers .... a kindergarten teacher and the social studies teacher, and a Spanish teacher and I were a tribe. We moved to Mankato and I was looking forward to having that again and [pause] didn't really have that and then the kindergarten teacher from [town] divorced and remarried and moved to town and so we kinda made our own tribe here and it's great to have her here and so we do some things but again, the social piece of things? I wish we had a couple's network that we could do things with (personal communication, December 15, 2016).

The same educator described a dinner she had attended with friends who had moved out of the area shortly before the focus group meeting:

But yet there's like this kind of, um, network that is part of the old Mankato and then you've got all these new people and not, we had a lot of positive things to say in the conversation, but she just kind of brought to my attention that, you know, "we were here but we never really quite felt like we fit in." [hmmms of agreement from others in focus group] and there's this, you know, they've lived in many other communities and it was just a different kind of vibe. And the Minnesota Nice thing came up, and it was like, it was really hard to break into certain circles (personal communication, December 15, 2016).

Although many of the respondents spoke about their experiences with belonging, only one woman extrapolated the feeling of alienation experienced by others into what the diverse newcomers might experience:

But I feel really bad - getting back to that other point - because I'm not really from here but I can't imagine how hard it is for people who are not from here. Um... like my parents coming here and trying to build a life and not having that cohesiveness but then if you look at other people coming from other areas of the world or other countries where they are different... You know, I am white Caucasian, yeah I'm female, but like I technically fit in, my profile, but if you are from somewhere else if *I* feel like I don't belong, how do they feel? (personal communication, Aug. 14, 2014).

The theme of belonging was important to the EACLs, and the data suggests that it was fairly common to experience its absence. Applying the SCT to its analysis is unsuitable, however, because of the many individual variables and unique personal characteristics that would need to be identified and explored.

### **Welcoming means...**

The EACLs, while avoiding direct questions asking them to define “welcoming,” did provide examples to illustrate their understanding of the term. The businesswoman foresaw economic support for diverse residents to develop new businesses 20 years in the future as one indicator. Speaking of such support in 20 years suggests that she, too, categorized diverse newcomers as refugees without the skills needed to develop and run a business. A female working in the NGO sector described welcoming as a “community feeling,” and provided a further example:

Well, I think, you know, neighbors who look out for each other and notice that their neighbor can't mow their lawn or shovel their snow anymore. Or if somebody's new

in your neighborhood that you bring them a pie or a casserole and go and introduce yourself. That's all part of being welcoming (personal communication, June 23, 2014).

Later in our conversation, she elaborated further on the topic of welcoming:

I think there well if people really assimilate in the community. If they are successful at getting drivers licenses and job skills and getting jobs and being able to support themselves and all, all of that kind of thing. And little things like I went to East high school did the show "High School Musical" and there were you know these eight girls in the show with the head covers on doing the dancing. I just and I've been to like speech tournaments at the high school where it is just so... um it's great to see them just be part of the fabric of the community and not be like a separate, a separate group, that they're just part of what all things that are part of the experience of growing up in Mankato (personal communication, June 23, 2014).

This EACL's use of the word "assimilation" did not correspond to the respect for different practices she expressed throughout her interview. I believe this was simply incorrect usage of the term by a person not regularly engaged in discussing acculturation. This usage does indicate the need to educate EACLs on the terminology that would help them to communicate their beliefs and understanding more precisely.

One male educator expressed the need for resources for every type of need and continued by emphasizing cooperation:

People who will work together whether that's churches, schools, United Way, all of those things working together, that's er...those are the elements I guess. Services,

education, healthcare, all of the things you can think about and we have them (personal communication, Feb. 26, 2014).

Some EACLs spoke of welcoming in association with schools. In the case of a male educator, it was in terms of students feeling at home: “I picture in our school community making everybody feel like this is their home. They're engaged, they are a part of this school. That this is their school. That they are a part of that community” (personal communication, Feb. 26, 2014). A woman from the public sector related prejudice reduction to welcoming in the following manner: “If we eliminate racism at a young age maybe starting out with our elementary schools, we will then grow our community into a welcoming community. The Diversity Council has been very successful at that focus” (personal communication, Aug 4, 2014). Another male with multi-sector experience also pointed to the work of the Greater Mankato Diversity Council’s Promoting Respect Workshops in the schools:

Well, you know what I really think? I really do believe in the work of Diversity Council. I really think that the work that they’re doing now with kindergarteners- those kindergartners are going to be 25 year-olds. They’re going to be adults they are going to be and you know, we are starting with them now in kindergarten through 12 years of school. 13 years of school, you know talking about diversity (personal communication, May 27, 2014).

### **EACL data: Discussion**

The findings presented in this chapter responded to the first research question by demonstrating that Mankato area EACLs were pro-active in recognizing and addressing

the challenges posed by the arrival of diverse newcomers. They referred to the experiences of other regional centers when determining how to adapt to growing diversity, and they acted collaboratively across sectors. Their motivations were both pragmatic (in recognizing the need to adapt whether or not it was a choice), and values-based (it was the right thing to do). The EACLs' actions focused on those they identified as in need of assistance, primarily refugees. They focused on helping educate the refugees on the services, education, and health care available to them. Among the EA population, opportunities for adults to become more familiar with their new neighbors grew, but the greatest focus was on educating children to understand, respect, and value differences.

From a social cognitive perspective, the EACLs demonstrated high levels of agency and efficacy, both individually and collectively. An example of this was the businesswoman who employed many diverse newcomers in order, among other reasons, to create the world she wanted her children to grow up in: a world that valued differences and was free of prejudice and discrimination. The SCT proved to be an applicable theory which could explain the thought and action processes that occurred among individuals and groups within the community. Furthermore, the EACLs' data suggested that they believed that their cognitions and behaviors would lead to a more welcoming environment.

The weak language used in the Envision 2020 strategic plan, discussed in Chapter 1, and the focus on educating the next generation to understand and appreciate human differences described in this chapter seem to be an attempt by some to close their eyes to the reality of prejudice and discrimination occurring within the EA community. By financing the GMDC, educational institutions, governments, organizations, and businesses

can applaud themselves for being supporters of diversity without actually reflecting upon and changing their behavior. The data in Chapter 5 provides further examples of the gap between the rhetoric of welcoming and the daily opportunities open to diverse community members.

## **Chapter 5: Diverse Community Leaders' Perceptions**

### **Introduction**

Following initial analysis of the data provided by European American community leaders (EACLs), six diverse community leaders (DCLs) were recruited and interviewed in an attempt to discover their perceptions of the Mankato community in terms of welcoming. In this chapter, the data obtained from those interviews are shared and discussed. It is important to stipulate that because of the small number of participants and the fact that, as explained in Chapter 3, a focus group with DCLs did not occur, the data should be understood as anecdotal, serving only to develop a general sense of DCL perspectives on their experiences in the Mankato community. This chapter adds further support to the central argument that while members of the dominant culture of EAs in Mankato have successfully avoided conflict with diverse newcomers, they have not yet reached a level of cultural competency to recognize either their own biases or the many obstacles diverse newcomers in Mankato still face to become fully integrated community members.

The coding process described in Chapter 3 and shown in Appendix H was followed, but the small number of respondents, a limited amount of data, and significant thematic overlap led to an adapted data presentation in this chapter to improve clarity. The theme with the most number of codes was “Employment” and the data are presented as a single theme which explores the topic through the contrasting perspectives of two DCLs. The codes “Treatment by Locals” and “Education” were the next two themes in terms of coding. These themes identify the primary areas that are on the minds of the DCLs and so suggest

topics for the Mankato community to begin more in-depth discussions. Lastly, and in response to research question two, “Welcoming” explores the degree to which the DCLs believed the Mankato community could be described as welcoming. As explained in Chapter 1, it was unfeasible to analyze the DCL data from an SCT perspective because of my inexperience with the cultures of the DCLs.

