



Education and Housing Equity Project Records.

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	CHOICE #1	CHOICE #2	CHOICE #3
	ENRICHMENT: HELPING BUILD COMMUNITIES	MARKET MECHANISMS AND PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY	MOBILITY: CREATING CHOICES
What's the diagnosis?	<p>*Poor communities and schools are the result of an unequal distribution of resources. There is a spatial mismatch between jobs and workers, and jobs do not pay livable wages or provide adequate benefits. Educational opportunities differ for wealthy children and poor children. Neighborhoods are decaying because individuals do not have enough resources to contribute to their upkeep.</p>	<p>* Poor community 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."</p>	<p>*Poor communities and schools are the result of discrimination and local government policies which isolate poor people--especially poor people of color. When poverty becomes concentrated in certain neighborhoods, it perpetuates a myriad of other social problems--disinvestment in neighborhoods, tax-base erosion, poor schools, crime, and racial tensions.</p>
What should be done?	<p>*Train and improve the skills of residents of low-income neighborhoods in the region's core in order to create a work force whose skills match the requirements of new jobs.</p> <p>*Create "enterprise zones" to stimulate job growth in the central cities.</p> <p>*Encourage small business and microenterprise.</p> <p>*Make home ownership more accessible.</p> <p>*Promote maintenance and rehabilitation of older housing to preserve vital healthy neighborhoods, but remove and replace dilapidated housing with other uses in order to start breaking up concentrations of low-income housing.</p> <p>*Use money previously earmarked for busing to enrich neighborhood schools.</p> <p>*Increase transportation services so individuals who live in the city can reach jobs in the suburbs.</p> <p>*Change tax laws to provide more equitable distribution of wealth.</p> <p>*Initiate effective crime suppression and prevention strategies.</p>	<p>* Get the government out of the business of charity.</p> <p>*Revitalize mediating structures such as neighborhood organizations, churches, and voluntary associations.</p> <p>*Alter incentives to favor work over leisure and investment over consumption.</p> <p>*Initiate laws and policies that encourage two-parent families and promote family values.</p> <p>*Create tougher crime laws.</p> <p>*Create support structures such as job training, child care, and transportation subsidies so people can participate in the labor market.</p> <p>*Encourage microenterprise and entrepreneurship.</p> <p>*Use market mechanisms such as vouchers and competition to improve inner-city schools.</p> <p>*Allow the housing market to regulate itself; housing will appear where demand is great enough.</p>	<p>*Create a <i>regional</i> housing policy so that local governments cannot act like monopolists.</p> <p>*Expand housing choices in the developing suburbs to provide life-cycle housing in a range of types and prices.</p> <p>*The government needs to expand voucher programs as well as loan programs to enhance the buying power of low-income households.</p> <p>*Combat discrimination in lending and realty markets.</p> <p>*Provide incentives to developers, owners, and landlords to offer additional Section 8 housing. (Substitute inclusionary zoning for exclusionary zoning.)</p> <p>*Scatter low-income housing throughout communities to avoid creating new pockets of poverty in the suburbs.</p> <p>*Provide community outreach projects such as home improvement training seminars and mentoring programs to integrate new residents and make them feel a part of the community.</p> <p>*Expand busing and school choice opportunities for students; implement transportation reimbursements and extensive outreach programs.</p>

<p>What do critics say?</p>	<p>*Pumping money into the central cities is not the answer. Many of these communities are so impoverished and so in debt that 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.</p> <p>*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.</p> <p>*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.</p> <p>*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.</p> <p>*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.</p>	<p>*Less than half of the jobs in Minnesota pay a livable way. Over sixty percent of Minnesota's 85,000 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 which allows responsible people to survive.</p> <p>*Discrimination remains a significant barrier for people of color, no matter how "responsible" they are.</p> <p>*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.</p> <p>*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.</p> <p>*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.</p> <p>*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 Section 8 is very small. If we truly want to help people get back on their feet again, we need to invest more in these programs.</p>	<p>*An influx of low-income families could lead to increased crime and declining property values. Instead of creating problems for new neighborhoods, we need to concentrate on cleaning up the bad ones.</p> <p>*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. People of color need to remain together in order to preserve their culture and maintain their political representation.</p> <p>*"Mobility" may heighten racial tensions and lead to more racist encounters and attacks</p> <p>*It is inappropriate for the government to interfere in an issue that should be worked out through natural market forces.</p> <p>*"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 <i>right now</i>. 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.</p> <p>*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.</p> <p>*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.</p>
<p>Why this course of action?</p>	<p>*We need to create a stable core; this will help stabilize the entire region.</p> <p>* 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.</p> <p>*Our central cities possess tremendous human and economic resources. Rather than spending millions to create new housing and duplicate existing infrastructure in the suburbs, this strategy utilizes what we already have.</p> <p>*If we help meet people's needs, they will be less dysfunctional and crime will decrease.</p> <p>*People move to the suburbs to escape problems such as crime and poor schools; it isn't fair or realistic to expect suburban residents to have to take these problems on again.</p> <p>*If we help rebuild neighborhoods in the core, people of all income levels will have wider choices of where to live.</p> <p>*People of color need to build a sense of community around their strengths and unique history and culture. Moreover, they need to maintain whatever political representation they have.</p> <p>*Many people prefer to live in segregated neighborhoods and go to segregated schools as long as those neighborhoods and schools have equal resources.</p>	<p>*Families who live in communities with nice homes, safe neighborhoods, and good schools and jobs have worked hard to achieve these things. Any family that exerts self-discipline and works hard can create or move to such a community.</p> <p>Moreover, many families living in these nice neighborhoods still live paycheck to paycheck and it is unfair for the government to subsidize certain individuals at the expense of others.</p> <p>*This country has a long history of poor immigrants who have worked there way out of poverty. Hard work is the American way of life; anyone who is willing to work for it can have a decent life.</p> <p>*Social programs erode self-sufficiency and promote dependence by supporting those who do not work. If we put or eliminated such programs altogether, it would leave the able-bodied with no recourse whatsoever except for the job market.</p> <p>* Public sector social welfare programs divert income that could be otherwise be invested in capital formation. Channeling funds away from consumption and towards investment will foster economic growth and benefit everyone in the long run.</p>	<p>*The opportunity to live in integrated, middle-class neighborhoods appears to boost employment among adults and school performance among children.</p> <p>*While moving is not an instant cure to poverty, living in safe neighborhoods and being closer to jobs and good schools is necessary in breaking the cycle of poverty.</p> <p>*Breaking up concentrations of poverty in the central cities may benefit the neighborhoods, schools, and people left behind if the communities are more socially and economically balanced as a result.</p> <p>*Promoting low-cost housing in the suburbs will enable people to remain in their communities when their circumstances or needs change (people who find themselves on fixed budgets after retiring, women who become single moms after a divorce, etc.)</p> <p>*People who live in economically diverse areas better understand others who are unlike themselves and are better prepared to work and function in a diverse society.</p>

Faxed to IRP
10/30
1:15 pm

Community Circle Collaborative

TO: Melissa & Dutchess, IRP
FROM: Darcy Seaver, EHEP
DATE: October 3, 1996
RE: Draft beginnings of *Discussion Guide*

Hello! Here, finally, are some additional comments I have after reading through your draft document in more detail. These are very general comments, and I hope not too repetitive.

First, thanks again for getting us going! This is a great start, and I really look forward to putting this thing together with you.

(1) In terms of format, as I mentioned on Tuesday morning, we'd like each "chapter" or session to follow a similar format of:

- ▶ An introductory overview of the topic (setting the overall theme, why it's important to be discussing, etc.)
- ▶ Background information on that topic (the education piece)
- ▶ Reading excerpts (more education, but also reflection and provocation)
- ▶ Different perspectives/viewpoints on the topic*
- ▶ Discussion questions
- ▶ Additional/further readings (listed)

(2) We need to keep in mind that this has to be more than just a presentation of facts, more than a research report. As you'll see in the other discussion guides (particularly those by the Study Circle Resource Center), nearly as much space is given to reflective, discussion-focused text as is given for facts. We want people to learn from this Guide, but also to help them *want* to discuss and reflect on it.

For similar reasons, we need to back up a bit and add more basic text about why this is important for "average citizens" to be talking about. This is especially important in the section "Why talk about how segregation affects education?" (which should probably be its own introductory chapter). This section really needs to step back and talk about

* For some interesting, local perspectives on the school side, see the Hamline Law Journal article by Ruth Anne Olson et al. called "Community leaders' views of desegregation: What is it for? Does it work? Should it be part of the future?" (Spring 1996, 17(2): 231-270). This includes some important viewpoints held by leaders in communities of color in particular. Other articles in this same issue may also be useful, again particularly in identifying some *local, current* (and sometimes scary!) views on this stuff. The issue also includes a piece by John.

the importance of dialogue and understanding, and the overall situation in the Twin Cities today, not just segregation and race/poverty connections generally.

(3) I think we need to simplify the language a bit more. Although the questions read very well and clearly, the other text reads too much like an academic study.

