# MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Education and Housing
Equity Project Records.

# Copyright Notice:

# Alphabetical
# snapshots

## Descriptions of the foundations and giving programs

**21 American Express Minnesota Philanthropic Program**
- **1997 rank:** 23
- **Address:** IDS Tower 10, Unit 108
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Corporate giving program
- **Funding:** American Express Minnesota Foundation Philanthropic Program funds programs that support, encourage or develop people's ability to achieve and maintain economic independence.

**8 The Andersen Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 7
- **Address:** 100 Fourth Ave. N.
- **City:** Bayport
- **Description:** Private
- **Funding:** The Andersen Foundation gives mainly to colleges that do not receive federal aid.

**15 Andreas Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** *
- **Address:** P O Box 3584, c/o Andreas Offices
- **City:** Mankato, Minn.
- **Description:** Private
- **Funding:** The Andreas Foundation is a private foundation.

**22 F.R. Bigelow Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 20
- **Address:** 55 E. 5th St., 600 Norwest Center
- **City:** St. Paul
- **Description:** Private
- **Funding:** The F.R. Bigelow Foundation has primarily funded arts, humanities, education, and human service programs.

**13 Blandin Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 11
- **Address:** 100 Pokegama Av. N.
- **City:** Grand Rapids, Minn.
- **Description:** Private
- **Funding:** The Blandin Foundation funds cultural, economic, environmental and educational opportunities primarily in and around Grand Rapids and Itasca County.

**11 Otto Bremer Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 15
- **Address:** 445 Minnesota St., Suite 2000
- **City:** St. Paul
- **Description:** Private
- **Funding:** The Otto Bremer Foundation provides grants for a variety of community, health, human service and higher education activities, especially programs that address racism and other forms of bigotry.

**5 Bush Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 5
- **Address:** E-900 First Bank Bldg., 332 Minnesota St.
- **City:** St. Paul
- **Description:** Private
- **Funding:** The Bush Foundation is a regional foundation with interests in education, human services, health, arts and humanities and leadership development.

**18 Cargill Foundation and Corporation**
- **1997 rank:** 12
- **Address:** P O Box 5690
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Corporate foundation and giving program
- **Funding:** The Cargill Foundation makes grants that foster economic, social and human development in communities where Cargill has a presence.

**2 Dayton Hudson Foundation & Corporation**
- **1997 rank:** 2
- **Address:** 777 Nicollet Mall, Suite 1400
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Corporate foundation and giving program
- **Funding:** Dayton Hudson concentrates 40 percent of its giving for arts programs, 40 percent for social action and 20 percent to special community needs and opportunities. Target, Mervyn's and Dayton's stores each have their own specific focus areas.

**10 General Mills Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 8
- **Address:** P O Box 1113
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Corporate
- **Funding:** The General Mills Foundation primarily funds education, health and nutrition, family life , and arts and culture programs with special emphasis on programs for families, children, and youth.

**14 Honeywell Foundation and Corporation**
- **1997 rank:** 14
- **Address:** 2701 Fourth Av. S., Honeywell Plaza
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Corporate foundation and giving program
- **Funding:** The Honeywell Foundation uses its financial resources, other public and private resources, and Honeywell volunteers to support organizations where Honeywell facilities are located.

**20 Lutheran Brotherhood Foundation and Corporation**
- **1997 rank:** 21
- **Address:** 625 Fourth Ave. S.
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Corporate foundation and giving program
- **Funding:** Lutheran Brotherhood Foundation provides funds for Lutheran projects that are compatible with the fraternal purposes of Lutheran Brotherhood.

**1 The McKnight Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 1
- **Address:** 600 TCF Tower, 121 S. 8th St.
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Private
- **Funding:** The McKnight Foundation's primary interests are in assisting people who are poor and disadvantaged; strengthening community institutions; enriching people's lives through the arts; preservation of the natural environment; and advancing scientific knowledge that can improve people's lives.

**19 Medtronic Foundation and Corporation**
- **1997 rank:** 17
- **Address:** 7000 Central Av. N.E.
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Corporate foundation and giving program
- **Funding:** The Medtronic Foundation supports community, education, human service and health programs in areas where Medtronic has facilities.

**6 The Minneapolis Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 6
- **Address:** 821 Marquette Ave., A200 Foshay Tower
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Community/ public
- **Funding:** The Minneapolis Foundation joins with others to fund programs that benefit all citizens, especially the disadvantaged.

**9 3M Foundation and Corporation**
- **1997 rank:** 9
- **Address:** 3M Center, Bldg 220-6E-02
- **City:** St. Paul
- **Description:** Corporate foundation and giving program
- **Funding:** The 3M Foundation supports educational, cultural, community, health and human service activities in communities where 3M has a major presence.

**24 Northern States Power Company**
- **1997 rank:** 25
- **Address:** 414 Nicollet Mall
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Corporate giving program
- **Funding:** Northern States Power Company's Corporate Giving Program supports nonprofit organizations that strengthen communities within its service area.

**12 Northwest Area Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 10
- **Address:** 332 Minnesota St., E-1201 1st National Bank Bldg.
- **City:** St. Paul
- **Description:** Private
- **Funding:** The Northwest Area Foundation was founded in 1934 by Louis Hill, the son of James J. Hill, founder of the Great Northern Railway. It helps communities create positive economic, ecological and social futures.

**3 Norwest Foundation and Corporation**
- **1997 rank:** 4
- **Address:** Norwest Center, 6th and Marquette
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Corporate foundation and giving program
- **Funding:** The Norwest Foundation funds programs that improve the quality of life in the communities where it does business. It funds Twin Cities programs whose aim is the economic improvement of adults with children. In other communities the local Norwest bank may determine the program focus.

**16 Oakleaf Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 18
- **Address:** 5140 Norwest Center, 90 S. 7th St.
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Private
- **Funding:** The Oakleaf Foundation makes contributions to preselected charitable organizations.

**23 Jay and Rose Phillips Family Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 26
- **Address:** 10 Second St. N.E., Suite 200
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Private
- **Funding:** Jay and Rose Phillips Family Foundation makes grants in the areas of health and human services, education, programs for people with disabilities and programs to combat discrimination.

**25 Pillsbury Company Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 24
- **Address:** 200 S. 6th St., The Pillsbury Center
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Corporate giving program
- **Funding:** The Pillsbury Co. Foundation funds youth development programs internationally, nationally, and in Minnesota.

**17 The St. Paul Companies**
- **1997 rank:** 13
- **Address:** 385 Washington St.
- **City:** St. Paul
- **Description:** Corporate giving program
- **Funding:** The St. Paul Companies funds arts, culture, humanities, community improvement, education, housing/shelter, philanthropy/voluntarism, and public affairs/society benefit programs.

**4 The Saint Paul Foundation**
- **1997 rank:** 3
- **Address:** 600 Norwest Center
- **City:** St. Paul
- **Description:** Community/ public
- **Funding:** The Saint Paul Foundation supports educational, charitable, cultural, or benevolent programs that serve the greater St. Paul area.

**7 U.S. Bancorp Foundation and Corporation**
- **1997 rank:** 16
- **Address:** 601 2nd Av. S.
- **City:** Minneapolis
- **Description:** Corporate
- **Funding:** U.S. Bancorp Foundation primarily funds low-income housing and community development, K-12 education and work readiness, arts and culture, and United Way programs in the communities where it has banks.

* previously located in Illinois

# The top 25

Ranked by the Minnesota Council on Foundations

(P) — private          (C) — corporate          (CM) — community

| '98 Rank | '97 Rank | Foundation Type | Grants paid (in mil.) | % chg. from prev. yr. | Assets (in mil.) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 1 | The McKnight Foundation (P) | $76.2 | 11.5% | $1,709.9 |
| 2 | 2 | Dayton Hudson Foundation and Corporation (C) | 42.7 | 44.2% | 32.4 |
| 3 | 4 | Norwest Foundation and Corporation (C) | 25.1 | 30.2% | 96.0 |
| 4 | 3 | The Saint Paul Foundation (CM) | 24.3 | -5.3% | 518.5 |
| 5 | 5 | Bush Foundation (P) | 21.6 | 26.7% | 643.3 |
| 6 | 6 | The Minneapolis Foundation (CM) | 20.8 | 23.7% | 349.5 |
| 7 | 16 | U.S. Bancorp Foundation and Corporation (C) | 19.1 | 112.4% | 0.4 |
| 8 | 7 | The Andersen Foundation (P) | 17.2 | 2.4% | 378.9 |
| 9 | 9 | 3M Foundation and Corporation (C) | 16.1 | 2.7% | NA |
| 10 | 8 | General Mills Foundation (C) | 16.0 | -2.4% | 38.4 |
| 11 | 15 | Otto Bremer Foundation (P) | 13.7 | 41.1% | 256.5 |
| 12 | 10 | Northwest Area Foundation (P) | 13.5 | -10.1% | 440.9 |
| 13 | 11 | Blandin Foundation (P) | 13.5 | -5.1% | 319.5 |
| 14 | 14 | Honeywell Foundation and Corporation (C) | 12.8 | 27.6% | 13.3 |
| 15 | NR | Andreas Foundation[1] (C) | 12.3 | NA | 64.6 |
| 16 | 18 | Oakleaf Foundation (P) | 12.2 | 98.4% | 5.4 |
| 17 | 13 | The St. Paul Companies (C) | 11.0 | -0.6% | 0.0 |
| 18 | 12 | Cargill Foundation and Corporation (C) | 9.4 | -16.7% | 68.4 |
| 19 | 17 | Medtronic Foundation and Corporation (C) | 9.0 | 26.5% | 0.0 |
| 20 | 21 | Lutheran Brotherhood Foundation and Corporation (C) | 7.5 | 39.8% | 5.7 |
| 21 | 23 | American Express Minnesota Philanthropic Program (C) | 6.9 | 33.2% | 0.0 |
| 22 | 20 | F.R. Bigelow Foundation (P) | 6.1 | 12.5% | 132.0 |
| 23 | 26 | Jay and Rose Phillips Family Foundation (P) | 5.4 | 17.5% | 157.2 |
| 24 | 25 | Northern States Power Co. (C) | 5.0 | 5.3% | NA |
| 25 | 24 | Pillsbury Company Foundation (C) | 4.5 | -11.5% | 3.9 |
| | | Total | $422.0 | 18.6% | $5,234.6 |

[1] Previously located in Illinois, the Andreas Foundation moved to Mankato in 1997

Holman Deseg Housing Lawsuit
St Paul ~~Eg~~ Equity Lawsuit
NAACP Multiple Lawsuits
Deseg - Round Table
- rule making
M○○○○ Interfaith Coalition
faith communities
Muslple Grove ~~murders~~ Incidents
Housing Bills vetoed

*in the metro area.*

The Education & Housing Equity Project (EHEP) was created
in 1995 by racial and social justice advocates who shared a
belief in the pressing need to link the issue of segregated
schools and segregated housing. There existed no other
organization solely dedicated to metropolitan-wide racial
and economic integration in education and housing. Substantial
community misunderstanding and resistance existed (still does).
A sustained, focused, long-term strategy would be necessary
if integration, crucial for a stable and fairly governed
metropolitan area, was to be achieved.

The Education & Housing Equity Project's mission is to act as a
catalyst to build broad-based coalitions and engage the
community in public discussions, analysis and advocacy for the *purpose*
purpose of promoting recially and economically inclusive
communities that give peoples of all incomes, races, and
cultural backgrounds access to quality schools and affordable
housing throughout the metropolitan area.

EHEP pursues its misison through a three=part strategy:
  • Coaltion and partnership building and advocacy
  •Community education and informed public conversation
  • Assisting communities in becoming more inclusive and integrated

With assistance from the Otto Bremer Foundation EHEP's first staff
was hired, coalition building began. The Community Circle
Collaborative was launched to develop the public conversation
project. The first round of Community Circle conversations
were held at various locations around the metro area during
1997.

ROBERT LENOX ASSOCIATES
1926 Pleasant Ave. S.
Minneapolis, MN 55403
ATTN: Stanley D. Kolden
612-872-6009

MADDUY & SENN DESIGN
Piper Jaffray Tower
222 S. Ninth St., Suite 1935
Minneapolis, MN 55402
Attn: Jan L. Senn
612-339-2562

MCM DESIGNS
1812 Emerson Ave. S.
Minneapolis, MN 55403
ATTN: Melissa Camerino-Michel
612-377-6740

# Common Grant Application - Narrative

## PROPOSAL NARRATIVE

### A. ORGANIZATIONAL INFORMATION

#### History

The Education & Housing Equity Project (EHEP) was created in early 1995 by a combined group of education and housing advocates who shared a belief in the pressing need to link the issue of school desegregation/integration to the broader issue of segregated housing and neighborhoods. In early 1996, its first staff was hired to develop the organization, begin exploring how to build a coalition that could work for racially and economically inclusive communities and respond to the segregation and disparities developing in the metropolitan area, and begin a community-wide dialogue on these critical issues. In late 1996 and 1997, the Community Circle Collaborative was born and the first round of Community Circle conversations were held at various locations around the Twin Cities metropolitan area. A metropolitan citizen's forum was held at Macalester College at the conclusion of the conversations and a report on the results of the conversations was published in 1998. Since that time, EHEP has been co-sponsoring additional conversations addressing equity and dealing with race and education and partnering with housing, education and human rights organizations to work on agendas that have been informed by the conversations and that advance the mission of our organization. A second round of Community Circle conversations is now planned for 1999. A newly revised discussion guide has been prepared. Partnerships with potential sponsor groups and facilitators have been initiated. In the fall of 1998, Community Circles were held in Minneapolis, co-sponsored by the Minneapolis Public Schools, the Minneapolis Urban League, the Neighborhood Revitalization Program, Parks and Library Boards (providing meeting spaces), the Jefferson Center (providing scribes) and the Society of Professionals in Dispute Resolution (facilitators). At this time we are planning a metropolitan-wide round of community circles beginning in February 1999. Recently our Community Circles project was selected by The President's Initiative on Race as a "Promising Practice" for advancing race relations and progress on issues of race in the United States.

#### Mission & goals

The Education & Housing Equity Project's mission is to act as a catalyst to build broad-based coalitions and engage the community in public discussions, analysis and advocacy for the purpose of promoting racially and economically inclusive communities that give families of all incomes, races, and cultural backgrounds access to quality schools and affordable housing throughout the metropolitan area.

EHEP pursues its mission through a three-part strategy:
- Coalition and partnership building and advocacy;
- Community education and informed public conversation; and
- Assisting communities in becoming more inclusive and integrated

#### Current programs, activities, and strengths/accomplishments

## Coalition Building and Advocacy to Inform Public Decision Making

Since its inception, EHEP has spent a significant portion of its energies in discussions and collaborations with other organizations and groups. These have led to several jointly sponsored projects as well as a fuller understanding of the need for an organization and collaborative that can link the issues of housing and education and develop the desperately needed consensus and leadership to move the community forward and to connect these issues to the challenges of poverty and segregation. After a year of creating the organization (EHEP), the second and subsequent years have been devoted to extensive research of the literature, one-on-one interviews and multi-participant focus group meetings with a broad range of community leaders and experts in the fields of housing, education, anti-racism and metropolitan stability; and building a broad-based coalition and partnerships that can work on these combined issues. Our unique contribution has been to encourage the linkage of housing and school issues in the work of existing organizations and coalitions and connecting these coalitions to each other, and to issues of race and poverty. Some of our major accomplishments have included:

- Coalescing with both housing and education organizations to focus on the re-drafting of the State Board of Education's desegregation rule, to link school desegregation issues with the broader issues of housing segregation and metropolitan stability (1996 and 1998).
- Encouraging a coalition working with the newly formed Minnesota Fair Housing Center on a fair housing testing campaign in suburban Hennepin County to frame the issue of housing discrimination in the context of schools and broader life opportunities (1996).
- Engaging the Minneapolis Public Schools and the Mayor of Minneapolis to support and assist in the development of the community circles project (see below) and; following a presentation (in Dakota County) sponsored by the Family Housing Fund, encouraging a study of the linkage between housing/household stability and educational achievement in Minneapolis, which led to *The Kids Mobility Project (1997)*.
- Collaborating with and supporting MICAH's (Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing) fair housing initiative proposal to HUD to jointly develop, with the Illusion Theater, a series of theater events that highlight the need for metro-wide fair and affordable housing for people of all backgrounds and to deal forthrightly with discriminatory practices and attitudes of fear that keep this from happening. EHEP is represented at each of the theater events and is specifically co-sponsoring the Minneapolis and Saint Paul performances (1997 - 1999).
- Participating as an advisor to the consulting teams working with interested parties to mediate the educational adequacy and educational equity lawsuits currently pending (NAACP v. State of Minnesota and St. Paul School District v. State of Minnesota) and participating in the mediation planning retreat organized by the principal parties in the lawsuits (1997 and 1998). In early 1998, EHEP's director testified in support of the mediation process before the Minneapolis School Board, which subsequently endorsed the same position. EHEP has been asked to continue to be a resource group to the mediation process.
- Working with the Right to Housing Campaign and the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability to develop an Inclusionary Housing proposal that could provide the basis for a new approach to expanding affordable housing choices and mixed income housing development in state housing legislation (1998).
- Jointly sponsoring with the Urban Coalition and the Minnesota Minority Education Partnership a series of issue forums on the State's proposed new Desegregation Rule, the Inclusionary Education Program Rule (revision of the originally proposed Diversity Rule), and requirements for teacher licensure. The EHEP board also contributed substantive written testimony to the State Board of Education on the proposed changes to the Profiles of Learning (1998).
- Contributing to the work of the Minneapolis Affordable Housing Task Force through its Director who has been appointed to the Task Force (1998 - 1999). Our message has been that recommendations not only focus on providing needed housing but also on expanding people's locational choices and access to economic and social opportunities.

## Assisting Communities in Becoming More Inclusive and Integrated

EHEP has been less involved with this strategy since it largely evolves from the other two strategies. However, at least two examples stand out.

Following the first round of community circles, we were invited by the Minnesota Fair Housing Center to assist them in implementing a Hennepin County funded workshop for suburban planning officials and human rights commissions on promising tools and practices for implementing fair and affordable housing. In September 1998 over 100 city officials and developers attended the "Building Inclusive Communities" Conference in Bloomington. EHEP worked with the Fair Housing Center and the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability to sponsor programs that highlighted promising practices in other parts of the country. EHEP helped to bring the Vice President of Chicago's Leadership Council for Metropolitan Open Communities to the Twin Cities to discuss the Oak Park experience in becoming and sustaining one of the most successful racially integrated cities in the United States.

In the East Metro Area we have been invited by the Office of Interdistrict Initiatives to participate in their planning process to develop a multi-school district governance structure to expand integrated school initiatives involving Saint Paul and suburban East Metro school districts. This activity will continue in 1999.

After the second round of Community Circle conversations, we expect to be doing more of these kinds of

activities.

## Community Education and Conversation

By far the most significant and distinctive work of EHEP is the "Choices for Community" Community Circle Project. In 1996, EHEP partnered with the Minnesota Minority Education Partnership, the Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing, the Minneapolis Initiative Against Racism and the Minnesota Fair Housing to form the Community Circle Collaborative. Within the year, 20 additional organizations would join the Collaborative. In 1997, the Collaborative launched a metro-wide dialogue project in which 500 citizens from different walks of life came together, 5 to 15 at a time, in community circles throughout the metropolitan area to discuss the future of the Twin Cities area with a focus on two central questions:
- "What are the impacts of existing patterns of residential, economic and racial segregation on the educational achievement and life opportunities to Twin Cities area children and families?" and
- "What can or should we do, as individuals and as a community, to enhance educational success, and housing and economic opportunities for *all* children in the Twin Cities metropolitan area?"

Community Circles of citizens from thirty-five cities were convened by a variety of local sponsoring organizations. All were provided with discussion guides, prepared by the Collaborative, and were moderated by facilitators, recruited and trained by the Collaborative. The conversations culminated in a Metropolitan Citizens Forum held at Macalester College Chapel and moderated by Saint Paul's George Latimer and Minneapolis' Vivian Jenkins Nelsen. A report that synthesized the findings, conclusions and action recommendations coming out of the community circles was prepared and is being shared with the project partners and various decision makers in the metropolitan area.

Since the conclusion of the first round of community conversations, EHEP and collaborative partners have been evaluating the first round, identifying promising practices that advance educational success and expand affordable housing choices, meeting with various stakeholders to discuss the results of the community conversations, and revising and improving the process for a second round.

Plans for a second round of Community Circle conversations, to be held in 1999, are well underway. A round of Minneapolis Circles, co-sponsored by the Minneapolis Public Schools and 5 other partner organizations is currently underway, and will serve as a prototype for metropolitan-wide conversations to begin in February.

The second round will build upon the lessons of the first round and will include additional groups not represented in the first round, such as the business community, labor unions, outer suburban residents and employers, more residents and leadership groups in Saint Paul and East Metro, and a wider range of participants from communities of color. These conversations will be more clearly focused on systemic barriers and changes needed to build more inclusive communities and institutions. The discussions will also include and action component (Action Forum) that will focus on promising practices already underway in various parts of the Twin Cities (e.g., East Metro Interdistrict Initiatives), connect participants with opportunities for involvement in their community, and more directly connect the work of the community circles with key decision makers and decisions-making bodies.

At the conclusion of Round Two, EHEP and the Community Circle Collaborative will co-sponsor a Citizens Summit with the Minnesota Meeting and Minnesota Public Radio. The Summit will use electronic keypad technology to elicit focused responses and discussion of specific issues and solutions from community circle participants on the best ways the metropolitan community can collectively address issues of educational access and achievement, and school and housing segregation. Round two will help inform the policy and action agendas of partners in the collaborative as well as public decision-making bodies in 1999 and beyond.

Relationship with other organizations
_____

The Education & Housing Equity Project carries out its work by collaborating with other organizations. The Community Circle project was founded by a collaborative partnership of organizations. Collaborative partners

are identified on the attached lists.  The collaboration is essential for (1) assuring racial, cultural, ethnic, generational and geographic diversity of voices in the conversations,  (2) fulfilling the various tasks, objectives and leadership requirements of the project using the best possible resources, and (3) assuring that the results of the community circle conversations are widely dispersed and receive widespread attention.  The Community Circle Collaborative includes:

> **Organizing partners**, who help to design the process, frame the discussion issues, prepare the discussion guide, recruit and train/orient sponsors, facilitators, scribes, and resource partners, publicize the project and work with the media, and assist with reporting and evaluation and the details of project follow-through.

> **Resource associates**, who supply expertise on the issues, written and audio-visual materials to inform the discussions and provoke spirited but thoughtful conversation, media coverage, project documentation, and/or financial backing of project activities.

> **Sponsors** (typically organizations) that supply meeting spaces (including child care, transportation, translators, hospitality and other services as needed) for the conversations, schedule the conversations, recruit community circle participants, convene the community circle dialogues, and provide scribes who will capture in written record the highlights of each conversation.

> **Facilitators**, who have professional experience in mediation and facilitation, who will moderate the community circle conversations (organizations such as the Society of Professionals in Dispute Resolution and the Minnesota Facilitator Network are partnering with EHEP to provide the facilitators).

> **Participants** from many diverse backgrounds who commit to 5 sessions of 2 hours each and participate with 8 to 15 other citizens in informed and deliberative dialogue.  The participants are the heart and soul of the Community Circles project.

In-kind support from the organizing partners alone in the 1997 circles amounted to more than $15,000 in documented resources.  A similar or greater contribution has been made during the 1998 circles in Minneapolis and in preparing for the 1999 circles.

EHEP and the Community Circle Project are distinctive from other organizations and initiatives in their unique methodology and objective of engaging citizens and creating dialogue among disparate parts of the Twin Cities metropolitan area not only to discuss issues and problems, but also to create action registers or common solutions to those issues and problems.  No other organization in the Twin Cities area is currently engaged in this kind of collaborative, grassroots, dialogue and education/consensus-building/mobilizing effort that specifically links housing, education and race.

## Board, Staff and Volunteers

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Board members: | 16 |
| Number of full-time paid staff: | 1 |
| Number of part-time paid staff: | 1* |
| Number of volunteer staff: | 1** |
| Number of volunteers: | 100's (see description of community circle collaborative, above) |

    \* Student Intern for fall 1998; efforts will be made to secure a new intern for part of 1999

    \*\* Part-time volunteer professional, joining us in December 1998, who we expect to be able to pay and make full-time in 1999

## B. PURPOSE OF GRANT

### Situation and Need

There has been growing public concern in the Twin Cities metropolitan area that economic and racial segregation in housing is having a profound impact on the overall health and well being of the metropolitan region, and on education and employment opportunities in particular.  A study by Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton in their publication *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* revealed that the Minneapolis-St. Paul metropolitan area is among the ten most segregated in the country.  Studies have also shown that the Twin Cities ranks third highest among all U.S. urban areas in persons of color living in poverty. The work of State Representative Myron Orfield in his book *Metropolitics: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability* and of Dr. john powell of the Institute on Race and Poverty at the University of Minnesota in his study

*Examining the Relationship Between Housing, Education and Persistent Segregation* have also given testimony to the depth and breadth of issues of segregation, racial and economic isolation and growing disparities between inner and outer communities in the Twin Cities and their relationship to unlocking the doors to addressing other important issues facing the region.

Public actions to grapple with these issues have been growing in number. They include education and housing lawsuits (NAACP v. State of Minnesota, St. Paul School District v. State of Minnesota, and Holman v. Cisneros), legislation (the Metropolitan Livable Communities Act), the creation and expansion of civic and advocacy groups (e.g., Alliance for Metropolitan Stability, Interfaith Action and St. Paul Ecumenical Action Council, the Minnesota Right to Housing Campaign and the Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing), formation of new compacts of school districts (West Metro Education Program and the East Metro Office of Interdistrict Initiatives), and new state rules addressing school desegregation, educational diversity and criteria for inclusive schools, and standards for multicultural competency in teacher licensure requirements.

These actions, and the frequently divisive debates over these actions, have revealed the need for developing a common understanding and a common ground, or common basis of action, for moving forward on these serious issues. Public conversation about the possibilities for inclusive and integrated communities has been rare, usually divisive and poorly informed, not conducted on a sustained or systematic basis and with too few groups or individuals involved, and virtually no broad public consensus or support. We believe these adverse conditions imperil the chances of building inclusive communities and integrated institutions in the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

The principal danger is that public discourse fast settles into simplistic, distorted polarities – neighborhood schools versus forced busing, quality education versus school desegregation, deconcentration of poverty versus preservation of existing affordable housing, cultural identity versus assimilation, individual choice versus collective responsibility, core cities versus suburbs, rich versus poor, and of course, whites versus communities of color (especially African American). A climate of public opinion poisoned by these divisions inevitably limits what policy makers (and, as we have found in our initial discussions, advocates and community leaders as well) feel they are able to do; we speculate that this climate even limits what judges feel *they* are able to do. In this kind of environment, the issues are captured by the most extreme and negative voices, which are then amplified by the media. The public sits and listens. Few want to get involved, because of the fear of getting burned in the heated controversy and because of the not-unreasonable judgment that little will be accomplished by these conditions. Those who *do* take action typically call for reforms without touching on the vital questions of race and segregation.

There is a need to involve many groups and the broader public in civil, informed conversations about the possibilities for and benefits of integrated communities. There is a need to expand the serious discussion of these issues beyond the courtrooms, the academic halls and partisan legislative debates. As many people as possible, from as many different stations in life should be participating in the conversation about this issue. The discourse should not be limited to the invectives of "talk radio," the well-intentioned opinions of newspaper editorials, the sociological jargon of academia or the legal technicalities of the courts.

The issue is developing rapidly. The question is who will be involved in the public discourse, and how will that discourse be framed. Unfortunately, past experience shows that these issues are easily polarized – and stay polarized. We believe that this familiar yet unfortunate outcome can be averted by organizing a wide range of groups that have a potential stake in integration, by engaging broad-based public participation in informed conversations about what segregation and integration involves and by offering promising practices and assistance to communities and community institutions as they seek to become more inclusive and better integrated.

Our Response
_____
In response to this need, and after gaining valuable information and experience consulting with potential partners, we proposed and implemented a first round of community conversations about racial, economic and residential segregation and unequal opportunity and achievement in our schools. The conversations proved to be productive and have resulted in building public understanding and expanded support for educational equity and inclusionary housing legislation. We learned a great deal from the conversations, including what can be

done to make them more effective in subsequent rounds. The project has also helped to inform the proposed mediation process for settlement of the educational lawsuits. The "public voice" that came out of the conversations reflected the complexities of the issues citizens were grappling with.

We want to build on the experience of the first community circles and, using what we learned, again, take the conversation about segregation and integration to neighborhood centers, public libraries, schools, places of business, living rooms, and backyards – the places where ordinary people live their lives and where the real task of building inclusive communities must take place. We wish to encourage and inform public conversations and deliberation that will help lead people to a more informed, more effective understanding of the effects of segregation, why the choice to integrate is important, and how removal of barriers to choice can be accomplished. Through this process, we hope that people come to move beyond "tolerance" and understand the value of inclusion and of an integrated society for themselves, for other people, and for society as a whole.

Experience has shown and we have no illusions that all people will be persuaded, or be willing to participate. There are, after all, real conflicts of interest and conflicts of values about these issues. These will not be dissolved by talk alone. But without a concerted, *and sustained* effort to bring people together for informed and civil conversations, the most extreme voices will remain to frame the issue. Public-spirited conversation will be drowned out by shrill debate; our common interests and values will get lost in a sea of opposition and conflict. Informed action must be preceded by informed and collective conversation.

Specific Project Activities, Goals and Objectives

The *Choices for Community* Community Circle Project has and continues to be developed and organized by a partnership of organizations representing diverse segments of the community. To enable the kind of civic conversation we envisioned, the Collaborative developed "Community Circles," an approach to community dialogue that draws from elements of three different, nationally and locally recognized models for civic discussion: the "study circles" promoted by the Study Circles Resource Center in Pomfret, Connecticut; the National Issues Forums, a public deliberation project begun by the Kettering Foundation in Dayton, Ohio; and the Communities of Color Empowerment Model (COCEM) from the Minnesota Minority Education Partnership in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Community Circle Dialogues (or conversations) combines the unique elements from each of the above approaches to bring community members together, to engage them in discussion, to provide educational and technical resources that inform their conversations, and to develop action agendas and connect citizens to action opportunities and promising practices.

The Education and Housing Equity Project and the community circle collaborative it coordinates intend to engage a broad cross-section of the Twin Cities metropolitan community to study, discuss, and build a common understanding of the issues of racial and economic segregation in the region and their effect on education, employment, and broader "life opportunities." The Community Circle project will be a catalyst for greater community involvement in these issues and increased efforts to decrease housing segregation and increase educational achievement and integrated education opportunities. They will engage a broad cross-section of the both "non-traditional" participants (low-income families and communities of color) and "traditional" participants in a community-wide dialogue about these complex, interconnected issues. Experience in the first round of conversations suggests that community circles can provide unique settings for collaborative learning, for working through often polarizing social and political issues like these, for facilitating honest conversation, and for building more inclusive organizations and communities. As similar projects elsewhere in the country have shown, such "circles" broaden perspectives, deepen understanding, and inspire participants to become more involved in public life.

The second round of community circle conversations will build on the experience and lessons of the first round conversations. The conversations will use a newly revised and improved discussion guide to help further focus the conversations; more experienced facilitators resulting from a collaborative partnership with the Society of Professionals in Dispute Resolution; a broadened recruiting effort to expand participation by populations under-represented in the first round, such as communities of color (in addition to African Americans), the business community, Saint Paul area communities, and outlying suburban communities; new partnerships to build the community circle dialogues into existing venues for community involvement, such as the Wilder Foundation's "Cities At Work" Forum Series; and an emphasis on actions that can be taken at or near the conclusion of the discussions.

Specific activities and a timeline for accomplishing the 1999 Community Circles and the results they are intended to realize include the following (many of these activities are already underway):

| | |
|---|---|
| ➢ Evaluation of the first round of community circles | Completed 1997 |
| ➢ Report sharing the results of the first round of discussions | Completed April 1998 |
| | Printing, January 1999 |
| ➢ Preparation of revised *Choices for Community* discussion guide | May – September 1998 |
| | First Printing, 10/98 |
| | Second Printing, 1/99 |
| ➢ Recruiting new partners and sponsors | Fall/Winter 1998/99 |
| ➢ "Building Inclusive Communities" Conference and Dinner Event | Sept. 17 & 18, 1998 |
| ➢ Minneapolis Community Circles (pilots for 1999 circles) | Oct. – Dec. 1998 |
| ➢ Informational/training sessions for sponsors | December 9, 1998 |
| | January 13, 1998 |
| ➢ Letter to mayors, press advisories to media, etc. | Dec. – Jan. 1998/99 |
| ➢ National Conversation about Race (co-sponsored by EHEP with NCCJ) | January 15, 1999 |
| ➢ Community Circle "Kick-Off" Forums (West Metro) | January 21, 1999 |
| (East Metro) | February 4, 1999 |
| ➢ Facilitator Orientation Session | January 22, 1999 |
| ➢ Workshop on Understanding Community and Institutional Racism (for community circle facilitators and scribes) | January 23, 1999 |
| ➢ MICAH fair housing theatre events (co-sponsored by EHEP) | Feb. – May 1999 |
| ➢ Metro Area Community Circles are convened by sponsors | February 1999 |
| Community Circles meet 5 times for 2 hours each session | Feb – April 1999 |
| ➢ "Cities at Work" Forums and "Call to Action" (one each month) | February - May 1999 |
| ➢ Community Circles Action Forum | April or May 1999 |
| ➢ "Citizens Summit" with the Minnesota Meeting and Minnesota Public Radio | May or June 1999 |
| ➢ Prepare Report to Community | June - August 1999 |
| ➢ Evaluation of circles process and results | Summer/Fall 1999 |
| ➢ Optional second round of 1999 community circles (focusing on integration) | Sept. – Nov. 1999 |
| ➢ Year 2000 Action Agenda | December 1999 |

Those involved in achieving these activities include the following:

*Dick Little,* Executive Director of the Education and Housing Equity Project, who is responsible for all aspects of the organization and project. He has an extensive background in housing, education, race relations and use of study circles. For 20 years he was a planning and housing official with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development. More recently he has been a research associate with the International Institute for Inter-racial Interaction (INTER-RACE) at Augsburg College, a technical assistant with the Community Policing Institute, a member of the strategic planning team for the City of New Orleans Empowerment Zone and Enterprise Community program, and a consultant to the Minneapolis Public Schools. He has also been active as policy chair, parent representative on the site leadership council, and co-founder of the foundation at Ramsey International Fine Arts School in Minneapolis. He is in his tenth year of serving as mayoral appointee on the Minneapolis Planning Commission, and has a graduate degree in urban planning. He also serves as an officer on the boards of several non-profit organizations including the Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing.

*Pam Jewson,* acting administrative assistant at EHEP, who brings previous experience as an administrative assistant and field producer at KSTP, a graphic artist with the Star Tribune, and as a project development coordinator with the Linden Hills Neighborhood Revitalization Program (at present, voluntary)

*Paul Kiley,* a media, communications and marketing consultant with experience as head of the California Literacy Program (at present, 'pro bono')

*Barbara Blackstone*, State Mediator with the Minnesota Office of Dispute Resolution and Mediation, and an officer of the Society of Professionals in Dispute Resolution (SPIDR), Minnesota Chapter. Barbara is heading up the process of recruiting, training and assigning facilitators. She and a cadre of facilitators from SPIDR facilitated the Minneapolis Community Circles in fall of 1998. Up to 100 facilitators will be moderating or co-moderating the 1999 Community Circles (voluntary/in-kind)

Representatives from the sponsor organizations that will be convening the circles and/or providing the meeting places for the circle dialogues, and scribes who will be recording and preparing reports on the dialogues (voluntary/in-kind).

A working group of individuals from the EHEP board and community circle partner organizations that will assist in carrying out the details of implementing the community circle dialogues (voluntary/in-kind).

Jeff Swenson, Augsburg College business and financial accountant, who will be providing payroll and fiscal services to EHEP in 1999.

EHEP has made extensive and creative use of interns, volunteers and consultants (paid and in-kind) in the past and will continue to do so in 1999 (writers, graphic designers, training professionals, speakers, etc.). James and Nadine Addington and staff of Crossroads and the Minnesota Churches Anti-Racism Initiative will be providing the workshop on understanding community and institutional racism. Karima Bushnell of Intercultural Communications Workshops, Inc. will be providing cross-cultural communications training to the facilitators. Feigenbaum Design Group and Community Media Services provide our graphic and design services. Interns from HECUA (the Higher Education Consortium for Urban Affairs) and CURA (the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs) have provided research and writing services. Nikki Carlson of Interfaith Action and principal of EYDYA, Inc. has provided 'pro bono' services for developing our data base and communications plan.

We are also being assisted by some of our collaborating partners with the organization of the project. In Saint Paul, we are carrying out the community circles as in integral part of the 'Cities at Work' Forums co-sponsored by the Wilder Foundation. Barb Rose, editor of Community Matters at Wilder, is working with us hand-in-glove on organizing the community circles in Saint Paul. Staff of the League of Human Rights Commissions is working with us to enable suburban human rights commissions to take the lead role in sponsoring community circles in their communities and partnering with other organizations to implement the circles. Our national partner, the Study Circles Resource Center, has and will continue to provide substantial in-kind support to our project.

There comes a moment of truth, however, when it becomes clear that the project and collaboration won't work unless EHEP is adequately staffed. Our success to date demands that we expand beyond a one-person non-profit. To effectively carry out its objective of expanding the community circle project and promoting the successful development of inclusive communities and schools, EHEP must create two new, permanent positions in 1999: (1) an administrative assistant to assist the director and to manage the daily operations of EHEP projects including the community circles project, and (2) a community circles coordinator to oversee and manage the community circles project and coordinate activities with the community circles collaborative. A study has been prepared that has identified and recommended the addition of these staff positions as essential to the continued success of our work. For this reason, we are expanding our budget and funding requests in 1999.

Impact of activities
The proposed activities will benefit the communities we are serving by advancing the agenda and prospects for integrated and equitable education in Twin Cities area public schools, and for integrated and inclusive communities that are open and affordable to all Twin Citians.

The first round of conversations has already been used to inform the areas for mediation of the education lawsuits between the NAACP, Saint Paul Schools and the State of Minnesota. The second round of conversations will present a timely opportunity to "test" and discuss the recommendations to the legislature

coming out of the first round of mediation talks, focusing on schools. The second round conversations also present an opportunity to inform a possible second round of mediation meetings that will focus on external factors, such as housing, transportation, family and community services, and jobs. The community circle conversations should directly contribute to an informed, mediated settlement that will lead to more equitable, inclusive and integrated education for Twin Cities area students.

The first round of conversations also have contributed to building public awareness, support and commitment to fair and affordable housing throughout the metropolitan region. Barriers to affordable housing created by exclusionary zoning and other regulatory practices was identified by over two-third of the circles as a major factor influencing economic, if not racial segregation in the Twin Cities. Fair housing violations were also identified as more prevalent than the public generally acknowledges. NIMBYism, frequently displayed at public hearings and planning commission meetings in suburban communities was also highlighted in the conversations. Twelve of the sponsor organizations are or have become members of the Metropolitan Interfaith Council for Affordable Housing. In addition, some of the circle sponsors and participants were members of Interfaith Action or Saint Paul Ecumenical Action Council, who went on to model our discussion process among their member congregations and to expand their mission to include city-suburban segregation and racial-economic disparities.

