

The Role of Human Resource Development in the Poverty Zone in North Minneapolis
in Minnesota: A Case Study

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

Anne-Marie Kuiper

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Gary N. McLean, Advisor

January, 2014

© Copyright Anne-Marie Kuiper 2014

Acknowledgements

It is without a doubt a wonderful feeling to have completed the Ph.D. journey. There were times when the weight of writing the dissertation seemed as if it was just a little too much to bear, but those times quickly dissipated when I began reaching out to people who work hard each day to make a difference in the lives of others. I am blessed to have met so many wonderful and dedicated people who continue to inspire and motivate me beyond the work of this dissertation. I am particularly thankful for the friendships that have emerged from this research, academically as well as professionally. And what once seemed like an uphill battle, the writing of a dissertation, has become a truly memorable and meaningful experience. I am very thankful to have had this opportunity and mostly thankful for the people in my life who have supported and encouraged this academic journey.

First and foremost, the biggest thanks and gratitude are extended to Dr. Gary N. McLean, my advisor, mentor, and role model, who has always encouraged me to pursue meaningful work and has been there for me since I first made an appointment with him as an exchange student from the University of Amsterdam. Gary has been instrumental in the completion of my Ph.D. journey, and I could not have done this without his relentless commitment to me. I consider myself beyond lucky to call Gary a friend, a colleague, and a mentor.

Second, I wish to express my gratitude and sincere thanks to my dissertation committee, who have been tremendously supportive and encouraging throughout my Ph.D. program: Dr. Rosemarie Park, Dr. Shari Peterson, and Dr. Michelle Everson. I am grateful to have had such a wonderful group of people on my committee.

Professionally, I wish to thank Louis King and George Garnett at Summit Academy Opportunities Industrialization Center for their contributions to my research, their immense knowledge of workforce development in the Twin Cities, and their overwhelming support in the completion of my dissertation. I wish to extend a special thank you to Louis King for being a true leader who recognizes potential when he sees it. I am immensely grateful. I also wish to express my gratitude to a dear friend and colleague, VJ Smith, President of MAD DADS. VJ Smith invited me in to his life and world and I have never left. He has taught me about faith, spirituality, and the importance of pursuing your passion. Thank you. Importantly, I want to thank all the interview participants who shared their stories and, in one way or another, are all in the midst of fighting racial disparity in the Twin Cities. This research would not have been possible without their input and commitment to racial equity.

Beyond the academic and professional arena, I have many people to thank who have become intimately familiar with my Ph.D. journey and research. It definitely takes a village and my village consists of dear friends who have shared words of encouragement when I most needed it. A special big thanks is extended to Biggi Erdall and Dominique Willems for their support, needed laughter, and overall compassion throughout the duration of my Ph.D. program and the writing of the dissertation. An immense amount of gratitude is also extended to Alonzo Elem who has been encouraging, kind, and supportive throughout the writing of this dissertation and has taught me that sometimes you need to look to faith to know that everything will turn out the way it should. Thank you.

And last but not least, I wish to thank my family circle, who has always supported my academic career--Geno Bassett, Neil Gouw, and my mother, Jannie Kuiper. I am tremendously grateful to have had their continued support throughout the Ph.D. program. My mother deserves special acknowledgement and recognition for her dedication to education and her overarching belief that education is a life changer. I thank her for the many nights she tirelessly stayed up during my all-night studying habits so that I could always ace the exam the next morning.

Reaching the end of this journey, I recall reading a book that triggered my engagement in the academic arena and, ultimately, guided the direction of my research. *The Jungle* by Upton Sinclair (1906) was a fascinating account on the abject poverty of immigrants and exposed the social ills of Chicago. It was then when I began to take interest in contemporary urban poverty with the belief that poverty should not be an accepted societal condition. With that, I conclude with a quote by Upton Sinclair: "There is one kind of prison where the man is behind bars, and everything that he desires is outside; and there is another kind where the things are behind the bars, and the man is outside" (p. 279).

This dissertation is dedicated to my son, Pieter Gene Bassett, and his namesake, my father, Pieter Kuiper (1942-1995).

Abstract

In a nationally published report by the Brookings Institute, *Mind the Gap* (2005), the Twin Cities was noted to have some of the worst disparities in the U.S. in race, class, and place. In the City of Minneapolis, North Minneapolis, a neighborhood bordering downtown, faces some of the greatest disparities in the Twin Cities. Predominately African American, nearly three-fourths of the community receive some type of county assistance. Struggling with economic marginalization, social isolation, and violence in the community, the characteristics of North Minneapolis are representative of the broader urban poverty phenomenon prevalent across cities in the United States. While research has extensively documented the urban poverty phenomenon in South Side Chicago, a neighboring Midwestern city and one of the most notoriously dangerous communities in the country, little scholarly research, at the time of this writing, has been conducted on urban poverty in North Minneapolis; and there has been, to date, no scholarly research on understanding the role of Human Resource Development (HRD) in the poverty zone in North Minneapolis.

This case study approach aims to bring to the forefront the complexities that surround the plight of the urban poor in North Minneapolis. The purpose of this study is to assess the state of the HRD in the poverty zone and to propose a strategy for a development-focused HRD framework. Borrowing from an earlier model employed by Harbison and Myers in 1964 to measure human resource development in developing nations, this study finds that a development approach of HRD is well suited to advanced nations struggling with inner city poverty.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	66
Table i: Community Leaders	66
Table ii: Northside Residents.....	67
Table iii: Community Activists.....	68
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
ABSTRACT.....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	v
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem.....	4
Research Question	6
Significance of the Study	7
Purpose of the Study	9
Description of Selected Neighborhood.....	11
Biography.....	12
Definitions and Terms.....	13
Urban Poverty	15
Persistent Structural Poverty	16
Race.....	17
Systems Theory.....	18
Community	18

Development.....	19
Summary	20
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	22
Urban Poverty	23
William Julius Wilson and the Urban Poverty Debate	23
Culture of Poverty.....	28
Systems Theory: A Critical Approach to Alleviating Persistent Urban Poverty.....	30
Race and Culture.....	32
Racial Discrimination and Segregation.....	32
HRD in Racial Discourse.....	35
Race in America: An Historical Perspective.....	37
Culture as Contributor to Racial Inequality.....	39
Role of Human Capital on Shaping Culture	42
National Human Resource Development (NHRD).....	44
Community Human Resource Development (CHRD)	47
Summary	49
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	51
Case Study Research.....	52
Appropriateness of the Case Study Method for This Study.....	53
Role of the Researcher in Case Study Research	55
Research Design.....	58
Purpose of the Case Study Design	58

Embedded Single Case Study	59
Research Framework	61
The Case: North Minneapolis	62
Data Collection and Analysis	63
Interviews.....	64
Population	65
Observations	68
Document Analysis.....	69
Triangulation.....	70
Criteria for Accuracy and Trustworthiness	71
Limitations and Assumptions	73
Summary	74
 CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS: THEMATIC RESULTS AND DISCRIMINATION IN	
MINNESOTA.....	76
Overview of Themes.....	76
Discrimination in Minnesota.....	77
The Criminal (In)Justice System.....	78
Institutional Discrimination	84
The Culture of Minnesota Nice.....	86
Impact of Historic Discrimination.....	92
Summary	98
 CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS: EXCLUSION FROM OPPORTUNITIES.....	
Exclusion from Opportunities.....	101

Involuntary Immigrants	105
Destruction in the Community	110
Exclusion from the Economic Mainstream.....	115
Summary	118
CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS: THE URBAN BLACK MALE IN SURVIVAL MODE...	120
The Urban Black Male in Survival Mode.....	121
Living with Violence.....	125
The Role of Gangs	128
The Urban Black Male as “Thug”	132
Summary	135
CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS: ENTWINED ROLES OF LEADERSHIP AND FAITH.....	136
Entwined Roles of Leadership and Faith	137
Decline in Worship Attendance.....	141
Division in Leadership.....	144
Summary	148
CHAPTER 8: POST-ANALYSIS LITERATURE REVIEW AND DISCUSSION	150
Theme 1: Discrimination in Minnesota	150
Theme 2: Exclusion from Opportunities	154
Theme 3: The Urban Black Male in Survival Mode	158
Theme 4: Entwined Roles of Faith and Leadership	162
Findings Not in the Literature.....	165
Summary	167

CHAPTER 9: SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND

RECOMMENDATIONS	169
Summary	169
Discussion	176
Conclusions	177
Recommendations for Policy	178
Recommendations for Practice	179
Recommendations for Theory	180
Recommendations for Future Research	182
REFERENCES	185

Chapter 1

Introduction

The release of *the Poverty Report 2010* (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011) reported an astounding fact: the number of people in poverty in the USA in 2010 (46.2 million) is the largest number in the 52 years for which poverty estimates have been published. The recession from December 2007 to June 2009 has contributed to a fourth consecutive annual increase in the number of people in poverty. According to proceedings hosted by The Brookings Institution on the day of the release of the U.S. Census poverty report, the number of people in poverty and the rate of poverty are expected to increase. Poverty matters, as expressed in the proceedings: “It creates immediate harm and has long-term damaging effects” (p. 23). While the South has experienced the greatest impact both in poverty rate and the number of people living in poverty (U.S. Census, 2011), the Midwest with 9.1 million people living in poverty is part of the snow belt states struggling with persistent urban poverty. In turn, core cities in metropolitan areas have the highest concentrations in poverty, with 50.8% of poor people within the Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs), living in principal cities in metropolitan areas (U.S. Census, 2011).

This study is in part a response to the recent findings published by the U.S. Census Bureau (2011). Poverty is a serious and perpetual problem in the United States and has yet to be systemically addressed since Lyndon B. Johnson’s declaration of the War on Poverty in 1964. While large-scale federal initiatives to end urban poverty have been on the decline since the mid-1990s, the War on

Terror since 9/11 has all but ensured budget cuts in programs and services designed to alleviate the plight of the urban poor. Thus, the publication of the widely anticipated U.S. Census Poverty Report came at a critical point in time, bringing poverty back to the forefront of national and local discussion. As the poor in the United States continue to get poorer and the middle-class population is falling into decline, the wealth disparity in the United States is expanding. With wealth heavily concentrated in a very small percentage of the population, “where the top 300,000 people, as a group, earn as much as the bottom 150 million, a ratio of 500 to 1” (Goldsmith & Blakely, 2010, p. 42), the United States has some of the greatest wealth disparities in the world. As the economy is slowly recovering from the recent recession, it is time to move toward a systemic solution to address urban poverty.

This study proposes that the field of Human Resource Development (HRD) is a critical multilevel approach needed to address systemically the problems and consequences of urban poverty in the United States. Emerging as a multi-paradigm system embracing models of performance and development, HRD has the potential to address current problems of urban poverty, as well as the root causes that contribute to perpetual urban poverty. The root causes of urban poverty are an important focus in this study as only by identifying and targeting the root causes of the problem can the problems of urban poverty be systemically addressed. This study identifies two critical forces that continue to exacerbate and perpetuate urban poverty: 1) impact of historic racial discrimination and 2) how racial discrimination has become part and parcel of the cultural landscape of the United

States. Culture as a learned social phenomenon is nowhere more clear than in the discussion of race in America, and the role of culture and race are a prominent point of discussion in this study. The knowledge and expertise drawn from the field of Human Resource Development frames this critical and integral race/culture relationship.

To frame this case study focused on North Minneapolis, Minnesota, I employed the Harbison and Myer's framework (1964) to assess the nature and scope of HRD in North Minneapolis, an area struggling with high levels of urban poverty, segregation, and exclusion from opportunities. While the Harbison and Myer's framework is designed to analyze indicators of human capital formation and modernization on a country level, this study applied the framework to a local, community level. Not to disregard the state of the national climate, this case study placed the economic, political, cultural, and social climate within the larger realm of the country.

With National Human Resource Development NHRD already leading the field of HRD toward a multi-paradigm approach where models of development and performance can function in concert, NHRD served as the overarching umbrella through which the Harbison and Myer's framework was approached. With existing study and practice in transitioning societies in developing countries, NHRD can be a critical and valuable instrument to inform and address national (and local) policy on poverty in modern, high-performing countries. This study proposes a collaborative effort between NHRD and Community Human Resource

Development (CHRD) to begin to bridge not only the racial divide, but also to help bridge the wealth disparities so prevalent across the country.

Poverty is back on the research agenda (Small et al, 2010). And integral to the study of poverty is the study of race. African Americans make up the largest percentage of the concentrated urban poor in the U.S. (U.S. Census, 2011), and to escape conditions of urban poverty, racial discrimination needs to become an essential part of the poverty agenda. As noted by then Senator Barack Obama in a speech on race in March 2008,

the path to a more perfect union means acknowledging that what ails the African-American community does not just exist in the minds of black people; that the legacy of discrimination, while less overt than in the past – are real and must be addressed, not just with words, but with deeds.

(Wilson, 2009, p. 142)

This case study attempted through critical theory and critical HRD to bring to the forefront the integral role that racial discrimination plays in perpetuating urban poverty. Importantly, this study attempted to address the gap in racial discourse in the field of Human Resource Development. As much as embracing diversity has become integral to the performance-model of HRD, race and racial discrimination, too, must become an integral part of the discussion among HRD professionals.

Statement of the Problem

The field of Human Resource Development (HRD) is informed by a multitude of theoretical underpinnings from a wide array of core and applied

disciplines. Although this provides scholars and practitioners in the field with a range of tools and capabilities, it has also contributed to ambiguity in defining HRD. More recently, the field has moved towards accepting this ambiguity and, as noted by Lynham and Cunningham (2006), is “putting aside fragmented models of HRD and embracing increasingly integrated and interdependent models instead” (p.130). From a theoretical perspective, this paradigm shift not only expands the breadth of the field, but also better encapsulates the principles of open systems theory, a fundamental and overarching foundation in the field. While this theoretical paradigm shift is a significant point in the history of the study of HRD, it has become evident that there is a gap between the expanding theoretical paradigms of HRD and the performance-based practice of HRD in the United States. In contrast to the role of NHRD in developing countries, where multiple-model paradigms are employed, the role of NHRD (or development HRD) in the United States has been largely absent (Cho & McLean, 2004; McLean, 2004).

The U.S. is typically considered the forerunner of contemporary HRD, employing training and development initiatives since WWII (Swanson & Holton, 2001). With an emphasis on maximizing performance, HRD in the US has grown to respond to rapidly changing economic environments brought about by globalization and technology. This is noted by Marquardt and Berger (2003), who postulated “globalization has significantly influenced every aspect of the HRD profession” (p. 283). However, as the authors also noted, there is a clear absence of HRD beyond micro-level economics and the workplace. While NHRD has embraced a holistic approach to the study and practice of HRD, in particular as

employed in developing countries, the HRD profession in the U.S. has yet to realize its potential beyond the performance paradigm (Lynham & Cunningham, 2006). That there is a need to shift beyond a singular paradigm in the U.S. is evident more now than ever before. As high-performing organizations have transformed the city to global centers, the economic, political, social, and cultural vitality of the city is important to remain a competitive human resources edge. NHRD expertise has the capability to strengthen core human capital in global centers. As noted by Goldsmith and Blakely (2010), “reshaping the metropolis into a new vehicle for human and physical resource development is the best course for national economic revitalization” (p. 11).

Research Question

The research question that guided this study was: How are Harbison and Myer’s (1964) nine questions answered in the context of concentrated urban poverty in North Minneapolis, Minnesota? With critical HRD serving as the frame for this study, the following questions were addressed using a qualitative case study approach:

- 1) What is the nature (historical and current) of the transitioning economic, social/socio-cultural, and political national context?
- 2) What pressures and imperatives are driving the nature of and need for HRD?
- 3) What currently comprises HRD?
- 4) What are the specific and necessary goals and components of HRD?
- 5) How is or might HRD be defined?

- 6) What are important elements for an effective HRD strategy?
- 7) What factors are likely to impede successful implementation of an HRD strategy?
- 8) What factors are likely to enhance/enable successful implementation of an HRD strategy?
- 9) What specific challenges face policy makers and professionals in the development, implementation, and evaluation of a national HRD strategy? (Paprock, 2006, p. 15)

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is twofold. First, the importance of this study can be found in its attempt to bridge the theory-practice divide in HRD scholarship. With HRD's theoretical paradigm expanding to incorporate multiple HRD systems, most notably the addition of NHRD (Cho & McLean, 2004; Lynham & Cunningham, 2006; McLean, 2004), there is a need for practitioners in the U.S. to recognize the multidimensionality of HRD beyond the performance-paradigm. By applying a development framework of HRD to examine urban poverty in the U.S., this study hopes to bring to the forefront an example of how NHRD can be employed in modern society. As "the United States is behind most of the rest of the world in acknowledging the value of NHRD" (p. 391), as noted by McLean (2004), this study will contribute to the emerging recognition that the value of NHRD is global. With over 46 million people in poverty in the U.S., and rising (Brookings Institution, 2011), it is evident that there is a critical need for a comprehensive framework such as NHRD.

Second, the findings from this research can contribute to understanding the complexities that exist between the relationships of poverty and race and culture. In metropolitan cities, African Americans are the largest group of urban poor. I examined, using the questions outlined above, the relationship between poverty and race in greater depth.

In addition, this case study also sheds light on the complexities of culture as an integral element to shaping the poverty debate. Culture can take on many forms and meanings, and NHRD is positioned to help guide the culture/poverty discussion in a manner that reflects an open, systemic approach that is necessary to begin to change the plight of the urban poor and the perpetual state of poverty. That there is a need for an open discussion on culture is expressed in a special issue on poverty in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Small et al., (2010), revealed that “Culture is back on the research agenda” (p. 6). Following decades of shying away from “the tangle of pathology,” liberal scholars, as Cohen noted in *The New York Times*, prompted by the special issue of *The Annals*, “are speaking openly about you-know-what, conceding that culture and persistent poverty are enmeshed” (Cohen, 2010, p. A1).

Essential to the points made above, this study is important to the ongoing discussions on the challenges of race and racism in the United States. To understand the plight of minorities in America, in particular the African American urban poor, is to examine not only modern day racial and nonracial political, cultural, and economic forces (Wilson, 2011), but also the historical underpinnings that have shaped, and continue to shape, the racial (and class) divide in America.

As David Shipler, author of *A Country of Strangers: Blacks and Whites in America* (1997), observed,

Today, when sensibilities have been tuned and blatant bigotry has grown unfashionable in most quarters, racist thoughts are given subtler expression, making the veil permeable and often difficult to discern. Sometimes its presence is perceived only as a flicker across a face, as when a white patient looks up from her hospital bed to discover that an attending physician is African-American. (p. 4)

Unquestionably, racial inequality must be challenged, and it is this position that serves as the final *raison d'être*: to challenge racial inequality through the lens of critical HRD.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this case study research is to present an assessment of, and propose a strategy for, a development-focused framework of HRD in North Minneapolis, Minnesota, using an existing HRD model by Harbison and Myer's (1964). Developed to assess the nature and scope of HRD on a national level, this study attempted to employ this model on a community level to address concentrated urban poverty. With 68% of residents on some type of county assistance, North Minneapolis is economically marginalized, segregated, and socially isolated from mainstream society. The two primary zip codes are 55411 and 55412. In zip code 55411, the core poverty zone in North Minneapolis, 31% of all residents live with an income below poverty level, and 41% of children under the age of 18 are living in concentrated poverty (NAZ, 2011). Given this

data, a comprehensive and actionable strategy is required to improve the quality of life for many of its residents. This case study research hopes to achieve this goal by designing, in the words of Harbison and Myer (1964), a “blueprint for action rather than solely as a scholarly academic exercise” (p. v). As a case study approach can be a “disciplined force in setting public policy and in reflecting on human experience” (Stake, 2008, p. 141), this study hopes to lay the groundwork for an action-oriented development approach informed by critical HRD.

The Twin Cities Metro Area in Minnesota is a well-suited platform from which to launch this case study. Despite being one of the wealthiest states in the nation, the Twin Cities has some of the greatest disparities in the country among racial and ethnic groups, income, and place (differences between cities and suburbs) (Brookings Institution Report, 2005), resulting in pockets of concentrated urban poverty. “Racial segregation is a significant problem even in a predominately white region like the Twin Cities” (Orfield & Luce Jr., 2010, p.85), where communities of color (or nonwhites) are increasingly segregated from whites. These Multiethnic Segregated Neighborhoods (MSNs) are, as Orfield and Luce, Jr. (2010) noted, “the new face of segregation” (p. 104). The hope is to present a clear case that race and racial inequality cannot be dismissed in strategy assessment and formulation. As one of HRD’s core strengths is to embrace a systems approach to any need, whether organizational or societal, the HRD field is obligated to address such critical issues.

This study builds on Wilson's (2010) statement as a critical component that helped shape the purpose of this study; he noted that there is a real need for frank discussion on race:

In framing public policy we should not shy away from an explicit discussion of the specific issues of race and poverty; on the contrary, we should highlight them in our attempt to convince the nation that these problems should be seriously confronted and that there is an urgent need to address them. (p. 141)

Overwhelmingly, scholars in the field are making the case for an explicit discussion on race and poverty, and HRD is in a position, albeit a new one, to help chart the course. Contributing to national policy, NHRD has the capabilities to frame the discussion in a manner that is economically, politically, culturally, and socially forward-thinking. As articulated by Orfield and Luce, Jr. (2010): "policy solutions that do not address race are not likely to make much difference to the deepest problems of inequality and segregation" (p. xiv). As one of the purposes of this case study is to present recommendations for beginning this critical discussion, NHRD must, as noted by Orfield and Luce, Jr., address race as part of any policy recommendation.

Description of Selected Neighborhood

The selected case for this study is North Minneapolis, Minnesota. This case was selected for its high concentration of urban poverty and its large African American population. A community struggling with violent crime, youth violence, foreclosures, and underemployment, the poverty zone in North Minneapolis was

awarded a \$28 million federal grant to address poverty from cradle to college as part of the national Promise Neighborhood initiative launched by the Obama Administration. A segregated community, North Minneapolis is a well-suited case to examine persistent African American urban poverty, racial inequality, and the state (and potential) of Human Resource Development in helping to address the plight of the urban poor.

A unique and tailored case study approach was developed to capture the complexities of urban poverty in North Minneapolis. Drawing on the historical background of the case, its physical setting, political, social and cultural contexts, multiple sources of evidence was employed to develop depth and sense-making to a complex phenomenon. The benefit of the case study approach as observed by Stake (1998) is that “qualitative case researchers orient to complexities connecting ordinary practice in natural habitats to the abstractions and concerns of diverse academic disciplines” (p.92). It is with this viewpoint in mind that this case study researcher aims to connect the study of poverty through the applied disciplinary field of HRD.

Biography

In the process of undertaking this case, it needs to be shared at the onset of this study that I have some degree of professional experience in the North Minneapolis community. Employed as a Human Resource Development Manager at Summit Academy, I work with numerous non-profits, training organizations, state agencies, and the philanthropic community focused on equitable workforce development in the Twin Cities. I have gained tremendous insight and experience

on HRD efforts in the North Minneapolis community as well as across the Twin Cities. I also serve on the Board of Directors of MAD DADS, an organization committed to reducing gang-related violence in the community through outreach, community service, and education.

In addition to my professional role in the North Minneapolis community, I have specialized in the study of urban poverty throughout my scholarly career. This includes a Master of Arts degree in American Studies with a specialization in African American urban poverty as well as a Masters of Education degree in Human Resource Development. This research aims to bridge my scholarly and professional understanding of urban poverty with a more meaningful, humanistic understanding of urban poverty through a case study approach. As a critical theorist, I am also motivated to make explicit the racial inequality embedded in the economic, political, cultural, and social institutions. As noted by Carspecken and Apple (1982), “Critical researchers are usually politically minded people who wish, through their research, to aid struggles against inequality and domination” (p. 512). This case aims to gain insight to the multifold complexities that have caused generational poverty in North Minneapolis.

Definitions and Terms

Key words used throughout this study are defined in this section.

Human Resource Development

Emerging definitions of contemporary HRD have expanded to encompass multiple systems and models of HRD. In contrast to earlier, and more focused, interpretations, such as the “three-legged stool,” a performance-based paradigm

developed by Swanson (1995), HRD has evolved to become more flexible and cross-national. Pioneering this effort, McLean (2001) proposed a definition of HRD to encompass,

any process or activity that, either initially or over the long term, has the potential to develop...work-based knowledge, expertise, productivity and satisfaction, whether for personal or group/team gain, or for the benefit of an organization, community, nation, or, ultimately, the whole of humanity.
(p.10)

Shifting the paradigm to incorporate a global, cross-cultural emphasis, Cho and McLean (2004) followed by introducing five emerging models of NHRD: a) centralized NHRD, b) transitional NHRD, c) government-initiated HRD, d) decentralized/free-market NHRD, and e) small-nation NHRD. These models underscore three critical assumptions of HRD: 1) HRD is a global phenomenon, 2) HRD is context-specific, and 3) HRD is planned.

Using Cho and McLean's emerging models of NHRD as the defining frame for this study, a definition of Community Human Resource Development (CHRD) is presented. This initial attempt toward a definition of CHRD aims to bring to the forefront a framework that allows NHRD to operate on a national level in a collaborate effort on the local, community level. Only when NHRD and CHRD work in conjunction can HRD be maximized to its fullest potential. In line with systems theory, this collaborative effort allows for feedback loops to become a visible component of the change process. To complement the emerging models of

NHRD, I propose an initial definition of CHRD to help focus this collaborative effort to a community level:

Community Human Resource Development (CHRD) is focused on the improvement of the quality of life of people and communities using a holistic framework rooted in development to empower community participation and capacity building. Informed by systems theory and HRD principles and practices, CHRD cultivates participation and action – economic, political, social, and cultural – in community systems.

Within this framework, CHRD is contextually-situated and uniquely tailored to the needs of the community.

Urban Poverty

While there are multiple measures and definitions of poverty, how the U.S. Census Bureau measures poverty is important in defining (and understanding) poverty in the United States. Using a poverty threshold developed by Mollie Orshansky in 1963, based on 1955 data on food consumption of families in economic stress, the U.S. Census determines who lives in poverty today. Using an absolute (price indexed) measure of poverty, a family or member of the family household, lives in poverty when “the total family income is less than the threshold appropriate for the size of the family” (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). In contrast, if the total family income is equal to, or exceeds, the poverty threshold, then that family is not considered to live in poverty. Given that an absolute measure of poverty does not take into account “changes in average income or patterns of consumption by American households,” (Haskins, 2011, p. 14) or “that the income

required to be above poverty in cities could be as much as twice that required in rural areas...the U.S. poverty line understates considerably the financial requirements for escaping poverty” (Goldsmith & Blakely, 2010, p. 14). It is with this understanding of poverty in mind, that a closer examination of persistent and concentrated poverty can be examined.

Persistent Structural Poverty

Persistent structural poverty refers to “certain patterns of large-scale socioeconomic arrangements [that] create poverty and prevent its alleviation” (Goldsmith and Blakely, 2010, p. 20). Widespread joblessness following the decline of manufacturing and low-skilled employment as well as the ‘suburbanization’ of work, have contributed to what Wilson (1996) called, “the new urban poverty”: “poor, segregated neighborhoods in which a substantial majority of individual adults are either unemployed or have dropped out of the labor force all together” (p. 19). In turn, as Wilson continued, “when a highly segregated group experiences a high or rising rate of poverty, geographically concentrated poverty is the inevitable result” (p. 15). Defined by the U.S. Census as neighborhoods with a poverty rate of 40% and up, these neighborhoods are commonly identified as “ghettos, barrios, or slums” (Jargowsky, 1997, p.11).

In this research, the above noted definitions was employed to refer to poor, segregated individuals who are unable to escape the conditions of poverty. While high-level poverty and concentrated poverty are classified in different categories by the U.S. Census, for the purpose of this research, both terms were employed in order to capture the quality of life of residents in North Minneapolis. Given that

the poverty threshold is far below an accurate representation of living standards today, it is the researcher's belief that, if adjusted to a relative measure of poverty, North Minneapolis would classify as a high-level concentrated poverty neighborhood.

Race

Race is a complex construct. Historically, race was viewed as a construct rooted in biology, and, as Wilson (2011) argued, led to the belief that a particular race could be biologically inferior or superior to another race. However, as argued by Dinesh D'Souza (1995), citing Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (1992), "the concept of race is a 'biological misnomer,' a mere "metaphor," because "who has seen a black or red person, a white, yellow or brown person? These terms are arbitrary constructs, not reports of reality" (p. 447). Race is a cultural invention, a social construct and "bears no intrinsic relationship to actual human physical variations" (Smedley, 1999, p. 690). Continuing, Smedley observed,

Race was a social invention of the 18th century that took advantage of the superficial physical differences among the American population and the social roles that these people played, and transposed these into a new form of social stratification. The symbols of race identity became the substance. (Smedley, 1999, p. 699)

Understanding race as a social construct, one that is created and imposed upon by the larger society, is a significant point for HRD scholarship. What this means is that there is an opportunity to engage in critical discussion on how HRD

can play a role in reshaping a learned social phenomenon that is deeply rooted in American culture.