(4) More on tone: this all comes across from a very strong viewpoint. As hard as it will be for those of us who feel strongly about these issues, we need to tone it down and not sound so much like we are persuading people toward one viewpoint. This is tricky, and frustrating, but these kinds of guides really need to be that way. If you're having trouble thinking about how to do this, call Matt Leighninger at the Study Circle Resource Center: 860-928-2616. He's written many of these and is generally a nice, helpful person (and is basically standing by ready to help from afar).

(5) As interrelated as these issues are, I think the draft strays too far from the issues at hand when it delves into the social effects of urban sprawl generally. We're already trying to squeeze in a lot of information, and we need to strike that balance between information/education and allowing people to really absorb the information and have time to discuss it in depth. Cutting out these types of issues will be another source of frustration, I'm sure, but we need to be focused and realistic about what people are willing to absorb in such a short time. Think of this as more basic, and more focused on the housing-schools link, which I'm continually amazed to find is a huge, first step for lots of folks at this point. Getting to those other issues will have to come later, and will probably naturally come out in the discussion (we could include discussion questions that get people thinking about related issues).

That's it for now. Thanks again, to both of you, for all of your good work. I really appreciate all the help, knowledge, and insight you are bringing to this project. If you have any further thoughts or comments before Thursday, *please* feel free to contact me here (871-8980), at the Center for Neighborhoods (379-3602), or at home (822-7275).

Thanks again and see you next Thursday!

Tues 10/8 - Library

COMMUNITY CIRCLE COLLABORATIVE

MEMORANDUM

TO: Dick Little & Mike Anderson
FROM: Darcy Seaver *DS*
RE: Discussion Guide Review Committee
DATE: December 17, 1996

This is to offer some thoughts on a possible timetable and review plan for the development of the Discussion Guide. As I mentioned in my discussion with you last week, I would propose a three-stage review process, with a relatively small group (8-10) looking at today's first draft and a larger and broader committee reviewing the resulting draft. I would also propose that the second draft be laid out by a graphic designer, so that these reviewers can also give feedback on the visual flow and layout of the Guide. Finally, I think a third and final review will probably be necessary, although this should probably be done by the initial, smaller group.

The following is a proposed timetable for such a process:

First draft out to initial group of reviewers:	December 17
Comments back on first draft:	December 27 27 (FRIDAY) ⇒ Sent or faxed to MICAH
Second draft out to designer:	January 3
Second (designed) draft out to large group of reviewers:	January 10
Comments back on second draft:	January 17
Final draft out to small group of reviewers/proofreaders:	January 24
Comments back on final draft:	January 29
Final copy to printer:	February 3

You had also requested the names of potential reviewers. The following are possibilities:

Initial Review Group

Mike Anderson
Darcy Seaver
Len Witt
Jeremy Iggers
Steve Van Kuiken
Karen Kingsley
Bruce Vandal
Dick Little
Nancy Smith
Roy Taylor
Matt Leighnigner (SCRC)
Hope Melton

Large Review Committee

Everyone in the small group
john powell and others at the Institute on Race & Poverty
Ruth Anne Olson
Barb Bearman
Matt Little
Carol Horton
Carol Johnson
Carol Wirtshafter
Zib Hinz
Scott Bol
Josie Johnson
George Latimer
Travis Lee
Georgina Stephens
Jerry Timian
Rip Rapson
Myron Orfield
John Kostouros
Denny Schapiro
Ken Darling
Mary Treacy

Carol - ?

ESTES SMITH

Dan Cornejo
Nadine Addington
Jim Addington
Ed Goetz
Margaret Shulman & others at the
MN Fair Housing Center
Yusef Mgeni
John Ruffin
*Others new to project, both expert
and non-expert

↳ community

Minneapolis Center for Neighborhoods

"Advocating for the enhanced livability and vitality of urban neighborhoods"

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Already Delivered

30± REVIEWERS

Mike Anderson
Darcy Seaver
Bruce Vandel
Dick Little
Roy Taylor
Matt Leughninger
Hope Melton

Jim Hilbert
Barbara Bearman
Matt Little
Scott Bol
Josie Johnson
Georgie Stevens
Jerry Timian

Linda Garret - Johnson

ADDITIONS

OK Jim Doney
OK Neil Meyer
OK Julie Idelkone
OK Jaime Pedraza

REMAINING

+
Ester Smith, Kettering
Myron Orfield
Joyce Levine

To Be Delivered

- Ester Smith -
PACKET

OK Len Witt
OK ✓ Jeremy Diggins
Steve Van Kuiken
Karen Kingsley
OK ✓ Nancy Smith/

OK John Powell
OK ✓ Carol Horton
OK Carol Johnson
OK ✓ Carol Wirtschafter
OK ✓ Zib Hing
OK ✓ George Latimer

Travis Lee
P' * Rip Rapson
Myron Orfield
NO John Kostourov
? Denny Shapiro
✓ Ken Darling

OK ✓ ~~??~~ Mary Ruth Anne Olson
- Mary Treacy
? Dan Cornejo ?

✓ * Nadine / Jim Addington
Ed Goetz
OK MN Fair Hing Ctr.

OK ✓ Yusef Mgeni
* John Ruffin

FAX to DICK LITTLE

2/1/97

From Steve Share

Dick: Here is a print-out of Kristy's story. Unfortunately, it includes a table that lost its formatting. That's why hard copy always is important! As far as space, it would take up the equivalent of one column, top to bottom of the page. But I'm reluctant to try to reformat the table without seeing an original version.

--Steve

Composition of Communities Affects Educational Opportunity and Achievement

The Twin Cities region is now beginning to struggle with many of the same problems in its core that have led to severe urban decay in other major metropolitan centers across America. In 1990, the central cities as a whole contained 28% of the region's population, but 60% of its poor. Perhaps nowhere is this manifested more than in the schools. The table below gives the percentage of students who passed the 1996 Minnesota Basic Skills Test for ten Twin Cities districts. Also included are per-pupil expenditures and poverty rates. Although Minneapolis schools have the highest per pupil expenditures, only 42% of its students passed the math test and only 37% passed the reading test. On the other hand, a large percentage of students in Minneapolis schools live in poverty. Approximately 60% of students in the district are receiving free or reduced-price lunches--a federal program available for children in families below the poverty line--and 63% of Minneapolis' student body are children of color.

Basic Skills Test Scores and Spending Levels in 10 Twin Cities Districts, 1996

Percent Passing:

District Math	Per Pupil Spending:			
	Reading	Poverty	Enrollment	Gen. Fund Total
Bloomington 79	65	16	11,371	\$5,210
\$6,034 Brooklyn Ctr 64	53		44	1,650

\$4,856	\$6,707	Columbia Hts	70	57		
31 2,987	\$6,328	\$7,259	Eden Prairie	91	79	4
9,198	\$4,709	\$6,495	Edina	95	88	
2	6,181	\$5,583	\$7,081	Minneapolis	42	
37	61 46,151	\$7,115	\$9,136	Minnetonka	90	
83 4 7,235	\$5,714	\$7,440	Richfield	71		
62 22 4,343	\$5,848	\$7,020	St. Louis Park	76		
66 22 4,285	\$6,597	\$7,816	St. Paul	51		
44 56 42,046	\$6,017	\$7,095				

Source: O'Connor, Debra. Spending Isn't
Key To Success. St. Paul Pioneer Press.
1996. (Data based on information from the
Minnesota Children, Families, and
Learning Dept.)

DISCUSSION QUESTION (FOR DISCUSSION)

① What is the impact of the existing ~~residential~~^{residential} patterns of housing segregation on educational achievements and life opportunities for children of/in the Twain Cities area?

② How do we respond =
What can/do we do to enhance the educational, economic, + life opportunities for all of our children?

What is the TC's responsibility to housing of its low income population?

KRISTI - SOME QUICK THOUGHTS - DICK

Introduction

Make reference to the two major law suits that have been filed in the recent years that are "forcing" or "framing this issue"

1. The Legal Aid Society / NAACP "Holman vs. Cisneros" suit (re= concentration of low income hung + segregation of minorities)
IMPLICATIONS FOR HOUSING
2. The "NAACP vs. State Board of Education, et. al." suit (re= the inherently inferior education available/provided in Mpls/Coon City public schools caused by ^{de facto} segregation patterns, etc.)
IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOLS + BUSING

Choices:

"Return" to Traditional / Market Place
Values?