There are three notable characteristics of the data presented in this chapter. First, as discussed in Chapter 3, the DCLs included significantly more explanations for their own and, on occasion, EA community members’ actions. Second is that each participant had unique experiences and perspectives which were framed by their pathway to Mankato. There was a distinct division between the views of those DCLs who arrived as financially independent individuals seeking or already possessing a college degree, and those who came as refugees following years in refugee camps. Third, there was a general recognition that positive change had and was occurring in how diverse individuals were accepted and treated in the community. There was nevertheless frustration with the perceived speed of progress in hiring well-educated diverse individuals and encouraging diverse youth to pursue higher education. These findings are discussed further in conjunction with the specific data.

### **Employment.**

The five male DCLs all spoke about employment. Each of them had a graduate degree, but only one of the five had a single employer at the time of the interview. The other four men worked a patchwork of jobs often unrelated to their educational qualifications.

Because 72% of the “employment” codes were from just two DCLs, I explore the theme from their contrasting perspectives.

**Perspective A.**

The first DCL was active in the community, with work experience in a number of sectors. He had lived in the Mankato area for more than 20 years, coming originally as a college student and earning a master’s degree. He expressed frustration with the slow progress of employing well-qualified diverse newcomers:

The only thing I think needs to change is the job process. The job hiring process. I see - I know quite a few people that have Masters and Ph.Ds., that do not get the same chance as somebody, you know- I know a couple of people that have Ph.Ds. from American universities. I’m not talking about they brought it with them. They are from American universities did not get the same chance as somebody with a Masters who’s, you know, might be, you know, from American heritage or European heritage. They do not get the same chance or opportunity, basically. That needs to change (personal communication, July 16, 2015).

Later in the interview, he returned to his conclusion that factors other than education played a role in hiring:

There has to be some fairness when it comes to job hiring. And just because of somebody’s color or their heritage, does not mean that they are less... capable. They might be more qualified than a lot of people – but again it’s the culture. It’s that old mentality that people have. That somebody with a different color might not have the same brain capacity (personal communication, July 16, 2015).

The design and scope of this study prevent drawing any conclusions based on this single data point. It suggests, however, that more discussion needs to occur within the community about hiring practices. It also suggests that future studies about community reception of diverse newcomers, or future initiatives within the Mankato community, should include tools to assess the levels of systemic or individual bias.

Over the course of the interview, this same DCL became tense as he recalled business development meetings he had attended over the years. His tone again conveyed frustration as he described meetings where he had unsuccessfully tried to raise his concerns:

So I've been invited to so many conferences, GMG [Greater Mankato Growth], the Envision 2020 and I walked away from them because it's the same talk, the same, you know, agenda and I said, "I cannot do this. I cannot keep doing this." You guys keep repeating yourselves and when I- I proposed a couple of new ideas to them and they got pushed back because it wasn't the appropriate meeting for it and I said "No you are talking about business. You are talking about business retention um I mean talent retention" .... They asked me, they said, you know, they said you know "you want to come back to our next meeting and we'll talk" and I said, "No, I'm not coming back, because you guys are not ready" (personal communication, July 16, 2015).

In terms of promoting diversity hiring, he went on to describe GMG, the regional economic development organization, as "disconnected, really, really disconnected, unfortunately," (personal communication, July 16, 2015). As discussed previously, the Envision 2020 plan identified measures of success designed to address this DCL's

concerns, but without the participation or, as this data suggests, the commitment of the community's business leaders.

The DCL also spoke about his efforts to advise the diverse newcomers who opened small businesses:

Somalis are the most active ones as far as opening stores in the area. And a lot of them are Somali-owned. The southern Sudanese are not necessarily active as far as small businesses. They might, you know, have home businesses, but as far as stores as such, Somalis are the most active ones in the area. I'm trying to push others to do, talking to the Sudanese to open up or restaurants, stores, Middle Eastern restaurants and diversify our business in the area. And it's -and it's a struggle (personal communication, July 16, 2015).

The challenge this DCL man found, however, was that many diverse newcomers only focused on serving their own national or ethnic communities, not the entire community. Some of the businesses were therefore unsustainable because of insufficient revenue to meet costs.

In his comments about employment, the gulf between rhetoric and action within the community becomes apparent. The difficulty I experienced identifying DCLs in the Mankato community to interview supports his perspective that bias is working against DCLs seeking to utilize their professional skills and education.

### **Perspective B.**

The second DCL, who spoke a great deal about employment, was a Somali man, educated in the Mankato public schools, and who had lived for more than ten years in Mankato. His attitude about employment and promotion for Somali immigrants was significantly different from the first DCL, as the excerpt below demonstrated:

I started at Baker's Square [a regional chain restaurant], working as a dishwasher and um I didn't like it the dishwasher. So many blades coming in, you know [laughter]. Then I asked one of the managers if I could be a chef. And he said, "Do you know how to cook?" And I said, "If you show me I will know it." I am a visual learner. And he showed me how to flip the skillet in the food, you know, and I did it quick and I'd do all the burgers on the grill. And he said, "Hey, you can do this!" Then he started training me. After two weeks of training, I was the number one guy who was cooking at Baker's Square. They hired me as a cook, no dishwashing (laughs). I was making like \$7 and something when I was a dishwasher. They gave me \$11 as a cook (personal communication, July 13, 2015).

This Somali DCL presented other Somali workers' experiences in an equally positive light. The examples below conveyed a contrasting set of expectations than those of the first DCL:

There's a cake factory [discussed in Chapter 1]. A lot of Somalians work there. A lot. 99%. Yeah, one of the managers told me: 99.99 are Somalians. Even the managers there that are using the radios, they are speaking Somalian to each other.... They are getting promoted. They're supervisors. Leads, all the top people are Americans, but the

ones that are running the whole factory, Somalians (personal communication, July 13, 2015).

As someone who arrived in Mankato via refugee campus and educated in the local school system, this Somali man's employment expectations were apparently met by low-skilled work opportunities. The data suggests that he felt he was able to exercise agency in moving up within that sphere.

### **Employment: Discussion**

The perspectives of the two DCLs demonstrated contrasting employment expectations. One characteristic which distinguished the two men was education. The first DCL arrived in the U.S. as a college student and with a strong educational background and family financial resources to support him, while the second arrived as a teenager via refugee camps and was educated primarily in the Mankato public schools and the local public university. The first DCL believed that educational qualifications should take precedence over other considerations in hiring. The second DCL spoke with satisfaction that Somalis could work together in low-skilled jobs and advance within their workplaces. The environments (E) each respondent spoke of were significantly different. The first DCL sought opportunities for diverse professionals to break into positions they qualified for in EA-dominant organizations. I would expect him to conclude that the (E) was not welcoming.

The first DCL signaled the possibility that EAs saw all African immigrants in Mankato as refugees in need of assistance, a perspective that a third professional DCL of Asian origin appeared to confirm in the quote below:

You know I, there's a long way to go, number one. We have many services but services are here to quote-unquote help immigrants and refugees but we are not looking at immigrants and refugees as - in a sense of resource and power. These are the ones, these are the people who will make Mankato and this area strong. That kind of concept is lacking in the leadership in this area (personal communication, June 26, 2015).

### **Treatment by Local EAs**

The DCL respondents' stories about their treatment by local EAs indicated that relations between the EA and diverse residents were a "mixed bag," as one DCL respondent termed it (personal communication, June 26, 2015). The following excerpts demonstrate that each DCL had a unique experience in the Mankato community, a distinctive perspective about their interactions with EAs, and individual explanations to make meaning of their experiences.

Four of the six respondents had observed positive changes over time in how EAs treated them, in other words, in EA attitudes (C) and behaviors (B). The following excerpts provide examples of the positive changes noted by DCLs. A Somali man who arrived in Mankato as a teenager shared his experience:

First, when we moved down here people were looking at you sideways like "Wow, where are these people coming from?" They used to throw eggs at our house. Seriously. Throw eggs at our house, calling all the names. But now, pass by all those years, people are getting better and are getting to know each other and getting more friendly and more acceptance. Mankato grown. Mankato change right now. The old Mankato that I know and now is different. We have – we've been through so many

things but forgiveness is always there, you forgive you know. This is a community that you live with. You have to accept them. They have to accept you. Yeah (personal communication, July 13, 2015).

