Insight Center

A Primer:
Narrative Change & Workforce Development

Practitioner *Reflections*
&
Implications for the Field

Prepared By

Clair Minson, Principal
Sandra Grace LLC

Executive Summary

In 2022, The Insight Center for Community Economic Development's former Executive Vice President and Chief Executive Officer, sought support from Sandra Grace LLC to design and facilitate a series of conversations with workforce stakeholders who were actively advancing narrative change efforts in the field. This project titled: "**Narrative Change and Workforce Development: Creating Containers of Change**" gathered narrative change makers and narrative thought leaders in the workforce development ecosystem with a goal of understanding the challenges associated with addressing anti-black narratives in workforce development and identifying solutions to address said challenges.

Through the process, the narrative thought leaders identified the following:

- The challenges associated with focusing on Black workers in their work and in conversation with current and prospective partners;
- The challenges associated with focusing on Black women specifically in their work and in conversation with current and prospective partners;
- The harmful narratives about Black workers that they encounter in their work;
- Their responses to these harmful narratives; and
- Where narrative change innovation is happening in the field.

This Narrative Change & Workforce Development Primer will outline the reflections gathered through the series of conversations, identify some best practices and innovative efforts related to narrative change and workforce development and cast a vision for a future where harmful narratives about Black workers don't exist and no longer determine life outcomes for Black workers.

This primer is one step in a broader discussion needed about the role of narrative change in workforce development strategies and solutions. It is not an exhaustive list of the challenges and harmful, anti-black narratives that exist in the field, rather its a starting point. As you read this primer, consider the role you will play in addressing harmful narratives and creating a field that sees narrative change as central to its work in advancing economic equity and justice.

What are Narratives?

Narratives are defined as "our cultural understandings, frames of reference, or mental models and play a significant role in how leaders create and implement policies, and how Americans receive them[1]". We use narratives to make sense of the world and how to navigate through it. Narratives are the mental structures that allow human beings to understand reality and justify our values and beliefs.

When asked "In one word, what comes to mind when you hear/see the word narrative", our narrative thought leaders said:

Figure A.

Narratives are broadly understood as collective stories, frames, perspectives, messaging, meaning, and stereotypes of people and communities. When asked on social media what word comes to mind when people see or hear the word narrative, 47% of people said stories, 43% said messages & messaging and 10% said stereotypes. Narratives shape the decisions people make, their understanding of people and communities and culture, policy decisions and our beliefs about who has value and who doesn't.

What is Narrative Change work and Why is it so hard?

Narrative change as a practice has been around for years, but has most recently emerged as a key strategy to achieving transformative systems changes in the nonprofit, human & social service sectors with a recognition that "in order to achieve lasting systemic change, it's not enough to shift a few policies. We need to shift the underlying system of stories that help

---

[1] Bhattacharya, J., McConville, S., Price, A., Samra, S.,Tubbs, M.D. "Why All Guaranteed Income is Narrative Work", (2021). Available here: https://insightcced.org/why-all-guaranteed-income-is-narrative-work/

people make sense of the world.[2] " Unfortunately, recognition alone is not sufficient enough to actually realize the kinds of change necessary. In fact, narrative change work is actually quite challenging. In the same article referenced above, author Brett Davidson explores additional theories about why narrative change work is so hard. One primary theory addressed in the article is called the **"System Justification Theory"** dating back to 1994 and coined by psychology professors Jost and Mahazrin Banaji. This theory posits that people exhibit system-justifying tendencies to defend and rationalize existing social, economic and political arrangements – sometimes even at the expense of individual and collective self-interest.

> **Because of systems justification, humans tend to see the existing order not just as the way things are, but as natural, or even the way things ought to be, thus reducing the support and motivation for activities that challenge the system.**

Although the Systems Justification Theory was formally identified in 1994, there is evidence of this theory "in action" years before the theory was coined. Quoting John Oliver Killens, Haig A. Bosmajian in his book The Language of Oppression asserts that "in order to justify slavery in a courageous new world which was spouting slogans of freedom and equality and brotherhood, the enslavers through their propagandists, had to create the fiction that the enslaved people were subhuman and undeserving of human rights and sympathies. The first job was to convince the outside world of the inherent inferiority of the enslaved. The second job was to convince the American people. And the third job, which was the cruelest hoax of all, was to convince the slaves themselves that they deserved to be slaves.[3] "

As stated in "*Why All Guaranteed Income is Narrative Work*[4]" narrative shift refers to the ways in which we invest in both exposing the inaccuracy of harmful narratives, as well as how we can further narratives based in shared dignity, equity, and a focus on policy and systemic failures rather than individual ones." Understanding theories related to narrative change work is one step. Another equally important step is to understand the root causes and foundational underpinnings of how and why harmful narratives persist and thrive in our social and economic context.