Expanding Choices also has to do w/ eliminating addressing or reducing (discriminatory) barriers. Perhaps these are two similar but slightly different choices (one is an "affirmative" action, the other is a legal remedy). It also has to do with ~~expanding~~ building people's capacity to exercise the choices once available. Perhaps this is also a different "choice" to look at, ^{not sure}

TYPES OF CHANGES

- Allocation of Resources (#)
- application of / implementation of Programs / Exit or New
- Enforcement of Laws + Regulations
- creation of new laws + regulations
- Shifting of authority or power from one level of jurisdiction to another
- Education / social + personal action / behavior / ^{public attitudes + action}
- Keep brainstorming on this -
- Public interest / intervention in Market Place
- Collective vs. Individual actions

HOUSING

- INVESTMENT EMPH. ON CORE HSG. CONTROLS ON NEW FRINGE HSG.
- MOBILITY / VOUCHERS?
- AFFIRMATIVE ACTION / FAIR HOUSING IMPLEMENTATION
- INCLUSIVE NEIGHBORHOODS / COMMUNITIES
MIXED USE, MIXED INCOME DEVELOPMENT
- JOBS + ECONOMIC DEV. STRATEGIES
- TRANSIT INVESTMENT

SCHOOLS

- ETHNIC-CENTRIC ETHNIC AM SCHOOLS / ALTERNATIVE
- MOBILITY / VOUCHERS?
- AREA WIDE SCHOOL DISTRICT / COMPACT
- BUSING / BUT ^{WITH BETTER} USING PUBLIC TRANSIT (W) VOUCHERS
- MAGNETS SCHOOLS
- REALLOCATION OF \$ SCHOOLS TO CORE / EXPAND FISCAL DISPARITIES LAW

Need to make point that "desegregation" =
does not mean \neq "integration." It means
giving real choices to everyone/~~to~~ larger
part of the community rather than to
fewer and fewer people (white, upper middle
class privilege). It also means creating
a ~~mobility~~ "mobility" route for people to
improve their own lives and "work" their way
into a better economic status/condition.
The choice one may exercise is to live
in an ethnically cohesive community - that's
as if there is real choice.

Post-It® Fax Note	7871	Date	2/6	# of pages	3
To	DICK LITTLE	From	HOPE (via Darryl)		
Co./Dept	MCAH	Co.			
Phone #	871-8980	Phone #	379-3602		
Fax #	871-8984	Fax #	-		

FROM HOPE
MELTON

ved it yesterday, but bear with
: boxes.

DICK: I SENT MY COMMENTS TO KRISTY. THE! Darryl

What's the Diagnosis?

Choice #1:

The point here is that children's educational opportunities, and school performance depends on the entire spectrum of resources available through their *whole environment*, home, school, and neighborhood. How they speak, how they react to other people, how they see their world (Is it hopeful and bright? Is it dangerous and threatening? Is it gray and sad?) and their future depends on where they live. Even if one part of this spectrum strives mightily, it will, on average, not be sufficient to counter the impacts of the other two.

Choice #2

Try A RETURN TO WORK, FAMILY, AND COMMUNITY

Poverty is the result of a breakdown of the work ethic. Take out "beneficent"--insulates people against risks essential to free market capitalism and promotes dependency [what a crock...]

What should be done?

Choice #1

...but remove and replace dilapidated housing with higher income housing to reduce concentrations of low-income housing.

Add: 1. Promote microenterprise and small businesses in neighborhoods. Encourage entrepreneurship.

2. Institute effective crime suppression and prevention strategies. Community policing that works with the community.

Choice #2

Add: provide support services such as job training, child care, and transportation subsidies so that poor people, especially parents, can successfully participate in the labor market.

Choice #3

The last six points could be grouped under a heading. "Involve citizens in the creation of strategies to develop and maintain stable diversity" or that

could stand alone. The point is that diversity has to be managed, a healthy balance (see Oak Park Ill. and other first ring Chicago suburbs) doesn't just happen.

Add Under "community outreach"--mentoring and tutoring projects

Why this course of action?

Choice #1

We need to create a stable core by investing in inner city neighborhoods....

If the region cooperates by funneling *resources* towards improving schools...[It's very important to make this transfer of regional resources explicit because that's what's required, not just loose terms like "cooperate"]

* People moved to the suburbs to escape urban problems. It isn't fair or realistic to expect suburban residents to take on those problems where they live.

* Efforts to desegregate neighborhoods and schools with high proportions of minority people assume that it's better for those folks to live and go to school in majority white settings. This is disrespectful of the strengths of communities of color.

Choice #3

* While moving is not an instant cure to poverty...being close to jobs, good schools, and *the social and economic mainstream [or, working and middle class professional people]* is an important step

* People who live in economically and racially diverse areas better understand others who are unlike themselves and are better prepared to work in a diverse society and global economy than those who live in racially and economically homogenous areas.

Additional Resources:

Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton, *American Apartheid, Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, Harvard University Press 1993

William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears, The World of the New Urban Poor*, Alfred Knopf, New York, 1996.

Robert J. Bursick, Jr. and Harold G. Grasmick, *Neighborhoods and Crime, The Dimensions of Effective Community Control*, Lexington Books, 1993.

FAX COVER SHEET

A POSSIBLE
"MODEL"

Wednesday, February 05, 1997 01:16:08 PM

To: Dick Little
At: EHEP
Fax #: 871-8984

From: JEREMY IGGORS
Fax: 3 pages and a cover page.

INTRODUCTION:

What can we do to prevent Minneapolis, St. Paul, and their inner ring of suburbs from following the downward spiral of social and economic decline that has devastated so many other U.S. metropolitan areas?

Talking Roundtables. Participants will share their experiences in dealing with the social and economic problems that their communities face, and consider four approaches to improving the economic and social health of our metropolitan area.

Is welfare reform the solution? Should we use enterprise zones and tax incentives to encourage new investment in the urban core? Can we prevent the concentration of poverty in our core cities by increasing low-income housing in the suburbs? Would a better transit system bridge the gap between inner-city job seekers and suburban job growth?

When urban policy expert David Rusk came to the Twin Cities in September, he delivered a good news/bad news message: Unlike many other metropolitan areas, there is still hope for the Twin Cities. But we have to act now.

If current trends continue, Rusk warned, the Twin Cities could face the same fate as Detroit, Newark, Hartford and dozens of other metropolitan areas: In every case, the basic pattern is the same: as poverty concentrates in the core communities, middle class flight accelerates, and the core cities become less able to meet the basic needs of residents.

Rusk, the former mayor of Albuquerque and author of "Cities Without Suburbs," has identified three benchmarks of urban decline: a loss of 20 percent of their population, a minority population of more than 30 percent, and average city incomes less than 70 percent of the suburban average. No city that has reached those benchmarks of social and economic decline has recovered economically. Neither Minneapolis nor St. Paul has reached any of those benchmarks yet, but Rusk estimates that we are "about one generation" away from the point of no return. The challenge, in the coming years, will be to agree on strategies for stopping the increasing polarization of the metropolitan area into a poor core and wealthy suburbs.

Although urban decay is often portrayed as a problem of the inner cities, poverty is actually growing faster in working class inner-ring suburbs such as Columbia Heights, Brooklyn Park, South St. Paul and Richfield, which lack the commerce, industry and civic amenities of the central cities. But the impact of this polarized pattern of development has adverse effects on the entire metropolitan area. New job growth is concentrated in areas beyond easy reach of the greatest concentration of job seekers. Billions of dollars are spent duplicating infrastructure in new communities while existing cities decay. And the environment is damaged as new low-density, automobile-dependent suburbs replace forest and farm land.

Although there is wide agreement that we must do something, there is little agreement about the best course of action. Each of the four options described below represents a different diagnosis of the problem. In discussing the issue, Roundtable participants may decide that there are merits to more than one option, and that elements of several approaches are needed.

DISCUSSION GUIDE:

Option #1: Welfare Reform and Educational Opportunities.

What's the diagnosis? Welfare policies have created a culture of poverty that encourages dependency and discourages self-sufficiency.

What should be done? We need strategies that focus on encouraging individual responsibility and encouraging individual responsibility and work-preparedness:

- Welfare reform should provide incentives for family units to stay together.
- Welfare payments should be lowered to make the Twin Cities less attractive to welfare recipients.
- Welfare rules should be changed to encourage recipients to work or acquire job skills, rather than penalizing them for working.

- A European-style system of apprenticeship programs should be introduced to provide training in the service sector and other areas of job growth.

Why this course of action? Advocates argue that the urban crisis is primarily a crisis of values. Because current welfare policies do not link benefits to work or preparation for work, they encourage a culture of dependency and irresponsibility. A strategy of stricter welfare rules, lower payments, and requiring work or work training will lower the welfare burden on our inner cities, and encourage the development of a proper work ethic.

What do critics say? Critics say this approach may reflect public perception of the problem, but welfare isn't the real issue here. And most of the people who come to the Twin Cities come looking for jobs in this area's comparatively robust economy, not welfare. Requiring job training isn't a meaningful answer when there aren't any jobs for which to train, or when the jobs that do exist are inaccessible.

Option #2: Business-Government Partnerships.

What is the diagnosis? A loss of jobs is at the heart of the problem.

What should be done? We need strategies in which government and business work together to revitalize economically distressed communities:

- Bureaucratic regulations that discourage businesses from staying or expanding should be eliminated.

- Local governments should use creative financing strategies to encourage small business development.

- Enterprise zones and other tax incentives should be used to channel new jobs to areas of high unemployment.