Systems Theory

Systems theory is an overarching theoretical framework that supports core and cross-disciplines in the field of education and human resource development. Although not a discipline (Kuchinke, 2001), systems theory has the capability and complexity to function across disciplines and, importantly, to inform disciplines. From general systems theory to the concept of ‘systems thinking’, systems theory is defined as “a collection of interdependent, organized parts that work together in an environment to achieve the purpose of the whole” (McLagan, p.66, 1989). According to Jacobs (1989), it is a way of approaching and thinking about problems in addition to serving as a larger framework for the development of practices in most disciplines (p.31). More specifically, systems theory is also a way of looking at complex environments and strategically addressing the inputs, processes, and outputs of an organization, community, and/or society at large. From the standpoint of community development, systems theory has the capability to bring together national and community human resource development.

Community

There are many definitions and interpretations of the concept of community depending on the field in which it is used. In this research, sociology is a core foundational HRD underpinning (McLean, 1998). Sociology has been instrumental in redefining the community from a physical structure to a socially constructed phenomenon. While physicality remains a part of the sociological equation, the

boundaries of community have shifted to encompass multiple interpretations, encompassing structural and cultural explanations, as well as social network structures. Structural explanations, as Brint (2001) outlined, include the social ties and attachments that are formed in small-sized communities whereas the cultural structures include the shared beliefs between residents and social identification. Social network structures on the other hand emphasize elements of weak or strong social capital in a community. While this latter interpretation, social capital, informed this research, all three structural components were systemically viewed in the context of community.

Development

Development is used in a wide array of contexts, from economic and political development, social and cultural development, and human development at large. Within the context of human resource development, all of these aspects of development come into play. Following the principles of systems theory, any development initiative that improves the quality of life of people falls within the overarching definition of development. Moreover, as development in Human Resource Development is informed by systems theory, the larger systems and subsystems are also taken into context; this includes global and national development initiatives along with development on the local and community level. Given this lens, the term *human development* as defined by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) informed the concept of development:

Human development...brings together the production and distribution of commodities and the expansion and use of human capabilities. It also

focuses on choices – on what people should have, be and do to ensure their own livelihood. Human development is, moreover, concerned not only with basic needs satisfaction but also with human development at a participatory and dynamic process. It applies equally to less developed and highly developed countries. (Human Development Report, 2010)

Summary

Informed by National Human Resource Development (NHRD), this case study approach aims to assess the nature and scope of HRD in North Minneapolis, Minnesota, using a framework proposed in 1964 by Harbison and Myer. Designed to analyze the state of HRD and indicators of human capital planning and development, this model has been employed only on a country-wide level. This case study research used this framework by focusing on the nine questions as outlined by Paprock (2006) to explore the state of HRD on a community level focusing on the economic, political, social, and cultural landscape. The purpose of this case study is to understand in-depth the HRD challenges and opportunities facing an urban poor community struggling with economic marginalization, exclusion from opportunities, social isolation, and segregation. To date, HRD appears to have been absent in the study of urban poverty, and this case study has been designed to bring to the forefront the vital role HRD can play in not only shaping the urban poverty debate but, importantly, in driving long-term change to break the cycle of perpetual poverty. Already a presence in the developing world, emerging NHRD scholarship will benefit from expanding this knowledge to high-

income, modernized societies setting the stage for an expanded, multi-paradigm model of HRD.

Urban poverty is an important and critical discussion for HRD professionals to engage in. At its fundamental core, HRD is concerned with the ‘development of human resources’. In core metropolitan cities in the United States, and in the Twin Cities Metro Area, the urban poor lack the education, the skill, and the training, to participate in a global knowledge economy. With the decline in low-skilled employment opportunities and economic and spatial restructuring, the urban poor have become economically, politically, culturally, socially, and spatially isolated. As noted by Goldsmith & Blakely (2010), “In today’s difficult world, poverty isolates a growing group of racially distinct Americans who are socially disconnected from the greater society, educationally handicapped, and institutionally victimized not only by the labor markets but by the social-welfare and penal systems” (p. 21). As a result, high-level poverty and concentrated poverty becomes a familiar fixture in the large metropolitan city as “sustained material deprivation” prevents the poor from achieving middle-class status (Small, et al., 2010). What is needed is a multipronged approach to address not only the symptoms of poverty but the root causes of urban poverty. HRD can provide such a multipronged approach.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

In the United States, poverty has become a renewed and visible presence following Hurricane Katrina. Media exposure of the Lower Ninth Ward made public such dilapidated and poor living conditions more prevalent in developing countries, it served as a critical (and cruel) reminder to the public that the United States struggles with great disparity in race, class, and place. FEMA's poor response to Hurricane Katrina and the clean-up of this natural disaster further illustrated the weaknesses of government agencies to respond to a largely black and poor population. Exposing racial injustice in a democratic system, Katrina made visible that poverty is not only to be fought in the developing world, but also in a highly developed, modernized society; the United States. Exposing the failure of government to address poverty since Lyndon B. Johnson's declaration, Katrina, as Wilson (2011) commented, "turned out to be something of a cruel natural experiment, wherein better-off Americans could readily see the effects of racial isolation and chronic economic subordination" (p. 11). This chapter consists of a review of the literature focused on the contemporary debate on urban poverty and bring to the forefront national views on race; a critical component of perpetual urban poverty.

Shaping the urban poverty debate, William Julius Wilson figures prominently in this review. Instrumental in dismantling the argument that the culture of poverty is a cause, and not a symptom, of poverty, Wilson introduced a

systemic approach to analyzing the state of urban poverty. For the study of urban poverty, this systems view of poverty was a pivotal paradigm shift, at least for the liberal camp, in how urban poverty was viewed. For the study of HRD, the systems approach to understanding the complexities of urban poverty has significant implications. First and foremost, it illustrates that HRD, and especially NHRD, is well-suited to play a key role in helping to shape the urban poverty discussion drawing upon core theoretical underpinnings from core and applied disciplines. Second, and more importantly, the field of HRD is in a position to develop and create actionable steps to alleviate perpetual urban poverty. With models of OD expanding to setting national policy (McLean, 2006), the principles and practices already exist for HRD to play a guiding role in policy development designed to alleviate urban poverty. This chapter reviews the role of HRD in the study of urban poverty, or lack thereof, introduce HRD's potential role in helping to shape emerging direction in urban poverty research and practice.

Urban Poverty

This section highlights the instrumental role William Julius Wilson has played in shaping the urban poverty debate. Responding to the Culture of Poverty climate that materialized during the mid 1960s, Wilson provided the groundwork for a systemic approach to examining the plight of the new urban poor. This section focuses on Wilson's work and the Culture of Poverty thesis.

William Julius Wilson and the Urban Poverty Debate

William Julius Wilson has played a pivotal role in shaping the urban poverty debate and is a leading figure and contributor in emerging discussions on

the landscape of poverty in the United States. With Chicago's urban poor neighborhoods as his academic training ground during his tenure at the University of Chicago, Wilson's stance on urban poverty is in part influenced by Chicago's long-standing dilemma with urban poverty and racial segregation. A central figure in introducing a structural approach to understanding urban poverty, Wilson's role in shaping the scholarly study of urban poverty has important implications for the field of HRD. This section of the literature review discusses his instrumental role in helping to shape a systemic approach to understanding and addressing *the new urban poor*, a term coined by Wilson.

A social democrat, Wilson provided the counterargument against conservative and neoconservative thought. With conservatives dominating the urban poverty debate since the late 1960s and flourishing during the 70s and the Reagan years, Wilson became the academic voice for policy development to address growing poverty in core metropolitan cities. Launching a 'liberal attack' during the height of the conservative and neoconservative movement on urban poverty, Wilson argued against popular and widespread belief that the culture of poverty was a cause and not a symptom of poverty. Asserting instead that the new urban poverty was predominately caused by post-industrialization structural changes in the economy during the mid 1970s to the mid-to-late 1980s, and the impact of those changes on the inner-city communities, the urban poor became not only economically isolated but also spatially isolated. Along with the disappearance of middle-income blacks with the rise of suburban sprawl, the social (and cultural) capital once binding the community together, all but disappeared.

These critical factors, Wilson argued, along with the impact of historic (and contemporary) racial discrimination, served to perpetuate persistent urban poverty. Within this context, Wilson began to lay a foundation for a systemic approach to the urban poverty agenda.

This rapid deterioration of urban living conditions led to the creation of the urban ghetto (a term used when over 40% of the people live below the level of poverty). Referring to the residents of these ghettos as the new urban poor in his influential work *When Work Disappears* (1996), Wilson, in effect, altered the scholarly landscape on the study of urban poverty. With the term underclass dominating the debate prior to Wilson's introduction of the new urban poor, a term employed by and large by policy makers and the media, Wilson successfully redirected the urban poverty debate to incorporate systemic economic, political, social, and cultural forces shaping the plight of the urban poor. With the disappearance of work as a central tenet in all of his works, the new urban poverty, according to Wilson (1996), denotes "poor, segregated neighborhoods in which a substantial majority of individual adults are either unemployed or have dropped out of the labor force altogether" (p. 19). In one of his more recent works, *More than Just Race* (2009), Wilson continued his focus on the problem of joblessness: "more than any other group, low-skilled workers depend on a strong economy, particularly a sustained tight labor market – that is, one in which there are ample jobs for all applicants" (p. 11). A tight labor market, he argued would lead to more job vacancies, shorter unemployment cycles, and increased wages (Wilson, 1996).

Wilson sets forth three hypotheses why poor neighborhoods expanded in the 1980s. As outlined by Jargowsky (1996), they are: “1) ghetto poverty is caused by deindustrialization, 2) ghetto poverty is caused by employment deconcentration, and 3) ghetto poverty is caused by occupational bifurcation” (p. 118). While empirical findings have shown that the impact of deindustrialization on ghetto poverty is not statistically significant, there is an exception to this finding as Jargowsky (1996) observed, “deindustrialization only leads to ghetto increases in northern metropolitan areas” (p. 121). However, more likely, and touching upon all three of Wilson’s hypotheses, is the decline in demand for low-end skills and an increased demand in more complex skills in core metropolitan areas and in the economy at large. As a result, Gans (1993) argued economic exclusion would fast replace the social isolation which Wilson speaks of in his works. While his observation was made in the early 90s, today the urban poor have become marginalized from the economic mainstream; economically excluded from a global knowledge society driven by technological advances where low-skilled employment has become outsourced.

The impact of globalization and technology has rapidly changed the urban landscape. Cities have become global financial centers and the economic, political, cultural, and social vitality of the city is important to the overall wealth of a nation. With globalization, advances in technology, and the knowledge industry as driving forces of (and for) change, the impact of this change has negatively impacted low-skilled workers unable to compete in the job market. While Wilson’s works have focused extensively on the structural (and nonstructural) economic

changes in the economy during the 70s and 80s, the exponential skills and competency divide between low- and high- skill workers and its impact on a growing (economically) marginalized population living in global cities causes even greater concern. For the field of HRD, an examination of the changing urban (and global) landscape and its impact on the urban poor must become integral to advancing a national and local agenda. Core to development HRD, this should include examining the city as a source for innovative change. As Goldsmith & Blakely (2010) commented, metropolitan areas “serve as laboratories for social, environmental, and economic change, allowing experimentation that can lead to innovation” (p. 7). Incorporating the re-development of the city as part of a broad-scale initiative would give HRD the opportunity to help shape liveable, thinkable, learnable cities.

The HRD profession is well suited to inform the study of urban poverty. Uniquely positioned to draw from a wide array of theories from core and applied disciplines (McLean, 1998), there is much overlap between the theoretical foundations in the study of urban poverty and in the study of HRD; most notably economic theory, psychology theory, and sociology theory. With systems theory as a core foundation of HRD (Swanson & Holton, 2001) serving as an overarching framework for examining systems (and all respective subsystems), HRD is designed to bridge theories, research, and practice in a manner that can tailor specific frameworks based on specific needs. Subsequently, the framework exists to address the causes and consequences of urban poverty from a wide array of disciplines and applied disciplines bridging the multiple disciplines and theoretical

underpinnings to address the forces that perpetuate urban poverty; from the impact of globalization and technological advances, to local efforts on the community level and large-scale human capital initiatives addressing education and national cultural change. It is within this realm that HRD can assert its unique utility and answer Wilson's call for a multipronged, systemic approach to attacking urban poverty. While this shepherds HRD into a new domain in the U.S., it is a domain not unfamiliar to the study and practice of HRD given NHRDs existing role in helping to alleviate global poverty.

Culture of Poverty

Before exploring further how HRD can support the effort to alleviate urban poverty, a review of the Culture of Poverty associated with poor urban blacks and how this has influenced a national and cultural belief system, is necessary. This review attempts to emphasize not only the challenges ahead for HRD, but also to illustrate how deeply rooted—on a national level— cultural beliefs toward poverty and race are. This begins with understanding the term Culture of Poverty. First coined, it appears, by Oscar Lewis in 1959 in his work *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty*, the term was catapulted to full media attention following the leaked Moynihan Report by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Not intended for the public, the report launched a widespread frenzy in support of 'the tangle of pathology' changing the political, economic, cultural, and social landscape for decades to come. The report stated,

There is no one solution. Nonetheless, at the center of the tangle of pathology is the weakness of the family structure. Once or twice removed,

it will be found to be the principal source of most of the aberrant, inadequate, or antisocial behavior that did not establish, but now serves to perpetuate the cycle of poverty and deprivation. (Moynihan Report, 1965, p. 76)

Claiming this to be the problem of the underclass, policy and public opinion became heavily swayed by such sentiment setting into motion divided political camps in 1963. Right leaning scholars like Charles Murray (1984) argued that the motto “poverty was not the fault of the individual but of the system” (p. 29) became so dogmatic that structuralists failed to see individual accountability, a characteristic prized in American culture. A widely publicized article in Time Magazine expressed this growing sentiment. Titled “*The American Underclass: A minority within a minority*” (1977), the article stated the following:

Behind the [ghetto’s] crumbling wall lives a large group of people who are more intractable, more socially alien and more hostile than almost anyone had imagined. They are the unreachable: the American underclass... Their bleak environment nurtures values that are often at odds with the majority – even the majority of the poor. Thus the underclass produces a highly disproportionate number of the nation’s juvenile delinquents, school dropouts, drug addicts and welfare mothers, and much of the adult crime, family disruption, urban decay and demand for social expenditures. (Time Magazine, 1977, p. 14-15)

The breakdown of the African American family is a central element in the Culture of Poverty thesis leading to further widespread belief that poverty is a

consequence, and not a cause, of poor family values. This argument was so prominent, especially at its peak in the mid 1960s, that “the topic of the values and culture of poor people became virtually off-limits to academics, especially white academics, who exercised a form of self-censorship in order to avoid being charged with ‘blaming the victim’” (Jargowsky, 1996, p. 189). It was Wilson who broke through this political divide shifting the discussion away from blaming the victim to examining structural changes in the economy.

Wilson (1996) argued that the increase in single-family households on the rise among inner-city blacks was the result of “black male joblessness since 1970” (p. 95). As he noted, “both the black decay in marriage and the lower rate of remarriage, each of which is associated with high percentages of out-of-wedlock births and female headed households... can be directly tied to the labor market status of black males” (p. 91). Shifting the discussion from blame to joblessness (a structural explanation), Wilson’s impact in redirecting the focus to systemic problems is instrumental in the study of urban poverty. While his assertions are not without challenge from peers, consensus holds that he actively – and importantly – transformed the study of urban poverty.

Systems Theory: A Critical Approach to Alleviating Persistent Urban Poverty

The field of HRD is supported by systems theory and serves not only as a critical theoretical underpinning but also an essential approach to problem solving. General systems theory, according to Jacobs (1989), is relevant for two key reasons. First, it provides a framework for thinking about problems as being part of “complex and unfolding environments” (p. 30) and second, it provides a

foundation from which to develop practices in any professional capacity. In other words, systems theory is relevant because it expands our lens to consider the interconnected parts that impact a system and in turn, make up the system. This leads to the essence of what a system is: “the whole is more than the sum of its parts” (Bertalanffy, 1972, p. 407). Rooted in mechanistic and organismic models of the 19th and 20th centuries (Kast & Rosenzweig, 1972), systems theory has expanded as a core organizational tool in the professional field of HRD. Informed by the biological principles of the living system, “all organizations sit within larger systems – industries, communities, and larger living systems” (Senge, 1990, p. 342). It is this multisystem paradigm that provides HRD the critical framework needed to address urban poverty – a complex living system in core metropolitan areas situated within the larger national economic, political, social and cultural context.

Urban poverty is a complex web of historical, economical, political, social, and cultural influences. As the majority of government and nongovernment-initiated programs function in isolation, whether on a national or local level, they subsequently fail to alleviate urban poverty. Without a systemic approach that focuses on how each system influences the other, and respective subsystems, isolated initiatives can only achieve so much. The Harlem Children’s Zone (HCZ) is an example of a systemic approach that has shown promise. Build on the principles of systems theory, the HCZ has developed a new approach for fighting poverty that systemically incorporates community services and assistance from the moment a child is conceived to college graduation. While directed at children to

break the cycle of poverty based on research that children born in poverty are more likely to stay in poverty, the HCZ model is an excellent example of a systemic approach on a community level.

Race and Culture

This section reviews the role of race in the study on African American urban poverty. A review of the historical forces that have shaped race in the United States is brought to the forefront, along with a discussion on racial discourse in the field of HRD. The role of national cultural beliefs in reinforcing racial inequality concludes this discussion.

Racial Discrimination and Segregation

The Culture of Poverty thesis highlights an underlying problem in the U.S: racial discrimination and segregation. While Wilson did not emphasize as greatly the impact of contemporary racial discrimination in his works focusing more so on the lasting impact of historic discrimination, Jargowsky (1996) shared,

without question, racial segregation in the United States is a pernicious evil. Efforts to reduce racial segregation are probably among the most important public policies that could be pursued to reduce poverty. And the concentration of poverty among blacks would not be nearly as high today were it not for levels of racial segregation for blacks that dwarf those ever experienced by any other racial or ethnic group in U.S. history. (p. 143)

Racism is not only a deeply rooted historic problem but also an ongoing contemporary problem in the United States built into, and perpetuated by, the economic, political, structural, and social institutions of the country. As noted by

Powell (2001), “the residential segregation and concentration of poverty in neighborhoods inhabited by blacks did not come about accidentally. It was constructed and is perpetuated through historical forces, including government housing and transportation policies, institutional practices, and private behaviors” (p. 21).

While the latest U.S. Census data reveals an overall decline in neighborhood segregation levels from 2000 to 2010, “older and northern metropolitan areas continue to register the highest segregation levels for minority groups” (Brookings Institute, 2011). Racial segregation, especially in northern cities, plays a significant role in the formation of ghettos, and as Massey and Denton argued in *American Apartheid* (1993), “when a highly segregated group experiences a high or rising rate of poverty, geographically concentrated poverty is the inevitable result” (p. 118). In turn, the spatial isolation of poverty and absence of economic, political, social, and cultural structures perpetuates the cycle of concentrated poverty. In some larger northern cities, this led to hyper-segregation, extreme segregation on multiple dimensions of segregation. The forces contributing to racial segregation are multidimensional and consist of four key factors as outlined by Denton (2002): differences in 1) suburbanization, 2) income, 3) attitudes, and 4) discrimination. Combined, these differences have a detrimental impact on urban communities and its residents.

In the Twin Cities, segregation is a critical problem. With one of the greatest race disparities in the country, the Twin Cities, struggles with multiethnic segregation; communities of color segregated from the white population (Orfield

& Luce, Jr., 2010). According to The Brookings Institution (2005), “in a region where household income is among the highest in the nation, black household income is among the lowest” (p. 6). In a special report on the Twin Cities conducted by The Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program, disparity in race, place, and class is among the greatest in the nation of major metropolitan cities. That segregation is a critical problem is addressed by Orfield and Luce Jr. in their book entitled *Region: Planning the Future of the Twin Cities* (2010). The authors noted, “Segregated neighborhoods create segregated schools because schools draw students from nearby neighborhoods. Conversely, segregated schools lead to segregated neighborhoods” (Orfield & Luce, 2010, p. 87). In the Twin Cities, disparity is more apparent than in twenty-five of the largest U.S. metros: “the poverty rate in nonwhite segregated schools was eight and half times the poverty rate in predominately white schools and two and half times the poverty rate in integrated schools” (Orfield & Luce, 2010, p. 91). The need to address racial discrimination and segregation is evident and unfortunately, it took a natural disaster to bring the discussion on urban poverty to the forefront of research once again.

This research proposes NHRD as the appropriate framework to address racial discrimination and segregation. NHRD can be packaged as a national agenda designed to advance the well being of society and the quality of life of its people. Able to serve multiple performance and development systems, NHRDs multidimensionality can target organizations, communities, individuals, and more.

Drawing from the works of McLean et al., Lynham and Cunningham (2006) expanded upon HRD's broad spectrum of expertise,

when nations are the targeted performance systems...the purpose of HRD becomes to develop and unleash human expertise for national economic performance, political and social development, growth, and well-being of individuals, family unites, communities, other social groupings, organizations (of all types), and thereby the nation as a whole. (p. 119)

In the study of urban poverty and racial discrimination and segregation, NHRD can unleash its expertise through designing a performance/development system to positively impact African American communities, and communities of color at large that are not only racially segregated against but economically marginalized.

HRD in Racial Discourse

HRD's role in participating in racial discourse has been minimal at best and is largely absent from HRD literature. In an article titled "Making the Invisible, Visible: Race Matters in Human Resource Development" in the journal *Advances in Developing Human Resources* (2010), Alfred and Chlup found that, of the 1,030 papers presented between 2006 and 2010 at the Academy of HRD International Conference of the Americas, only nine papers dealt specifically with race alone or a racial group. While HRD has focused extensively on diversity within the organization, "race as a dimension of diversity has remained invisible" (p. 332). The explanation for this, in part, can be found in the fact that race is a complex socio-politically charged construct difficult to define. And, while race "will

always be at the center of the American experience” (D’Souza, 1995, p. 20), it is also one of the least openly talked about constructs. As Shipler (1997) eloquently shared,

talking about race is one of the most difficult endeavors in America.

Shouting is easy. Muttering and whining and posturing are done with facility. But conversing--black with white, white with black--is a rare and heavy accomplishment. The color line is a curtain of silence. (p. 473)

As noted by Alfred and Chlup (2010), race matters and race should become part of the “discourse and pedagogy of HRD” (p. 335).

For HRD to be involved in this discourse and guide organizations, communities, societies, and/or individuals, the HRD profession must be knowledgeable not only in the challenges in defining race but have a thorough understanding of the historical and contemporary context of race; economically, politically, culturally, and socially. While this study only skims the surface on the construct of race, the hope is that it provides enough impetus to warrant a more thorough analysis of why race matters for the HRD profession. Beyond the study of urban poverty, race is part of the American fabric and is, as Alfred and Chlup (2010) noted, “created and reinforced by social and institutional norms and practices, as well as individual attitudes and behaviors” (p. 336). If (N)HRD is to operate within these multiple systems that themselves are shaped by historic and contemporary economic, political, cultural, and social paradigms that reinforce racial inequality, then race is a core issue for HRD. Importantly, the absence of HRD in the discussion on race also calls for a need for the field of HRD to

examine its core assumptions and biases. Only when those norms and practices are understood, can the HRD field begin to engage in authentic discourse on race.

Race in America: An Historical Perspective

In order for NHRD to address contemporary racism as part of national agenda, it is important to understand the historical impact of racial inequality in the United States. Ingrained in the institutions and structures of the country, contemporary racism can only be addressed when the historical context is taken into account. While the purpose of this research is not to provide a historical analysis of race, it is relevant to outline the deeply rooted nature of race in America as a social construct and a form of identity. “American society,” as Smedly (1998) observed, “had made “race” (and the physical features connected to it) equivalent to, and the dominant source of, human identity, superseding all other aspects of identity” (p. 695). Writing about race relations in *Democracy in America* (1831-32), Tocqueville made a similar observation dating back to the early 1800s. Observing the horrid conditions of blacks in the emancipated North, he wrote that discrimination in North of the Union was greater than in the enslaved South. In the chapter titled *The Three Races in the United States*, Tocqueville pointedly wrote, and relevant to this day: “I do not believe that the white and black race will ever live in any country upon an equal footing. But I believe the difficulty to be still greater in the United States than elsewhere” (p. 373).

The impact of historic discrimination and the underlying belief that blacks were not equal on all levels of the economic, political, social, and cultural spectrum, shaped – and continue to shape - America’s culture. While historically

race was not given a social meaning until the 18th century when race became a form of social identification and stratification, it was the U.S. in fact that redefined the definition of race during this period (Smedley, 1998). In contrast to the ancient world and the Middle Ages where identity was based on religion and occupation, the United States imposed a form of identity based on race superseding all other human traits and qualities. As Goldsmith & Blakely (2010) affirmed, “throughout U.S. history, from the subordination of Indians, through the enslavement of Africans, through the exclusion of Asians and various spasms of “ethnic” European immigration, the country has constituted its class structure on the experiences and construction of racial difference” (p. 27). Understanding the social construction of race from a historical perspective is critical in addressing contemporary issues on race. For the HRD profession, it entails a thorough examination on how assumptions and beliefs about race have shaped, and continue to shape, a national culture and belief system.

As Wilson (2009) posited, “racism has historically been one of the most prominent American cultural frames and has played a major role in determining how whites perceive and act towards blacks” (p. 20). To address the impact of racism on the black community, W.E.B. Du Bois response is historically significant and relevant in examining future HRD efforts in addressing urban poverty. In *The Souls of Black Folk* published in 1903, Du Bois argued that a higher education for African Americans would open the doors to a black middle class. In contrast to Booker T. Washington who proposed industrial education and the assimilation of the Negro, Du Bois asserted that a classical education would

develop leaders in the black community. A classical education would lay the foundation for broad knowledge and leadership skills that would help disconnect the African American community from the racially imposed conditions placed upon them. Very much a contemporary, Du Bois' argument continues to hold significance for the study on racial inequality and urban poverty and how education may play a vital role in helping to alleviate the plight of the urban poor.

Culture as Contributor to Racial Inequality

In the study of urban poverty, there are two types of cultural forces at play that reinforce racial inequality. According to Wilson (2011), they are,

1) national views and beliefs on race, and 2) cultural traits – shared outlooks, modes of behavior, traditions, belief systems, worldviews, values, skills, preferences, styles of self-presentation, etiquette, and linguistic patterns – that emerge from patterns of intragroup interaction in settings created by discrimination and segregation and that reflect collective experiences within those settings. (p. 20)

While negative views on cultural traits of the urban poor dominated the political scene in the 1960s and throughout the 1980s, and continued to influence beliefs to date, emerging research is revisiting the need for a cultural analysis of the urban poor. Calling for a need to move beyond broad cultural frames in ascertaining groups of people, or a group of people, scholars of urban poverty are setting the objective toward “dissecting specific cultural properties and issues relevant to the group in question” (Young, 2010, p. 71). In order to reframe this cultural analysis then, an examination of the impact of the national views and

beliefs on race is also necessary. Only then can the scholarly community move toward a systemic understanding of the role that culture plays in reinforcing racial inequality.

Reframing culture as integral to urban poverty research, requires a comprehensive framework designed to systemically examine multiple levels of culture. HRD has the knowledge and expertise to inform the emerging cultural analysis in urban poverty research and to help expose the relevant issues that shape and reinforce national cultural beliefs as well as cultural traits of the urban poor. Informed by Hofstede, Schein, Trompenaars, and Hall, among others, the HRD community has the tools and skills to apply this knowledge to an emerging area of study in urban poverty research and contribute in reframing the cultural analysis. Particularly relevant to setting a national NHRD agenda, the invisible must be made visible and this is nowhere more accurate than in a cultural analysis. As Hall (1964) observed about culture, “culture hides much more than it reveals, and strangely enough what it hides, it hides most effectively from its own participants” (p. 39). It is within this context that HRD can contribute significantly to the study of urban poverty revealing the underlying and hidden relevant issues that continue to perpetuate poverty and racial inequality. As this research proposes of national NHRD agenda, understanding the cultural system that reinforces racial inequality must become a core component of the national agenda.

Drawing upon HRD expertise, Hofstede (2001) defined culture as “the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another” (p. 9). This ‘mental programming’ on the

collective level, he argued, is a social phenomenon and must then require a social explanation. As Hofstede (2001) shared, “societies, organizations, and groups have ways of conserving and passing on mental programs from generation to generation with an obstinacy that is often underestimated” (p. 3). In the U.S., culture and race became inextricably connected in the mental programming of the national culture during the early 1970s at the height of the conservative ‘culture of poverty’ argument. Historical racism followed by cultural racism perpetuated the ideology of race. As Hofstede (2001) observed, “culture as mental programming is also the crystallization of history in the minds, hearts, and hands of the present generation” (p. 12). To challenge this mental programming, Hofstede calls for changing societal behavior and only through external forces such as scientific discovery and technological breakthroughs, he posits, can this be accomplished (Hofstede, 2001). For HRD this knowledge has significant implications.