Exploring Root Causes of Harmful Narratives

Advancing equity[5] and racial justice[6] in an inequitable and unjust society requires foundational and transformative systems change efforts. Furthermore, in order to realize racial and economic justice for Black and non-Black people of color, understanding and addressing root causes is key.

---

[2] Davidson, B. "What Makes Narrative Change So Hard", (2022). Available here: https://ssir.org/articles/entry/what_makes_narrative_change_so_hard#

[3] Bosmajian, H.A. "The Language of Oppression", (1974). University Press of America, Lanham, MD.

[4] Bhattacharya, J., McConville, S., Price, A., Samra, S.,Tubbs, M.D. "Why All Guaranteed Income is Narrative Work", (2021). Available here: https://insightcced.org/why-all-guaranteed-income-is-narrative-work/

[5] https://bmoreantiracist.com/resources/our-definitions, Equity.

[6] https://www.racialequitytools.org/glossary, Racial Justice.

The work of equity and racial justice requires the elimination of policies, practices, attitudes and cultural messages that reinforce or fail to eliminate disproportionate group outcomes by group identity. Eliminating policies, practices, attitudes and cultural messages requires an understanding of how racism manifests, perpetuates and evolves in our society.

Racism (in the United States) involves one group having the power to carry out systematic discrimination through the institutional policies and practices of the society **and by shaping the cultural beliefs and values that support those racist policies and practices**.[7] Racism manifests on multiple levels:

- **Individually** - individual biases against other individuals or groups and internalized biases against one's self based on a socially disadvantaged identity;

- **Interpersonally** - interpersonal dynamics and ways we engage each other and those individuals and groups who have been historically "othered";

- **Institutionally** - institutional policies, practices and culture which keep people marginalized or perpetuate segregation and social sorting;

- **Systemically** - structural features of society, including systems, policies, cultural norms and representation collectively operate to maintain the ideology of white supremacy; and

- **Culturally** - representations, messages and stories conveying the idea that behaviors and values associated with white people or "whiteness" are automatically "better" or more "normal" than those associated with other racially defined groups.

> **At its core, Narrative Change work is about naming, identifying and addressing cultural racism.**

A recognition of this core feature of narrative change work is essential to doing the work of changing & transforming systems. This is in fact where the work begins. "First, nonprofits, activists and funders must find ways to expose the status quo for what it is – to make visible the justifying narratives and the unequal power dynamics they serve to perpetuate.[8] " This primer seeks to do just that, make visible the harmful narratives that perpetuate our workforce development ecosystem.

---

[7] https://www.racialequitytools.org/glossary, racism.
Davidson, B. "What Makes Narrative Change So Hard", 2022. Available here:
[8] https://ssir.org/articles/entry/what_makes_narrative_change_so_hard#

What does Narrative Change work have to do with Workforce Development?

The workforce ecosystem is a socio-economic community supported by interacting organizations and individuals who educate, train, prepare, place, hire and support workers. This ecosystem includes workforce training practitioners, support service providers, community based organizations, employers/business owners, entrepreneurs, legislators, policy makers, advocates, jobseekers and workers.[9]

Simply put, the workforce ecosystem bridges the gap between talent and opportunity.

The workforce ecosystem plays a critical role in America's overall economic context and in the labor market specifically and therefore is uniquely positioned to disrupt and transform oppressive economic systems and conditions.