Partly as a result of our project, there are a record number of affordable housing proposals that will be submitted to the State Legislature in 1999. The proposed Inclusionary Housing Initiative is an example of a concept that was discussed in the community circle conversations. EHEP is one of the endorsers and sponsors of this proposal.

The second round of circle conversations will highlight promising practices for expanding housing choices and will build greater public education, awareness and desire to become involved in supporting practices identified by circle participants as the most promising.

We think that our project will also lead to the already growing agreement, resulting from our first round of conversations and other EHEP initiatives, on the importance of linking school desegregation/integration with the broader issue of housing (and related issues of public transportation and jobs). This is leading to greater support by advocate organizations for broader coalitions that embrace both housing and education and other related issues. The Alliance for Metropolitan Stability is an example. Through our coalition building activities we expect that there will be broader public support of housing *and* education reforms that lead to more inclusive schools *and* communities.

The conversation results will be presented as findings, conclusions and possible recommendations to the legislature and other decision-making bodies, and hopefully contributes to better policy making. The circle conversations should also result in greater participation in the civic life of the community by community circle participants, many of whom have not been actively involved in these issues in the past.


## C. EVALUATION

How effectiveness will be measured

We intend to measure success in tangible ways. We have been and will continue track specific data about the process and results. We have already used surveys to evaluate the first round and will use focus groups to evaluate the second round of community circle discussions.

Criteria for a successful program and the results you expect to have achieved

Measures of success include the breadth and depth of participation in the study circles by citizens. Measures of breadth and depth include diversity of participants in terms of perspectives and viewpoints, race and ethnicity, place of work or residence, age or generation, family status and economic status. It also includes locations and numbers of participants and conversations. A participant comments about what they got out of the circles experience and how they grew or changed as a result of the experience will also be considered.

The project's impact will also be measured by the extent that our process and the circle findings, conclusions

and recommendations are considered and incorporated by stakeholder and sponsor organizations, and by public decision-making bodies, such as school boards, planning commissions, city councils and the State Legislature. Another important measure will be the number of new participants that become involved in the work of one of the promising practices or one of the participating non-profit or community organizations as one way of moving from discussion to action.

We hope to at least double the number or participating community circles that successfully complete a dialogue in the second round from 25 circles to over 50 circles. We intend to have representation of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, and Latino/Chicanos and Mexican Americans as well as African Americans in the circles in numbers reflecting their percentage of the population of the metropolitan area. We are also striving through pairing of circles, cross-culturally competent recruiting and outreach practices, and partnerships with organizations reflecting diverse populations to achieve richly diverse community circle groups. If these circle discussions receive public attention, raise the level of public awareness, understanding and engagement in creatively addressing issues at the intersection of race, housing and schools, and prompt civically informed actions that lead to more integrated schools and communities through a "bubbling up" of informed discussion and action from the community circles and participants, then our project will have been successful.

## Who will be involved in the evaluation?
The EHEP board and staff and the organizations that participate in the Community Circle project will continue to be involved in evaluating the project. The Study Circles Resource Center, one of our national partners is already assisting us in the preparation of evaluation measures and criteria before we begin the second round of community dialogues.

## How evaluations will be used
The results of the first round of community circle conversations are being used primarily to plan the second round of conversations and also to inform the agendas of participating partners (e.g., MICAH). As previously mentioned, they have also been used in the process of designing the process for mediation of the educational lawsuits.

The results of the second round of conversations will be used to define subsequent strategies for moving toward achievement of more inclusive, equitable and integrated schools and communities and to more specifically inform public policy action that moves to desegregate the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

**Education & Housing Equity Project**

# Board Memo

**To:** EHEP Board Members

**From:** Dick Little, Executive Director

**CC:** Amy Rodquist, Community Circle Coordinator

**Date:** December 5, 1998

**Re:** EHEP Board Meeting Agenda, December 11, 1998

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**EHEP BOARD MEETING**

**December 11, 1998**

**Friday**

**7:30 – 9:30 a.m.**

**"The Niche" at Murphy's Grill**

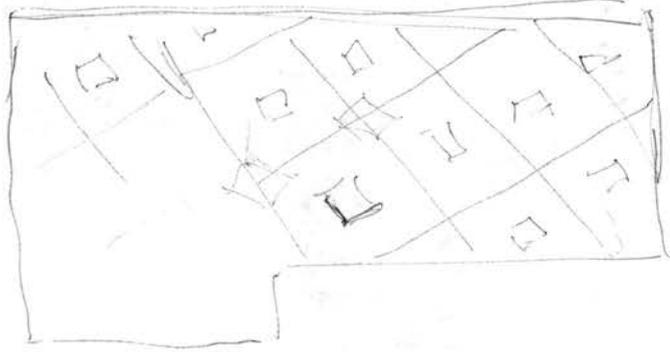**Christensen Center**

**Augsburg College**

See map and agenda enclosed. Street parking is available in the early morning. Come to wish Amy well as she completes her internship and term with the Metro Urban Studies Program at HECUA. RSVP regrets only 330-1505 (330-1507 fax or ehep@augsburg.edu).

Confirm (Thurs.)
Jan 21st (Thurs.)
SLP Chambers ?
6-10 pm

*handwritten initials*
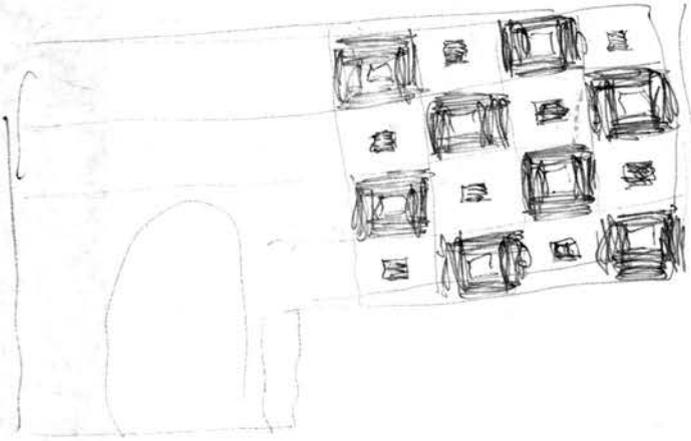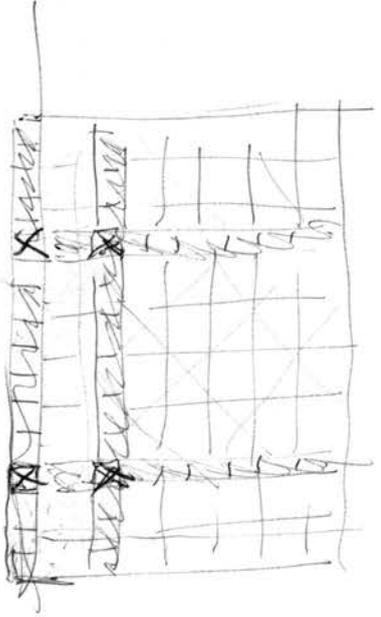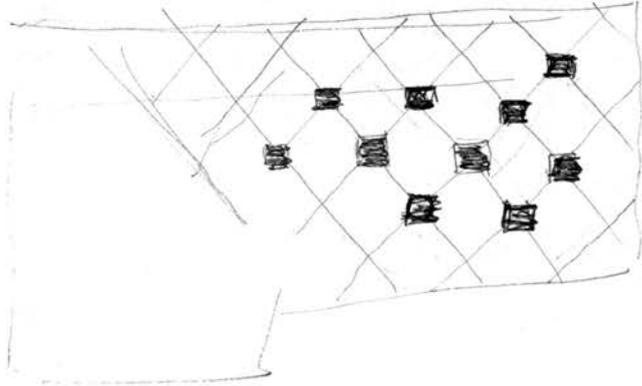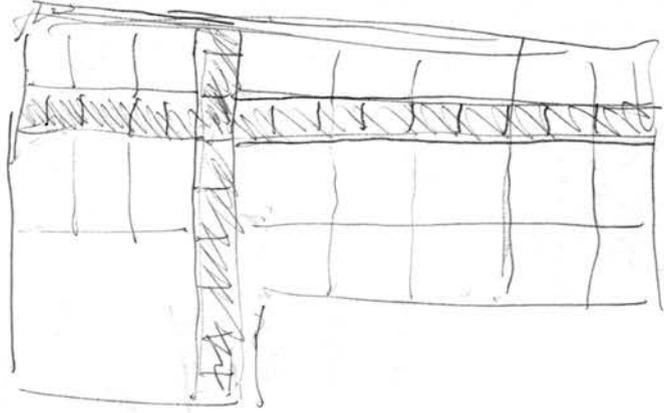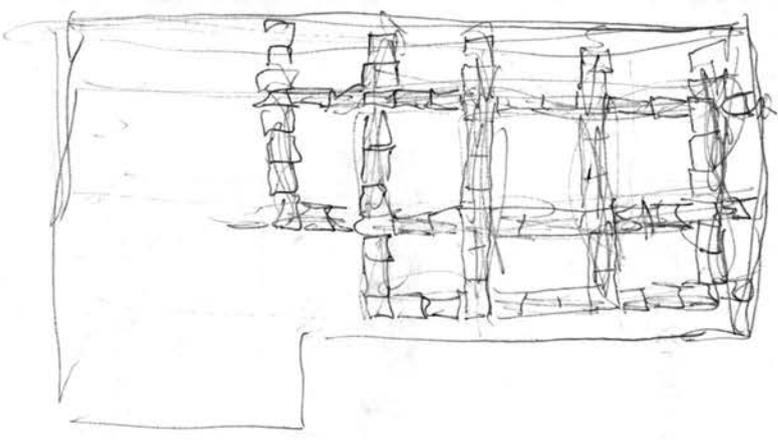
# EHEP December Board Meeting Agenda

1. Schedule of board meetings in 1999

2. Timeline update and progress report on recruiting sponsors and facilitators and securing meeting places for the 1999 community circles, including plans for the "kick-off" and training in January

3. Presentation on "Growing EHEP" by Amy Rodquist

4. A huge "Thank You" to Amy Rodquist

5. Invitation to Amy Rodquist and Kesha Tanabe to serve on the EHEP Board

6. Proposed EHEP Manifesto on segregation and inequality in the Twin Cities metropolitan area

7. The Inclusionary Housing Initiative (presentation, discussion and board action). Russ Adams of the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability will be joining us for this part of the meeting. Board members should review the proposal (sent to you last month) before our meeting.

**Note:** EHEP's 1998 financial report and proposed 1999 budget will be reviewed at our January board meeting. I am pleased to report that Jeff Swenson, Augsburg College's business and financial accountant, has agreed to provide fiscal services to EHEP, subject, of course, to review and acceptance by the executive committee and board. I will be drawing up a proposed contract shortly.

## EHEP Board Members

Barbara Bearman

Keith Hardy

JoAnn Heryla

Jim Hilbert

Josie Johnson

Matthew Little

Hope Melton

Van Mueller

Emily Greenwald/Myron Orfield

Gavin Kearney/john powell

Thomas Ross

Luz Maria Serrano

Joy Sorensen Navarre

Jerry Timian

Cris Toffolo

Gloria Winans

Pam JEWSON  E-HEP  929-8395

Dear Mayor _____:

We are writing to ask you to take a chance with us in
an exercise in democracy.

The enclosed brochure explains this activity sponsored
by the Education and Housing Equity Project and its
partners in the Community Circle Collaborative.

You are being asked to commit a specific amount of time
as a participant in a community circle as a citizen who
happens to be a Political leader.  We are suggesting
that you become an equal partner with other citizens
in an ~~immensely~~ urgent conversation about race, segregation,
and the intersection of housing and public education.
As equal partners you and other citizens (who may or may
not be your immediate constituents) will be struggling
with the most difficult issues facing our metropolitan
area.

No one person has the answers to issues so emotionally chr
charged, so challenging to our sense of social justice,
at times so impossible to talk about, but which need to
be faced.  The community circle gives us a chance to
face these issues.
                      *be facilitated*
Each circle will have a facilitator.  *Conversation* ~~Discussion~~ will be
informed by the discussion guide, "Choices For Community,"
which is enclosed for your perusal.  Participation should
be a learning experience for all and a chance to mutually
consider recommendations for action.

The fact that you are a political leader has special
significance.  Many people are losing faith in elected
leaders.  ~~And~~ *the* policy *decisions* ~~makers the decisions~~ you make affect
people's lives.  The quality of leadership that you bring
to your task influences the principles upon which your
community operates, and whether your constituents have
cause to have faith in the political process.  How you
inform your responsibilities must be of concern to you.

It is our hope that participating in a community circle
will be of benefit to you as you go forward with your civic
work~~ome tasks.~~

Please let us know what you think about taking a chance with
us.  Thank you for your consideration.
~~Sincerely,~~
to
Sincerely,

# District 44 DFL

St. Louis Park • Hopkins • Minnetonka 1B & 1C

Barbara Bearman, Chair • 4401 Park Glen Road #201 • St. Louis Park, MN • 55416   925-0567 (H) • 929-2230 (W)
Ron Latz, Associate Chair, 938-4353 • Deb Sparling, Treasurer, 927-8061 • Sue Bloyer, Secretary, 926-7351

Bill Davis - Mpls Community Action

Community Circle

PAIRING

& Seeing Elected people

End of November

Sabathani - Art Saratof

St Louis Park Human Rights Commission
(Get Hale)

com Brandeis Jane Borron

Adath - (Hazel Boros Church

Doug Wallace

Harvey Carlen

NAACP - new people Platform

CJW

Claudia

Jewish Community Action

JCRC

JCA Joyce Vic

Jewish Community Centers - Mpls + St. Paul

Steve Johnson's group.

Civil Rights Commission
Director + members.

DFL Ed. Foundation

Higher Ed. Professionals

Jobs Now

Mpls City Council ( Lisa Goodman )

Legislature - Margaret

# LIKE WATERS ROLLING DOWN

Let Justice roll down like waters; Righteousness like an ever flowing stream.

Amos 5:24
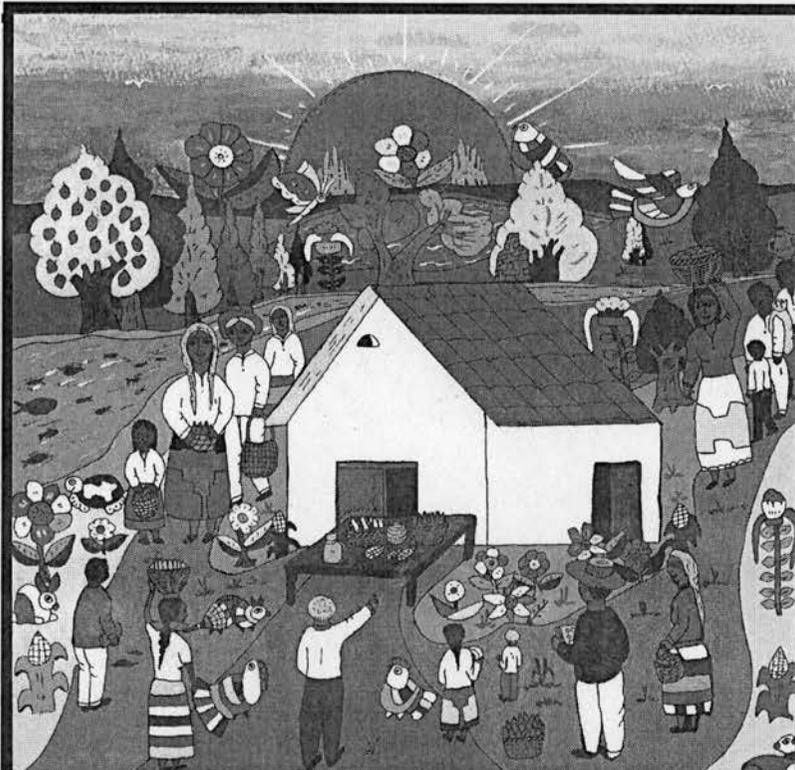
## A Musical Play about Justice in Housing

Created and produced by
The Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing and Illusion Theater

---

**"My property values will drop if they move in here."**

**"I moved here to get away from crime."**

**"I worked hard to get here. Now they get subsidies to move here."**

**"We already have our fair share of affordable housing in our community."**

These common reactions to the issue of affordable housing reflect the beliefs and fears of some community residents and policy makers.

"Like Waters Rolling Down" educates communities about the dire need for affordable housing. Performed by professional actors and musicians from Illusion Theater, the play presents a series of thought-provoking and moving scenes that explore both individual and systemic barriers to fair and affordable housing.

An audience discussion will follow the show. Individuals and congregations will be challenged to take action to overcome discrimination in housing, and to work to create and preserve more affordable housing in their communities.

Please plan to attend the only performance of this exciting event in our community!

### NEXT PERFORMANCE
**Sunday,
October 25, 1998
6 PM - 8 PM**

**Guardian Angels
Catholic Church
I-94 & Radio Drive
Oakdale/Woodbury
(See the Church Steeple on
the north side of I-94)**

**Information: 871-8980**

**TTY: MN Relay Service:
297-5353**

**MICAH**

Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing
Phone: 871-8980
jodi@micah.org

5.  **Land Dedication** or **Set Aside**: As an alternative method for meeting the housing affordability targets, developers will have the option of setting aside land, either donating it to the local housing authority or to a nonprofit housing developer. The local housing authority or nonprofit developer commits to building the required number of affordable units on site under the inclusionary housing law and ensures adherence to architectural compatibility standards with respect to the market-rate units. All units must be under development at the same time, and developers must finish their units "on-time."

    To ensure that affordable units are interspersed within the market-rate development, the law will require that no more than 50% of the affordable units may be clustered together at any development site containing more than 120 units.

6.  **Term of use**: Affordable rental units must remain affordable at the same level for a period of 20 years. Local housing authorities and nonprofit organizations will have the option to purchase the bonus rental units to make available to very low-income tenants. Homeownership units will be subject to the following resale restrictions: all owner-occupied housing units are subject to price controls for 10 years. After 10 years, windfall profits will be equally split between the seller and the Met Council (to be deposited into an Inclusionary Housing Account administered under the Livable Communities Act).

*"Freedom of House"*     *Deregulation - choice of opportunities*

7.  **Fair Housing/Affirmative Marketing**: In order to accomplish the goal of desegregation, this legislation shall include the following components.

    a) Funding will be provided to help cities, non-profit and community groups affirmatively market the units to communities of color. Partners could include the Urban Coalition's 50-30 program, among others.

    b) The state shall also increase its commitment to fair housing testing and enforcement.

    c) Data should be kept on the racial/ethnic background of the occupants of affordable units. The data will help policymakers to gauge the effectiveness of the Inclusionary Housing program as a tool for providing affirmative housing opportunities. Regular reports by the Metropolitan Council, or other designated agency, should provide analysis of existing barriers to affirmative housing goals.

8.  **Geography**: The *density bonus provisions* of the new law apply to all Twin Cities metropolitan municipalities when any individual developer agrees to meet the statute's affordability guidelines. The new law will apply to any local municipality in the state that agrees to substantially cooperate with a "participating developer." The *incentives to cities provisions* of the new law will also apply to any local municipality in the state that agrees to establish an inclusionary housing program.

9.  **Administrative authority**: In the Twin Cities metro area, the Met Council will act as the Inclusionary Housing administrative entity. Under the Metropolitan Livable Communities Act, Affordable Housing Account, the Met Council will have access to funds to encourage the broad participation of regional cities in this program. In Greater Minnesota, "participating cities," counties, or local HRA's could administer the program outside of the 7-county metro area.

10. **Advisory Committee**: The legislation will establish an advisory committee, made up of builders, developers, low-income tenants, nonprofit housing organizations, representatives of city planning offices, the Met Council, local governments, the MHFA, citizens, and housing advocates. This committee could take one of two forms: it could meet regularly to monitor the implementation of the program, or it could meet to produce annual or bi-annual report on the success of the program.

    The Advisory Committee would evaluate the effectiveness of Inclusionary Housing programs and recommend needed corrective actions that are both feasible and appropriate. The Committee would provide annual progress reports to the state legislature and the Governor.

## III. INCLUSIONARY HOUSING
draft legislative proposal, 10/2/98

1. **Minnesota's state legislature** will implement an inclusionary housing program during the 1999 Legislative session. Inclusionary housing policies will apply to any *participating* new development of 30 units or more.

   A "participating developer" will receive a substantial density bonus and other local incentives for agreeing to meet specific affordability goals. A "participating municipality" will receive priority status for a host of state and regional funding programs and infrastructure investment requests in exchange for cooperation with "participating developers" and establishment of a local inclusionary housing program.

2. **Affordability**: The program will require that *participating developments* contain a reasonable percentage of new units constructed that are affordable to low- and moderate-income households. The affordable units are built on the same parcel of land and must blend architecturally with the market-rate units. The percentage and affordability requirements will be different for rental housing than for single-family housing.

   **Rental Properties**: at least **10%** of units must be affordable at or below **30% of AMI** (rent equals $456/month, affordable to one wage earner at $8.84/hour, $18,240/year)

   **Homeownership**: at least **15%** affordable at or below **50% of AMI** (mortgage payment of $759/month, affordable to one wage earner at $14.73/hour, approximately $30,638/year)

3. **Density Bonus**: In exchange for producing the required percentage of affordable units, developers will receive a density bonus. A density bonus entitles the developer to build additional residential units above the maximum number of units permitted by the existing zoning. The bonus allows extra market-rate units to be added to the same parcel of land. The income from the extra market-rate units helps to offset the production costs of the affordable units. We propose a **density bonus of 25%**.

   A 30-unit development which receives a 25% density bonus will produce 8 additional units. Applied after the density bonus is awarded, a 15% affordability provision requires that **six** of the 8 bonus units are **affordable**, and **two** are **market-rate**.

   **Cities** are encouraged to provide density bonuses that go beyond the state guidelines. For example, a local municipality could offer a "one-for-one density bonus" for the construction of on-site housing: for every one affordable unit built, the developer can build an additional market-rate unit.

4. **Incentives**: In addition to the density bonus, the state law should include a package of incentives.

   **Developers** could be offered other "offsets" to mitigate the perceived economic impact of inclusionary requirements. Examples include regulatory relief such as reduced setback or parking requirements, decreased road width, reasonable flexibility in site development standards or zoning code requirements, direct financial assistance, approval of mixed-use zoning, waiver of permit or "impact" fees, waiver of "SAC charges", "fast track" permitting process, or any other regulatory incentive which would result in identifiable cost avoidance or reductions that are offered in addition to a Density Bonus.

   **Cities** that provide some flexibility in zoning and local controls to accommodate I.H. developments should receive priority in the award of state and regional subsidies and improved access to tools for meeting local municipal needs (Metropolitan Livable Communities Act funds, ISTEA allocations, MUSA line extensions, sewer and transportation investments, DTED funding, parks/green space funding)

# INCLUSIONARY HOUSING POLICY

## HOME BUILDERS, DEVELOPERS

- NEW VOLUNTARY ROLE

- DEVELOPER DRIVEN POLICY, WITH LOCAL ZONING OVERRIDE

- LINK REGULATORY RELIEF WITH HOUSING COST REDUCTIONS

- PARTNERSHIP OPPORTUNITIES WITH PUBLIC & NONPROFIT SECTORS

## LOCAL MUNICIPALITIES

City Hall

- VOLUNTARILY PASS LOCAL INCLUSIONARY HOUSING ORDINANCE

- RECEIVE INCENTIVES, REWARDS FOR REDUCING DEVELOPMENT COSTS

- RETAIN FLEXIBILITY IN LOCAL ZONING CONTROLS

- SECURE COMMITMENTS FOR VERY AFFORDABLE HOUSING

## STATE LEGISLATURE

### PUBLIC POLICY

- STRENGTHEN THE METROPOLITAN LIVABLE COMMUNITIES ACT

- REWARD COMMUNITIES FOR LOWERING THE COST OF DEVELOPMENT

- FOSTER VOLUNTARY COOPERATION & PUBLIC / PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

# INCLUSIONARY HOUSING POLICY

### HOME BUILDERS, DEVELOPERS

- Voluntarily commit to modest affordability targets in exchange for a combination of incentives (density bonuses, regulatory relief, fee waivers, expedited permitting process, etc.). Link *home building deregulation* to housing cost reductions.

- Participating developments contain at least **15%** overall affordability. (Households at or below **50%** of the MFI for **home ownership units**) (Households at or below **30%** of the MFI for **rental units**)

- Private developers are encouraged to partner with local housing agencies and nonprofit housing developers to provide housing for very low-income households.

### LOCAL MUNICIPALITIES

- Cities are encouraged to cooperate with developers by passing a local Inclusionary Housing Ordinance. This ordinance, based on state guidelines, offers a variety of regulatory incentives to mixed-income, affordable housing developments.

- Participating cities would receive priority status for certain state and regional funding programs (including LCA funds, park funds, sewer and MUSA line extensions, state grants, and transportation investments)

**City Hall**

**STATE LEGISLATURE**

### PUBLIC POLICY

- Tie Inclusionary Housing in with strengthening the Livable Communities Act. Seek $5 Million in increased appropriations. Utilize "Inclusionary" funds to ensure participation from local cities and to "buy down" the cost of the moderately affordable units.

- Set minimum affordability guidelines in state statute, ensure that incentives given to developers will produce meaningful results, encourage land set-asides and other innovative strategies.

**DRAFT**

# INCLUSIONARY HOUSING

- **Inclusionary Housing Campaign.** Build a powerful base of support for public policies that ensure a modest percentage of all new housing construction is affordable to people at 50% to 30% of the metro median family income ($30,400 - $18,240 annual income for a family of four). Reward housing developers for including affordable units in their developments by giving them a modest density bonus of 25%.

- Support a broad framework of housing production strategies, including mixed income development, preservation, density bonuses, and other zoning and regulatory incentives to achieve up to 40,000 more units of affordable housing by 2020.

- Build support for progressive housing policies that reform urban redevelopment strategies and limit the loss of affordable units to demolition activities.

## *PRIMARY OBJECTIVES*

### Housing
- Increase the Regional Supply of Affordable Housing
- Create Higher Density, Mixed Income Developments
- Address Demolition & Replacement Housing Issues in the Central Cities

### Regional Policy
- Strengthen Livable Communities Act
- Connect Low-Income Workers to Job Growth Areas
- Promote Private Market Role for Solving the Regional Housing Crisis

### Economic & Racial Segregation
- Open Up Suburban Communities to Lower-Income Families
- Reverse Racially Segregated Settlement Patterns
- Promote Integrated Schools

### Environmental Conservation
- Conserve Natural Areas by Modestly Boosting Housing Densities
- Integrate Land-Use Planning and Transit Strategies
- Promote Development that is Environmentally Sustainable and Socially Responsible
     (Urban Design, Intensification of Land-Use)

## III. INCLUSIONARY HOUSING
draft legislative proposal, 12/9/98

1. **Minnesota's state legislature** will implement an inclusionary housing program during the 1999 Legislative session. Inclusionary housing policies will apply to any *participating* new development of 30 units or more.

   A "participating developer" will receive a substantial density bonus and other local incentives for agreeing to meet specific affordability goals. A "participating municipality" will receive priority status for a host of state and regional funding programs and infrastructure investment requests in exchange for cooperation with "participating developers" and establishment of a local inclusionary housing program.

2. **Affordability:** The program will require that *participating developments* contain a reasonable percentage of new units constructed that are affordable to low- and moderate-income households. The affordable units are built on the same parcel of land and must blend architecturally with the market-rate units. The percentage and affordability requirements will be different for rental housing than for single-family housing.

   **Rental Properties:** at least **10%** of units must be affordable at or below **30% of AMI** (rent equals $456/month, affordable to one wage earner at $8.84/hour, $18,240/year)

   **Homeownership:** at least **15%** affordable at or below **50% of AMI** (mortgage payment of $759/month, affordable to one wage earner at $14.73/hour, approximately $30,638/year)

3. **Density Bonus:** In exchange for producing the required percentage of affordable units, developers will receive a density bonus. A density bonus entitles the developer to build additional residential units above the maximum number of units permitted by the existing zoning. The bonus allows extra market-rate units to be added to the same parcel of land. The income from the extra market-rate units helps to offset the production costs of the affordable units. We propose a **density bonus of 25%**.

   A 30-unit development which receives a 25% density bonus will produce 8 additional units. Applied after the density bonus is awarded, a 15% affordability provision, applied to the now 38 unit development, requires that **six** of the 8 bonus units are **affordable**, and **two** are **market-rate**.

   **Cities** are encouraged to provide density bonuses that go beyond the state guidelines. For example, a local municipality could offer a "one-for-one density bonus" for the construction of on-site housing: for every one affordable unit built, the developer can build an additional market-rate unit.

4. **Incentives:** In addition to the density bonus, the state law should include a package of incentives.

   **Developers** could be offered other "offsets" to mitigate the perceived economic impact of inclusionary requirements. Examples include regulatory relief such as reduced setback or parking requirements, decreased road width, reasonable flexibility in site development standards or zoning code requirements, direct financial assistance, approval of mixed-use zoning, waiver of permit or "impact" fees, waiver of "SAC charges", "fast track" permitting process, or any other regulatory incentive which would result in identifiable cost avoidance or reductions that are offered in addition to a Density Bonus.

   **Cities** that provide some flexibility in zoning and local controls to accommodate I.H. developments should receive priority in the award of state and regional subsidies and improved access to tools for meeting local municipal needs (Metropolitan Livable Communities Act funds, ISTEA allocations, MUSA line extensions, sewer and transportation investments, DTED funding, parks/green space funding). Cities must have adopted land use policies that are consistent with the Metropolitan Council's 2040 Regional Growth Plan, including fully utilizing existing land and infrastructure within their city, before receiving new MUSA line extensions and related infrastructure investments.

5. **Land Dedication or Set Aside:** As an alternative method for meeting the housing affordability targets, developers will have the option of setting aside land, either donating it to the local housing authority or to a nonprofit housing developer. The local housing authority or nonprofit developer commits to building the required number of affordable units on site under the inclusionary housing law and ensures adherence to architectural compatibility standards with respect to the market-rate units. All units must be under development at the same time, and developers must finish their units "on-time."

   To ensure that affordable units are interspersed within the market-rate development, the law will require that no more than 50% of the affordable units may be clustered together at any development site containing more than 120 units.

6. **Term of use:** Affordable rental units must <u>have agreements that provide for affordability for a 20 year period</u>. Local housing authorities and nonprofit organizations will have the option to purchase the bonus rental units to make available to very low-income tenants. Homeownership units will be subject to the following resale restrictions: all owner-occupied housing units are subject to price controls for 10 years. After 10 years, windfall profits will be equally split between the seller and the Met Council (to be deposited into an Inclusionary Housing Account administered under the Livable Communities Act).

7. **Fair Housing/Affirmative Marketing:** In order to accomplish the goal of <u>housing choice and opportunity</u>, this legislation shall include the following components.

   **a)** Funding will be provided to help cities, non-profit and community groups affirmatively market the units to communities of color. Partners could include the Urban Coalition's 50-30 program, among others.

   **b)** The state shall also increase its commitment to fair housing testing and enforcement.

   **c)** Data should be kept on the racial/ethnic background of the occupants of affordable units. The data will help policymakers to gauge the effectiveness of the Inclusionary Housing program as a tool for providing affirmative housing opportunities. Regular reports by the Metropolitan Council, or other designated agency, should provide analysis of existing barriers to affirmative housing goals.

8. **Geography:** The *density bonus provisions* of the new law apply to all Twin Cities metropolitan municipalities <u>that agree to establish a local Inclusionary Housing ordinance. An</u> individual developer who agrees to meet the statute's affordability targets <u>is eligible to receive the density bonus.</u>

   <u>In order to facilitate inclusionary housing incentives in Greater Minnesota communities</u>, the new law <u>may</u> apply to any local municipality in the state that agrees to substantially cooperate with a "participating developer." The *incentives to cities provisions* of the new law will also apply to any local municipality in the state that agrees to establish an inclusionary housing program.

9. **Administrative authority:** In the Twin Cities metro area, the Met Council will <u>administer the Inclusionary Housing program through the Metropolitan Livable Communities Act</u>. Under the Metropolitan Livable Communities Act, Affordable Housing Account, the Met Council will have access to funds to encourage the broad participation of regional cities in this program. In Greater Minnesota, "participating cities," counties, or local HRA's could administer the program outside of the 7-county metro area.

10. **Advisory Committee:** The legislation will establish an advisory committee, made up of builders, developers, low-income tenants, nonprofit housing organizations, representatives of city planning offices, the Met Council, local governments, the MHFA, citizens, and housing advocates. This committee could take one of two forms: it could meet regularly to monitor the implementation of the program, or it could meet to produce annual or bi-annual report on the success of the program.

## Incentives-Only—Twin Cities Metropolitan Livable Communities Act

The Twin Cities' three-year-old Metropolitan Livable Communities Act relies entirely upon a limited set of *voluntary incentives* to cities. The LCA is based on the principle that each municipality should be expected to house a negotiated percentage of low- and moderate-income households. This is the same principle that has guided inclusionary housing programs in other areas of the country.

The difficulty with the Livable Communities Act is that it provides incentives for only one key player in the process of building affordable housing, *the local municipality*. Funds for urban transportation or economic development demonstration projects, brownfield cleanup, and housing are available to cities that develop affordable housing goals and submit those goals to the Metropolitan Council.

While these incentives have induced a number of cities to develop affordable housing goals, they have not been sufficient to spur many municipalities to the action of actually creating affordable housing. In fact, some communities with high percentages of affordable housing have used the "fair share" benchmarks as an excuse to tear down affordable units. The scale of incentives under the Livable Communities funding accounts, approximately $12 million per year, are too small to have a substantial region-wide impact.

The LCA relies upon the idea that city councils have the power and political base to move forward with affordable housing initiatives. It is more often the case that city officials (even those sympathetic to the idea of building affordable housing) must fight local opposition to low-cost units and low-income residents. A city council is not likely to reduce fees and local controls to attract low-cost developers if constituents are opposed to such development.

Second, by providing incentives ONLY to the cities, the law does nothing to mobilize market-rate developers to build affordable units. Market forces—including municipal requirements and state tax policies—control the housing production system and currently dictate a freeze on new multi-family units that rent for less that $1,200/month. Inclusionary housing programs must address the bottom line of developers.

Finally, the LCA provides NO mechanism for oversight or monitoring. Municipalities that make no progress toward their housing goals receive no punishment and continue to have equal access to incentive pools. Region-wide housing programs should serve to guide communities towards stronger performance in providing a variety of housing choices, should set measurable goals, and should utilize proactive policies that provide a disincentive to cities that fail to meet their goals.

## A Plan for Minnesota

Our challenge is to develop an inclusionary housing program that meets the specific needs and characteristics of the Minnesota housing market, in particular, the growing Twin Cities metropolitan area.

Any inclusionary housing law developed for the state of Minnesota should rely on a combination of hardy incentives and measured disincentives. The incentives provided to municipalities and to developers should be vital to the self-interests of both groups. Localities should have some flexibility in the implementation of inclusionary housing programs, but must also be held to some level of accountability.

Numeric goals must be set and routinely monitored. A regional "housing report card" should be issued annually by the Metropolitan Council to document the level and intensity of affordable housing activity in every community in relation to the general housing market.

An Inclusionary Housing program should receive a sufficient level of state appropriations to administer a region-wide housing production policy and to provide funds for targeted incentives to participating cities. Additionally, state appropriations could also be used to aid local housing authorities and nonprofit housing organizations in the purchase and setting aside of affordable units in particular development projects.

# DRAFT

## Inclusionary Housing Position Paper
Drafted by Kirsten Bansen, MN Housing Partnership; Russ Adams, AMS; & Jodi Nelson, MICAH
October 2nd, 1998

<u>Principles for Developing and Implementing an Inclusionary Housing program in MN</u>

**Principle #1**: The Twin Cities metropolitan area is experiencing a dramatic shortage of affordable housing units as well as intense racial segregation and nationally recognized rates of urban sprawl.

**Principle #2**: The Inclusionary Housing task force is committed to developing solutions that address the needs of all metro-area communities: central cities, inner-ring suburbs, and developing outer-ring suburbs.

**Principle #3**: Inclusionary Housing will provide a mechanism to speed the development of new affordable units in the Twin Cities metro area, particularly in suburban communities where much of the region's new job growth continues to occur.

**Principle #4**: Inclusionary Housing programs can create greater access for lower-income and minority households to better employment and educational opportunities. It can be used as a tool for breaking the cycle of poverty.

**Principle #5**: Inclusionary Housing can provide housing choice and opportunity in all metropolitan communities, and can serve as a tool to further affirmative housing goals: allowing the elderly, low-income families and communities of color to access suburban housing.

**Principle #6**: Inclusionary Housing programs provide a wide range of incentives to cities and housing developers to encourage greater overall densities and expedite the development process. Higher housing densities and more affordable housing options support the Met Council's 2040 Growth Plan and are consistent with the goals of the Metropolitan Livable Communities Act.

## I. Goal:
MN's Inclusionary Housing program will result in the development of "x" low-cost housing units before the year "x" (This numeric goal will be based on recent development trends and the current need for affordable housing units.)

## II. Background:
This effort is based on a variety of laws that have already been implemented in other states. The Inclusionary Housing model addresses the shortage of new affordable units and the segregation of poor households and households of color that frequently result from market-driven development practices. Montgomery County, Maryland; California; New Jersey; Massachusetts; and the Twin Cities Metro area all have laws that reward municipalities and developers for creating affordable housing opportunities in middle- and upper-income communities. Some of these existing programs emphasize the importance of density for controlling urban sprawl and maximizing transit opportunities. **[ see Attachment A ]**

An examination of the current effort to promote affordable housing in the Twin Cities metro region will help to underscore the need for a bold new housing production policy.

# Education & Housing Equity Project

## BOARD MEETING AGENDA
**November 20, 1998**

1. Schedule next board meeting

2. Additions/nominations to the executive committee – schedule executive committee meeting

3. New addition/nomination to board – Luz Maria Serrano, St. Paul Schools – board discussion and action

4. Board adoption of registration with the State Attorney General

5. Board approval of application for funding of the community circle project by the Grotto Foundation

6. Board consideration/action on the Inclusionary Housing Initiative

7. Staff report and board discussion on 1999 Community Circles

   a. Project time-line

   b. Recruitment of sponsors; securing, scheduling and publicizing meeting places and dates

   c. Update on recruitment, training and assignment of facilitators

   d. Printing and distribution of discussion guide and reporting form

   e. Media and communication pieces; "what do want to come out of this project/"

8. Other business?  Announcements?

8. Adjournment

# Education and Housing Equity Project

November 20, 1998

Dear Kim Schneider,

On behalf of the Education and Housing Equity Project, I would like to thank you for your interest in the Community Circles conversations. As we anticipate the next round of Community Circles, we are excited that you may be adding your voice to address issues of segregation in housing and education. Enclosed with this letter you will find literature describing our project and Community Circles that are already in progress.