Why this course of action? Advocates argue that our central cities represent a tremendous human and economic resource. Rather than spending millions to create new housing developments and duplicate existing infrastructure in new suburbs, and disrupting urban communities by requiring job seekers to relocate in order to find employment, this strategy will bring the jobs to where the people and the infrastructure are.

What do critics say? Critics say that there are simply too many obstacles to enticing industry to the cities, and neighborhoods often really don't want them. Government (i.e. taxpayer) subsidies to companies that create jobs in the inner cities are not cost-effective, take away tax revenues from other public uses, and give subsidized companies unfair competitive advantages.

Option #3: A Metropolitan Approach.

What is the diagnosis? Poverty doesn't cause crime; it's the concentration of poverty that causes crime and urban decay. A fragmented system of metropolitan governments turns some communities into dumping grounds for the poor.

What should be done? We need metro-wide strategies to prevent poverty from concentrating in the core cities and inner-ring suburbs:

- More of the power now held by dozens of local governments must be placed in the hands of an effective, accountable elected metropolitan government.

- Suburbs should be required to lower their zoning and other barriers to allow low-income housing.

- Revenue sharing between tax-rich and tax-poor communities should be increased, and some tax revenues from communities with strong tax bases should be channeled to support a metropolitan redevelopment strategy.

- Metropolitan land planning authority at the edge of the region should be strengthened to foster more compact and diversified development.

Why this course of action? Our metropolitan area must be healthy to compete successfully against metropolitan areas of Asia and Europe in the global market place, but our fragmented system of local government pits our cities and suburbs against each other. Metropolitan government is needed to stop the polarization.

Promoting low-income housing in areas of job growth will reduce traffic congest

ion, increase opportunities for the underprivileged, and enable people to remain in their communities when their circumstances change (e.g., divorced mothers, laid-off workers).

What do critics say?

Local control is best. Suburban communities should have the right to draw zoning ordinances and other regulations that are in their own best interests, and to spend their tax dollars as they see fit. Residents of affluent communities should not be required to subsidize the lifestyles of inner-city residents. Many of the central communities' problems can be traced to poor leadership and wasteful, self-serving government bureaucracies.

Option 4: A Transportation Strategy.

What is the diagnosis? There are enough jobs, but a lack of adequate mass transportation makes it difficult for people in core communities, which have the greatest concentration of joblessness, to get out to the outer-ring suburbs, where most of the new jobs are being created.

What should be done?

- Make improvements in the mass transit system to make it easier for inner-city people to commute to suburban jobs.

- Remove organizational barriers that restrict access of core-city jobless to suburban job training and employment programs.

- Reorganize job-referral services so that job applicants from the core cities have better access to information about suburban job opportunities.

- Provide day care and other support services for commuting workers from inner-city communities.

Why this approach? Advocates of this approach argue that a transportation strategy is the most cost-efficient, and makes the best use of existing resources. It gives city residents access to jobs without forcing them to abandon their home communities, and it meets the labor needs of suburban employers without burdening suburban communities with the costs of building new schools, roads and other infrastructure for new residents. It is a more realistic solution than encouraging job development in the core cities, which cannot be done without costly public subsidies.

What do critics say? The outer-ring suburbs were designed with the automobile in mind; creating mass-transit systems to ferry individuals from various central areas of the Twin Cities to the far-flung reaches of Eden Prairie or Woodbury would be too expensive.

In addition to these four options, participants in the Roundtables will be free to offer their own solutions, including the option of doing nothing: Some people believe the problems of urban decay are part of the natural life cycle of cities, and that any attempt to engineer systemic solutions to these problems cause more problems than it can solve.

If you'd like to get involved, Roundtables will be meeting this month at locations throughout the metropolitan area and in greater Minnesota. For a complete listing, call 673-9068. If you have questions or need further information, please call 674-7733.

Minnesota Public Radio

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Dick:
I've tried in places
to think like people from
various sides of issue.

These are not my own
sentiments. It would probably
be helpful to find people with
various views so they can
express themselves

Len

	CHOICE #1	CHOICE #2	CHOICE #3
	ENRICHMENT: HELPING BUILD COMMUNITIES	PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY: A RETURN TO TRADITIONAL VALUES	MOBILITY: CREATING CHOICES
What's the diagnosis?	<p>*Poverty is the result of an unequal distribution of resources. There is a spatial mismatch between jobs and workers, and jobs do not pay livable wages or provide adequate benefits. Educational opportunities differ for wealthy children and poor children. Neighborhoods are decaying because individuals do not have enough resources to contribute to their upkeep.</p>	<p>* Poverty is the result of a breakdown of traditional values. Beneficent welfare programs insulate people against risks essential to capitalism and promote dependency.</p>	<p>*Poverty isn't the problem as much as the <i>concentration</i> of poverty. When poverty is concentrated, it perpetuates a myriad of other social problems--disinvestment in neighborhoods and tax-base erosion, poor schools, crime, and racial tensions.</p>
What should be done?	<p>*Train and improve the skills of residents of low-income neighborhoods in the region's core in order to create a work force whose skills match the requirements of new jobs.</p> <p>*Stimulate job growth in the central cities and in areas where there is a mismatch of jobs to the workforce.</p> <p>*Promote maintenance and rehabilitation of older housing to preserve vital healthy neighborhoods, but remove and replace dilapidated housing with other uses in order to start breaking up concentrations of low-income housing.</p> <p>*Use money previously earmarked for busing to enrich neighborhood schools.</p> <p>*Increase transportation services so individuals who live in the city can reach jobs in the suburbs.</p> <p>* Change tax laws to provide more equality in wealth's distribution.</p> <p>* Ensure every working family has a adequate shelter, food, health care, education and recreational opportunities</p> <p>* Provide adequate skill training for youth not going to college.</p> <p>* Encourage boot strap movements where people conquer their own communities' problems. Outsiders can't do it for them.</p>	<p>* The government should stay out of the business of charity. We need to revitalize mediating structures such as neighborhoods, churches, and voluntary associations.</p> <p>*The government needs to alter patterns of reward to favor work over leisure and investment over consumption.</p> <p>* Promote family values</p> <p>* Encourage two-parent families</p> <p>* Provide mentors</p> <p>* Provide opportunities for people to work their way out of poverty</p> <p>* Teach Teach what a ^{healthy} community demands values in terms of values and responsibilities.</p> <p>* Be tough on crime.</p>	<p>* Create a <i>regional</i> housing policy so that local governments cannot act like monopolists.</p> <p>*Expand housing choices in the developing suburbs to provide life-cycle housing in a range of types and prices. The majority of new jobs have been created in the suburbs, and without adequate transportation in the Twin Cities area, people need to live near to where they work.</p> <p>*The government needs to expand voucher programs as well as loan programs to enhance the buying power of low-income households.</p> <p>*Combat discrimination in lending and realty markets.</p> <p>*Provide incentives to developers, owners, and landlords to offer additional Section 8 housing.</p> <p>*Scatter low-income housing throughout communities to avoid creating new pockets of poverty in the suburbs.</p> <p>*Provide community outreach projects such as block parties, community education, and mentoring programs to integrate new residents and make them feel a part of the community.</p> <p>*Provide home improvement training programs and incentives for new residents to maintain their property</p> <p>*Expand busing and open enrollment opportunities (such as reimbursement for transportation costs) for inner-city students.</p> <p>* Substitute inclusivity zoning over exclusivity zoning.</p> <p>* Have churches take a moral and active stand for - the poor.</p>

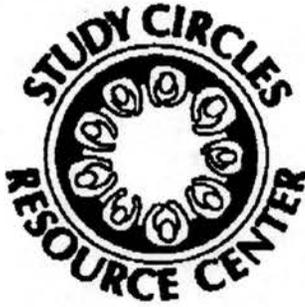
* Let people work their own ways into neighborhoods. If they have money, no one will keep them out.