Most significantly is the understanding that culture is a learned phenomenon. Borrowing from Keesing, Hofstede (2001) observed: “What forms cultures take depends on what individual humans can think, imagine, and learn, as well as on what collective behaviors shape and sustain viable patterns of life in ecosystems. Cultures must be *thinkable* and *learnable* as well as *liveable*” (p. 20). The emphasis on culture as a social phenomenon that must be thinkable, learnable, and liveable is a critical frame from which to view culture and it is this frame, as proposed in this research that must guide HRD as a national agenda. Through this lens, culture becomes not only relevant in understanding the historical roots of racism and contemporary racial inequality, but it also provides a framework from

which to build a desired future. Following this line of thought, the economic, political, cultural and social landscape can be sculpted to create a learning culture that can be open to change. While not without challenge, this is not an insurmountable task but must be viewed as a long-term process that requires an integrative, comprehensive approach with human capital planning at the forefront of this approach.

Role of Human Capital on Shaping Culture

As noted by Hofstede (2001), cultural change must come from external forces such as economic and political domination, technology, and scientific discovery. Falling under the broad umbrella of knowledge creation, the latter two forces are important points for the HRD profession in setting a national (and local) agenda to address cultural change and to help alleviate urban poverty. Advances in technology and scientific discovery are components of human capital and human capital strategy. While Hofstede does not explicitly discuss human capital as an external force for cultural change in his model, it can be argued that long-term human capital investment can help eliminate a national cultural frame rooted in racial inequality. That technology and scientific advancement must be included in an economic agenda, or in this case a national agenda of HRD, is argued by Schultz (1971) as they are a direct result from investment in human capital. Expanding upon this notion, the investment in man is not only bound by economic principles and as Becker (1992) posited, benefits also include “cultural and other non-monetary gains” (p. 43). With the benefits of human capital expanding beyond economic principles, a long-term strategy focused on ‘investment in society’ can

be designed to include the development of a liveable, learnable, and thinkable (national) culture.

Human capital theory is a core theoretical foundation in the field of HRD. The investment in man, according to Schultz (1961) is what “predominately accounts for the productive superiority of the technically advanced countries” (p. 3). “Equated with knowledge, skills, abilities or competencies derived from education, experience and specific identifiable skills” (Luthens & Youssef, 2004, p. 146), human capital has broad implications for the economic, political, cultural, and social development of society. While benefits include increased productivity and economic efficiency of a society, how individuals and societies make meaning of their world (and the global world in which they live) can, and should be part of a human capital strategy. Principles such as lifelong learning can be fully integrated into a society through a large-scale national initiative providing opportunities for learning not only in formalized education or in adult education programs but also by integrating the philosophy in the economic, political, social, and cultural institutions that shape a society. It is within this framework that human capital theory can become an important component of long-term cultural change. While such broad scale initiatives are generally reduced during times when the labor market is competitive (Preston & Dyer, 2003), a national agenda of HRD can help establish priorities that do not subtract from the well-being of society.

National Human Resource Development (NHRD)

As noted in the sections above, (N)HRD is equipped to foster dialogue in the study on urban poverty. As McLean (2005) noted, there is a growing trend to apply HRD expertise from the organizational setting to larger societal concerns: “the skill set of experienced OD professionals has the possibility of offering that expertise to communities, nations, regions, and worldwide nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to help build stronger communities and to counter widespread violence” (p. 280). Drawing from the models of NHRD, McLean (2005) identified five emerging models of NHRD: centralized, transitional, government initiated, decentralized/free market, and small nation (p. 288). With the United States fitting into the decentralized/free market model where development is geared towards the competitive market, this model is based on individualism and private investment in education and training. Based on these assumptions, a national agenda of HRD must work within the assumptions of a decentralized model to succeed. Within the context of urban poverty this means developing policy that is broad enough to benefit society at large, but specific enough to make an impact on urban poor populations struggling to escape the conditions of urban poverty.

The scope and breadth of NHRD, as McLean remarked (2004), “goes beyond employment and preparation for employment issues to include health, culture, safety, community, and a host of other considerations that have not typically been perceived as manpower planning or human capital investment”

(McLean, 2004, p. 269). While this development role of NHRD has received attention in developing countries, to date the United States has primarily focused on performance HRD despite its historical roots in development. Development HRD has its roots in the great classical economists like Adam Smith and Alfred Marshall (Harbison & Myers, 1964). The investment in man through education was a central focus to their economic theory and essential to modernization.

Based on this economic principle, HRD evolved to “provide the knowledge, the skills, and the incentives required by a productive economy” (Harbison & Myers, 1964, p. 13). That education should also be tied to alleviating the conditions of the poor, was recognized by Horace Mann, who also played an important historical role in shaping and bridging education, with, practical and vocational training (Swanson, 2001). It is within this framework, that development HRD in the United States originated as we understand it today; an integrative approach to educating society at large through formalized education and on-the-job training.

With the development-model core to the study and practice of NHRD, the early beginnings of this form of HRD can be viewed in Harbison and Myers’ classical work, *Education, Manpower and Economic Growth* (1964). Harbison and Myers’ approach to development HRD is rooted in the premise that HRD is a necessary condition in achieving the political, economic, cultural, and social goals of modern society (Harbison & Myers, 1964) not unlike NHRD. Defined by the authors as “the process of increasing the knowledge, the skills, and the capacities

of all the people in a society” (p. 2), they further break down the term development in its various contexts,

In economic terms, it could be described as the accumulation of human capital and its effective investment in the development of an economy. In political terms, human resource development prepares people for adult participation in political processes, particularly as citizens in a democracy. From the social and cultural points of view, the development of human resources helps people to lead fuller and richer lives, less bound by tradition. In short, the processes of human resource development unlock the door to modernization. (Harbison and Myers, 1964, p. 2)

It is through this lens, that Harbison and Myers (1964) proposed a comparative country analysis using two broad categories of human resources indicators to determine the state of HRD and the goals of HRD based on four typologies: Level I (underdeveloped); Level II (Partially developed); Level III (Semi-advanced); and Level IV (Advanced). Setting the stage for contemporary NHRD, McLean’s emerging models of HRD, to a certain extent, parallels with the work of Harbison and Myers (Lynham and Cunningham, 2006). However, in contrast to Harbison and Myers framework, the emerging models of NHRD have expanded to incorporate not only a culturally-specific context of HRD but also shifted from an international approach of HRD to a global approach of HRD. Moving away from a standardized framework, the emerging models of NHRD have become malleable and flexible to suit local and global development needs. Able to operate in multiple environments and within multiple models and systems,

NHRD not only puts aside fragmented models of HRD, as Lynham and Cunningham (2006) noted, but also “[work] in ways that complement the many perspectives of HRD and acknowledging that each does, in its own way, eventually serve the common ends of the wealth and well-being of nation-states and the global neighborhood” (p. 130) and, in this case, the urban poor neighborhood.

Community Human Resource Development (CHRD)

For NHRD to succeed on a national level, it must be supported by initiatives on a local level. It is proposed that Community Human Resource Development (CHRD) functions within the frame of NHRD. This combined top-down and bottom-up approach can serve as a continuous feedback loop informing each system and subsystem (Senge, 2006). Such an adaptive system is necessary in order to respond to the multitude of forces that interact with each system and its parts. Both NHRD and CHRD draw extensively from systems theory and open-systems thinking and it is this core capability that distinguishes NHRD and CHRD from other fields of theory, research, and practice. The focus on systems theory and systems thinking is emphasized in the following proposed definition of CHRD:

Community Human Resource Development (CHRD) is focused on the improvement of the quality of life of people and communities using a holistic framework rooted in development to empower community participation and capacity building. Informed by systems theory and HRD

principles and practices, CHRD cultivates participation and action—economic, political, social, and cultural—in community systems.

Drawing upon community development literature, the concept community entails not only the shared physical space or the social networks that comprise community (Putnam, 2000) or the overarching social capital that binds (or excludes) individuals, people, and communities, but it also includes the ideological space that shapes the economic, political, cultural, and social institutions in, and beyond, the community. It is this ideological space that must be taken into account in developing a framework for CHRD. Ideology has an invisible (and visible) presence in society and has the ability to unite as well as divide. However, in an increasingly interdependent society, as noted by Senge (2006), ideological differences separate rather than unite, establishing walls between different groups of people and institutions. He asserted “after a while ideology becomes identity, and polarization becomes self-reinforcing” (p. 358). It is this ideological frame that must be addressed within a comprehensive framework of CHRD to improve the well-being of the residents in the targeted community.

Community (and national) development initiatives targeting urban poverty have been a focus since Lyndon B. Johnson’s declaration on the War on Poverty. While acknowledged a failure not long after the announcement, the War on Poverty paradigm has remained a constant from one Administration to the next (Lemann, 1994). From Community Action programs (bottom-up), Enterprise/Empowerment Zones (economic revitalization) under the Reagan and Clinton Administration, large scale initiatives have failed to make an impact on

urban poverty. As noted by Lemann in an article titled “The Myth of Community Development” in *The New York Times* (1994), “For three decades, Administration after Administration has pondered the ghettos and then settled on the idea of trying to revitalize them economically – even though there is almost no evidence that this can work”. The promise that “tax cuts would stimulate economic waves that would wash incomes toward the poor” (Goldsmith & Blakely, 2010, p. 53) not only failed but in fact increased poverty rates, especially among families headed by women. The failures of large-scale government initiatives are not only a result of political bipartisanship, bureaucracy, and the underlying belief that the poor are responsible for their own plight, but by and large, the failure resides in neglecting to view urban poverty from a framework of systems theory. This research proposes a systemic approach to addressing Community Human Resource Development.

Summary

In a panel discussion hosted by The Brookings Institution on the day of the release of the U.S. Census Report, September 13, 2011, policy advisor for the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Indivar Dutta-Gupta, noted: “Poverty matters, policy matters, and policymakers face very important decisions right now that will have important consequences for poverty in the years to come” (p. 19). Poverty causes long-term damage impacting not only the poor but also the wealth of nations, to borrow from Adam Smith. As it is the responsibility of policy makers to not increase poverty and inequality, as noted by Dutta-Gupta, a long-term, systemic strategy is required that does not only focuses on economic growth

for this does not guarantee poverty reduction, but “we also need concerted policy efforts that will connect people with limited employment prospects to good jobs” (p. 22). NHRD is equipped to respond to this need and importantly, as McLean noted (2004), has the capabilities to go beyond human capital planning. NHRD has the potential to impact and improve the quality of life for people in society, on a national level, community level, and individual level. A national taskforce to set NHRD in motion would serve as a solid starting point to address not only poverty specifically, but quality of life at large.

Chapter 3

Methodology and Methods

The purpose of this case study research is to describe and assess the state of human resource development in North Minneapolis and to propose HRD-focused solutions to help address persistent urban poverty in that community. Based on a model of development HRD, Harbison and Myers (1964) nine research questions, as outlined by Paprock (2006), were employed to address a contemporary social phenomenon. To situate this development HRD model in a contemporary context, this case study builds on the five emerging models of NHRD, as proposed by Cho & McLean (2004). This framework is supported by critical HRD, an emerging area of study designed to bring reform in organizations, as well as in developmental contexts (Fenwick, 2005). As the purpose of critical HRD is to bring reform “aligned with purposes of justice, equity, and participation” (Fenwick, 2005, p. 228), critical HRD is well suited to the study of urban poverty in the United States, where race and income disparity are persistent problems. The selected case study methodology is well suited for examining not only the phenomenon of HRD in an urban poor community, but also for bringing to the forefront persistent racial inequality in the United States. No research has been identified, to date, in which HRD has addressed urban poverty in the United States or the problem of persistent racial discrimination. A case study is an excellent choice to help examine and bring light to a contemporary social phenomenon that has been largely absent from the study of HRD.

Case Study Research

Case study research is a uniquely-tailored approach that allows a phenomenon to be explored using multiple methodologies. An all-encompassing method bringing to the forefront the interactivity, the processes, and the contexts of the phenomenon (Stake, 2005), the case study approach employs a research process allowing the issues of the case to emerge throughout the research process. As noted by Yin (2009), the case study is an “empirical inquiry that 1) investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when 2) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 18). Reflecting on human experience, case studies can describe and explain complex phenomena and, according to van Maanen (1993), should be thought of “as exploratory forays into previously unexplored territories: a kind of scouting expedition, useful (more or less) to those who possess more systematic means of defining, mapping, and understanding the conceptual terrain opened up by a case study” (p. v). As the phenomenon of HRD in urban poor neighborhoods in the United States has been mostly absent from the scholarly HRD literature, it is this exact scouting expedition that is needed to understand a complex, contemporary social phenomenon.

The case study approach is well suited to shedding light on contemporary events, bringing to the forefront an experiential understanding to the social phenomenon in question. Cases, as noted by Stake (2005), are “of prominent interest before formal study begins” (p. 450) and, as a result, “case researchers

usually enter the scene expecting, even knowing, that certain events, problems, and relationships will be important” (p. 456). This point is particularly relevant in this case study as this research is a direct response to the renewed interest in persistent urban poverty since Hurricane Katrina and the failures of a democratic system, before and after Katrina, in addressing racial inequality.

That racial inequality is a core underlying element in persistent urban poverty is a relationship that is drawn in this case study, as is the relationship between persistent racial inequality and national cultural beliefs. These relationships were explored in this case study using multiple sources of evidence, allowing the issues to emerge as the research process unfolds. As the causes and consequences of persistent urban poverty in North Minneapolis have yet to be approached from a systemic framework, guided by the principles of HRD, issues and relationships may emerge that guide this research into unexplored and unexpected areas of study.

Appropriateness of the Case Study Method for This Study

The case study approach is an appropriate method for the purpose of this study; to understand a contemporary phenomenon, namely, urban poverty in North Minneapolis, through the lens of HRD. Through this lens, supported by critical theory as the overarching framework, it was hoped that critical issues would emerge that would lead to a deeper understanding of why urban poverty perpetuates among urban poor African Americans in North Minneapolis. This study provides an opportunity to explore the role of HRD in an urban poor community laying an empirical foundation for further studies to examine core

emerging issues. It also provides an opportunity to explore in greater depth the development role of HRD in a struggling, urban poor neighborhood in a modern, developed society. With existing development research primarily geared towards developing countries, this case study provides an opportunity to expand upon emerging HRD development issues that arise in underdeveloped communities within the developed world. Bridging the gap between the theory-to-practice divide in HRD development research, a case study is a well-suited approach to begin to explore emerging issues and possibilities for future research.

With limited knowledge of this phenomenon, the case study approach is well-suited to address the research questions presented by Paprock (2006), shedding light on the following elements, as outlined by Stake (2005):

1. The nature of the case, particularly its functioning
2. Its historical background
3. Its physical setting
4. Other contexts, such as economic, political, legal, and aesthetic
5. Other cases through which this case is recognized; and
6. Those informants through whom the case can be known (p. 447)

The ability to combine multiple sources of evidence from historical documentation, statistical data, observations, and interviews, to help provide a holistic and experiential account of a phenomenon is the essence of why a case study approach is the appropriate framework for this research. Moreover, as research in this area continues to be dominated by quantitative studies drawing from the U.S. Census, Current Population Survey, the Panel Study of Income

Dynamics, and the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (Small, 2009), there is a need to examine the comprehensive and complex nature of a phenomenon that may not be captured simply by reliance on quantitative data. A case study can bridge this gap in the research by marrying qualitative research with quantitative data.

Role of the Researcher in Case Study Research

The role of the researcher within any selected research methodology brings to the forefront epistemological questions on objectivity versus subjectivity. This is especially true in case study research, where the researcher integrates multiple sources of evidence to understand a phenomenon in depth. In this case study, informed by critical theory and critical HRD, the question of researcher subjectivity in structuring the case study becomes especially relevant in light of the explicit message that there is a critical need for economic, political, social, and cultural reform to move toward racial and income equality. This bias toward verification comes to the forefront in case study research and the merits of scientific inquiry and the role of the researcher are often scrutinized by the larger scientific community. This is noted by Flyvbjerg (2011):

The alleged deficiency of the case study and other qualitative methods is that they ostensibly allow more room for the researcher's subjective and arbitrary judgment than other methods: They are often seen as less rigorous than are quantitative, hypothetico-deductive methods. (p. 309)

While methodological purists may argue that quantitative analysis is the path to objective and rigorous scientific inquiry, the research community has

become more affirming of the ambiguity that comes with conducting research. As observed by Lincoln and Guba (2003), “no one would argue that a single method – or collection of methods – is the royal road to ultimate knowledge” (p. 274). In fact, as noted by Flyvbjerg (2011), “the case study method contains no greater bias toward verification of the researcher’s preconceived notions than other methods of inquiry” (p. 311). Rather, in case study research, knowledge is understood as socially constructed, and “through [their] experiential and contextual accounts, case study researchers assist readers in the construction of knowledge” (Stake, 2005, p. 454). It is this construction of knowledge that is paramount to shedding light on a real-life phenomenon as is experienced by the participants and community in the research. In order to capture accurately this knowledge, importance is placed on using multiple sources of evidence (triangulation) to help verify consistency in meaning and interpretation.

Believing firmly that knowledge is socially constructed and that “objectivity is a chimera: a mythological creature that never existed, save in the imagination of those who believe that knowing can be separated from the knower” (Lincoln & Guba, 2003, p. 279), this case study is approached with an appreciation for multiple realities and worldviews and bringing meaning and understanding to these realities. In recognition that the process of sense-making varies from one person to the next, emphasis must also be placed on how the transfer of knowledge (from the participants to the researcher to the readers) also influenced the interpretation of the study. In this study, this means being aware and conscious not only of the participants’ views of reality, but also how that is transferred to the

researcher and, in turn, the reader. Beyond triangulation and ensuring verification through using multiple sources of evidence, I argue that the reader must use sensitivity in interpreting the findings in this study and be aware and conscious of how knowledge is a reflection of our culture, past experiences, upbringing, and existing knowledge.

This sense of awareness is important in understanding my own biases, assumptions, and interests (Creswell, 2003) that can influence the research process. With critical theory serving as the underlying epistemological underpinning, further attention needs to be paid to ensuring that my knowledge of and beliefs about racial inequality and its relationship to urban poverty do not alter or impede emerging issues that arise from the research process. While the case is made that racial inequality is embedded in the economic, political, social, and cultural institutions in society, the process of triangulation and verification must ensure that critical theory does not take precedence over the issues that emerge from the research. That early assumptions made prior to the research process can be wrong is made clear by Flyvbjerg (2011): “Researchers who have conducted intensive, in-depth case studies, typically report that their preconceived views, assumptions, concepts, and hypotheses were wrong and that the case material has compelled them to revise their hypotheses on essential points” (p. 309). Thus, in this case study, my role is to be immersed in the case, to have proximity to the case, and to “close in on real-life situations and test views directly in relation to phenomena as they unfold in practice” (Flyvbjerg, 2011, p. 309).

Research Design

This section elaborates on the purpose of the case design, the emergent nature of the case, and setting boundaries in a case that is both focused on the particular and the general. This embedded single case study design allows for two units of analysis. In this case study, the role of HRD serves as an embedded unit of analysis within the larger primary unit of analysis, namely, African American urban poverty in North Minneapolis. In closing, this section concludes with a broad research framework to guide the research process. This framework binds the case yet allows for the emergent nature of the case study design to unfold.

Purpose of the Case Study Design

The purpose of this case study design is to allow issues to emerge from the case that help provide depth and understanding of the issues of the case. As noted by Stake (2005), “Issues often serve to draw attention to important functioning of the case in a situation of stress, as well as to tease out more of its interaction with contexts” (p. 449). While the purpose of the case is to explain a social issue and phenomenon, the emerging issues do not come to light until the researcher is in the midst of the research process. The purpose of this case study design was to create an environment in which these issues can freely emerge. To “explain the social by the social” (Hamel et al., 1993, p. 41), the researcher has a limited capacity to predict how a phenomenon and the contemporary issues may unfold. However, according to Hamel et al. (1993), the researcher must always be guided by the following questions throughout the research process: “How does society generate

the problem or phenomenon under consideration by the study? In what way is this problem or phenomenon determined socially?” (p. 42). Informed by sociology, these two questions served as the underlying purpose of this case study design.

The research design is like a “blueprint” (Yin, 2009, p. 6), laying out the components of the research from a study’s questions to its purpose, units of analysis, linking the data to the purpose of the study, and establishing criteria for interpreting the findings. This blueprint is also defined by specific boundaries setting the scope of the case and determining what is relevant to the case and what is not essential. According to Stake (2005), this gives the case coherence and sequence and gives specifications to the case. The blueprint for this case study was bounded to the area of North Minneapolis. However, given that the community is situated within a larger economic, political, social, and cultural system, the boundaries of the case may shift to incorporate historical and contemporary forces that influence the dynamics of the case. It is essential that only those forces deemed relevant are incorporated into the case to ensure that the case remains cohesive, patterned, and structured: “Qualitative researchers have strong expectations that the reality perceived by people inside and outside the case will be social, cultural, situational, and contextual – and they want the interactivity of functions and contexts as well described as possible” (Stake, 2005, p. 452).

Embedded Single Case Study

In order to bring to the forefront the complexities of the case and provide depth to the case, this case study followed an embedded single case study design. An embedded case means that there is more than one unit of analysis within the

case that is inextricably linked (Yin, 2009). This allows the subunit of analysis to be explored within the primary unit of analysis. In this case study, the subunit is the role of HRD and the primary unit of analysis is the African American community in North Minneapolis. By incorporating an embedded unit of analysis, a more in-depth analysis can be attained by exploring the influences between the subunit and the main unit of analysis. As noted by Baxter and Jack (2008),

The ability to engage in such rich analysis only serves to better illuminate the case. The pitfall that novice researchers fall into is that they analyze at the individual subunit level and fail to return to the global issues that they initially set out to address. (p. 550)

To fail to return to the main unit of analysis is an important note as it is critical that the role and impact of HRD be directly linked to the community of North Minneapolis, as well as to the larger environment in which the main unit of analysis exists. This back and forth interplay between the units of analysis serves as the framework for this case study.

This case study is an instrumental case study. An instrumental case study, while still explored in-depth and its context and relationships scrutinized (Stake, 2005), points to a larger interest than just the case itself. As noted by Stake (2005), the “case is examined mainly to provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization. The case is of secondary interest, it plays a supportive role, and it facilitates our understanding of something else” (p. 445). Employing an instrumental case study enables both a deep understanding of the case as well as allowing for the phenomenon to be examined within the larger context of the issue,

namely, urban poverty. In an instrumental case study, as Stake (2005) observed, “we simultaneously have several interests, particular and general. There is no hard-and-fast line distinguishing intrinsic case study from instrumental, but rather a zone of combined purpose” (p. 445). For the study of African American urban poverty in North Minneapolis and the role and impact of HRD in the immediate community and beyond, the ability to shift between the specific and the broad is essential to gain a thorough understanding of the case—not only the case itself, but also how the case can be relevant to the larger phenomenon of both urban poverty and development HRD.

Research Framework

As an instrumental, embedded single case study with a subunit of analysis and a primary unit of analysis, a general pattern of understanding of the issues, according to Creswell (2003) will not emerge until the research process begins to unfold. This process of unfolding also helps shape, redefine, and change the type and form of research questions used in this study. While it is thus not essential to establish formalized research questions at the onset of the study, a broad framework to guide the research process and allow it to unfold is helpful. Using the descriptive research questions outlined in Chapter 1 by Paprock (2006), the following broad guidelines were employed to frame this study and capture the complex interplay between the role of HRD and African American urban poverty in North Minneapolis:

1. To understand the meaning and role of HRD (the subunit of analysis) in the North Minneapolis community (main unit of analysis).

2. To identify the factors contributing to shaping the meaning and role(s) of HRD in the North Minneapolis community.
3. To develop an understanding of the experience of being an urban poor African American living in North Minneapolis and the role of race in contributing to, and shaping, this experience.

The Case: North Minneapolis

This case study is focused predominately on the poverty zone in North Minneapolis, Minnesota. North Minneapolis has the highest level of urban poverty in Minneapolis, as well as violent crime, underemployment, and low educational attainment. Awarded a \$28 million federal grant as part of the Promise Neighborhood initiative to combat urban poverty from cradle to college (targeting children), the North Minneapolis neighborhood has become part of a large-scale national initiative led by the Obama Administration to fight systemically the war on poverty. The neighborhood struggles with economic marginalization, generational poverty, segregation, and exclusion from opportunities. The grant, along with more recent initiatives focused on workforce development, are focused on addressing the plight of the urban African American community.

North Minneapolis is one of the few neighborhoods in the state struggling with high levels of poverty, including child poverty, and a growing number of female-headed households. North Minneapolis meets the requirements of a high poverty urban (largely) black neighborhood marginalized from the economic, political, social, and cultural mainstream. With persistent poverty on the rise in North Minneapolis, paired with a declining white population and a growing

African American population, the area is increasingly segregated from neighboring communities. As Myron Orfield (2010) noted, multiethnic neighborhoods have emerged to become a new trend in racial disparity between whites and nonwhites in the Twin Cities.

Data Collection and Analysis

This case study used purposive selection of participants to obtain a rich and robust understanding of the case. To ensure the case is represented broadly and with sufficient variety, multiple avenues to help bring understanding to this phenomenon were employed: from sites to participants, documents, and visual materials (Creswell, 2003). To avoid the distractions from the potential of nonessential information, Stake (2005) suggested developing a loosely laid plan at the onset of the case study that provides structure to the case yet allows for issues to emerge as the data collection process and analysis simultaneously move forward. Creswell (2003), citing Miles and Huberman's (1994) four aspects to data collection, suggested an outline using the following aspects:

1. The setting (where the research will take place)
2. The actors (who will be observed or interviewed)
3. The events (what the actors will be observed or interviewed doing)
4. The process (the evolving nature of events undertaken by the actors within the setting) (p. 185)

While a case study uses an emergent approach allowing for new issues to emerge and guide the data collection and analysis, a framework to structure this

process provides a guideline to the research process. During this process of data collection, various forms of data can be integrated, from quantitative data sources to archival records and participant-observation (Baxter and Jack, 2008) to help provide a deep understanding of the phenomenon being studied. As noted by Baxter and Jack (2008), “each data source is one piece of the “puzzle”, with each piece contributing to the researcher’s understanding of the whole phenomenon” (p. 554).

Interviews

Interviews are a common data collection technique in case study research. As this research commenced, interviews followed after the process of collecting secondary data and conducting observations. Interviews were obtained from people knowledgeable about the practice of HRD as well as individuals actively engaged in the North Minneapolis community. To gain a holistic viewpoint on the challenges and struggles of urban poverty in Minneapolis, key stakeholders in the community were interviewed knowledgeable not only on the challenges and opportunities in North Minneapolis but who also had an understanding of the practice of human resource development. In addition to key stakeholders and community leaders, Northside residents were interviewed who could talk about their experience living in North Minneapolis. In order to capture more accurately this experience, ex-gang members and gang members were interviewed to help shed light on the role of violence in the community.

In this research, organizations were approached that focus on the North Minneapolis community. The organizations that helped inform this research are:

Summit Academy OIC, Phyllis Wheatley, MAD DADS, Urban Ventures, HIRE MN, and NCRT, a collaboration of non-profit organization. In addition, I have observed numerous other agencies over time, in interaction with the agencies listed above, which has enabled a more in-depth understanding of the complex issues in the community.

Interviews followed varying formats depending on the participant(s), the setting, and other external conditions that may alter the direction or process of the interview. This case study employed one or more of the following formats: 1) interviews as informal conversation, 2) interview as guided conversation, and 3) interviews as open-ended responses (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006). A total of 16 participants were interviewed until saturation was reached. Each interview consisted of in-depth one-on-one interviews lasting between one to two hours as well as information conversations with participants following the interviews. Given the sensitive information that was shared, interviewee's requested to remain anonymous in the publication of the dissertation.

Population

Participants in this study selected to remain anonymous. Below is table outlining general participant information to provide some context of role, gender, age, and place of origin. As shown in tables i-iii, the following populations were interviewed: 1) Community leaders, 2) Northside residents, and 3) Community activists. A total of 16 participants were interviewed.