However, historically, the field of workforce development has not harnessed its power to advance equity and justice in the economy. It has traditionally maintained a race-neutral position, advancing race-neutral workforce policies, designing race-neutral and sometimes anti-black programming and using white dominant and short-term metrics for determining success. This historical practice has significantly limited the field's ability to advocate for and lead the kind of systems change efforts required to realize equity and racial justice at the societal levels. With this recognition, it is our belief that the workforce ecosystem has a responsibility to embed narrative change as part of its efforts to bridge the talent and opportunity gaps that exist.
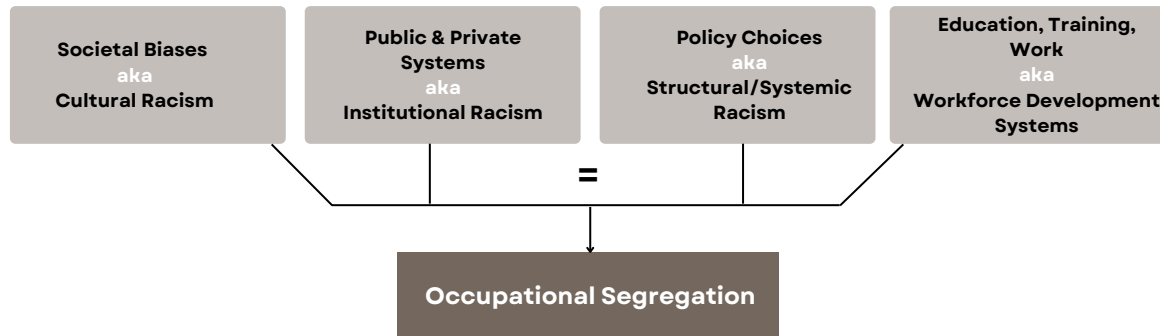
What does the data say?
Labor Market Information (LMI) is all the quantitative data, like numbers and statistics, and qualitative information, or the personal stories to support the data related to employment and the workforce. The goal of LMI is to help customers make informed plans, choices, and decisions for a variety of purposes, including business investment decision making, career planning and preparation, education and training offerings, job search opportunities, hiring, and public or private workforce investments. [10]

Currently, the labor market in America is stratified by race contributing to and upholding Occupational Segregation and occupational crowding. Defined, occupational segregation occurs when one demographic group is overrepresented or underrepresented in a certain job category. The causes of occupational segregation include societal biases about particular demographics

---

[9] Kennedy, E. & Associated Black Charities, "Changing the Future: Building Racial Equity Across Baltimore's Workforce Ecosystem", 2019. Available here: https://designrr.page/?id=249977&token=182705944&type=FP&h=6042

[10] https://dss.mo.gov/skillup-provider-portal/docs/labor-market-information.pdf

Currently, the labor market in America is stratified by race contributing to and upholding Occupational Segregation and occupational crowding. Defined, occupational segregation occurs when one demographic group is overrepresented or underrepresented in a certain job category. The causes of occupational segregation include **societal biases** about particular demographics of workers that are embedded in **public and private systems**, in **policy choices**, and in operations across **education, training, and work**.[11] Connecting these causes of occupational segregation to the root causes of racism and workforce development would mean that:

Societal Biases aka Cultural Racism	Public & Private Systems aka Institutional Racism	Policy Choices aka Structural/Systemic Racism	Education, Training, Work aka Workforce Development Systems

=

Occupational Segregation

Through Insight's research related to Occupational Segregation in the South, three major findings were identified:

1. Personhood is deeply tied to work and having a job;
2. Deep racial resentment undergirds our economic policy; and
3. Personal responsibility frame is strong, particularly around economics.

Through this research, Insight developed a deeper understanding of America's two-tiered labor market (outlined in Figure B below):[12]

America's Two-Tiered Labor Market

Gender/Race	Jackson, MS	New Orleans, LA	Pittsburgh, PA
Black Women	$11.72	$15.56	$16.98
Black Men	$12.16	$13.57	$16.43
White Women	$18.58	$32.40	$30.44
White Men	$33.96	$53.23	$34.90

Median Hourly Wages in Top Five Overrepresented Occupations by Race and Gender and by Selected Metro Areas (2022 $)

Insight Center

[11] Zhavoronkova, M., Khattar, R., and Brady, M. "*Occupational Segregation in America*", 2022. Available here: https://www.americanprogress.org/article/occupational-segregation-in-america/

[12] Price, A., Bhattacharya, J., and Bozarth, K., "Mississippi is America: How Racism and Sexism Sustain a Two-Tiered Labor Market in the US and Constrict the Economic Power of Workers in Mississippi and Beyond", 2020. Available here: https://insightcced.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/INSIGHT_Mississippi-Is-America-brief_3.pdf