CHOICE #1

CHOICE #2

CHOICE #3

<p>Why this course of action?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *We need to create a stable core; this will help stabilize the entire 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. * <i>If we help meet people's needs they will be less dysfunctional. Crime will decrease.</i> * <i>If we continue our present course, we'll be like a third-world country w. the haves and have nots. Who wants that?</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Everyone else has had to work hard to "make it" in today's world; many families live paycheck to paycheck and it is unfair for the govt. to subsidize certain individuals with taxpayers' money. *Social programs erode a work ethic and self-sufficiency by supporting those who do not work. If we cut or eliminated such programs all together, it would leave the working-aged person with no recourse whatsoever except for the job market. * Public sector social welfare programs divert income that could be otherwise be invested in capital formation. Channeling funds away from consumption and towards investment will foster economic growth and benefit everyone in the long run. * <i>This is a country of a long history where poor immigrants worked their way out of poverty. Hard work is an American tradition and ethic. There is no free lunch in America.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *The opportunity to live in integrated, middle-class neighborhoods appears to boost employment among adults and school performance among children. *While moving is not an instant cure to poverty, living in safe neighborhoods and being closer to jobs and good schools is an important step in breaking the cycle of poverty. *Breaking up concentrations of poverty in the central cities may benefit the neighborhoods, schools, and people left behind if the communities are more socially and economically balanced as a result. *It is not just low-income residents who need more affordable housing. Alternatives are needed by the elderly, young people such as students, or people going through life changes, such as women who become single moms after a divorce.
<p>What do critics say?</p> <p><i>But only for the poor. ←</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Pumping money into the central cities is not the answer. When poverty is concentrated, using money to tackle the problem is simply throwing in down a black hole. For example, Minneapolis schools already spend more money per student than any other school in the region, and their test scores are the lowest. *In order to create more regional stability, our communities need to be more economically and racially diverse. We need to integrate. *People need to have more choices about where they live. Since a majority of the new jobs are in the suburbs, there needs to be more low-income housing in the suburbs. People shouldn't have to "reverse-commute." * Most people of color living in the city don't want to move 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *Society has created barriers for people. No matter how "responsible" people act, it won't change the fact that discrimination is an obstacle for people of color, nor will it change the fact that many jobs do not pay livable wages nor provide health care or day-care. *The poor will always be with us as they are the inevitable result of capitalism. In some instances the poor act as cheap labor, in others, as a reserve labor pool. The chief function of social programs is to regulate labor. When mass unemployment lead 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. * <i>The very rich continue to get richer at the expense of the poor. The Twins Stadium is only one example of welfare for the rich and corporate welfare. Everyone in this country gets subsidies.</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> *It is better to help people where they are than disperse poverty into other communities. *An influx of low-income families could lead to increased crime. * People tend to self-segregate. Low-income families and people of color may just create new concentrations of poverty in the suburbs. *Low-income housing projects and low-income home-owners who do not maintain their property could lead to lower property values in the community. *It is inappropriate for the government to interfere in an issue that should be worked out through natural market forces. *Public transportation in suburbs does not provide 24-hour, 7-day a week service. It is not geared toward low-income families. * "Transplanted" low-income families may not share the same values as existing residents and thus may not fit it and feel alienated. * <i>Most people of color don't want to move. They like living in their comfort zones with people and institutions they know.</i>



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Date: 2/4
For the attention of: Dick Little
Voice/fax: 612 871 8984
From: Matt Leighninger
Number of pages (including this page): 3
Comments:

Memorandum

DATE: February 3, 1997
TO: Community Circle Collaborative
Discussion Guide Review Committee
FROM: Matt Leighninger, Program Director, SCRC
RE: January 24 draft

I think the framework for the guide is much better than the December draft.

You asked three questions in your memo:

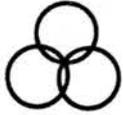
1. *How can the "diagnosis" be fleshed out so as to focus more on economic and racial segregation?* I don't think there should be a diagnosis for each choice. The participants will be coming up with their own diagnoses in the session(s) before they get to these choices. I think it is important for the sessions to follow a logical sequence, such as: 1) How does the issue affect us? 2) What are the causes of the problem? 3) What should be done? 4) What should we do here. Your diagnosis should go in the introduction (what you are calling the second section). The text on segregation found throughout the December draft is much broader than these poverty diagnoses; it just needs to be boiled down into 1-2 concise pages.
2. *Can we re-word the choices?* I think you're right that the choices aren't answering the question you're trying to get at. If your question is "What should we do to provide equality of opportunity?" then your choices might be:
 - a) **We should help communities build from within.** Every neighborhood and community - no matter what its current condition - can rebuild and revitalize. Sometimes outside resources are helpful in this process, but the assets the community already possesses are the ones which need to be recognized and developed. With a little help, communities can create their own opportunities.
 - b) **All communities in the region should share burdens and opportunities.** Even if it is split up politically, the metropolitan area is a single economic body. Suburbs and urban areas should pool resources and create better transportation networks so that housing and job opportunities are distributed evenly. We need to start working together to provide equal opportunities for everyone in the region.
 - c) **We should let people make their own choices.** Government welfare and housing policies make our problems worse: they remove incentives for poor people to better themselves. Similarly, the education system rewards mediocrity by not allowing parents complete freedom in choosing schools. If we don't discourage them, people will create their own opportunities.

- d) **We need to confront racism.** The effects of racism in hiring practices, access to credit, school tracking, and "white flight" are the greatest unexamined cause of inequality. If we are to ensure equality of opportunity, we have to tackle this problem head-on.

Most of the items you have in the What should be done? section of the grid would fit under one of these choices.

3. *How and when can we include more information about schools?* If you follow the choice framework above, it should be much easier to incorporate schools. You've got plenty of information on schools in the December draft to use.

If you were to embrace equality of opportunity as the bedrock assumption of the guide as a whole, you might not have to put in an imprimatur about your perspective in the first section. I realize that, as a term, equality of opportunity has been used to mask other arguments, but as a concept it is something almost everyone can buy into.



Tri-Council Coordinating Commission
122 W. Franklin Ave. #100
Minneapolis, MN 55404

Dick Little
Comm Circle Collab.
% MICAH

Dick —

Hope this is helpful — sorry
if it's a bit cryptic — I'm off
to a meeting in Forest Lake —

Peace —

Jim Addington

2-4-97

10:45 A.M.

	CHOICE #1	CHOICE #2	CHOICE #3
	ENRICHMENT: HELPING BUILD COMMUNITIES	PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY: A RETURN TO TRADITIONAL VALUES	MOBILITY: CREATING CHOICES
What's the diagnosis? *	<p>*Poverty is the result of an unequal distribution of resources. There is a spatial mismatch between jobs and workers, and jobs do not pay livable wages or provide adequate benefits. Educational opportunities differ for wealthy children and poor children. Neighborhoods are decaying because individuals do not have enough resources to contribute to their upkeep.</p>	<p>* Poverty is the result of a breakdown of traditional values. Beneficent welfare programs insulate people against risks essential to capitalism and promote dependency.</p>	<p>*Poverty isn't the problem as much as the <i>concentration</i> of poverty. When poverty is concentrated, it perpetuates a myriad of other social problems--disinvestment in neighborhoods and tax-base erosion, poor schools, crime, and racial tensions. <i>what are the barriers - social, cultural, economic that produce a concentration of pov.?</i></p>
What should be done?	<p>*Train and improve the skills of residents of low-income neighborhoods in the region's core in order to create a work force whose skills match the requirements of new jobs. *Stimulate job growth in the central cities and in areas where there is a mismatch of jobs to the workforce. *Promote maintenance and rehabilitation of older housing to preserve vital healthy neighborhoods, but remove and replace dilapidated housing with other uses in order to start breaking up concentrations of low-income housing. *Use money previously earmarked for busing to enrich neighborhood schools. *Increase transportation services so individuals who live in the city can reach jobs in the suburbs.</p>	<p>* The government should stay out of the business of charity. We need to revitalize mediating structures such as neighborhoods, churches, and voluntary associations. *The government needs to alter patterns of reward to favor work over leisure and investment over consumption. * * *</p>	<p>*Create a <i>regional</i> housing policy so that local governments cannot act like monopolists. *Expand housing choices in the developing suburbs to provide life-cycle housing in a range of types and prices. The majority of new jobs have been created in the suburbs, and without adequate transportation in the Twin Cities area, people need to live near to where they work. *The government needs to expand voucher programs as well as loan programs to enhance the buying power of low-income households. *Combat discrimination in lending and realty markets. *Provide incentives to developers, owners, and landlords to offer additional Section 8 housing. *Scatter low-income housing throughout communities to avoid creating new pockets of poverty in the suburbs. *Provide community outreach projects such as block parties, community education, and mentoring programs to integrate new residents and make them feel a part of the community. *Provide home improvement training programs and incentives for new residents to maintain their property *Expand busing and open enrollment opportunities (such as reimbursement for transportation costs) for inner-city students.</p>

* Diagnosis - The association between poverty and race is very revealing. It suggests that a simple economic analysis is not adequate. Also, if we focus only on economic challenges, we miss the point of the role of racism - as a systemic institutionalized reality. The unequal distribution of resources does not, in itself, explain the disproportionate

rate of poverty in communities of color. Diagnosis might, also, focus on the barriers which maintain concentrations of poverty and reinforce the association between race & poverty.

CHOICE #1

CHOICE #2

CHOICE #3

Why this course of action?

- * We need to create a stable core; this will help stabilize the entire 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.
- * *Revitalization needs to emphasize making home-ownership more accessible as a key tactic of stabilization and accumulation of wealth (a la Sam Myers)*

- * Everyone else has had to work hard to "make it" in today's world; many families live paycheck to paycheck and it is unfair for the govt. to subsidize certain individuals with taxpayers' money.
- * Social programs erode a work ethic and self-sufficiency by supporting those who do not work. If we cut or eliminated such programs all together, it would leave the working-aged person with no recourse whatsoever except for the job market.
- * Public sector social welfare programs divert income that could be otherwise be invested in capital formation. Channeling funds away from consumption and towards investment will foster economic growth and benefit everyone in the long run.