Table i

Community Leaders

Community Leaders	
A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Executive level at a Community Based Training Organization ▪ African American Male ▪ Age range: 50-55 years ▪ Place of origin: Jacksonville, Florida
B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Executive level at a Community Based Training Organization ▪ African American Male ▪ Age range: 50-55 years ▪ Place of origin: Omaha, Nebraska
C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Executive level at a non-profit faith-based organization ▪ African American Male ▪ Age range: 55-60 years ▪ Place of origin: Chicago, Illinois
D	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Executive level at an education and family focused non-profit ▪ African American Female ▪ Age range: 40-44 years ▪ Place of origin: Baltimore, Maryland
E	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Executive level at a non-profit violence prevention organization ▪ African American Male ▪ Age range: 55-60 years ▪ Place of origin: Kansas City, Missouri
F	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Executive level a non-profit community organization ▪ African American Female ▪ Age range: 45-50 years ▪ Place of origin: Chicago, Illinois
G	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mid-management at a non-profit work readiness program ▪ African American Male ▪ Age range: 45-50 years ▪ Place of origin: St. Paul, Minnesota

Table ii

Northside Residents

Northside Residents	
H	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ African American Male ▪ Former gang leader ▪ Age range: 40-45 years ▪ Place of origin: Chicago, Illinois
I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ African American Female ▪ Active in youth development in North Minneapolis ▪ Age range: 40-45 years ▪ Place of origin: Chicago, Illinois
J	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ African American Female ▪ Employed in retail in Downtown Minneapolis ▪ Age range: 40-45 years ▪ Place of origin: Minneapolis, Minnesota
K	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ African American Male ▪ Former gang member ▪ Age range: 40-45 years ▪ Place of origin: Chicago, Illinois
L	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ African American Male ▪ Former gang member ▪ Age range: 35-40 years ▪ Place of origin: Jackson, Mississippi
M	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ African American Male ▪ Gang Member (active) ▪ Age range: 25-30 years ▪ Place of origin: Chicago, Illinois
N	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ African American Male ▪ Gang Member (active) ▪ Age range: 20-25 years ▪ Place of origin: Chicago, Illinois

Table iii

Community Activists

Community Activists	
O	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Community Organizer and Activist ▪ African American Male ▪ Age range: 50-55 years ▪ Place of origin: Chicago, Illinois
P	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Advocacy Director ▪ Indian Male ▪ Age range: 35-40 years ▪ Place of origin: Boston, Massachusetts

Observations

In contrast to interviews, where participants share their real life experiences with the researcher, with the subjectivity and biases that are inherent in this process, observations are a critical part of the case study process detailing the research setting. While a core technique in the data collection process, observations are also subjective and open to misinterpretation and bias. Thus, at the onset of any research activity involving observation, an understanding of the events or issues that need to be observed must be kept in mind to avoid possible distractions throughout the observation process. As the case evolved, extensive observations—repeated over a period of time—took place at multiple organizations. Over the course of five months, I spent every Monday morning attending meetings with MAD DADS. I also spent time observing workshops serving urban African American males at Urban Ventures, an organization that works in partnership with MAD DADS. In addition, I had the opportunity to observe and participate in

collaborative meetings consisting of multiple organizations as well as attend meetings held by an advocacy organization.

My professional role at Summit Academy also enabled me to observe close-up the opportunities and challenges in the North Minneapolis community. Providing a rich source for observation, I spent some time observing the main thoroughfare in North Minneapolis; Broadway Avenue. Having a degree of familiarity with the neighborhood, enabled me to navigate into areas and communities not often frequented by non-residents. I also had multiple opportunities to shadow the MAD DADS outreach team in the North Minneapolis community, mostly in the evenings on a work shift from noon to 7 p.m. I joined the outreach team on multiple occasions and was able to observe first-hand the hardships and challenges faced by my urban poor residents in the community. I became an active observer as the case unfolded. As noted by Yin (2009), “in urban neighborhoods, for instance, these roles may range from having casual social interactions with various residents to undertaking specific functional activities within the neighborhood” (p. 111). Participant-observation is a popular method employed when studying urban neighborhoods.

Document Analysis

Document analysis includes any written documentation that is relevant to the case. From historical information, newspapers, neighborhood surveys, U.S. Census data, maps, and research reports. In this research, U.S. Census data was employed to gain an empirical understanding of the environment. Second, qualitative data collected by the Northside Community Response Team (NCRT)

was used to help inform the data gathering process in interviews and observations. The Wilder Foundation was also a terrific resource in providing depth to the case and highlight, or pinpoint, key issues in North Minneapolis.

The benefit, and relevance to this case study, in particular, is that documents were (but are not always) easily accessible and unobtrusive. As Creswell (2003) also commented, documents may be less time consuming than participant interaction and allows the researcher to keep the data collection and analysis moving forward. The disadvantage to documents is that, in a case study design, they do not provide the humanistic element so desired in this approach. While documents may help shed light on the issues or events, they are absent in the depth gained through the interaction with participants in the study. However, they can provide the scaffolding to the study to help identify key issues and events. Caution was used, however, to ensure that the data did not overwhelm the research or detract from the purpose of the phenomenon being studied.

Triangulation

Triangulation of multiple sources is critical during the data collection and analysis process in case study design. Only when properly triangulating multiple sources of evidence, analyzing the sources individually and together, and comparing and contrasting the conclusions to the multiple forms of analysis, can a qualitative case study attain the depth in meaning and the breadth of the case in a holistic manner (Yin, 2009). While the case study allowed for fluidity and flexibility in the design and in the data collection, adherence to method provided the scientific rigor that placed the case study on par with other scientific methods

of inquiry. As noted by Stake (2005), the case study “optimizes understanding by pursuing scholarly research questions. It gains credibility by thoroughly triangulating the descriptions and interpretations, not just in a single step but continuously throughout the period of study” (p. 444). The method, while varied, required that all angles were carefully examined. Patton (2002) identified four types of triangulation (Yin, 2009):

- 1) Of data sources (data triangulation),
- 2) Among different evaluators (investigator triangulation),
- 3) Of perspectives to the same data set (theory triangulation), and
- 4) Of methods (methodological triangulation) (p. 116).

Criteria for Accuracy and Trustworthiness

To determine the quality of social science research, the following measures of validity and reliability were taken into account: 1) construct validity, 2) internal validity, 3) external validity, and 4) reliability (Yin, 2009). Construct validity is focused on developing an operational set of measures for the phenomenon being studied. This entails using multiple sources of evidence and building a chain of evidence (Yin, 2009). Maintaining a chain of evidence enhanced the reliability in the case study by documenting the steps throughout the research process; from the onset of the study to the questions and the conclusions of the study. This chain of evidence, according to Yin (2009), must be logical and be presented in manner that enables readers to follow the paths that were taken throughout the research process and how conclusions were reached. Internal validity on the other hand required that the assumptions that are made throughout this research process are based on

the sources of evidence that were used rather than personal assumptions. Borrowing from the practice of hermeneutic phenomenology, I used the knowledge of bracketing to set aside, and be aware of, my personal assumptions that had the potential of interfering with the findings throughout the data collection and analysis process.

External validity is particularly an essential component in the case study approach as it is focused on the generalizability of the study. As Yin (2009) observed, “the external validity problem has been a major barrier in doing case studies” (p. 43) and this is shared by Flyvbjerg (2011), who noted that “the view that one cannot generalize on the basis of a single case is usually considered to be devastating to the case study as a scientific method” (p. 304). In an instrumental case study, the purpose is to “provide insight into an issue or to redraw a generalization” (Stake, 2005, p. 445) and while generalizations can be made across case studies, sensitivity must be employed by the researcher in taking into account the contextual and situated nature of the case. That knowledge can be transferred from one case to another is shared by Flyvbjerg (2005):

That knowledge cannot be formally generalized does not mean that it cannot enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field or in a society. Knowledge may be transferable even where it is not formally generalizable. (p. 305)

It is with this point in mind that findings from this case study were cautiously employed in the identification of reoccurring themes and issues across similar cases. Reliability of the case, the last measure of research quality, is

focused on minimizing errors and biases in the study. This can be accomplished by adhering to the scientific principles of the case study method and by documenting and following procedures throughout the research process to minimize errors and bias.

Limitations and Assumptions

A limitation of this study was to present accurately the case as a holistic study. Given the complexities involved in the case, caution was used to focus on elements that would enhance the case and not distract from the case. As the researcher, I sought to capture accurately the multi-level complexities in the community that emerged as the case evolved without being overwhelmed by information that would not be pertinent to the case. An example of a boundary that was established as the case evolved, was, primary and secondary education. Instead, as the case unfolded, the role of adult education and training was found to be more pertinent to advancing this particular case study.

An additional limitation in this case study concerns the population that was interviewed. All participants who were interviewed were African American and, while this provided tremendous depth to the emerging themes in the case study, there is an opportunity to expand this study to incorporate greater diversity. Furthermore, within the population that was interviewed, the majority of participants identified themselves as belonging to the Christian faith. This research failed to capture urban African Americans who identified themselves with the Muslim faith, and this may shed further light and depth to the urban African American experience.

While I had specific assumptions about the case, I developed an awareness of these assumptions and was cautious throughout the research process not to let the assumptions interfere with the truth of the data. One explicit assumption at the onset of the case was my ability to navigate the urban African American environment with greater ease given my Dutch background. As a non-U.S. American, even though white, I assumed that there would be less trepidation among participants in sharing their feelings openly about racial issues that may not be expressed as easily if I were viewed as white U.S. American. I acknowledge that, if I were a white U.S. American, male or female, responses to my overarching research question might have been different and that challenges in navigating the urban African American environment would have been much greater. Moreover, if I were African American, male or female, I also assumed that many of the responses would not be verbalized or explained given the shared experience within the race of the interviewer and interviewee.

To ensure that the case is presented accurately and clearly, the case was shared back with participants for feedback and points of clarification throughout the research process as well to make sure I had correctly interpreted the information that has been shared.

Summary

The purpose of the case design was to describe and assess the state of HRD in North Minneapolis and to propose HRD-focused solutions to help address persistent urban poverty. Racial inequality as embedded in the cultural institutions is also brought to the forefront in this case and interviews and observations with

agencies involved in race equality helped shed light on this historic and contemporary injustice. An embedded single case study design was selected to analyze both the subunit of analysis, namely, the role of HRD in North Minneapolis, and the primary unit of analysis – the African American population in North Minneapolis. While the North Minneapolis community served as the focal point in this case study design, economic, political, social, and cultural forces contributing to the units of analysis were also included in the analysis. As an instrumental case study, this study is interested in both the particular and the general. I hope that this study will serve as a valuable resource for communities in Northern metropolitan cities in the United States.

Chapter 4

Findings: Thematic Results and Discrimination in Minnesota

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the themes that were identified across the data collected in this case study. The one-on-one interviews with Northside leaders and residents served as a primary data source, along with a multitude of first hand observations. In addition, extensive secondary data, including supporting qualitative survey responses from Northside community residents who are on county assistance, lent additional depth. The findings of the data analysis have led to a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities in the poverty zone in North Minneapolis, providing a rich context and in-depth lens from which to draw recommendations for further research.

In this chapter and the following thematic chapters, emphasis was placed on the themes that emerged from the multi-layered data collection procedures. A brief overview of the themes and sub-themes is provided below, followed by an extensive analysis of each of the individual themes.

Overview of Themes

In the context of addressing Harbison and Myer's (1964) nine questions, as outlined in Chapter One, the following broad guideline was employed to frame the data collection: What is the role of human resource development in the poverty zone in North Minneapolis? Following analysis of the data, core themes and sub-themes emerged as outlined below. These were used to identify the thematic

chapters, beginning with the first theme in this chapter, Discrimination in Minnesota.

Theme 1: Discrimination in MN

- The Criminal (In)Justice System
- Institutional Discrimination
- The Culture of Minnesota Nice
- Continued Impact of Historic Discrimination

Theme 2: Exclusion from Opportunities

- Involuntary Immigrants
- Destruction in the Community
- Exclusion from the Economic Mainstream

Theme 3: The Urban Black Male in Survival Mode

- Living with Violence
- The Role of Gangs
- The Urban Black Male as Thug

Theme 4: Entwined Roles of Leadership and Faith

- Decline in Worship Attendance
- Division in Leadership

Discrimination in Minnesota

Sampson (2008) defined discrimination as:

The negative treatment of one individual or group based upon some characteristic of that group, such as gender, race or ethnicity, or age because of belief that the characteristic justifies such negative treatment.

Institutional discrimination occurs when that negative or unfair treatment takes place at or is performed by an institution as a result not of individual belief but as a result of the structure, organization, or practices of that institution. (Italics in original) (p. 727)

Throughout the interviews conducted with leaders and residents in the North Minneapolis community, discrimination was a core theme that emerged in every interview. Data on racial disparities from the Wilder Foundation (2012) support the thematic findings. Among the nation's 25 largest metropolitan areas, the Twin Cities has the highest poverty rate among persons of color and the largest employment gap between persons of color and non-Hispanic Whites. For African American residents in the North Minneapolis community, the disparity is an everyday reality. As shared by one North Minneapolis leader (A):

Uhm..no place in America...the Wilder Foundation has done research that shows that the top 25 cities Minneapolis, if you are white, is the best place to be...economically, median income, personal income, working...all the indicators of the quality of life. I didn't choose these...they are what they are. Conversely, if you are African American, it is the worst place.

The Criminal (In)Justice System

Discrimination is a core theme that runs throughout the interview transcripts. From historic and institutional discrimination to every day experiences, interviewees have felt discrimination because of being black in America. In Minnesota, discrimination is felt strongly by Northside residents who were

interviewed, as well as by leaders in the community. As one Northside resident and community outreach worker shared (H):

I think about my people's past all the time, whether it happens to us personally or not... it does happen. Every day, I see it. How whites are still considered the better race when it comes to jobs, housing, food, clothes... I think of how we are discriminated against every day.

Throughout the data, discrimination within the criminal justice system was a theme, and the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD) was frequently referenced as an example of discrimination. Northside residents shared their personal experiences of interacting with the MPD, while community leaders recognized that racial profiling is a core problem within the police department.

An organizer for a campaign group called HIRE MN, a collaboration of organizations focused on employment equity in the State of Minnesota in Healthcare, Infrastructure, and Renewable Energy (HIRE), shared his views on the Minneapolis Police Department (P):

The police force is one of the last institutions that I see changing. I have a tough time talking about the police because I don't really have much trust in our police force. It comes from things like the police brutality in the 80s where people were targeted and treated differently because they were black. And the police... I have never seen the police hold themselves accountable...for a couple of reasons. There is a reason why they are called the Fraternal Order of the Police. They are a brotherhood... They are really insular, and they look out for each other and themselves. So, even when

something happens with the police, the investigators who are doing the investigation of the police are cops.

A black community organizer, a man in his fifties who has been actively involved in fighting for civil rights along with black freedom fighters like Spike Moss, and activist Ron Edwards, said (O):

And I got into it [activism]...the reason was because I was always fighting about civil rights and always had arguments with the police department. I had maybe five altercations with the police myself where they come to your house and don't have a warrant... this probably started in the 80s... I was always the one saying "you can't do that; you are violating my rights". With the police department being so white, when I got here from Chicago, you know, that's what they did. And, so I got into altercations.

Recounting a time when he saw his daughter pinned down to the ground by a police officer with his knee shoved on her back, he continued (O):

This just made me completely focus my attention on this, on civil rights and fight for civil rights...and I watched as she was hollering, "Dad! Dad!" And, you know, me knowing that, if this was a little white kid, they would have walked this little kid to the house and knocked on the door to see about the parents. This is my belief, and I believe this to be true.

Calling the police "the dogs of war," one black leader in the community, who spent ten years doing hard time for murder, said (C):

The Minneapolis police are very good at police work. We have a lot of money. We are very progressive. And we have a lot of jails. We have two

jails right here in downtown. Two *huge* jails. It covers like three or four blocks. The federal courthouse, and we are very proud of it, you know. And we have that system. Blacks go in and they do not come out.

The Council on Crime and Justice (2007) confirmed that institutional discrimination occurs in the criminal justice system: “In fact, Minnesota led the nation during the late 1990s for a number of years with the worst racial disparity in the imprisonment rates between blacks and whites (23 to 1) of any state in the nation” (p. 11). Furthermore,

Blacks in Minneapolis were in 2000 much more likely than whites to be the subject of vehicle stops. Blacks constituted 18 percent of the population but experienced 37 percent of the stops. Whites, 65 percent of the population, experienced 43 percent of the stops. In 1999, 77 percent of males aged 18-to-30 (sic.) arrested for narcotics offenses in Minneapolis were black; 13.8 percent were white” (Council on Crime and Justice, 2007, p. 65).

While the disparities between blacks and whites in the prison system are no longer the highest in the nation; this is due, perhaps, to the increased use of methamphetamine drugs largely by the white population (Council on Crime and Justice, 2007).

The process of institutionalized discrimination is explained by a former gang leader who now runs a large program helping men, in particular fathers, return to their families and lead productive lives. He stated (C):

And so what Minnesota Nice does...okay, he has a job making seven to eight dollars an hour, and they give him a bail of \$30,000. Now, to me, I

can make that bail, you know, because I have collateral and I think it's ten percent so I put up \$3,000, and they get me out of jail. But to them guys, they are going to lose their job. After two days, they are going to lose their job. Me, my job, I can hold for thirty days. They are going to lose their job; they can't come up with \$3,000, and, if they did, they have nobody to cosign for them, so they won't, *can't* get out of jail. So they sit in jail and then Minnesota Nice comes along and says...you have three felonies, we will drop two – give you one and you don't have to go to prison. And so, they say okay. They get out... they have lost their apartment, they have lost their girlfriend and their association with the kids, they have lost everything. And then they try to get a job, and they can't get a job, and they can't start over again because they got this felony. And so they end up eventually going to prison because they are on probation and that's a requirement—that you have a job.

A continued practice of institutional discrimination employed at the Minneapolis Police Department is racial profiling. As defined by the Minnesota legislature, racial profiling is

any action initiated by law enforcement that relies upon the race, ethnicity, or national origin of an individual rather than: (1) the behavior of that individual; or (2) information that leads law enforcement to a particular individual who has been identified as being engaged in or having been engaged in criminal activity. Racial profiling includes use of racial or ethnic stereotypes as factors in selecting whom to stop and search. Racial

profiling does not include law enforcement's use of race or ethnicity to determine whether a person matches a specific description of a particular subject (Zollar, 2002, para. 1).

While laws have been put in place to end racial profiling, that it continues is shared by interview participants. One Northside mother who lost her teenage son to gang-related homicide, shared what she described as a typical occurrence for teenage boys hanging out in parks in North Minneapolis (I):

They nick and pick with the kids. For instance, now my little son is out there with Zeb right now. He had been in the park, the guys in there gambling in the park and stuff, and the one police officer said something like, "You little black so and so with your nappy dreads, I should...they will find you in a garbage can.

One Northside resident and ex-gang leader (H) explained his reason for black-on-black crime because,

If you kill someone who isn't black, white people will kill you. Let me show you. You got a white guy walking in the neighborhood. All of a sudden, he says, "Hi guys! How are you doing?" "How are you doing?" "Hello!" All of a sudden, he is shot dead. The cops will be on the block every day until they find out who did it. A black man says, "Wassup man, how you all doin'?" "Wassup, brother?" He get shot dead. Nobody saw anything. Nobody did anything. Nothing happens. That's why. The same people that run our community, that police our community, don't push as hard as they would as when they saw a white man sittin' on that ground

with bullets in his body. They see a black guy..’pff...you all can kill each other; we don’t care. But if he is white, then it means something. And that’s the problem.

This was shared by another community leader (C):

So a group of black kids won’t get together and kill a group of white kids. It never happens here. Every once in a while it does. Accidentally. A black kid killed somebody in Uptown...there was so much police pressure on everything, and they found the killers right away, of course, and it was...the case was solved and the person went to jail. Now if that...if they killed a black young man up there, the case would probably still be unsolved.

Institutional Discrimination

That institutional discrimination is not just a concern in the criminal justice system in the State of Minnesota is clear. Institutional discrimination is embedded in agencies across the State. In an interview the campaign organizer (P) with HIRE MN stated:

What I see is the issue of decades of institutional racism and partly this “I am color blind” kind of nonsense; the institutional racism that has existed for decades, if not centuries, well really centuries—even though things slowly change—they still have a significant impact on what we are looking at.

Touching upon the recent practices of MNsure, Minnesota’s market place for health insurance under the Affordable Care Act (ACA), which initially denied

grants to African American communities seeking outreach funding to educate on Obama Care, is but one example; he shared:

They did not give grants, is my understanding, to any African American outreach organizations that applied for the money...So then there was an outcry from the African American community saying, “we have some of the worst health disparities in the state...in the country” ...and we need people to outreach to get people in the communities access to healthcare, affordable healthcare...It was an institutional racism thing, and they just missed it. They ignored the level of disparities; they were not looking at race. By not looking at race, you are not thinking about it. In my mind, that is essentially institutional racism.

Another state institution is the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MNDOT) and its ongoing practices that exclude communities of color from its workforce. While MNDOT will be discussed at a later point in the thematic analysis as it speaks to practices of economic exclusion, it is an institution that, under Governor Pawlenty’s administrative leadership, was able to engage in discriminatory practices. The interviewee (P) shared his experience:

The Pawlenty Administration, which really...their goal was to shut us up, just stop talking, we are not going to do anything. Pawlenty’s administration did not want the Department of Civil Rights or the Department of Human Rights to really enforce any racial equity stuff. He was buddy buddy with the directors; the AGC (Association of General Contractors) had direct lines to the administration so they could get what

they wanted. That is definitely true of this MNDOT commissioner as well; Tom Serrell was a contractor guy.

Institutional discrimination is a core problem in the State of Minnesota. In a recent article published in the *Star Tribune*, Kay (Sept. 25, 2013) wrote:

What we have in Minnesota that must be confronted is a culture of racism that is embedded in our structures and institutions. It is, of course, embedded in everyday interactions between individuals as well. Along with – not instead of – employment, housing, and education programs, there must be an acknowledgment of racism and a strategy for undoing its effect on our communities (para. 6).

The disparities, according to the Organizing Apprenticeship Project, as reported by Kay (2011), said that a report entitled the *2011 Minnesota Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity*, served as a

wake up call for all Minnesotans to pay attention to race and how it interacts with the structures of our society. The systems we have in place – from education, to employment, to housing – are interrelated. Racial disparities permeate all of these and multiple their effect across the opportunities that matter in our society. These structures will have to change and learn how to operate in a racially diverse world. (p. 2)

The Culture of Minnesota (N)Ice

Minnesota Nice is terminology often used to describe certain cultural nuances that are frequently missed at first glance by visitors but are part-and-parcel of how a Minnesotan may handle situations to avoid confrontation or conflict, or to

maintain a certain level of distance from others. This is also commonly referred to as passive aggressive behavior, a common way to deal with conflict in Minnesota (Jones, 2009). Rooted in a polite yet reserved (traditional) Scandinavian heritage, Minnesota Nice typically holds people at a friendly distance or, more negatively, has little to do with being nice. As shared by Syl Jones (Dec. 14, 2009) on MPR (Minnesota Public Radio) news' website, "People who have grown up with it know that Minnesota Nice doesn't have all that much to do with being nice. It's more about keeping up appearances, about keeping the social order, about keeping people in their place." (para. 3).

Maintaining social order and keeping people in their place by way of subtlety and non-confrontation is part of what enforces the embedded practices of institutional discrimination in Minnesota. And the challenges in identifying and addressing institutional discrimination are multifold. For one, most forms of discrimination in Minnesota are predominately subtle and embedded in organizational structures and processes, making it invisible. Also, in line with aversive racism, as I have observed at HIRE MN meetings, it is common for organizations and individuals to deny racial bias, drawing upon good faith efforts instead to demonstrate commitment to racial equity. Not until data on racial disparities between blacks and white are brought to the forefront does it become apparent that the Twin Cities has some of the worst disparities in the nation--in education, health, employment, and the criminal justice system. As one civil rights activist (O) described:

The worst thing is the Minnesota Nice syndrome. That you, I think...this racism, they hide it. You go down South, they, you know, they racist...they don't get along. It's easier to deal with than to deal with hidden racism that they have up here, you know.

The hidden racism the interviewee spoke of is a reoccurring theme throughout the interviews and is intricately connected to a culture that tends to avoid confrontation. One community leader (B), who has been active in helping to reduce racial disparities in North Minneapolis for over twenty years, described the challenge of engaging in an open dialogue on discrimination. He stated:

The short version is that it is very hard to have a conversation about race when the victim is trying to tell...to be provocative on this...the victim is trying to tell the oppressor how terrible he is. I mean, and the impact of what they have done and, you know, the people you try to explain that to, they don't really want to hear that. They don't really want to accept that. And they certainly don't want to change the way they do business necessarily to address that nor do they see, even, how the nature of how they do business reinforces those barriers.

It is this subtlety that the interviewee spoke of that provides such great challenges in addressing discrimination and, in particular, in a predominately white culture that resists confrontation.

The challenge of the Minnesota Nice culture and how it impacts the African American community, in particular black men who enter the criminal

justice system, is explained by one man (C) who has extensive experience working with black men trapped in the system:

The thing called Minnesota Nice is a part of the problem. Minnesota Nice means that we are nice enough to lock you up...Minnesota Nice means that we have such a high standard of living that certain things in other states that would just get you a ticket, would get you put in jail here. Okay? And things that other states would wave off as a misdemeanor, is a felony here... We do things in a nice way...we do bad things in a nice way...that's called Minnesota Nice... So this Minnesota Nice has been a big joke. It's really actually a joke. Minnesota is not a nice state. You know, we are no different than Philadelphia or some of the states credited with sorta being cold... New York, no different. We are very ...uhm... Minnesota Nice... people stay in their place. You know. White people stay in white areas. Black people stay in black areas. That's the nice thing about it. We don't cross cultures.

In a website opinion piece published on Opine Season (Sept. 24, 2013), Kay, Director of the Organizing Apprenticeship Project, wrote: "We have a fear in our state of Minnesota Nice of the "R" word" (para. 8). In a follow-up piece on the same website (Oct. 1, 2013), she shared:

The "R" word, I have come to see, really does result in discomfort, indignity, defensiveness, maybe even hopelessness. Although we must recognize and address racism, especially at the institutional and structural levels, in order to bring about real change, we need not overcome every

aspect of racism in our society to address the issue. Wherever we stand personally, we can develop and implement policies that work better. (para. 6)

In an interview with a community activist who talked about his struggle with hidden racism in Minnesota, he touched upon what I have observed to be a largely avoided topic in conversations about race, namely, racism. Some insight on why this may be the case is provided in an article in the *Twin Cities Daily Planet* written by Regan (Jan. 30, 2012). Reflecting on Landsman's speaking engagement, an author speaking on the achievement gap in Minnesota, she wrote:

Minnesota, Landsman said, has particular challenges. "We are a very segregated state," she said. In trainings that Landsman gives in Minnesota, she noticed that people here get very angry in response to what she is saying, in comparison to those in other states. "There's an openness we don't have. We don't want to wrestle with it."

That Minnesotans don't want to wrestle with racism and are uncomfortable with the "R" word is in line with the Minnesota Nice culture of avoiding confrontation and desire for keeping up appearances, as noted earlier. From my personal observations, Minnesotans are not likely to discuss their role in perpetuating racism and, as I have observed in meetings, point to good faith efforts to demonstrate their commitment to diversity. Minnesota Nice often seems to paint a picture perfect image along the lines of Garrison Keillor's fictional town called Lake Wobegon, "where all the women are strong, all the men are good looking,

and all the kids are above average.”(Brookings Institute, 2005, p. 6). This notion of perfection is critiqued by one community organizer (P):

One of the things that I think that people don't like to acknowledge is that Minnesota isn't perfect. So, when you start talking about race and people of color, people like to think we do everything perfectly. “I don't discriminate,” “I don't discriminate against people of color,” “People of color are my neighbors.” That's great, you know, whatever, we are color-blind. But, as people started showing that the outcomes for people of color are dramatically different, the disparities, then you started seeing people think about it a little differently. But it still is this: “I am not doing that, that is somebody else.

So there still isn't much dialogue. The lack of dialogue is partly a result of discomfort and fear of being called a racist, but, also, it is indicative of the subtle discriminatory undercurrents. As one interviewee (O) shared about the challenges in the black community:

We don't want people to say it...well, if you are white and you say it, we say you are a racist. What you talking about...then we get to the blame game...you know, y'all the one did it. Y'all the one...who enslaved who here? So we go back to that... it's a deep hidden anger inside, you know, and it comes out if you say too much to us. If the white community says too much to us, it will come out.

It is this latter comment that highlights the challenges of engaging in open dialogue not just in Minnesota, but also across the nation. However, unique to the

culture of Minnesota Nice is the aversive racism that occurs and “the problem, in practice, is that Whites are typically motivated to avoid seeing themselves as racially biased and often adopt a colorblind strategy when engaging in interracial interactions, particularly when they anticipate racial tension” (Pearson, Dovidio, & Gaertner, 2009, p. 13).

Impact of Historic Discrimination

The lasting impact of historic discrimination was a sub-theme that emerged throughout the data analysis. Historic discrimination surfaced in interviews in a subtle manner to describe the ongoing economic and social oppression of the urban African American community. As one Northside resident shared, “We have always been oppressed...bamboozled. We still are”. One community leader referred to current day oppression as “economic apartheid.” Sharing that slavery was free labor, he stated:

You can't vote, you can't make laws, you can't participate in commerce, right? Taxation without representation. Economic apartheid. Free labor. Mechanisms were established to make whites superior. Now, you are free, you can vote, but you can't work.

Reference to slavery was also brought to the forefront to suggest how far African Americans have come since slavery. As the same community leader shared (A):

To be black in this country is an awesome thing. It's like the most incredible gift that God could have given me. Why, one would ask? When you look at all the misery...I say, “no, no, no, no”...that's a temporary

thing, you see. We are winning. You need to understand something, we came here as slaves. All right? We didn't come here on the Mayflower and all that. We came here as slaves! We were property. Some of us got out the boat going, "Yo Chief! Gimme one of those guns, and we'll settle this"—we never settled for that condition—ever. And because we never settled for that condition, we were always looking to be free.

Another Northside community leaders spoke to the resilience of the African American community despite all the barriers that have been placed on the community since slavery (B):

The fact that some percentage of those folks figured out how to make it is actually something of a testimony to the resilience and strength of African American people in this country. You can, if you look at the numbers on the other side, see how much the African American middle class has evolved over the last fifty years; it's tremendous.