Pervasive & Harmful Narratives in Workforce Development

While there has not been extensive work published on the pervasive and harmful narratives in workforce development, many in the field know that these narratives exist. Some of them include:

1. **"Bootstraps" & Personal Responsibility**[13] - Personal responsibility and "bootstraps" narratives are deeply interconnected and overlapping, yet distinct however both are steeped in anti-blackness:

   - *Bootstraps* - predicated on the myth of the "self-made person" and the romanticization of a rags to riches story: it says that anyone can achieve economic prosperity if they just "pull themselves up" through sheer determination, hard work, and playing by the rules.
   - *Personal Responsibility* - this narrative blames Black people for their lower financial position and the inequities they experience, the "bootstraps" trope provides a logic for the mechanism by which wealth is accumulated.

     - **The bootstraps and personal responsibility narratives surface in workforce development through workforce policy, namely and specifically:**

       - **The 1933 Wagner-Peyser Act**[14] - which established an individual meritocracy framework;
       - **The 1982 Jobs Training Partnership Act**[15] - which promoted individual responsibility and offered a "pay for performance system" reinforcing the myth of meritocracy and;
       - **The 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act**[16] - which embedded stringent qualifications for receiving aid and uses the narrative as part of the policy's name, perhaps the most blatant example of the impact of narrative on federal policy.

---

[13] Bhattacharya, J., McConville, S., Price, A., Samra, S.,Tubbs, M.D. "Why All Guaranteed Income is Narrative Work", (2021). Available here: https://insightcced.org/why-all-guaranteed-income-is-narrative-work/

[14] Prosperity Now. "Exploring Racial Economic Equity in Workforce Development", 2020. Available here: https://prosperitynow.org/sites/default/files/resources/Exploring-Racial-Economic-Equity-in-Workforce%20Development.pdf

[15] Race Forward, Race-Explicit Strategies for Workforce Equity in Healthcare and IT, 2017. Available here: https://www.raceforward.org/system/files/pdf/reports/RaceForward_RaceExplicitStrategiesFullReport.pdf

[16] https://www.ssa.gov/history/tally1996.html

2. **The Myth of Meritocracy** [17] - a widely held American belief that profoundly shapes American thinking about economic mobility. Under a meritocracy, wealth and advantage are rightful compensation for skill and talent. It posits that:

- People are rewarded and advanced based on individual merit, talent, skill and ability without accounting for implicit and explicit biases or systemic and institutional barriers that create an unequal playing field.
- **The Myth of Meritocracy surfaces in workforce development through:**

  - The lack of race-conscious program design & curriculum development
  - The denial of the role of race and racism on the talent development process namely: recruitment, training, hiring, advancement and retention
  - The limited investment in incumbent worker training
  - The lack of case management processes that include discussions about the role of race and racism in workplace experiences

3. **Deservedness, Dignity** [18] **& Employability** - narratives about deservedness, employability and dignity speak to the deeply held societal beliefs that people are poor or unemployed because they are lazy and the wealthy are rich because they work harder. **Narratives around employability surface in workforce development through:**

- *Program Eligibility criteria* - determining who is eligible or "deserving" of services and/or funding for services.
- *Program Completion criteria* - determining who is deemed "employable" through the completion of a series of programmatic steps or training modules such as attending all training, timeliness and active participation.
- *Educational criteria* - determining who is eligible to participate in training by completing educational requirements, which are often exclusionary rather than inclusionary.

4. **Assimilationist Ideology** [19] - although not an explicit narrative, assimilationist ideas are ideas that position any racial group as the superior standard that another racial group should be measuring themselves against, the benchmark they should be trying to reach.

- An assimilationist as defined by Dr. Ibram X. Kendi in his book "How to be an Anti-Racist" is one who expresses the racist idea that a racial group is culturally or behaviorally inferior and is supporting cultural or behavioral enrichmentprograms to develop that racial group. Assimilationists typically position white people as the superior standard.