- * The opportunity to live in integrated, middle-class neighborhoods appears to boost employment among adults and school performance among children.
- * While moving is not an instant cure to poverty, living in safe neighborhoods and being closer to jobs and good schools is an important step in breaking the cycle of poverty.
- * Breaking up concentrations of poverty in the central cities may benefit the neighborhoods, schools, and people left behind if the communities are more socially and economically balanced as a result.
- * It is not just low-income residents who need more affordable housing. Alternatives are needed by the elderly, young people such as students, or people going through life changes, such as women who become single moms after a divorce.
- The value of diversity (in neighborhoods) is a bit different than integration — economic, ethnic, racial, etc.*

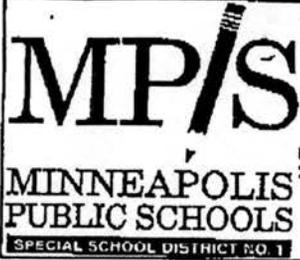
What do critics say?

racist use of language!

- * Pumping money into the central cities is not the answer. When poverty is concentrated, using money to tackle the problem is simply throwing in down a black hole. For example, Minneapolis schools already spend more money per student than any other school in the region, and their test scores are the lowest.
- * In order to create more regional stability, our communities need to be more economically and racially diverse. We need to integrate.
- * People need to have more choices about where they live. Since a majority of the new jobs are in the suburbs, there needs to be more low-income housing in the suburbs. People shouldn't have to "reverse-commute."

- * Society has created barriers for people. No matter how "responsible" people act, it won't change the fact that discrimination is an obstacle for people of color, nor will it change the fact that many jobs do not pay livable wages nor provide health care or day-care.
- * The poor will always be with us as they are the inevitable result of capitalism. In some instances the poor act as cheap labor, in others, as a reserve labor pool. The chief function of social programs is to regulate labor. When mass unemployment lead 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.

- * It is better to help people where they are than disperse poverty into other communities.
- * An influx of low-income families could lead to increased crime.
- * People tend to self-segregate. Low-income families and people of color may just create new concentrations of poverty in the suburbs.
- * Low-income housing projects and low-income home-owners who do not maintain their property could lead to lower property values in the community.
- * It is inappropriate for the government to interfere in an issue that should be worked out through natural market forces.
- * Public transportation in suburbs does not provide 24-hour, 7-day a week service. It is not geared toward low-income families.
- * "Transplanted" low-income families may not share the same values as existing residents and thus may not fit it and feel alienated.



Development and Government Relations

FAX

Date: 2/5
 Number of pages including cover sheet: 2

To: DICK LITTLE

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From: Zib Higgins

 Phone: (612) 627-2190
 Fax phone: (612) 627-2152

REMARKS: Urgent For your review Reply ASAP Please comment



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Phone: (612) 627-2190

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REMARKS: Urgent For your review Reply ASAP Please comment

Dick/ Kristej - have you read the Soros article in Feb Atlantic?

This is hard to believe I can't believe it is any one diagnosis - any way to encourage making?

	CHOICE #1	CHOICE #2	CHOICE #3
	<p>ENRICHMENT: HELPING BUILD COMMUNITIES</p> <p>*Poverty is the result of an unequal distribution of resources. There is a spatial mismatch between jobs and workers, and jobs do not pay livable wages or provide adequate benefits. Educational opportunities differ for wealthy children and poor children. Neighborhoods are decaying because individuals do not have enough resources to contribute to their upkeep.</p>	<p>PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY: A RETURN TO TRADITIONAL VALUES</p> <p>* Poverty is the result of a breakdown of traditional values. Beneficent welfare programs insulate people against risks essential to capitalism and promote dependency.</p> <p><i>This is a separate point</i></p> <p><i>better word</i></p>	<p>MOBILITY: CREATING CHOICES</p> <p>*Poverty isn't the problem as much as the concentration of poverty. When poverty is concentrated, it perpetuates a myriad of other social problems--disinvestment in neighborhoods and tax-base erosion, poor schools, crime, and racial tensions.</p>
<p>What should be done?</p>	<p>*Train and improve the skills of residents of low-income neighborhoods in the region's core in order to create a work force whose skills match the requirements of new jobs.</p> <p>*Stimulate job growth in the central cities and in areas where there is a mismatch of jobs to the workforce.</p> <p>*Promote maintenance and rehabilitation of older housing to preserve vital healthy neighborhoods, but remove and replace dilapidated housing with other uses in order to start breaking up concentrations of low-income housing.</p> <p>*Use money previously earmarked for busing to enrich neighborhood schools.</p> <p>*Increase transportation services so individuals who live in the city can reach jobs in the suburbs.</p> <p><i>Stimulate housing for diverse incomes in all communities of metro region</i></p>	<p>* The government should stay out of the business of charity. We need to revitalize mediating structures such as neighborhoods, churches, and voluntary associations.</p> <p>*The government needs to alter patterns of reward to favor work over leisure and investment over consumption.</p> <p>* * *</p> <p><i>This is a hard one here but more needs to be said for this point of view - read back issues of George Will columns?!</i></p>	<p>*Create a regional housing policy so that local governments cannot act like monopolists.</p> <p>*Expand housing choices in the developing suburbs to provide life-cycle housing in a range of types and prices. The majority of new jobs have been created in the suburbs, and without adequate transportation in the Twin Cities area, people need to live near to where they work.</p> <p>*The government needs to expand voucher programs as well as loan programs to enhance the buying power of low-income households by</p> <p>*Combat discrimination in lending and realty markets.</p> <p>*Provide incentives to developers, owners, and landlords to offer additional Section 8 housing.</p> <p>*Scatter low-income housing throughout communities to avoid creating new pockets of poverty in the suburbs.</p> <p>*Provide community outreach projects such as block parties, community education, and mentoring programs to integrate new residents and make them feel a part of the community.</p> <p>*Provide home improvement training programs and incentives for new residents to maintain their property</p> <p>*Expand busing and open enrollment opportunities (such as reimbursement for transportation costs) for inner-city students.</p>

	CHOICE #1	CHOICE #2	CHOICE #3
<p>Why this course of action?</p> 	<p>*We need to create a stable core; this will help stabilize the entire region.</p> <p>* 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.</p> <p><i>* people of all income levels will have wider choices of where to live, thereby helping to balance more communities with variety of income levels, stabilizing communities with better housing</i></p>	<p>* Everyone else has had to work hard to "make it" in today's world; many families live paycheck to paycheck and it is unfair for the govt. to subsidize certain individuals with taxpayers' money.</p> <p>*Social programs erode a work ethic and self-sufficiency by supporting those who do not work. If we cut or eliminated such programs all together, it would leave the working-aged person with no recourse whatsoever except for the job market.</p> <p>* Public sector social welfare programs divert income that could be otherwise be invested in capital formation. Channeling funds away from consumption and towards investment will foster economic growth and benefit everyone in the long run.</p>	<p>*The opportunity to live in integrated, middle-class neighborhoods appears to boost employment among adults and school performance among children.</p> <p>*While moving is not an instant cure to poverty, living in safe neighborhoods and being closer to jobs and good schools is an important step in breaking the cycle of poverty.</p> <p>*Breaking up concentrations of poverty in the central cities may benefit the neighborhoods, schools, and people left behind if the communities are more socially and economically balanced as a result.</p> <p>*It is not just low-income residents who need more affordable housing. Alternatives are needed by the elderly, young people such as students, or people going through life changes, such as women who become single moms after a divorce.</p>
<p>What do critics say?</p>	<p>*Pumping money into the central cities is not the answer. When poverty is concentrated, using money to tackle the problem is simply throwing in down a black hole. For example, Minneapolis schools already spend more money per student than any other school in the region, and their test scores are the lowest.</p> <p>*In order to create more regional stability, our communities need to be more economically and racially diverse. We need to integrate.</p> <p>*People need to have more choices about where they live. Since a majority of the new jobs are in the suburbs, there needs to be more low-income housing in the suburbs. People shouldn't have to "reverse-commute."</p>	<p>*Society has created barriers for people. No matter how "responsible" people act, it won't change the fact that discrimination is an obstacle for people of color, nor will it change the fact that many jobs do not pay livable wages nor provide health care or day-care.</p> <p>*The poor will always be with us as they are the inevitable result of capitalism. In some instances the poor act as cheap labor, in others, as a reserve labor pool. The chief function of social programs is to regulate labor. When mass unemployment lead 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.</p>	<p>*It is better to help people where they are than disperse poverty into other communities.</p> <p>*An influx of low-income families could lead to increased crime.</p> <p>* People tend to self-segregate. Low-income families and people of color may just create new concentrations of poverty in the suburbs.</p> <p>*Low-income housing projects and low-income home-owners who do not maintain their property could lead to lower property values in the community.</p> <p>*It is inappropriate for the government to interfere in an issue that should be worked out through natural market forces.</p> <p>*Public transportation in suburbs does not provide 24-hour, 7-day a week service. It is not geared toward low-income families.</p> <p>*"Transplanted" low-income families may not share the same values as existing residents and thus may not fit it and feel alienated.</p>

FAX COVER SHEET

JEREMY ISSORS
comments

Tuesday, February 04, 1997 11:16:11 AM

To: Dick Little
At: EHEP
Fax #: 871-8984

From:
Fax: 2 pages and a cover page.