While African American community leaders shared the strides the African American community has made since slavery, Northside residents referenced slavery to draw upon the impact of continued oppression of the community and how violence is a function of this continued oppression. Residents spoke of slavery to express feelings of deep-rooted anger in the community, lack of trust within the community, and a sense of hopelessness that blankets North Minneapolis. Interviews with Northside residents and community leaders suggested that race and segregation, rooted in the legacy of slavery, are still at the core of our challenges today. As expressed in a Brookings Institute article by Loury (1998):

What is sometimes denied, but what must be recognized is that this is, indeed, a race problem. The plight of the underclass is not rightly seen as another (albeit severe) instance of economic inequality, American style. These black ghetto dwellers are a people apart, susceptible to stereotyping, stigmatized for their cultural styles, isolated socially, experiencing an internalized sense of helplessness and despair, with limited access to communal networks of mutual assistance. It should not require enormous powers of perception to see how this degradation relates to the shameful history of black-white race relations in this country. (p. 2)

One Northside resident touched upon the complexity of class and framed the discussion within the context of continued oppression (H):

That's the problem because white America tells you what class you are in if you don't have money. So honestly, that's slavery. If a slave is taught to act, eat, and be a certain way, right? If a plantation wants the people on the plantation to act a certain way, they manipulate them into believing that this is the way they need to act, this is what they need to do to get the respect of the slave owners and to get so called, what's the word, rewards... And guess what? White Americans have been running this country for centuries. Of course. They have all the money.

The feelings shared by this Northside resident touches upon what the author shared above; the underclass is made to feel inferior. Back to the earlier discussion on aversive racism, few people will acknowledge or accept that they have discriminating racial beliefs. And so, by packaging their beliefs in a class-

based issue, the blame can be placed on the victim or on structural changes in the economy, when, in fact, urban African Americans continue to be economically oppressed by discriminatory practices stemming from historic discrimination. As one community leader (B) noted, it is not surprising that the white population looks to alternate explanations other than slavery, for guilt and shame are strongly tied to black and white relations in the United States.

Continued economic oppression and segregation, and community mistrust in economic initiatives designed to improve the quality of lives of urban African Americans, as well as failure to engage in dialogue on the impact of historic discrimination, has led to a dichotomy in the community where any approach is deemed unsatisfactory. As one community leader (B) shared about the North Minneapolis community:

And, in all fairness, there have been a lot of attempts to try to promote investment in the community, but the other thing is that the community itself is tremendously suspicious of the rest of the regional economy; it sees itself as an area that has been oppressed by the regional economy, so you build a psychology in the community that says that, well, then we don't want to be part of that, we shouldn't be part of that, and anyone who comes forward and says, we want to do something positive, is viewed as being negative... So it's kind of like, if you are on the other side of the equation, it's damned if I do and damned if I don't. So, you get some weird self-inflicted problems as well because of that historic experience.

The impact of this historic experience is this dichotomy of “damned if I do, damned if I don’t,” speaking to the mistrust in the community and the mistrust toward the broader regional landscape. This mistrust between blacks and whites is reinforced when whites, according to one activist (O), tell the urban African American community what is best for them. He shared:

I think it is the slave mentality. The slavery. They never want to let African Americans go, we are the ones they want to take care off. And they have been doing a poor job of it. And they...I mean, if you look at it, even with President Obama, that’s why he is here – he is going to pay us back. They still think that’s what happened since slavery, they can never trust us with power. They can’t trust the African Americans. This is my opinion. They can’t trust us with power.

The continued economic marginalization of North Minneapolis residents and oppression, as one resident explained, breeds anger in the community. This anger, he shared, stems from the impact of continued oppression since slavery and the violence that oppression breeds (H):

Blacks have...we have been bamboozled to the point where we hate each other. Anger. It comes down from generation to generation to generation to generation...and, honestly, people don’t like to say this, but it comes from slavery. If you are beaten and your daddy was beaten and his great great granddaddy was beaten, and your great granddaddy, then you...everybody is angry and frustrated and cheated and lied and beat. All that is, is anger and frustration; it never goes away, it just gets worse.

And, as he continued to share:

when you walk right outside, you take it out on the same color skin because we are pushed into a matchbox somewhere in the community where we are stuffed together. And then you wonder why there is so much violence.

The violence in the community is a response to having to survive in the community. The need to survive is embedded throughout the history of African Americans since slavery. Urban black men in particular are in constant survival mode, and, although this theme will be discussed in more detail at a later point, it bears mentioning in this thematic analysis that historically African Americans have been surviving since they were brought to the United States and sold as slaves. For the urban poor African Americans living in segregated communities, survival is a necessity and has been passed on from generation to generation. As shared by one Northside resident (K):

If you are put in the jungle and all you have is your hands, and you get hungry, you are going to attack. You are going to eat, right? I see it all the time. People get stranded, they eat the weakest person. And that's what people in the community do. They want to eat. They want to have the same things Americans have.

The continued impact of historic discrimination is visible in the color line that exists in present day Minneapolis. To the Northside residents who were interviewed, slavery is not only embedded in the history of African Americans, but also continues to shape their lives every day. The impact of slavery is visible in the anger and violence in the community, the mistrust in the community and the

broader environment, and in the disengagement of residents in the community. The matchbox effect, where people with no resources are pushed into a small community, inevitably leads to violence as shared by one Northside resident and ex-gang member..

The concentration of poverty, the economic marginalization and social isolation are conditions that leave the community with few choices but to seek alternative means of survival, as shared by one community leader. With funding and resources diverted away from impoverished communities, the Northside community, as one activist (P) shared, has few reasons to trust the broader regional community. Consequently, withdrawal from the regional landscape seeps through the community because after generation and generation and generation of living in abject poverty, the conditions have changed little. As a community leader (F) shared, “I think that a lot of people stay away, and they don’t get involved in the issues because they seem intractable.”

Summary

This chapter highlighted the core themes and sub-themes of discrimination that emerged from the data and how these themes continue to shape the urban African American experience today. Practices of discrimination in the State of Minnesota are largely embedded in its institutions and are subtle in nature. Aversive racism plays a role in this form of discrimination, where a large segment of the population fails to recognize their roles in perpetuating discriminatory practices, in part due to their own firm convictions on racial equity. However, hard data on the disparities between blacks and whites show that racial disparities in the

Twin Cities metropolitan area are among the worst in the nation, from educational outcomes to employment rates between blacks and whites, segregation, and incarceration.

The criminal justice system was a core sub-theme that emerged to the forefront of interviews as an example of institutional discrimination. A complex system, the criminal justice system is a challenging system to navigate, in particular if you are an urban black male. As one community leader shared, once you are in the system, it is hard to get out. The system, and surrounding economic, political, social, and cultural systems, will continue to punish urban black men with a felony. The role of ongoing racial profiling in the Minneapolis Police Department ensures that more urban African American males end up, at some point in their lives, incarcerated.

The role of historic discrimination emerged as a sub-theme in shaping the African American experience to date. Northside residents spoke of survival and violence in the North Minneapolis community stemming from constant, generational oppression since slavery. Community leaders shared that violence is a function of economic apartheid, an institution stemming from slavery. Relevant to this emerging theme is the lack of dialogue on slavery and its impact on the African American community. Dialogue on historic discrimination is largely absent between blacks and whites, highlighting the challenges in addressing current institutional discrimination in practices that have been historically embedded.

Chapter 5

Findings: Exclusion from Opportunities

The second core theme that emerged from the data analysis is exclusion from opportunities. In interviews with Northside residents, exclusion from opportunities was talked about to describe feeling of being an outsider, a sense of not belonging in Minnesota. One Northside resident (H) repeatedly referred to this experience of feeling like an outsider by calling America, “white America.” Northside leaders, on the other hand, focused more extensively on exclusion from the economic mainstream, a sub-theme in this chapter, speaking to “economic apartheid” and exclusion from job opportunities that enable advancement. As one community leader (A) shared, referencing the construction industry as an example of exclusion, it is an “old white boys’ club mentality, and they want the kid who grew up on the farm in Alexandria. They know that kid.”

Both residents and leaders also referenced the experience of immigrants to distinguish the African American experience of exclusion from opportunities. Unlike immigrants who came to the United States to seek a better life and build, over time, social and economic capital, as one community leader shared, African Americans did not choose to come to the United States of America. Unlike immigrants, urban African Americans in particular, have not been given the “power,” as one Northside activist (O) shared, to build access to opportunities afforded to immigrants. And as one Northside resident affirmed, this builds anger

in the community as they see immigrant communities afforded opportunities for success from which urban African Americans, as he shared, are excluded.

Exclusion from Opportunities

Throughout the interviews and in observations supported by secondary data, urban African Americans have been excluded from opportunities in the economic, political, social, and cultural realms. As one Northside leader (A) shared, pointing at a map, “Here is the color line.” Showing a map of Central Minneapolis from 1935, he pointed to the section of North Minneapolis entitled, “Negro Section, Largest in City. It hasn’t changed...it hasn’t changed. We have 67% of the people in North Minneapolis on some type of county assistance. That clearly does not point to the success of philanthropy, social programs, or welfare.” Another Northside community leader (B) shared that the broader community does not believe in the North Minneapolis community “and the reason I know that and can say it unequivocally is because, when we believe something, our actions follow.”

The lack of belief in North Minneapolis and the absence of seeing “value in the urban African American community,” as one Northside leader (D) shared, is evident by their exclusion from opportunities: “Teachers don’t believe, politicians don’t really believe, the faith community doesn’t really believe...the Northside community doesn’t believe...we don’t believe!” Consequently, as one Northside leader (G) elaborated, “you have created a psychology inside and outside of the community that does not believe it can succeed.” This lack of belief speaks to the exclusion from opportunities. As one Northside resident (K) described, “when you

have no money, you can't make money, and they keep North poverty stricken; it's white American tellin' us we nothin'."

The impact of exclusion from opportunities within the greater metropolitan area is visible in the North Minneapolis community: poor maintenance of (few) retail establishments, graffiti, dilapidated housing and commercial buildings, and empty storefronts along with metal bars to deter break-ins. My observations walking along Broadway Avenue, a main thoroughfare street in North Minneapolis, suggest neglect and abandonment. As one angered Northside resident (H) lamented,

Why does every state in the United States have to have a ghetto? Why?

What have these people done but live in this State and be born in this State?

Why do they have to have a ghetto? Why is it they are drug infested, there are liquor stores everywhere? Why? ... It has to be a ghetto somewhere.

Somebody has to be the one that looks like nothing. But we all supposed to be created equal?

Economic and education disparities between blacks and whites are some of the worst in the nation, as mentioned by community leaders in interviews, and few urban African Americans are given the opportunity to participate in the economic, political, social, and cultural realms of society. In part, this has contributed to the disengagement from the regional community by the urban African American community. As one community leader (D) in the Northside explains, "civic engagement is low...we have the lowest voter turnout in the entire city, arguably

in the entire State.” This is further illustrated by the sentiment expressed by a Northside resident (H):

They don't care about us; they don't care what happens to us or our kids. And our kids don't care. So our kids grow up not caring about the community...or themselves. They don't see a future. They call it the lost generation. These kids aren't old enough to know anything about life, but they are already lost...they are already sacrificed. So from the age of 16-21, all you are is a check.

From observations and interviews, exclusion from opportunities has an impact on the community that is two-fold. Exclusion from opportunities driven by external forces become internalized by the community which, in turn, disengages the community from participating in economic, political, social, and cultural opportunities. To lessen the impact of exclusion from opportunities in the community, as one leader (A) noted, there is a complex “misery management machine created to help the poor black folk.” As one Northside resident (K) shared, this serves as a stepping-stone for white people so “they can get rich off the backs of us poor black folk.” North Minneapolis is blanketed by non-profits whose mission it is to assist with access to opportunities, yet, as long as urban African Americans are perceived as “victims”, as noted by one Northside leader (G), they will not have equal access to opportunities.

The criminal justice system serves as a significant barrier to economic, political, social, and cultural opportunity, according to one community leader who works extensively with convicts and ex-convicts. As discussed in the previous

chapter, the criminal justice system is particularly harsh on resource-poor black males, and once a person enters that system, as he shared, it is hard to get out. The criminal justice system also functions as a trigger to excluding access to opportunities outside of the criminal justice system: “Economically, they won’t give you a job with a felony. You can’t vote when you are in the system, and when you are a black man from Chicago, they don’t like you,” noted a community leader (C). Subsequently, blacks become further marginalized from social and cultural opportunities.

Excluded from opportunities, urban African Americans, as one community leader (C) stated, gravitate towards neighborhoods where they are less likely to feel excluded:

If you are looking for a taste of Chicago or a taste of St. Louis, you will find it over North more than anywhere else. And so they are looking for a place that feels more like home when you come here. People tell ‘em to come over North even though South has more of...uhm...economic assistance. And more social programs. Things of that nature. But they are not used to that. They are used to the big housing projects and lots of people that look like them. North Minneapolis. There are stores that you could walk in and basically eat your breakfast, lunch, and dinner out of ‘em. And that’s in North Minneapolis. They are not used to...the quietness, the homeowner...there’s not a lot of apartments over in South like there is over North. It’s very much suited for African Americans.

For the urban poor, North Minneapolis is one of the few economically viable choices to live. From my observations, while North Minneapolis is not considered a community where people may chose to build a life, it is a community where an African American moving from South or West side Chicago, for example, is less likely to feel like an outsider. Yet the consequence of living in an area of concentrated poverty that is marginalized is significant. As one black community leader (F) noted, “the impact of economic exclusion creates a dependent class of people, creates an industry that supports dependency, fosters a climate of hopelessness, and a climate of crime and antisocial behavior.” Subsequently, North Minneapolis becomes further marginalized by the broader community and, in my observation, stigmatized as a community that cannot be helped.

Involuntary Immigrants

A sub-theme was identified within the broader theme of exclusion from opportunities. This sub-theme focused on the immigrant experience and how the immigrant experience is similar and dissimilar to urban poor African Americans. Immigrants, as one Northside leader shared, came to the United States to seek a better life for themselves. Regardless of their circumstances in their homeland, the United States represented a new start. Consequently, the immigrants’ perspective on overcoming barriers, whether economic, political, social, or cultural, describes a challenge to overcome. As one community leader (A) posited:

So if you take how social networks work and you understand the tipping point, then you understand that an immigrant from Italy or Liberia or whatever gets a job at a hotel, busts his ass off because it’s a much better

life than he ever had. All right. Next opening comes. He goes and gets one of his relative's partners. Right away, the relative's partner...really owes this guy. He is glad to have a break. Before you know it, there are fifty of them. All right. And that becomes a tradition for those people. That's the same thing with investment bankers. That's the same thing with farmers. That's the same thing with heavy equipment operators.

Immigrant communities rely on their relatives, friends, or neighbors to help one another attain social and economic mobility. The shared experience of starting a new life in a new country binds the community together, creating social networks that serve an economic purpose. Another community leader (B) explained:

Immigrant communities build social capital within the community. Over time, when language barriers begin to subside, and a new generation is born in the United States, immigrant communities have mobilized opportunity not only within the immigrant community, but also have opened up opportunities for their children to participate in the broader regional environment. Urban African Americans, on the other hand, do not share the same "Coming to America" experience.

While the immigrant experience is focused on building a new life in America, the urban African American experience, from observations and interviews, seem more centered around a shared history; a shared meaning of what it is like to be oppressed. As another community leader (B) explained, "It is because of the historic relationship that blacks and whites have had with one

another that is absent in the immigrant community. Still another leader (G) commented, “immigrants chose to move here, African Americans didn’t.” From discussions that emerged in the interviews, this significantly changes the dynamics between immigrants and urban African Americans.

One Northside community leader (B), expanding on the difference in the experience of immigrants and African Americans, explained:

But you do have to understand that there are only a couple of communities in America that have this kind of unique experience. African Americans are one and Native Americans are the other. Every other ethnic group in the United States, to varying degrees is here because they wanted to be here. If you came to a place, and you did not want to be here, and you were made to be here, you didn’t chose this, your whole attitude toward the economy and everything about this place is different then somebody who leaves Eastern Europe or North Africa or Vietnam or whatever...and makes a voluntary effort to be here. It’s just a whole different worldview, and the nature of poverty is different.

That the African American experience is rooted in slavery and that they did not select to come to the United States, shapes and defines the discussion on why African Americans are excluded from opportunities, according to one Northside leader. Although African Americans are relative newcomers to the Twin Cities, predominately in the 1980s, they are not newcomers to the United States, and this is a fundamental difference. While one community leader remarked that African Americans are like economic immigrants, a Northside activist (O) shared that the

challenge (and difference) lies in the inability of the white community to let go of the black community:

We are the only community where you will tell us who our leaders are. You don't go to other communities...you don't go to the Hmong community and say who your leaders are. You don't go to the Somali community and say who your leaders are. You don't go to the Latino communities... I think it is the slave mentality. The slavery. They never want to let African Americans go.

In contrast to the relatively new relations with immigrants, whites and African Americans have a deep-rooted history that shape their relationship. While history cannot be undone, the activist explained that whites feel a sense of responsibility, a sense of guilt, for the state of affairs of African Americans today. Subsequently, they feel a responsibility to meddle in the affairs of the African American community. This is not the case with immigrants; who, again, came to the United States of America to seek new opportunities. African Americans did not come to America to pursue opportunity. They were stripped of opportunity and to date, there is a sense of guilt that stems from that history.

To a Northside resident (H), it is hard and angering to see immigrants succeed and establish communities that thrive when African Americans have worked so hard to be a part of the community but fail to establish themselves economically. He said:

We got people coming over from another country. I mean, the same thing about, these people coming over, the Somalis, the Mexicans,

Chinese...Hmong, they come over and get a loan to open up a business. They trust them. But they don't trust the people that have been sweatin' their tears and tryin' in this community for years. Whose fathers' fathers have been in the community? They send them through hell to get a loan for their homes, let alone a loan for a place to open up a business so they can do something with it. They are building places all over, Africans, Somalis, they are building a place right down the street. I was walking past Popeye's. There's a new complex going up right now. For all Somalis.

The power of social networks developed within the immigrant community has been absent in the urban black community. In part, urban African Americans, like immigrants, came to Minnesota relatively recently, and, as one leader (G) commented, came to the Twin Cities without any networks. "Maybe one guy had a brother, a cousin, some family member living here, but he broke, too!" The absence of social networks in the urban African American community speaks to the severity of the exclusion from opportunities for urban African Americans. As one Northside leader (D) said, the North Minneapolis community has developed an internal psychology where it views itself as the victim:

and that's the other thing, Anne-Marie, we have gotten in this society and, again, here it is, with people like me. I am educated, I live here, I am running a non-profit, I give...you take...right? And there is always this superiority, inferiority deal. No matter...we can pretend like it ain't there, but as soon as I am.... As soon as I think of myself as the giver and you are

the recipient, we gotta false dichotomy here. So you are always in need of me.

The North Minneapolis community views itself as a community in need and, as she noted,

a community in need does not feel like it has the resources to mobilize, even when the resources are there. Despite the number of non-profits serving to assist Northside residents, the mentality within the community must change in order to build resource capacity within the community.

From my observations, this is in contrast to the immigrant experience. As one Northside leader (A) said, “the immigrant sees opportunity when they come to America. Subsequently, the community builds on its own internal resources to develop opportunity.” “The urban African American community, on the other hand,” as one leader (B) observed, “given their historic position in the United States of America and continued impact of discrimination, is unable to see (or desire) opportunity.”

Destruction in the Community

The crack epidemic changed the inner city community and the African American family in the mid 1980s. Peaking in the late eighties and early nineties, crack was an inexpensive, highly addictive drug readily available on the streets, according to Northside leaders and residents alike. A mixture of powder cocaine dissolved in water, baking soda, and then heated, it was sold and often referred to as rock, as one former crack-addict and gang leader explained. From listening to interviews, I learned that crack was like a hurricane crushing into the inner city

leaving the community devastated on impact. As one interviewee (C) said, “crack destroyed the social fabric of African Americans; it destroyed mothers...it devastated the families.” Its addictive qualities were so rapid, one community leader noted that it quickly became an economic opportunity for a marginalized community excluded from the workforce.

Reflecting on the impact of the crack epidemic on the community, one Northside resident (H) and activist observed:

That’s when the problem began...in the eighties...once they start smoking the dope and lose focus on the kids, once they got the kids raising each other, that’s when the problem came in. That’s when the system came in and took advantage. The institution took advantage...whether it’s the school, the city government – cause they seen it was an epidemic in the black community... smokin’ crack...incarceration went up cause they were putting people in jail for crack, you got five grams of crack and you get five years but you got five ounces of powder cocaine and you get less than that. So the rock... So the rich, they’d have the powder, would get less time, if any. And if you smokin’ crack you get sent to the penitentiary when you really just had a sickness that you couldn’t get away from. And they knew it. They knew it. They knew what they were doing.

The impact of the crack epidemic led to the destruction of the community and exacerbated the marginalization of a community already economically marginalized from society. As one Northside resident (K) stated, “They [white America] think of us as ghetto and they push us out.” He continued:

They don't want us anywhere. They push us out. So they think, if they gonna act ghetto, push them to the ghetto... They believe acting ghetto is listening to loud music, rap, talking a certain way, cussin', being loud, and throwing parties. And that's what people do. They enjoy their life... Yeah, some people are ghettoish, which means they don't know how to talk, they don't know how to act, but I can't blame them for that. Like when we listen to these kids on the bus, I don't blame them; I blame their parents. And then, sometimes, I don't even blame their parents. Because guess what? If you grow up being beaten, disrespected, and treated a certain way, how can you expect a person to act any different? We have been tricked to believe something that this is the way black folks should act cause this is the way black folks been acting.

Throughout interviews with residents and leaders alike, the impact of the crack epidemic on the community was a re-occurring sub-theme. The crack epidemic, as one community activist noted, triggered systems to exclude urban African Americans from mainstream society. Peaking in the 90s, the crack epidemic resulted in high incarceration rates of many urban African American males, and, as shared previously by a Northside activist, systems and institutions responded to the influx of crack from a model of punishment. To date, these systems still enforce many of the policies that were implemented during the War on Drugs in response to the crack epidemic. As one Northside leader (B) said in a discussion: "You can't talk about the demise of the urban black community

without talking about the crack epidemic...it changed the family structure, the community, certainly.”

The devastating impact of crack and drugs in the community is relevant to this day. In an interview with a current gang member (M) and North Minneapolis resident:

I think that ‘dem people don’t care about what go on in the hood, ‘cause, you know, ain’t nobody been doin’ anythin’ in da hood. So I don’t think they ever really cared, you know what I’m sayin’. All they do, make it look like we out here gangbanging and shit, but I got kids... I gotta put food on the table. So I out there trying to do what I do, so I end up catchin’ a case and then they use that against me. And when I come out and try to get out and better myself, I can’t get a job. And I can’t get a place to live cause they use my background against me. So it’s a trick. They the ones bringing the drugs over here and pushing it in the community, you know what I am saying. And then they lock us up for it, and they tell us, as long as we do our time, and we pay our debt, we good. But we pay our debt every day because every time we try to get a job, fill out an application for housing so we don’t have to go back to jail, they tell us ‘no’ we can’t get anything, and push us back in the same position where we were at - selling drugs.

Crack alongside other drugs is an economic commodity and an opportunity for advancement within the community that has few alternate avenues for economic growth. It is the exclusion from opportunities that creates a market for illegal activity that, in turn, further marginalizes and stigmatizes a community

where they are not only economically excluded from the mainstream but also politically, socially, and culturally. As one Northside resident (H) and ex-gang member who works closely with Northside gangs added:

Crack has impacted the community from two different standpoints. One was the people that used it. And the other was the people that sold it. So you have men and women neglecting their responsibilities, chasing the drug, and the other people, who sold the drug, chasing the people that used it. So crack has caused devastating problems in the community because the users committed crimes and hurt people to get the drugs. And the people that sold the drugs had to commit crimes to protect the drug. So I think the outside used this as a way not to give us anything because we are not showing motivation to get the help that we need. I think that the powers that be...they just didn't help, they didn't do anything, they didn't get us resources, they didn't give us the help they needed. They allowed us to destroy ourselves. Some want to see us destroy ourselves.

The crack epidemic, according to the interviews, emerged as a repeated theme to describe the self-destruction of the community alongside the broader community's response to this destruction. Minnesota's Council on Crime and Justice (2007) report concluded that a first-degree drug crime in the State of Minnesota is treated as equivalent to third-degree murder and rape. As noted by Tonry (2007): "A 10-gram transaction in crack or powder cocaine or in methamphetamine triggers a 30-year prison sentence in Minnesota" (p. 65), whereas it is 900 grams in Illinois. Minnesota's harsh punishment, triggered by

the War on Drugs, is not limited to the criminal justice system; as one ex-gang leader (K) stated, “It gave white America the right to contain us in a ghetto because they see us as ghetto.”

Exclusion from the Economic Mainstream

The Twin Cities has the largest racial employment gap of any large metro in the nation, according to the *Mind the Gap 2.0 Report*, a follow-up from the initial 2005 *Mind the Gap Report* (Wilder Research, 2012). The Twin Cities, according to Wilder (2012), is also home to the highest share of racial and ethnic minorities living below poverty. In the African American community, 34% live below the poverty threshold. The numbers are shocking and, as one leader (A) commented in an interview, “If you are black, Minnesota is one of the worst places to live; now we have economic apartheid.”

Economic marginalization was a core sub-theme throughout the data analysis and in my observations at meetings with HIREMN, an advocacy organization committed to fighting for employment equity, there are systemic exclusionary practices in the political, economic, social, and cultural systems at play that reinforce economic exclusion.

Throughout interviews and observations, I found that the construction industry has been identified as an industry that, to date, has largely excluded communities of color, in particular, African Americans. Traditionally, unions have given membership to white males and have been resistant to diversifying their workforce. In meetings with HIRE MN, I observed that leaders in the construction industry perceived the urban African American community as unreliable, to lack

knowledge of either soft skills or hard skills, or typically both, and do not have what it takes to work in the harsh elements. According to a community leader (G), “they find any excuse not to hire the black guy.” Summit Academy OIC, along with HIRE MN and other outreach and training organizations, are pushing to eliminate the barriers in the construction industry. HIRE MN is particularly active in changing the workforce hiring goals for agencies, such as MNDOT, the MET Council, Hennepin County, and the City of Minneapolis.

Opening up the construction industry for communities of color has become a core economic strategy for economic inclusion. With an expected 8 billion dollars worth of construction projects in the next three years in the Twin Cities metropolitan area alone, and 15 billion total across the State of MN, it is a viable employer for the urban African American community. The construction industry provides on-the-job training through apprenticeship programs and provides entry-level opportunities at a relatively high hourly wage (beginning at approximately \$36 per hour in the carpenters’ trade, for example), explained one community leader. Importantly, the construction industry is also felony-friendly and is an industry where individuals can make a decent wage with benefits, including healthcare. One Northside leader (A) said: “In 20 weeks, I can get him up to \$32-35, 40, some getting \$45 per hour jobs. No loans. That’s a hell of a position to be in.”

Exclusion from the construction industry speaks to the exclusion from economic opportunity because the construction industry can serve as a significant employer for the urban African American community, in particular for males but

also for females. Opening up the construction industry, will provide the African American community with access to economic opportunity. The CEO of Summit Academy OIC talked about his training school in construction and healthcare:

This is a machine. It exists for one reason: take raw talent and turn it into finished goods. Period. Average placement wage is \$30,000 a year for these guys. Day one. Nothing but up. With a growing labor shortage in the construction industry, the construction industry's exclusionary practices can not be sustained. I don't need to negotiate or convince anybody of anything. Mother nature. And, the business cycle.

As the demographic shift in the Twin Cities will drastically change the make up of the workforce by 2040, and the aging white population will be leaving the workforce within the next five to seven years, "we must create a community of workers...and it's not the right thing to do; it's a necessary thing to do." A former military man, he described the urgency in stabilizing the community:

So CPR here. Clear the path. Clear the breathing passages first. Get oxygen into 'em. They can suffocate in a matter of seconds. Takes a few minutes to bleed to death. Stop the bleeding next, right? And it's triage. People come in three flavors: fully ready, not ready yet, never ready. This one, you just need a band-aid. Shut up. That one, call the Chaplin, he ain't gonna make it. This one. We got to work on.

The impact of economic exclusion if not addressed with purpose and urgency will hurt the vitality of the region, observed one community leader.

Referencing on the demographic shift in the State of Minnesota, the interviewee (A), tapping on paper, said:

Take care of them because they are at the bottom of the barrel. Crank it out to here. Go ahead. Two trains converging. So social policy now has to got to be about...because if you don't fix this...then you are going to have a region in decline because the people who are going to become a dominant influence are at the bottom of the barrel, you will not be able to support them anymore.