The DCL originally from the Middle East expressed his understanding of how the environment (E) changed as follows:

It's not, well it, well it did change. I did not have any issues with reception when I first came. But you know, there were a few times that you felt, you know, that um Mankato is still not open yet or welcoming, as-as compared to now .... And you still feel it, I mean we'd be kidding ourselves to say there were no difficulties with communicating with some of the other folks here in town (personal communication, July 16, 2015).

The Asian professional also reported changes in Mankato's environment (E). While he was not aware of how others viewed him and his EA wife, she was reportedly sensitive to it:

So if you walk around, downtown, go shopping, apparently people looked at us 30 years ago quite, um, as probably mixed couple wasn't a usual situation here. So, I never paid attention [laughs] but my wife kept telling me "See these people looking at us? These people probably never saw a mixed couple at all." I said, "oh, really?" [laughs]. So if she's correct then 30 years ago we were a unusual couple and ...but these days that won't happen anymore (personal communication, June 26, 2015).

In addition to changes observed in the Mankato community over a number of decades, one older Somali DCL in the NGO sector was able to compare his interactions with

Mankato EAs with his experiences in a southern state of the U.S. He was satisfied with the decision to move to Minnesota, in part, because of his experience in the South:

Coming to the Midwest was definitely for the better, you know that. When you speak comparatively. It's like a different country. Going to a different country. .... the social attitudes toward race - to race you know, race relations. In the south, it is very open prejudism[sic]. Hey, tell you right to your face. [laughs] You know I had employees - you know, even your customers are highly prejudiced, you know, when they see you are um, non-white. They find things to complicate your life just because of this (personal communication, July 1, 2015).

Despite the positive changes, the DCLs reported that the Mankato community had not rid itself of bias, as exemplified by a South Asian man's comments: "90% of experiences [with EAs] are good" (personal communication, July 2, 2015). By implication, that means that the remaining 10% of experiences were not good. He was pragmatic in his outlook and explained this as follows:

But yes, you see certain biases; but those biases are against, not only against, Somalis or Muslims or Christians or Hispanics or women. They are just "there." And some people are just naive. And you see that. And that's okay (personal communication, July 2, 2015).

Another explanation for how EAs treated diverse members of the community came from the older of the two Somali DCLs:

The majority of people here, I would say maybe there are one or two percent or a few percentage point that, you know, that - that will make you appreciate the majority of

the people you know, that may not have a good attitude because you know they may have a difficult life themselves or they may not be happy with their life and they take it out on others or they may have come from a different culture you know, may have come, [searching for words] so their experience embrace people who are different than themselves. It's not there or, or they were taught to be accepting by their parents (personal communication, July 1, 2015).

The same Somali father summarized his views as follows:

You know, there is a lot of positive and negative. In general the experience is good but certainly, there are some issues that are systematic, that exist, and that we try to not to dwell on them and they exist throughout the system (personal communication, July 1, 2015).

#### **Treatment by local EAs: Discussion**

The data shows that respondents often moderated any comments that could be understood as criticism by explaining their interpretation of the interactions. One example was the South Asian healthcare professional above who described his experiences as 90% good. When the experiences were not good, he labeled the EAs as “naive” and did not offer any specific examples.

The older Somali DCL had evidently devoted research and thought to understand prejudice and discrimination. His explanations demonstrated that it was important to him to consider interactions with EAs from the other's point of view, as well as his own. Having known this DCL for several years, I am aware that he is a devoted Muslim, which I believe also played a role in his responses. The same respondent also explained relationships

between EA and diverse residents from a systemic perspective. He spoke about having read recently about explicit and implicit biases and explained them in the following way:

So the explicit is the one that exists in the [U.S.] south where I came from [prior to moving to the Mankato area]. You know people telling you to your face how they feel about you. .... But implicit racism is something – it’s a social conditioning that is not just affecting the opposite or other races but it also affects the minorities! Because it’s a social conditioning. You know you watch CNN, Fox or whatever you know, that you are given an image that is always negative about people of color, you know after a while you begin to think ....you stereotype people. Your own people. Yourself!

Such thought reflects the complexity of factors that are involved in behavioral and attitudinal change. It also suggests that the issues of acceptance within the community are regularly on the minds of the DCLs.

### **Education**

The Mankato DCLs touched on different aspects of education in their interviews. The first was the importance they placed on education, the second consisted of observations about the public schools, and the third was about the role of education in the DCL’s workplace. Again, these comments were often closely associated with an explanation which I have included, where applicable.

The younger Somali DCL spoke with great pride when he declared: “MSU. Mankato East. My whole family graduated from Mankato East and MSU. The whole family. Everybody” (personal communication, July 13, 2015). Later in the conversation, he admitted, however, that at one point he had to stop school, “because I was trying to make

money to cover all the bills coming for the family (personal communication, July 13, 2015). An experience such as having to delay schooling is common for many young adults, regardless of race or ethnicity. It suggests that this may be a good topic around which to build connections among Mankato community members.

The older Somali DCL sought to explain that Somalis believe strongly in educating their children:

Education is not just coming from the kids. Somali parents believe in education. And that's as most parents would say. Most parents want for their children better than for themselves. .... Somali parents are exceptional when it comes to African immigrants. They value education more than anything else (personal communication, July 1, 2015).

The South Asian Muslim who worked in health care expressed his view that the schools were a better place to teach about diversity than the workplace: "Those are the best places to start equality and just treat people similarly and just go on from there" (personal communication, July 2, 2015). He continued with his thoughts on the school curriculum:

But you know making a school more welcoming for the kids um, sometimes not having political views, very important and sometimes we are focusing in the school curriculum on certain things which are not important anymore and might have been important at a certain time but they're not important anymore. Updates. Like WWII. WWIII and four happened [referring to the on-going conflicts in his home region of South Asia that also involve the U.S.], but we are still stuck on WWI and II. And talking about what happened at that time you know, the Nazi's, we should just forget about them. You know a 70-year-old story, maybe an 80-year-old story, you know it's getting older and

older. We need to talk about the newer things and just be more welcoming from that perspective I think (personal communication, July 2, 2015).

This father of school-age children, I believe, makes a valid point. If what schools teach would expand to include information about the history and current events of the countries from which students or their parents hail (rather than sharing cultural artifacts or practices), it would complement the goals of the Promoting Respect Workshops (PRW). As they do for many of the other ways in which people differ, students would have the chance to apply the PRW learning objectives to specific situations involving their classmates.

Coming from a different perspective related to her healthcare job, the Hispanic woman articulated, I believe, a point related to what the previous DCL sought to convey:

And there's a lot of education we have to do in regards to that too because you know *they have a different vision* [my emphasis]. They only go to the doctor if it hurts and not for preventative care. So there's a lot of education needed (personal communication, August 6, 2015).

The two excerpts above reflect an apparent belief that, to use Berry's terminology (1997), they feel there is an expectation that they assimilate, rather than integrate, into the Mankato community. In the excerpt below, a similar understanding of possible unspoken expectations is expressed.

The older Somali father working in the NGO sector was very involved with his children's education. In the excerpt below, a criticism of the schools was immediately followed by his extensive explanation:

When people expect you to fail you can prove them wrong. You have the drive, the wisdom everything else. But when you are a child, you know, you live up to the expectation of adults. And when the expectation is low, that really gets you. And that's the most destructive one that I have learned over the years. I have seen school counselors that are telling um children of color that AP classes are not for them because you're [pause] that it's not for them. "This is too difficult for you." They don't even recognize what they are saying. They don't have bad intentions at all. Those people are good people – teachers who, like teachers, to be a teacher you really have to have a big heart. You have to have a big heart. No one becomes a teacher because of money [laughs] or fame, right? So anybody who becomes a teacher has what it takes to- but still, you are defined by your society (personal communication, July 1, 2015).