We believe that the solutions to these issues can be found if we learn how to put aside our fears and prejudices and work together. We invite you to join a Community Circle as an active participant with a willingness to listen deeply to others and a desire to find common ground and creative solutions. I look forward to hearing from you, and if I can answer any questions, please do not hesitate to call the Education and Housing Equity Project at 330-1505.

Sincerely,

Amy Rodquist
Community Circles Coordinator

*building inclusive communities*

# THE COMMUNITY CIRCLE PROJECT

## PLEDGE OF PARTICIPATION FOR: SPONSORS

The Education and Housing Equity Project (EHEP) is excited to partner with you as we anticipate the next successful round of Community Circle Conversations. As a sponsor, we invite you to thoughtfully review the Pledge of Participation form, carefully noting each responsibility and your capacity to complete the vital sponsor roles, ensuring the full success of this project.

### Responsibilities of Sponsors:

1. Recruit between 8 and 15 people for each community circle.
2. Arrange a meeting space and time for each community circle **or** recruit participants for a designated time and location.
3. Distribute discussion materials to each participant.
4. Promote the program by any means possible, including bulletins, newsletters, and personal contacts.
5. Participate in evaluation process of community circle.
6. Provide childcare and transportation services as needed by participant.
7. Provide hospitality services for participants, ensuring light snacks and beverages, writing board and nametags at each meeting.
8. Keep records of participation for your Community Circle, complete with address and phone listings.
9. Designate a scribe for each Community Circle, capturing in written record the highlights of each conversation.

EHEP will work closely along side you, providing:
- Discussion Guide
- Trained facilitator (and training to your facilitators)
- Informative background materials
- Calendar of related events
- Information clearinghouse for pairing organizations
- Action Forum to connect citizens with service and action opportunities

All community Circles will be invited to take part in a Citizens Summit to be co-sponsored with the Minnesota Meeting and Minnesota Public Radio. Results will be shared with legislators and local officials.

| | |
|---|---|
| Name of sponsoring organization or agency that you represent: | |
| Your name: (Please Print) | |
| Your address: | |
| Your telephone & fax: | |
| Your e-mail (if applicable): | |

I understand the responsibilities of Sponsors and commit my organization to this project. This commitment is based on approval from our Board of Directors, Executive Director, or other appropriate authority.

In addition, my organization can provide the following if necessary:
- _____ Translator(s)
- _____ Volunteers for Citizens Summit
- _____ Media equipment
- _____ Other: _____

Signature _____     Date _____

# Board Memo

**To:** EHEP Board Members

**From:** Dick Little, Executive Director (330-1505)

**CC:** Amy Rodquist, Community Circles Coordinator

**Date:** 11/12/98

**Re:** **Notice of Next Week's Board Meeting – and the EHEP co-sponsored Issue Forum on Success for All Students (the state's proposed Inclusive Educational Program Rule)**

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### November Board Meeting

**Friday, November 20, 1998**

**7:30 – 9:00 a.m.**

**Murphy's Grill, Christensen Center**

**Augsburg College**

Please come a few minutes early if you want to purchase coffee or breakfast. We will conduct our meeting in the quiet room located to the left of the normal seating area of the grill. Street parking is not a problem at this time of the morning if you are punctual.

The agenda will focus on staff *and board* efforts to publicize the circle conversation project and to recruit potential community circle sponsors. Please plan to provide a progress report to your fellow board members. You will also receive a progress update on our project timeline (dates and places of scheduled important events, etc.).

Please call if you have any questions or need directions to get to the board meeting.

**NOTE:** Also find enclosed information about the State's proposed rule on inclusive schools and the flier announcing our issues forum, also scheduled for next Friday. We urge board members to attend the forum if your schedule permits.

The Minnesota Minority Education Partnership, Inc., Urban Coalition and the Education and Housing Equity Project Sponsor

An Issue Forum

# Success for All Students

The State's Proposed Inclusive Educational Program Rule and its impact on student achievement

Friday November 20, 1998
11:00 AM - 1:00 PM
Urban Coalition
Basement Conference Room
2610 University Avenue W.
St. Paul, MN

*To register, contact MMEP by phone at 612.330.1645, fax at 330-1510 or email to mmep@visi.com*

The state's proposed Inclusive Educational Program Rule is the latest attempt by the Department of Children, Families and Learning to address the need for students to be educated in the skills necessary to participate in our culturally diverse democracy and to remedy the disparity in academic achievement between students of color and European American students.

The Inclusive Educational Program Rule, which was called the Education Diversity Rule and was not adopted last year, is moving quickly to adoption without significant input from the citizens that are most directly affected by it. This forum will provide an opportunity for the public to become educated about this rule and to learn how they can impact the process.

Like the state's proposed desegregation rule, the Inclusive Educational Program Rule could be a primary mechanism for committing Minnesota public schools to education programs that emphasize the success of all students. **Do not be left out of the debate and the decision.**

Directions to the Urban Coalition

The Urban Coalition is located at the corner of Curfew and University, one block West of Route 280.

From Minneapolis:  Take University Avenue east to Curfew, turn right and park across Curfew in the lot.

From Saint Paul:  Take University Avenue west, cross 280 and go one block to the first break in the median. Turn left onto Curfew and park on the left (east) side of Curfew.

Take I-94 from East or West to the 280/University exit. Take the University Avenue ramp to the first light (Franklin Avenue), turn left onto Franklin and go two blocks to Curfew. Turn right onto Curfew an park in the lot on the right side of Curfew.

## Inclusive Educational Program Rule
### 11/02/98

**SUBPART 1. PURPOSE.** The purpose of proposed revisions to the Inclusive Educational Program Rule is:

a: to assist districts in infusing graduation standards implementation, including curriculum, instruction, and assessment, with the required elements of inclusive education identified in subpart 2 a, b and c;

b: to inform districts of the inclusive education elements in subpart 2 a, b and c for curriculum, instruction, and assessment plans, including but not limited to each district's graduation standards implementation plan; and

c: to assist districts in infusing staff development for licensed and classified staff with the required elements of inclusive education identified in subpart 2 a, b, and c.

**SUBPART 2. INCLUSIVE EDUCATION REQUIREMENTS.** The school board in each district shall demonstrate through the annual reporting process identified in section 123.972, that all district plans pertaining to graduation standards implementation, curriculum, instruction and staff development are infused with the elements of inclusive education. Inclusive education incorporates content and methods that promote understanding and appreciation of:

a. the wide range of histories and cultures of Americans, including contributions by and opportunities for African Americans, American Indians/Alaskan Natives, Asian Americans/Pacific Islanders, Chicanos/ Latinos, and European Americans. Particular attention must be paid to the diversity of students and families within the school and community;

b. the wide range of historical and contemporary contributions by and opportunities for women and men; and

c. the wide range of historical and contemporary contributions by and opportunities for person with disabilities.

**SUBPART 3. STAFF DEVELOPMENT REQUIREMENTS.** The school board in each district shall provide ongoing staff development activities to all school personnel, including licensed and classified employees. The activities should contribute to continuous improvement in achievement of the following goals:

a. effectively meet the needs of a diverse student population; and

b. improve ability of all school personnel to collaborate, consult, and communicate with families and communities served by the school.

**EFFECTIVE DATE:** September 1, 2000.

# memo:

EHEP Board Members,                                    10/26/98

Enclosed in this memo, you will find important information regarding the decisions made at the last EHEP board meeting.

* The newly updated EHEP Roster, complete with email addresses.

* Pledge of Participation forms for Coordinating Partners, Resource Partners, and Sponsors. Keep in mind these were used in the 1997 Community Circle Conversations and we're now looking to update the forms with articulate and clear-cut responsibility guidelines. Please make your suggestions on the pledge forms and bring them to the next board meeting, Friday, October 30th. Your suggestions are important and will help me as I rewrite the new participation forms. Thank you in advance for your quick and thoughtful revisions.

Sincerely,

Amy Rodquist

Community Circles Coordinator

# DISCUSSION REPORT FORM

*What do you think?*

The Education and Housing Equity Project will assemble a document, entitled "Choices for Community: Creating an Agenda for Building Inclusive Communities and Successful Schools in the Twin Cities and Metropolitan Region." This document will represent some of the views of study circle participants and the results of the Action Forum; it will also be used to inform public policy making.

Your group is invited to submit a summary of your discussions for that document. Try to capture the main ideas that emerge during the discussion, using exact words or recalling actual stories or examples given by other participants whenever possible. Keep in mind that only one final form can be submitted per group.

*Recall:*

## The Task of the Community Circles

Keeping the conversations centered on the following two questions:

- *What are the impacts of existing patterns of residential, economic, and racial segregation on the educational achievement and life opportunities of Twin Cities area children and families?*

- *What can or should we do, as individuals and as a community, to enhance the educational, housing, and economic opportunities of all children and adults in the Twin cities area?*

**What were some issues of common concern within your group?**

_____

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**What were some areas of agreement and disagreement?**

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Did your group have any action ideas?

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_____

Other comments:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

2211 Riverside Avenue, CB 185, Minneapolis, MN 55454-1351
Tel: (612) 330-1505  Fax: (612) 330-1507  e-mail: ehep@augsburg.edu

**Education & Housing
Equity Project**

# Fax

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **To:** | EHEP BOARD MEMBERS | | **From:** | Dick Little, Executive Director *RCL* |
| | See list attached | | | |
| **Fax:** | | | **Pages:** | 3 |
| **Phone:** | | | **Date:** | November 25, 1998 |
| **Re:** | 1. Notification of Next Board Meeting | | **CC:** | Amy Rodquist, |
| | 2. Announcement of Issue Forum | | | Community Circles Coordinator |

☐ **Urgent**    ☐ **For Review**    ☐ **Please Comment**    ☐ **Please Reply**    ☐ **Please Recycle**

## Notice of Next Board Meeting

**Education & Housing Equity Project**

**December Board Meeting**

**Friday, December 11, 1998**

**(Amy's last day with EHEP)**

**7:30 – 9:30 a.m.**

**Christensen Center, Murphy's Grill**

**Augsburg College**

Russ Adams will be meeting with us to discuss the Inclusionary Housing Initiative which we intend to endorse and co-sponsor. We will also discuss progress on recruiting.

Attached is the announcement for one additional Issue Forum **Teaching All Students** which we are co-sponsoring (by popular demand) next week. I apologize for the short notice, but the deadline for public comment is the day following the forum, and very short notice was provided by the State. I hope that some board members will be able to attend – please invite other persons who have an interest in inclusive and truly integrated schools.

## EHEP Board Members

Barbara Bearman

Keith Hardy

JoAnn Heryla

Jim Hilbert

Josie Johnson

Matthew Little

Hope Melton

Van Mueller

Emily Greenwald/Myron Orfield

Gavin Kearney/john powell

Thomas Ross

Luz Maria Serrano

Joy Sorensen Navarre

Jerry Timian

Cris Toffolo

Gloria Winans


**Attachment:** Notice of Issue Forum on Proposed Rules Governing Teacher
Licensing

# THE COMMUNITY CIRCLES COLLABORATIVE

## PLEDGE OF PARTICIPATION FOR: COORDINATING PARTNERS

### Responsibilities of the Working Group:

1. Form partnerships with public officials, organizations, and individuals working to address housing, education, employment, and racism issues, and seek their support.
2. Recruit a broad group of Resource Partners and Sponsors to carry out the program.
3. Promote and publicize the project through the media and through Sponsor organizations.
4. Work with Resource Partners to prepare a Discussion Guide for the community circles and provide research support to the community circles.
5. Work with Sponsors as they recruit participants, identify meeting sites, and arrange for the details of individual community circles. When necessary, pair homogenous groups of participants to create diverse study circles.
6. Work with Resource Partners and Sponsors to organize Community Forums I and II.
7. Coordinate fundraising for the project.
8. Train community circle facilitators.
9. Draw on feedback from the community circles to prepare a report for the community.
10. Evaluate the community circles and other components of the project.

### My/Our Responsibilities as a Coordinating Partner:

1. Participate regularly and actively in the Working Group.
2. Coordinate activities of at least one committee of the Working Group (Fundraising; Partner Recruitment & Coordination; Discussion Guide & Research Support; Policymaker Outreach; Facilitator Training; Publicity; Forums; Research Support; or others as identified by the Working Group).
3. Become a well-informed spokesperson for the project by participating in a pilot study circle, or at least reading through the Discussion Guide.
4. Promote the project by any means possible, including bulletins, newsletters, and personal contacts.
5. Provide a Letter of Support for fundraising and other purposes.
6. Provide at least ___ staff hours per week to the project between June and July 1996.
7. Provide at least ___ staff hours per week to the project in August and September 1996.
8. Provide at least ___ staff hours per week to the project between October and December 1996.
9. Other: _____
10. Other: _____

| | |
|---|---|
| Name of collaborating organization or agency that you represent: | |
| Your name: | |
| Your address: | |
| Your telephone & fax: | |
| Your e-mail (if applicable): | |

I understand our responsibilities as a Coordinating Partner and commit my organization to this project. This commitment is based on approval by our Board of Directors, Executive Director, or other appropriate authority.

_____                    _____
Signature                                                                           Date

# THE COMMUNITY CIRCLES COLLABORATIVE

<u>PLEDGE OF PARTICIPATION FOR: RESOURCE PARTNERS</u>

## Responsibilities of the Working Group:

1. Form partnerships with public officials, organizations, and individuals working to address housing, education, employment, and racism issues, and seek their support.
2. Recruit a broad group of Resource Partners and Sponsors to carry out the program.
3. Promote and publicize the project through the media and through Sponsor organizations.
4. Work with Resource Partners to prepare a Discussion Guide for the community circles and provide research support to the community circles.
5. Work with Sponsors as they recruit participants, identify meeting sites, and arrange for the details of individual community circles. When necessary, pair homogenous groups of participants to create diverse study circles.
6. Work with Resource Partners and Sponsors to organize Community Forums I and II.
7. Coordinate fundraising for the project.
8. Train community circle facilitators.
9. Draw on feedback from the community circles to prepare a report for the community.
10. Evaluate the community circles and other components of the project.

## My/Our Responsibilities as a Resource Partner:

_____ Act as advisor regarding project design and coordination
_____ Assist in preparing Discussion Guide (through _____)
_____ Assist in providing research support to community circles (areas of expertise: _____)
_____ Make information regarding _____ available to the Working Group
_____ Assist fundraising efforts (through _____)
_____ Assist publicity efforts (through _____)
_____ Train facilitators
_____ Participate in Community Forums as speaker, panelist, or workshop presenter.
_____ Other: _____
_____ Other: _____
_____ Other: _____
_____ Other: _____

| | |
|---|---|
| Name of Resource Partner organization or agency that you represent: | |
| Your name: | |
| Your address: | |
| Your telephone & fax: | |
| Your e-mail (if applicable): | |

I understand my/our responsibilities as a Resource Partner and commit my organization/self to this project. If we are an organization, this commitment is based on approval from our Board of Directors, Executive Director, or other appropriate authority.

_____                    _____
Signature                                                              Date

Letter from Diocesi officials

Ron

# THE COMMUNITY CIRCLES COLLABORATIVE

## PLEDGE OF PARTICIPATION FOR: SPONSORS

### Responsibilities of the Working Group:

1. Form partnerships with public officials, organizations, and individuals working to address housing, education, employment, and racism issues, and seek their support.
2. Recruit a broad group of Resource Partners and Sponsors to carry out the program.
3. Promote and publicize the project through the media and through Sponsor organizations.
4. Work with Resource Partners to prepare a Discussion Guide for the community circles and provide research support to the community circles.
5. Work with Sponsors as they recruit participants, identify meeting sites, and arrange for the details of individual community circles. When necessary, pair homogenous groups of participants to create diverse study circles.
6. Work with Resource Partners and Sponsors to organize Community Forums I and II.
7. Coordinate fundraising for the project.
8. Train community circle facilitators.
9. Draw on feedback from the community circles to prepare a report for the community.
10. Evaluate the community circles and other components of the project.

### Responsibilities of Sponsors:

1. Become a well-informed spokesperson for the program by participating in a pilot study circle, or at least by reading through the Discussion Guide.
2. Establish one or more study circles in collaboration with the Working Group and facilitator(s).
3. Recruit between 8 and 15 people for each community circle.
4. Arrange a site for each community circle and a meeting time convenient for participants and facilitators.
5. Distribute discussion materials prior to each community circle's first session.
6. Recommend possible facilitators and recorders.
7. Promote the program by any means possible, including bulletins, newsletters, and personal contacts.
8. Participate in presentation of results of each community circle at Community Forum II.
9. Where possible, provide in-kind contributions such as child care, meeting space, and transportation (see below).

| | |
|---|---|
| Name of sponsoring organization or agency that you represent | |
| Your name: | |
| Your address: | |
| Your telephone & fax: | |
| Your e-mail (if applicable): | |

I understand the responsibilities of Sponsors and commit my organization to this project. This commitment is based on approval from our Board of Directors, Executive Director, or other appropriate authority.

In addition, my organization can provide the following if necessary:

\_\_\_\_ Child care  \_\_\_\_ Refreshments  \_\_\_\_ Transportation (specify: _____ )
\_\_\_\_ Meeting space  \_\_\_\_ Facilitator training  \_\_\_\_ Translator(s)  \_\_\_\_ Recorder(s)
\_\_\_\_ Media equipment \_\_\_\_ Volunteers for Community Forums I & II  \_\_\_ Other: _____

_____          _____
Signature                                                            Date

June 3, 1997

Dear Barbara Bearman,

This seems to be a good time to evaluate what the E.H.E.P. and the Community Circles Collaborative have accomplished so far, and to consider alternative or additional strategies for increasing public awareness of the issues of housing equity, segregation and educational opportunity.

Let me suggest an approach that builds on what we have accomplished so far. I propose that we invite all of the circles that have completed their conversations to carry on their work by becoming Community Vitality Reporting Teams. The main task of the teams would be to produce a Community Vitality Report for their local community.

The report, issued once a quarter, could be as short as two pages. Its primary focus would be on the issues that the groups have discussed – segregation, housing equity and educational opportunity. The staff of the Community Circles Collaborative could assist the teams by designing a format and supplying local statistical data so that the reports could be produced with a minimum of effort.

Once the reports are produced, the task of the Reporting Teams would be to distribute them as widely as possible: to fax copies to the mayor, city council and school board of their local community, to bring stacks along to their church or synagogue and other public places, post copies on community bulletin boards, send them, with press releases, to community newspapers, etc.

I believe that an approach such as this one has several positive features. 1) It may attract more participants to the study circle process, since the tasks of creating and distributing the report would give them a chance to do more than just talk to each other. 2) It will give participants (and the E.H.E.P.) a simple tool for reaching many people who are not participants in the study circles. 3) There is a good chance that we may be able to enlist the participation of many other local organizations, who would find that producing and distributing a Community Vitality Report would also serve their interests: for example, many of the Minneapolis neighborhood associations, the group in Richfield that is working on diversity issues, theMinneapolis Center for Neighborhoods, and the various neighborhood organizations and activists who have worked in the past with John McKnight on projects designed to map community capacity.

That's the basic idea, but there are a number of possible refinements. For example, the Teams could find a local venue – preferably a café or coffee shop – for monthly meetings, and could publicize the date, time and place in their report. They could also encourage anyone who reads the report to respond with their concerns, to be published in subsequent issues.

I would like to see the Teams take this interactivity one step further. A computer terminal and printer could be installed in the café where the group meets, along with software which would enable users to post comments and concerns abour neighborhood vitality issues, print out current and past issues of the local Community Vitality Report, or view a calendar of local events. There are several national foundations that are currently supporting projects that use new technology in support of democracy and social justice.

Barbara,
Here are some revisions, but if this can wait until after
Thursday evening, we may have a better idea of what we want to
stress.
Jeremy


p.1
last paragraph: EHEP ~~has~~ spent...

p.2
first full paragraph, fifth line:
have ~~will~~ joined ...to discuss the questions:

(A) What are the impacts of existing patterns of residential,
economic and racial segregation on the educational achievement
and life opportunities of Twin Cities area children and
families?

(B) What can or should we do, as individuals and as a community, to
enhance the educational, housing, and economic opportunities for
all children in the Twin Cities area?

(C) Staffing: Dick Little holds the part-time position of
coordinator on an interim basis, and is responsible for all
aspects of the project: organizing, coalition building,
administration and community education. He works under the
direction of the Board of Directors, which plans to appoint a
permanent coordinator in the near future.

(D) Board of Directors:
delete "start-up." Change to "Michael Anderson, East Side
Neighborhood Development Company, Dr. Josie Johnson, Van D.
Mueller of the University of Minnesota Department of Education
Policy & Administration; Joy Sorenson Navarre, executive
director of the Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable
Housing; Georgina Stephens, Treasurer, the Cowles Media Company; *former chair, MN*
~~and~~ Jerry Timian of the St. Louis Park School Board, *and* ~~State Board of Education~~

*Director, First Gay Help* *St Paul United Way and*
*FOR HELP, and* *Jim Hilbert Co-Directors of the Institute On Race & Poverty,*
*a member* *19 Programs* *U of M Law School.*

p.3
next to last line: "past two years"
last line: "We want to continue to take the public discussion...

p.4
third full paragraph, fouth line: "in our first two years..."

p.5

top line: Over the past <u>two years</u> ...
first full paragraph, second line: first two years...
second full paragraph, line six: first two years...

revised last paragraph:
(a) The Community Circle Collaborative and the "Coming Together" *Choice for Community*
study circle project. As noted above, EHEP has been a leading
partner in this metro-wide collaboration. ~~EHEP~~ *through the CCC EHEP* will continue *through the more*
to organize and support "community circles throughout the
metropolitan region, which will meet to explore the questions of
how existing patterns of residential, economic and racial
segregation affect the educational achievement and life
opportunities of Twin Cities area children and families, and
what we can do as individuals and as a community to enhance
those opportunities. Our focus in the upcoming years will be on
~~expanding the membership of the CCC and the diversity of the~~
~~study circle participant base.~~
The next stage: This spring, the CCC produced its first
"graduating class" of study circle participants. One of our
primary objectives in our third year will be to harness their
talent and energy in support of the project, by recruiting them
to become study circle facilitators themselves, and by giving
them whatever support and further training they may require to
become effective communicators, bringing awareness of the issues
of education and housing equity to new audiences.

Do we want to be more specific about the two forums? and —
keeping in #4 & #8 ?

Page 6 — Last two paragraphs

## R.S.V.P.

**COMING TOGETHER**
**MAY 29  6:30 P.M.**
**MACALESTER COLLEGE**

**1) Phone, Fax or Mail:**
Community Circle Collaborative
122 W. Franklin Ave. Suite 320
Minneapolis, MN 55404
Phone: 871-8980  Fax: 871-8984

<u>Name(s):</u>        <u>Address:</u>        <u>Phone:</u>

_____

_____

**OR**

**2) Contact your Community
Circle sponsor or facilitator**

*Please reply ASAP! Seating may be limited!*

The Community Circle Collaborative
c/o  MICAH
122 W. Franklin Ave., Suite 320
Minneapolis, MN 55404

*Address Correction Requested*

Barbara  Bearman
NAACP/EHEP
4401 Park Glen Rd #201
St Louis Park MN 55416

**Q:** *In a society divided by segregation in housing, education and employment, what should we do, as individuals and as a community, to enhance educational success and life opportunities for ALL Twin Cities children?*

You're Invited To:

# COMING TOGETHER

**A Metro-Wide Gathering of the
Community Circle Study Groups**

*Addressing the Challenges of
Education, Housing and Segregation*



**Thursday, May 29, 1997
6:30-9:00 p.m.**
Weyerhaeuser Memorial Chapel
1600 Grand Ave. (at Snelling)
Macalester College
St. Paul

**CO-SPONSORS:**
■ The Community Circle Collaborative
and the Education and Housing Equity Project
■ The Department of Urban Studies, Macalester College

We welcome all Community Circle participants, facilitators and sponsors to come together for an evening of dialogue with each other and with public policy leaders as we share, learn, plan...

**WHO**

Citizens who have participated in one of some 50 Community Circle conversations throughout the Twin Cities metro area discussing the challenges of education, housing and segregation. Invited guests—representatives of sponsoring organizations and public policy makers—will join us to listen and strategize.

**WHAT**

A community gathering bringing together the Community Circles to collectively share the results of their deliberations and to reach collective conclusions about future actions.

**WHY**

The forum will serve as an opportunity to share the results, findings and conclusions of the work of the Community Circles that have met over the past weeks and months.

**WHERE**

Weyerhaeuser Memorial Chapel, Macalester College, 1600 Grand Ave., St. Paul (on the south side of Grand Ave., just west of Snelling—see map next page).

**WHEN**

Thursday, May 29, 1997, 6:30-9:00 p.m.

**HOW**

Through a facilitated conversation in which participants will share the work of their Community Circles, learn from each other, and discuss future actions.

# Moderated by

## George Latimer
Professor of Urban Studies
Macalester College, St. Paul, MN

## Vivian Jenkins Nelsen
President and CEO, INTER-RACE
Augsburg College, Minneapolis, MN

## Martha McCoy
Executive Director
Study Circle Resource Center
Pomfret, CT



Weyerhaeuser Chapel
Macalester College
1600 Grand Ave.
St. Paul
(on Grand 1/2 block west of Snelling)
*Park on street or lots off of Macalester or Cambridge*

# The Community Circle Dialogue: What, Who, Why, Where, When

## WHAT?

*Community Circles*, formed around the metropolitan area, will discuss the question *"How does racial and economic segregation of housing affect educational achievement and life opportunities of Twin Cities families and children?"*

Each community circle will be convened by a local sponsor group, will include 5-15 participants, and will be moderated by a trained facilitator or co-facilitators using a *Discussion Guide* specifically prepared for this topic.

The *Community Circles* are part of a metrowide dialogue that will bring together people from all walks of life. Each circle will be as economically, racially, ethnically, politically and geographically as diverse as possible, or be paired with other circles to assure a diversity of perspectives.

The *Community Circle* groups will begin a conversation about race and class in America, and the Twin Cities area in particular, and hopefully will discover some shared ground across these boundaries on issues of housing, jobs, and education.

Each *Community Circle* will:

1) Explore and discuss the extent of housing, job and school segregation in the Twin Cities area, with particular attention to socioeconomic as well as racial segregation.

2) Discuss the factors that drive the trend toward increasing segregation and begin to investigate our own individual and collective responsibility.

3) Explore the interrelationship between housing and school segregation, and the implications for academic achievement for elementary and secondary school students, as well as for life opportunities (jobs, etc.).

4) Explore the consequences, especially for children and families, of a society increasingly characterized by segregation and socioeconomic disparities.

5) Examine and deliberate on possible policy alternatives and differing ideological perspectives for addressing these concerns.

6) Strive to develop a shared vision of what citizens want their community to be like for their children's generation.

## WHO?

The *Community Circles Collaborative* is a partnership of some 15 to 20 organizations, coordinated by the Education and Housing Equity Project, with funding from the Otto Bremer and Bush Foundations and in-kind support from the Center for Urban and Regional Affairs. The Collaborative includes organizing, resource, funding and media partners. Facilitator training and preparation of the *Discussion Guide* are among the services being provided by the Collaborative.

Discussion groups are being formed by sponsors including churches and synagogues, school districts, housing agencies, human rights commissions, cities, neighborhood groups, block clubs, and other community-based groups and civic groups such as the League of Women Voters. An estimated 100 sponsor groups have committed to participating in this project and more groups are expected to participate. Based on the high level of community interest shown since the Sponsor Kick-Off event at the St Louis Park City Council Chambers in December, as many as 1,000 citizens may be participating in the *Community Circle* discussion groups.

## WHY?

The partners in this project have come together with a shared belief in the need for civil, informed dialogue and analysis—across political, geographic, economic and racial lines—about trends and changes taking place in the communities and schools of the Twin Cities metro area today. We hope that bringing together diverse groups will build understanding and produce practical recommendations for actions that individuals, organizations and policy makers can take with respect to difficult issues facing our communities.

The *Community Circles* project is an opportunity to bring together people from different backgrounds and with diverse perspectives to talk about a common theme: the impact of segregation—*particularly in housing, employment and transportation*—on education. Participants will have the opportunity to explore issues affecting educational achievement, housing choices and job opportunities for Twin Cities citizens, and the relationships between these issues. Participants also will deliberate on alternative ways that the community and the public can address these issues.

Some of the purposes and hoped-for outcomes of this dialogue include:

1)To begin an open, honest, and civil conversation about some of the most difficult but important issues facing our communities, and to develop some new ways of talking about and through those issues.

2) To provide citizens an opportunity to get to know a cross-section of fellow community members and become more aware of differing ideas and perspectives on important issues that affect all of us.

3) To provide an opportunity for people to learn more about their own biases and prejudices and to honestly examine their own experiences in relation to the theme.

4) To explore more deeply what we truly believe about equality of opportunity.

5) To use public deliberation as a way to arrive at and develop valuable ideas for future action on a local and regional basis, and to more clearly define our responsibility, both individually and collectively, for the future well-being of our community.

6) To find "common ground" among metropolitan citizens and develop an informed "public judgement" or "public voice" that can help guide public policy and decision makers in finding solutions to complex and difficult issues.

7) For those so inclined, to begin to identify and agree on specific steps that they can take—at the personal, neighborhood, municipal, metropolitan and state policy levels—and to outline plans of action including, but not limited to, a legislative agenda, community organizing, and formation of coalitions around key issues.

# WHERE?

Locations of the *Community Circles* will be as diverse as the locations of the sponsoring organizations and the *Community Circle* participants. The sponsor will be responsible for convening the first meeting. Times and places for subsequent meetings will be determined by each *Community Circle* group and its facilitator and recorder.

# WHEN?

The timeline of scheduled activities follows:

**December 10:** "Beyond Busing" Kick-Off Forum for sponsors. This event has occurred and was attended by more than 100 people representing different organizations (see page 1).

**February 15** (Saturday), 8:30 A.M.-12:30 P.M. and **February 20** (Thursday), 6:00 P.M.-9:30 P.M.: Training and informational sessions for individuals who will serve as discussion group facilitators. Location: Augsburg College, in the Marshall Room of the Christensen Center (see map). *Choose one of two dates to attend—all facilitators are expected to participate.*

**Before March 1:** The *Discussion Guide* will be made available to all sponsors and *Community Circle* participants. Sponsors are asked to identify the number of partici-

pants in their *Community Circle(s)*—this information may be faxed to us at 871-8984. All sponsors also should sign and return their *Participation Pledge Forms* (see insert). Sponsors should identify a heterogeneous mix of participants, including both homeowners and renters, and individuals from various age groups, occupations, and socio-economic, racial, ethnic and cultural and political perspectives. To achieve diversity goals, we encourage groups to combine with other groups if necessary. Please notify us if you need assistance in pairing with another group.

**First week of March:** Sponsors are encouraged to conduct a "kick off" meeting of discussion groups or participants. This meeting can be a "get to know you" and introductory event before the *Community Circle* group or groups convene their first session(s). By this time, facilitators and recorders should be assigned to their *Community Circles.*

**First week of March to first week of May:** Each *Community Circle* discussion group will hold meetings at times and location desired by the group. Groups of 5 to 15 people will schedule from 3 to 5 meetings (approximately 2 hours each, meeting for a total of up to 10 hours) over this nine week period. All groups will be moderated by trained facilitators and use the common *Discussion Guide*. The *Discussion Guide* will include an introduction to the topic, presentations of a range of viewpoints, questions for discussion, and a bibliography of suggested readings (see page 2).

**Late April:** Each *Community Circle*

discussion group recorder will prepare and submit a summary report of the group's discussions to Circle participants for their review. Each *Community Circle* group and the sponsor organization may want to schedule an opportunity to share the findings and conclusions of the group with the local community.

**May 8** (Thursday), 6:30-9:00 P.M. (location yet to be determined): a *Community-wide Forum* is being planned. This event will be a metrowide meeting to share the results of the *Community Circle* project. This event will be modeled after the smaller *Community Circles.* We are pleased to announce that George Latimer, former Mayor of Saint Paul and Assistant Secretary of HUD, and Vivian Jenkins Nelsen, President and CEO of INTER-RACE at Augsburg College, have agreed to serve as the co-facilitators. Each *Community Circle* will select representatives from their group to participate in this event and share the results of their circle's deliberations. Results of this forum will be shared with all project participants.

**May 20, 21 or 22:** the Minnesota Meeting, Minnesota Public Radio, the Minneapolis Foundation and, hopefully, a sister foundation in Saint Paul (all partners in this project) plan to co-sponsor a concluding event with public, community and business leaders to enable us to share the results of this project with the larger metropolitan community and, possibly, a national audience. *Community Circle* participants will be invited to this event, which would include a luncheon and noteworthy guest speaker.



**The Community Circle Collaborative
c/o MICAH
122 W. Franklin Ave., Suite 320
Minneapolis, MN 55404**

*ress Correction Requested*

* * *

# Cities and Suburbs --

# Creating Common Ground

* * *

**METROPOLITAN INTERFAITH COUNCIL on AFFORDABLE HOUSING**

*"Do justice, love mercy, walk humbly with your God."*      Micah 6:8      **MICAH**

# Study Circle

## Purpose

The Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing (MICAH) is committed to motivating the religious community to address the issues of homelessness and lack of affordable housing. MICAH pursues its mission by educating congregations about affordable housing issues, motivating congregations to get involved in hands-on housing projects, and training people of faith for political advocacy.

MICAH believes that it is important for citizens to learn about housing issues, debate alternative solutions, and participate in the development of public policy. This Study Circle is designed to assist citizens in accomplishing this goal.

The material presented here is meant to be a starting point for discussion within our congregations, our neighborhoods, our city and our region. The Study Circle is not intended to provide a comprehensive discussion of all the issues involved. Rather, MICAH has chosen specific facets of the issues to highlight the social values and moral choices inherent in the debate.

This Study Circle is intended to challenge participants to examine their own beliefs and values, and to debate proposed solutions with others in their group.

*"Essential individual service and private charity are not substitutes for public justice, or enough alone to right what's wrong with America. Collective mobilization and political action are also necessary to move our nation forward in the quest for fairness and opportunity for every American."*
*Marion Wright Edelman*

## Organizing a Study Circle

This curriculum is designed to be used by discussion groups over a period of four or more weeks. Each session should be considered as a starting point for more in-depth discussion. In order to assure a healthy exchange of ideas and the participation of all members, study circles should have between 5 and 20 participants.

Each session lasts approximately one hour and is directed by a well-prepared study circle leader whose role is to aid in a lively but focused discussion. A successful leader will encourage participants to freely express their thoughts, draw out the values and beliefs behind opinions, and ensure that all viewpoints are fairly considered.

A study circle is small-group democracy in action; all viewpoints are taken seriously and each participant has an equal opportunity to contribute.

At the conclusion of the Study Circle, consider what action your group, congregation, or neighborhood might take. In what way will you go beyond the education and debate that occurred?

# Creating Common Ground

**W**here and how people live is fundamental to how we define ourselves as individuals and as communities.

And where and how people live in the Twin Cities is increasingly divided along race and economic lines.

Housing policy plays an important role in creating and sustaining these divisions. Thus any alteration in housing policy can have a significant effect on where people live, work, go to school and worship for many years to come.

During the 1993 legislative session, Rep. Myron Orfield introduced legislation that would have required suburban communities to provide their "fair share" of housing.

This legislation was prompted, in part, by the belief that concentrations of poverty in inner cities exacerbate the problems associated with poverty. Therefore, the argument goes, dispersing poverty by providing greater housing choice for low-income people will ease the Twin Cities' growing social problems.

Although the legislation was vetoed by Governor Carlson, the debate on how to confront the growing problems of poverty, racism, crime, and affordable housing has continued.

This Study Circle is designed to help congregations and community organizations debate this issue and generate new ideas on how to solve the problems that confront the Twin Cities.

A central focus of this Study Circle is the concept of "community" -- both as an ideal and as reality.

We proceed from the underlying belief that to be human is to live in community, to be interdependent with our neighbors. As humans, we belong to a variety of communities -- which all help to define who we are.

Each community to which we belong has an explicit or implicit set of rules or mutual expectations. These rules--or covenants-- guide how we live together. Citizens have an important role to play in defining -- and redefining -- these covenants.

This Study Circle will assist groups in examining the concept of community, learning more about housing and poverty in the Twin Cities, debating legislative proposals that address these issues, and developing a plan of action for themselves and their congregation or organization.

---

*"I believe that restoring a healthy commitment to the common good is one of the most significant social tasks of our time."*

*Most Reverend John R. Roach, Archbishop of St. Paul and Mpls.*

---

# Moving to the suburbs, but standing by the city

It is not a crime but I feel like a criminal.

I'm despised by many, hated by some, laughed at by others. I'm the same person I was a month ago. Still, all of a sudden, I've become a pariah.

I'm not alone. You in Bloomington. All of you in Eden Prairie. Every single citizen of Plymouth. We're in this together. There are over a million of us, all ages, races, religions, political philosophies. Still we are stereotyped beyond belief.

**Susan J. Berkson**

I confess, I was guilty, too. I pronounced Edina with a sneer. I called Golden Valley "the country." And Minnetonka — well, the name says it all.

I scorned the suburbs and the people who lived there.

Now I am one of them. I moved to a suburb. I tried to keep it secret, but the secret came out. I know what you city folks are thinking: Oh, she's rich. She's a coward. She's abandoning the city. She has no social conscience. She sold out. And when I tell you what suburb, you'll think: Aha! She's living on a lake. She's living in a mansion. She's a WASP. She's a Yuppie. She's a snob. She's rich. She wears Topsiders. She's blond.

None of this is true. Despite the fact that I moved to Minnetonka (I whisper it because of the assumptions that accompany it), I am neither rich, blond, WASP, Yuppie, snobbish or without social conscience. I do not live in a mansion. I do not live on a lake. And I do not wear Topsiders.

I am half of a middle-middle-class couple who dreamed of a house with an attached garage. Other people dream of fame and fortune. I dreamed of an attached garage, as did the other half of the couple, which meant we had to have an attached two-car garage.

The other half of the couple also yearned for a postwar (as in Grenada) house. Try finding that in the city at a price you can afford on a block that's not in a flight path, and you begin to see the problem. In addition, we wanted to live somewhere in whose future we had full confidence — and the sad fact is that both of us had lost two inches of confidence in the central city and its schools.

We cautiously and rather sadly started thinking about suburbs; stable, close-in, first-ring suburbs, which would allow us to say we lived in Minneapolis without stretching the truth too far. These are what the Metropolitan Council calls Fully Developed Areas. We looked in Edina. We looked in St. Louis Park. Again, we found that houses with attached two-car garages were few and expensive. The garage was nonnegotiable. Both of us had spent too many winters in Minnesota digging, scraping, brushing and praying.

The further west we went, the more forlorn I felt. Still, it was in Minnetonka, what the Met Council calls a Developing Suburb, that we finally found a lovely, modern house we could afford with the requisite attached garage. Along with the garage, we got three bedrooms, two baths, a fireplace, a washer, a dryer, a dishwasher, a Magic Chef stove, a deck, a shed, gardens, a top-rated school system, neighbors who brought us cookies, and lower taxes than in the city.