The construction industry has been targeted across organizations in the Twin Cities that are vested in economic equity and workforce development. I have observed that the philanthropic community, a driver of regional development and investment, has become actively engaged in economic policy and strategy directed at the construction industry in recognition that it is an industry that has the capability to impact significantly the economic conditions for urban African Americans, in particular males. It is an industry that cannot be outsourced, will need ongoing infrastructure management, and provides high hourly wage entry-level opportunities with few entry-level requirements, as explained by Summit Academy OIC leadership. It is also an industry that is known economically to exclude and marginalize communities of color.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to provide insight into the sub-themes that speak to the core theme of exclusion from opportunities for urban African

Americans residing in North Minneapolis. Urban African Americans have been excluded from opportunities

--economic, political, social, and cultural--and are segregated in resource-poor North Minneapolis. The exclusion from opportunities has isolated the North Minneapolis community from the broader regional community. Economically, a sector-driven strategy has emerged in partnership with multiple agencies to give urban African Americans an opportunity into the labor market. The construction industry is known traditionally to bar communities of color from entering, and it has now been targeted to eliminate its hiring barriers and to increase its workforce hiring goals in trades across the industry.

Both external and internal forces have driven the exclusion from opportunities. One sub-theme that emerged from the data analysis was the destruction of the community, within the community itself. The crack epidemic was a reoccurring theme that emerged in interviews to describe how the urban African American community began to destroy itself, and the consequences of this are still relevant to this day. Not only did the family structure dissipate (its impact visible today), but it also created a community of violence. Consequently, systems that were put in place during the War on Drugs, to end the crack epidemic, are still upheld to this day, incarcerating high numbers of urban black males for first-degree drug crimes. It also stigmatized a community by the larger community, further exacerbating exclusion and marginalization.

Chapter 6: The Urban Black Male in Survival Mode

Throughout the thematic analysis, the urban black male in survival mode is a core theme. It is also a core theme running through the history of the African American experience, from slavery onward, and while today the United States has a black President, and a middle- and upper-class black population, urban African Americans continue to live in a continued state of survival. In the interviews alongside observation, survival is described as a necessity to make ends meet. With survival a constant in the lives of many urban African American males, violence has become part-and-parcel of survival strategy. In North Minneapolis, for example, hearing gunshots is a common occurrence. One Northside resident (K) perceived this to be no big deal as long as the bullets didn't hit his house.

From interviews and observations, the role of gangs is another sub-theme identified alongside urban black men in survival mode. Gangs have provided a role in the community that provides protection, belonging, inclusion, and sense of family for many young urban black men. They also put many of these young men in harm's way as gangs in North Minneapolis have become increasingly fractured and run block-by-block, as one former gang member explained. The role of gangs in the community and the violence that comes with gang life (and beyond) has led society to define urban black males as this 'thug' class as shared by another Northside leader. The image of the 'thug' class enhanced by popular media, is the final sub-theme in this chapter.

The Urban Black Male in Survival Mode

Survival of the urban black male is a core theme that has been identified. One interviewee noted that survival has been a coping mechanism since the first passage of African Americans as slaves. The institution of slavery required survival skills and coping mechanisms and, as one leader shared, this has been part-and-parcel of the African American experience in the United States of America. From slavery to Jim Crow, the Civil Rights Movement, and riots across the American landscape, African Americans have been fighting for their freedom, and surviving along the way. Today, while middle- and upper class blacks have found their success in this American life, urban African Americans, as one Northside resident shared, continue to fight for their freedom and continue to live in survival mode.

As previously mentioned, most urban African Americans living in North Minneapolis come from out-of state. For many urban poor African Americans coming from cities such as Chicago, Detroit, or Gary, Indiana, Minnesota is considered a safe haven. As noted by one Northside resident and activist (O) who moved from Chicago to Minneapolis:

Well, if the murder rate in Chicago is four to five hundred dead already, thirteen people getting shot at a park with a three year old baby, you would try to get.... To them, to the people coming from Chicago, it's like heaven...why wouldn't you come here and ask for a better life.

Moving to Minneapolis to seek a better life was certainly true for most of the MAD DADS outreach team whom I observed and interviewed for an extended period of time. Coming from Chicago primarily, the outreach team members came to Minneapolis to escape the violence and, as one member (K) shared: “to stay alive.” For one outreach team member who lived in Kansas, Minneapolis was his way out of a life of crime and to “start over.” What has become apparent across interviews with outreach team members is that the men are in constant state of survival; if it is not moving from one state to another to escape the violence, it is about surviving on the streets in some of the most dangerous, gang-littered communities in North Minneapolis.

While Minneapolis may provide a safer climate for urban black men than Southside or Westside Chicago, two of the most notoriously dangerous communities in Chicago, if not in the United States, as shared by one Southside Chicago native, the need to survive remains a constant theme in their lives. According to one Northside resident and ex-gang leader (H) residing in North Minneapolis:

We have been tricked into believing that the only way to survive is to commit a crime – and the crime is either selling drugs or robbery with theft. Most men that commit these crimes have families and they believe they are doing this for their families; not until they are incarcerated do they begin to think about their dumb choices. I, myself, have learned that the only way I can survive from my mistakes is to continue to make the right choices. There is no shortcuts when it comes to surviving.

From observation with the MAD DADS outreach team in the community, I have found that survival remains a constant theme in the lives of many young black men. Even when they have changed their lives for the positive, many still live in North Minneapolis and crime-ridden areas because they have few choices to live elsewhere. If they are on probation, as one ex-gang leader and Northside resident (K) shared, they are unable to get housing and typically, limited to room rentals - sharing a duplex or house with other men, some of whom may still be involved in criminal activity. As shared by one Northside resident:

I myself caused a crime that has cost me housing, even though my crime was committed in 2009, I got three years probation, and I have to wait three years post-probation before I am eligible for any assistance from the housing authorities. I have committed no crimes in between but these are the rules set down by the housing authorities... so I have to wait.

Urban black males who have moved to North Minneapolis find themselves being pulled by negative forces despite trying to make positive changes. As one ex-gang leader (H) shared, if it's not coming from the community, then it's coming from the police. He shared:

Someday, it can be okay. I have learned to not pay as much attention to racism. The biggest issue is, that I found is, that the police are not as nice. I had an incident at a Super America gas station in Uptown. I was having a heated conversation, I was a little loud, and a black and white cop stopped, and they like, attacked me. Pulled my Bluetooth out of my ears, my wallet was slapped on the ground. They were rough. They picked up my ID to

find out if I had any warrants. I didn't... they kinda apologized and gave me back my ID. It showed me there is a lot of judgment... it was like they were afraid of me and I don't understand why, I wasn't acting aggressive.

He shared that this type of experience is part of being an urban black man in Minneapolis. "You expect it, you know." I have observed that urban black men are continuously aware of their surroundings; hyper alert, even. One ex-gang member (L) described how he would barely notice a car crash that would be happen right by him but he would notice the silence of a leaf falling down from the corner of his eye. He described that it's not necessary to pay attention to the big things, the obvious things, but rather it's best to pay attention to what's silently behind you. What is silent, is cause for concern, he shared. And, he followed: "I know this... that was, is me. I battle this evil every day... I see victims before they are victims."

From my observations from the MAD DADS outreach team, each day is a blessed day. Each day is another blessed day the men have survived, haven't been shot at or attacked, or haven't been put in jail or prison. As shared by a community leader (E), "when you can stay out of jail, you have a job, food on the table, and nobody is getting killed, it's a good day." In a system "that will kill people of no means," as shared by a leader (C) in the community, the expectations for a quality of life are set quite low. Survival becomes a constant theme among urban black men who draw upon their survival instincts not only when they are working and living in the community but also when they must face the systems of

discrimination from the criminal justice system, the police, and society's view of the black man as a thug.

Living with Violence

Urban black men have been surrounded by violence in their homes and in their community. One ex-gang leader (H) recalled a time when he was five years old and saw his uncle point a gun to his own head in front of his mother and "blow his brains out." He was five, looking through a hole in the door where the doorknob used to be. He also described a time when his own mother was shot in the head in her own house by a stray bullet to which he was a witness. Children, shared one Northside resident (I), have witnessed violence that most adults have never witnessed. One Northside resident (J) equated living in the ghetto to living in a war zone. One mother (I), who lost her son to gang-related homicide, talked about the experience of one young teenage kid: "this little boy know more people under the ground than he knows people on top of the ground." The role of violence plays a strong role in the lives of many urban black men and speaks to their need to survive on a daily basis.

One Northside resident (H) equated living in North Minneapolis to living in the jungle:

Everybody is the same right. If you are put in the jungle and all you have is your hands, and you get hungry, you are going to attack. You are going to eat, right? I see it all the time. People get stranded. They eat the weakest person. And that's what people in the community do. They want to eat.

Speaking to both the need for survival and violence, for they are inextricably linked, one community leader (A) offered the following:

Violence is a function. Let's take some mice. Let's put fifty mice in a box and put enough food in there for one thousand mice....they will build suburbs, they will have retirement communities, alright. Let's flip that. Let's take fifty mice and put enough food in there for five. Somebody gonna need some protection. The crime...that's all part of the game."

Another community leader (C), who works closely with felons and ex-felons, and who runs a Center for Fathering program, offers a similar description:

It's like uhm... you put some pitbulls in a kennel and they could be friends as long as they're fed...but after a while, if you don't feed 'em...just watch 'em. As they start starving, the weakest gets killed and eaten. You know. I mean, it doesn't have to be pitbulls...it could be any animal...a human being. You know.

The plight of the urban black male is inextricably linked to violence. The majority of urban poor African Americans encounter more than one severe act of violence in their lifetime according to Minnesota's Council on Crime and Justice (2012) and it is detrimental to the community. As one Northside leader (C) shared:

I don't like our community. It's evil. Our kids will shoot each other in the face. Families fight each other, you know. You have to be very careful with a kid. You see a kid, you say something and all of sudden, his mum and dad are ready to shoot you, you know. You have to be careful.

This fear in the community, the violence, as one community leader shared, is a function of the larger problem – economic apartheid. However, from observation and interviews, I have also found that violence has become an epidemic in the community. This was shared by a community leader who asserted that while violence may be a function, it also has become its own phenomenon that cannot be treated simply by economic strategy. The CEO of MAD DADS views violence as a multifold problem requiring multiple levels of intervention. He shared:

People needs jobs, housing, access to resources... they also need to be shown that they are living wrong. They don't know that they are living wrong. Sometimes they are living wrong for so long, it feels right. So teaching them why it's wrong to sell dope to your family members, here is why it is wrong to abuse people in their family... This is what we let them know: Just because it happened to you, don't mean you have to keep it going.

One Northside resident (H) shared that crime within the community is a big problem:

One of the biggest issues, really is black on black crime. More black men are violent towards other black men, it isn't really blacks against whites, but blacks against blacks that cause most of the issues....in the places where I am in. They have this thing where they have to show they are tough, intimidating. That's how...growing up, that's how you would have to come across, so people wouldn't mess with you. It's getting to be what is

causing the biggest problem for black men to succeed. I am a mentor now and a lot of young men can't get to work, can't get to certain neighborhoods, or on certain buses, for fear of being attacked.

Throughout interviews with ex-gang members and individuals who have experienced violence in their lives, they talk about black-on-black crime in the community. One community leader (C) posited that black-on-black crime doesn't always land you in jail. As noted in an earlier chapter, 'the dogs of war' come out when it is "black-on-white" crime. It is "safer," he shared, "to stay within your race." The challenge of living in a high-crime, violent community, in my observation, is that it breeds more violence. One Northside mother (I) shared that the youth in the community are immune to violence: "they don't know any better," she shared. The role of gangs in the community is part of the issue – exacerbating violence in the community, particularly with at-risk youth.

The Role of Gangs

I have identified the role of gangs to be a sub-theme of the urban black male in survival mode. Gangs play an instrumental role contributing to the violence in the community, as shared by one ex-gang leader. One community leader (B) talked about the role of gangs in the community flourishing during the crack epidemic in the eighties: "large groups of young, very young African American kids were out on their own. Gangs needed them, made a place for them and used them". They were used, according to the community leader, to allow the "higher ups in the gang" to conduct their business away from the front lines. He shared: "they became watch out's and mules. Juveniles don't have the same risk

that adults have. They were exploited. But they also put cash in their pockets, so it is enticing.”

One Northside resident, and ex-gang member (L) shared that gangs became role models for kids in the community: “they had money in their pockets, cool cars, wore Jordan shoes, lots of gold, and they had lots of women.” Young children, shared one community leader (B), did not grow up seeing men go to work. He shared that “in fact, a young kid asked me where I was going... ‘to work’ I said and he didn’t know what that was.” Gangs were role models for youth. Youth were increasingly raised in female-headed households, did not have a father figure, or a male role model in their lives, as explained by one community leader (B). “Gangs gave people a home, a sense of belonging. A code. Gangs have rules and these were guys without rules. Gangs have boundaries.”

Today, in North Minneapolis, there are many smaller gangs. As one Northside resident and ex-gang member (L) posited, “gangs control blocks, not neighborhoods, like we did. It’s easy to start a gang now.” Sharing that gangs are more unpredictable today because they are young and unorganized, he noted that the gangs in North Minneapolis today are not like gangs of the past, which were more predictable and organized. Reflecting on how gangs have changed when he was a gang leader (H), he shared:

Honestly, I was a gangbanger. And they are not gangbangers. [How so?]
Because Ms. Kuiper, you don’t shoot a person from twenty feet away. You don’t shoot at a person from one hundred feet away. You walk up and you shoot them. That way you know you have shot them. That’s what real

gangbangers do. Real gangbangers don't tell you not to go to school. Real gangbangers want to start an organization and make sure the people in the community are safe from outside gang members. So they want to make sure their whole entire neighborhood is canvassed with their gang and everybody has respect and do what they are told to do. No one makes a move unless their chief has told them that they can make their move - for the neighborhood. Gangbangers really protect the neighborhood from outside gang members who come in and rob and steal and hurt the people in the community. It's an organization"

A Northside mother (I) whose son belonged to a gang and was killed also shared that the role of gangs have changed and become more volatile. She said:

It's not like gangs years ago...where it's generals and they got different levels. They are brothers. That's what it is. 'I will die for my brother'. So that's how it is. And...they just...young boys that don't understand that you don't want to die for your brother, you want to live for your brother".

From observation and interviews, part of the challenge is that youth have become immune to violence. The mother who lost her son watches over a group of gang members in Northside and shared what she hears from the kids:

I don't care about that nigga, that nigga can die...I don't care about his mamma, I don't care about his baby I don't care about none of that"...that's the attitude they got. That's the attitude. 'Forget that nigga, I'm gonna blow that nigga's head off'. And they actually see his head get blown off and it's nothing to it.

From interviews and observations, I have found that gang-related homicide in the community, among gang members, is viewed as a badge of honor. As a Northside mother (I) had shared: “they are willing to die for their brothers.” Continuing, she spoke sadly: “the younger society has taken funerals as social gathering.” One community leader mentioned that there used to be a flower shop on Broadway that make special flower arrangements for gang related homicide; painted black flowers and plastic guns artistically arranged in the flower arrangement. As the Northside mother (I) expressed with a sense of hopelessness: “these kids are making memorials...the day where you get together...they are shootin’ and killin’. On top of shootin’ and killin’. And it’s allowed.”

One community leader (C), who himself was incarcerated for murder for ten years, and whose extended family is largely still incarcerated, talks about the damage of gangs to his own family. Reflecting on his own children, he shared that three of his sons in North Minneapolis cannot get along with three of his sons who live in South Minneapolis due to differences in gang affiliation. He shared:

It’s like the Cain and Able story...one of my sons tried to murder another son of mine. And my sons took sides. Okay. And three of them are adopted but they are still my sons. And the three – my blood sons – they all took that side...My sons will never be brothers again because the problem is so ugly, you know, but by the grace of God, and my son’s ability to survive, is the only reason why he is alive. My other son is in prison for trying to kill him, you know, and then they tried to kill him. Shot him four times. He

lived. He is in prison. So you know, it's like it won't end until all six of them are dead.

The impact of gangs on family and on the community is significant, as I have observed. Yet gangs also provide a sense of belonging and a sense of family based on interviews with gang members, ex-gang members, and Northside residents. They also, as one Northside resident (K) asserted: "provide a way to put some money in their pockets." Again, as I have observed, the role of gangs is also tied to survival. As one gang member (M) shared: "either kill or get killed." The role of gangs is multifold and I have found that survival is a core theme that runs through the role of gangs in the community; economic survival, a sense of brotherhood and protection, and intimidation.

The Urban Black Male as "Thug"

One sub-theme that emerged from the data analysis was fear of the urban black male and the stereotype associated with this fear; the urban black male as a "thug". As one community leader (B) shared:

Urban African American men are a source of fear and concern to white people. It is often easier for an African American woman to get work than it is for the African American male. African American men are more marginalized. It is hard to be a male in society that fears him.

He continued, "The role of the black man has always been tenuous in the African American community." Societal discomfort with the urban black male, as one community leader (A) shared, is evident by how society has labeled the African American community: "First, we were called niggers. Then we were called

negroes. Then society called us black. Now they call us ‘communities of color’.”
 “They can’t even call us black anymore!” he exclaimed.

The role of the media and pop culture has popularized the image of the urban black male as a thug. As one Northside community leader shared: “pop culture redefined us into this thug class. And we kinda wear that thing now.” Talking about how 50Cent replaced the Temptations, the black community has been redefined by the music industry. One Northside resident (H) expanded on this:

And then our kids listen to it. And guess what? When they walk outside, guess what they do? You think they think it’s just music? They don’t think it’s just music. I know it’s acting. I have met some rappers. They are punks. The kids. They want to believe in something...that the same black person they are looking at on the screen, has made it; has done something. And if they act the same way long enough, maybe they can make it too. So they act just like it...even though they are acting. Most of the rappers have done nothin’ but they rap about poppin’ someone... and then they get these young guys doing it, when they ain’t never did nothing.

One Northside resident (K) affirmed the role of the media in influencing young urban black men:

Most black men put out in the entertainment industry.... The entertainment industry has shown black men to be thugs, not role models and leaders. I think a lot of people in society has gotten misinformed by looking at television, video’s, rap videos, that these are what black men want. A lot of

black men mimic what they see on videos and portray themselves to be those type of people...and they are not.

The role of the thug, as perceived by the media and as perceived by some of the youth in the community, has turned into a violent reality. As shared by a Northside mother (I):

They wants to play them roles. Because they see it. And like, this little young boy, Marlo, he got thirty some years shootin' at the police officer. Yup. He is about this tall and one of his arms is messed up. They found his little brother dead in the bushes, about two years ago. Yup. And little Marlo was upset and he shot at the police and for real, for real, I don't see this child gettin' thirty years for shootin' at the police just cause he was a child...he was traumatized after his brother died and I just believed they should've gotten that child some serious help.

Portraying the thug image harms the men who do so, and marginalizes them from the larger society. As shared by one ex-gang member (L) who mentioned that he fully lived up to the thug image:

One of the biggest issues, I believe, is that we have allowed ourselves to be put in a hole that we have to climb out of when it comes to society. Uhm...jobs are one of those holes where a lot of men's actions in the community, because who we need to portray ourselves to be...these tough guys, these thugs...we have caused ourselves to catch cases and be arrested...which cause us to have these barriers put in front of us or we dig the holes, like I say, by digging ourselves even deeper.

Summary

The urban black male is in a constant state of survival mode. A constant theme in the history of the African American experience, urban black men have had to continue to rely on their survival instincts on a daily basis. With black-on-black crime plaguing the Northside community, urban black males are more often the target of crime and violence. One reason for this, as one leader shared, is because violence is a function of inequality of economic opportunity. However, violence has also become an epidemic, as one community leader shared. Children have grown up around violence and have become immune to violence. From my observation, violence is not only an outcome from lack of resources but it has also become a norm in the community.

The role of gangs contributes to the violence in the community but they also provide a sense of belonging and brotherhood for many young men. Typically exposed to gang life from an early age, and without a father-figure in the house, youth view gang members as role models and may see an attractive lifestyle as popularized by the media. Youth may also have few choices not to join a gang. As one Northside gang member shared: "either kill or get killed." The role of the media in shaping and defining the thug image was also shared to play an influential role in the lives of young urban black men who perceive this as reality, not fiction. Subsequently, as one Northside resident had shared, they embrace a lifestyle that most likely leads them to the criminal justice system.

Chapter 7

Entwined Roles of Leadership and Faith

This chapter focuses on the role of leadership and faith in the North Minneapolis community. Traditionally, the church has played a strong leadership role in the African American community and was positioned to unite a community. Today, while the church community is still active, the leadership role seems to have shifted away from the church. While the role of the church as a social service establishment in the community remains, as shared by leaders in the community, the church has become less relevant to urban African American males in the community. Despite the decline of men in the church, the role of faith remains a powerful and instrumental tool to guide men to make the right choices in their lives. Non-profit organizations have responded to the needs of the men in the community by integrating faith and leadership to deal with pressing challenges, from incarceration, probation, child custody issues, housing, and unemployment.

As the traditional leadership role of the church has declined, limited to moral persuasion, as one community leader shared, leadership stems from members in the community. Across interviewees, the division of leadership in the North Minneapolis community is evident. From observation, I found that the challenge is not an absence of leadership, but failure of leaders to unite across issues and goals for North Minneapolis. Part of the failure of leaders to collaborate is due to suspicion within the black community as well as mistrust of the broader regional community. The non-profit environment, and its reliance on the funding

community, is also highlighted as one of the barriers that prevents leaders from stepping outside of the box.

Entwined Roles of Leadership and Faith

The role of faith is an emerging theme along with leadership from the data analysis. As one community leader (B) shared, this is part of the African American experience: “People get snatched away from their homeland, go through a traumatic passage—most don’t survive—and their social structures are dismantled...and nothing applies anymore.” Given Christianity by their slave masters, “it was essentially a form of social control.” Continuing:

That’s where leadership in the African American community evolved from, from ministers--Christian leaders to be precise. If you look at the movement, and much of the leadership since slavery, it has been out of the Christian Church...the word of God gave us the courage to speak for ourselves.

Pausing, he followed with, “It’s not a coincidence that Barack Obama adopts a preacher’s speaking style, particularly in front of the African American crowd. That’s part of his leadership model as well.” In the thematic analysis, I found that leadership and faith are intricately tied to one another in the African American community.

Leadership roles in the community seem connected, if not tied to the role of faith. Both the President of MAD DADS and the Director of Urban Ventures are ministers as well as leaders in the community. From my observations, it is their commitment to faith and leadership that gains them respect in the community, and

in particular among urban African American males. As both leaders also have similar experiences to the men with whom they interact on a daily basis, they are able to connect in a way that many other leaders are not able to. My observations brought to light that the role of faith has not diminished, even if church attendance has. One community leader (B) shared, “On some level, people still respect religious leadership even if they don’t go to church. You still see ministers who evolve, to whom people turn as leaders. People listen to ministers.”

The leaders, whom I have observed closely over a period of time, have taken on multiple leadership roles in the community, using faith as a core tool to communicate and connect with at-risk youth and adults. Roles I have observed the leaders to take are father figure, family counselor, grief counselor, community organizer, capacity builder, conflict mediator, and an all around problem-solver. Leaders in the community focus on faith to lead in these roles, communicating messages of hope, faith, strength, and survival. The power of faith and leadership can resolve emotionally charged, volatile moments.

Faith has enabled leaders to navigate very difficult and traumatizing situations as well as provide hope to people in despair. On a Sunday morning, I attended a breakfast for the homeless at 6 a.m. at Shiloh Temple on Broadway Avenue in North Minneapolis followed by Bible Study. After breakfast, the President of MAD DADS asked if anyone in the group felt like a winner. Rephrasing the question when nobody raised a hand, he asked, “Who wants to be a winner?” With all men raising their hands in unison, he shared upliftingly, “God has a winning plan for you so you can be a winner.” Raising the Bible, he said to

the group: “That’s the greatest book ever. That’s your life in that book.” Providing uplift through faith and the word of God, the President provided encouragement to men who struggled to stay on the right path. As one gentleman professed, echoing the thoughts of the men in the room: “It’s so hard to do the right thing; sometimes it is just easier to do the wrong thing.”

The Center for Fathering, a center to help men make the right choices, as outlined by the Director, teaches men how to be a good role model, a father, and leading by example. It also teaches men to be leaders in the community, as shared by one regular attendee and outreach team member (H): “Leadership means to take responsibility for your decisions, to be accountable, and to serve as a role model to your children, your family, and your community... we are all born to be leaders, we just need to be shown how.” I have observed that leadership, and the power of faith, are taught far beyond the walls of the church. Organizations, such as Urban Ventures and MAD DADS, and training organizations, such as Summit OIC, teach men to become leaders in their community. As shared by a community leader (A):

They come here. They are seekers. They are looking for something. They know that it is not working. They know it’s not working. All right. So nothing else is working; they are trying this. Now that you are here, sit up straight. You get one chance to make a first impression. Be here every day. Do your best. Team work. Compete. Excel. Worker, parent, citizen. Those are your three roles. Now that is serious...I teach them about policy; I have assemblies, and we do brown bag lunches; we talk about how to put

together a personal strategic plan: who am I? What is success? What do I need to get it done? What resources do I need? Those four questions. You answer those four questions, we can invade your country. We can run a school. If you answer those four questions, we can go to the moon. Those are the four questions. It's that simple. So then there is the worker, parent, citizen. It can't just be about you. We are going to be healers and builders. Heal yourself. Build yourself up. That's what this place does. We help you do that. That will put you in a position where you can heal and build your family and the people around you. And then that is how you heal and build the community.

The role of men as leaders in the family and in the community is a reoccurring theme throughout the data analysis. According to one Northside resident and mother (I):

Men rule the world. For real, for real. And while we sit here knockin' them down, we all need to be on our knees and praying. See, there is certain things a woman can actually tell a man...before it start eating a man up and a man fightin' back in certain different ways. Their manhood? We need to all start doin' some, you know, nation prayers and just pray for our men, that they get strength to do what they are supposed to do for us. They are supposed to guide us. They are supposed to lead us. They are supposed to be our shelter. They are supposed to be role models...They are supposed to be the strength to us. But we don't have... we walkin' around like we some little dudes. It's a sad thing.

Decline in Worship Attendance

The decline in worship among the younger youth, and among men, emerged as a sub-theme in the roles of leadership and faith in the North Minneapolis community. The absence of younger African American men in the church arose across interviews with community leaders, activists, and residents. One Northside community activist (O) shared, “And that’s the thing [faith] our kids have gotten away from. They don’t go to church like we did. They don’t believe in it.” One Northside resident (J) noted that men no longer go to church: “A lot of men are not there, so now women are having to step up – at home, in the community, all over.” The absence of men in the church and youth, as one Northside community leader (B) explained, is part of the larger phenomenon across churches nationwide. He explained:

Churches are declining institutions. That’s part of the problem. Like the rest of American culture, younger people are not responding. Churches have shrinking resources, and those located in poor communities have less to work with. So what can a church do other than moral persuasion?

One reason for the decline in worship attendance, as I have observed from attending the Center of Fathering and MAD DADS, is that the church is disconnected from the challenges that are faced by younger African American males today. Struggling with incarceration, probation, violence, child custody issues, and so forth, the church can provide little to assist many of the young men facing significant barriers. While the churches in the North Minneapolis community provide numerous social support services, such as child care and food

shelves, as well as grief counseling services, as a community leader explained, they offer little in the way of helping the young men in the community. A community activist (O) shared this viewpoint, noting that the church has become less relevant for the people in North Minneapolis today: “They don’t connect with the church no more, you know...they don’t.”

From interviews, I found that the church has failed to remain relevant in the community of young urban African American men. While responding to the outcries of violence from community members, the church has limited capacity but to provide moral support to the community through prayer, counseling, and asking the community to stand up against the violence. Yet the church, whether for lack of resources or otherwise, has not responded to the needs of the men in the community. According to one community leader (C):

Sometimes people just need to be heard and you will find out what they need-- and then provide that, you know. It’s like why we have the fathering center here...we heard that eighty percent of the people here came from single households. That’s what we heard. So we started a fathering center. Okay. And if what we heard was true, it would be populated with fathers...and guess what, it is. You know. We did what we heard.

The church and the community struggle together to survive in a resource-poor community, as explained by one community leader. While it may provide some services and resources for the community, typically catering more to the females in the community, the church struggles to make ends meet. As shared by one Northside resident (H), “The church is broke, it ain’t any different.” One

community leader (E) who provides early morning Sunday Bible Study prior to church service expressed the same point: “The church is struggling to get by just as much as we are.” Based on interviews and observations, the role of the church closely resembles the challenges of the community; one where survival is paramount and where resource capacity is limited.

One church in North Minneapolis has recognized the need to partner with organizations in the community to provide resources and programs to respond to the challenges in the community, in particular, unemployment and mentoring programs for at-risk youth. As one Northside leader commented (B): “There is a new approach underway where churches are beginning to partner with organizations to launch innovative efforts, like what we see at the NCRT, to support the needs of its residents.” As noted by one community activist (O), “that’s why collaboration is so important...not just Summit Academy, or EMERGE, or NAZ... but the churches in the community need to come together... we are in this together, you know, that’s what I am doing.”

The absence of worship, as the Northside activist continued to explain, is in part due to lack of trust in church leadership:

Some of it got to do with pastoring. It ain’t the same when I was coming up. The church took care of you. Now the pastor is more, they can take care of themselves, you know. So they can ride around in their big cars and stuff like that, and then you go in and put your last money in the church, you should be able to get something back. And so a lot of people have lost faith, but until we get that faith back in the church, that make you believe again

in God, you know we believe in God, but you never... you don't worship no more.