The comments above support the argument that despite public statements to the contrary, Mankato still has much work ahead to name and address the implicit biases among the EA community members.

### **Welcoming.**

Ultimately, it is the lived experiences of diverse community members that determines the extent to which Mankato can be described as a welcoming community in the way that I understand EA leaders to mean. The data from DCLs above has already introduced some of the areas that they feel could be improved. The following data demonstrates that, like the EACLs, DCLs were unable to define what the concept meant. The DCLs held pragmatic expectations and realistically viewed the challenges of moving into a community

where they are members of a non-dominant culture. Improvement over time was recognized, but they also identified areas where greater progress was still needed.

The Asian healthcare professional described his perception of his welcome as follows:

I would say this um, even with those [negative] interactions, I find people to be very open, in my interactions. Again, I don't know about others, but in my interactions, they are very good and I don't have any problems. .... They have been pretty open and pretty nice (personal communication, July 2, 2015).

The second Asian professional with experience in multiple sectors focused on a sign of welcoming that he perceived as a missed opportunity by the Mankato business community:

If you look at the state demographics on everything, the increasing population is not white people, it's all the other ethnic groups that are increasing. So future economic power here should be depending on these people. We have to give them more opportunity to, you know, their entrepreneurship, their business orientating. I think that to-to see Mankato and North Mankato and both counties should really look at that these immigrants as assets rather than, I won't call burden, but in a sense, I think extremely important to look at it that way. And that view to me is still a long way to go (personal communication, June 26, 2015).

The young Somali father DCL interpreted the allowance provided for prayer as a sign of welcoming. An alternative explanation, however, is that the accommodations made for prayers may be motivated more by a desire to retain their low-skilled Muslim workforce than out of an attitude of welcoming.

So whatever company you go now they recognize that you are Somali American and they say “Do you pray here?” and they say “okay” and they will give you a spot to pray. Thank God people are respecting people, and I like that. And they are respecting each other and I like that. I love it, I really love it. .... And people are accepting that. Yeah, we had a little disagreement at first cause people not knowing that kind of culture [Muslim] and they be “No, you have to go back to work!” That’s where they are banging head to head and not working (personal communication, July 13, 2015).

This father was unique among all of the study participants in articulating his belief that both non-dominant and dominant individuals were responsible for better integrating the community:

I would say that some of the minorities they need to get into their community. They don’t have like one circle, join the firefighters, go join the Red Cross. Be part of this community. Take part in this community whatever they are doing. But if you go and circle over and you don’t want to know what this community is doing, then people will keep you there .... You need somebody to guide you before you go into this community. You need to have some information, activities going on or some fundraising activity going on. You must be invited. We wanted that the Mankato people or the Mankato community to invite the minority. Say “Okay, invitation. Come over here” .... if you don’t have an invitation how are you going to go in there? You cannot knock the door there. You are not invited. Sorry. [Laughs] You know where I am coming from- you have to have an invitation from the Caucasian people to open the door and ask the minority in (personal communication, July 13, 2015).

### **DCL discussion.**

The data in this chapter show the priorities and perspectives of a small sample of Mankato-area DCLs. They were in general agreement that their interactions with EAs had improved over time, but that more improvement was still needed. One Somali father described it in this way: “Welcoming it is. You know. It’s definitely a welcoming community, I am not saying it’s not. But these are social issues that exist throughout the United States. Systematic things you know” (personal communication, July 1, 2015).

The findings from the DCL data demonstrate that a number of needs continue to exist within the Mankato community:

- A need for EAs, in particular, the business community, to differentiate among diverse newcomers and to review the job qualifications of each individual without respect to a generalized idea about their background or education;
- A need for continued emphasis, discussion, and training to mitigate unconscious bias, especially in the education and business sectors;
- A need for the EA community to actively invite and involve diverse community members in all types of community activities.

## **Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion**

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this study was to reflect on the meaning and consequences of rapidly changing regional demographics as perceived by European American Community Leaders (EACLs) and by Diverse Community Leaders (DCLs). How far had the community progressed in terms of the oft-stated goal of creating a welcoming community? How could the phenomenon best be explained? Was it possible to identify why and how the community had avoided tensions between the dominant and non-dominant cultures? In Chapters 1 and 2, the context of immigration within the United States, and particularly within the state of Minnesota and the greater Mankato area, was discussed, as were related theories that could potentially be applied to understand the responses of individuals and institutions within the Mankato community. Chapter 3 focused on explaining the methods utilized to address the research questions. In Chapters 4 and 5, I presented and discussed the data. In this concluding chapter, the focus moves to what the findings of this study contribute to our understanding of the social cognitive theory, the expectations of EACLs and DCLs about the community, and implications for the Mankato community and similar U.S. communities. Finally, I identify the study's limitations and make recommendations for future research.

### **The Application of Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) to a Changing Community**

#### **Implications for theory.**

The setting for this research contributes to the literature on the reception of immigrants in U.S. communities. It explored the extent to which the SCT could explain the

developments that took place in the Mankato community between 1998 and 2018, a period of significant demographic change. The SCT, to the best of my knowledge, had not been used in a similar context or for an analogous purpose prior to this study. At the start of this study, I expected that the SCT would provide the framework to understand the phenomenon of Mankato's European American community leaders' reception of diverse newcomers. While the SCT helped me to analyze and understand the EACL data, in the later stages of the study the limits of its applicability became apparent.

The evidence suggests that the theory and its model of triadic reciprocity (MTR) indeed provide a general explanation of interactions among EACLs. The EACL data supports Bandura's theory of a reciprocal relationship between cognition (C) and behavior (B). The DCL data further show that over time, the environment (E) had changed. The interviews revealed high levels of agency (Bandura, 1989, 2001a) and self-efficacy (Bandura, 2001a, 2005b) among the EACLs. They both reached out to and learned from the behaviors of other regional communities ( $C \leftrightarrow B$ ) and in their responses, expressed their belief in their ability to successfully create an environment in the Mankato community (E) that they believed would be effective in creating a welcoming community. The SCT proved to be valuable to this case study because it integrates and accounts for behavioral changes over time.

EACLs credited much of their effectiveness to pre-existing close relationships and successful collaborations. Through the SCT lens, such success or mastery contributes to collective efficacy, the belief among group members that the group can accomplish its goals. As with agency and efficacy, pre-existing and successful institutional partnerships

may prove, subject to further investigation, to be a key component for successfully applying the SCT in a community setting. The EACLs demonstrated a high level of commitment as they sought to learn from other communities. The Mankato leaders utilized their new information to formulate responses based upon that new knowledge (C ↔ B). This type of vicarious learning (Bandura, 1998) may prove to be an important feature for communities that seek positive outcomes in the face of significant change.

Specific limitations of the SCT became apparent during the data analysis and show that the SCT applies to only the EACL data in this case study. While explaining the EACL data broadly, the theory would not support a more in-depth probe into questions these data generated, such as what refugee women thought about their reception in Mankato or why it was so difficult for well-qualified immigrants to find professional positions. The SCT also proved to be inapplicable to the DCL data because I was not sufficiently familiar with the non-dominant cultures (discussed in Chapter 1) in Mankato. I followed the spirit of Bandura's recommendation that deep cultural knowledge was necessary to apply the SCT (Bandura, 2012). Based on my familiarity with the data, I suggest that there is another reason that the SCT proved inapplicable to analyzing the DCL data. The dominant culture's social structures significantly constrained the DCLs in the study. While they may have been able to exercise their agency and efficacy in other contexts, within the dominant EA culture they may have felt constrained in freely exercising the requisite agency and efficacy to permit effective analysis using the SCT.

### **Implications for practice.**

Despite some variation among data sources, worldwide migration levels as of 2018 are expected to remain constant or to increase over the next 50 years (“Migration forecasting,” 2018). The importance of identifying effective strategies for integrating diverse newcomers into smaller, often rural, communities around the world has grown with the increased migration. This study demonstrated that the SCT could be used to understand how dominant culture community members might positively influence integration by using the model of triadic reciprocity as a guide in developing long-term goals and planning outreach and activities in support of those goals. Appropriate interventions targeted at specific audiences may then be developed to affect cognition and behaviors and ultimately, the community’s environment.