We have not abandoned the city. We recognize that we are inextricably linked to it. Any suburb that thinks it is an island is mistaken. The central city is key to the health of the entire region. When businesses think of coming to the metro area, they look at the central city. Many suburbanites work in the city. The most important cultural institutions are in the central city. Without the city, there would be no suburbs.

And if central cities decline, it is the suburbs, especially those in what state Rep. Myron Orfield calls "the Fertile Crescent," that will end up paying the bulk of the tab for state-supported institutions and programs to respond to the concentrated poverty left in the core.

You in Bloomington. All of you in Eden Prairie. Every single citizen of Plymouth. We're in this together. Our houses may be in the suburbs. Our home remains Minneapolis.

*Susan J. Berkson, of Minnetonka, is a writer and broadcast commentator.*

# Reforms can combat metro polarization

**Myron Orfield**

As in larger metropolitan areas a generation ago, middle-class flight and economic decline is accelerating in the core cities and first-ring suburbs of this metropolitan area.

As this occurs, certain Twin Cities outer-ring suburbs, with exclusive housing markets, dominate regional economic growth and job creation. This growing polarization along community housing market lines does several things:

■ It concentrates poverty in core communities.

■ It places jobs and economic opportunity beyond the reach of those who most need them.

■ It moves resources, in the form of property tax base, from communities where social needs are increasing to those where they are declining.

■ It deepens political polarization, making solutions to metropolitan social and economic problems more difficult.

Between 1980 and 1993, children receiving free and reduced-cost lunch in the Minneapolis public schools increased from 38 percent to 54 percent of enrollment, and the percentage of minority children rose from 31 percent to 57 percent. St. Paul experienced similar changes.

In the poorest 20 core census tracts of the Twin Cities, the poverty rate grew from 32 percent in 1969 to 49 percent in 1989. During the 1980s, 38 additional tracts reached poverty levels of more than 25 percent.

The residential concentration of poverty creates social consequences far greater than the sum of its parts. Physical separation from jobs, lack of middle-class role models and dependency on a dysfunctional system reinforce social isolation and weaken work skills.

Much like the explosion in crime in isolated Chicago ghettos reported by William Julius Wilson in his classic work, "The Truly Disadvantaged," violent crime has increased dramatically and disproportionately in the poorest Twin Cities neighborhoods.

Ironically, as social demands increase, vital human and financial resources necessary to address these problems disappear. As the middle class flees poverty in schools and neighborhoods, businesses become disadvantaged by the concentration effects of poverty (crime, physical decline and loss of property value) and other issues.

One of the few northern U.S. metropolitan economies that created manufacturing employment during the 1980s, Minneapolis and St. Paul together lost more than 20 percent of their manufacturing jobs in a single decade.

During the 1980s, the largest flight of middle-class families in the nation did not occur in central cities, but in the inner-ring suburbs of Chicago and Atlanta. Similarly, in the Twin Cities metropolitan area, growing concentrations of poverty and economic instability moved into working-class inner-ring suburbs, particularly those north of Minneapolis and south of St. Paul.

Like the inner suburbs of older metropolitan areas, the long-term prospects of Twin Cities working-class suburban communities are bleaker than the cities they surround. Working-class suburbs lack the central city's elite neighborhoods, parks, social service entertainment amenities and well-developed social service systems that respond to growing instability. They have uncertain tax bases, generally without a significant commercial-industrial component upon

# Many must share responsibility for Twin Cities' future

**By Oliver E. Byrum**

The media present a lot of stories about Twin Cities social and economic problems: stories about crime, drugs, gangs, unemployment, poverty, school failure and other problems facing us and communities across the nation. These stories are about conditions that destroy lives, that threaten the Twin Cities' economic competitiveness and erode our communities.

However, the Twin Cities do not have to follow the paths of other metropolitan areas. The trends are complex and powerful, but they can be understood and are not inevitable. We have the leadership, brainpower and persistence to do better, but we must recognize that our social problems are also issues of metropolitan development. While Minneapolis, St. Paul and some suburbs struggle with these issues, lasting progress depends upon all communities sharing responsibility for a common future.

Most Minneapolis neighborhoods are great places to live. Minneapolis has successful initiatives for neighborhood revitalization, community policing, crime prevention, early education and learning centers and public health. We can be proud of our new initiative against racism, AAA credit rating, employment training, job-intensive economic development, housing rehabilitation and park programs.

However, city governments neither cause nor can change all the forces that create "big-city problems." Around the country, these conditions occur in all political situations: Republican, Democrat and nonpartisan; in cities with all forms of city government; in well-managed cities and poorly managed ones; in cities with white majorities and cities with non-white majorities.

The causes for "big-city problems" in central cities, and the reasons that metropolitan areas are divided into "have" and "have-not" neighborhoods, can be found at the intersection of the national economy, national tax policy, the metropolitan housing market and development and housing policies. These forces are beyond the power of cities alone to reverse.

In our economic system some people do very well, most do OK and an increasing number do very poorly. We end up sorted into economic classes. Some end up with low incomes or in poverty. There are clear disparities by race and gender in who ends up poor.

The resulting income distribution determines choices in the metropolitan housing market. Market dynamics then combine with national, state and metropolitan policies to bring about geographic division by income and race. People who have little income are concentrated in older housing, generally near the center of the metropolitan area. Those with more income are encouraged by markets and public policy to move away.

After the economy separates us by income, and the housing market isolates us by geography, decline begins in some areas. Not only poor people are concentrated in some central-city and first-ring suburban neighborhoods, but the troubled, the troublesome and the criminal tend to concentrate in the same places. This is also encouraged by public policy.

Underemployment increases, even though most people are working; rents and values become too low to support housing maintenance, and basic neighborhood services deteriorate. People become increasingly isolated from social and economic opportunities. Some lose faith in the ability of institutions to work for them. Poverty generates poverty; despair generates despair.

Alarmist and shallow journalism and advertising (including the Star Tribune's promotion of the "Strengthening the Core" series), "everyday" real estate practices and racial attitudes feed decline.

Disconnection, isolation and division are reinforced by thousands of individual, group and public decisions. Transportation projects encourage outward expansion of residential development. Jobs follow. Local governments implement zoning and development practices that restrict housing choices and keep people from following the jobs. Churches leave neighborhoods or split into suburban and inner-city

congregations. And most of us dissociate from the problem as if we had no part in the process and abdicate any responsibility for change.

Many solutions are recommended — education, prisons, drug treatment, light-rail transit, job training. All are related, but the "panacea of the year" approach will not work. The complexity of our situation requires a multifaceted and long-term strategy that slows, stops and reverses decline and gradually puts us back together.

■ First, we need an aggressive, collaborative metropolitan strategy to reduce poverty. Conservatives and liberals generally agree that the permanent way out of poverty is employment or entrepreneurial opportunities that pay at least enough to support a family.

Improvement requires an economy that produces the needed jobs, individuals prepared to work with education and skills and adequate wage levels. The city of Minneapolis, the Greater Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, Hennepin County and suburban communities, with McKnight Foundation funding, are now examining why we are failing on all three counts and will develop a strategy for improvement. This should become a metropolitan and state strategy.

■ Second, we need metropolitanwide choice in housing location for everyone. Our present housing policies are based on worn-out assumptions that have effectively become our metropolitan housing policy. One assumption is that when more low-income housing is needed, it should be provided primarily by devaluing neighborhoods in central cities and older suburbs.

Another premise is that low-income people, particularly minorities, should not live in developing suburb locations in any significant numbers.

A third assumption is that suburban communities have the right to use public powers, primarily development regulations, to deny a basic principle of democracy — people's right to choose where to live. At the simplest level, any municipality that does not permit construction of high-

density and rental units is violating democratic and free-market principles and being discriminatory. To achieve a new, choice-based approach to housing, we must set aside, by legislation or judicial process, zoning and development restrictions that go beyond basic constitutional principles and are intended to socially engineer white upper-income communities. We must expect local governments to put as much effort into rental and low-income housing as they put into high-income housing.

We also need a financing program to help developers and building owners provide housing for very low-income people, particularly in areas where new jobs are developing. This should be a relatively small amount, perhaps $50 million per year, as compared to the approximately $500 million per year that Twin Cities homeowners receive in federal and state income tax savings through their mortgage interest deductions.

These proposals are not about telling people where to live or about "spreading the problem around." Rather, they are about not using government to keep people out. Twin Cities programs of the 1970s proved that many low-income people will pick suburban locations if given the choice. Research also shows that most will then do better in education and employment than those who continue to live in central-city public housing.

■ Third, in addition to reducing poverty and changing housing policy, we must rethink transportation, job locations and social service delivery.

Metropolitan planners and decision-makers should seek ways to reconnect the inner city to the rest of the region with programs and projects that build community rather than further dividing us. New highways should not be built to spread development. Light-rail transit should be designed to connect inner-city neighborhoods with suburban jobs. Metropolitan planning should push almost all new job growth to presently developed areas.

■ Fourth, there must be sufficient metropolitan resources and local government innovation directed toward existing low-income neighborhoods to maintain their livability. Our metropolitan goal and expectation should be that children in low-income neighborhoods will be as safe, as healthy, as educated and as prepared for a successful life as those in any other place. To the extent we continue our present policy that poor children will be concentrated in a few neighborhoods, any other expectation is blatantly discriminatory.

■ Finally, this requires that metropolitan leadership step forward. With luck a combination of altruism, dedication to democratic and market principles, enlightened self-interest, and fear of things getting worse will stimulate the needed leadership. It is not too late to begin, but it is time.

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*Oliver E. Byrum is director of planning for the city of Minneapolis. His 1992 book, "Old Problems in New Times," (Planners Press and the University of Chicago), is about these issues and situations.*

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## DAVID RUSK
▼

# Without urban-suburban unity, cities' future looks bleak

**F**orty percent of America's cities are programmed to fail. Gary, Camden, East St. Louis are already clinically dead.

Bridgeport, Newark, Hartford, Cleveland, Detroit are on life support systems. New York, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia are sinking. Though seemingly healthy, Boston, Minneapolis, Atlanta are already infected.

These cities — and a hundred more like them — will fail because they are programmed to be their own suburbs' poorhouses. The burden of black and Latino poverty is crushing these "inelastic" cities, which, for many reasons — bad annexation laws, hostile neighbors, myopic city politics, anti-black prejudice — have remained trapped within their city limits.

Contrast the "inelastic" cities with "elastic" cities — Columbus, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Nashville, Memphis, Little Rock, Raleigh, Charlotte, Jacksonville, Dallas, Houston, Austin, Phoenix, San Diego and Portland.

These 15 "elastic" cities have expanded their city limits over 700 percent, capturing 42 percent of their metro area's population growth in their own suburban-style subdivisions. Several cities, in effect, include their own suburbs — "cities without suburbs."

The New York area had its shot at being elastic in 1898, when far-sighted New York legislators abolished the nation's first and seventh largest municipalities. They created the country's first metropolitan government — the 315-square-mile, five-borough New York City.

For 50 years, New York City was highly successful as Manhattan and Brooklyn suburbanized in largely vacant Queens, the Bronx and Staten Island. Only after mid-century did New York City's fiscal and social problems accelerate as more and more middle-class residents departed for Long Island, Westchester, Connecticut and New Jersey.

The racial and economic consequences of the elastic city are striking. With the same percentage of black residents metro-wide, elastic cities have more racially integrated neighborhoods, average city income levels equal to suburban levels, only slightly more than their "fair share" of poor people and municipal credit ratings four grades better than the inelastic cities.

Our national myth holds that smaller government is better government. Our national reality is that small governments act to exclude racial and economic groups. Broad-based governments can promote diversity. In short, multiple, independent suburbs are machines to keep poor blacks and Latinos trapped in inner cities away from middle-class America.

What's to be done? Only two alternatives offer real hope:

■ Expand inelastic cities to include their suburbs through annexation and city-county consolidation to create more metropolitan governments.

■ Make suburbs accept their fair share of responsibility for poor blacks and Latinos through metrowide affordable housing requirements, metrowide public housing programs and metrowide revenue sharing.

Such strategies will not only save inner cities. They will also help save inner city people. The most effective anti-poverty program is to help poor people just get out of ghettos and barrios. High levels of crime, unemployment, dependency, broken families and illegitimacy are substantially the result of concentrated poverty.

This is the toughest political task in America. And reorganizing urban governance isn't a task primarily for a bankrupt federal government. It has neither the constitutional tools nor the money to do the job.

Metropolitan reform must focus where the responsibility and money are really found. Governors and state legislators have the constitutional responsibility. Most metropolitan areas — city and suburbs — have the talent and money to solve their own inner city problems.

Admittedly, harried New Yorkers have had enough of bloated government, so envisioning an even bigger metro government is hardly credible. However, there will be no halt to New York's or Newark's or Bridgeport's decline until all governments in the greater New York region accept a shared responsibility for the region's poor.

Is forging a new, shared responsibility between city and suburb impossible? As Abraham Lincoln testified, miracles can be wrought in the American soul and spirit "when again touched, as surely they will be, by the angels of our better nature."

It is time to call forth the angels of our better nature.

# Eden Prairie working to provide even more low-income housing

By Douglas B. Tenpas

The remedy to improving housing conditions of the central cities, as suggested by many contributing to the "Strengthening the Core" series, is to decentralize the inner-city poor by providing more low-income housing in the suburbs.

During the last year this concept has largely been credited to Rep. Myron Orfield, DFL-Minneapolis, and more recently to the former mayor of Albuquerque, N.M., David Rusk.

Providing diverse housing in the suburbs is also supported by many suburban communities, especially Eden Prairie. But unfortunately the message by many advocates of this concept is that suburbs are responsible for the ailments and decline of the central cities. This has been the underlying theme of editorials over the past weeks.

We agree that we are in this together. However, blaming the growth of the suburbs for the decline of the core central cities will only polarize positions and not result in productive solutions. The fact that people are leaving the cities for the suburbs is a symptom of the problems pervading the central cities.

But the complex problems facing the central cities cannot be ascribed to one cause. Solutions need to be identified, examined and implemented. We are interested in real solutions to the housing problem.

To his credit, Gov. Arne Carlson vetoed the legislation introduced this spring that would have required suburban communities to provide low-income housing because that legislation was incomplete. The bill imposed penalties on cities that did not comply with undefined housing allocations and did nothing to provide tools and incentives necessary to develop low-income housing.

It was structured more as an anti-growth bill than one that would solve any housing problems. Also, many suburban communities oppose giving the Metropolitan Council further regulatory control as proposed in the legislation, especially when some current council policies stifle cities' efforts to develop low-income housing.

We support the basic concept of all cities providing a "fair share" of low-income housing. This is confirmed by our efforts in working with Orfield to change the bill into something that would facilitate cities' low-income housing efforts instead of inhibiting them. Although the bill was vetoed, it is expected to be back next year, and if it is, specific tools should be identified and made available to cities to help them develop more low-income housing and to provide necessary social service and transportation support networks.

■ The bill should allow cities contributing to Fiscal Disparities to retain funds specifically for devel-

## Specific tools should be available to help develop more low-income housing.

oping new low-income housing projects, or, more preferably, for converting a percentage of existing market rental projects to low-income projects on a scattered basis. Eden Prairie contributed $17 million to the Fiscal Disparities in 1992 to share revenue with the rest of the region.

Some legislators who support requiring suburbs to provide low-income housing oppose the use of Tax Increment Financing (TIF) by suburbs. TIF laws are difficult to use for low-income housing and should be made more flexible.

■ Central cities also need to do more to integrate low-income housing throughout their communities instead of concentrating the poor in certain neighborhoods.

■ Suburbs could work with the Minneapolis Community Development Agency to use federal housing money outside Minneapolis rather than to further concentrate low-income housing in existing areas.

■ Allow the Minnesota Housing Finance Agency the flexibility and financing it needs to deal specifically with providing low-income housing options in the suburbs.

■ The Department of Housing and Urban Development could decouple Section 8 subsidies from site-specific projects and transfer them to market-rate projects on a scattered basis.

Such a bill should apply not only to suburban communities but to all cities within the metro area, including Minneapolis and St. Paul.

The high concentrations of low-income housing in Minneapolis can be attributed in part to bad planning. For political reasons or otherwise, Minneapolis concentrated most of its Section 8 housing in the northern area of the city. Integrating this housing throughout the city will help disperse existing concentrations of poverty. The bill also should examine whether social and transportation services can be efficiently provided to low-income residents if they are scattered around the region.

Eden Prairie wants to provide more low-income housing, and we have made that a priority in our comprehensive plan. Eden Prairie now has over 500 low-income housing units, the fourth-largest number of all metro suburbs.

Because of a lack of financial resources at the federal, state and local levels, we are creating and developing alternative ways to increase the number of low-income housing units in our community. We are not the problem. We are part of the solution. If the Minnesota Legislature is genuine in its efforts to develop more low-income housing, it must realize that you cannot solve today's problems with yesterday's solutions.

So far, proposed legislation regarding low-income housing in the suburbs has been counterproductive to our efforts. Our goals are the same: The difference is that in Eden Prairie, we are making it work, despite a lack of funding.

*Douglas B. Tenpas is mayor of Eden Prairie.*

# Suburbs worthy of more than center-city arrogance

"Cities Without Suburbs." Sound appealing? Not to suburbs that have dealt with Minneapolis lately.

The suggestion "Must suburbs be abolished to save cities?" (Star Tribune, July 11) may be full of insight, but unfortunately in Hennepin County this option is downright scary.

Minneapolis displays an arrogance today in which another Midwest city once indulged. In St. Louis, a doughnut of suburbs now forms a county that surrounds but does not include the city. Years ago, the political giants who engineered an era of unprecedented St. Louis success (witness the glamour of the 1904 World's Fair), made a decision.

"Why," they reasoned, "should this jewel city, this center of Midwestern influence, devote its resources to the livability of the surrounding sticks?" The city declared itself a county of its own.

Today, the legacy is a deadly boundary line inside which real estate taxes overwhelm the value of crime-ridden buildings. Over the border in the "county," high-rises and flowers grow, and subdivisions with privately owned streets have guards who survey for the entrance of unknowns — from "the city."

Minneapolis, our gleaming citadel — the site of Philip Johnson's IDS jewel, the World Series and Super Bowl — seems to think that it, too, owes nothing to its neighbors.

While I was mayor of Richfield (three years ago), our citizens viewed the need for a displaced airport with skepticism. Our metropolitan airports commissioner, appointed from south Minneapolis, told us bluntly that he would ignore our views.

Legislative redistricting has put our suburb further under the city's toenail. Our state senator, also gerrymandered from Minneapolis, takes the view that a narrow I-35W, which saves a few more south Minneapolis homes, is the only solution, regardless of whether the constricted highway overflows cars into every Richfield neighborhood.

Bloomington's and Burnsville's needed freeway capacity is in limbo, too, because of Minneapolis' reneging on an I-35W compromise. And Rosemount cannot plan, because an airport reservation has been imposed upon its land, spearheaded by Minneapolitan legislators anxious to deport their airport noise.

Is it any wonder that seething beneath a quiet Minnesota nice there is a dislike, perhaps a serious distaste, among suburbanites for the big city and what it means? The chance that we would want to be governed by Minneapolis politicians is pretty much gone.

But perhaps that is good. Lately, successful solutions for dealing with rings of urban blight seem to come more from the laboratories of suburban innovation than from the bureaucracies of the central city. The struggles of Minneapolis' own neighborhoods, through mazes of protocol and department turf wars, show how even the innovative Minneapolis Revitalization Program can be negated beneath the politics of large-city government.

Smaller communities have the capability to innovate with programs that turn the tide in housing reconstruction, business redevelopment and crime control.

Just over the Minneapolis line, for example, there already is rebirth. The Richfield Rediscovered program is replacing obsolete houses with new homes that spur adjacent reinvestment. Last year, this first-ring suburb experienced a 75 percent increase in permits for moderate- and greater-cost house improvements. Suddenly Richfield's own residents view their community as getting better, rather than as losing ground.

While we may wistfully wish we had all grown up as one single city, sharing with each other, today's center-city attitudes make that ideal frightening.

Until Minneapolis leaders see themselves as part of an interdependent community, it is legitimate to fear that giving them more power would only harm the metro area.

There is better hope that solutions will come from a resurgent fire ring of suburban innovation. We should be glad that our suburbs are here.

Steve Quam, Richfield. Principal, municipal program planning firm.

# Next Steps

Given what you have learned from the earlier sessions -- the questions that have been raised and the solutions proposed -- what can you as an individual, congregation, or neighborhood group do to make your community what you want it to be?

In the concluding editorial from Strengthening the Core series, Star Tribune editors argued that cooperation between Minneapolis, St. Paul and the suburbs is what's needed to solve the Twin Cities social problems. The following excerpt explains their position:

> "The problems of Minneapolis and St. Paul can't be solved solely by those cities acting on their own. They need help from state and federal governments. They especially need the cooperation of their suburban partners in this sprawling by indivisible socioeconomic entity called the Twin Cities metropolitan area.
>
> ... While the cities are afflicted with serious and deepening problems of poverty, crime, blight and joblessness, those ills generally remain concentrated in a few neighborhoods. The cities overall remain healthy and vital. They are not places to flee, or disinvest from, or give up on.
>
> Still, the very fact that poverty, crime, blight and joblessness are so concentrated in the inner cities may be the biggest problem of all. When confined to the core, the infection feeds on itself more easily, resists treatment more vigorously and inevitably saps the strength of the entire metropolitan body.
>
> That's why the problems of the inner city are problems for everyone, and finding solutions should be a high priority for every layer of government-- local, state and federal.
>
> ... There is reason for hope. The problems of the cities aren't the result of immutable forces over which people have no control. Residents of the Twin Cities area can choose to come together and create a more positive outcome for everyone. It will require effort, shrewdness and a lot more cooperation than has been shown in the past. But it can be done. With enough leadership and cooperation, it will be."

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**God's Promises to Zion**

The word of the Lord of hosts came to me, saying:

Thus says the Lord of Hosts: I am jealous for Zion with great jealousy, and I am jealous for her with great wrath.

Thus says the Lord: I will return to Zion, and will dwell in the midst of Jerusalem; Jerusalem shall be called the faithful city, and the mountain of the Lord of Hosts shall be called the holy mountain.

Thus says the Lord of Hosts: Old men and old women shall again sit in the streets of Jerusalem, each with staff in hand because of their great age.

And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets.

Thus says the Lord of Hosts: Even though it seems impossible to the remnant of this people in these days, should it also seem impossible to me, says the Lord of Hosts?

Thus says the Lord of Hosts: I will save my people from the east country and from the west country;

And I will bring them to live in Jerusalem. They shall be my people and I will be their God, in faithfulness and righteousness.

*Zechariah 8:1-8*

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*"Seek the welfare of the city where I have sent you into exile, and pray to the Lord on its behalf for in its welfare you will find your welfare.*

*Jeremiah 29:7*

# What Can Be Done?

## Suggestions from the <u>Star Tribune</u> Strengthening the Core series

**The federal government can:**
- Resume its leadership role in funding low-income housing.

**State government can:**
- Offer more forceful leadership on urban problems.
- Increase funding for low-income housing.
- Shift the emphasis on support for low-income housing from central cities to the suburbs.
- Reduce local building- and zoning-code barriers to low-income housing.
- Empower the Metropolitan Council to more effectively address central-city problems on behalf of the entire metropolitan area.

**Local government can:**
- Aggressively pursue new strategies for economic revitalization.
- Lower or remove building- and zoning-code barriers that now stand inthe way of low-income housing in many suburbs.
- Continue central-city efforts to improve quality of housing stock and speed up removal or rehabilitation of abandoned units.

**Business and civic leaders can:**
- Provide more support for inner-city job creation, including minority-owned and minority-employing businesses.
- Expand support for non-profit low-income housing programs.

**You can:**
- Become more aware of the contributions and needs of central cities and recognize that their health is essential to a healthy metropolitan area.
- Write or call you elected officials to express support for measures to improve city life.
- Examine your own attitudes about diversity, prison, guns, causes of gangs, welfare, poverty, schools. Are your views grounded in myth or reality?
- Speak out against racism whenever you encounter it.
- Accept your city's obligation to assure that affordable housing is locally available for the community's low-income residents and workers.
- Don't join in bashing Minneapolis and St. Paul. Recognize instead the potential for positive words and deeds to preserve and enhance the quality of life in the central cities, for the benefit of the whole region.

*Questions for Discussion*

1. Do you believe that everyone has a right to decent, safe, affordable housing? If so, whose responsibility is it to provide that housing -- government? the private sector? the religious community?

2. What does your faith tradition teach you about individual and social responsibility in addressing social problems?

3. How have your opinions on the social problems facing the Twin Cities been affected by your participation in this Study Circle?

4. Describe what you want your community to look like in the year 2000. What can you do as an individual to make that a reality? What can your congregation or organization do?

*Options for Further Action*
- Research your city's zoning laws - do they make it easy or difficult to develop low-income housing in your area? How about group homes?
- Join MICAH's Housing Advocate Network to become politically active on housing issues

**Introduction**

Reviving the Common Good: A Pastoral Letter on Social Justice, John R. Roach, Archbishop of St. Paul and Minneapolis (St. Paul, 1991).

**Session One**

For the Common Good, Herman Daly and John B. Cobb Jr., (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989) pp. 160-161.

Theological Reflections, Reverend Lawrence Pray, United Church of Christ of Montevideo (MICAH: 1990).

"Moving to the suburbs, but standing by the city," Star Tribune, October 4, 1993.

**Session Two**

A Place to Call Home: The Crisis in Housing for the Poor, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (Washington, DC, August 1992).

Profiles of Change: Communities of Color in the Twin Cities Area, Urban Coalition Census Project (St. Paul, August 1993).

American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass, Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993).

Cities without Suburbs, David Rusk (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1993).

"Reforms can combat metro polarization," Myron Orfield, Star Tribune Strengthening the Core Series, August 1, 1993.

**Session Three**

Star Tribune Strengthening the Core series, July 11 - August 8, 1993. Reprints of the series are available for $1.50 from the Star Tribune Public Relations Department. (Oliver Byrum, 8/1/93; Steve Quam, 7/24/93; Doug Tenpas, 8/3/93).

"Without urban-suburban unity, cities' future look bleak," David Rusk, St. Paul Pioneer Press, June 10, 1993.

**Session Four**

Star Tribune Strengthening the Core series, August 8, 1993.

*ADDITIONAL READING*

When Elijah Knocks: A Religious Response to Homelessness by Rabbi Charles A. Kroloff.

Race Matters by Cornell West.

The Truly Disadvantaged by William Julius Wilson.

## 1

## Why?...

**Why are we here?** What are we going to do? We are here to move toward a public decision or CHOICE on a difficult issue through CHOICE WORK.

*Pros & Cons - Continue to segregate by race & class.*
*Consequences -*
*to integrate - what it means*
*acceptance of problem?*

## 2

## How?...

**How do we do it?  Through a deliberative dialogue in which we:**

- Understand the PROS and CONS of every option, its COSTS AND CONSEQUENCES.

- Know the STRATEGIC FACTS and how they affect the way the group thinks about each option.

- Get beyond the initial positions people hold to their deeper motivations — the things different people consider to be most valuable in their everyday lives.

- Weigh carefully the views of others; appreciate the impact various options would have on what others consider valuable.

- WORK THROUGH the conflicting emotions that arise when various options pull and tug on what people consider valuable.

## 3

## How?...

**How can we know if we are making progress?** By constantly testing your group:

- Can your group make the best case for the option least favored? *important*

- Can it identify the negative effects of the option most favored?

## 4

## What?...

Movement from first reactions and mass opinions toward a more shared and stable PUBLIC JUDGMENT. *& common ground*

- The emergence of a PUBLIC VOICE, one different from the voice of personal preference or special interest pleadings.

Increased COMMON GROUND FOR ACTION found in a greater ability to:

- Identify how people worked through the conflicts, contradictions, and trade-offs, and what they were willing, and not willing to do to solve the problem.

- Identify any shared sense of purpose or policy direction and a range of actions that were consistent with one another.

- Understand the implications of how citizens sensed their interdependence on the issue and its implications for community action.

# MODERATING FOR DELIBERATION

Many people who attend deliberative forums may not know what to expect. If they've attended a public meeting before, it's probably taken the form of a hearing about proposed governmental action, a political debate involving candidates, or a general discussion about some problem that has surfaced in their community.

When these people enter a deliberative forum, they find something altogether different. The purpose of this kind of forum is for citizens to make, or at least work toward, a decision about how they will act on a problem or what policy they think is best for their community or the country. Deliberation is weighing the costs and consequences of a variety of possible actions or discovering (1) that the various things that are valuable to them pull them in different directions as they consider their options, and (2) that these conflicts have to be worked through. Deliberation doesn't result in absolute agreement, but it can reveal the general direction in which people want to move, the range of approaches to a problem that would be acceptable, and what people are or are not willing to do to solve a problem.

**Consistent with what deliberation is, moderators ask four basic questions in a forum:**

**1 What is valuable to us?** This question gets at why making public choices is so difficult: the options turn on things that people care about very deeply. This question can take many forms:

- How has this issue affected you personally? (Usually asked at the beginning.)

- What things are most valuable to people who support this option?

- What is appealing about this option?

- What makes this option a good idea — or a bad one?

To uncover their deeper concerns, moderators will often ask participants how they came to hold the views they have and to ground what they say in their experiences, and not just in facts or rational arguments. They might ask these questions:

- How do you see this option?

- What experiences have led you to this perspective?

- Could you tell a story illustrating that view?

- How might others see this option?

- Does someone have a different experience, another perspective?

**Notice that throughout, in every series of questions, the moderator will try to draw out different perspectives in an effort to ensure a complete and balanced discussion. That is the only way that a forum can do its job — to examine fully and weigh carefully all the possibilities.**

**2 What are the costs or consequences associated with the various options?** This question can take any number of forms as long as it prompts people to think about the likely effects of various options on what is valuable to them. Examples include:

- What would result from doing what this option proposes?

- What could be the consequences of doing what you are suggesting?

- Can you give an example of what you think would happen?

- Does anyone have a different estimate of costs or consequences?

**Deliberation requires weighing the "pros" and "cons" of different options so it is important to be sure that both are fully aired. A "pro" is simply a positive consequence, a "con" a negative one. Questions to ensure a fair and balanced examination of all potential effects include:**

- What would be the argument against the option you like best?

- What would someone say is good about the option that you oppose?

- Can anyone think of something constructive that might come from this policy?

- Is there a downside to this course of action?

**3** **What are the tensions or conflicts in this issue that we have to work through?** As a forum progresses, moderators will ask questions that draw out conflicts or tensions that people have to work through. They might ask:

- What do you see as the tension between the options?

- Where are the conflicts that grow out of what we've said about this issue?

- Why is this issue so difficult to decide?

- What are the "gray areas"?

- What remains unresolved for this group?

**Throughout the forum, a moderator will intervene with questions that move the deliberations toward a choice but always stop short of pressing for a consensus or agreement on a particular solution. The objective of a deliberative forum is to chart a direction or articulate shared purposes that can be the basis for specific programs or detailed policies.**

**4** **Can we detect any shared sense of purpose or how our interdependence is grounds for action?** In the very first few minutes of a forum, the moderator should remind people that the objective is to work toward a decision. Then, as the tensions or conflicts become evident, as people see how what they consider valuable pulls them in different directions, the moderator will test to see where the group is going with questions like:

- What direction seems best, or where do we want to go with this policy?

- The moderator can follow up to find out what people are or are not willing to do or sacrifice to solve a problem with such questions as:

- What trade-offs are we willing to accept?

- What trade-offs are we unwilling to accept?

- What are we willing to do as individuals or a community to solve this problem?

**At the heart of deliberation is the question of whether we are willing to accept the consequences of our choices. That might lead to a question like this:**

- If what we seem to favor had some of the consequences several of our colleagues worry about, would we still favor this policy or course of action?

# Ending a Forum

Before ending a forum it is usually a good idea to take a few minutes to reflect both individually and as a group on what has been accomplished. Questions like the following have been useful:

- How has your thinking about the issue changed?

- How has your thinking about other people's views changed?

- Tell the rest of us how your perspective changed as a result of what you heard in this forum.

- What didn't we work through?

- What do we still need to talk about?

- How can we use what we learned about ourselves in this forum?

**These questions prompted enough testimonials to demonstrate one of the most powerful effects of deliberation: It changes people's opinions of others' opinions. Those changes in perception create new possibilities for acting together, generating the political will to move ahead.**

*"At the heart of deliberation is the question of whether we are willing to accept the consequences of our choices."*

## National Issues Forums

# Moderator Guide

### 1995-1996

*Welcome to this nonpartisan National Issues Forum (NIF). The discussion group you are moderating is a part of nationwide programs of public deliberation. Participants will come to the sessions with different opinions, even prejudices, but the purpose of National Issues Forums is not to advocate any specific point of view on public issues; rather, the meetings are a means by which citizens may make choices together about basic purposes and directions for their communities and their country. The National Issues Forums as a whole, and the deliberative sessions, in particular, provide citizens an opportunity to inform themselves about one of today's complex public policy issues, to consider a range of policy options, and to work together toward the articulation of a coherent public voice.*

## Pocketbook Pressures
### Who Benefits from Economic Growth?

**CHOICE 1**   **THE FREE MARKET PERSPECTIVE: MAINTAINING THE AMERICAN DREAM MACHINE**

Americans understand and favor a capitalist system. The possibility of getting rich inspires individuals to work hard. This keeps the American economy going strong.

**CHOICE 2**   **THE FAIR SHARE PERSPECTIVE: CHANGING THE RULES, REDISTRIBUTING THE WEALTH**

Growing income differences between the wealthiest Americans and everyone else are corrosive and destructive. Unless we redistribute income more fairly, the situation will worsen.

**CHOICE 3**   **THE FAIR START PERSPECTIVE: GIVING EVERYONE AN EQUAL CHANCE**

We believe in equal opportunity, but American schoolchildren are not all getting the same preparation for work. We need to make equal opportunity a reality in our schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces.

## Moderator's Preparation

As moderator, you don't have to be an expert on the issue being discussed but you should be the best prepared person in the room. Most moderators find it useful to read the issue book and pages 6-10 of this guide several times and underline key points. It is important for you to have a clear grasp of the choices the issue presents, and of the main arguments usually advanced for and against each choice. You need to be able to articulate the problem as each choice sees it and the solution or policies advocated by the choice.

## Leading the Deliberative Discussion

The questions on pages 4-5 (The Forum Deliberation) are a guide to the kinds of questions that participants do far more than "cover" the pros and cons of each choice.

As a moderator you will ask questions that cause participants to consider, weigh, and wrestle with the conflicts of things they hold valuable found within and among the choices.

You may find it useful to make note cards of provocative and thoughtful quotations for and against each choice found in the discussion guide. Such quotations can be useful in stimulating conversation, moving it from a superficial level to the place where deliberation begins. Illustrative stories sometimes serve similar ends. But remember always that your responsibility is to make sure that each side of each point of view is clearly articulated during the course of deliberation.

• • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

*To Hold Counsel
With One Another*

*The whole purpose
of democracy is that
we may
hold counsel with
one another,
as not to depend
on the understanding
of one person
but to depend
on the counsel
of all.*

*Woodrow Wilson 1912*
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

## Why are we here?
## What are we going to do?

We are here to move toward a shared public decision, or choice, on a difficult issue.

We are here to do "Choice Work."

## How do we do it?

Through deliberative dialogue, in which we:

- try to understand the **PROS** and **CONS** of every choice, its **COSTS** and its **CONSEQUENCES**;

- learn the **STRATEGIC FACTS** and how they affect the way we think about each choice;

- push beyond the initial positions people hold to their deeper motivations — what people consider to be most valuable in their everyday lives;

- weigh carefully the views of others and try to appreciate the impact various choices would have in what others consider valuable; and

- **"WORK THROUGH"** the conflicting emotions that arise when various choices pull and tug on what we consider valuable in our own lives.

## How can we know if we are making progress?

By constantly testing to see if our group:

- can make the best case for the choices least favored; and

- can identify the negative effects of the choice most favored.

## What will the outcomes be?

Movement from first reactions and volatile opinions toward a more shared **PUBLIC JUDGMENT.**

The sound of a **PUBLIC VOICE**, one different from the voices of personal preference or special interest pleadings.

# SUGGESTED FORMAT FOR AN NIF FORUM OR STUDY CIRCLE

## Welcome

Let participants know who is sponsoring the forum/study circle. Stress the co-sponsorship if several organizations are involved.

## Ballot (Pre-Forum)

Remind people that the Pre-Forum Ballot is a way to get everyone focused on the issue and a way for each participant to take stock of initial feelings on the issue. Tell them there'll be another questionnaire for them after these deliberations end.

## Ground Rules

**MAKE CLEAR THAT THE FORUM IS NOT A DEBATE.** Stress that there is work to do, and that the work is to move toward making a choice on a public policy issue. The work will be done through deliberation. Review the chart "How we do it" (see page 3).

## Starter Video

Explain that the video reviews the problems underlying the issue, then briefly examines three or four public policy alternatives. In so doing, it sets the stage for deliberation.

## Personal Stake

Some starter questions you might ask:
- Has anyone had a personal experience that illustrates the problems associated with this issue?
- Within your family, or circle of friends, is this an important issue?
- What aspects of the issue are most important to you?
- How does the issue affect people?
- What do you hear people saying?

## The Forum Deliberation

For the actual deliberative experiment, it is absolutely critical that the moderator remain neutral. Your task is to guide the deliberation. Some typical questions that promote deliberation are:
- For those who hold that position what do they care deeply about?
- Could you tell a story that illustrates that view?

- If push came to shove, what would you do and why?
- What might be the consequences of that choice on other citizens?
- What motivates that choice?
- What is blocking the discussion?
- What is most valuable to you or to those who support this choice?
- How might others see the issue?
- What are the trade-offs you are, or are not, willing to make?
- What are the negative aspects of the choice you favor?
- Suppose you can't have everything; what would you choose?

## Closing

Reflections on your forum (what did we accomplish?)

I. Individual Reflections

How has your thinking about the issue changed?

How has your thinking about other people's views changed?

II. Group Reflections

What did you hear the group saying about the common ground in the issue or the tension in the issue?

Can we detect any shared sense of purpose or direction?

What trade-offs are we, or are we not, willing to make to move in a shared direction?

III. Next-Step Reflections

What do we still need to talk about?

How can we use what we now know?

## Ballot (Post-Forum)

The Post-Forum Ballot is a way to face the conflict within ourselves. Often we discover aspects of each choice we hold most valuable. Yet, the things we care deeply about are often in conflict. The ballots, along with other information, are important in discovering a Public Voice. Send both Pre- and Post-Ballots to:

**National Issues Forums**
**100 Commons Road**
**Dayton, OH 45459-2777**

## POCKETBOOK PRESSURES

### Who Benefits from Economic Growth?

With the end of the Cold War has come a blurring of national purpose. Determining an appropriate role for the U.S. in this new era has proved remarkably difficult. Many wonder whether we can reshape our identity without making new enemies. Few agree about what's worth defending with American lives and dollars. As the deliberation takes shape, distinct viewpoints are emerging from very different values. The public deliberation is lining up along these issues:

### What Is Viable

- We could shape our foreign policy around our economy, or our concern for global stability, or our moral principles. Each emphasis would result in a distinctly different identity for the U.S.