---

[17] Mark, C., "A belief in meritocracy is not only false, it's bad for you", 2020. Available here: https://press.princeton.edu/ideas/a-belief-in-meritocracy-is-not-only-false-its-bad-for-you

[18] Bhattacharya, J., McConville, S., Price, A., Samra, S.,Tubbs, M.D. "Why All Guaranteed Income is Narrative Work", (2021). Available here: https://insightcced.org/why-all-guaranteed-income-is-narrative-work/

[19] Kendi, I.X., "How To Be An Anti-Racist", 2019. One World, Penguin Random House LLC, New York. (pg. 24-33).

- Assimilationists posit cultural and behavioral hierarchy, therefore assimilationist programs are geared toward developing, civilizing, and integrating a racial group.
- **Assimilationist ideology surfaces in workforce development through:**

  - The perpetuation of white dominant notions of "professionalism"
  - The belief that training equates to professionalism and job readiness
  - Use of terms such as "unemployable, employability, job ready/job readiness".
  - The propensity to design programs for people rather than in partnership with OR allowing people to design programming for themselves

---

Reflections from Workforce Development & Ecosystem Practitioners

When we asked practitioners and ecosystem partners about the **harmful narratives in workforce development** that they encounter in their work, they identified the following narratives:

- **Coded Language** such as:
  - Poor, low economic, disadvantaged as terms used to describe "target audiences"
  - Substituting poor and urban for Black, reinforcing the idea that Black is equal to poor and urban

- **Stereotypical narratives** such as:
  - The Skills Narrative - the notion that Black people disproportionately lack skills to perform or complete;
  - Black criminality - the false idea that Black people are prone to crime and violence;
  - Ideas that experiencing trauma as Black people makes them unservable;
  - Language about motivation - the use of phrases such as "they just aren't motivated" or "they are unmotivated to work";
  - Assignment of values based on race - the idea that appearance is valued differently based on race and an overreliance on the value of skills

- **Denial of racism & meritocracy thinking**:
  - Notions that skills are applied equally in the labor market
  - Focusing on personal motivation rather than systems and structural issues

When we asked practitioners and ecosystem partners about the **challenges they come up against when focusing on Black workers in their conversations**, they identified the following challenges:

- **Default narratives**:
  - The default to economic narratives about class imbalances particularly when it comes to what's affecting economic mobility for Black workers
  - Notions of race neutrality - the idea that race has no bearing or impact on outcomes for people/workers
  - The legacy of racist ideologies that frame Black workers as criminal, lazy, mentally inadequate, poor and from a deficit based perspective.

- **The Political Climate**:
  - In conservative states, anything race specific or equity focused is largely impossible to advance or discuss
  - The impact of the Critical Race Theory (CRT) battle in the K-12 educational system

- **Skills narratives**:
  - Readiness is placed on young people rather than the employer partner to make sure that their workplace is ready for young Black students and workers
  - An over emphasis on "skills" or "individual initiative"
  - Persistent questions about skills and qualifications

- **Denial of the need to be race explicit**:
  - Questions about the political wisdom of centering Black people i.e. is it strategic to center Black people for fear that it will be alienating, leave people out or make people mad.
  - Rebuttals such as: "white women also have comparable challenges"
  - Questioning why we should focus on Black working people in the first place and not on workers who aren't Black
  - The belief that being race explicit is exclusionary

- **Resistance and Discomfort**:
  - Initial resistance to focusing on Black workers which requires more convincing to center Black workers
  - Pivoting to an "All Lives Matter" approach rather than centering and prioritizing Black workers

- **Organizational Culture & Readiness**:
  - The felt need of organizations to navigate clients, partners and political climate (i.e. States, Public Sector, and Employer Partners)
  - Organizational courage - organizations are not really ready to do the work but want to "Check the box" instead
  - A concern about the risks associated with doing the work i.e. employment risks.
  - Organizations that desire to be bi-partisan because of perceived risks

- **Lumping Identities & Shying away from the role of race**:
  - Lumping identities and challenges together is seen as "easier"
  - Truncating the respective histories of each group through this lumping
  - The push to group Black people together because it evokes a response and raises discomforts

When we asked practitioners and ecosystem partners about the **challenges they come up against when focusing on Black women in their conversations**, they identified the following challenges:

- The experience that more representation of Black women in leadership spaces equates to a resistance to change
- The expectation that being in the role is enough. Disruption of the status quo is not welcome
- The impact of patriarchy - it's "easier" to challenge Black women
- The questions about non-Black women - "but what about white women?"
- Ignorance of the nuance of what Black women have held and continue to hold in work and in life (ignorance of historical and current burdens on Black women)
- Conditioning related to wanting Black people to feel sorry for white people for any challenge they encounter while not admitting anything that Black people experience
- Gendering in either direction raises a question "what about poor X group?" (binary thinking)

When we asked practitioners and ecosystem partners about the **challenges they come up against when focusing on Black men in their conversations**, they identified the following challenges:

- Questions about "poor white men"
- Disconnect and misunderstanding of how the lives of Black men and Black women are intertwined
- False dichotomy of either/or thinking also known as binary thinking

When we asked practitioners and ecosystem partners **about their response to the pushback** they receive when centering Black workers, they identified the following responses and strategies:

- Have non-Black people speak to why it's important to center Blackness
- Putting people on the spot in the moment to clarify their comment or "make it make sense"
- Push back and ask the question "why is this so hard"
- Knowing when to respond and not to respond. Recognizing that not everything requires or deserves a response
- Continuously and unapologetically ask the question - what about Black people and Black partners
- Lean into the cover that their organization offers given the organization's mission and focus
- Clarifying what centering Blackness means and debunking the idea that it's about a racial hierarchy
- Use an organizational racial equity tool to help uncover the why i.e. why isn't this person included in the conversation or decision making
- Name the reaction and ask people to pay attention to the personal reaction they are having to the conversation, in real-time

When we asked practitioners and ecosystem partners **to envision a new narrative and craft a vision for narrative change in the field**, here is what they dreamed of:
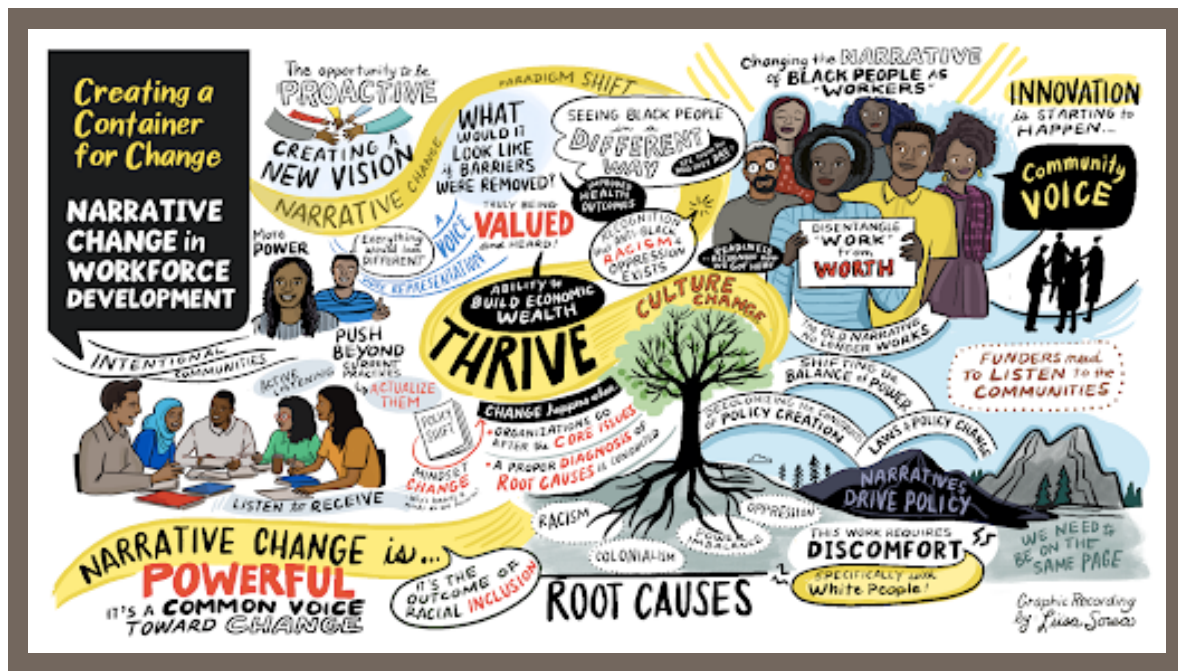
This vision was created through the responses to the following prompts:

- If all of the challenges we faced in narrative change work were gone, what would be different?
- What would it look like?
- What does it feel like?
- If we were able to change the narrative, what would the tangible outcomes be?
- How does the world around you shift?
- How do we know we're making progress?
- What is the new story that we want to tell?