For any type of community-wide effort to change cognitions, behaviors, and the environment, findings in this study suggest that existing interpersonal networks and collaborations may play an important role. This corresponds to Bandura’s perspective as expressed when writing about his collaboration with Everett M. Rogers on the communication of innovations (2003): “specifying the channels of influence through which innovations are dispersed provides greater understanding of the diffusion [behavioral change] process” (Bandura, 2006, p. 124). The EACLs believed that successful cooperation among community institutions was a key to their efforts to ease the arrival of diverse newcomers. Utilizing the extant individual or organizational relationships where trust has already been established to model desired behaviors and influence new or revised

cognitions will save valuable time while also contributing to the likely success of studies or projects.

For the Mankato community, my recommendations include the following actions:

- Fully engage the target audience throughout any intervention planning, implementation, and evaluation process. The data showed no evidence of EACLs or organizations taking the opportunity to develop programs based on what the target audience believed would be helpful or needed. It is not only more respectful to do so, but it also brings people from different cultures together to work on a common goal, as suggested by Pettigrew (1998), multiplies the creative possibilities, and has a greater likelihood of long-term success.
- Perform an initial or updated needs assessment of community members from non-dominant cultures and then using that information on a daily basis to inform economic, program, and policy planning.
- Openly discuss the pervasiveness of systemic discrimination among adults in the community and utilize the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) (IDI LLC, n.d.) to assess intercultural competency among businesses, as well as public and private organizations. In cooperation with the many IDI qualified administrators at Minnesota State University, Mankato, coach individuals in their continued cultural competency development.

- Call on Greater Mankato Growth to examine hiring practices within their member organizations and then to agree to specific diverse hiring and retention goals.
- Revise the Envision 2020, Livability Goal 5 to:
  - Strengthen the language that is currently used: “increase and raise awareness of diversity” (*Envision 2020 Final Report*, 2006, p. 66), to a tangible, measurable goal.
  - Include among the Goal 5 Key Players business leaders who have demonstrated their commitment to employing and retaining non-dominant community members and thereby modeling preferred behaviors.
- Create a business mentoring program between business owners of any background and those from non-dominant cultures wishing to open businesses to assist in creating more successful business owners among non-dominant culture individuals.

**Recommendations for future research.**

Future researchers can utilize this investigation as an exploratory study and as a methodological outline for similar studies. The findings can serve as preliminary research that point toward opportunities to more precisely characterize and quantify the determinants that are most influential in any single community. Based on lessons learned in this study, I recommend the following areas of continued investigation:

- Explore a possible relationship between dominant culture community leaders' efficacy and agency and the community's success in achieving its economic, social, or other goals. Numerous resources describe how to construct measurements of self-efficacy and agency or compare the validity of available measurements (Alkire, 2008; Bandura, 2005a; Scherbaum, Cohen-Charash, & Kern, 2006; Tapal, Oren, Dar, & Eitam, 2017). Gauging the strength of dominant culture community leaders' belief in their agency and self-efficacy would help to identify developmentally appropriate interventions. In addition, a precise measurement of agency and efficacy would contribute to identifying more relevant methodologies to use in studies similar to this one.
- Utilize the same methodology used here in a community that shares similar geographical, economic, and demographic characteristics to the Mankato area to compare the outcomes in each community and demonstrate the validity of both the outcomes and the methods.
- Develop a comparative study using mixed methods to compare how two or more similar communities are managing similar demographic growth. Survey data would contribute to the study's validity, and an anonymous survey could serve to overcome the fears some may have of speaking openly about their thoughts and experiences.
- Develop a study using community-based participatory action research methods (Horowitz, Robinson, & Seifer, 2009) in Mankato or a similar community which is already seeking ways to better integrate diverse newcomers. The

collaboration would both move the integration process forward and provide valuable research to help direct future plans.

### **Limitations**

Two significant factors limited the scope of this investigation. Of greatest impact was the low number of participants overall, and DCLs in particular. The participants' perspectives should, therefore, be read with caution, drawing no definitive conclusions about the Mankato community from this data. Time was the second limitation that affected my success in recruiting participants, gathering data and completing the study. I was constrained by work obligations and moving to a different region of the country prior to completing data collection.

A limitation that is more difficult to identify and overcome is the anxiety that people may feel when talking about diversity, bias, and racism, as discussed in the recent bestselling book *White Fragility: Why it's so Hard for White People to Talk about Racism* (Diangelo, 2018). I suspect that this discomfort, in part, accounted for the failure to convince any of the individuals working at one of Mankato's two high schools to participate in the research. Those EACLs who did participate were surprisingly candid at times about their personal beliefs and experiences.

### **Conclusion**

Theories and models from Berry (Berry, 1997a, 1997b), Ward (1997; 2001) and Pettigrew (1998) proved to be insufficient, given available resources, to capture or explain, the complexities of the Mankato community's response to growing numbers of diverse newcomers. Bandura's social cognitive theory (SCT; 1986), however, offered a better model for explaining how and why the interactions among the dominant EA culture and

the non-dominant cultures of diverse newcomers developed as they did. The SCT also demonstrated predictive power in that revised cognitions and behaviors could be expected to continue over time and to expand to other community members. This study identified the importance of positive collaborations among area institutions; it revealed that diverse newcomers were regularly categorized as needy, thereby ignoring well-qualified individuals among the diverse population; and it suggested that DCLs perceived employment discrimination among area employers.

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## Appendix A Interview Request Letter

DATE

«TITLE» «FIRST\_NAME» «LAST\_NAME»  
«CONTACT\_TITLE»  
«COMPANY\_NAME»  
«BILLING\_ADDRESS»  
«CITY», «STATE\_OR\_PROVINCE» «POSTAL\_CODE»

Dear «Title» «Last\_Name»:

My name is Caryn E. Lindsay and I am a Mankato area resident and a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Minnesota. The topic of my dissertation is “Mankato’s Response to Growing Diversity.” As a community leader and person responsible for *(general activity, i.e. implementing educational programs, overseeing services, etc.)* you are in a key position to help me understand our community’s motivations for making Mankato a welcoming community. I am writing to request an interview with you that would last approximately 60 minutes. Your name, job position or organization will not be identified at any point in the study or subsequent publications.

I will be conducting interviews between (month) and (month) I hope you will agree to participate in this study and look forward to hearing from you. Please find my full contact information above.

Sincerely,

Caryn E. Lindsay  
Ph.D. Candidate  
Organizational Leadership, Planning and Development  
University of Minnesota

Enc. Participation consent form

## Appendix B Interview Consent Form

You are invited to participate in an interview for a research study about “Mankato’s Response to Growing Diversity: Testing the Limits of Bandura’s Model of Triadic Reciprocity.” If you agree to participate you will be asked questions about your understanding and perspectives on matters relating to activities and programs in Mankato. The purpose of the study is to identify what makes Mankato a welcoming community. Caryn E. Lindsay will be the only person who knows the identities of the people being interviewed. Your name, job title and the name of your organization will all be kept anonymous unless you indicate otherwise below. The interview will take about 60 minutes to complete.

This research project is being conducted by Caryn E. Lindsay, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Minnesota and a staff member at Minnesota State University, Mankato. You can contact Ms. Lindsay at 507-389-6724 (office), 507-243-4406 (home) or via email at [linds231@umn.edu](mailto:linds231@umn.edu) about any concerns you have about this project. You may also contact the Dr. Frances Vavrus, the supervising academic advisor for Ms. Lindsay at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Vavrus may be contacted at email [vavru003@umn.edu](mailto:vavru003@umn.edu) or telephone 612-624-3377.