- What direction should we take on this issue? How can we move forward? What actions are viable should we wish to take them?

## THE FREE MARKET PERSPECTIVE: MAINTAINING THE AMERICAN DREAM MACHINE

**Point of View:** The income gap is not that serious. The economy is healthy and will continue to grow as long a people have an incentive to work hard and earn more.

### Key Issues

1. The possibility of wealth can inspire people to work hard and succeed, but sky-high executive salaries can also inspire resentment and anger among the working poor.

2. Statistics show a wide income gap, but few American incomes are permanently fixed at either high or low levels.

3. Americans appreciate rags-to-riches stories, but they expect successful individuals to share the wealth.

4. Capitalism has its pulses, like efficiency and private ownership, but greed and selfishness are part of the territory, too.

5. It is true that some Americans earn incredibly high salaries, but they also pay taxes that help sustain people at the other end of the income scale.

6. While some governments have chosen to distribute incomes more equally, Americans are not enthusiastic about a "socialized" approach.

### In Support

- The global economy has affected income differences — highly skilled workers are scarce and in demand while unskilled labor is abundant and cheap.

- Those who stay in school and work hard deserve to earn more.

- Government should encourage investment and new enterprise. This will enhance overall economic growth

- Only the prospect of getting rich will inspire Americans to work hard and contribute to a healthy economy.

### In Opposition

- Some inequality is inevitable, but today's situation is intolerable. The divide between rich and poor threatens our sense of living in a common community.

- Overall economic growth does not mean much if most Americans don't benefit from it.

- The hands-off approach favored in recent years was supposed to boost economic growth. Instead, we have record-high debts which drag our economy down. We can't afford a totally "free" market.

## THE FAIR SHARE PERSPECTIVE: CHANGING THE RULES, REDISTRIBUTING THE WEALTH

**Point of View:** Division and resentment are growing because of extreme and unjustified pay differentials. Everyone who contributes to a growing economy should enjoy its fruits.

### Key Issues

1. Once the most egalitarian of nations, the U.S. now has the most unevenly shared wealth of any industrialized country.

2. Though we value a classless society, the division between rich and poor Americans is increasingly dramatic.

3. Raising taxes for the wealthiest Americans might narrow the gap, but it might also discourage investments that could boost the overall economy.

4. Many favor the idea of sharing resources fairly, but few would appreciate government intrusion into private businesses.

5. The union movement has strengthened wage earners' positions in the past, but some fear that bolstering unions today would weaken productivity.

6. Keeping the minimum wage low allows businesses to employ workers and earn profits, but most Americans favor raising the minimum wage to keep up with the cost of living.

### In Support

- Economic rules have been changing to give wealthy Americans an unfair advantage.

- Everyone who contributes to the growth of our economy deserves to share the wealth. Huge profits are not shared fairly but stay in the hands of a few very wealthy Americans.

- Pay differentials are much higher than what is really necessary to motivate hard work and achievement.

- Income should be redistributed through progressive taxes and economic assistance for those at the low end of the wage scale.

### In Opposition

- A government-controlled economy is basically socialism. Few Americans want to give up material prosperity or invite government interference in order to level incomes.

- It is fair for people to earn what the market allows. Those who have exceptional skills and talents should receive exceptional rewards.

- We cannot promise equal income, but we can and should promote equal opportunity for all Americans who want to work hard and get ahead financially.

## THE FAIR START PERSPECTIVE: GIVING EVERYONE AN EQUAL CHANCE

**Point of View:** We can't guarantee equal wealth, but we should provide equal opportunities to earn it. On an uneven playing field, the rich keep getting richer and the poor stay poor.

### Key Issues

1. While some Americans rise from poverty to wealth, most who start at the bottom never make it to the top or even the middle.

2. Many who would have found work in the past are unprepared for today's jobs that require advanced education and high skill levels.

3. Though any American child can get a free public education, children in wealthy communities have better schools — a crucial advantage in preparing for work.

4. Programs that have helped equalize young Americans' chances for success are now facing funding cuts as lawmakers look for ways to trim their budgets.

5. Though Americans believe success comes from hard work and dedication, many people who seem to lack these qualities are actually ill or malnourished.

6. We expect that there will always be some poor people, but if too many fall into poverty our whole society will suffer.

### In Support

- The rich are able to give their children better schooling and preferential treatment in the workplace. Without good educations, poorer Americans cannot compete for the best jobs.

- We should not promise equal incomes, but Americans do value and insist on equal opportunity.

- Funding public education through property taxes guarantees an unfair advantage for families in wealthier districts. Public school spending should be equalized.

- We should maintain and expand college loans and national service programs that help students from middle- and low-income families.

### In Opposition

- Even if all individuals had the same educational and social opportunities, some would advance beyond others because of their natural talents and abilities.

- Equal opportunity initiatives will cost too much and may not succeed.

- A fair start is not enough. We need public policy that works toward real equality and fairness for all Americans.

Participants in this forum/study circle will consider three choices. Each is shaped by distinct social and political perspectives, and each choice recognizes different influences on personal and national finances. The following questions may help participants consider these choices thoughtfully. General discussion questions are also listed under *Forum Deliberation* (pages 4 and 5) and *Root Questions* (page 8).

## CHOICE 1

### THE FREE MARKET PERSPECTIVE: MAINTAINING THE AMERICAN DREAM MACHINE

> *Should government encourage overall economic growth, EVEN IF some people become extremely wealthy while others stay very poor?*

Proponents of Choice 1 argue that a broad range of incomes is inevitable and even essential to a free market economy. Those who work hard and bring special talents to their jobs should be rewarded. Government interventions which undermine personal initiative and enterprise would slow productivity and hobble the economy.

- How much do ordinary Americans benefit from the success of wealthy individuals? What is the best way for very rich people to give something back to their communities?

- How can America's tax burden be fairly distributed? What is your fair share? What should others pay?

- What evidence is there that wealthy individuals use their resources to contribute to our nation's overall economic growth?

- What really motivates people to work hard and do their jobs well? Should there be any limits on the amount that talented workers can earn?

# THE FAIR SHARE PERSPECTIVE: CHANGING THE RULES, REDISTRIBUTING THE WEALTH

> *Should we redistribute income more evenly, EVEN IF it means a more intrusive government?*

Advocates of this view say that the income gap is vast and morally indefensible. Rather than an incentive for effort and achievement, this chasm stirs resentment and divisiveness. Americans are working hard, maintaining high levels of production, and helping build the national economy, but only a few are enjoying the profits. We need to balance the scales.

- Where do you fit on the pay scale? What could cause your position to change?

- How do you determine what a fair wage is? Should there be maximum as well as minimum wage levels? Who would set these limits and how?

- What should determine an individual's worth in the workplace? What actually determines a worker's income?

- How do declining incomes affect the nation's social welfare? How should government respond to this situation?

# THE FAIR START PERSPECTIVE: GIVING EVERYONE AN EQUAL CHANCE

> *Should we focus on equal opportunity for all Americans, EVEN IF that approach is costly and doesn't guarantee equal outcomes?*

Advocates of Choice 3 say the problem of inequality starts long before workers begin looking for jobs. Some have much better opportunities for success because they've gone to top schools and come from wealthy families. We need to ensure that everyone gets a fair start, if not an equal income, by providing excellent public educations, preschool through college, for all Americans.

- What obstacles keep most poor people from moving up the pay scale? How can these obstacles be overcome?

- Is it possible to distribute funds for public education more evenly than we presently do? What would that involve?

- No one likes to sacrifice an edge. What would persuade wealthy individuals to share their advantages with others?

- What do we mean by "fair start"? What does everyone need or deserve in

# UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

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Center for Urban and Regional Affairs
University of Minnesota

Maya Wiley
Assistant U.S. Attorney
Southern District of New York

Jack Willis
KTCA-TV

Doreen Yellow Bird
Multicultural Programs
North Dakota State University

**Institute on Race and Poverty**

Law School

415 Law Center
229-19th Avenue South
Minneapolis, MN 55455

612-625-8071
Fax: 612-624-8890
E-mail: irp@gold.tc.umn.edu
http://www.umn.edu/irp

## MEMORANDUM

To:    Dick Little
        Syl Jones
From:  Jim Hilbert for the Institute on Race and Poverty
Date:  3/28/97
RE:    Draft of Discussion Guide

bcc: BAL3

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I offer the following comments as possible considerations for edits. Except for my opening general comments, I will break down my feedback by page. If necessary, I am prepared to provide more than this cursory overview. In fact, I anticipate putting in some hours this weekend providing some additional paragraphs, "bullets" as Dick calls them, or other pertinent material for your next draft.

First of all, I thank both of you for your efforts on this draft and project. Creating a handbook for a community to come together and constructively discuss issues of race and poverty is indeed a challenging endeavor! I recognize the struggle involved in such a project and acknowledge your hard work. I also think the draft is, in general, coming together.

I have a few general concerns. First, the guide is too long. I realize that conversion from manuscript form will reduce the page numbers and ameliorate some of my concerns, but even with respect to the amount of content, few participants will take the time necessary to read it. Additionally, I would recommend moving or even dropping the entire historical context section--I appreciate the rationale for providing some background on these issues, but as it is now, it is too long--instead I would open with facts and information about the Twin Cities particularly (such as those income statistics on P20).

P9: The very beginning ought to include three major points that are either missing or understated: (1) a discussion on segregation., (2) the fact that poverty is different for people of color than it is for whites, and (3) the information that is cited later in the piece on inequities (jobs, income, etc.). I would suggest spelling out the entire problem at the start. This would naturally include an explanation of how segregated our community is -- this could include maps showing how even within the municipal boundaries of St. Paul and Minneapolis, people live in different neighborhoods based on race and income. Also, the opening ought to point out that poverty is very different for people of color than it is for whites: the reality that most people of color in poverty tend to be

concentrated whereas whites in poverty tend to be dispersed. I would also make a case that housing and education are linked, and that is why we are discussing these two phenomena in particular and in conjunction.

P10: When we are talking about the impact of segregation on schools, there should be some mention of the learning gap between students by race in addition to the cited information on income and geography. In addition to test scores, there are a whole host of disparities by race when it comes to education that should be included such as suspension rates, drop-out rates, etc. Also, although you mentioned the racial make-up of the entire district and showed segregation along municipal boundaries, there is a huge degree of segregation within the district itself. In Mpls, segregation at some of the cities' schools is in the high nineties. Many Mpls schools were in violation of the 15% rule before they received their waiver from the State Board of Education. Also, the test data may be more useful if it is shortened to include only a few examples. Moreover, the new results from 1997 are in, but I am not sure that they have been broken down by race yet.

P13: I would definitively broaden our value of education to include issues of democracy and well-educated citizens (more than job stuff). I would also mention that in Minnesota, education is a constitutionally guaranteed fundamental right.

P15: Replace the word "ignorance" with inadequate education and lack of freedom of choice.

P15: The issue for perspective number one shouldn't be couched in separate but equal language, but in terms of something like: is it possible for communities of color to get resources, maintain solidarity, and revitalize from within? The issue is really that overused phrase why do black kids have to sit next to white kids to get an education? Integration, under this choice, is based on complete acceptance of the premise that in order to have a functional education or living situation, blacks must move into a white neighborhood or send their children to a white school. This reinforces the racist presumption (among blacks and whites) the idea that white is automatically superior and black is by definition inferior. In this choice, integration strengthens the white racial hierarchy.

P16: last full paragraph: I think it is a stretch to claim that desegregation in education has been "largely ineffective."

P17: big paragraph: Although intuitively appealing, there is no demonstrated evidence that proximity to schools influences parental involvement.

P22: The discussion of why jobs leave the urban core is almost too purified. The reality is that these job sites leave with white flight to accommodate white fears of the inner city typically. They also don't locate in the inner city because there are so many brownfields which cost money to clean. Further, taxes and other fees are higher in the city because the city is desperate to raise money. It is essentially suffering from municipal overburden from all the attendant effects of segregation and the concentration of poverty. I would also change "expensive" in your first bullet point under what critics say to "inefficient."

P24: I would frame this issue with a more moderate tone and less critically. You might consider putting your market mechanism section first. As it stands, you are beginning this option with a critique of the liberal prescription. Why not begin with social problems are better answered

through the speedier and more creative and flexible work of capitalism than they ever will be through bureaucratic government? Also, I would limit references to Charles Murray who brings with him a lot of political baggage. You might also want to include something by more respected conservatives like Christopher Jencks, Paul Peterson, and David Armour.

P30: I would add two more bullets -- Most people on welfare are there only for the short term; and welfare did show successes with its highest priority, the elderly.

P30: Very bottom -- Small point -- David Rusk was here last spring, too, at an Institute conference.

P31: I would be careful citing Thomas and Powell as exceptions to the program; they were large benefactors of affirmative action, which arguably remains a major tenet to mobility strategies.

P32: This speaks to a larger issue throughout the piece, but there is much better information that is more positive than the Minneapolis Public Schools cite. James Rosenthal's important research on Gatreaux comes to mind (You make reference to it on P37).

P35: One last tiny thing -- David instead of Dean Rusk

**T** Dick Little
Community Circle Collaborative Board Members

**From:** Syl Jones
**Jones!**

**Re:** Enclosed Draft of Discussion Guide

**Date:** March 23, 1997

As I pass on the enclosed first draft of the Discussion Guide, which is incomplete, please accept my apology. The challenge of redrafting the original study guide, based on my initial understanding of what the guide should contain, appeared to be possible within an expanded time frame. The meeting I had with the Board and my limited discussion with you, Dick, convinced me that I would be able to meet the original deadline of a "20-page discussion guide."

However, as I reviewed the dozens of monographs, newspaper clippings, studies, guidebooks, videotapes, magazine articles, etc., that you dropped off in two separate trips to my house, Dick, I began to see that it was not possible. I have spent hours reviewing these materials and attempting to construct a format that would support to goal of the project. The manuscript you now have represents my best effort to date. It is surely not good enough because it is incomplete, but there are also other important observations to be made about the materials and the process of writing this report.

1. An obvious fault of the guidebook as it was written is that it begs too many questions. It assumes that readers will automatically accept the premise that segregation is bad for society. While most of us may agree, such an assumption undermines the nature of the inquiry.

2. In order to change this assumption, the guidebook not only has to be rewritten and restructured. A new introduction explaining the historical context must be added so that readers know where the sponsors of the guidebook are coming from.

*[handwritten: "we said that"]*

3. There are too many experts and too many points of view represented in the research materials I have been given. Although I am capable of sorting them all out and discarding those of minor relevance, I estimate that in order to do the best possible job, I would require at least another week -- and that would be adequate if I were doing only this project.

I realize that the problem is that the process has already begun in some of the circles and the guidebook is needed immediately. But now that I

understand the magnitude of this project, it's my professional opinion that much more time will be needed if this job is to be properly done.

I am still available to complete the guidebook provided I receive clear direction on format, content, length, etc., from a designated spokesperson from the Board. In fact, written feedback would be appreciated. One of the problems I encountered was the often contradictory nature of written comments about the initial discussion guide. What I would need in order to continue the job and, hopefully, complete it by the first week in April, would be feedback that allows me to establish a clear direction.

Finally, this assignment has been the first to confound me in my entire 20-year career. Where I went wrong was in assuming that the project was somewhat finite and that 20 pages could summarize the issues. Now I know that I could easily write a book length manuscript on this subject and still not cover it all.

I will certainly understand should you decide to bring in another writer at this point and, in that case, I will not bill you for my services. I guarantee my work -- which means if I accept a project and can't meet the agreed upon deadline, you do not have to pay me a cent. This is the first time I've *ever* missed a deadline (hard to believe but it's true) or felt the need to invoke my service guarantee. But there's a first time for everything.

Thank you, and I look forward to doing what I can to make this project work.

*[handwritten marginal notes, partially illegible:]*

No! No! No! Basically the same as before
Too superficial —
Wrong sources cited —
Questions to guide discussion —
What are they — (see example) — often - fear - attitudes
Where is emphasis?
all blacks / all whites seen as all one way
Life changes - opportunity structures
income/fear
function together
Supporting Material —
Pro & Con for not losing anything - Status Quo
" " " for — what?
Consequences of both —
Keep focus on this area & state
No Powell or Thomas.

# A Failure To Thrive:

## A Discussion on the Challenges of Segregation, Housing and Education in the Twin Cities

### Introduction to The Community Circle Collaborative Process

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the Community Circle Collaborative Process, a guided discussion focused on the challenges of segregation, Housing and Education in the Twin Cities. For at least three sessions of two hours each -- over a course of three to five weeks -- you will gather with other members of your circle to share opinions, facts, and perspectives. The goal of these sessions is to fully discuss the issue from many perspectives and to develop solutions as you and members of your circle see fit. Secondarily, we hope to share some of these solutions with public policy makers so that the entire region may benefit from this process.

Before you begin your discussion, please read this Discussion Guidebook as completely and throughly as possible. While it does not cover all possible perspectives, the guidebook provides background that can help you more fully understand the issue and can assist you in discussing it more completely.

### How The Circle Process Works

In many cultures, circles are symbols of equality, fairness and completeness. The Community Circle Process has been designed with these qualities in mind. However, your cooperation is required if your Community Circle experience is to be satisfactory.

In the early days of American democracy, communities held town hall meetings or sat around pot bellied stoves or spinning wheels to discuss major issues. Communities were smaller and more homogenous, and the various members of the community usually knew each other well.

The pros and cons of those early American meetings were essentially the same: homogenity bred greater agreement and less conflict; however, other voices in the community -- those of women, slaves, Native Americans, the poor, and immigrants outside the mainstream -- were seldom heard.

As American democracy has grown to include a wider variety of individuals, the need to broaden discussion about major issues affecting the nation has increased. Today, inclusivity is highly prized in such discussions because the Jeffersonian vision of "an informed citizenry,"

which is essential to a healthy democracy, cannot be fully realized without it.

The Community Circle Collaborative Process is one way to sample the broadest possible spectrum of opinion within a community. It has been used in many parts of the nation to help create a public voice about major issues. The Community Circles themselves are a refreshing change from the narrow and often restrictive discussions of the past and the competitive debates used in present day political programs. In short, Community Circles are the wave of the future because they are cocooperative, not competive, in nature.

## What The Process Requires From You

Your role as a participant in the Community Circle Collaborative Process includes the following requirements:

- A commitment to the entire 3-5-week meeting schedule
- A promise to share your thoughts and feelings honestly and respectfully
- A willingness to listen deeply to others
- A preference for collaboration rather than competition
- A desire to find common ground and creative solutions
- Realistic expectations of the process and the people of your circle.

## What You Can Expect From The Process

On the other hand, when you invest your time and effort in the Community Circle Collaborative Process, you will receive:

- The opportunity to be heard by others
- Challenges to some of your beliefs, attitudes and assumptions
- Moments of great insight and inspiration
- Feelings of confusion and, at times, alienation
- A sense of accomplishment

## How To Begin

1. Your facilitator has been trained to help your circle begin discussions. Please follow his/her guidelines as outlined at the beginning of each Community Circle meeting.

2. Read the materials in this guidebook before you begin discussions.

3. Please feel free to conduct your own research using the bibliography in the back or any other materials.

4. Please do not seek to dominate discussion or monopolize the floor at any time. Remember to be courteous.

for those who felt they were persecuted for their various beliefs. The Puritans and Quakers were just the beginning. Soon came a host of rugged individualists who saw in this New World the chance to create a life free of interference from patriarchial governments. In so doing, the first settlers of the land came to this country and constructed separate neighborhoods based largely on nationality: German, Swedish, Irish, Italian, Dutch, English, etc. Although settlers often mixed across nationalities in public places, most lived in communities populated by fellow countrymen.

But the New World contained thousands of inhabitants long before the first settlers arrived. These native Americans, incorrectly labeled "Indians," did not give up their land easily or without a fight. In fact, they hotly contested the acquisition of their territories by Europeans. Because their skin was considered red and their traditions viewed as foreign, the native Americans were seen as being a "lower form of life" than Europeans. As writer David Roedigger notes in The Wages of Whiteness:

> "...the prehistory of the white worker begins with the settlers' images of Native Americans. Moreover, the images developed by colonists to rationalize dispossession of Native Americans from the land...held that improvident, sexually abandoned, lazy Indians were failing to husband or subdue the resources God had provided and thus should forfeit those resources."

In other words, many European settlers believed they had a God-given right to lands that were already occupied. Conflicts between the native Americans and European settlers -- founded on the basis of the above beliefs -- were never fully resolved in discussion or debate. One reason for the lack of resolution is that European settlers quickly began to out number the native Americans and drove them off the land through physical force. Although later efforts were made to pursue peaceful settlements, all of these ultimately failed, and the indigenous population was never able to win a respected place in American society. Entire tribes were wiped out by wars fought by the government on behalf of European settlers. Many died; others were marginalized on reservations.

The new settlers had long kept their distance from the people they called "savages," and the native Americans did, after all, live in tribes. But the idea of the reservation -- a place of restricted access for a people who had been defeated in battle -- carried segregation to its greatest extreme in American history. Both groups believed that segregation, through tribal boundaries or through institutions like the Burea of Indian Affairs, was the best way to avoid conflict, to strengthen ethnic and family ties, and to survive.

Thus, the pattern for interacting with those who were different was established in America from the very beginning. The clear message of the

white settler regarding the crucial issues of segregation, land (housing) and education was that native Americans had forfeited their right to such things. Because they had not built great cities, had not cleared the land and lived in ways that were considered peculiar, they were seen as expendable.

Had the early settlers and Native Americans been able to find common ground, some of the issues plaguing us today might not be with us. If, for example, Native Americans had been given status as full and equal citizens; if both parties had been able to create a new credo that recognized the need for integration while preserving cherished traditions; and, if these new approaches had resulted in a successful amalgamation of the two cultures, our views on race and perhaps class might have developed differently. But because this did not occur, early American society remained compartamentalized, divided, and extremely competitive.

Into this compartmentalized America in 1619 came black slaves, whose status differed from those of other immigrants in two important ways. First, black slaves were captured and forcibly removed from their homeland and brought to America to work without pay. While there were also white slaves (notably from Ireland and Germany) and white indentured servants in colonial America, these were often set free after working off their debt. Black slaves had no particular debt and were enslaved because of their status as "savages" and their reputation as good workers. Second, black slaves were prevented from learning to read, from speaking their foreign tongues, and were not allowed to become citizens in any sense of the word.

These differences were palpable in the daily intercourse between white settlers from Europe and black slaves from Africa. Regardless of whether individual settlers were slave owners or not, it was clear that the status of the slave differed completely from that of an English, Irish or Swedish immigrant. In short, those who came from Europe and had white skin had the hope, no matter how poor, of one day becoming American citizens. Blacks slaves knew -- as did the white settlers -- that blacks who were given their freedom and allowed to gain citizenship were major exceptions to the rule.

Thus, the stage for race-based segregation in America, based on double standards, was set even before the nation formally rebelled against England in 1776. European nationalism -- carried to this country by its earliest immigrants and intensified by home sickness and waning memories of oppression -- blended easily with ethnic prejudices, the Native American experience and the special status of black slaves to produce intractable differences. In addition, economic pressures encouraged the accentuation of ethnic differences as a means of securing a foothold in daily commerce. The result was two extremely different nations living along side each other but never completely with each other.

Although there are many landmark events in American history concerning race, most are negative. The Revolutionary War -- which celebrated political freedom from English tyranny -- but it no such effect on the status of African Americans, Native Americans, women or the poor. In fact, by the end of the war, Americans had consigned Native Americans to a status of nonexistence, as noted by Thomas Jefferson's complete absence of reflection upon their fate:

> "Deep-rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections, by blacks, of the injustices they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances, will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions, which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race."

Roedigger reports that the very document that articulated freedom for whites was also an effective instrument in supporting slavery:

> "The Constitution, as it codified an impressive range of freedom for whites, accepted that black slavery would continue by providing for return of escaped slaves, by aggrandizing the representation of slaveholding districts through the partial counting of slaves for purposes of legislative apportionment and taxation, and by allowing for twenty years of noninterference with the slave trade. Remarkably, the framers did all of this without using the words slave or slavery."

In so doing, those early patriots left room for a massive contradiction: black slaves living and working alongside their white masters, nursing their master's children along with their own, while being treated as inferior. This kind of integrated but unequal society had the force of law behind it. Slaves were owned in the same manner as horses, although masters had the option of treating them like human beings. They were forbidden to travel without papers from their owners; bred like cattle for the benefit of the slaveowner; and without even the most basic human rights.

Although many Southern intellectuals had always believed that slavery was right and proper, the effect of living along side slaves brought two distinct reactions by the early 1800's. Some Southerners began to feel that slavery might be wrong and that the institution debased those who used it. Others, in reaction to a new wave of questions about slavery from Abolitionists, began to seek new justifications for their peculiar institution.

The earliest example of a blow against segregation on a national scale is the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, wherein black slaves were declared free by the government. By this time, the land in the East and

South had been completely developed, giving the nation a distinctly European flavor. Land owners -- all male, all white -- controlled the nation and its policies. Women, Native Americans, African Americans, and many poor whites could not vote. In addition, few public servants could be found who championed their needs and interests.

The positive effects of the Emancipation may have been all but negated by the deep tragedy of the Civil War. Although the War is often said to have been about the general rights of the states, at bottom it was fought over the state's right to control life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness of black slaves. By war's end a larger proportion of whites than ever before agreed that blacks should have a measure of freedom. However, as the events in Reconstruction soon proved, true freedom for African Americans could not be gained without access to land and to education. In addition, whites would need to let go of long-held racial prejudices -- prejudices that were being compounded at that very moment by a series of deadly wars with Native Americans -- if equality was to be a reality.

African Americans made massive efforts to educate themselves through black schools established in the South. There, in one-room school houses, 85-year-old former slaves sat nedt to five-year old children and learned their ABC's. But very few slaves could have afforded to buy land, even had it been available to them. Those who stayed in the South continued to work for whites as sharecroppers, where their economic disenfranchisement continued. Those who went North encountered an even more virulent form of racism in urban areas where competition for jobs was fierce.

Prior to the establishment of Jim Crow laws in the North, a period of relative intergration occurred where blacks and whites lived adjacent to each other. Before the development of suburbs and motorized transportation, it was not uncommon to witness poor people and rich people, whites and blacks, dwelling on the same street. This, in fact, was one reason the urban centers of the nation were so attractive at the turn of the century -- they offered the opportunity to see and experience all sorts of people from every walk of life.

But as industrialization grew and competition over jobs increased, racial prejudice expanded for highly practical reasons. White unskilled laborers demanded priority in the marketplace, pushing black labor to the back of the line. And, because many black workers were not as educated as whites, employers preferred whites, if they could hire them at the same or slightly higher rates of pay.

When A. Philip Randolph sought to unionize Pullman Car Porters -- who were nearly all black because the Pullman company insisted that they be -- he faced the great dilemma of black leadership in a white society. His goal was to develop the first all-black union -- a form of segregation -- as a

means of helping blacks fully enjoy the benefits of the American dream, which included integration. After founding the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, he then began to build relations with the American Federation of Labor, an all-white organization that refused to admit blacks.

From 1925 to 1937, Randolph struggled to stabilize wages and benefits for Porters and to lay the foundation for the first extensive black middle class in American history. Randolph was the first black leader to make a connection between class and race and attempt to bridge the gap between blacks and whites by uniting against a common enemy. In Paula Pfeffer's A. Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement, the author paints a picture of the difficulties Randolph faced:

> "The Great Migration of southern blacks to northern industrial cities in search of wartime jobs and increased opportunities had resulted in overcrowding, with blacks spilling out of their narrowly defined ghetto areas. The subsequent competition with whites for jobs and the increased tensions led to antiblack riots...(Randolph) argued that capitalists ignored color in their exploitation of labor; hence, black and white workers had the same interests...but Randolph's gospel of labor solidarity was not readily accepted by black workers..."

At the same time Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement preached a new racial consciousness for African Americans. Garvey's followers -- mostly urban blacks located in the larger cities -- represented the first important group of black militant segregationists. Garveyities believed that the only hope for African Americans was to separate from America permanently and seek redemption in their ancient heritage. The movement failed, but it introduced the idea of segregation as a positive option for the first time on a large scale.

Meanwhile, *to here*

## The Way It Is

"The Twin Cities region is becoming increasingly segregated along income, racial and geographic lines. People of color, low income people and persons with disabilities are heavily concentrated in the central areas of Minneapolis and St. Paul. Moving outward from this central area, the population becomes increasingly whiter and wealthier. Although media hosuehold income in the cities as actually increased slightly, household income levels have increased faster, and to higher levels, in most suburbs." --"The Face of the Twin Cities," United Way of Minneapolis

*How do we stabilize families?*

Every year the Twin Cities ranks high on the list of America's most livable cities. When compared to other major urban centers, the Twin Cities region *is* a good place to live. But the question is, do such comparisions help us in establishing the quality of life we want? What do we have in common with Detroit, Milwaukee or Chicago? How do we differ? And, do we want to maintain those differences as distinquishing characteristics of the Upper Midwest?

What we have in common with other metropolitan areas is the malaise of urban decay in our inner cities, marked by:

- Increased poverty
- Aging housing stock
- Overburdened schools
- Growing crime
- Fear

These and other problems are destabalizing our inner cities and spreading rapidly to the suburbs. Fear, the most subjective and wide ranging of the issues listed above, knows no boundaries and has fueled flight from the central cities for many years. But reports of gun violence, drug dealing, domestic abuse, sexual abuse, drunk driving, gang-related crime and other major problems are now commonplace in rural areas, small towns and suburbs as well.

## Poverty
In recent decades, poverty has deepened within the core of Minneapolis and St. Paul. By the end of the 1980s, the core had gained 30,000 poor people, while its total population grew by less than 10,000 people. This suggests that some of those who were above the poverty line slipped below it during years of wage erosion and a stagnant economy.

Also, individuals who reached a certain income level migrated from the central cities to the surrounding suburbs, where there is more space, bigger and newer houses, lower property taxes, and the perception of lower crime rates and better schools.

Most low-income families have no choice but to locate in the central cities, particularly given limited public transportation and the lack of low-income housing in the suburbs. This shift from city to suburb is further illustrated by the 1990 census showing that the central cities contained 28% of the region's population but 60% of its poor.

But poverty isn't just deepening -- it's growing *and* spreading. In 1979, 11 Twin Cities census tracts saw 25% or more of its population sink below the poverty line. In the 80s, 35 additional census tracts in the core area reached the 25% level, which doubled the poverty rate in terms of population and area involved. Of 121 census tracts in the core area, 105 saw their poverty rates

increase.[1] This trend has continues today and is beginning to spread into inner-ring suburb.

Two-thirds of those in poverty are white, but the number of people of color living in poverty is disproportionate to the population. In the core area of the central city, poverty rates for African Americans (44%), American Indians (56%), Asians (62%) and Hispanic residents (31%) are dramatically higher than poverty rates for whites (18%).[2]

## The Impact on Schools

Recent media reports have shown that our public schools are in trouble. Not only have the number of students increased but a greater percentage of those students are poor and in need of social services. At the same time, public resources available to schools have been shrinking in an environment that demands greater educational skills than ever before.

One measure of the difficulty facing schools is student test scores. The table below shows the percentage of students passing the 1996 Minnesota Basic Skills Test for all districts in the seven-country region. Minneapolis schools rank the lowest with only 42% of its students passing the math test and 37% passing the reading test. Minneapolis schools also have the highest per pupil expenditures ($9,136) within the seven county region, as well as the highest percentage of students living in poverty. Approximately 60% of Minneapolis students receive free or reduced-price lunches -- a federal program available for families with incomes below 185% of the poverty level. Furthermore, 63% of Minneapolis' student body are children of color.

### Figure 13. Basic Skills Test Scores and Spending Levels, By District, 1996[3]

| District | Percent Passing: Math Reading | | Poverty | Enrollment | Per Pupil Spending: Gen. Fund | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| noka-Hennepin | 70 | 52 | 15 | 38,670 | $4,668 | $5,826 |
| oomington | 79 | 65 | 16 | 11,371 | $5,210 | $6,034 |
| ooklyn Center | 64 | 53 | 44 | 1,650 | $4,855 | $6,707 |
| irnsville | 74 | 65 | 18 | 11,195 | $5,427 | $6,541 |

[1]Metropolitan Council. *Trouble at the Core: The Twin Cities Under Stress.* November 1992. p. 8.

[2]Metropolitan Council. *Trouble at the Core: The Twin Cities Under Stress.* November 1992. p. 14.

[3]O'Connor, Debra. *Spending Isn't Key to Success.* St. Paul Pioneer Press. 1996.
   (Data based on information from the Minnesota Department of Children, Families, and Learning.)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| lumbia Heights | 70 | 57 | 31 | 2,987 | $6,328 | $7,259 |
| len Prairie | 91 | 79 | 4 | 9,198 | $4,709 | $6,495 |
| dina | 95 | 88 | 2 | 6,181 | $5,588 | $7,081 |
| rmington | 79 | 66 | 18 | 3,400 | $4,550 | $6,649 |
| rest Lake | 81 | 65 | 15 | 7,867 | $4,367 | $5,597 |
| idley | 75 | 71 | 24 | 2,607 | $5,950 | $6,723 |
| astings | 84 | 65 | 18 | 5,119 | $4,615 | $5,617 |
| opkins | 88 | 81 | 10 | 8,029 | $6,132 | $7,743 |
| ver Grove Heights | 74 | 69 | 18 | 4,005 | $5,014 | $6,101 |
| keville | 82 | 73 | 5 | 7,319 | $4,472 | $7,237 |
| ahtomedi | 90 | 78 | 6 | 2,670 | $4,562 | $5,854 |
| inneapolis | 42 | 37 | 61 | 46,151 | $7,115 | $9,136 |
| innetonka | 90 | 83 | 4 | 7,235 | $5,714 | $7,440 |
| ounds View | 86 | 71 | 10 | 12,043 | $5,142 | $6,220 |
| orth St. Paul-- aplewood--Oakdale | 73 | 61 | 17 | 10,600 | $4,909 | $5,835 |
| rono | 90 | 87 | 4 | 2,576 | $5,037 | $6,298 |
| sseo | 81 | 65 | 14 | 21,280 | $4,877 | $6,454 |
| ior Lake | 87 | 76 | 8 | 3,859 | $4,387 | $5,775 |
| andolph | 78 | 62 | 8 | 473 | $5,250 | $5,972 |
| chfield | 71 | 62 | 22 | 4,343 | $5,843 | $7,020 |
| bbinsdale | 71 N/A | | 22 | 13,507 | $5,490 | $6,460 |
| seville | 80 | 72 | 18 | 6,772 | $6,102 | $7,377 |
| semount-- pple Valley--Eagan | 78 | 68 | 9 | 25,554 | $4,210 | $5,691 |
| . Anthony-- ew Brighton | 78 | 71 | 10 | 1,255 | $5,833 | $6,401 |
| . Louis Park | 76 | 66 | 22 | 4,285 | $6,597 | $7,816 |
| . Paul | 51 | 44 | 56 | 42,046 | $6,017 | $7,095 |
| akopee | 68 | 61 | 15 | 3,011 | $5,437 | $6,577 |
| ring Lake Park | 82 | 64 | 20 | 4,181 | $4,975 | $5,989 |
| uth St. Paul | 65 | 60 | 24 | 3,562 | $4,975 | $6,179 |
| uth Washington o. | 84 | 71 | 12 | 13,886 | $4,245 | $5,666 |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| illwater | 83 | 73 | | 7 | 9,068 | $4,992 | $6,342 |
| ayzata | 87 | 71 | | 7 | 8,046 | $5,106 | $6,688 |
| est St. Paul--<br>endota Hts--Eagan | 67 | 61 | 16 | | 4,787 | $5,014 | $7,781 |
| estonka | 78 | 72 | 14 | 2,364 | | $5,417 | $6,854 |
| hite Bear Lake | 84 | 70 | 12 | | 9,610 | $4,944 | $6,111 |

Children who attend school hungry, chronically sick, and mentally fatigued have a far more difficult time learning than do children without such disadvantages. Resources for districts like Minneapolis -- which is among the poorest in the state -- often get diverted away from education toward necessities like free and reduced lunch programs, special education services, and bilingual education.

When schools must spend significant proportions of their budgets on simply getting their students to the "starting line," they often fall short of the finish line. This means that education is unequal in our state and that poor children often do not develop the basic skills -- such as reading, writing, math and relationship building -- they will need to succeed. The result of these inequities is a multi-tiered education system in which some children are doomed to failure as adults while others are likely to succeed.

The connection, then, between poverty and education is this: poverty tends to render achievement less likely by preventing children from learning and sapping resources from the education system. Society suffers from inequities in education because under-educated children are less able to contribute to the quality of life and more likely to need public assistance as adults. Finally, poverty in one generation often leads to an impoverished next generation as the cycle of neglect, mental and physical deficiencies, low achievement and failure continues.

## Public Education and Equality of Opportunity
Public schools were chartered to do the important work of developing and maintaining American society. They were designed to establish a nation dedicated to certain shared principles and values, such as individual freedom, justice and self-sufficiency. In fact, one of the most persuasive arguments for the establishment of public education was that it "would open a gateway to opportunity that would otherwise be closed to many youngsters," and would "eliminate the dwarf of social inequities which plague other nations."[4]

Quality public schools and equality of educational opportunity are essential to both individual economic enterprise and general prosperity. Advances in

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[4] Tesconi, Jr., Charles A. and Emanuel Hurwitz, Jr. Education for Whom? NY: Dodd, Mean & Company, 1974. p 15

technology and shifts in the labor market have largely eliminated the need for unskilled workers. Students who do not learn crucial skills in school no longer have factory jobs to fall back on. To maintain a productive and profitable economy, as well as compete globally, all individuals in our society need to maximize their literacy through lifelong learning that begins in the public schools.

But because of competing needs and the loss of income within the core cities, financial resources available to public schools have dwindled steadily over the last two decades. The combination of increased poverty, larger populations of students of color and a decreasing tax base means greater pressure on the public schools in the years ahead. For example, the population of white Minnesotans between the ages of 15-19 is projected to decrease by 6% between 1995 and 2015. For African Americans, that the same population will *increase* by 187%, while American Indians, Asian Americans, and Hispanic/Latino Americans will increase by 61%, 111%, and 128%, respectively. This averages out to be an increase of 122% for communities of color.[5]

## The Search For Solutions

> "In today's world, a youngster who leaves school unable to read, write, and do simple arithmetic faces a bleak future. When a substantial portion of boys and girls leave school uneducated, the rest of us face a bleak future."
>
> --Lisbeth Schorr, Within Our Reach

No one knows the precise causes for the failures of our public schools. Nor is it easy to uncover all of the reasons for growing poverty in the Twin Cities. What we do know is that as the region becomes more segregated, as poverty becomes more concentrated among families of color, and as schools continue to underserve our students, the quality of life lowers. This is true now and will be even more obvious in the near-term as the demographics of our region change.