Another Northside resident (L), who attends church regularly every Sunday, commented that he had to spend some time “church shopping” to avoid what he described as a common theme with North Minneapolis churches, namely, judgment. He observed:

The church is the most judgmental place you would ever want to go. Everyone in church is always pointing what another person is not supposed to be doing... what a person is supposed to be driving, and where a person is getting his money and not getting his money. And, they be making excuses for the wrong they do because they are in church, they say they workin' on themselves. So. You got people drinkin' and druggin' but go to church on Sunday and say God working on them.

Division in Leadership

From interviews and observations, I found that the North Minneapolis community does not struggle with a lack of leadership but from a division in leadership. Emerging throughout interviews, particularly among community leaders, was a reoccurring sub-theme of divisiveness of leadership. A common thread was the divisiveness between the black leadership communities. According to one community leader (C):

There is a black leadership over there [North Minneapolis] that prohibits real leadership from taking hold over there. There are a couple of Reverends, I won't say it on tape, but I will tell you later, and a couple of

activists and a couple of other people. And they drive Jaguars...but they can stop things from happening. They can get Reverend Al Sharpton to come here and Jim Brown, and all the notables.

One activist (P) observed that there is suspicion between the black and white leadership communities, “And people who raise the issue of, you know, what can we do to help ourselves or how can we stop doing things that are getting in our way, are then viewed with suspicion.” A Northside activist (O) talked about suspicion not only of the black leadership in the community, but also toward the white community, who he has viewed with distrust. He found that the absence of a strong black voice in the community, has enabled the leadership divide, positing:

The leadership, it was our leadership, and the city that was controllin’ the black community. And by controllin’ what they do, is give you a little somethin’ to keep you quiet and then we only had a few people speaking up for us. You had people like Spike Moss and Ron Edwards, he would always be about what’s happening to the African American...Spike was the voice of the African American people from this time I was talking about to probably maybe six or seven years ago. That he was the voice. He came from The Way. So we only had real voices. He was the voice. That was part of the problem. We only had one voice.

One community leader (B) expressed his frustration with the divisive nature in the community: “It’s damned if I do and damned if I don’t.” From my own observations at Northside Community Response Team (NCRT) meetings, a collaboration of multiple organizations in the North Minneapolis community, the

challenge in forming a united leadership lies in part with the non-profit model. In continuous need of funding, non-profit leaders seem more likely to place the interests of their non-profit before the interests of collaborative enterprises. Consequently, collaborative efforts can struggle with differing political and economic agendas. Yet I have observed a strong will to collaborate across multiple non-profits, despite differing agendas, suggesting that there is recognition in the community that the individual non-profit fails to address the needs of the community.

The need for a leader to stand up for change is identified across the thematic analysis. However, part of the challenge that is also verbalized is that leaders who do stand up for what they believe are not necessarily perceived favorably, noted a leader in the community (B):

If you take someone like Louis King, he is not somebody who has been historically embraced by the traditional African American leadership because he is one of those people who is willing to stand up and say the emperor has no clothes. What we are doing doesn't work. All of these programs that we are doing don't help our people, and we need to take a different approach and so, that's been a key part of the work of this organization--of course--has been to say we are not going to do things this way; we are going to be part...we are going to seek out a dialogue, we are going to look for friends in the broader community because we believe they are there, so we bring an optimism to it, and we hope that our model of building partnerships across the economy in the region and with potential

investors in this community, who may not be of the community, but nonetheless we believe...Louis would believe in the opportunity that we can maximize the opportunities for the people we are trying to serve. But it is a hard, difficult thing to do, and it takes time, and, you know, you gotta find folks who are willing to take a risk.

The need to take a leadership risk in the community is shared by another Northside community leader (D) who runs a large non-profit in the heart of the community. Calling for adaptive leadership, she proclaimed:

It's like bullcrap! Take a stand. Let people know you are taking a stand and be willing to die both in terms of reputation, in terms of how people feel towards you, and dammit, possibly physically. When you are willing to stand...and for what you know, it will change the community. And that's the thing, Anne-Marie, that is needed here. That adaptive kind of leadership that says, "I am not afraid to stand in this place, to be vulnerable."

Surfacing to the forefront is a need for a more collaborative, systemic approach to leadership and to think outside of the box. According to one community leader (B):

The problem is that when you are dealing with a challenge like institutional or generational poverty, it doesn't fit in those boxes. And yet agencies are developed around boxes. And government programs are developed around boxes. And so it is hard to see the forest through the trees.

Continuing, he presented that it is possible to implement systems change:

Bottom line here though is that, in terms of the work we are doing, the challenge is in fact the challenge of changing the systems that have...in some cases, are not even aware of the barriers they have created now, and you also have to change the way internally people see their opportunities to function in all systems. Both of those things have to change now in order for people to maximize opportunity. The good news is that it can be done. There are plenty of examples across the world where that has happened. It is not an impossibility, but it is something that has to be done deliberately. It doesn't happen haphazardly. You have to do it with purpose and with organization...and, as I say, with a little bit of vision and courage.

Summary

The entwined roles of faith and leadership in the African American community are brought to the forefront in this chapter. Faith has been a constant thread in the history of the African American experience, and leadership and faith have been inextricably entwined since slavery. Today, leadership and faith are still enmeshed, but the role of the church has diminished in its capacity to deliver the message of faith and leadership to many young urban males in the community. Instead, two non-profit organizations, observed closely, have been found to deliver successfully the message of faith and leadership in the community, while also providing support and conflict resolution to men struggling with significant challenges and barriers; including incarceration, probation, child custody, housing, and unemployment.

The division of leadership is another sub-theme emerging from the data analysis. While there is no absence of leadership in the North Minneapolis community, there is division in leadership on how to resolve the challenges in the community. Division in leadership arises from suspicion and mistrust within the black community, along with the broader regional community. Another challenge that has been identified is the challenge of thinking outside the box. Partly the existing non-profit model exacerbates this challenge, as leaders need to respond to the individual goals of their organization. Driven by a typically limited funding environment, non-profits often lack the resources or capacity to drive collaborative efforts.

There are collaborative efforts underway in North Minneapolis. One such effort is the NCRT demonstrating the recognition that non-profits and leaders need to think outside of the box and employ systems-focused approaches to address the challenges in the North Minneapolis community. Leaders have called for creative and innovative leadership to change current practices alongside the ability for leaders to stand up and be a voice in the community. As one Northside resident observed, there is an absence of voices in the community that speak for the North Minneapolis community. From observation and interviews however, the challenge lies in allowing those voices to be spoken and lead to community action.

Chapter 8

Post-Analysis Literature Review and Discussion

The focus of this chapter is on the thematic analysis and how these findings relate to the literature. The four themes that will be addressed are: 1) Discrimination in Minnesota, 2) Exclusion from Opportunities, 3) The Urban Black Male in Survival Mode, and 4) The Entwined Roles of Faith and Leadership.

Theme 1: Discrimination in Minnesota

Findings from the thematic analysis, suggest that discrimination is a significant issue in the State of Minnesota. The Twin Cities, as reported by the Brookings Institution (2005), faces some of the worst disparities in the nation in race, place, and class. Within the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area, North Minneapolis is the largest and most segregated African American community (Wilder, 2011). Economically marginalized and socially isolated, it is evident that a color line continues to exist between the races (D'Souza, 1996). Northside residents and community leaders referenced historic and institutional discrimination and a culture of racism that plagues the urban African American community. As highlighted in the *Star Tribune* (Sept. 25, 2013), "What we have in Minnesota that must be confronted is a culture of racism that is embedded in our structures and institutions" (para. 6).

The culture of racism is rooted in the system of slavery and historic discrimination. The thematic analysis revealed that the role of historic discrimination remains a contemporary phenomenon for African Americans. As D'Souza (1996) noted: "Nowhere else in the world but in America is the legacy of

slavery a contemporary issue” (p. 100). For Northside residents who were interviewed, the impact of slavery continues to be felt, including economic marginalization, generational poverty, and oppression, and residents expressed frustration about the continued impact of slavery embedded in the economic, political, social, and cultural structures and institutions. Economic apartheid, as one leader shared, is modern day slavery. As Wilson observed in *The Bridge Over the Racial Divide* (1999), decades of discrimination stemming from historical discrimination have led to a racial division in the labor market creating a permanent underclass.

D’Souza (1996) commented that the impact of historic discrimination has birthed “the phenomena of black rage, white backlash, and liberal despair” (p. 3). Although a powerful statement, the thematic analysis suggested that these undercurrents are part of the unspoken dialogue in Minnesota. Urban blacks described anger and frustration with embedded, often hidden, practices of discrimination. Whites have maintained racially discriminatory systems that continue to marginalize urban African Americans, and liberals focus on good faith efforts and racial equity, while, at the same time, maintaining a system that institutionally discriminates and excludes African Americans from participating in mainstream society. These undercurrents, while not verbalized, form part of the silent dialogue that stops African Americans and whites from engaging in conversation about the impact of historic discrimination.

An example of the black anger, white backlash, and liberal despair is the criminal justice system. Embedded in practices of historic and institutional

discrimination, the criminal justice system has been identified as a core systemic barrier for many poor African Americans, in particular males. The literature affirms the damaging role of the system, and its trigger effect on other systems (i.e., the economic and political systems) in excluding African Americans from mainstream society. According to Sykora (2007), the criminal justice system is a permanent punishment machine that triggers exclusion from social systems that enable African Americans to achieve economic self-sufficiency. The impact of this, as Tonry (2007) explained, is to “assure that many minority group members remain locked in multi-generational cycles of disadvantage and social exclusion” (p. 62).

Supporting the findings from the thematic analysis, the Council on Crime and Justice (2007) confirmed the severity of the penal system as expressed by Northside residents and leaders. As noted by Tonry (2007),

Increases in the use of imprisonment in Minnesota have outpaced the rest of the country since 1980, and have stunningly outpaced other states since 2000. And drug laws, according to the Minnesota Sentencing Guidelines Commission, are among the harshest in the country. (p. 64)

The harsh drug sentencing in Minnesota has led to an overrepresentation of minorities in the criminal justice system. As noted by Tonry (2007),

Most Minnesotans, accustomed to thinking of themselves as living in one of the more liberal minded and socially enlightened states, probably accept that what has been said so far is true, but in other parts of the United States. Perhaps I speak of national averages, or of experiences in bigoted southern

and western states? Alas, no. Increases in the use of imprisonment in Minnesota have outpaced the rest of the country since 1980. (p. 64)

In the thematic analysis, the criminal justice system was intricately linked to the culture of Minnesota Nice. The culture of Minnesota Nice, as outlined in Chapter 4, is one of understatement, non-confrontation, and social order. It also may entail holding people at a friendly distance and demonstrating passive-aggressive behavior when the social order is not upheld. Findings reveal that the impact of Minnesota Nice is strongly felt by the African American community and that it exacerbates a culture of racism by avoiding dialogue on racism, professing color-blindness, or claiming good faith efforts despite the evidence on the disparities in the Twin Cities. As Shipler (1996) remarked, “The color line is a curtain of silence” (p. 473). As a non-confrontational society, Minnesotans, according to Kay (2013), fail to engage in dialogue on issues surrounding race: “We have a fear in our state of Minnesota Nice of the ‘R’ word” (para. 8).

While Minnesotans are quick to espouse color-blindness, as the thematic analysis revealed, Alexander (2012) stated:

What is painfully obvious when one steps back from individual cases and specific policies is that the system of mass incarceration operates with stunning efficiency to sweep people of color of the streets, lock them in cages, and then release them into an inferior second-class status. (p. 103)

Consequently, the impact of the criminal justice system on the community is detrimental and, as is the case in Minnesota, “has helped to produce one of the

most extraordinary systems of racialized social control the world has ever seen” (Alexander, 2012, p. 103).

According to the Organizing Apprenticeship Project (2012), “Structural racism policies and practices have become embedded in how our society operates, resulting in barriers to opportunities like education, employment, and health care” (p. 16). The thematic analysis revealed that both historic and institutional discrimination are embedded in a culture of racism and are exacerbated by a culture of Minnesota Nice. Covert racism, or *laissez-faire* racism, as embedded in the social systems of Minnesota, serves as a barrier to engaging in dialogue and addressing the accumulating effects of historic and institutional discrimination. In the absence of dialogue, “racism may have been burrowed underground but it remains deeply embedded in the national psyche and in American institutions” (D’Souza, 1996, p. 245).

Theme 2: Exclusion from Opportunities

The thematic analysis revealed that urban African Americans are excluded from opportunities—economic, political, cultural, and social opportunities. The exclusion of opportunity has led to socially isolated and segregated neighborhoods. Neighborhood segregation has a detrimental impact on the community, and, as noted by Iceland (2006),

Contribute to patterns of unequal schooling, perpetuate ethnic stereotypes that give rise to discrimination in employers’ hiring patterns, and reproduce segregated job referral networks. In places segregated by both race and class [as is the case in North Minneapolis], the poor also often face high

rent burdens, lack of access to housing wealth, and housing health risks.

These all contribute to feelings of alienation, discouragement, and pessimism, which can in turn reproduce negative economic outcomes. (p. 84)

Alienation, discouragement, and pessimism emerged from the interviews with Northside residents and leaders. After decades of poverty, and generation after generation living in a persistent cycle of poverty, a psychology develops in the community that is based on hopelessness and a lack of belief, as the thematic analysis illustrated. This is confirmed in the literature. As noted by Wilson (1996),

The longer the joblessness persists, the more likely these self-doubts will take root. I think it is reasonable to assume that the association between joblessness and self-efficacy grows over time and becomes stronger the longer a neighborhood is plagued by low employment. (p. 76)

While self-doubt is less a reflection of personal ability, as Wilson also noted, it is, as the thematic analysis illustrated, a consequence from exclusion from opportunities.

Exclusion from opportunities was further exacerbated by the rise of the crack epidemic in the 80s. The thematic analysis showed that the crack epidemic led to the total destruction of the community and the family structure. As noted by Jenkins (2006),

The ill effects of the drugs is then added to the long list of social crises befalling Black people: the deterioration of skilled and higher paying jobs in urban communities; less public support for public housing, health care,

and education; the breakdown of the economic infrastructure of the ghetto;... Thus, even those families that did not succumb to the nullification of drugs still suffered from the social suffocation of oppression” (p. 135)

The crack epidemic fostered further marginalization from mainstream society and as highlighted in the thematic analysis, triggered the War on Drugs, which, in turn, launched a permanent punishment machine (Sykora, 2007).

The effects of exclusion from the economic mainstream are evident, as the thematic analysis showed, in the construction industry in the Twin Cities. Findings suggest high levels of discrimination and exclusion. This is supported in the literature. As noted by Royster (2003):

Black men have paid a great price for exclusion from blue-collar trades and the networks that supply those trades, but they not paid it alone. The pain of black men’s unemployment and underemployment spreads across black communities in a ripple effect. Less able to contribute financially to the care of children and parents, or to combine resources with black women or assist other men with work entry and “learning the ropes” on the job, black men withdraw from the support structures that they need and that they are needed to support emotionally as well as economically. (p. 189)

As evidenced from the thematic analysis, discriminatory practices are an age-old tradition in a highly protected union industry. From observations, predominately white males feel threatened by the inclusion of communities of color for fear of becoming marginalized in an industry that is traditionally

perceived as a white boys' club. The mentality of "if it ain't broke, why fix it" is captured by Royster (2003):

Many of the white men I studied were convinced that "quotas" (i.e., desegregation and equal opportunity or affirmative action programs) for the inclusion of blacks were severely limiting white employment prospects. Many felt they, as whites, were the victims of racial preference of exclusion. The perception of whites as underdogs vis-à-vis black economic competitors was pervasive among the working-class white men I studied. However, I was struck by their faulty logic: since black males do not dominate the trades and their associated unions, or even have a significant presence there, the notion of white underdogs is perplexing. Nor are older white males, who do control the trades, known for their receptivity toward young blacks. (p. 186)

As urban African Americans are excluded from different economic sectors, the thematic analysis found that there is a level of frustration in the African American community toward immigrants--who have been successful in finding employment in sector niches. In this light, African Americans reference the long-standing historic discrimination stemming from slavery. As Shipler (1997) illustrated in a conversation, "Blacks and whites have a relationship," Orange explained. "The reason I look different from the Ghanaian cab driver is that somewhere back there, something went on. It's like a dysfunctional family, and we won't talk about it" (p. 111). Goldsmith and Blakely (2010) highlighted what emerged from the thematic analysis: "Poor, poorly educated African Americans

especially are trapped semi-permanently, other ethnic groups temporarily, it seems” (p. 143).

What has contributed to the success of immigrants, as noted in the thematic analysis, is the role of social capital and the ability to rely on community networks. The research supports this finding. According to Pager (2008), “In fact, research on ethnic niches suggests that Hispanics and Asians have likewise been able to capitalize on the use of networks to benefit members of their own group at the expense of other minorities” (p. 32). While the role of immigrants in contributing to the exclusion of African Americans from employment did not surface explicitly to the forefront in the thematic analysis, the ability of immigrants to use the power of social capital for mobility did, and emphasized the absence of social networks in the urban African American community. As Royster (2003) noted, the dilemma in the black community is an impoverished network. He noted: “Black men sought employment using a truncated, resource-impoverished network consisting of strong ties to other blacks (families, friends, and school officials) who like themselves lacked efficacious ties to employment” (p. 182).

Theme 3: The Urban Black Male in Survival Mode

The findings of the thematic analysis illustrate that the urban black male lives in a constant survival mode. The need to survive has been part of the African American historic experience, and, while middle- and upper-class African Americans have successfully established themselves, urban African Americans continue to face daily experiences that require survival skills. Living in segregated, high-crime communities, black males must not only survive the violence that is

present in the community, but must also face external forces of discrimination from the police and the larger society. In addition to exclusion from opportunities, urban black males have been marginalized by society. The literature supports the marginalization of the black male and the violence with which he must contend on a daily basis. As noted by Jenkins (2006):

Put differently, the experience of the Black man in America seems to be one in which he is called “mister” but is treated with a “niggardly” regard. And the result is the positioning of Black males at the lower rungs of society and their experiencing underachievement in almost all aspects of life. (p. 128)

The role of the criminal justice system, again, worsens the barriers for urban black males and, in fact, targets urban black males. The thematic analysis found that the Minneapolis Police Department has engaged in racial profiling, and discriminatory practices by the police are supported in the literature. As noted by Alexander (2012),

The dirty little secret of policing is that the Supreme Court has actually granted the police license to discriminate. This fact is not advertised by police departments, because law enforcement officials know that the public would not respond well to this fact in the era of colorblindness. (p. 130)

Faced with discrimination across economic, political, social, and cultural systems, as the thematic analysis revealed, the urban black male has few resources available to survive. The absence of resources and marginalization from society provides an avenue for increased crime and violence in the community. Drugs

become an economic commodity and a means of survival. Consequently, as noted in the thematic analysis, an epidemic of violence begins to emerge. As found in the literature, “Widespread criminal activity feeds on itself, producing more disorder, less control and more law-breaking, in a downward spiral that can last for decades before stabilizing” (Fullilove, et al., 2007, p. 121). As also noted by Jenkins (2006):

Without proper education and increased job skills, Black men remain an unemployable class and thus continue to fall victim to the consequences of economic deprivation, including an inability to help take care of their families and children; frustration with society, which results in feeling of rage; and sense of hopelessness that makes criminality seem the only viable option. (p. 143)

Continued exclusion from mainstream society, the destruction of the community, and drugs as an economic commodity have given rise to gangs in the community. The thematic analysis found that the role of gangs, while dangerous to the community, also provides a sense of belonging for young men who are increasingly growing up in female-headed households. To many young men, the gang is one of the few places where they are not excluded. As noted in the literature, there are positive associations to gang life. Jenkins (2006), commented: “Though negative in nature, gang culture, for a long time, has served as an alternative social structure of inclusion for Black men – a place where black men could express their rage and speak truthfully and loudly if necessary” (p. 142).

The role of gangs and associated black-on-black violence in the community have given rise to the image of the urban black male as a thug. Findings from the thematic analysis suggested that the image of the thug has instilled fear of urban black males among whites. Contributing to this fear is the role of the news in highlighting violence in the community and the role of the media, such as the music industry, in promoting the image of a thug. The thematic analysis revealed that urban black males have begun to carry the image of a thug as this is one of the few avenues where they can claim respect and authority. Belonging to a gang and carrying the thug image, the thematic analysis revealed, provide a sense of belonging; a sense of fitting in for urban black males who have been marginalized from all other aspects of society. As noted by Alexander (2012):

So herein lies the paradox and predicament of young black men labeled criminals. A war has been declared on them, and they have been rounded up for engaging in precisely the same crimes that go largely ignored in middle- and upper-class white communities – possession and sale of illegal drugs. For those residing in ghetto communities, employment is scarce – often nonexistent... And because the drug war has been raging for decades now, the parents of children coming of age today were targets of the drug war as well. As a result, many fathers are in prison, and those who are “free” bear the prison label. They are often unable to provide for, or meaningfully contribute to, a family. Any wonder, then, that many youth embrace their stigmatized identity as a means of survival in this new caste system? (p. 172)

Theme 4: Entwined Roles of Faith and Leadership

The thematic analysis revealed that faith has been a constant thread in the history of the African American experience, and leadership and faith have been inextricably entwined since slavery. As Steensland et al, (2000) noted,

Recognizing the significance of historical traditions is also crucial to the matter of race. The Black Church has undoubtedly served as the central institution in the lives of African Americans from before emancipation through the civil rights movement unit the present day. (p. 294)

The black church also served a strong leadership role in the community. However, as the thematic analysis revealed, the leadership role of the church in the community has diminished to a role limited to moral persuasion. Today, leadership and faith are still enmeshed, but the role of the church has diminished in its capacity to deliver the message of faith and leadership to urban males in the community.

The role of the church was to serve, according to Taylor et al. (1999), “as arenas in which Black men and women can develop and assert personal and organizational leadership skills that are discouraged elsewhere” (p. 524). However, as the thematic analysis suggested, teaching of leadership skills, in particular as it relates to urban black men, has shifted away from the church and into the community. Community organizations and training institutions have taken on a function that historically has been viewed to be a function of the church. While women are more likely to attend church and religious services than are men (Taylor et al., 1999), urban black men, given the challenging barriers they face in

society (i.e., incarceration, probation, and unemployment) have sought to find leadership and faith at institutions that can provide the support and resources needed to help urban men address the challenges of discrimination and incarceration.

While the role of the church for urban black men has dissipated, the role of faith as evidenced in the thematic analysis, has not. Faith, and religious comfort play an important role in the black community. As noted by Taylor et al. (1999),

Black Americans overwhelmingly indicated that (a) religious comfort and support was extremely helpful in coping with life problems and difficulties, (b) religious and spiritual beliefs were important in their daily lives, (c) they felt close to God, and (d) they considered themselves to be religious. (p. 536)

The boundaries of faith, as revealed in the thematic analysis, are not limited to within the walls of the church. Urban men have found solace in faith in their daily lives and have connected with organizations in the community that communicate faith along with growth, strength, personal development, and leadership. These organizations actively address the challenges faced by the young men and provide an environment of acceptance and understanding. While churches have not responded to the challenges of the urban black males, as noted in the thematic analysis, they are shifting their roles in the community to collaborate and partner with community organizations in order to expand their capacity and resources in the community (Terriquez & Carter, 2012). The thematic analysis

revealed that this shift toward community development is occurring in North Minneapolis.

As the traditional leadership role in the black church community has declined, leaders who are ministers but practice outside of the church exert influence and respect among residents in the community. The thematic analysis revealed the connection urban black males have with leaders who have a church background but do not practice in a church. Findings suggested that black males are drawn to these institutions because the power of faith remains a core theme in the lives of these men and helps urban black males navigate the challenges and barriers in their lives. In the literature, very little is found on the role of faith for urban black males who experience economic marginalization, social isolation, and segregation. However, drawing from African American literature on the role of faith across the community, the role of faith and spirituality are part of the African American experience (Taylor et al., 1999):

Religious and spiritual beliefs and practices provide a meaningful context within which African Americans interpret and respond to both life's hardships and joys. These particular roles for religion and spirituality have been especially significant for investing meaning in the individual (e.g., personal, spiritual) and collective (e.g., cultural) experiences of African Americans. (p. 528)

The role of leadership in the thematic analysis extended to leadership in the broader community and the divisiveness of leadership within the community. Findings from the thematic analysis suggested that the divisive leadership stems

from economic and political interests and debate on what approaches are needed for the community. Wilson (2011) called for a new approach that would reflect a multipronged, holistic framework to address inner-city poverty. The thematic analysis revealed that, while there is acknowledgement that a systemic approach is needed in the community, the challenge lies in forming a unified, collaborative effort to address the needs in the community. However, it seems that there is recognition that the need for employment is critical to begin to alleviate under- and unemployment. The thematic analysis, focusing on the construction industry, is one such response to provide training and employment for an under-skilled, and underutilized population.

Findings Not in the Literature

The role of discrimination is embedded in the economic, political, social, and cultural institutions in the State of Minnesota; and its impact on the urban African American community has not been given sufficient scholarly review. As the thematic analyses have demonstrated, there is a culture of racism in the State of Minnesota, and it has a detrimental impact on communities of color, in particular, on urban African Americans. In the thematic analyses, it became evident that discrimination and racism are core problems in the State of Minnesota. The culture of Minnesota Nice, while lightheartedly mocked by many Minnesotans, as well as non-Minnesotans, is a cultural phenomenon that has a significant and negative impact on communities of color.

The culture of racism and institutional discrimination has a particularly negative impact on urban African American males. Findings show that the impact

of the punitive criminal justice model in the State of Minnesota requires urban black males to live in a constant state of survival. The experience of living life in a constant state of survival, as findings show, leads to hostility, frustration, and a sense of hopelessness among urban black males. There is little, if any, scholarly research that documents what the experience is like for urban African American males to live in a punitive society that discriminates against them.

The thematic analysis found that faith plays an important role among urban black males who have had, or have, contact with the criminal justice system. Gang members and ex-gang members talked about the importance of faith in their lives and how having faith is integral to survival. Current literature has not examined the role of faith in the lives of urban African American males who have a criminal background. The thematic analysis found that the role of faith is significant and warrants scholarly attention.

Existing literature documents the importance of the role of faith in the African American community at large. It has not, as mentioned above, focused on the role of faith among urban black men with a criminal history. In addition, the thematic analysis revealed that community organizations employ faith and leadership to lead men to make better choices in their lives, and, how the role of faith can help navigate the challenges in their environment. The role of the community organization in employing faith and leadership to assist and guide urban black males in decision-making has not been previously documented in scholarly literature.

Connected to this thematic reveal, is how leadership in the urban African American community is defined more broadly than in existing leadership literature. Leadership, as findings show, is connected to spiritual leadership, leadership in the family and community, and roles of leadership that come with being a man. The thematic analysis found that urban African American males have a leadership role to fulfill across multiple social systems and that these roles are being taught in community organizations. Existing literature has yet to document the phenomenon of leadership among urban African American males.

Summary

This chapter presented the findings from the thematic analysis and related the findings to the literature in the field. The chapter focused on the four emerging themes from the data analysis. These themes were: 1) Discrimination in Minnesota, 2) Exclusion from Opportunities, 3) The Urban Black Male in Survival Mode, and 4) The Entwined Roles of Faith and Leadership.

The thematic analysis revealed that discrimination in Minnesota is a core theme in the lives of the urban African American community. The culture of racism that exists in the State of Minnesota, alongside continued institutional practices of discrimination, exclude urban African Americans from participating in mainstream society. As a result of the exclusion from opportunities (economic, political, cultural, and social) urban African Americans males must live in survival mode. The act of survival requires urban black men to contend with crime and violence. It also has given rise to the powerful role of gangs in the community that serve to create a sense of belonging and inclusion.

As the urban African American community struggles to survive, in particular males, the role of faith remains a constant in the African American experience. While there has been a decline in worship, there has not been a decline in faith. Rather, African American males have sought teachings of faith and leadership in community and non-profit organizations. In this arena, the phenomenon of leadership encompasses multiple societal roles, in particular for urban African American males in the community.

The divisive role of leadership in the North Minneapolis community is also a theme that emerged from the thematic analysis. Findings shows that divisiveness stems from economic and political interests and debate on what approaches are needed for the community. However, as revealed in the thematic analysis, there are current leadership efforts in the North Minneapolis community focused on a systemic approach to address the plight of the urban African American community.

Chapter 9

Summary, Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

This chapter contains a summary of the study, discussion, conclusions, and recommendations for policy, practice, theory, and future research.

Summary

This was a case study focused on the role human resource development in the poverty zone in North Minneapolis. The purpose of this study was to assess the state of HRD in the poverty zone in North Minneapolis and propose a strategy for a development-focused HRD framework. The case study approach was selected because of its all-encompassing methods that bring to the forefront the interactivity, processes, and context of the phenomenon (Stake, 2005). Data collection consisted of in-depth one-on-one unstructured interviews with 7 Northside residents, 7 community leaders, and 2 activists, and extensive observations at several organizations that work closely with urban black males. Emerging key themes from the data analysis were: 1) Discrimination in Minnesota, 2) Exclusion From Opportunities, 3) The Urban Black Male in Survival Mode, and 4) The Entwined Roles of Faith and Leadership.