### Confidentiality

I understand that all information obtained in this project will be kept private by the staff of this research project. Consent forms will be stored in a locked file cabinet at the researcher’s office. Audio files will have any names of individuals or organizations removed from any transcription. The transcripts will be uploaded to a secure, web-based data analysis system called Dedoose. All audio recordings will be destroyed by the research director no later than December 2015 and information on the Dedoose website will be purged no later than December 2016. I understand that no information about me will be released and no names will be recorded other than on the consent forms.

### Risks and Benefits

I understand that the risks of participating in this study are no more than those in normal daily life. I understand that I will be given a book as compensation for my time. I understand that I can request a copy of the study’s results, which would be e-mailed to me after the end of the study. I understand that participating in this study may help the researchers better understand how communities can improve their relationships with diverse migrant populations.

### Right to Refuse Participation

I understand that participation in this project is voluntary and I have the right to stop at any time. I may choose to skip any questions I prefer not to answer. My decision whether or not to participate will not affect my relationship with the University of Minnesota.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects’ Advocate Line, D528 May, 420 Delaware St. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455; (612) 625- 1650.

I wish my name and all other personal information to be kept private.

I agree that my name may be used in the study and any publications resulting from the study. I understand that I will have the opportunity to review, amend, or disallow any quotes attributed to me prior to publication.

**If you are at least 18 years old, agree to participate in this research, and agree to the interview being recorded, please sign below. Please keep the second copy for your records.**

Your Name (printed) \_\_\_\_\_  
Your Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## **Appendix C**

### **Interview Protocol – European American Community Leaders**

Good afternoon and thank you for agreeing to this interview. My name is Caryn Lindsay and I am a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Minnesota. I've lived in the area for eight years since taking a job at Minnesota State University, Mankato. I grew up in St. Paul and the fact that Mankato has more residents of color than I expected lead me to the subject of my dissertation: Mankato's response to growing diversity.

In my final dissertation, I plan to identify the Mankato community by name, but will not identify any individuals by name. I will be very careful to maintain the confidentiality of the notes I take during our interview. I would like to request your permission to audio record the interview. It will help me later to remember your thoughts. Your name will not be used in the audio recording and I will be the only one who knows who is speaking. You can ask me to turn it off at any time. May I have your permission to record this interview?

I also have a full consent form that I would like to ask you to read and sign. Let me know if you have any questions before signing it.

Thank you. I hope that knowing you will not be easily identified, you will respond openly and honestly to my questions. Let's get started, shall we?

### **Semi-structured interview questions for Mankato leaders**

#### **Part 1: Understanding of Diversity**

1. What is your understanding of the word 'diversity'?
2. How has that understanding changed over time?
3. Can you point to a specific incident that had an impact on you or changed your understanding of the concept?
4. Many Mankato leaders speak about creating a "welcoming" community here. How do you understand the concept of "welcoming" within this context?

#### **Part II: Responding to demographic changes**

1. The Mankato area population has changed dramatically over the last 20 years. What have previous mayors/administrators/educators put into place to help in this transition?
2. Was there a key person or incident that changed attitudes or the direction of Mankato?
3. What do you believe is still needed to help all residents feel welcome and respected?
4. Can you tell me about any diversity initiatives that your (school/city/business) is currently involved in?
5. What goals do you have for your school / city / business in terms of diversity?

## **Appendix D**

### **Interview Protocol – Diverse Community Leaders**

Good afternoon and thank you for agreeing to this interview. My name is Caryn Lindsay and I am a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Minnesota. I've lived in the area for ten years since taking a job at Minnesota State University, Mankato. I grew up in St. Paul and the fact that Mankato has more residents of color than I expected led me to the subject of my dissertation: Mankato's response to growing diversity.

In my dissertation, I plan to identify the Mankato community by name, but will not identify any individuals by name unless you give me permission. I will be very careful to maintain the confidentiality of the recordings and notes. I would like to request your permission to audio record the interview. It will help me later to remember your thoughts. Your name will not be used in the audio recording and I will be the only one who knows who is speaking. You can ask me to turn it off at any time. May I have your permission to record this interview?

I also have a full consent form that I would like to ask you to read and sign. Let me know if you have any questions before signing it.

Thank you. I hope that knowing you will not be easily identified, you will respond openly and honestly to my questions. Let's get started, shall we?

#### **Semi-structured interview questions for diverse Mankato residents:**

6. I'd like to begin with a few questions about your background.
  - a. How long have you lived in the Mankato area?
  - b. Why did you move here? / What keeps you in the area?
7. Where did you go to school?
8. Mankato's population has changed dramatically over the last 20 years. The city, county, school system and other organizations have created programs to help newcomers to Mankato. Have you participated in any of these programs? (If unable to name programs, suggest Tapestry Program, City Circle, interpreters, Diversity Council, etc.)
  - a. If Yes: What did you think of the program?
  - b. If No: Why did you choose not to participate?
9. Many Mankato leaders speak about creating a "welcoming" community here. What have been your experiences related to Mankato as a welcoming community? Can you recall a specific incident or two?
10. Have you noticed a change in peoples' attitudes or behaviors towards you over the time that you have lived in Mankato? If yes, please tell me more about what you have observed.
11. What do you believe is needed to meet the goal of creating a welcoming environment for all?
  - a. How might this be different for different groups or individuals?
12. How do you imagine Mankato 20 years from now in terms of diversity?

## Appendix E Focus Group Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a focus group for a research study about “Mankato’s Response to Growing Diversity: Testing the Limits of Bandura’s Model of Triadic Reciprocity.” If you agree to participate you will be asked questions about your understanding and perspectives on matters relating to activities and programs in Mankato. The purpose of the study is to identify what makes Mankato a welcoming community. As in your initial interview for this project, your name will not be associated to quotes which may be included in the final paper.

This research project is being conducted by Caryn E. Lindsay, a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Minnesota. You can contact Ms. Lindsay at via cell phone 651-246-1835 or via email at [linds231@umn.edu](mailto:linds231@umn.edu) about any concerns you have about this project. You may also contact the Dr. Frances Vavrus, the supervising academic advisor for Ms. Lindsay at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Vavrus may be contacted at email [yavru003@umn.edu](mailto:yavru003@umn.edu) or telephone 612-624-3377.

### Confidentiality

I understand that all information obtained in this project will be kept private by the staff of this research project. Consent forms will be stored in a locked file cabinet at the researcher’s office. Audio files will have any names of individuals or organizations removed from any transcription. The transcripts will be uploaded to a secure, web-based data analysis system called Dedoose. All audio recordings will be destroyed by the research director no later than December 2018 and information on the Dedoose website will be purged no later than December 2018. I understand that no information about me will be released and no names will be recorded other than on the consent forms.

### Risks and Benefits

I understand that the risks of participating in this study are no more than those in normal daily life. I understand that I can request a copy of the study’s results, which would be e-mailed to me after the end of the study. I understand that participating in this study may help the researchers better understand how communities can improve their relationships with diverse migrant populations.

### Right to Refuse Participation

I understand that participation in this project is voluntary and I have the right to stop at any time. I may choose to skip any questions I prefer not to answer. My decision whether or not to participate will not affect my relationship with the University of Minnesota.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects’ Advocate Line, D528 May, 420 Delaware St. SE, Minneapolis, MN 55455; (612) 625- 1650.

I wish my name and all other personal information to be kept private.

I agree that my name may be used in the study and any publications resulting from the study. I understand that I will have the opportunity to review, amend, or disallow any quotes attributed to me prior to publication.

**If you are at least 18 years old, agree to participate in this research, and agree to the interview being recorded, please sign below. Please keep the second copy for your records.**

Your Name (printed) \_\_\_\_\_  
Your Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix F**  
**Focus Group Script and Questioning Route: European Americans**

Hello and welcome. Thanks so much for taking time out of your busy schedules to join me for this conversation. My name is Caryn Lindsay and I have had the pleasure to interview each of you about Mankato and its changing demographics. The information I gather will be used both for my doctoral dissertation and – I hope - for the benefit of our community.