Dear Dick and Kristy,

Here are my comments on the discussion guide:

The first thing that you need is a clear statement of the problem to be solved. It sounds like that may be part of what Darcy is going to write, but it should be right up front, at the start of the discussion guide. Maybe the statement of the problem could be something like:

"What can we do to overcome the increasing racial and economic polarization of our community?"

But if that is the problem you are trying to address, then the diagnoses will have to be substantially rewritten, since they address a different question.

I hate to sound like a broken record, but I don't think you are going to get a very good - or even honest - representation of the conservative point of view without talking to some of those guys, and when the time comes for the study circles to meet, I don't think very many of them are going to show up. If you really believe in dialogue, it has to start with the framing of the discussion.

I don't want to reconstruct the conservative points of view on these issues, and it would be a mistake to use the following as a replacement for actually talking to somebody like Mitch Perlstein, but they might make some of the following arguments:

- * They might say that: Liberal welfare policies are responsible for much of the polarization. (Supposedly, years ago, Mpls. and St. Paul city officials fought to keep most of the Section 8 federal funds in their cities rather than sharing it with the suburbs.)
- * They might say that: Stratification isn't bad, as long as there is mobility. And there is more mobility than liberals or progressives admit.
- * They might say that: Insulating people against risk isn't the issue; it's programs that encourage dependency and/or irresponsible behavior.
- * They might say that: we need to identify, articulate and reward certain values, and make moral judgments about people who fail to conform to them.
- * They might say that: government regulations get in the way of small-scale entrepreneurship, and that we can reduce inequality if government gets out of the way - i.e. reduces regulatory barriers.
- * They might talk about social engineering as an infringement on

personal choice.

I created a discussion guide a couple of years ago that discussed some of these issues. If I can still find a copy, I will fax it to you from the office today.

Sincerely,

Jeremy Iggers

Dick: here's a guide I wrote a couple of years ago. Hope it's helpful. Jeremy.

INTRODUCTION:

What can we do to prevent Minneapolis, St. Paul, and their inner ring of suburbs from following the downward spiral of social and economic decline that has devastated so many other U.S. metropolitan areas?

That's the topic for discussion at this month's Minnesota's Talking Roundtables. Participants will share their experiences in dealing with the social and economic problems that their communities face, and consider four approaches to improving the economic and social health of our metropolitan area.

Is welfare reform the solution? Should we use enterprise zones and tax incentives to encourage new investment in the urban core? Can we prevent the concentration of poverty in our core cities by increasing low-income housing in the suburbs? Would a better transit system bridge the gap between inner-city job seekers and suburban job growth?

When urban policy expert David Rusk came to the Twin Cities in September, he delivered a good news/bad news message: Unlike many other metropolitan areas, there is still hope for the Twin Cities. But we have to act now.

If current trends continue, Rusk warned, the Twin Cities could face the same fate as Detroit, Newark, Hartford and dozens of other metropolitan areas: In every case, the basic pattern is the same: as poverty concentrates in the core communities, middle class flight accelerates, and the core cities become less able to meet the basic needs of residents.

Rusk, the former mayor of Albuquerque and author of "Cities Without Suburbs," has identified three benchmarks of urban decline: a loss of 20 percent of their population, a minority population of more than 30 percent, and average city incomes less than 70 percent of the suburban average. No city that has reached those benchmarks of social and economic decline has recovered economically. Neither Minneapolis nor St. Paul has reached any of those benchmarks yet, but Rusk estimates that we are "about one generation" away from the point of no return. The challenge, in the coming years, will be to agree on strategies for stopping the increasing polarization of the metropolitan area into a poor core and wealthy suburbs.

Although urban decay is often portrayed as a problem of the inner cities, poverty is actually growing faster in working class inner-ring suburbs such as Columbia Heights, Brooklyn Park, South St. Paul and Richfield, which lack the commerce, industry and civic amenities of the central cities. But the impact of this polarized pattern of development has adverse effects on the entire metropolitan area. New job growth is concentrated in areas beyond easy reach of the greatest concentration of job seekers. Billions of dollars are spent duplicating infrastructure in new communities while existing cities decay. And the environment is damaged as new low-density, automobile-dependent suburbs replace forest and farm land.

Although there is wide agreement that we must do something,

Attn: Dick Little

DISCUSSION GUIDE

Restructured Guide

Get copy of outline

Lay out of choices (based on Kettering)

Forward / Background / Explanation of Process

Introduction to the Issues

Overview of the Choices

Matrix

Additional Resources/Bibliography

Appendices

Ballots?

Data Rich Background Materials

Draft by Feb. 7th

Modified & available by Feb. 15th

Get Report from MPR Discussion -
Len sent to Darcy.

Add = * Ross Corson

* Harry Boyth

Zib Hinz

NOTIFICATION

✓* Check w/ autographics on tasks & cost & schedule

* On get groups together; or use Augie volunteers

CALL - * Get MN Talking Facilitators List

Facilitator Lists

- 0/1 * Get your data base + lists to Bruce
- * Personal phone call to facilitators you know

Training

- ✓ * Call Kettering → videos, etc., of each of sections of a deliberative conversation

Plenary Component

Small Groups Component

FINDS

- * Bring piece on outlining difference between debate + dialogue.

PREPARE

- * Prepare introduction + presentation

Concrete but Concise - Bulleted Points

- ✓ * ^{CALL} Get facilitator guides from SCRC / Kettering
One page visuals. Materials

PULL TOGETHER

- * Start w/ing. on the notebook (trng. guide) of handouts

NEXT MAJOR CHALLENGE!

- * Coordinate assign of facilitators w/ comm. circle groups.

Community Circle Collaborative

DISCUSSION GUIDE: REVISED STRUCTURE

Draft Outline (1/22/97) -- for feedback

I. FOREWORD

- A. Introduction to the "Beyond Busing" project -- History, intent
- B. Background on the Community Circle Collaborative -- Partners, perspectives
- C. Explanation of community circle process

II. INTRODUCTION TO THE ISSUES

* III. CHOICES/PERSPECTIVES (SEE ATTACHED MATRIX)

- A. Enrichment
- B. Personal Responsibility
- C. Mobility

} BULK OF GUIDE

IV. APPENDICES

- A. Acknowledgments
- B. For further (reading) resources
- C. Pull-out matrix (Choices summary)
- D. Ballots? (Before and after questionnaires)
- E. Data appendices?
 - 1. Housing
 - 2. Education
 - 3. Economy / Jobs
 - 4. Race?
 - 5. Crime?

videos, films, audio tapes, Newspapers

*? Jobs
Transportation
National Patterns, other Cities etc*

DS/KG

NEW TITLE

FINDING COMMON GROUND

A WORK IN PROGRESS =

or

THE UNFINISHED AGENDA:
COMING TOGETHER AS A COMMUNITY

A METRO-WIDE ~~ON~~ ^{Discussions} ~~CONVERSATION~~ ~~ON THE~~ CHALLENGES OF
~~ON~~ ^{About} (ADDRESSING) THE CHALLENGES OF
 EDUCATION ~~AND~~ HOUSING ^{and} ~~AND~~ SEGREGATION

Questions for Part 3

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• Please note: More Education Data Needed Here

10

Need
Education
Bulletin

(Jim
to
provide)

- Special Ed issues, for example
-
-

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

Jim
Helbert

I of R +
(will
get
there)

need =

BULLET GROUPINGS / CATEGORICAL NEEDS

- POVERTY ←
- RACIAL COMPOSITION
- JOBS, INCOME, EMPLOYMENT /
- (DISPARITIES)
- HOUSING
- EDUCATION

9

• 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.

← KEEP

• The highest poverty rate on a city-wide basis is among Asians living in St. Paul -- 6 out of every 10 lives in poverty.

← KEEP

• 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.

← KEEP (BUT CHANGE --

• 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.

Find #s, and % of all kids

not very dramatic
How make more disc

• 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.)

~~RUN IT
BY URBAN
COALITION,
METRO COUNCIL
OR JIM H.
INST. ON RACE
& POVERTY~~

• The percent of poor households in the Twin Cities paying excessive amounts for housing is greater than the national average.

What do we want to share with statist

• In Minneapolis, students of color make up 65 percent of the total student population; in St. Paul they are 60 percent.

That there are disparities that are growing out

• 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.

EMPHASIS SELECTED BY

METRO COUNCIL BREAKOUT / Demographically white happening.

+ 18,000± Mph.

- 14 Edina
- 16 Woodbury

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2

~~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:

THE COMMUNITY CIRCLE COLLABORATIVE
 AND THE
 EDUCATION AND HOUSING EQUITY PROJECT

USE
 CONSISTENT
 TERMS

Turn Cities metropolitan region

← (INSTRUCTION TO WRITER
 IN EDITING THIS DOCUMENT)

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3

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 ~~Xdozen~~ ~~Xor more~~ ^{5 or 6} 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

or satisfactory. *successful?*

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

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women, slaves, Native Americans, the poor, and immigrants outside the mainstream – were seldom heard.