There is evidence that many of the differences between white families and families of color -- in school performance and economic prosperity particularly -- are remnants of past and present segregation. Historically, segregation and the system of laws established to protect it were designed to create separate and unequal societies based on mythologies about white racial superiority. While segregation has been outlawed and is no longer officially tolerated, it remains a demographic reality.

What does segregation have to do with the quality of life? A house divided cannot stand, and a nation divided is structurally weakened. Natural

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[5]Urban Coalition. *Statement from Citizen's League Communities of Color.* 13 December 1996.

differences will always occur within populations with diverse histories. But when a phenomenon like segregation persists -- and when a significant proportion of our population is plagued by poverty and ~~ignorance~~ that threatens to engulf us all, regardless of where we live -- it is time to investigate the possibility of a systemic problem.

The fact that economic and racial polarization seem to go hand-in-hand is a clue to the multi-faceted nature of the problem. So, too, is our shared history of racial and economic turmoil, which has persisted for 400 years and cost us thousands of lives and million of dollars. Government intervention has been both part of the problem and the solution, from the writing of the Constitution to the "Separate But Equal" ruling, to Brown vs. The Board of Education, to busing, affirmative action and afrocentric education.

In the pages that follow, three of the major perspectives on economic and racial isolation are presented along with potential solutions. These perspectives are in no way mutually exclusive; nor are they the only ones circulating in the marketplace of ideas. Our purpose in selecting these three perspectives is to stimulate discussion and provide a framework for what is, perhaps the ultimate thinking exercise:

> *If we are to ensure our future as a people and halt the increasing polarization of this region, where do we begin? What are the interrelationships between segregation, housing and education and how will they impact us in the future? What must we do to improve the quality of life for the region and what are we willing to sacrifice, create and sustain for the sake of so doing?*

**Perspective Number One**

## ~~Building Communities: Enrichment and Revitalization~~

*~~Separate But Equal~~ or ~~Separate But Unequal?~~*

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed an earlier decision in Plessy vs. Ferguson that declared in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas,* that "in the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place." Forty three years have since passed, and America is now beginning to rethink that precept. Familiar remedies to discrimination and segregation--busing, affirmatve action, specially drawn voting districts, and mobility programs--are beginning to draw fire. Today, then, it seems as if we are faced with a new choice: *separate but equal* or *separate but unequal?*

"The practical barriers to desegregation are in many places so high that the moral clarity promised by *Brown*--a simple choice between segregation

and integration, between racism and justice--has blurred."[6]  Many of the simple assumptions undergirding the civil-rights movement have been eroded.  For years segregated neighborhoods and schools were protested as cruel and unjust.  The *Brown* Court in fact found that segregation conferred an ineradicable stigma of inferiority on black children.  Today, however, many people of color feel this assumption is *in itself* condescending and racist.  After all, seldom do you hear of an all-white neighborhood or school being referred to as "segregated."  As well, it is never assumed that white children *must* go to school with children of color or it will damage their self-esteem.

Indeed, what exactly is right and wrong nowadays is no longer clear.  Justice has become a matter of interpretation.  In the words of Minneapolis Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton, "Better for African-Americans to spend the millions in (busing) transportation money improving inner-city schools.  Better to build affordable housing throughout Minneapolis.  Better to rely on 'children going to school in their own neighborhoods.  If that means fewer integrated classrooms, so be it."[7]

Why does the mayor--and so many other people of color--feel this way?  Perhaps because, as a nation, we have never truly embraced *integration*.  We have attempted *desegregation*--through court-ordered mandates--but the two are not synonymous.  Desegregation implies a lack of choice--a "forced" integration.  And that very likely *is* damaging to people's confidence and self-esteem.  Many people feel that underneath it all, efforts to desegregate neighborhoods and schools with high proportions of minorities assumes that it is better to live and go to school in majority white settings.  They feel that it is not a matter of multiculturalism, but assimilation.  This is disrespectful of the strengths of communities of colors.

## Segregation and Schools

The battle over "separate but equal" has most clearly manifested itself in the public schools.  For more than 30 years now, cities across America have engaged in extensive busing efforts to create more culturally and economically diverse classrooms.  People with this perspective feel that the results have been costly and largely ineffective, and many feel that busing has outlived its usefulness.

Why has busing been so ineffective?  Largely because it has been carried out for the wrong reasons.  After all, if one goes back to the initial concern

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[6]Traub, James.  *Can Separate Be Equal?*  Harper's Magazine.  June 1994.  p. 36.
[7]Fineman, Howard.  *Redrawing the Color Lines.*  Newsweek.  29 April 1996.  p. 34.

of the black community, it was not about being with white people. It was about quality education. Former Atlanta mayor Andrew Young explains, "It was really the integration of the money to provide a quality education for all children that was black folks' goal. Racial balance was a means for achieving that goal."[8]

One *could* argue that busing has given some poor, minority children access to the opportunities that white students have. Never mind, however, that children--once "integrated" by schools--are often re-segregated by a tracking system which assigns minority children to the least challenging, least interesting classes, often taught by the least experienced or least motivated teachers. Never mind the limited expectations for minority children, culturally biased instructional methods, and stereotyping and ability grouping. Under these circumstances, many people of color say, never mind busing at all.

The busing efforts undertaken in American cities have placed an unfair burden on communities of color. Not only is there a disproportional busing of children of color, but the widespread use of busing has led to the demise of many neighborhood schools, which some minorities view as a root cause of the destruction of their communities. Schools serve as a hub for communication, interaction, and activities within a community. Desegregation efforts (through busing) have stripped many communities of this vital interaction and communication. It has dismantled community support and parental involvement for many minority children. When children are bused out to the suburbs, many inner-city parents have commented that they cannot find public transportation to attend parent-teacher conferences and other school events. People often blame "unsupportive, uninterested parents" for the demise of public schools, complaining that parents no longer engage in their children's education. But when government policies create such barriers for parents to hurdle, can we truly blame them?

Finally, busing has failed to assist people of color in securing adequate educational opportunities for their children largely because most desegregation plans have been crafted and carried out by the white community with minimal black influence. As a superintendent of a Chicago school district commented, "It's always been on someone else's terms."

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[8] Traub, James. *Can Separate Be Equal?* <u>Harper's Magazine</u>. June 1994. p. 39.

*New Answers to An Old Question?  Perspectives on Busing and Segregation
From Communities of Color*

18

- "The effort to achieve racial balance through desegregation has acted in conjunction with other forces to erode the community fabric that once provided support to children and families."

- "Focus less on student racial percentages and more on student outcomes-- resources must be in place to support equity in outcomes."

- "I will venture and offer my humble opinion (as a non-educator) on the issue of busing as a tool to improve educational achievement among "minority" children.  As a product of a public school system with 100% Latino students (Puerto Rico), I find it hard to believe that "minority" kids need to sit side-by-side with white kids in order to learn!"

- "I've always chosen to put my children in schools that are close to me . . . and the fact that they are black to me is an asset. . . .That's the best for my children, to be taught by people who understand them, who want to teach them, and who expect that they will achieve."

- "Frankly, I find most arguments FOR busing self-defeating, in the sense that by busing kids we seem to imply to our kids that 'whites are smarter and maybe their 'smarts' will rub off on you' by attending mostly-white schools!  Also, busing is a cheap way out for those in power to claim that they are doing something to improve education in ghettoes and barrios, instead or adopting the right (but politically unpopular approach) of providing more resources to the neighborhood schools and the 'minority' community in general."

- "As a parent, I see no intrinsic value in having my daughter travel for hours to a far away school, potentially risking harassment by white kids because of her heritage, in order to get an education.  She should be entitled to a perfectly good education right at her neighborhood public school!"

The Polarization of the Region

While many government policies and programs exist which aim at integrating both schools and neighborhoods, the actual trend in housing and education has been towards economic and racial segregation in the last fifteen years--not away from it. "Using Census data and what demographers call a segregation or dissimilarity index, between 1970 and 1990, poor households became 13% more segregated in the 40 largest metropolitan areas."[9] Similarly, studies of racial segregation show that America's major urban centers remain highly segregated, with cities in the northern "rustbelt" typically being the most segregated.[10]

With the acceleration of white and middle-class flight from the central cities in recent decades, poverty has concentrated in the core of Minneapolis and St. Paul. According to the 1990 census, the central cities had only 28% of the region's population but 60% of it's poor. Moreover, 65% the region's minorities live in the central cities.[11] As a result, the communities in this region are rapidly becoming polarized.

The damage that racial and economic segregation inflicts on individuals has its counterpart in the damage inflicted on an entire metropolitan region--both the urban core and the suburbs. A strong and prosperous core is key to the health of the entire region; without the city, there would be no suburbs. Suburban communities benefit from the unique economic and cultural opportunities that only large urban centers can provide. Segregation, however, prevents wealth accumulation by residents of isolated, poor communities, thereby establishing major barriers to market participation. Metropolitan regions as a whole suffer when large percentages of people do not have the skills necessary to participate in the economy as workers, consumers, and citizens.

The greatest concentration of jobs in this region is currently in the core. As of the early 1990s, it had approximately 374,000 jobs, more than 2.8 jobs for each of its 133,000 households.[12] Nonetheless, the core has the highest rates of unemployment and poverty in the region. Why? Because there is a serious mismatch between the skills and knowledge of low-income core residents and

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[9]The Institute on Race and Poverty. Examining the Relationship Between Housing, Education, and Persistent Segregation. Summer 1996. p. 4. (From Alan Abramson, et al, *The Changing Geography of Metropolitan Opportunity: The Segregation of the Poor in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970 to 1990.* Housing Policy Debate 6 (1), --1995.
[10]Ibid. p. 4.
[11]United Way Minneapolis Area. *The Face of the Twin Cities: Another Look.* 1995. p.8.
[12]Metropolitan Council. *Trouble at the Core: The Twin Cities Under Stress.* 1992. p. 18.

the skills and knowledge required by available jobs.  The jobs available in the core--which contains not only two downtowns but the University of Minnesota, the Midway area, and the Capitol complex--are highly professional. As a result, jobs are typically filled by suburban commuters.  This is one side of the story.

The other side of the story is that while the central cities still maintains the largest percentage of jobs, job growth in the central cities has virtually come to a halt.  The region's economy is rapidly becoming suburbanized.  The suburbs captured almost 98% percent of job growth in the 1980s--66% of which went to the fast growing outer-ring suburbs.[13]

**Housing and Disinvestment in core neighborhoods
**Discrimination in rental markets
**crime

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## Per Capita Income by Race and Hispanic Origin, 1990 Census (in $1000s)

|  | 7 County Region | Minne apolis | St. Paul | Sub urbs |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | $14.5 | $13.3 | $12.9 | $15.0 |
| White | $14.8 | $14.1 | $13.5 | $15.1 |
| African American | $9.1 | $8.4 | $8.2 | $13.1 |
| Am. Indian | $6.8 | $5.9 | $6.2 | $8.6 |
| Asian | $9.4 | $6.9 | $5.5 | $11.9 |
| Hispanic | $8.4 | $7.5 | $7.3 | $9.7 |

Source:  Metropolitan Council.  *Trouble at the Core:  Twin Cities Udner Stress.*  November 1992.  p. 38.

## Percent Change in Per Capita Income, By Race and Hispanic Origin, 1979-1989 (1989 dollars)

|  | Region | Minnea polis | St. Paul | Suburbs |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 18.4% | 11.5% | 6.5% | 20.9% |

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[13]Ibid. p. 18.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| White | 21.3 % | 20.1% | 13.9% | 21.9% |
| African American | - 3.5 % | -7.5% | -5.0% | -8.1% |
| Am. Indian | 20.1 % | -5.7% | 4.9% | 56.8% |
| Asian | - 12.1 % | -11.6% | -25.1% | 1.8% |
| Hispanic | 8.4 % | 14.9% | -2.3% | 10.5% |

Source: Metropolitan Council. *Trouble at the Core: Twin Cities Udner Stress.*
November 1992. p. 39.

Income disparities in the central cities and the suburbs increased thorughout the 1980s. Per Capita income in the suburbs was higher than in the central cities to begin with, and then increased at a faster rate throughout the decade. Areas outside of the cetral cities expereinced a 21% increase in average per capita income, while average per capita income in Minneapolis and St. Paul went up about 12% and 7%, respectively. More strinking, however, is the difference in per capita income between white and minorities. Average per capita income for African Americans and Asians actually *decreased* throughout the decade. This may be in part due to the shift in the regional economy. The economy of the Twin Cities (like that of the nation) has become increasingly based on services and trade activity and proportionatey less on manufacturing. Two-thirds of all the region's new jobs in the last decade were in services and trade sectors. These jobs--largely in retail--generally have lower wage rates than jobs in manufacturing. In fact, less than half of the jobs in Minnesota today pay a liveable wage.

### The Prescription: Strengthening the Core

Many people feel that providing the "token" few with more opportunities and choices--greater "mobility"--will do little good for the region if the communities that are left behind remain poor and isolated.

If we are to strengthen the core--and thus the entire region--it is imperative that we focus on job training and placement programs for the unskilled inhabitants of the core. Moreover, we must begin preparing "tomorrow's workers" today by providing quality educational opportunities for *all* children. Currently Minneapolis and St. Paul have the highest drop-out rates and lowest achievement scores among all school districts in the seven county region. This suggests that we need to focus on equalizing resources between suburban and

urban schools, through some sort of revenue-sharing plan or suburban-urban transfer. As well, we could redirect funds earmarked for busing to improve neighborhood schools in the central cities.——— *How will kid get to school*

It is also essential that we reverse the outflow of economic activity to the suburbs. Due to changes in technology and transportation structures, large firms no longer find it necessary to locate in the central cities. As a result, more and more companies are relocating to the suburbs. To prevent this flight of capital, as well as to entice capital back into the cities, redevelopment grants, loans, and tax exemptions--the distinguishing tool of urban enterprise zones-- could be used. Beyond providing more job opportunities for the urban poor, an influx of capital into the central cities would help compensate for the deteriorating urban tax base.

*unfield important about*

*Not good*

## What Critics Say

- Pumping money into the central cities is not the answer because it is prohibitively expensive. When poverty is so concentrated, using money to tackle the problem is like throwing it down a black hole because it is absorbed so quickly. Given the fact that many of these communities are in serious debt, it would take an impossible amount of money to revitalize their economies. It isn't realistic to believe that we can generate that much investment, particularly as it will largely have to come in the form of transfers from the suburbs. *N A*

- Creating "enterprise zones" is not an effective way to stimulate economic activity and create jobs in the urban core. Enterprise zones are not pro-labor or pro-community, but pro-profit. Jobs are not guaranteed to go to the urban poor; they can (and very often are) filled by suburban commuters. Moreover, the communities providing the tax-exemption must provide resources to compensate for the tax expenditure granted to the enterprise zone--either through increased tax burdens or decreased services. *quota risk*

- In order to create more regional stability, our communities need to be more economically and racially diverse. Building up infrastructure in the cities will do little good if our communities are still divided along and race and class lines.

*There is nothing about schools here —*

- The only way to break down the racial hierarchy that currently exists is to integrate. People of color need to enter into the economic and social mainstream where they will have more access to good jobs and good schools. Equally important, white folks must diversify and expand their understanding of people of color. If we continue to stay apart, the structure of the "racial other" goes unchecked.

- People need to have real choices about where they live. Since a majority of the new jobs are in the suburbs, and because we have limited mass transit in the region, there needs to be more low-income housing in the suburbs.

*[handwritten margin notes: top left, top right "His point is now delivered that welfare created poor & dependency"]*

## A Safety Net or A Trap?

Can a society take care of its *deserving* without encouraging people to become *undeserving*? Can society create a welfare system that doesn't undermine the moral character of its people? The general answer, as history has taught us, is no. *[handwritten: Not true and we shouldn't be repeating it]*

A government's social policy establishes the rules by which its citizens live. It creates incentives and strategies to go about making a living, raising a family, and having fun. All people--poor and not-poor--respond to these incentives as rational human beings, attempting to maximize their own utility. The primary difference between the poor and not-poor, however, is that they play under different constraints: poor people cannot wait as long for results.

Beginning in the early 1960s, social policy in the United States underwent a major transformation. Programs initiated under the War on Poverty radically changed the rules for poor people, making it profitable for the poor to behave in the short term in ways that were destructive in the long term. The changes in benefit levels and eligibility requirements ushered in by the social policies of the 60s dramatically changed incentives to the poor. As a result, we saw an increase in unemployment among the young, a decrease in labor force participation, and an increase in illegitimacy and welfare dependency.[14] Since then, we have been masking these losses by further subsidizing destructive behavior. We tried to provide more help to the poor, but instead we only created more poor. We tried to prevent people from becoming dependent, but instead created long-term dependency.

*[handwritten margin note: Have welfare rules have grown people bad choices]*

We cannot blame people for acting rational. If a young, single mom has a choice between working a full-time, minimum wage job with no insurance (and then paying half of her income for child care), or staying at home with her child, claiming AFDC benefits, Medicaid, Food Stamps, and Section 8 rent subsidies, what is the rational choice? Of course it is the latter of the two. The problem, however, is that this woman is only looking at her short term needs. When this woman's child grows older and she suddenly finds herself needing and wanting to work, she will also find herself lacking a solid employment history and job skills. As a result, she will have no choice but to stay dependent on government assistance.

Moreover, every assumption young blacks or Latinos might make about their inability to compete with whites is fed by targeted social policies which tell them that they are un-responsible victims. We tell youth from disadvantaged families to be proud and to believe in themselves, yet our actions tell them that no one else believes in them. It is, in essence, the self-fulfilling prophecy. Low-income minorities typically live in the most isolated communities, experience the most severe negative conditioning, and have been granted by policy the most immunity from responsibility.

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[14]Murray, Charles. Losing Ground. NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1984. p. 9.

*[handwritten: forgot Murray]*

Essentially, then, instead of a safety net, we inadvertently built a trap. By allowing people to be lean on the government during hard times, we've taken away their ability to be self-sufficient. People *would* play the incentives offered by the market if they didn't have the option of playing the incentives offered by the government. If we eliminated assistance for everyone but the truly needy, it would leave the able-bodied no recourse whatsoever except the job market. "It is the Alexandrian solution: cut the knot, for there is no way to untie it."[15]

> "The most troubling aspect of American social policy toward the poor in the late twentieth-century America is not how much it costs, but what it has bought."
>
> --Charles Murray,
>
> Losing Ground

## The Culture of Poverty

Spending on social programs has steadily increased since America first began waging its "war on poverty." Public assistance costs were thirteen times higher in 1980 than they were in 1950 (in constant dollars). Education costs in 1980 were 24 times their 1950 cost, while housing costs were 129 times their 1950 cost. Overall, civilian social welfare costs increased by twenty times. During that same period, however, the United States population increased by one half.[16] Clearly, a fundamental change took place in American social policy. But why hasn't this investment paid off?

As some suggest, this investment has not paid off because a certain group of individuals--what is now typically referred to as the "underclass"-- will always be poor regardless of their external circumstances. While the "underclass" and the "lower class" both lack economic resources and opportunities, the two classes are different in that the "underclass" has a different set of values. Moreover, the underclass is delineated from lower class populations in that their poverty traits are transmitted intergenerationally and they thus become stuck in a self-perpetuating cycle of disadvantage. This is in contrast to individuals who have experienced the loss of a breadwinner, are involuntary unemployed, are ill. Their poverty is typically not enduring and certainly not transmitted from one generation to the next. Research shows that this "culture of poverty" transcends regional, rural/urban, and national differences, and that everywhere individuals stuck in the culture of poverty show "striking similarities in family structure, interpersonal relations, time orientation, value

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[15]Ibid. pp. 227-228.

[16]Ibid. p. 14. (From Office of Research and Statistics. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1981.* Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1982.)

systems, and patterns of spending."[17]   This culture is characterized by things such as (1) hopelessness, indifference, alienation, apathy, and a lack of effective participation or integration into the social and economic fabric of society; (2) a present-tense time orientation; (3) cynicism and mistrust of those in authority; (4) strong feelings of marginality, helplessness, dependence, and inferiority; (5) lack of impulse control and the inability to defer gratification; (8) the absence of childhood as a specially protected and prolonged state, and thus early initiation into free sexual unions or consensual marriages; (9) a high incident in the abandonment of wives and children; (10) a matriarchal family structure; and (10) a minimum level of organization beyond the nuclear or extended family, a low level of community organization, and a strong sense of territoriality.[18] Approximately only 20% of those living below the poverty line are actually trapped in the culture of poverty, but indeed this 20% is largely why our increased investments have not paid off.  An expensive program such as Section 8--one that costs approximately $6000 per year per family--is a futile effort because those in the culture of poverty will remain poor whether they live in core of whether they live in the Eden Prairie. Improvements in environment will superficially affect their poverty, but only a change in values and family structure can help break the cycle of disadvantage.

## "The Poverty of Values"

History is replete with individuals who have climbed their way out of poverty.  But what is it that allows some people to hurdles life's barriers while others consistently stumble?

General Colin Powell grew up in Harlem and the South Bronx, two of America's very poorest and crime-ridden neighborhoods.  He was not a exceptionally gifted student nor a star athlete, but he was a hard-worker.  In 1989, the 52-year-old was appointed chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.  The youngest man and first African-American ever to hold that position, Colin Powell is greatly respected by the American public.  When asked the secret of his success, Powell gives a definitive response: "My family."  In his own words, "The worst kind of poverty is not economic poverty.  It is the poverty of values."[19]

Today, one out of every four children is born to a single mother.  A third of these single mothers are teenagers.[20]  Studies show that children in single-parent families are more likely to have problems.  They tend to do more poorly in school and are more likely to abuse drugs and alcohol.  They typically earn less and are more likely to become single parents themselves.  This breakdown of values is ultimately what causes the perpetuation of poverty.  Children do not have role-models and thus do not learn how to be disciplined and self-sufficient.

[17]Karger, Howard Jacob and David Stoesz. *American Social Welfare Policy.* White Plains, NY: Longman Publishing Group, 1994.
[18]Ibid. p. 148.
[19]National Issues Forums. *The Troubled American Family.* 1995. p. 7.
[20]Ibid. p. 7.

Our current public policies and practices counteract traditional American
values of hard-work, self-sufficiency, and strong, two-parent families. Aid to
Families with Dependent Children, for example, allows a woman to have a
child out of wedlock with no conceivable way of supporting that child. No-
fault divorce laws are another example; by allowing couples to easily get
divorces, they place a low value on family and marriage. Our current laws and
practices need to be restructured to encourage two-parent families and family
values.

## The Impact on Schools

Perhaps nowhere has the break-down of the family structure had a stronger
impact than on our schools. People often voice dissatisfaction with the public
schools, but schools nowadays are asked to do the impossible: they are asked
not only to educate children, but raise them, protect them, and discipline them
too. Schools are asked to provide children with their breakfast and lunch, their
after-school activities, their values and morals. Teachers are forced to
discipline children who cause disruptions and create problems. They must
spend extra time helping children with assignments who get no help at home.
Where are the parents? When teachers are asked to take on so many other
roles, it seriously diminishes their capacity to do their primary function: teach.

Not ironically, it is in the best schools that we see the most two-parent
families. In these schools, teachers are free to teach without constantly having
to deal with disruptions and incomplete assignments. Indeed, many studies
have found that it is not the amount of money that a school spends that has
the greatest impact on educational achievement, but rather the socioeconomic
make-up of the students. In 1964, John Hopkins sociologist James Coleman
conducted an extensive study of equality of educational opportunity in
America. When measured by the "input" criteria, Coleman found that
differences in the quality of schools was not very closely related to differences
in student achievement. Instead, he found social class mix to be the crucial
factor in explaining differences in achievement. Children from low
socioeconomic backgrounds--regardless of race--improved when studying along
side of children from a mixture of *social* classes. This may be because children
from middle- and upper-class families typically have a different values system
and receive discipline and instruction at home. The crucial point, according to
Coleman, is that "schools have little influence on a youngster's achievement
that is independent of his social, economic, and cultural background."[21] Our
own experience in the Twin Cities seems to confirm Coleman's point. While
the Minneapolis school district is the highest spending district in the region, it
also has the lowest achievement rates (as measured by the Minnesota Basic
Skills Tests). It also has more children living with only one parent (46.2%)
than with two parents (42.5%).[22]

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[21]Tesconi, Jr. Charles A. and Emanuel Hurwitz, Jr. *Education For Whom?* NY: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1974. p. 23.

[22] The Urban Coalition. *Minneapolis Public School Neighborhood Student Data, 1995-96.* p. 42.

*"At its worst, public housing under*
HUD has served as an
        *incubator for social pathologies which have been unleashed on our*
                        *society hurting the very ones such*
programs are suppose to help."

                                                            --Zenoa
Henderson, Project 21 member

Despite the best of intentions, government intervention in markets such as education and housing has produced less-than-desired results and numerous unintended consequences. Public housing stands out as a testament to the failed social engineering of the 1960s. While the original housing constructed under the Housing Act of 1949 consisted predominantly of low-rise, two- and three-story apartment buildings, and while the first tenants of public housing apartments were predominantly young, employed, working-class families, beginning in the mid-1950s, pubic housing underwent a dramatic shift. Higher urban land costs led to more and more high-rise buildings. Architectural designs took little account of the needs of families with children (apartments had few bedrooms and little recreational space). Municipal housing authorities *where?* and elected officials decided to concentrate the buildings. In some instances, design standards were even lowered to make public housing less attractive to force more reliance on the public sector.[23] Eventually, large numbers of poor families began to crowd into the projects. In many communities, "the projects" became a code for poverty, crime, and despair. Today, the Department of Housing and Urban Development is thought by many to be the largest slumlord in the country.

Public education stands out in the mind of many as another bureaucratic failure. Again, despite the best intentions, political institutions burden schools with excessive bureaucratic redtape, inhibit effective organization, stifle innovation and flexibility, and thereby impede student achievement. People nowadays consider private schools to be a beacon of excellence. The main difference, many contend, is that private schools maintain a safe and disciplined environment in which people can learn, and that teachers engage parents more fully in their children's education.

From an institutional perspective, however, private schools are successful for a different reason. They are successful because the market mechanism of competition ensures that parents have more control than they do in public schools. Private schools have the incentive to please their "customers" and respond to their wants and needs lest they should take their "business" elsewhere. In contrast, public schools are democratically governed; they are represented by varied interests all vying for control over and within the system. A single school is governed by a huge and heterogeneous constituency comprised of politicians, administrators, teachers, and various groups at all

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[23]Egan, John, et al. *Housing and Public Policy: A Role for Mediating Structures.* Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1981. p. 16.

levels. Parents and students are but a small part of this constituency. And because political resources are distributed unequally and the interests of the politically powerful do not always, if even occasionally, parallel the interests of the average citizen, parents wants and needs are often considered last. Low-income families are particularly disempowered. While wealthy parents might in fact choose to remove their children from public schools and send them to private schools, or they perhaps might even choose to move to a different neighborhood, poor families have no such recourse. Because of the steep financial costs of alternatives, public schools can attract and keep students without being particularly good at educating them.

These two anecdotes on housing and education suggest that we must reverse the policies of the last fifty years. The government has grown steadily larger and more intrusive, spending more and more money to tackle problems that simple cannot be solved with money. To avoid the mistakes of the past, we need policies that encourage self-sufficiency and maximize individual choice. Recognizing that many jobs today do not pay livable wages, it may be an appropriate policy for the government to subsidize low-income families with vouchers for housing and education, but that is where government intervention should end. The market should then take over. For example, it is inefficient and intrusive for governments to mandate "fair share" housing policies. There will obviously be a greater demand for low-income housing in some areas than in others, and the market is by far more accurate and efficient in measuring that demand than the government. Where there is sufficient demand, suppliers will appear. Individuals who are motivated and responsible will take advantage of the opportunities created through voucher systems, but it is otherwise inappropriate and unnatural (and expensive) for the government to try and help those who do not want to be helped and who are unwilling to "help themselves."

**What Critics Say**

- Less than half of the jobs in Minnesota pay a livable way. Sixty-one percent of Minnesota's 85,348 families in poverty have at least one person in the work force. Approximately 400,000 Minnesotans lack health coverage--72% of which are in the work force.[24] If we want to create less dependency on the government and more dependency on the market and on the individual, we have to create a market system which allows responsible people to survive.

- Discrimination remains a significant barrier for people of color, no matter how "responsible" they are.

- Poor people do not have the time or money to lobby for their interests and rights. The wealthy, on the other hand, abuse their power and continue to get richer at the expense of the poor. The new Twins stadium is one

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[24] United Way of Minneapolis Area. The Face of the Twin Cities: Another Look. 1995. p. 9.

example of how the needs and wants of the wealthy are considered above those of the poor.

- Everyone in this country receives government benefits of some sort. Whether it is in the form of a check or a tax deduction is immaterial. In fact, the federal government spends $66 billion a year on mortgage-interest and property tax deductions for homeowners-- two-thirds of which goes to families with incomes over $75,000.[25] This is more than *four times* as much as is spent on low-income housing programs.

- The poor will always be with us; a reserve labor pool is essential to capitalism.. The chief function of social programs is to regulate labor. When mass unemployment leads to outbreaks of turmoil, relief programs are initiated or expanded to absorb/control the turmoil and restore order. As turmoil subsides or as labor is needed, the relief programs contract, expelling those who are needed back into the labor market. Responsibility has nothing to do with it.

- The problem with social welfare policies in this country is not that we've done too much--creating dependency--but that we've done too little. The actual amount spent on programs like AFDC is very small. If we truly want to help people get back on their feet again, we need to invest more in these programs.

## Mobility; Creating Choices

## No Turning Back?

"Forty percent of America's cities are programmed to fail. Gary, Camden, and East St. Louis are already clinically dead. Bridgeport, Newark, Hartford, Cleveland, and Detroit are on life support systems. New York, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, and Philadelphia are sinking. Through seemingly healthy, Boston, Minneapolis, and Atlanta are already infected."[26]

--David Rusk

David Rusk, urban policy expert and author of <u>Cities Without Suburbs,</u> visited the Twin Cities a few years ago. He warned that Minneapolis and St.

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[25] DeParle, Jason. *The Year that Housing Died.* <u>The New York Times Magazine.</u> 20 October 1996. p. 53.
[26] Rusk, David. *Without Urban-Suburban Unity, Cities Future Looks Bleak.* <u>Pioneer Press.</u> 10 June 1994.

Paul were headed down the same one-way track that cities like Detroit and Cleveland have already traveled.  The basic pattern remains the same: poverty concentrates in the core, middle class flight accelerates, and the core is then left with a higher percentage of poor but less resources to meet their needs.  As a result, we end up with a polarization of the region on race and class lines.

"Inelastic" cities that are unable to expand their city limits are programmed to fail, according to Rusk, because they become "their own suburbs' poorhouse."[27]  For many reasons--a lack of affordable housing in the suburbs, limited mass transit in the region, discrimination in lending and realty markets, myopic city politics, racism--low-income families in the Twin Cities have remained trapped within city limits, and largely, within certain neighborhoods.  When poverty is concentrated, it exacerbates a myriad of other problems: poor schools crime, unemployment, drugs, dependency, and illegitimacy.  The most effective solution is simply to get people out of the ghettos and into neighborhoods with good schools and jobs opportunities.

## Poor Communities = Poor Schools

Education is typically viewed as the path to self-sufficiency.  History is ripe with examples of
individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds who pulled themselves up "by the bootstraps" and out of poverty.  Clarence Thomas and Colin Powell-- prominent, successful, national figures.  Through hard work and dedication, these two individuals defied the odds.  But unfortunately, those hard to beat.  These men are statistical anomalies.  The reality is that for children who grow up in poor families and live in poor communities, the odds of escaping those deprivations are infinitesimal.  A school may be a child's only hope for a transcendent future, and when that school is overcrowded, impersonal, and gray as well, hope fades fast.  At the very minimum, then, we must assure that children have access to good schools.

In Minnesota, many options currently exist which allow families to choose their school.  The "open enrollment" option, for example, allows students aged 5 to 18 to transfer to public schools outside of their residential district unless the receiving district does not have room or the transfer will have a negative impact on desegregation efforts.  Currently less than 2% of all students take advantage of this option.[28]  A major obstacle for poor families, however, is fact that transportation is not provided for students using the open enrollment option.  If the family does not have a car, and because public transportation is not available to all areas within the suburbs, choices are effectively limited.  Moreover, some parents may be unwilling or unable to invest the time and money seeking out a quality school for their child.  As a result, transportation

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[27]Ibid.

[28]The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.  School Choice. Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation, 1992.

subsidies and extensive outreach programs are vital if school choice programs are to provide options to the families who need them most.

Busing, of course, is another way in which we have traditionally attempted to provided low-income and minority students more opportunities in education. For more than 30 years now, cities across America have engaged in extensive busing efforts to create more culturally and economically diverse classrooms. Some people feel the results have been costly and ineffective, but a significant number of people still express strong support for desegregated schools. Research has shown that desegregation has modest positive effects on the achievement of black students, while having no negative affect on white student achievement.[29] Furthermore, students attending integrated schools have a better chance of attending selective colleges, majoring in technical fields, and working /living in integrated settings.[30] And while raising the achievement of children of color is important, equally important is how children are socialized to become the next generation of adults. Thus even if no gains in achievement were evident, one might still argue that busing is a worthwhile endeavor.

Desegregation proponents argue that the failure of desegregation-based education strategies to produce better academic results, particularly in regard to students of color, comes from its incompleteness. For example, we haven't done enough in our schools to make students of color feel welcomed and valued. There is a lack of diversity among the teaching staff in the region, and staff development efforts to help all teachers develop skills, knowledge, and strategies to work with students from various cultural, racial and ethnic backgrounds have not been made. Moreover, even though schools may be desegregated, classrooms aren't. Once desegregated by school, children are often "re-segregated" by a tracking system that assigns minority children to the least challenging, least interesting classes, often taught by the least experienced or least motivated teachers. In other words, we should actually *try* busing before we condemn it.

Overall, however, a child's educational opportunities and achievement depends on the entire spectrum of resources available through their *whole* environment: home, school, and neighborhood. How they speak and think, how they interact with others, their goals and dreams ... these things depend on where a child lives, and thus, how he or she sees the world. Is it hopeful and bright? Is it dangerous and threatening? Is it gray and sad? Even if one part of a child's spectrum thrives, it will, on average, not be sufficient to counter the impacts of the other two. This is not to say, of course, that we should abandon short-term desegregation strategies such as busing, but if we are ever going to make *real* changes, we will need to "exchange rose-colored glasses for binoculars and move from the false hope of a quick fix to slow but steady

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[29]Minneapolis Public Schools. Quality Schools Report. 17 April 1993. p. 24.
[30]Ibid p. 24.

improvements in the long term."[31] That is to say, if we want desegregated schools, we need desegregated neighborhoods.

## Barriers to Choice

The Twin Cities economy is increasingly becoming suburbanized. The region gained 225,000 new jobs in the 1980s, only 5,400 of which went to the central cities. As a result, there is a significant special mismatch between those who need the jobs and where the jobs are actually located. More than one in four households in the core lack a vehicle, making it largely impossible for low-income families to take advantage of job opportunities in the suburbs. For minorities, the percentages are substantially higher: 47% of African-American households, 56% of Native American households, and 36% of Asian households lack a vehicle.[32] Bus routes do serve the developing suburbs, but only go to a limited number of locations and with much less frequency. Increasingly, the distance between job locations and people's homes is a major barrier of economic opportunity.

Perhaps the biggest barrier to low-income families, however, is the lack of affordable housing in the suburbs. Seventy-one percent of the rental units affordable to very low-income renters[33] and nearly two-thirds of the homes valued at $60,000 or less were located in Minneapolis and St. Paul. As well, the central city and the inner-ring suburbs possess a majority of the region's subsidized housing. While the central cities' share of all subsidized housing in the region has declined from 90% in the early 1970s to 65% today, the fact remains that low- income families still have a limited number of choices of where to live.[34]

There are many reasons why there is a shortage of affordable housing in the suburbs. Perhaps the biggest reason: local zoning laws which prohibit the construction of low- and middle-income housing. Because so many vital services (such as education) are funded through property taxes, municipalities have an incentive to keep low-cost developments out of their communities. "Exclusionary zoning" occurs when municipalities increase the required standards of housing quality beyond those necessary for healthy and safety standards. Examples include specifications of minimum square footage for new homes and lots, prohibitions on multi-family housing units, maximum densities limitations, and garage requirements. For example, while the Metropolitan Council's Advisory Standard for minimum lot size (for single family housing) is 7,500 square feet, Minnetonka has a minimum lot size of

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[31] O'Connor, Debra. *Promises Unfulfilled*. St. Paul Pioneer Press. 11 may 1995, p 10A.

[32] Metropolitan Council. Trouble at the Core: The Twin Cities Under Stress. 18 November 1992. p. 20.

[33] Low income renters are those at 30% of the median income.

[34] Ibid p. 1-2.

22,000 square feet. As well, Lakeville requires that each single family site provide space for a three-car garage regardless of whether the garage is constructed.[35] Though land costs, building costs, and utility connection costs, these requirements contribute significantly to the cost of a house.

Housing is a basic human need that changes with people's age and economic condition. Over their lifespan, people's needs change in respect to housing type, size, price, and location. As a result, exclusionary zoning not only keeps people out of communities, it actually "squeezes" established community members out as their circumstances or needs change. For example, when people retire and suddenly find themselves on fixed budgets, they may have to leave the community altogether if they cannot find housing which meets their needs. Hence it is not just low-wage workers who need housing options, but the elderly, young people just entering the job market, and people going through life changes, such as women who become single moms after a divorce.

Other barriers for low-income and minority households include discrimination in lending markets. "Redlining," or the refusal by banks or companies to issue loans or insurance on property in certain neighborhoods, occurs quite frequently. The Federal Reserve Bank of Boston claims that people of color are sixty percent more like to be rejected for loans for home purchase, improvement, or refinancing than similarly situated white applicants (controlling for financial, employment, and neighborhood characteristics).[36] The incidence of racial discrimination specifically in the Twin Cities home mortgage lending market is well documented. Recent statistical analysis found that approximately 70% of the disparity between home mortgage loans rejection rates of nonwhites and whites is due to the unequal treatment of similarly qualified loan applicants.[37]

Discrimination in the rental market is also severe. A review of seventy-one fair housing audits conducted in cities across the nation throughout the 1980s found that blacks seeking homes for sale encountered a 20% chance of discrimination (on average) while blacks seeking rental units faced a 50% chance of discrimination.[38] Similar discrimination exists for Hispanics, Asians, and Native Americans. A recent study conducted by the Minnesota

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[35] Lukermann, Barbara and Michael Kane. Land Use Practices: Exclusionary Zoning, de Facto or de Jure? Center For Urban and Regional Affairs. p. 17-18.

[36] The Institute on Race and Poverty. Examining the Relationship Between Housing Segregation and Persistent Segregation. (Executive Summary). 1996. p. 6.

[37] The Institute on Race and Poverty. Examining the Relationship Between Housing Segregation and Persistent Segregation. 1996. p. 54. (From Tze Chan and Samuel L. Myers, Jr., "Racial Discrimination in Housing Markets: Accounting for Credit Risk," Social Science Quarterly, Volume 76, No.3, September 1995 and Disparities in Mortgage Lending in the Upper Midwest Summary of the Results Using 1992 Home Mortgage Disclosure Act Data.)