I've invited you to continue our conversation today because there may have been things that you forgot to mention in our individual interviews. In hearing what others say, you may also discover additional insights.

There are no right or wrong answers to my questions. Each of you may have very different opinions and experiences and that's ok. Please feel free to share your thoughts even if they are different from the others. And I ask that we all show respect for each person's opinions.

I am recording this session on audio so that I don't miss any of your comments. No names will be used in any reports. All of the information you share in this session is confidential. I ask that you also maintain the confidentiality of everyone around the table.

I am using name tents tonight. It helps me to remember your names, but it also helps if you want to respond to, agree or disagree with a comment made by another participant.

This is not a formal question and answer session. I hope my questions will get you thinking and sharing freely with one another. I am here to listen, ask questions and to make sure that everyone has a chance to share. If one person is talking a lot, I may ask you to give others a chance. If someone isn't talking much at all, I may call on you. I just want to be sure everyone has a chance to share your ideas.

My cell phone is off and I'd ask that you please turn off your cell phones too. If you want to get up and get something else to eat or drink during the session, you are welcome to do so.

So let's begin.

1. Let's go around the table, tell us your name and what you most like to do in your free time.
2. What do you like about living in the Mankato area? Perhaps you have a story that illustrates what you like.
3. How have white Mankato residents that you know responded to the rapid change in demographics?
  - a. What do you think people's motivations are for their actions or attitudes?
4. Assimilate was a word that came up often in the interviews. What do you mean when you use it?
  - a. How does assimilate differ from integrate or adapt?
5. Mankato seems to have avoided the negative press about racism that St. Cloud has experienced. Does this mean we have less racism in our community?

Summarize responses

6. Is there anything I have missed that we should still talk about?

## Appendix G

### Code Elimination Process – EACLs

| Step 1  |                           | Step 2                                       |                           | Step 3   |                           | Step 4  |                           | Final                         |
|---|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|---|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| All code applications <b>Codes</b> (in BOLD) with sub-codes |                           | Markers eliminated, sorted by # applications |                           | Median (15) of applications and below eliminated |                           | Codes and Sub-codes paired again, all but top three <b>Codes</b> and their sub-codes eliminated |                           | Final Codes used in Analysis  |
| Code/Sub-code   | applica-tions within data | Code/Sub-code                                | applica-tions within data | Code/Sub-code                                    | applica-tions within data | Code/Sub-code   | applica-tions within data | Code/Sub-code                 |
| <b>Actions</b>  | 84                        | <b>Actions</b>                               | 84                        | <b>Actions</b>                                   | 84                        | <b>Actions</b>  | 84                        | <b>Actions</b>                |
| Accommodate   | 3                         | <b>Community</b>                             | 67                        | <b>Community</b>                                 | 67                        | Aimed at diverse pop  | 21                        | Aimed at diverse pop          |
| Aimed at Both   | 17                        | <b>Motivations</b>                           | 38                        | <b>Motivations</b>                               | 38                        | Aimed at EuroAm   | 19                        | Aimed at EuroAm               |
| Aimed at EuroAm   | 19                        | Cooperation                                  | 29                        | Cooperation                                      | 29                        | Aimed at Both   | 17                        | Aimed at Both                 |
| Aimed at div.pop  | 21                        | Majority culture                             | 29                        | Majority culture                                 | 29                        | <b>Community</b>  | 67                        | <b>Community</b>              |
| Training  | 10                        | <b>Economy</b>                               | 28                        | <b>Economy</b>                                   | 28                        | Belonging   | 20                        | Cooperation                   |
| <b>Bias</b>   | 13                        | <b>Culture</b>                               | 28                        | <b>Culture</b>                                   | 28                        | Cooperation   | 29                        | Welcoming means...            |
| <b>Change</b>   | 22                        | Local culture                                | 23                        | Local culture                                    | 23                        | Welcoming means...  | 22                        | Belonging                     |
| Majority culture  | 29                        | <b>Change</b>                                | 22                        | <b>Change</b>                                    | 22                        | <b>Motivations</b>  | 39                        | <b>Motivations</b>            |
| Minority culture  | 9                         | Welcoming means...                           | 22                        | Welcoming means...                               | 22                        | <b>Economy</b>  | 28                        | Pragmatic*                    |
| <b>Community</b>  | 67                        | <b>Leadership</b>                            | 21                        | <b>Leadership</b>                                | 21                        | <b>Culture</b>  | 28                        | Personal Values*              |
| Belonging   | 20                        | Aimed at div. pop                            | 21                        | Aimed at div. pop                                | 21                        | Local culture   | 23                        |                               |
| Cooperation   | 29                        | Aimed at EuroAm                              | 20                        | Aimed at EuroAm                                  | 20                        | <b>Change</b>   | 22                        |                               |
| Demographics  | 7                         | Belonging                                    | 19                        | Belonging  | 19                        | Majority culture  | 29                        | * added during later analysis |
| Future  | 14                        | <b>Critical comment</b>                      | 19                        | <b>Critical comment</b>                          | 19                        | <b>Leadership</b>   | 21                        |                               |
| Past  | 15                        | Institutions                                 | 18                        | Institutions                                     | 18                        | <b>Critical comment</b>   | 18                        |                               |
| Present   | 14                        | <b>Diversity =</b>                           | 18                        | <b>Diversity =</b>                               | 18                        | <b>Institutions</b>   | 18                        |                               |
| Welcoming means...  | 22                        | Aimed at Both                                | 17                        | Aimed at Both                                    | 17                        | <b>Diversity =</b>  | 18                        |                               |
| <b>Critical comment</b>                                     | 18                        | Org. Culture                                 | 15                        | Org. Culture                                     | 15                        |   |                           |                               |
| <b>Culture</b>  | 28                        | Past   | 15                        | Past   | 15                        |   |                           |                               |

## Appendix G Code Elimination Process – EACLs

|                        | Step 1  | Step 2                                       | Step 3   | Step 4  | Final                        |
|------------------------|---|--|--|---|------------------------------|
|                        | All code applications <b>Codes</b> (in BOLD) with sub-codes | Markers eliminated, sorted by # applications | Median (15) of applications and below eliminated | Codes and Sub-codes paired again, all but top three <b>Codes</b> and their sub-codes eliminated | Final Codes used in Analysis |
| Home culture           | 9   | Future                                       | 14   | Future  | 14                           |
| Local culture          | 23  | Present                                      | 14   | Present   | 14                           |
| Org. Culture           | 15  | <b>Bias</b>                                  | 13   | <b>Bias</b>   | 13                           |
| <b>Diversity =</b>     | 19  | Training                                     | 10   | Training  | 10                           |
| Gender                 | 3   | Home culture                                 | 9  | Home culture  | 9                            |
| SES                    | 5   | Minority culture                             | 9  | Minority culture  | 9                            |
| <b>Economy</b>         | 28  | <b>Refugees</b>                              | 8  | <b>Refugees</b>   | 8                            |
| Job offer              | 7   | Job offer                                    | 7  | Job offer   | 7                            |
| SES                    | 9   | Strong economy                               | 7  | Strong economy  | 7                            |
| Strong economy         | 7   | Higher Ed                                    | 7  | Higher Ed   | 7                            |
| <b>Explanation</b>     | 73  | Demographics                                 | 6  | Demographics  | 6                            |
| <b>Institutions</b>    | 18  | SES  | 5  | SES   | 5                            |
| Higher Ed              | 6   | K-12 schools                                 | 4  | K-12 schools  | 4                            |
| K-12 schools           | 4   | Sudanese                                     | 3  | Sudanese  | 3                            |
| <b>Key Quote</b>       | 66  | Gender                                       | 3  | Gender  | 3                            |
| <b>Key individuals</b> | 19  | <b>Sincerity</b>                             | 3  | <b>Sincerity</b>  | 3                            |
| <b>Language</b>        | 2   | <b>Language</b>                              | 2  | <b>Language</b>   | 2                            |
| <b>Leadership</b>      | 21  |  |  |   |                              |
| Sudanese               | 3   |  |  |   |                              |
| <b>Motivations</b>     | 38  |  |  |   |                              |
| <b>Refugees</b>        | 8   |  |  |   |                              |
| <b>Sincerity</b>       | 3   |  |  |   |                              |
| <b>Stories</b>         | 59  |  |  |   |                              |