Now What – A Call to Action:

With a recognition of one's role in upholding harmful, oppressive and anti-black systems, comes a responsibility to do something different. The workforce development field sits squarely in the middle of talent and opportunity, with the ability to fundamentally shift the balances of power and the harmful narratives that keep said power in place. It is up to actors within the workforce development ecosystem to decide what they will do. Will they continue to perpetuate harmful and anti-black narratives and coded language OR will they choose to disrupt those narratives and fully honor, value and support Black workers.

This primer encourages workforce development practitioners to start with the following steps:

1. Hold up a mirror to their own institutional and organizational practices by naming and identifying harmful, anti-black narratives being used in their own organizations;
2. Identify people and appropriate resources to support narrative shifts and narrative change in their work;
3. Cast a vision for a workforce development system replete of harmful, anti-black narratives;
4. Prioritize and center narrative change work in all of their workforce development efforts; and
5. Develop a clear and explicit narrative change strategy.

For additional resources, the Appendix at the end of this primer offers examples, tools and research examples on ways to center Black workers and advance narrative change efforts.

About Insight

A national economic justice organization, the Insight Center is working to build inclusion and equity for people of color, women, immigrants, and low-income families. Through research and advocacy, narrative change, and thought leadership, Insight aims to ensure that all people become, and remain, economically secure. We intentionally center race, gender, and place in the pursuit of progressive economic change.

For over 50 years, the Insight Center's work has been driven by and for leaders and communities of color. From grassroots partnership building to grasstops debate, we are pushing the progressive movement to build new policies—and promote new politics—that prioritize the most excluded and disadvantaged groups. In the end, we intend to achieve economic security and race and gender justice for all people, in all places. Learn more about our work and our history.

Thank you to the Sponsors:

Conrad N. Hilton Foundation, Pivotal Ventures, and the Insight Center for Community Economic Development.

Thank you to the Narrative Change Makers:

We wish to extend a special thank you to the Narrative Change makers who participated in our discussions. Without their brilliance and insights this primer would not be possible.

Appendix

When we asked practitioners and ecosystem partners **where innovation is happening related to narrative change and workforce development**, they identified the following:

Organizations advancing narrative change efforts:
1. [The National Black Worker Center's](#) Black worker policy coalition and Black Worker Bill of Rights
2. [The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies](#)
3. [Here to Here](#)

Specific Research and Reports that are helpful in combating harmful narratives:
1. [Principles to Support Black Workers in the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act](#)
2. [Mississippi Is America: How Racism and Sexism Sustain a Two-Tiered Labor Market in the US and Constricts the Economic Power of Workers in Mississippi and Beyond](#)
3. [Spell it with a Capital "B"](#)
4. [How To Tell Compelling Stories While Avoiding Exploitation](#)
5. [A Forum on the Politics of Skills](#)
6. [The Labor Market Doesn't Have A 'Skills' Gap – It Has An Opportunity Gap](#)

General Reference Material that is helpful:
1. Organizational style guides - style guides help organizations use consistent language that's helpful rather than harmful and can offer suggestions on how to visualize the data they are reporting on.
2. Language guides - language guides have emerged as a powerful way for organizations to use person-centered, asset based language. Some examples include:
   a. [Here to Here's language guide](#)
3. Tools and reports grounded in the voices of Black people
   a. Examples include: https://communitycommons.org/collections/Centering-Black-Voices
   b. https://uncf.org/wp-content/uploads/reports/2016_Advocacy-Better_Narratives_Report_FINAL_digital.pdf
   c. https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/centering-black-voices-key-addressing-black-maternal-health-crisis-0
4. Quantitative and Qualitative reports to understand the stories behind the numbers
   a. Examples include:
      i. https://jointcenter.org/five-charts-to-understand-black-registered-apprentices-in-the-united-states/
5. Reports that interrogate the outcomes for Black people in the system
   a. Examples include:
      i. https://jointcenter.org/improving-training-evaluation-data-to-brighten-the-future-of-black-workers/
      ii. https://jointcenter.org/the-state-of-black-students-at-community-colleges/