[38] The Institute on Race and Poverty. Examining the Relationship Between Housing Segregation and Persistent Segregation. 1996. p. 35.

Fair Housing Center (MFHC) on the rental practice in two Minneapolis Communities found the incidence of discrimination to be even higher. The MFHC conducted a series of survey tests in the Northeast and Southwest neighborhoods, and found that a total of 72.2% of the cases received different treatment based on race, family status, or public assistance status. In 55.5% of the survey tests, applicants received less favorable treatment based on race.[39] A range of discriminatory behavior uncovered: more information was offered to white testers than testers of color, white testers were encourage to fill out applications right away while testers of color were not, agents failed to show up for testers of color, units were said to be unavailable for testers of color but were available for white testers, testers of color were shown inferior units, and testers of color received more burdensome terms and conditions.[40]

**What's the Prescription?**

To prevent local governments from acting like monopolists, housing policies should be made at least in part on a regional level. A national myth holds that small government is better than big government. But according to Dean Rusk, our *national reality* is that small governments act to exclude racial and economic groups. "Broad-based government can promote diversity. In short, multiple, independent suburbs are machines to keep poor blacks and Latinos trapped in inner cities away from middle class America."[41] The power now held by dozens of independent, local governments should be placed in the hands of an effective, accountable, elected metropolitan government.

At the very least, however, suburbs need to accept their "fair share" of responsibility for creating affordable housing. It is to their own benefit to provide life-cycle housing in a range of types and prices for their own community members as well as individuals wanting to re-locate closer to job opportunities. To prevent creating new pockets of poverty in the suburbs, low-income housing should be scattered throughout neighborhoods and communities. When poverty is not concentrated, it tends to mitigate many of the other problems often associated with poverty, such as crime and declining property values. In order to get suburbs to comply, special incentives may be needed. If tax incentives are not strong enough, mandatory policies with penalties for noncompliance could be adopted.

Incentives directly to developers are another possible option. The state of Massachusetts, for example, adopted guidelines in 1969 requiring local governments to take regional needs into effect in the implementation of local

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[39]Minnesota Fair Housing Center. *Housing Discrimination: A Report on the Rental Practices in Two Minneapolis Communities.* December 1996. p. 9..

[40] Minnesota Fair Housing Center. *Housing Discrimination: A Report on the Rental Practices in Two Minneapolis Communities.* December 1996. p. 10.

[41]Rusk, David. *Without Urban -Suburban Unity, Cities Future Looks Bleak.* Pioneer Press. 10 June 1994.

planning and development standards in its "Anti-Snob Zoning Law." The law
allows developers of projects that are at least 30 percent low-income affordable
to bypass local planning commissions in securing permits. Developers have
won most of the appeals filed as a result of the law, and some 20,000 units of
affordable housing have been created.[42] Massachusetts also withholds federal
and state assistance grants from municipalities that implement exclusionary
zoning ordinances or unreasonable restrictions on private developments of
low-income housing.[43]

Another possibility includes replacing exclusionary zoning with
"inclusionary" zoning. Density bonuses and mandatory set-asides are two of
the main instruments of inclusionary zoning. Density bonuses increase the
permitted density of a development as the amount of affordable housing
increases. Mandatory set-asides require developers to reserve a certain portion
of units in each development for low- or moderate-income residents.[44]

On the flip side, the government needs to expand voucher programs and
lending programs to enhance the purchasing power of low-income
households. As well, the enforcement of anti-discrimination laws is critical.
Housing audits, such as the one recently conducted by the MFHC, is one
important and relatively inexpensive method of checking discrimination in
the housing market. Courts rely on evidence gathered in such tests to
determine if violations of the fair housing laws have occurred. An ongoing,
comprehensive program of random testing with penalties for violators ought
to be enacted.

Finally, community outreach efforts should be made to integrate new
residents and make them feel a part of the community. Home-improvement
training programs and seminars could be implemented to help new residents
maintain their property. Mentoring programs would help the new residents
learn what healthy communities demand in terms of values and
responsibilities.

## Gatreaux Mobility

The strategy of giving the minority poor more choice in where they live can
be traced largely to the relative success of a plan in Chicago that grew out of a
1966 lawsuit. Residents of the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA)--led by
Dorothy Gautreaux--charged that the CHA reinforced segregation by locating
nearly all public housing in overwhelmingly African American

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[42] The Institute on Race and Poverty. Examining the Relationship Between
Housing, Education, and Persistent Segregation. 1996. p. 34 (From Sylvia Lewis, "A
Parallel Experience," in Planning 58 (May 1992): 14.
[43] Ibid. p. 35. (From Justin D. Cummin, Recasting Fair Share: Toward Housing Law
and Principled Social Policy, 54 Law and Inequ. J. 339, 364, 1996.)
[44] Ibid. p. 35.

neighborhoods.  The plaintiffs successfully sued to force HUD and the CHA to fund a rent-subsidy voucher program throughout the six-county Chicago area.

The Gatreaux Assisted Housing Program is the oldest and most renowned of the special mobility programs.  Northwestern University sociologist James Rosenbaum and his colleagues found that improvements in economic outcomes for parents and educational outcomes for children are associated with enhanced opportunities in neighborhoods less severely impacted by poverty.  Specifically, they found that children who had grown up in the suburbs were more likely to have completed high school, attended college, be employed, and earn higher wages.

Source: Dreier, Peter and David Moberg. *Moving From the 'Hood*. <u>The American Prospect</u>. no. 24 (Winter 1995): 75-79.

What Critics Say?

### What is "affordable housing"?

Under standards established by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, housing is classified as "affordable" if it consumes no more than 30% of a household's income. Housing that exceeds 50% of income is defined as a severe cost burden. According to the 1990 Census, the region faces a serious need for affordable housing. There is a current shortage of over 36,800 units which would be considered affordable to low-income renters at the 30% benchmark. This shortage may even be understated as it fails to consider the current mismatch between low-income households and affordable housing units. Many of the units deemed affordable for low-income households are actually occupied by households with higher incomes. As a result, large percentages of the Minneapolis and St. Paul poor face severe housing cost burdens. In 1990, 76% of the region's low-income renters (84,000 households) paid 30% or more of their income on rent, while 43% of these low-income households (48,000) paid over 50% of their income on rent[45].

HUD's Section 8 program was created in 1974 to assist individuals with severe housing cost burdens. The program provides subsidies directly to individual households to help close the gap between income and housing costs. Section 8 funds are also needed to protect residents whose units are lost to government initiated disposition or demolition from displacement. Section 8 subsidies cover the difference between 30 percent of an eligible tenant's income and the "fair market rent" for comparably new, rehabilitated or existing units in that particular area. Provided the housing they find meets government quality standards and the landlord is willing to sign a Housing Assistance Payment contract with the local Public Housing Authority, the tenant can move into that apartment. A major obstacle for Section 8 recipients is the lack of housing within the "fair market rent." In fact, even though only 4.5 million of the 15 million eligible households receive *any type* of housing assistance, and even though Section 8 waiting lists in many areas are closed off, Section 8 vouchers go unused every year because people cannot find units within the FMR. Furthermore, just last year Congress approved legislation which reduced the FMR from the 45th to the 40th rent percentile--inevitably making it even more difficult for families to find suitable housing within the FMR.

### EMPLOYMENT PROJECTIONS

| | Central Cities | Fully Developed Suburbs | Developing Suburbs | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |

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[45]Metropolitan Council. Housing Policies for the 1990s. February 1994. p.2.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1980 | 445,371 | 324,437 | 216,560 | 1,040,0139 1 |
| 1990 | 450,818 | 376,674 | 377,292 | 1,293,12 1 |
| 2000 | 459,000 | 426,075 | 501,576 | 1,498,89 1 |
| 2010 | 463,500 | 446,355 | 567,926 | 1,602,96 1 |

Source: Metropolitan Council. Housing Policy for the 1990s. November 1994. p. 18

While the central cities still has the largest concentration
of jobs, the fast-growing                                    suburbs captured two-thirds
of net-job growth in the 1980s. This trend id projected to
continue in the next decade.

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_____

_____
_____
**Current Level of Affordable Units in Twelve Twin Cities**
**Communities, 1996**

| City | Affordable Owner-Occupied Units | Affordable Rental Units |
|---|---|---|
| Eagan | 62% | 22% |
| Eden Prairie | 42% | 11% |
| Edina | 31% | 14% |
| Maple Grove | 69% | 4% |
| Minneapolis | 88% | 67% |
| Minnetonka | 47% | 17% |
| Plymouth | 42% | 15% |
| Shoreview | 60% | 42% |
| St. Paul | 90% | 68% |
| Wayzata | 43% | 36% |
| Woodbury | 55% | 15% |

Source: Metropolitan Liveable Communities Act, Metropolitan Council,
January 1996. (From the Institute on Race
and Poverty. Examining the Relationship Between Housing, Education, and
Persistent Segregation. (Executive Summary.)                      1996. p. 10.

Minneapolis, St. Paul, and a number of inner-ring
suburbs already meet or exceed their share                      of affordable
housing units in the metropolitan area. Other communities, however, fall

substantially short.  The lack of affordable housing in the suburbs is one of the largest barriers to economic opportunity faced by low-income households.

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## The Armageddon of Section 8

> *"The weak political constituency for the Department of Housing and Urban Development makes it a prime candidate for cuts."*

> --House Speaker Newt Gingrich in the The Washington Post 12/13/94

The bipartisan desire to achieve a balanced federal budget by the year 2002 is having a dramatic effect on American social policy.  The proposal now under consideration would require sharp cuts of at least 25% in discretionary spending over seven years.  And unfortunately, it is not likely that all programs will be cut proportionally; HUD programs could very well receive a disproportionate cut.

At the same time that funding is shrinking, need is growing.  HUD expenditures have been growing at a rate of 9% per year over the past 15 years-- faster than any other federal agency except the Commerce Department.  Many opponents of public housing like to use such statistics as evidence of  HUD's bloatedness and  inefficiency.  Yet, the simple fact  is that housing spending has increased because the number of poor Americans has increased--and--because the cost of housing has increased .  Quite simply, housing need has rapidly outstripped federal expenditures.  Many studies have found that the gap between affordable housing units and the number of families in need of assistance is wider than at point since the Great Depression.  While approximately 15 million households qualify for federal housing aid, only 4.5 receive any type of assistance (whether it be project-based or tenant-based).[46]

A principle source of the cost growth is the federal government's policy of renewing all housing assistance.  Section 8 housing was developed with time-limited contracts, most of which were only for 15 or 20 years (a few were for 40 years).  These contracts, now providing housing assistance for up to one million families, will expire in the next few years. The amount of money needed to renew these contracts will explode from about $2.2 billion in FY 1995 to $16.1 billion in FY 2000.[47]  Considering HUD's total budget  has already been cut down from $25.7 billion in FY 1995 to $19.7 billion in FY1996, it almost goes

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[46] Deparle, Jason. "The Year that Housing Died." *The New York Times Magazine.* 20 October 1996. p. 52.

[47] "Federal Housing Budget Debate." http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~txlihis/fedbuddeb.html    p.3

without saying that the $16.1 billion cost of contract renewals would usurp many of the other functions currently performed by HUD. There is currently no formal federal commitment to continue providing the subsidies after the contracts expire. Many housing budget experts have referred to this situation as the "Armageddon."

## What Critics Say

- "The solution to pollution is not dilution." It is better to help people where they are than "disperse" poverty into other communities. Instead of making other communities worse, we need to clean up the bad neighborhoods. (An influx of low-income families could lead to increased crime in the suburbs. As well, low-income home-owners and tenants of low-income housing projects who do not maintain their property will lower surrounding property values.)
- People move to the suburbs to escape crime and bad schools. It is not fair or realistic to expect suburban residents to take these problems on again.
- "Transplanted" low-income families may not share the same values as existing residents; as a result, they may feel alienated and/or cause problems.
- Efforts to desegregated neighborhoods and schools with high proportions of minorities assume that it is better to live and go to school in majority white settings. This is disrespectful of the strengths of communities of colors. Furthermore, people of color need to remain together in order to preserve their culture and maintain their--albeit small--political representation.
- "Mobility" may heighten racial tensions and lead to more racist encounters and attacks.
- Public transportation in suburbs does not provide 24 hour, 7 day-a-week service. The suburbs are not geared for families without vehicles.
- It is inappropriate for the government to interfere in issues that should be worked out though natural market forces.
- "Mobility" as an option will take a long time to implement. It is a gradualistic approach and will do little to help the thousands of poor who need help *right now*. Furthermore, it is a tokenistic approach. Past attempts to provide mobility to low-income families and people of color have been limited in scope, actually helping few people. Using the few "token" low-income and minority families living among them as proof that they have done their "share", suburbs may feel they are then exonerated from the problems of the central cities.
- Dispersing poverty may help the few, token families who are lucky enough to escape the ghettos, but it does little for the people, schools, and deteriorated neighborhoods that are left behind. Even under the most renowned mobility program of all, the Gatreaux program in Chicago, very

little improvement was seen in the neighborhoods from which the
participants left.

- Even if obstacles are removed and the poor are granted more mobility, the fact remains that their is a general mismatch between the skills of the poor and the skills necessary for available jobs.

**To:**        Dick Little
                Community Circle Collaborative Board Members

**From:**    Syl Jones
                **Jones!**

**Re:**        Enclosed Draft of Discussion Guide

**Date:**      March 23, 1997

As I pass on the enclosed first draft of the Discussion Guide, which is incomplete, please accept my apology. The challenge of redrafting the original study guide, based on my initial understanding of what the guide should contain, appeared to be possible within an expanded time frame. The meeting I had with the Board and my limited discussion with you, Dick, convinced me that I would be able to meet the original deadline of a "20-page discussion guide."

However, as I reviewed the dozens of monographs, newspaper clippings, studies, guidebooks, videotapes, magazine articles, etc., that you dropped off in two separate trips to my house, Dick, I began to see that it was not possible. I have spent hours reviewing these materials and attempting to construct a format that would support to goal of the project. The manuscript you now have represents my best effort to date. It is surely not good enough because it is incomplete, but there are also other important observations to be made about the materials and the process of writing this report.

1. An obvious fault of the guidebook as it was written is that it begs too many questions. It assumes that readers will automatically accept the premise that segregation is bad for society. While most of us may agree, such an assumption undermines the nature of the inquiry.

2. In order to change this assumption, the guidebook not only has to be rewritten and restructured. A new introduction explaining the historical context must be added so that readers know where the sponsors of the guidebook are coming from.

3. There are too many experts and too many points of view represented in the research materials I have been given. Although I am capable of sorting them all out and discarding those of minor relevance, I estimate that in order to do the best possible job, I would require at least another week -- and that would be adequate if I were doing only this project.

I realize that the problem is that the process has already begun in some of the circles and the guidebook is needed immediately. But now that I

understand the magnitude of this project, it's my professional opinion that much more time will be needed if this job is to be properly done.

I am still available to complete the guidebook provided I receive clear direction on format, content, length, etc., from a designated spokesperson from the Board. In fact, written feedback would be appreciated. One of the problems I encountered was the often contradictory nature of written comments about the initial discussion guide. What I would need in order to continue the job and, hopefully, complete it by the first week in April, would be feedback that allows me to establish a clear direction.

Finally, this assignment has been the first to confound me in my entire 20-year career. Where I went wrong was in assuming that the project was somewhat finite and that 20 pages could summarize the issues. Now I know that I could easily write a book length manuscript on this subject and still not cover it all.

I will certainly understand should you decide to bring in another writer at this point and, in that case, I will not bill you for my services. I guarantee my work -- which means if I accept a project and can't meet the agreed upon deadline, you do not have to pay me a cent. This is the first time I've *ever* missed a deadline (hard to believe but it's true) or felt the need to invoke my service guarantee. But there's a first time for everything.

Thank you, and I look forward to doing what I can to make this project work.

increase.[1] This trend has continues today and is beginning to spread into inner-ring suburb.

Two-thirds of those in poverty are white, but the number of people of color living in poverty is disproportionate to the population. In the core area of the central city, poverty rates for African Americans (44%), American Indians (56%), Asians (62%) and Hispanic residents (31%) are dramatically higher than poverty rates for whites (18%).[2]

## The Impact on Schools

Recent media reports have shown that our public schools are in trouble. Not only have the number of students increased but a greater percentage of those students are poor and in need of social services. At the same time, public resources available to schools have been shrinking in an environment that demands greater educational skills than ever before.

One measure of the difficulty facing schools is student test scores. The table below shows the percentage of students passing the 1996 Minnesota Basic Skills Test for all districts in the seven-country region. Minneapolis schools rank the lowest with only 42% of its students passing the math test and 37% passing the reading test. Minneapolis schools also have the highest per pupil expenditures ($9,136) within the seven county region, as well as the highest percentage of students living in poverty. Approximately 60% of Minneapolis students receive free or reduced-price lunches -- a federal program available for families with incomes below 185% of the poverty level. Furthermore, 63% of Minneapolis' student body are children of color.

### Figure 13. Basic Skills Test Scores and Spending Levels, By District, 1996[3]

| District | Percent Passing: Math | Reading | Poverty | Enrollment | Per Pupil Spending: Gen. Fund | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| noka-Hennepin | 70 | 52 | 15 | 38,670 | $4,668 | $5,826 |
| oomington | 79 | 65 | 16 | 11,371 | $5,210 | $6,034 |
| ooklyn Center | 64 | 53 | 44 | 1,650 | $4,855 | $6,707 |
| irnsville | 74 | 65 | 18 | 11,195 | $5,427 | $6,541 |

[1]Metropolitan Council. *Trouble at the Core: The Twin Cities Under Stress.* November 1992. p. 8.

[2]Metropolitan Council. *Trouble at the Core: The Twin Cities Under Stress.* November 1992. p. 14.

[3]O'Connor, Debra. *Spending Isn't Key to Success.* St. Paul Pioneer Press. 1996.

(Data based on information from the Minnesota Department of Children, Families, and Learning.)

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| olumbia Heights | 70 | 57 | 31 | 2,987 | $6,328 | $7,259 |
| len Prairie | 91 | 79 | 4 | 9,198 | $4,709 | $6,495 |
| dina | 95 | 88 | 2 | 6,181 | $5,588 | $7,081 |
| rmington | 79 | 66 | 18 | 3,400 | $4,550 | $6,649 |
| orest Lake | 81 | 65 | 15 | 7,867 | $4,367 | $5,597 |
| idley | 75 | 71 | 24 | 2,607 | $5,950 | $6,723 |
| astings | 84 | 65 | 13 | 5,119 | $4,615 | $5,617 |
| opkins | 88 | 81 | 10 | 8,029 | $6,132 | $7,743 |
| ver Grove Heights | 74 | 69 | 18 | 4,005 | $5,014 | $6,101 |
| ikeville | 82 | 73 | 5 | 7,319 | $4,472 | $7,237 |
| ahtomedi | 90 | 78 | 6 | 2,670 | $4,562 | $5,854 |
| inneapolis | 42 | 37 | 61 | 46,151 | $7,115 | $9,136 |
| innetonka | 90 | 83 | 4 | 7,235 | $5,714 | $7,440 |
| ounds View | 86 | 71 | 10 | 12,043 | $5,142 | $6,220 |
| orth St. Paul--aplewood--Oakdale | 73 | 61 | 17 | 10,600 | $4,909 | $5,835 |
| rono | 90 | 87 | 4 | 2,576 | $5,037 | $6,298 |
| sseo | 81 | 65 | 14 | 21,280 | $4,877 | $6,454 |
| ior Lake | 87 | 76 | 8 | 3,859 | $4,387 | $5,775 |
| andolph | 78 | 62 | 8 | 473 | $5,250 | $5,972 |
| chfield | 71 | 62 | 22 | 4,343 | $5,848 | $7,020 |
| obbinsdale | 71 N/A | | 22 | 13,507 | $5,490 | $6,460 |
| oseville | 80 | 72 | 18 | 6,772 | $6,102 | $7,377 |
| osemount--pple Valley--Eagan | 78 | 68 | 9 | 25,554 | $4,210 | $5,691 |
| . Anthony--ew Brighton | 78 | 71 | 10 | 1,255 | $5,833 | $6,401 |
| . Louis Park | 76 | 66 | 22 | 4,285 | $6,597 | $7,816 |
| . Paul | 51 | 44 | 56 | 42,046 | $6,017 | $7,095 |
| iakopee | 68 | 61 | 15 | 3,011 | $5,437 | $6,577 |
| oring Lake Park | 82 | 64 | 20 | 4,181 | $4,975 | $5,989 |
| uth St. Paul | 65 | 60 | 24 | 3,562 | $4,975 | $6,179 |
| uth Washington o. | 84 | 71 | 12 | 13,886 | $4,245 | $5,666 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| illwater | 83 | 73 | | 7 | 9,068 | $4,992 | $6,342 | 13 |
| ayzata | 87 | 71 | | 7 | 8,046 | $5,106 | $6,688 | |
| est St. Paul--endota Hts--Eagan | 67 | 61 | 16 | | 4,787 | $5,014 | $7,781 | |
| estonka | 78 | 72 | 14 | 2,364 | | $5,417 | $6,854 | |
| hite Bear Lake | 84 | 70 | 12 | | 9,610 | $4,944 | $6,111 | |

Children who attend school hungry, chronically sick, and mentally fatigued have a far more difficult time learning than do children without such disadvantages. Resources for districts like Minneapolis -- which is among the poorest in the state -- often get diverted away from education toward necessities like free and reduced lunch programs, special education services, and bilingual education.

When schools must spend significant proportions of their budgets on simply getting their students to the "starting line," they often fall short of the finish line. This means that education is unequal in our state and that poor children often do not develop the basic skills -- such as reading, writing, math and relationship building -- they will need to succeed. The result of these inequities is a multi-tiered education system in which some children are doomed to failure as adults while others are likely to succeed.

The connection, then, between poverty and education is this: poverty tends to render achievement less likely by preventing children from learning and sapping resources from the education system. Society suffers from inequities in education because under-educated children are less able to contribute to the quality of life and more likely to need public assistance as adults. Finally, poverty in one generation often leads to an impoverished next generation as the cycle of neglect, mental and physical deficiencies, low achievement and failure continues.

## Public Education and Equality of Opportunity

Public schools were chartered to do the important work of developing and maintaining American society. They were designed to establish a nation dedicated to certain shared principles and values, such as individual freedom, justice and self-sufficiency. In fact, one of the most persuasive arguments for the establishment of public education was that it "would open a gateway to opportunity that would otherwise be closed to many youngsters," and would "eliminate the dwarf of social inequities which plague other nations."[4]

Quality public schools and equality of educational opportunity are essential to both individual economic enterprise and general prosperity. Advances in

[4] Tesconi, Jr., Charles A. and Emanuel Hurwitz, Jr. Education for Whom? NY: Dodd, Mean & Company, 1974. p 15

technology and shifts in the labor market have largely eliminated the need for unskilled workers. Students who do not learn crucial skills in school no longer have factory jobs to fall back on. To maintain a productive and profitable economy, as well as compete globally, all individuals in our society need to maximize their literacy through lifelong learning that begins in the public schools.

But because of competing needs and the loss of income within the core cities, financial resources available to public schools have dwindled steadily over the last two decades. The combination of increased poverty, larger populations of students of color and a decreasing tax base means greater pressure on the public schools in the years ahead. For example, the population of white Minnesotans between the ages of 15-19 is projected to decrease by 6% between 1995 and 2015. For African Americans, that the same population will *increase* by 187%, while American Indians, Asian Americans, and Hispanic/Latino Americans will increase by 61%, 111%, and 128%, respectively. This averages out to be an increase of 122% for communities of color.[5]

**The Search For Solutions**

*"In today's world, a youngster who leaves school unable to read, write, and do simple arithmetic faces a bleak future. When a substantial portion of boys and girls leave school uneducated, the rest of us face a bleak future."*
--Lisbeth Schorr, <u>Within Our Reach</u>

No one knows the precise causes for the failures of our public schools. Nor is it easy to uncover all of the reasons for growing poverty in the Twin Cities. What we do know is that as the region becomes more segregated, as poverty becomes more concentrated among families of color, and as schools continue to underserve our students, the quality of life lowers. This is true now and will be even more obvious in the near-term as the demographics of our region change.

There is evidence that many of the differences between white families and families of color -- in school performance and economic prosperity particularly -- are remnants of past and present segregation. Historically, segregation and the system of laws established to protect it were designed to create separate and unequal societies based on mythologies about white racial superiority. While segregation has been outlawed and is no longer officially tolerated, it remains a demographic reality.

What does segregation have to do with the quality of life? A house divided cannot stand, and a nation divided is structurally weakened. Natural

[5]Urban Coalition. *Statement from Citizen's League Communities of Color.* 13 December 1996.

## The Polarization of the Region

While many government policies and programs exist which aim at integrating both schools and neighborhoods, the actual trend in housing and education has been towards economic and racial segregation in the last fifteen years--not away from it. "Using Census data and what demographers call a segregation or dissimilarity index, between 1970 and 1990, poor households became 13% more segregated in the 40 largest metropolitan areas."[9] Similarly, studies of racial segregation show that America's major urban centers remain highly segregated, with cities in the northern "rustbelt" typically being the most segregated.[10]

With the acceleration of white and middle-class flight from the central cities in recent decades, poverty has concentrated in the core of Minneapolis and St. Paul. According to the 1990 census, the central cities had only 28% of the region's population but 60% of it's poor. Moreover, 65% the region's minorities live in the central cities.[11] As a result, the communities in this region are rapidly becoming polarized.

The damage that racial and economic segregation inflicts on individuals has its counterpart in the damage inflicted on an entire metropolitan region--both the urban core and the suburbs. A strong and prosperous core is key to the health of the entire region; without the city, there would be no suburbs. Suburban communities benefit from the unique economic and cultural opportunities that only large urban centers can provide. Segregation, however, prevents wealth accumulation by residents of isolated, poor communities, thereby establishing major barriers to market participation. Metropolitan regions as a whole suffer when large percentages of people do not have the skills necessary to participate in the economy as workers, consumers, and citizens.

The greatest concentration of jobs in this region is currently in the core. As of the early 1990s, it had approximately 374,000 jobs, more than 2.8 jobs for each of its 133,000 households.[12] Nonetheless, the core has the highest rates of unemployment and poverty in the region. Why? Because there is a serious mismatch between the skills and knowledge of low-income core residents and

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[9]The Institute on Race and Poverty. Examining the Relationship Between Housing, Education, and Persistent Segregation. Summer 1996. p. 4. (From Alan Abramson, et al, *The Changing Geography of Metropolitan Opportunity: The Segregation of the Poor in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970 to 1990*. Housing Policy Debate 6 (1), --1995.
[10]Ibid. p. 4.
[11]United Way Minneapolis Area. *The Face of the Twin Cities: Another Look*. 1995. p.8.
[12]Metropolitan Council. *Trouble at the Core: The Twin Cities Under Stress*. 1992. p. 18.

the skills and knowledge required by available jobs. The jobs available in the core--which contains not only two downtowns but the University of Minnesota, the Midway area, and the Capitol complex--are highly professional. As a result, jobs are typically filled by suburban commuters. This is one side of the story.

The other side of the story is that while the central cities still maintains the largest percentage of jobs, job growth in the central cities has virtually come to a halt. The region's economy is rapidly becoming suburbanized. The suburbs captured almost 98% percent of job growth in the 1980s--66% of which went to the fast growing outer-ring suburbs.[13]

**Housing and Disinvestment in core neighborhoods
**Discrimination in rental markets
**crime

## Per Capita Income by Race and Hispanic Origin, 1990 Census (in $1000s)

|  | 7 County Region | Minne apolis | St. Paul | Sub urbs |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | $14.5 | $13.3 | $12.9 | $15.0 |
| White | $14.8 | $14.1 | $13.5 | $15.1 |
| African American | $9.1 | $8.4 | $8.2 | $13.1 |
| Am. Indian | $6.8 | $5.9 | $6.2 | $8.6 |
| Asian | $9.4 | $6.9 | $5.5 | $11.9 |
| Hispanic | $8.4 | $7.5 | $7.3 | $9.7 |

Source: Metropolitan Council. *Trouble at the Core: Twin Cities Udner Stress.* November 1992. p. 38.

## Percent Change in Per Capita Income, By Race and Hispanic Origin, 1979-1989 (1989 dollars)

|  | Region | Minnea polis | St. Paul | Suburbs |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average | 18.4% | 11.5% | 6.5% | 20.9% |

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[13]Ibid. p. 18.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| White | 21.3% | 20.1% | 13.9% | 21.9% |
| African American | -3.5% | -7.5% | -5.0% | -8.1% |
| Am. Indian | 20.1% | -5.7% | 4.9% | 56.8% |
| Asian | -12.1% | -11.6% | -25.1% | 1.8% |
| Hispanic | 8.4% | 14.9% | -2.3% | 10.5% |

Source: Metropolitan Council. *Trouble at the Core: Twin Cities Udner Stress.*
November 1992. p. 39.

Income disparities in the central cities and the suburbs increased thorughout the 1980s. Per Capita income in the suburbs was higher than in the central cities to begin with, and then increased at a faster rate throughout the decade. Areas outside of the cetral cities expereinced a 21% increase in average per capita income, while average per capita income in Minneapolis and St. Paul went up about 12% and 7%, respectively. More strinking, however, is the difference in per capita income between white and minorities. Average per capita income for African Americans and Asians actually *decreased* throughout the decade. This may be in part due to the shift in the regional economy. The economy of the Twin Cities (like that of the nation) has become increasingly based on services and trade activity and proportionatey less on manufacturing. Two-thirds of all the region's new jobs in the last decade were in services and trade sectors. These jobs--largely in retail--generally have lower wage rates than jobs in manufacturing. In fact, less than half of the jobs in Minnesota today pay a liveable wage.

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The Prescription: Strengthening the Core

Many people feel that providing the "token" few with more opportunities and choices--greater "mobility"--will do little good for the region if the communities that are left behind remain poor and isolated.

If we are to strengthen the core--and thus the entire region--it is imperative that we focus on job training and placement programs for the unskilled inhabitants of the core. Moreover, we must begin preparing "tomorrow's workers" today by providing quality educational opportunities for *all* children. Currently Minneapolis and St. Paul have the highest drop-out rates and lowest achievement scores among all school districts in the seven county region. This suggests that we need to focus on equalizing resources between suburban and

urban schools, through some sort of revenue-sharing plan or suburban-urban transfer. As well, we could redirect funds earmarked for busing to improve neighborhood schools in the central cities.

It is also essential that we reverse the outflow of economic activity to the suburbs. Due to changes in technology and transportation structures, large firms no longer find it necessary to locate in the central cities. As a result, more and more companies are relocating to the suburbs. To prevent this flight of capital, as well as to entice capital back into the cities, redevelopment grants, loans, and tax exemptions--the distinguishing tool of urban enterprise zones-- could be used. Beyond providing more job opportunities for the urban poor, an influx of capital into the central cities would help compensate for the deteriorating urban tax base.

**What Critics Say**

- Pumping money into the central cities is not the answer because it is prohibitively expensive. When poverty is so concentrated, using money to tackle the problem is like throwing it down a black hole because it is absorbed so quickly. Given the fact that many of these communities are in serious debt, it would take an impossible amount of money to revitalize their economies. It isn't realistic to believe that we can generate that much investment, particularly as it will largely have to come in the form of transfers from the suburbs.

- Creating "enterprise zones" is not an effective way to stimulate economic activity and create jobs in the urban core. Enterprise zones are not pro-labor or pro-community, but pro-profit. Jobs are not guaranteed to go to the urban poor; they can (and very often are) filled by suburban commuters. Moreover, the communities providing the tax-exemption must provide resources to compensate for the tax expenditure granted to the enterprise zone--either through increased tax burdens or decreased services.

- In order to create more regional stability, our communities need to be more economically and racially diverse. Building up infrastructure in the cities will do little good if our communities are still divided along and race and class lines.

- The only way to break down the racial hierarchy that currently exists is to integrate. People of color need to enter into the economic and social mainstream where they will have more access to good jobs and good schools. Equally important, white folks must diversify and expand their understanding of people of color. If we continue to stay apart, the structure of the "racial other" goes unchecked.

- People need to have real choices about where they live. Since a majority of the new jobs are in the suburbs, and because we have limited mass transit in the region, there needs to be more low-income housing in the suburbs.

# Personal Responsibility and Market Mechanism

## A Safety Net or A Trap?

Can a society take care of its *deserving* without encouraging people to become *undeserving*? Can society create a welfare system that doesn't undermine the moral character of its people? The general answer, as history has taught us, is no.

A government's social policy establishes the rules by which its citizens live. It creates incentives and strategies to go about making a living, raising a family, and having fun. All people--poor and not-poor--respond to these incentives as rational human beings, attempting to maximize their own utility. The primary difference between the poor and not-poor, however, is that they play under different constraints: poor people cannot wait as long for results.

Beginning in the early 1960s, social policy in the United States underwent a major transformation. Programs initiated under the War on Poverty radically changed the rules for poor people, making it profitable for the poor to behave in the short term in ways that were destructive in the long term. The changes in benefit levels and eligibility requirements ushered in by the social policies of the 60s dramatically changed incentives to the poor. As a result, we saw an increase in unemployment among the young, a decrease in labor force participation, and an increase in illegitimacy and welfare dependency.[14] Since then, we have been masking these losses by further subsidizing destructive behavior. We tried to provide more help to the poor, but instead we only created more poor. We tried to prevent people from becoming dependent, but instead created long-term dependency.

We cannot blame people for acting rational. If a young, single mom has a choice between working a full-time, minimum wage job with no insurance (and then paying half of her income for child care), or staying at home with her child, claiming AFDC benefits, Medicaid, Food Stamps, and Section 8 rent subsidies, what is the rational choice? Of course it is the latter of the two. The problem, however, is that this woman is only looking at her short term needs. When this woman's child grows older and she suddenly finds herself needing and wanting to work, she will also find herself lacking a solid employment history and job skills. As a result, she will have no choice but to stay dependent on government assistance.

Moreover, every assumption young blacks or Latinos might make about their inability to compete with whites is fed by targeted social policies which tell them that they are un-responsible victims. We tell youth from disadvantaged families to be proud and to believe in themselves, yet our actions tell them that no one else believes in them. It is, in essence, the self-fulfilling prophecy. Low-income minorities typically live in the most isolated communities, experience the most severe negative conditioning, and have been granted by policy the most immunity from responsibility.

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[14]Murray, Charles. <u>Losing Ground</u>. NY: Basic Books, Inc., 1984. p. 9.

Essentially, then, instead of a safety net, we inadvertently built a trap.    By allowing people to be lean on the government during hard times, we've taken away their ability to be self-sufficient.   People *would* play the incentives offered by the market if they didn't have the option of playing the incentives offered by the government.  If we eliminated assistance for everyone but the truly needy, it would leave the able-bodied no recourse whatsoever except the job market. "It is the Alexandrian solution: cut the knot, for there is no way to untie it."[15]

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"The most troubling aspect of American social policy toward the poor in the late twentieth-century America is not how much it costs, but what it has bought."

--Charles Murray,

Losing

Ground

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**The Culture of Poverty**
   Spending on social programs has steadily increased since America first began waging its "war on poverty."  Public assistance costs were thirteen times higher in 1980 than they were in 1950 (in constant dollars).  Education costs in 1980 were 24 times their 1950 cost, while housing costs were 129 times their 1950 cost.  Overall, civilian social welfare costs increased by twenty times.  During that same period, however, the United States population increased by one half.[16]   Clearly, a fundamental change took place in American social policy. But why hasn't this investment paid off?
   As some suggest, this investment has not paid off  because a certain group of individuals--what is now typically referred to as the "underclass"-- will always be poor regardless of their external circumstances.  While the "underclass" and the "lower class" both lack economic resources and opportunities, the two classes are different in that the "underclass" has a different set of values. Moreover, the underclass is delineated from lower class populations in that their poverty traits are transmitted intergenerationally and they thus become stuck in a self-perpetuating cycle of disadvantage.  This is in contrast to individuals who have experienced the loss of a breadwinner, are involuntary unemployed, are ill.  Their poverty is typically not enduring and certainly not transmitted from one generation to the next.  Research shows that this "culture of poverty" transcends regional, rural/urban, and national differences, and that everywhere individuals stuck in the culture of poverty show  "striking similarities in family structure, interpersonal relations, time orientation, value

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[15]Ibid. pp. 227-228.

[16]Ibid. p. 14. (From Office of Research and Statistics. *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1981*.  Washington, DC: Bureau of the Census, 1982.)

systems, and patterns of spending."[17]  This culture is characterized by things such as (1) hopelessness, indifference, alienation, apathy, and a lack of effective participation or integration into the social and economic fabric of society; (2) a present-tense time orientation; (3) cynicism and mistrust of those in authority; (4) strong feelings of marginality, helplessness, dependence, and inferiority; (5) lack of impulse control and the inability to defer gratification; (8) the absence of childhood as a specially protected and prolonged state, and thus early initiation into free sexual unions or consensual marriages; (9) a high incident in the abandonment of wives and children; (10) a matriarchal family structure; and (10) a minimum level of organization beyond the nuclear or extended family, a low level of community organization, and a strong sense of territoriality.[18] Approximately only 20% of those living below the poverty line are actually trapped in the culture of poverty, but indeed this 20% is largely why our increased investments have *not* paid off.  An expensive program such as Section 8--one that costs approximately $6000 per year per family--is a futile effort because those in the culture of poverty will remain poor whether they live in core of whether they live in the Eden Prairie. Improvements in environment will superficially affect their poverty, but only a change in values and family structure can help break the cycle of disadvantage.

### "The Poverty of Values"

History is replete with individuals who have climbed their way out of poverty.  But what is it that allows some people to hurdles life's barriers while others consistently stumble?

General Colin Powell grew up in Harlem and the South Bronx, two of America's very poorest and crime-ridden neighborhoods.  He was not a exceptionally gifted student nor a star athlete, but he was a hard-worker.  In 1989, the 52-year-old was appointed chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.  The youngest man and first African-American ever to hold that position, Colin Powell is greatly respected by the American public.  When asked the secret of his success, Powell gives a definitive response: "My family."  In his own words, "The worst kind of poverty is not economic poverty.  It is the poverty of values."[19]

Today, one out of every four children is born to a single mother.  A third of these single mothers are teenagers.[20]  Studies show that children in single-parent families are more likely to have problems.  They tend to do more poorly in school and are more likely to abuse drugs and alcohol.  They typically earn less and are more likely to become single parents themselves.  This breakdown of values is ultimately what causes the perpetuation of poverty.  Children do not have role-models and thus do not learn how to be disciplined and self-sufficient.

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[17]Karger, Howard Jacob and David Stoesz. *American Social Welfare Policy*. White Plains, NY: Longman Publishing Group, 1994.

[18]Ibid. p. 148.

[19]National Issues Forums. *The Troubled American Family*. 1995. p. 7.

[20]Ibid. p. 7.

Our current public policies and practices counteract traditional American values of hard-work, self-sufficiency, and strong, two-parent families. Aid to Families with Dependent Children, for example, allows a woman to have a child out of wedlock with no conceivable way of supporting that child. No-fault divorce laws are another example; by allowing couples to easily get divorces, they place a low value on family and marriage. Our current laws and practices need to be restructured to encourage two-parent families and family values.