Continued on  
next page

**Appendix G**  
**Code Elimination Process – EACLs**

|                    | <b>Step 1</b>   | <b>Step 2</b>                                | <b>Step 3</b>                                    | <b>Step 4</b>   | <b>Final</b>                 |
|--------------------|---|--|--|---|------------------------------|
|                    | All code applications <b>Codes</b> (in BOLD) with sub-codes | Markers eliminated, sorted by # applications | Median (15) of applications and below eliminated | Codes and Sub-codes paired again, all but top three <b>Codes</b> and their sub-codes eliminated | Final Codes used in Analysis |
| <b>Terminology</b> | 11  |  |  |   |                              |
| Inclusionary       | 1   |  |  |   |                              |
| accept             | 2   |  |  |   |                              |
| adapt              | 1   |  |  |   |                              |
| adjust             | 1   |  |  |   |                              |
| appreciate         | 2   |  |  |   |                              |
| assimilate         | 9   |  |  |   |                              |
| celebrate          | 3   |  |  |   |                              |
| integrate          | 22  |  |  |   |                              |
| melting pot        | 1   |  |  |   |                              |
| tolerate           | 1   |  |  |   |                              |
| understand         | 1   |  |  |   |                              |
| <b>Theory</b>      | 45  |  |  |   |                              |
| Behavioral         | 25  |  |  |   |                              |
| Cognitive          | 26  |  |  |   |                              |

## Appendix H Code Elimination Process - Diverse Community Leaders

| Step 1  |                          | Step 2   |                          | Step 3  |                          | Step 4  |                          | Final                           |
|---|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| All code applications alphabetized, <b>Codes</b> (in <b>BOLD</b> ) with sub-codes |                          | Markers eliminated, all <b>Codes</b> and sub-codes, ranked by # applications |                          | Median (4.5) of <b>CODE</b> applications and below eliminated |                          | Reorganized to pair Codes with Sub-codes, all but top five <b>Codes</b> with their sub-codes eliminated |                          | Final <b>Codes</b> for Analysis |
| Code/Sub-code   | Applications within data | Code/Sub-code  | Applications within data | Code/Sub-code   | Applications within data | Code/Sub-code   | Applications within data | Code/Sub-code                   |
| <b>Banking</b>  | 1                        | <b>Employment</b>  | 31                       | <b>Employment</b>   | 31                       | <b>Employment</b>   | 31                       | <b>Employment</b>               |
| <b>Cultural diff.</b>   | 6                        | <b>Treatment by locals</b>   | 30                       | <b>Treatment by locals</b>                                    | 30                       | <b>Treatment by locals</b>  | 30                       | <b>Treatment by locals</b>      |
| <b>Divert from ?</b>  | 3                        | <b>Education</b>   | 23                       | <b>Education</b>  | 23                       | Explaining neg. treatment   | 4                        | Explaining neg. treatment       |
| <b>Education</b>  | 23                       | <b>Explaining</b>  | 22                       | <b>Explaining</b>   | 22                       | Negative  | 4                        | Negative                        |
| English skills  | 3                        | <b>Welcoming</b>   | 17                       | <b>Welcoming</b>  | 17                       | Positive  | 6                        | Positive                        |
| <b>Employment</b>   | 31                       | Group charact.   | 11                       | Group charact.  | 11                       | <b>Education</b>  | 23                       | <b>Education</b>                |
| <b>Explaining</b>   | 22                       | <b>Lifestyle in Mankato</b>  | 11                       | <b>Lifestyle in Mankato</b>                                   | 11                       | English skills  | 3                        | English skills                  |
| Group charact.  | 11                       | <b>Racism in general</b>   | 9                        | <b>Racism in general</b>                                      | 9                        | <b>Explaining</b>   | 22                       | <b>Explaining</b>               |
| <b>Influence of past exp.</b>   | 3                        | <b>Cultural diff.</b>  | 6                        | <b>Cultural diff.</b>   | 6                        | Group charact.  | 11                       | Group charact.                  |
| <b>Key Person</b>   | 3                        | <b>Pathway to Kato</b>   | 6                        | <b>Pathway to Kato</b>  | 6                        | <b>Welcoming</b>  | 17                       | <b>Welcoming</b>                |
| <b>Key quote</b>  | 34                       | Positive   | 6                        | Positive  | 6                        | No  | 1                        | No                              |
| <b>Lifestyle in Mankato</b>   | 11                       | Yes  | 6                        | Yes   | 6                        | Yes   | 6                        | Yes                             |
| <b>Pathway to Kato</b>  | 6                        | <b>Religious perspective</b>   | 5                        | <b>Religious perspective</b>                                  | 5                        | <b>Lifestyle in Mankato</b>   | 11                       |                                 |
| Family  | 3                        | Power dynamics   | 4                        | Power dynamics  | 4                        | <b>Racism in general</b>  | 9                        |                                 |
| Refugee   | 1                        | Sub-communities  | 4                        | Sub-communities   | 4                        | <b>Cultural diff.</b>   | 6                        |                                 |

## Appendix H

### Code Elimination Process - Diverse Community Leaders

| Step 1  |                          | Step 2   |                          | Step 3  |                          | Step 4  |                          | Final                           |
|---|--------------------------|--|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| All code applications alphabetized, <b>Codes</b> (in <b>BOLD</b> ) with sub-codes |                          | Markers eliminated, all <b>Codes</b> and sub-codes, ranked by # applications |                          | Median (4.5) of <b>CODE</b> applications and below eliminated |                          | Reorganized to pair Codes with Sub-codes, all but top five <b>Codes</b> with their sub-codes eliminated |                          | Final <b>Codes</b> for Analysis |
| Code/Sub-code   | Applications within data | Code/Sub-code  | Applications within data | Code/Sub-code   | Applications within data | Code/Sub-code   | Applications within data | Code/Sub-code                   |
| Work  | 1                        | Explaining neg. treatment  | 4                        | Explaining neg. treatment                                     | 4                        | <b>Pathway to Kato</b>  | 6                        |                                 |
| <b>Personal Outlook</b>   | 1                        | Negative   | 4                        | Negative  | 4                        | Family  | 3                        |                                 |
| Power dynamics  | 4                        | <b>Divert from ?</b>   | 3                        | <b>Divert from ?</b>  | 3                        | Refugee   | 1                        |                                 |
| Sub-communities   | 4                        | English skills   | 3                        | English skills  | 3                        | Work  | 1                        |                                 |
| <b>Racism in general</b>  | 9                        | <b>Influence of past exp.</b>  | 3                        | <b>Influence of past exp.</b>                                 | 3                        | <b>Religious perspective</b>  | 5                        |                                 |
| <b>Religious perspective</b>  | 5                        | Family   | 3                        | Family  | 3                        |   |                          |                                 |
| <b>Story</b>  | 5                        | <b>Banking</b>   | 1                        | <b>Banking</b>  | 1                        |   |                          |                                 |
| <b>Treatment by locals</b>  | 30                       | Refugee  | 1                        | Refugee   | 1                        |   |                          |                                 |
| Explaining neg. treatment   | 4                        | Work   | 1                        | Work  | 1                        |   |                          |                                 |
| Negative  | 4                        | <b>Personal Outlook</b>  | 1                        | <b>Personal Outlook</b>                                       | 1                        |   |                          |                                 |
| Positive  | 6                        | No   | 1                        | No  | 1                        |   |                          |                                 |
| <b>Welcoming</b>  | 17                       |  |                          |   |                          |   |                          |                                 |
| No  | 1                        |  |                          |   |                          |   |                          |                                 |
| Yes   | 6                        |  |                          |   |                          |   |                          |                                 |