The focus of this case study was to examine how the role of HRD in the poverty zone of North Minneapolis can develop and maximize the economic, political, social, and cultural opportunities for urban African Americans. Borrowing from Harbison and Myers (1964), the following definition of development HRD was employed to guide the case study:

In economic terms, it could be described as the accumulation of human capital and its effective investment in the development of an economy. In political terms, human resource development prepares people for adult participation in political processes, particularly as citizens of democracy. From the social and cultural points of view, the development of human resources helps people to lead fuller and richer lives, less bound by tradition. In short, the processes of human resource development unlock the door to modernization. (p. 2)

Based on this understanding of Human Resource Development in a development context, Harbison and Myers (1964) proposed four typologies to determine the state and goals of HRD. These typologies are: Level I (underdeveloped), Level II (Partially developed), Level III (Semi-advanced), and Level IV (Advanced). It was proposed that the state of HRD in the North Minneapolis poverty zone is partially developed (Level II) and that the underpinnings of HRD are present in the community but require refinement and implementation. The following nine questions posed by Harbison and Myers (1964) shed light on the state and goals of HRD in the poverty zone in North Minneapolis. Answers to the nine questions are brief and serve as an introductory understanding to how development HRD can be utilized in examining and addressing problems in North Minneapolis.

- 1) What is the nature (historical and current) of the transitioning economic, social/socio-cultural, and political national context?

North Minneapolis is an inner city neighborhood in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Historically a Jewish community, North Minneapolis today is primarily African American. With 68 percent of the North Minneapolis population on some type of county assistance, the community is economically, politically, socially, and culturally excluded from mainstream society. A primarily young and unskilled population (below the age of 50), the community struggles with under- and unemployment. Economically marginalized, socially isolated, and struggling with persistent generational poverty, residents of North Minneapolis experience the impact of historic and institutional discrimination embedded in a culture of racism.

- 2) What pressures and imperatives are driving the nature and need for HRD?

There are two primary pressures that drive the nature and need for HRD. First, the State of Minnesota is experiencing a demographic shift, and, by 2040, communities of color will represent 44% of Twin Cities' working age population. At the same time, by 2030, the number of Minnesotans over age 65 is expected almost to double, and older adults will comprise about one-fifth of the state's population (Wilder Foundation, 2012). The State of Minnesota cannot afford to exclude communities of color from the workforce and have a significant portion of its workforce retire.

Second, there is a growing labor shortage. The Twin Cities will experience a significant exit of workers in the next few years. There is a growing underutilized and unskilled population in the Twin Cities who must become active participants in the economy to strengthen economic vitality of the Twin Cities and the communities in which they live, and to advance the quality of life of all communities of color.

3) What currently comprises HRD?

The role of HRD in North Minneapolis is currently shifting from a fragmented, uncoordinated, and local approach of human resource development focused within the boundaries of North Minneapolis to a systems-focused, large-scale model of HRD, bridging North Minneapolis within the broader regional community. Shifting from an individual organization approach of HRD, the new model of HRD in North Minneapolis consists of partnerships and collaboration across multiple types of agencies and institutions working to create and implement education and training initiatives tied to forecasted workforce needs in the Twin Cities region. This approach is planned, systemic, and focused on workforce development.

4) What are the specific and necessary goals and components of HRD?

The specific and critical goals of HRD are focused on workforce development connecting communities of color to the regional economy in high-growth sector driven industries. The components to achieve the workforce development goals consists of introducing skill-based

education options in high schools to prepare youth to be work ready, connecting high schools with industry, and creating training and education pathways to industry in adult education institutions. Attached to these goals are implementing measures of transparency and accountability and enforcing the 32% minority workforce in the construction industry in the Twin Cities.

5) How is or might HRD be defined?

The role of HRD in the North Minneapolis community is to build and maximize individual and community capacity through education and training and workforce development so communities of color have equal opportunity in the economic, political, social, and cultural systems in the region.

6) What are important elements for an effective strategy of HRD?

For HRD strategy to be effective in North Minneapolis, it must be based on systems theory and apply the principles of systems thinking to practice. HRD must also be driven by economic principles. This includes the employment of human capital development strategies and workforce development. Strategies would include focusing on workforce development in high-demand, sector-driven industries and aligning education and training with those industry sectors. Public and private sector investment would be directed to support the education and training side, as well as the workforce development side.

HRD must also bring transparency and accountability to all processes and provide measurable outcomes to ensure that effective HRD strategies are being used. Part of this strategy includes partnering with advocacy organizations (i.e., HIRE MN) and the Minnesota Department of Human Rights.

- 7) What factors are likely to impede successful implementation of an HRD strategy?

The factors that are likely to impede successful implementation of an HRD strategy are multiple. First, practices of institutional discrimination embedded in the economic, political, social, and cultural systems will resist change. Second is funding. Change to promote racial equity is largely driven by the philanthropic community. While the philanthropic community funds innovative HRD efforts and approaches, long-term implementation of HRD strategy requires an ongoing funding commitment beyond the philanthropic community. Third, divisive leadership can impede successful implementation of an HRD strategy. Divisive leadership can create obstacles for true change to occur and can halt buy-in from key stakeholders needed to implement change.

- 8) What factors are likely to enhance/enable successful implementation of an HRD strategy?

Committed leadership to drive change, in partnership with multiple key stakeholders in the broader, regional community, is a key factor likely

to enable successful implementation of an HRD strategy. An example of this is the partnership formed between Summit Academy OIC and The McKnight Foundation, a philanthropic organization, to drive strategy that promotes equitable workforce investment. Both partners focus on establishing buy-in from key stakeholders in the regional community to help drive change. These key stakeholders are in a position of influence and are critical to implementing effective HRD strategy.

Funding to support strategy efforts is also critical to implementation of an HRD strategy. The McKnight Foundation is a significant funder in the area of regional workforce development in the Twin Cities and serves as an example how support from the philanthropic community to drive innovative change is essential.

Last but not least, the collection and distribution of data to support the need for effective HRD strategy is also important. In the case of racial inequity, workforce data (i.e., state funding initiatives allocated to the workforce), demographic data, and employment data are relevant to illustrate inequity in human capital investment.

- 9) What specific challenges face policy makers and professionals in the development, implementation, and evaluation of national HRD strategies?

A fundamental challenge is systems change across State agencies to undo embedded practices of institutional discrimination (i.e.; the

Minnesota Department of Employment and Economic Development (DEED), Department of Labor and Industry (DOLI), and the Minnesota Department of Transportation (MNDOT)) and to ensure equitable opportunity to all residents in the Twin Cities region. Second, engaging key stakeholders at the aforementioned agencies to invest in human capital development initiatives that benefit not only the whites but also communities of color as part of a long-term planning effort.

Discussion

The state of HRD in North Minneapolis is beginning to form into a systemic, cohesive framework with an emphasis on workforce development. While there have been previous efforts of HRD in the community, few efforts have materialized to impact the community at large. Summit Academy, along with multiple partners, including the McKnight Foundation, have begun to expand the lens of workforce development to a broader regional initiative focused on the construction industry. While this effort is focused on a single industry, the scale of the HRD initiative is substantial, impacting communities of color, labor and industry, secondary education, and adult education training institutions. The scale of the initiative will also have a substantial impact on the economic vitality of communities of color in the Twin Cities.

As the functions of HRD begin to streamline workforce development initiatives, there will be a need to address the broader goals of HRD on a community and societal level and integrate HRD goals across the economic, political, social, and cultural sectors. To maximize the impact of HRD, in

particular as it relates to advancing the economic position of urban African Americans, HRD professionals will need actively to address systems that perpetuate institutional discrimination. Without directly addressing these systems, processes, and procedures will continue to have a cumulative and negative impact on communities of color.

The emerging nature of HRD in North Minneapolis provides a platform to launch a task force committed to examining initiatives that maximize opportunities for urban African Americans and communities of color at large. In partnership with philanthropic organizations, the Department of Human Rights, Hennepin County, and key stakeholders in the community, there are ample opportunities to strengthen the HRD capacity within, and beyond, the community. It will require organizations to expand their lens of HRD and operate in a broader system to maximize the impact of HRD on a broad community level. What is critical is to achieve a tipping point for change to occur and to sustain momentum in order to achieve long-term sustainability.

Conclusions

There is a critical need for the role of HRD to join the discourse on racial discrimination and equity. Through critical HRD theory, the HRD profession will be equipped to examine economic, political, social, and cultural systems that are embedded in historic and institutionally discriminatory practices. There is further need for HRD, informed by systems theory as a core theoretical foundation, to employ its expertise on systems analysis, design, development, implementation, and evaluation for the purpose of improving racial equity on both a national and

local level. HRD has played a limited role, if any, in the racial discourse, or absence thereof, in the United States. This case study aimed to demonstrate the need for and significance of HRD in the study of inner city poverty and racial inequality in the United States.

Recommendations for Policy

Human capital development must target secondary education, adult education, and tertiary education. Policy should focus on aligning education with the needs of industry and develop a systemic, planned approach to coordinate supply (education and training) and demand (workforce needs). The promotion of flexible systems will be essential to a human capital development approach driven by regional workforce demands.

Within this human capital development framework, policy should increase investment and accessibility to Vocational Education and Training (VET) *and other skill-based training* opportunities. Investment in skill-based training will strengthen the adult education system and promote the alignment between training and industry. This alignment is fundamental to the development of a skilled labor force that can meet the demands of industry. Training and education must also be accessible and transparent. This means ensuring that entry-level (or non-entry level) opportunities into the workforce must be accessible and transparent not only to whites but equally to communities of color.

To achieve the outcomes as outlined above, human capital development policy must consist of education policy, economic policy, fiscal policy, and equity policy. Economic policy must promote and invest in equitable workforce

investment across the State of Minnesota. Education policy must promote and invest in adult education and vocational education and training. To advance both educational and economic policy, human capital development policy must include fiscal policy to appropriately fund policy initiatives. Last but not least, equity policy is necessary to ensure the abovementioned policies are equitable and equitably funded and implemented.

Recommendations for Practice

For HRD strategy to be effective on any level (small- or large-scale), systems of transparency and accountability will need to be developed to drive change. Transparency entails documenting systems, processes, procedures, and protocols, not only within an organization, but also across organizations and entities. For training institutions this means outlining goals with training outcomes and adjusting the processes as necessary to meet those goals. Training institutions must also align with industry. This entails partnership building and inviting industry to play a role in the development of training curriculum. It also means partnering with industry to provide on-the-job training experiences to trainees. A partnership between training and industry may also include funding support to training institutions as they supply the labor needed by the workforce.

Accountability and transparency are also important in practice to ensure goals and objectives are met and outcomes are measured across organizations and industry. This can include data collection at pivotal points (training enrollment, training completion, industry placement, and industry retention) to ensure effective implementation of HRD practices. Transparency also means the development of

transparent (entry-level) career pathways into high growth industries with advancement opportunities. The development of career pathways across industries can be developed by a taskforce (a collaboration of training and industry partners) to document industry-driven career pathways.

Communicating career pathways should become part of the high school curriculum to provide students with early-knowledge on skill-based training opportunities alongside the traditional four-year college path. A career pathways toolkit should highlight the different career pathways to different industries as well as highlight pathways within the industry. These toolkits should be distributed (as well as be web-accessible) to adult education training centers, non-profit organizations, and Employment Service Providers (ESPs) to ensure that everyone has equal knowledge and access on how to move into an industry and the workforce. Career pathway tools should outline training institutions, programs and certificate/degree options at training institutions, as well as map education/training advancement opportunities. In addition, a career pathways toolkit will outline entry-level to advanced job opportunities to enable individuals to make informed choices about their training investment and career choices.

Recommendations for Theory

The alignment of HRD theory with Critical HRD theory is essential to advance the theoretical base of HRD and advocate equality in systems, policies, research, and practice. As noted in the first chapter, if (N)HRD is to operate within these multiple systems that themselves are shaped by historic and contemporary economic, political, cultural, and social paradigms that reinforce racial inequality,

then race is a core issue for HRD. As noted by Fenwick (2004), critical HRD would transform “workplaces and HRD practice toward justice, fairness, and equity” (p. 193). Alignment with critical HRD theory would also establish a foundation to address the embedded historical and institutional practices of discrimination experienced by communities of color in the Twin Cities. Expanding HRD theory to incorporate critical HRD will serve better to inform existing practices of HRD and, importantly, will serve to promote critical change in organizations, the community, and society at large. Further research and theory development on how critical HRD can inform the theoretical base of HRD would be required. Specifically, research must drive theory in order to better understand the phenomenon and theory, in turn, must inform research.

In addition to alignment with critical HRD, a development model of Community Human Resource Development (CHRD) is proposed in Chapter 2 that is rooted in systems theory. Traditional models of community development lack a systemic, holistic approach that is necessary to address the plight of the urban poor. As findings have shown, inner city poverty is a complex and multi-level phenomenon requiring an equally complex and multi-level approach. A model of CHRD would emphasize systems theory and align with a model of (N)HRD to close the feedback loop. The role of CHRD should not be limited to community development. CHRD must function within the broader context of the community, regionally as well as nationally. Hence, alignment between NHRD and CHRD is necessary to maximize the systems-focused impact of human resource development.

While development models of National HRD are employed internationally, the United States lacks a development-focused approach to human resource development. According to Cho and McLean (2004), “The United States does not have a clear vision of its national human resource development” (p. 391). There is a need for a U.S. model of (N)HRD to be developed in order to inform models of CHRD that operate on a more local level. Core HRD theory can inform a U.S. model of HRD, and, should also, as noted earlier, incorporate the theoretical foundation of critical HRD. As race is a core, though often unspoken issue, in the United States, and systems nationally are embedded in institutional discriminatory practices, (N)HRD in the U.S. must look to critical HRD to inform systems change.

Recommendations for Future Research

Based on the lack of research in the field of HRD on race and racial inequality, the key recommendation is to employ HRD to examine the economic, political, social, and cultural systems that reinforce racial inequality. Again, incorporating critical HRD, much can be gained from HRD’s existing cultural expertise and incorporating this expertise with a systems-focused lens on issues of racial inequality and discrimination. In line with this focus, further research is also needed on how the different social and economic systems and institutions interact to exacerbate the plight of the urban poor. An example of this is how the criminal justice system serves as a trigger to other systems and how this impacts a large segment of the urban poor population. As noted by Pager (2008), “Single point estimates of discrimination within particular domains substantially underestimate

the cumulative effects of discrimination over time, and the ways in which discrimination in one domain can trigger disadvantage in many others” (p. 42).

Another recommendation is to replicate this study in other Northern cities in the United States that also have inner city communities struggling with generational poverty. This study is well suited for replication in Detroit, Michigan, a city that has recently been granted bankruptcy, in addition to cities such as Chicago, Illinois, and Gary, Indiana. Detroit would provide a particularly interesting platform for replication. It would expand the scale of the research from a neighborhood to an entire city and shed light on large-scale poverty that is not neighborhood specific. Furthermore, examining inner city communities with Latino or Asian populations, for example in Los Angeles, California, would provide more insight into how African American urban poverty differs from immigrant populations.

Based on Harbison and Myers (1964) typology framework, there is an opportunity to conduct a more quantitative study to measure the state and goals of HRD in urban poor communities and to compare measurements of HRD to similar urban poor communities, as well as the surrounding region. Measurements of HRD per community, region, or state will provide insight into the state of HRD and enable researchers, practitioners, and policy makers better to assess the needs of a community and appropriately to determine levels of investment and allocation of resources. A measurement of HRD will also enable proportionate investment across the region that is not racially determined but instead focused on strengthening human capital where it most critical.

Last but not least, this research is certainly not limited to the United States. Urban cities, such as Rotterdam or Amsterdam in The Netherlands, would provide an equally interesting platform for further research. Given the current climate in The Netherlands between Muslim populations and non-Muslim populations, a study on the role of HRD in inner city poverty—shaped by religious underpinnings instead of racial underpinnings—would be beneficial in furthering theory, research, and practice. It also would provide a fascinating comparative account in understanding how religion and race might shape urban poverty differently and how the poverty phenomenon might be viewed differently within the community, as well as regionally.

References

- Alexander, M. (2012). *The New Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. New York, N.Y: The New Press.
- Alfred, M. V., & Chlup, D. T. (2010). Making the invisible, visible: Race matters in human resource development. *Advances in Developing Human Resources, 12*(3), 332-351.
- Bell, D. (1992). *Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bertalanffy, L.V. (1972). The history and status of general systems theory. *The Academy of Management Journal, 15*(4), 407-426.
- Brookings Institution (2008). *The enduring challenge of concentrated poverty in America: Case studies from communities across the U.S.* Retrieved September 2, 2011, from http://www.frbsf.org/community-development/files/cp_fullreport.pdf
- Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program. (2005). *Mind the gap: Reducing disparities to improve regional competitiveness in the Twin Cities*. Retrieved September 2, 2011, from http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2005/10/cities_sohmer/20051027_mindthegap.pdf
- Bullock, H.E. (2008). Justifying inequality: A social psychological analysis of beliefs about poverty and the poor. In A.C. Lin & D.R. Harris (Eds.), *The*

Colors of Poverty: Why racial and ethnic disparities persist (pp. 52-75).

New York, N.Y.: Russell Sage Foundation.

City Pages. (1999, May 5). Best use of taxpayer dollars. In *Best of the Twin Cities*.

Retrieved November 1, 2013, from

<http://www.citypages.com/content/printVersion/3535/>

Cohen, P. (2010, October 17). 'Culture makes a comeback. *The New York Times*.

Retrieved on January 10, 2012, from

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/18/us/18poverty.html>

Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *The*

American Journal of Sociology, 94, 95-120.

Council on Crime and Justice (2006, June). *African American males in the*

criminal justice system. Retrieved October 6, 2013, from

<http://www.crimeandjustice.org/researchReports/African%20American%20males%20in%20the%20Criminal%20Justice%20System.pdf>

Council on Crime and Justice (2007, October). *Justice, where art thou? A*

framework for the future. Retrieved October 6, 2013, from

<http://www.crimeandjustice.org/researchReports/FINAL%20REPORT%2010.4.07.pdf>

Cho, E., & McLean, G. N. (2004). What we discovered about NHRD and what it

means for HRD. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 6(3), 382-393.

Fenwick, T.J. (2004). Toward a critical HRD in theory and practice. *Adult*

Education Quarterly, 54(3), 193-209.

Fryer, R.G., Jr., Heaton, P.S., Levitt, S.D., & Murphy, K.M. (2006). *Measuring crack cocaine and its impact*. Unpublished manuscript, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Fullilove, M.T., Fullilove, R.E., & Wallace, R. (2007). *Where is home?: Mass incarceration in the context of incessant displacement*. Retrieved October 6, 2013, from Council on Crime and Justice Web site:
<http://www.crimeandjustice.org/researchReports/FINAL%20REPORT%2010.4.07.pdf>

Goldsmith, W.W., & Blakely, E.J. (2010). *Separate societies: Poverty and inequality in U.S. cities* (2nd ed.). Pennsylvania, PA: Temple University Press.

Hall, E.T. (1959). *The silent language*. Greenwich, Conn: Fawcett Publications, Inc.

Harbison, F. & Myers, C.A. (1964). *Education, manpower, and economic growth: Strategies of human resource development*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Hennepin County Office of Planning and Development (2002, January). *Crossroads: Choosing a new direction*. African American Men Project. Retrieved October 13, 2013, from
<http://www.co.hennepin.mn.us/opd/opd.htm>

Hofstede, G. (1983). National cultures in four dimensions: A research-based theory of cultural differences among nations. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 13(1/2), 46-74.

- Hofstede, G. (1984). The cultural relativity of the quality of life concept. *The Academy of Management Review*, 9(3), 389-398.
- Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values, behaviors, institutions, and organizations across nations*. (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Iceland, J. (2006). *Poverty in America: a handbook*. (2nd. ed.). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Jacobs, R.L. (1989). Systems theory applied to human resource development. In Graduous, D.B. (ed.). *Theory-to-Practice Monograph Series* (4th ed., 27-60). Alexandria, VA: ASTD.
- Jargowsky, P. A. (1998). *Poverty and Place: Ghettos, Barrios, and the American City*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Jones, S. (2009, December 14). The unwritten rules that tell Minnesotans how to be nice. *MPR News*. Retrieved November 3, 2013, from <http://minnesota.publicradio.org/display/web/2009/12/14/jones>
- Jones, S. (2009, December 14). Tracing the origin of "Minnesota Nice". *MPR News*. Retrieved from November 4, 2013, from <http://minnesota.publicradio.org/display/web/2009/12/14/syljones>
- Kasarda, J.D. (1993). Urban industrial transition and the underclass. In W.J. Wilson (Ed.), *The ghetto underclass* (43-64). Newberry Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Kast, F.E., & Rosenzweig, J.E. (1972). General systems theory: Applications for organization and management. *The Academy of Management Journal*, 15(4), 447-465.
- Kay, V. (2013, September 25). Minneapolis gaps? Face the truth-it's racism. *Star Tribune*. Retrieved November 3, 2013, from <http://www.startribune.com/opinion/commentaries/225266981.html>
- Kay, V. (2013, September 24). 'Growing Minneapolis' by tackling the racism in the room. *Opine Season*. Retrieved September 29, 2013, from <http://opineseason.com/2013/09/24/growing-minneapolis-by-tackling-the-racism-in-the-room/>
- Kessels, J.W. & Poell, R.F. (2004). Andragogy and social capital theory: The implications for human resource development. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 6(2), 146-157.
- Lamont, M., & Small, M.L. (2008). How Culture Matters: Enriching our understanding of poverty. In A.C. Lin & D.R. Harris (Eds.), *The Colors of Poverty: Why racial and ethnic disparities persist* (pp. 76-102). New York, N.Y.: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Lemann, N. (1994, January 9). The myth of community development. *The New York Times*. Retrieved October 2, 2011, from <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/01/09/magazine/the-myth-of-community-development.html>
- Lewis, O. (1959). *Five families: Mexican case studies in the culture of poverty*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Loury, G.C. (1998, Spring). *An American Tragedy: The Legacy of slavery lingers in our cities' ghettos*. Brookings. Retrieved November 3, 2013, from

<http://www.brookings.edu/research/articles/1998/03/spring-poverty-loury>

Lynham, S.A., & Cunningham, P.W. (2006). National human resource development in transitioning societies in the developing world: Concept and challenges. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 8(1), 116-135.

Marquardt, M. & Berger, M. (2003). The future: Globalization and new roles for HRD. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 5(3), 283-295.

Massey, D.S., & Denton, N.A. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Maxfield, J., Shelton, E., & Owen, G. (2011, May). *Northside Achievement Zone:*

Community baseline survey results. Retrieved January 10, 2012, from

Wilder Foundation Web site: <http://www.wilder.org/Wilder->

[Research/Publications/Studies/Northside Achievement Zone/Community](http://www.wilder.org/Wilder-Research/Publications/Studies/Northside%20Achievement%20Zone/Community)

[Baseline Survey Results, Full Report.pdf](http://www.wilder.org/Wilder-Research/Publications/Studies/Northside%20Achievement%20Zone/Community)

McLean, G.N. (2004). National human resource development: What in the world is it? *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 6(3), 269-275.

McLean, G.N. (2006). *Organization Development: Principles, processes, performance*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc.

Niemonen, J. (2002). *Race, class, and the state in contemporary sociology: The William Julius Wilson debates*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

Orfield, M. & Luce, T.F. (2010). *Region: Planning the future of the Twin Cities*.

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Organizing Apprenticeship Project (2012). *2012 Minnesota legislative report card*

on racial equity. Retrieved October 11, 2013, from

http://oaproject.org/sites/default/files/oap_reportcard_2012-final-web_3.pdf

Pager, D. (2008). The dynamics of discrimination. In A.C. Lin & D.R. Harris

(Eds.), *The colors of poverty: Why racial and ethnic disparities persist* (pp.

21-51). New York, N.Y.: Russell Sage Foundation.

Paprock, K.E. (2006). National human resource development in transitioning

societies in the developing world: Introductory overview. *Advances in*

Developing Human Resources, 8(1), 12-27.

Putnam, R.D. (1993). The prosperous community: Social capital and public life.

American Prospect. Retrieved October 5, 2011, from

<http://prospect.org/cs/articles?articleId=5175>

Quillian, L., & Redd, R. (2008). Can social capital explain persistent racial poverty

gaps? In A.C. Lin & D.R. Harris (Eds.), *The colors of poverty: Why racial*

and ethnic disparities persist (pp. 170-197). New York, N.Y.: Russell Sage

Foundation.

Royster, D.A. (2003). *Race and the invisible hand: How white networks exclude*

black men from blue-collar jobs. Berkeley, CA: University of California

Press.

- Russel, G. (1977, August 28). The American underclass: A minority within a minority. *Time Magazine*, 14-27.
- Sachs, J.D. (2005). *The end of poverty: Economic possibilities for our time*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Sampson, W. (2008). Institutional discrimination. In R. Schaefer (Ed.). *Encyclopedia of race, ethnicity, and society*. (pp. 727-730). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.4135/9781412963879.n289>
- Sanchez, C.M., & Curtis, D.M. (2000). Different minds and common problems: Geert Hofstede's research on national cultures. *Performance Improvement Quarterly*, 13(2), 9-19.
- Schein, E.H. (1990). Organizational culture. *American Psychologist*, 45(2), 109-119.
- Schultz, T.W. (1961). Investment in human capital. *The American Economic Review*, 2(1), 1-17.
- Schultz, T.W. (1971). *Investment in human capital: The role of education and of research*. New York: The Free Press.
- Shipler, D.K. (1997). *A country of strangers: Blacks and whites in America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Small, M.L, Harding, D.J., & Lamont, M. (2010). Reconsidering culture and poverty. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 629, 6-27.

Sole, J.M. (2007). *The war on drugs*. Retrieved October 6, 2013, from Council on Crime and Justice Web site:

<http://www.crimeandjustice.org/researchReports/FINAL%20REPORT%2010.4.07.pdf>

Stake, R.E. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies. In Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (Eds.), *The sage handbook of qualitative research* (3rd ed.) (pp. 467- 466).

Steensland, B.S., Park, J.Z., Regnerus, M.D., Robinson, L.D., Wilcox, W.B., & Woodberry, R.D. (2000). The measure of American religion: Toward improving the state of the art. *Social Forces*, 79(1), 291-318.

Swanstrom, T., Ryan, R., & Stigers, K.M. (2006). *Measuring concentrated poverty: Did it really decline in the 1990s?* Retrieved September 15, 2011, from Berkeley Institute of Urban and Regional Development Web site:

<http://www.iurd.berkeley.edu/publications/wp/2007-09.pdf>

Swanson, R.A., & Holton, E.F. (2001). *Foundations of human resource development*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc.

Sweetland, S.R. (1996). Human capital theory: Foundations of a field of inquiry. *Review of Educational Research*, 66(3), 341-359.

Taylor, R.J., Mattis, J., & Chatters, L.M. (1999). Subjective religiosity among African Americans: A synthesis of findings from five national samples. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 25(4), 524-543.

Terkel, S. (2012). *Race: How blacks and whites think and feel about the American obsession*. New York, N.Y.: The New Press.

- Terriquez, V., & Carter, V. (2012). Celebrating the legacy, embracing the future: How research can help build ties between American churches and their Latino immigrant neighbors. *Community Development*, 43(3), 1-15.
- Tonry, M. (2007). *Minnesota drug policy and its disastrous effects on racial and ethnic minorities*. Retrieved October 6, 2013, from Council on Crime and Justice Web site:
<http://www.crimeandjustice.org/researchReports/FINAL%20REPORT%2010.4.07.pdf>
- United Nations Development Programme (2010). *The real wealth of nations: Pathways to human development*. Retrieved October 6, 2011, from
<http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/global/hdr2010/chapters/>
- United States Census Bureau. (n.d.). *Income, Poverty, and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2010*. Retrieved September 13, 2011, from
<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/index.html>
- Wang, G.G., Korte, R.F., & Sun, J.Y. (2008). Development economics: A foundation for HRD policy studies in developing countries. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 10(6), 848-862.
- Wilson, W.J. (1978). *The declining significance of race*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, W.J. (1987). *The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, W.J. (1997). *When work disappears: The world of the new urban poor*. New York: Random House, Inc.

- Wilson, W.J. (2006). *There goes the neighborhood: Racial, ethnic, and class tensions in four Chicago neighborhoods and their meaning for America*. New York: Random House, Inc.
- Wilson, W.J. (2009). *More than just race: Being black and poor in the inner city*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Wilson, W.J. (2009). The Moynihan report and research on the black community. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 621, 34-46.
- Wilson, W.J. (2010). Why both social structure and culture matter in a holistic analysis of inner-city poverty. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 629, 200 -219.
- Wilson, W.J. (2011). Being poor, black, and American: The impact of political, economic, and cultural forces. *American Educator*, Spring, 10 – 26.
- Zollar, J. (2002). *Minnesota's racial profiling legislation*. Retrieved November 10, 2013, from The Research Department of the Minnesota House of Representatives Web site:
<http://www.house.leg.state.mn.us/hrd/pubs/ss/ssrpleg.pdf>
- Zula, K.J. & Chermack, T.J. (2007). Integrative literature review: Human capital planning: A review of literature and implications for human resource development. *Human Resource Development Review*, 6(3), 245-262.