## The Impact on Schools

Perhaps nowhere has the break-down of the family structure had a stronger impact than on our schools. People often voice dissatisfaction with the public schools, but schools nowadays are asked to do the impossible: they are asked not only to educate children, but raise them, protect them, and discipline them too. Schools are asked to provide children with their breakfast and lunch, their after-school activities, their values and morals. Teachers are forced to discipline children who cause disruptions and create problems. They must spend extra time helping children with assignments who get no help at home. Where are the parents? When teachers are asked to take on so many other roles, it seriously diminishes their capacity to do their primary function: teach.

Not ironically, it is in the best schools that we see the most two-parent families. In these schools, teachers are free to teach without constantly having to deal with disruptions and incomplete assignments. Indeed, many studies have found that it is not the amount of money that a school spends that has the greatest impact on educational achievement, but rather the socioeconomic make-up of the students. In 1964, John Hopkins sociologist James Coleman conducted an extensive study of equality of educational opportunity in America. When measured by the "input" criteria, Coleman found that differences in the quality of schools was not very closely related to differences in student achievement. Instead, he found social class mix to be the crucial factor in explaining differences in achievement. Children from low socioeconomic backgrounds--regardless of race--improved when studying along side of children from a mixture of *social* classes. This may be because children from middle- and upper-class families typically have a different values system and receive discipline and instruction at home. The crucial point, according to Coleman, is that "schools have little influence on a youngster's achievement that is independent of his social, economic, and cultural background."[21] Our own experience in the Twin Cities seems to confirm Coleman's point. While the Minneapolis school district is the highest spending district in the region, it also has the lowest achievement rates (as measured by the Minnesota Basic Skills Tests). It also has more children living with only one parent (46.2%) than with two parents (42.5%).[22]

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[21]Tesconi, Jr. Charles A. and Emanuel Hurwitz, Jr. *Education For Whom?* NY: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1974. p. 23.

[22] The Urban Coalition. *Minneapolis Public School Neighborhood Student Data, 1995-96.* p. 42.

*"At its worst, public housing under HUD has served as an incubator for social pathologies which have been unleashed on our society hurting the very ones such programs are suppose to help."*

--Zenoa Henderson, Project 21 member

Despite the best of intentions, government intervention in markets such as education and housing has produced less-than-desired results and numerous unintended consequences. Public housing stands out as a testament to the failed social engineering of the 1960s. While the original housing constructed under the Housing Act of 1949 consisted predominantly of low-rise, two- and three-story apartment buildings, and while the first tenants of public housing apartments were predominantly young, employed, working-class families, beginning in the mid-1950s, pubic housing underwent a dramatic shift. Higher urban land costs led to more and more high-rise buildings. Architectural designs took little account of the needs of families with children (apartments had few bedrooms and little recreational space). Municipal housing authorities and elected officials decided to concentrate the buildings. In some instances, design standards were even lowered to make public housing less attractive to force more reliance on the public sector.[23] Eventually, large numbers of poor families began to crowd into the projects. In many communities, "the projects" became a code for poverty, crime, and despair. Today, the Department of Housing and Urban Development is thought by many to be the largest slum-lord in the country.

Public education stands out in the mind of many as another bureaucratic failure. Again, despite the best intentions, political institutions burden schools with excessive bureaucratic redtape, inhibit effective organization, stifle innovation and flexibility, and thereby impede student achievement. People nowadays consider private schools to be a beacon of excellence. The main difference, many contend, is that private schools maintain a safe and disciplined environment in which people can learn, and that teachers engage parents more fully in their children's education.

From an institutional perspective, however, private schools are successful for a different reason. They are successful because the market mechanism of competition ensures that parents have more control than they do in public schools. Private schools have the incentive to please their "customers" and respond to their wants and needs lest they should take their "business" elsewhere. In contrast, public schools are democratically governed; they are represented by varied interests all vying for control over and within the system. A single school is governed by a huge and heterogeneous constituency comprised of politicians, administrators, teachers, and various groups at all

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[23]Egan, John, et al. *Housing and Public Policy: A Role for Mediating Structures.* Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1981. p. 16.

levels. Parents and students are but a small part of this constituency. And because political resources are distributed unequally and the interests of the politically powerful do not always, if even occasionally, parallel the interests of the average citizen, parents wants and needs are often considered last. Low-income families are particularly disempowered. While wealthy parents might in fact choose to remove their children from public schools and send them to private schools, or they perhaps might even choose to move to a different neighborhood, poor families have no such recourse. Because of the steep financial costs of alternatives, public schools can attract and keep students without being particularly good at educating them.

These two anecdotes on housing and education suggest that we must reverse the policies of the last fifty years. The government has grown steadily larger and more intrusive, spending more and more money to tackle problems that simple cannot be solved with money. To avoid the mistakes of the past, we need policies that encourage self-sufficiency and maximize individual choice. Recognizing that many jobs today do not pay livable wages, it may be an appropriate policy for the government to subsidize low-income families with vouchers for housing and education, but that is where government intervention should end. The market should then take over. For example, it is inefficient and intrusive for governments to mandate "fair share" housing policies. There will obviously be a greater demand for low-income housing in some areas than in others, and the market is by far more accurate and efficient in measuring that demand than the government. Where there is sufficient demand, suppliers will appear. Individuals who are motivated and responsible will take advantage of the opportunities created through voucher systems, but it is otherwise inappropriate and unnatural (and expensive) for the government to try and help those who do not want to be helped and who are unwilling to "help themselves."

**What Critics Say**

- Less than half of the jobs in Minnesota pay a livable way. Sixty-one percent of Minnesota's 85,348 families in poverty have at least one person in the work force. Approximately 400,000 Minnesotans lack health coverage--72% of which are in the work force.[24] If we want to create less dependency on the government and more dependency on the market and on the individual, we have to create a market system which allows responsible people to survive.

- Discrimination remains a significant barrier for people of color, no matter how "responsible" they are.

- Poor people do not have the time or money to lobby for their interests and rights. The wealthy, on the other hand, abuse their power and continue to get richer at the expense of the poor. The new Twins stadium is one

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[24] United Way of Minneapolis Area. The Face of the Twin Cities: Another Look. 1995. p. 9.

example of how the needs and wants of the wealthy are considered above those of the poor.

- Everyone in this country receives government benefits of some sort. Whether it is in the form of a check or a tax deduction is immaterial. In fact, the federal government spends $66 billion a year on mortgage-interest and property tax deductions for homeowners-- two-thirds of which goes to families with incomes over $75,000.[25] This is more than *four times* as much as is spent on low-income housing programs.

- The poor will always be with us; a reserve labor pool is essential to capitalism.. The chief function of social programs is to regulate labor. When mass unemployment leads to outbreaks of turmoil, relief programs are initiated or expanded to absorb/control the turmoil and restore order. As turmoil subsides or as labor is needed, the relief programs contract, expelling those who are needed back into the labor market. Responsibility has nothing to do with it.

- The problem with social welfare policies in this country is not that we've done too much--creating dependency--but that we've done too little. The actual amount spent on programs like AFDC is very small. If we truly want to help people get back on their feet again, we need to invest more in these programs.

## Mobility: Creating Choices

### No Turning Back?

"Forty percent of America's cities are programmed to fail. Gary, Camden, and East St. Louis are already clinically dead. Bridgeport, Newark, Hartford, Cleveland, and Detroit are on life support systems. New York, Baltimore, Chicago, St. Louis, and Philadelphia are sinking. Through seemingly healthy, Boston, Minneapolis, and Atlanta are already infected."[26]

--David Rusk

David Rusk, urban policy expert and author of <u>Cities Without Suburbs</u>, visited the Twin Cities a few years ago. He warned that Minneapolis and St.

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[25] DeParle, Jason. *The Year that Housing Died*. <u>The New York Times Magazine</u>. 20 October 1996. p. 53.

[26] Rusk, David. *Without Urban-Suburban Unity, Cities Future Looks Bleak*. <u>Pioneer Press.</u> 10 June 1994.

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|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1980 | 445,371 | 324,437 | 216,560 | 1,040,0139 1 |
| 1990 | 450,818 | 376,674 | 377,292 | 1,293,12 1 |
| 2000 | 459,000 | 426,075 | 501,576 | 1,498,89 1 |
| 2010 | 463,500 | 446,355 | 567,926 | 1,602,96 1 |

Source: Metropolitan Council. Housing Policy for the 1990s. November 1994. p. 18

While the central cities still has the largest concentration of jobs, the fast-growing suburbs captured two-thirds of net-job growth in the 1980s. This trend id projected to continue in the next decade.

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**Current Level of Affordable Units in Twelve Twin Cities Communities, 1996**

| City | Affordable Owner-Occupied Units | Affordable Rental Units |
|---|---|---|
| Eagan | 62% | 22% |
| Eden Prairie | 42% | 11% |
| Edina | 31% | 14% |
| Maple Grove | 69% | 4% |
| Minneapolis | 88% | 67% |
| Minnetonka | 47% | 17% |
| Plymouth | 42% | 15% |
| Shoreview | 60% | 42% |
| St. Paul | 90% | 68% |
| Wayzata | 43% | 36% |
| Woodbury | 55% | 15% |

Source: Metropolitan Liveable Communities Act, Metropolitan Council, January 1996. (From the Institute on Race and Poverty. Examining the Relationship Between Housing, Education, and Persistent Segregation. (Executive Summary.) 1996. p. 10.

Minneapolis, St. Paul, and a number of inner-ring suburbs already meet or exceed their share of affordable housing units in the metropolitan area. Other communities, however, fall

substantially short.  The lack of affordable housing in the suburbs is one of the largest barriers to economic opportunity faced by low-income households.

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## The Armageddon of Section 8

> "The weak political constituency for the Department of Housing and Urban Development makes it a prime candidate for cuts."

> --House Speaker Newt Gingrich in the The Washington Post 12/13/94

The bipartisan desire to achieve a balanced federal budget by the year 2002 is having a dramatic effect on American social policy.  The proposal now under consideration would require sharp cuts of at least 25% in discretionary spending over seven years.  And unfortunately, it is not likely that all programs will be cut proportionally; HUD programs could very well receive a disproportionate cut.

At the same time that funding is shrinking, need is growing.  HUD expenditures have been growing at a rate of 9% per year over the past 15 years-- faster than any other federal agency except the Commerce Department.  Many opponents of public housing like to use such statistics as evidence of  HUD's bloatedness and  inefficiency.  Yet, the simple fact  is that housing spending has increased because the number of poor Americans has increased--and--because the cost of housing has increased .  Quite simply, housing need has rapidly outstripped federal expenditures.  Many studies have found that the gap between affordable housing units and the number of families in need of assistance is wider than at point since the Great Depression.  While approximately 15 million households qualify for federal housing aid, only 4.5 receive any type of assistance (whether it be project-based or tenant-based).[46]

A principle source of the cost growth is the federal government's policy of renewing all housing assistance.  Section 8 housing was developed with time-limited contracts, most of which were only for 15 or 20 years (a few were for 40 years).  These contracts, now providing housing assistance for up to one million families, will expire in the next few years. The amount of money needed to renew these contracts will explode from about $2.2 billion in FY 1995 to $16.1 billion in FY 2000.[47]  Considering HUD's total budget  has already been cut down from $25.7 billion in FY 1995 to $19.7 billion in FY1996, it almost goes

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[46] Deparle, Jason. "The Year that Housing Died." *The New York Times Magazine.* 20 October 1996.  p. 52.

[47] "Federal Housing Budget Debate."  http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~txlihis/fedbuddeb.html   p.3

without saying that the $16.1 billion cost of contract renewals would usurp many of the other functions currently performed by HUD. There is currently no formal federal commitment to continue providing the subsidies after the contracts expire. Many housing budget experts have referred to this situation as the "Armageddon."

## What Critics Say

- "The solution to pollution is not dilution." It is better to help people where they are than "disperse" poverty into other communities. Instead of making other communities worse, we need to clean up the bad neighborhoods. (An influx of low-income families could lead to increased crime in the suburbs. As well, low-income home-owners and tenants of low-income housing projects who do not maintain their property will lower surrounding property values.)
- People move to the suburbs to escape crime and bad schools. It is not fair or realistic to expect suburban residents to take these problems on again.
- "Transplanted" low-income families may not share the same values as existing residents; as a result, they may feel alienated and/or cause problems.
- Efforts to desegregated neighborhoods and schools with high proportions of minorities assume that it is better to live and go to school in majority white settings. This is disrespectful of the strengths of communities of colors. Furthermore, people of color need to remain together in order to preserve their culture and maintain their--albeit small--political representation.
- "Mobility" may heighten racial tensions and lead to more racist encounters and attacks.
- Public transportation in suburbs does not provide 24 hour, 7 day-a-week service. The suburbs are not geared for families without vehicles.
- It is inappropriate for the government to interfere in issues that should be worked out though natural market forces.
- "Mobility" as an option will take a long time to implement. It is a gradualistic approach and will do little to help the thousands of poor who need help *right now*. Furthermore, it is a tokenistic approach. Past attempts to provide mobility to low-income families and people of color have been limited in scope, actually helping few people. Using the few "token" low-income and minority families living among them as proof that they have done their "share", suburbs may feel they are then exonerated from the problems of the central cities.
- Dispersing poverty may help the few, token families who are lucky enough to escape the ghettos, but it does little for the people, schools, and deteriorated neighborhoods that are left behind. Even under the most renowned mobility program of all, the Gatreaux program in Chicago, very

little improvement was seen in the neighborhoods from which the participants left.

- Even if obstacles are removed and the poor are granted more mobility, the fact remains that their is a general mismatch between the skills of the poor and the skills necessary for available jobs.

**To:**      **Dick Little**
**From:**    **Syl Jones**
**Re:**      **Conversation Guide Materials**
**Date:**    **April 2, 1997**

Dick, I have completed my complilation of the materials you have
provided and have written some of my own.

Please pay close attention to "gaps of understanding" as we transition
from one section to another. Also note that I did not use some of the
materials you provided because they tended to clutter certain sections.
For readability sake, we should reduce the number of bullets under each
of the premises where possible.

I put in the "positions/actions" materials you provided for the second
perspective so you could see it. Generally, I don't think it a good idea to
include these positions because they tend to bias the right
group to this section of the document about the possible outcomes or
actions for each perspective.

- Specific notes on any changes
- A manuscript that is marked with insertion points
- Edited copy that reflect's the Board's final say on this version

To facilitate changes, you may want to fax to me tomorrow copies on any
pages that need to be altered. I will then attempt to provide you with the
finished manuscript on disk.

Please keep in mind that the number of sections and items within each
section have made it difficult to judge the flow of these materials. I hope
that in your review, you will be able to suggest alterations that clarify the
intent of this document and make it easier to use.

# The Unfinished Agenda:
# Coming Together As a Community

## {Title Page Only}

## A Metro-Wide Conversation About The Challenges of Education, Housing and Segregation

### Sponsored By:

## Introduction to The Community Circle Collaborative Process

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the Community Circle Collaborative Process, a guided conversation focused on the challenges of Segregation, Housing and Education in the Twin Cities. Across the Metro area, perhaps a dozen or more groups similar to yours will be conducting conversations about this issue. Your participation means that you are part of a small but significant community of people who are taking action to address this difficult and important issue.

For at least three sessions of two hours each -- over the course of three to five weeks -- you will gather with other members of your circle to share opinions, facts, and perspectives. The goal of these sessions is to fully discuss the issue from many perspectives and to develop solutions as you and members of your circle see fit. Eventually, we hope to share some of these solutions with public policy makers so that the entire region may benefit from this process.

Before you begin your conversation, please read this Guidebook as completely and thoroughly as possible. While it does not cover all possible perspectives, the guidebook provides background that can help you more fully understand the issue and can assist you in discussing it more completely.

### How The Circle Process Works

In many cultures, circles are symbols of equality, fairness and completeness. The Community Circle Process has been designed with these qualities in mind. However, your cooperation is required if your Community Circle experience is to be satisfactory.

In the early days of American Democracy, communities held town hall meetings or sat around pot-bellied stoves or spinning wheels to discuss major issues. Communities were smaller and more homogenous, and the various members of the community usually knew each other well.

The pros and cons of those early American meetings were essentially the same: homogeneity bred greater agreement and less conflict; however, other voices in the community -- those of

women, slaves, Native Americans, the poor, and immigrants outside the mainstream -- were seldom heard.

As American Democracy has grown to include a wider variety of individuals, the need to broaden discussion about major issues affecting the nation has increased. Today, inclusivity is highly prized in such discussions because the Jeffersonian vision of "an informed citizenry," which is essential to a healthy democracy, cannot be fully realized without it.

The Community Circle Collaborative Process is one way to sample the broadest possible spectrum of opinion within a community. A similar process has been used in many parts of the nation to help create a public voice about major issues. The Community Circles themselves are a refreshing change from the narrow and often restrictive discussions of the past and the competitive debates used in present day political programs. In short, Community Circles are the wave of the future because they are cooperative, not competitive, in nature.

### Why A "Conversation" ?

Much of what we see in the media and in public meetings today cannot be called conversation for many reasons. Chief among them is the fact that advocacy of one point of view or another, at the expense of decorum, is an integral part of what is often called "positioning" or "posturing." This kind of communication has become an accepted fact in most of the media, but it ultimately leads to cynicism and withdrawal from the political process.

On the other hand, to "converse" means to "share words with others" and carries the implication of equality of opportunity and status. A "conversation" is a sharing of ideas, thoughts, and perspectives intended to lead to a understanding. Unity of purpose is inherent in the word; a conversation should clear the air by honestly reflecting differences and similarities.

Agreement, however, is not necessary in order to have a successful conversation. What is important is listening, reflecting and speaking from both the head and heart. Mutual respect and a belief in the healing nature of sharing ideas across boundaries of ethnicity, geography, socioeconomics and even language

differences can go a long way toward making a conversation satisfactory.

The goal of the sponsors of this program is to institutionalize the art of guided conversation in the Metro area. We sincerely believe that solutions to serious and often divisive issues can be found if we put aside our fears and prejudices and work together to realize our dreams.

## What The Process Requires From You

Your role as a participant in the Community Circle Collaborative Process includes the following requirements:

• A commitment to the entire 3-5-week meeting schedule
• A promise to share your thoughts and feelings honestly and respectfully
• A willingness to listen deeply to others
• A preference for collaboration rather than competition
• A desire to find common ground and creative solutions
• Realistic expectations of the process and the people of your circle.

## What You Can Expect From The Process

On the other hand, when you invest your time and effort in the Community Circle Collaborative Process, you will receive:

• The opportunity to be heard by others
• Challenges to some of your beliefs, attitudes and assumptions
• Moments of great insight and inspiration
• Feelings of confusion and, at times, alienation
• A sense of accomplishment

## How To Begin

1. Your facilitator has been trained to help your circle begin discussions. Please follow his/her guidelines as outlined at the beginning of each Community Circle meeting.

2. Read the materials in this guidebook before you begin discussions.

3. Please feel free to conduct your own research using the bibliography in the back or any other materials.

*End product statement*

4. Please do not seek to dominate discussion or monopolize the floor at any time. Remember to be courteous.

5. Although the discussion period may vary depending on the size of each Community Circle, keep in mind that it is difficult to sustain sessions of more than two hours.

## The Task Of The Community Circles

The Community Circle Collaborative meetings are gathered to discuss the following two central questions:

**1.** *What is the relationship between -- and the impacts of -- existing patterns of residential, economic and racial segregation on the educational achievement and life opportunities of Twin City area children?*

**2.** *What can we do, or should we do as individuals and as a community, to enhance the life opportunities (especially educational, housing and economic opportunities) for all children in the Twin Cities area.*

### The Current Context: A Failure to Thrive
These meetings are taking place because:

- A lawsuit filed by the Minneapolis chapter of the NAACP vs. The State Board of Education alleges that schools in the metro area are "inadequate by design and chance" and that a desegregation remedy must be found.

- The St. Paul School District has also filed suit against the State Board of Education alleging "inequity of resources" and unfair distribution of state funds for resources.

- *Declining academic achievement*

- Both of these lawsuits are likely to be settled out of court in favor of the plaintiffs because of the overwhelming evidence in their favor.

As the information to follow will document, the Twin Cities has become polarized into two distinct societies, separate and unequal. On one side are the middle class and the wealthy, who have managed to do well over the last decade and live primarily in the suburban Twin Cities area. The children of these citizens attend schools that have higher graduation rates, better paid teachers and more resources.

On the other side of the equation are poor families who do not have access to many of the resources that middle class and wealthy families have. The fact that a huge number of poor families are African American, Native American, Latino and Asian further complicates the current context.

This means that our community is unhealthy. While part of it is growing, another part is decaying and, thus, the entire area is suffering from a failure to thrive. Decay at the center of our communities is spreading, so that even those areas that seemed healthy are showing signs of trouble.

The lesson inherent in the current context, then, is that when one portion of our community is unhealthy, the metro area cannot thrive. Both sides suffer from neglect. The wealthy live in segregated communities that have failed to benefit from interaction with diverse segments of the population; the poor have little opportunity to avail themselves of the American Dream. Our communities will not live up to their potential until all citizens are able to fully participate in the education, housing and social opportunities available now and in the future.

# Part One:
# A Snapshot Of Where We Are Today

*"What is the relationship between -- and the impacts of -- existing patterns of residential, economic and racial segregation on the educational achievement and life opportunities of Twin City area children?"*

Every year when the list of America's most livable cities is published, the Twin Cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis are high on the list. The standards used to judge major metropolitan areas -- job growth, access to parks and recreation, good schools and social services, lower crime rates -- Minneapolis and St. Paul are superior to many other cities. In comparison to other areas, the Twin Cities is a wonderful place to live. Yet, we are not immune from the social problems that plague other cities.

This is particularly true of challenges related to segregation, poverty, housing and education:

• Between 1980 and 1990, the combined population of communities of color in the Twin Cities metro area nearly doubled.

• Only 25 percent of whites live in the central city while 76 percent of African Americans do.

• The proportion of people of color who live in poverty is higher in our metro area than any other central city in the nation.

• In 1990, per capita income for the region's people of color averaged about $8500, compared to nearly $18,000 for whites.

• Less than half the jobs in Minneapolis pay what is considered a livable wage.

• Between 1980 and 1990, 67 percent of new jobs were created in the region's suburbs.

• The poverty rate in Minneapolis is 18.5 percent; in St. Paul it is 16.7 percent; in the suburbs, it is 4.54 percent.

• Among African Americans, the poverty rate in the Metro area is 37 percent, more than six times the rate for whites. For Native Americans, Asians, and Latinos, the rates are 40 percent, 32 percent and 19 percent, respectively.

• The highest poverty rate on a city-wide basis is among Asians living in St. Paul -- 6 out of every 10 lives in poverty.

• The United Way recently cited data revealing that the highest incidence of poverty in Minnesota occurs in specific neighborhoods of Minneapolis and St. Paul. The study concluded that a disproportionate number of those living in poverty are women and children and people of color.

• Between 1979 and 1989, the number of children living in poverty increased 4 percent, compared with a 1.4 percent increase in poverty in the general population.

• Over 73,000 people in the Metro area suburbs currently live in poverty and the numbers are growing.

• About 60 percent of Minnesota families in poverty have at least one family member in the work force.

• According to the 1989 American Housing Survey, over 37,000 household in the Twin Cities metro area spend more than 50 percent of their income on housing. (The federal government considers 30 percent to be affordable.)

• The percent of poor households in the Twin Cities paying excessive amounts for housing is greater than the national average.

• In Minneapolis, students of color make up 65 percent of the total student population; in St. Paul they are 60 percent.

• In the 1995-1996 school year, 85 percent of the students in the Minneapolis Public Schools were receiving free or reduced lunches. In St. Paul, 75 percent of students of color and 35 percent of white students received free or reduced lunches.

**• Please note: More Education Data Needed Here**

•

• _Specialized_

• _Kids_

_Suburos_

**Also, plug in table here: Comparison of school districts showing the numbers of students of color, students below the poverty line, and education achievement levels.**

_or maps_

The following charts and graphs further illustrate the situation in the Metro area today:

1. Distribution of Affordable Housing in the Metro Area

2. Distribution of persons below the poverty line and people of color in the Metro area.

3. Minneapolis Infant Mortality Rates by Race

4. Minnesota Life Expectancy in Years by Gender and Race, 1980-1990

# Seven Premises About The Metro Area

OPTIONAL

After weighing the import of the facts presented above, certain premises about the Metro area become clear:

**Premise One:** There is an increasing concentration of poverty in the core cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. Furthermore, poverty is spreading to the inner ring suburbs and has continued to plague many rural areas within the state.

**Premise Two:** People of color -- especially children -- are more likely to live in concentrated poverty.

**Premise Three:** Neighborhood poverty levels are an indicator of local/neighborhood education outcomes; i.e,., the higher the poverty rate, the lower the rate of achievement.

**Premise Four:** Students of color, who are more likely to live in poverty are disproportionately impacted by high levels of concentrated poverty.

**Premise Five:** Eradication of concentrate poverty would prevent many of the social pathologies that prevent students of color from being properly prepared for school.

**Premise Six:** Children attending segregated schools and living in segregated neighborhoods, regardless of color or ethnicity, are not being properly prepared to live in the 21st century.

**Premise Seven:** Much of what is wrong in education in the Metro area can best be addressed through policies related to housing, social services and other areas; education policy itself will not eradicate poverty and segregation.

Keep

QUESTIONS

Even after reviewing the same data, you may develop a different set of premises that support or undercut the above. Some questions for consideration are:

1. What do you think are the most significant problems facing your immediate community? The broader community?

2. Looking at the bullet points and charts provided above, is there any data that surprises you?

3. Do you believe that the Twin Cities is racially and economically segregated? Do we have two (or more) separate societies? Why?

4. How does data about poverty, housing and communities of color relate to your neighborhood? Is it consistent with your experience?

5. What is the Metro area doing right? What is it doing wrong? Make two lists are compare them.

6. Do some people have more opportunities than others? Why?

7. Do you see life opportunities increasing or decreasing in your neighborhood?

8. What is meant by the term "racism" and do you believe it exists?

9. What impact does personal racism have on the quality of life in the Twin Cities?

10. What impact does institutional racism have on the poverty, housing and education issues we are discussing?

11. What is your own neighborhood like in terms of race? Class? Ethnicity? National origin?

12. If you were to think of this circle meeting as your community, what characteristics would you say unite you as a group? What expectations do you have of each other?

# Part Two:
# Creating a Vision for Our Future

Now that we've taken a look at the way things are today in the Metro area, it is time to consider our vision for the future. Each individual's vision may be different, but in approaching this exercise, we invite you to think broadly about the community. In fact, we invite you to dream a little about the Metro area could be like, what resources would be needed to realize the vision, and what policies or programs need to be changed.

The assumptions underlying this visioning process are simple:

> 1. All of us want the best for ourselves and each other.

> 2. Our success as a community depends on the success of most, if not all, others.

> 3. As a community, ~~as a nation,~~ we have yet to realize our greatest aspirations and must work together to fulfill our potential. *(America's promise tikit)*

To assist you in your conversation about the vision for our future, we have provided three Visioning Frameworks for your consideration. None of these frameworks should be taken literally, nor do any constitute an ideal future. They are included only in order to stimulate your thinking.

## Visioning Framework One: The New Frontier
The Metro area becomes the center of a rapidly growing, ever expanding five-state Region in which resources are pooled and poor families are dispersed throughout the area. Pooling of resources means that economic growth is systematically tied to community need, and new businesses received incentives to employee people who are at or below the poverty line. Children have school choice and are segmented by occupational and/or academic interest. Tax credits are given to families who choose to relocate in order to ameliorate segregation.

## Visioning Framework Two: The Private/Public Collaborative

Through a statewide education campaign, all Minnesotans above a certain level of income are induced to sacrifice a small percentage of their earnings each year to help the poor. Corporate and Foundation entities create special jobs that include training for high tech opportunities in the future. New jobs are created on a neighborhood basis and communities are encouraged to advertise their unique qualities in order to attract more diverse residents. Market forces and public opinion encourage investments in the core city, and a Metro-wide push to educate suburbanites on the strength of the cities attracts new residents.

## Visioning Framework Three: Only The Strong Survive

At the current rate, the Metro area will reach a crisis in housing, education, crime, health care, etc. simultaneously within the next decade. This crisis will force key businesses to move their headquarters out of the area and will hinder recruitment of top-level executives. When social order has broken down -- i. e., roving bands of poor and indigent people are breaking into shopping centers en masse; police are so overburdened they cannot deal with "petty crime" such as theft of personal property; and the economy has failed -- only then will the Metro area be motivated to take action. "Action" means vigilante enforcement of the rule of common law, posting guards and police at all retail outlets and shooting to kill those who refuse to stay in their place, as determined by natural selection.

## Questions To Facilitate Visioning Our Future
- What do you/we want the community to look and feel like five years from now? 10 years? 20 years?

- What are the underlying values that will be needed to sustain the community in the future?

- What are the differences in values between demographic groups and how might they be resolved?

- What do you need from your community to sustain your values? What does your community need from you?

- In what ways is your community tied to the well-being of other communities in the metropolitan area?

# Part Three:
# What Can We Do?

## Three Perspectives

*"What can we do, or should we do as individuals and as a community, to enhance the life opportunities (especially educational, housing and economic opportunities) for all children in the Twin Cities area?"*

The following three perspectives represent disparate and in some cases conflicting points of view about the question above. These perspectives may not be yours or represent the views of any of your circle members. The goal is to provide a theoretical basis for deeper and more resonant conversations.

## Perspective One
## Strengthening The Core : Building From Within

Poor communities and schools are the result of an unequal distribution of resources, much of which has occurred due to outdated and prejudicial actions on the part of government and business. All people want basically the same things in life. The reason there is inequality of outcomes is because there is inequality of opportunity based on race and class.

## Key Premises

- Impoverished communities and schools are the result of unequal distribution of resources.

- Schools that are constituted around particular cultural identity by choice improve student self-esteem.

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- It is not necessary for children of color to sit next to white children in order to academically achieve.

17

- Community schools are best equipped to reflect the cultural and community values of students and their parents.

- Neighborhood schools will enable more parent and community participation in the schools.

- Revitalizing the core -- through a reallocation of resources both public and private -- will improve the housing and economic opportunities for minorities and central city residents.

- Desegregation through busing erects significant barriers to a strong sense of community and involvement.

- Neighborhood Schools will help to stabilize schools and retain middle class tax base.

# Perspective One -- Advocates Say

- A stable core is key/essential for a stable region.

- If the region cooperates to improve schools, create jobs, and revitalize neighborhoods in the central cities, people will become more self-sufficient in the long run.

- Rather than spending millions to create new housing and duplicate existing infrastructure in the suburbs, we should use the tremendous human and economic resources in the central cities.

- If we help rebuild neighborhoods in the core, people of all income levels will have wider choices of where to live. This will help to attract and retain middle income people.

- People of color need to build a sense of community around their unique history and culture. Moreover, they need to maintain whatever political representation they have.

- Many people prefer to live in segregated neighborhoods and go to segregated schools as long as those neighborhoods and schools have equal resources.

- Parents, teachers, students and educators must build bridges that ensure the success of locally based schools.

- Hiring more teachers and staff of color who are from the community would help students feel a greater sense of self esteem and positively impact their academic performance.

# <u>Perspective One: Critics Say</u>

- Pumping money into the central cities is not the answer. *There is no evidence that this alone makes a difference.*
  Many of these neighborhoods are so impoverished that
  revitalization is all but impossible.

- In order to create more regional stability, our communities
  need to be more economically and racially diverse. Building
  up infrastructure in the cities will do little good if our
  communities are still divided along race and class lines.

- The only way to break down the racial hierarchy that
  currently exists is to integrate. People of color need to enter
  into the economic and social mainstream where they will
  have more access to good jobs and good schools. Equally
  important, whites must diversify and expand their
  understanding of people of color. If we continue to stay apart,
  racial stereotypes will fester.

- People need to have real choices about where they live. Since
  a majority of the new jobs are in the suburbs, and because we
  have limited mass transit in the region, more low-income
  housing should be developed in the suburbs.

- Creating "enterprise zones" is not an effective way to
  stimulate economic activity and create jobs in the urban core.
  They are not pro-labor or pro-community, but pro-business
  and pro-profit.

- Reinforcing existing, segregated communities will continue to
  perpetuate the cycle of socio-economic/racial isolation.

*• p 296 - Solutions . first paragraph .*

# Perspective Two:
# Market Choice and Individual Responsibility

~~Poor communities and schools are the result of a breakdown of traditional values. Children are growing up without two self-sufficient parents who can serve as role models. Welfare programs promote dependency and contribute to a "self-fulfilling prophecy" concerning poverty and lack of achievement.~~

*minimal good at two studies*

## Key Premises

- We can create opportunities for people with limited resources by subsidizing low-income households with vouchers for housing and education.

- Promoting competition between schools will enhance educational achievement.

- Private institutions (churches, foundations, businesses) are better equipped than government to serve their local communities.

- In order to promote achievement, we must reward self-sufficiency and hard work.

- Public sector social welfare programs divert capital that could otherwise be invested in job creation in core communities.

- The breakdown of the family negatively impacts educational achievement and economic opportunity/advancement.

- A return to traditional values by communities of color would do more to restore their viability than any other single remedy.

- Encourage microenterprise and entrepreneurship.

# Perspective Two --Advocates Say:

- The private market system is faster, more creative and flexible than plodding bureaucratic government in responding to job, housing, and education markets.

- Local level communities are best equipped to answer the needs of their constituents.

- Parents are better equipped/should have ultimate control over their children's schooling (including where their children go to school)

- Public sector social welfare programs divert capital that could otherwise invested in job creation in core communities.

- Allow the housing market to regulate itself; if demand is great enough, low-income housing will be developed by those who see economic opportunity in meeting these needs.

- Residence in the more affluent communities must be earned through merit and hard work and should not be granted by government fiat.

# Perspective Two -- Critics Say:

- Less than half of the jobs in Minnesota pay a livable wage. Over 60 percent of Minnesota's families in poverty have at least one person in the work force. If we want to create less dependency on the government, we have to create a market system that allows responsible people to sustain themselves.

- Discrimination remains a significant barrier for people of color, no matter how "responsible" they are.

- Poor people do not have the time or money to lobby for their interests and rights. The wealthy, on the other hand, abuse their power and continue to grow richer at the expense of the poor.

- Everyone in this country receives government benefits of some sort. Whether it is in the form of a check or a tax deduction is immaterial.

- The problem with social welfare policies in this country is not that we've done too much -- creating dependency -- but that we've done too little.

- The private market system is not structured to and does not accommodate the social welfare needs for people below the poverty line.

- Basic human rights, such as housing and education, cannot be left to the whim of the marketplace.

## Positions/Actions
- Neighborhood schools
- Universal school choice programs and school vouchers
- Create small education laboratories for minority children
- Uphold high standard and expectations
- Support English as a first language
- Focus on the content of the curriculum, not the color of the student

# Perspective Three:
# Creating Opportunities Region-Wide

## Opening Statement

Poor communities and school are the result of discrimination and local government policies that isolate poor people, especially those of color. When poverty becomes concentrated in certain neighborhoods, it perpetuates a myriad of social problems: disinvestment, tax-base erosion, poor schools, crime and racial tension.

## Key Premises

- The real issue is the concentration of poverty that cannot be ameliorated without a more equitable distribution of affordable housing.

- Racial segregation results from a combination of lack of choice and racial discrimination in the housing markets.

- Segregated communities result in segregated schools, segregated churches, segregated work forces, and segregated social gatherings. Segregation does not further our objectives.

- Schools segregated by race and income negatively impact educational achievement.

- Residential segregation by race and income isolates communities from the opportunity structure.

# Perspective Three -- Advocates Say

- Research shows that educational achievement and life opportunities for both white students and students of color improves in desegregated school settings.

- Achievement gains are strongest when desegregation begins in the early grades and is implemented under a metropolitan-wide plan.

- People who live in economically and racially diverse areas better understand others who are unlike themselves and are better prepared to work and function in a diverse society. Lack of experience with the racial "other," in turn, contributes to the mystification of racial differences and the perpetuation of stereotypes, fears, and ignorance.

- The opportunity to live in integrated, middle-income neighborhoods appears to boost employment among adults and school performance among children.

- Given the location of most new jobs, economic opportunity would increase if low-income housing were more available in the suburbs.

# Perspective 3 -- Critics Say:

- An influx of low-income families into suburbs could lead to increased crime and declining property values. Instead of creating problems for new neighborhoods, we need to concentrate on cleaning up the communities that need it.

- Efforts to desegregate neighborhoods and schools with high proportions of minorities assume that it is better to live and go to school in majority white settings. This is disrespectful of the strengths of communities of color.

- Because of institutional racism, people of color need to remain together in order to preserve their culture and maintain their political representation.

- "Mobility" as an option will take a long time to implement. It is a gradualistic approach and will do little to help the thousands of poor who need help *right now*. Furthermore, it is tokenistic. Past attempts to provide mobility to low-income families and people of color have been limited in scope, actually helping few people.

- Dispersing poverty may help the few, token families who are lucky enough to escape the ghettos, but it does little for the people, schools, and deteriorated neighborhoods that are left behind.

- Even if obstacles are removed and the poor are granted more mobility, the fact remains that there is a general mismatch between the skills of the poor and the skills required by the available jobs.

# Further Questions To Consider

As you move toward closure of your conversation, ~~you may wish~~ *between you &* to consider the following four questions in relation to each of the three perspectives:

*after each perspective.*

## 1. What is deeply valuable to us?
This question will help your circle understand what things you may be willing to sacrifice in order to gain what is most important to all. In considering what is deeply valuable about each of the perspectives, you may want to ask --

- What is appealing about this perspective?
- What are the downsides of this perspective?
- Can you tell a story illustrating this perspective?
- Who is hurt by this perspective? Who is helped by it?
- *what are the long term consequences using this perspective*

## 2. ~~What are the costs or consequences associated with this perspective?~~
~~Nothing can be gained without some cost to someone. This question will help you deliberate on the balance between the "pros" and "cons" of each perspective. You may wish to ask --~~

- ~~What do we gain or lose using this perspective?~~
- ~~Can you project a dollar amount?~~
- What are the ~~other~~ "costs": social, emotional, cultural? *costs to an individually?*
- ~~Can you provide an example of how costs may be effected?~~

*Recap & Revisit*

*after all perspectives*

## 3. What are the tensions or conflicts in this perspective that we must work through?
Some of these may have become evident as you have discussed the different perspectives. But you may wish to keep track of those issues that generate the most tension/discomfort and ask --

- What are the underlying conflicts really about?
- Where are the "gray areas"?
- Are there feelings that remain unexpressed or unstated?

**4. Can we detect any shared sense of purpose or any common ground that would allow us to recommend action?**
This question is the most important of all, for it sets the stage for the next level of conversations between the public and policy makers.  In considering it, you may want to ask --

> •Do we believe that some change is necessary? *Why or why not.*
> •What are we willing to do as individuals to address this issue?
> •What things seem beyond our power to change as individuals?
> •What would we most like to see happen as a result of this conversation?