4

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

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5

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 do we mean by this? UNCLEAR

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.

Need a place to to define / identify end product - a record of the conversation

- 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.

FAILURE TO THRIVE NOTION = [greatly simplify & less lecture] or preaching

The metropolitan region is moving toward a crossroads. ...

~~The dramatic decline in educational achievement~~

We have a historic ^{Problem &} opportunity as well as a historic ~~problem~~ to avoid the problems of other metropolitan areas

8 In the same way

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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.

~~CUT-BACK
PRIORITIZE
BULLETS--
EDIT, ELIM,
ADD, CHANGE,
RE-ORDER;
relate to educ
hang, poverty, race
life opport.~~

← ELIMINATE

← ELIMINATE

← KEEP, BUT CLARIFY.

← KEEP

OK, BUT REORDER (IF ELSEWHERE)

OK

GET DATA FROM UMN
CALL HAL FRENLOY

no. (#) in Mpls, St. Paul
No in Edina, Woodbury

OK

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 be 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.

which to levy, when faced with increasing social needs.

By 1991, Fridley, Brooklyn Center, Columbia Heights, Roseville, Inver Grove Heights, Richfield, South St. Paul, North St. Paul-Maplewood-Oakdale and Spring Lake Park had from 15 percent to 30 percent of their students receiving free lunch. These communities were gaining poor and minority students as a percentage of enrollment at a faster rate than were the central cities. Inner-ring suburbs such as Hopkins, Columbia Heights, Golden Valley, Richfield and Fridley had far larger proportional job losses than the central cities.

As core American metropolitan communities weaken, certain outer-ring suburbs experience large middle-class immigration and burgeoning economic growth. Similarly, in the Twin Cities, more than half of the new metropolitan jobs created in the 1980s were in southwestern outer-ring suburbs that comprise 25 percent of the region's population. Most of these jobs were entry-level and many went unfilled because of the lack of a local work force.

These suburbs, which are sometimes referred to as the "Fertile Crescent," experienced a greater than 200 percent increase in commercial-industrial valuations over the decade. To illustrate the economic strength of the southwestern suburbs, Eden Prairie and Minnetonka together had the same commercial-industrial tax base as St. Paul (\$1.5 billion), yet have only one-third as many residents and, unlike St. Paul, virtually no poor people.

Fertile Crescent communities use their economic power and local authority to restrict the access of potential moderate- and low-income residents. Through exclusive housing markets, these communities welcome throngs of middle- and upper-income migrants from core communities, but restrict the access of the

less fortunate. Hence, while the percentage of poor children soared in working-class core communities, southwestern cities such as Eden Prairie, Plymouth, Shakopee, Savage, Rosemount and Lakeville actually had a smaller percentage of poor children at the end of the decade than at the beginning. Making matters worse, when divorce or old age reduces household income, Fertile Crescent housing markets actually squeeze their own people into less-affluent core communities.

As the physical and economic separation increases, so does the political polarization. As an example, each year the Minnesota Children's Defense Fund rates legislators on their willingness to support the issues of children, particularly poor children. During the last session, representatives of central-city and working-class suburban districts in the Minnesota House on average scored over 80 percent on the Defense Fund scorecard. Those representing the Fertile Crescent suburbs scored an average of 20 percent.

In the end, a series of significant metropolitan-based reforms are necessary to redress the growing social and economic polarization of the Twin Cities and prepare the region to compete successfully in the global economy of the 1990s. Among the most important is fair housing legislation that will open up southwestern suburbs to a greater variety of housing choices.

Such legislation would do the following:

- Connect unemployed workers living in the central cities and inner suburbs with unfilled entry-level jobs in communities without a sufficient local work force.

- Help old people, young divorced mothers and others experiencing economic changes to remain in their communities.

- Break up concentrated poverty and trends toward the social and economic polarization of the metropolitan economy.

Properly executed, fair housing legislation will also allow the construction industry to respond profitably to a pent-up demand for market-rate affordable housing in job-rich suburbs and reduce freeway congestion by allowing people to live closer to work.

Myron Orfield, DFL-Minneapolis, is a member of the Minnesota House of Representatives.

QUESTIONS

Questions for Discussion

1. What do you think are the most significant problems facing your immediate community? the broader metropolitan community?

2. Looking at the demographics and the charts, is there anything that surprises you?

3. Would you say the Twin Cities is racially segregated? Do you think it is becoming more or less segregated? Is your neighborhood racially segregated? economically segregated?

4. How does the data about poverty, housing and communities of color relate to your neighborhood? Does your own experience confirm the statistics?

5. Is there a difference between suburban and urban poverty? What are the differences?

Assumption: Can fix achievement for students of color through policies other than education policies (or possibly, in addition to ed. policies)

Assumption for study circles: education policy itself will not be the focus of much (if any) specific discussion; focusing instead on land-use and other policy areas

Focus point: This is not only ^{about} "housing" segregation & housing policy, but about the many inter-related land-use & social policies that intertwine to produce the present & perpetuated system of land-use in the TC that has isolated & segregated both poor people & people of color (whose populations crossover as well)

POSSIBLE USE IN THE
"SNAPSHOT" + ISSUES SECTION

Givens in this discussion

Premise #1: There is an increasing concentration of poverty in TC

Premise #2: People of color (particularly kids) are more likely to live in concentrated poverty

Premise #3: ^{Neighborhood} Poverty levels are an indicator of local/neighborhood education outcomes

Premise #4: High levels of concentrated poverty have a predictably negative affect on the education achievement levels of those children living in such conditions

Premise #5: Students of color, who are more ^{likely or} predisposed to live in poverty are disproportionately impacted by high level of concentrated poverty in TC

Premise #6: Eradication of concentrated poverty would eliminate many of the social pathologies that prevent ^{many} students of color from ^{coming to school properly}

Conclusion: Eradication of concentrated poverty would improve the ~~state~~ education outcomes of students of color ^{Prepared}

Value Judgment →

XX Question: How can the TC eradicate the concentration + segregation of ~~poor~~ low-income people? (Goes to Three "Choices")

What are the impacts of racial & economic segregation of housing on life opportunities and educational achievement of Twin Cities' children?

To: Community Circle Collaborative Feb. 25, 1997
From: Gene Sylvester

Since receiving this draft two days ago I've been able to read it over several times, as well as to discuss it with several people who will be participating in the "Beyond Busing" project. Here's what we think:

PROS

The piece is extremely well-written. It's clear. It's written in English, not academia. It flows logically from issue to issue within a framework of concept after concept. Particularly useful to a discussion we feel is the juxtaposition of the Twin City facts to both a regional and national perspective. You see how we fit the nation's trends. And how we don't.

It ends up with a set of three clear alternatives to choose from. The pros and cons of each seem fairly presented. The distinctions between choices is well drawn. The guide does what it should: It supplies pertinent, relevant facts about problems/opportunities and leaves the "choices" or directions to be decided upon through discussion.

CONS.

The piece would be clearly more helpful if it had more visuals, more graphs, some

pie charts. Though readable, the guide could be made more interesting, easier to follow, more helpful to discuss if the twenty pages of text were broken up with appropriate pictorial devices.

Secondly, it was not clear at first reading what the connections were between the guide and the choices outlined on the blue, fold out sheet. Is there a way that ~~the~~ each section of the text could be more clearly identified with the three choices we are to pick from?

On page 4, for example, could the page be headed "Choice No. 1 - Building Communities: Enrichment & Revitalization"

We all had trouble knowing why we were given the textual information. Only after finishing twenty pages did it slowly become clear we would be asked to choose.

CONF. CALL W/ MATT LEININGER, SCRC (2/24/26)

NOTES: DISCUSSION GUIDE ~~FEEDBACK~~
KRISTY GREENWALT
DARCY SENTERZ
DICK LITTLE

Looks Great!

Lack of balance, ^{is now} addressed
Proof of pudding - those who hold those views -
how they respond

Framework set, good!

KEY -

- ① Start where people are
Bld trust
Bring personal exper. to discussion
- ② Then, theoretical part
- ③ Then, back to what we as indiv^(+ groups) can do -
That they can be part of solutions.

COMMENT

No 1st or last session in guide to help people go thru these steps

Facilitator can/will handle this { FRONT
END

Bld into structure of discussion process

DG more of a tool for facilitator to use.

BUT MATT FEELS SOME OF THIS SHOULD ALSO BE IN GUIDE

+ Set of Discussion Questions

Some in training materials

QUEST -
Q. To help people to make bridge between
personal perspect. & exper. & the larger picture
Ex. How have these probs changed since their
parents were our age?

- a) Connecting people's daily lives to these issues.
And what they can do!
- b) Good sense of where the communities^{ties}.

- Common ground
- Differences

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN 2 MODELS:

SARC ① Obj. helps cit. figure out how they can become effective actors in impacting issues

NIF ② Obj. to help pub. off. understand where the citizens are on these issues

SUGGESTED ADDITION =

Laundry list of projects + actions of what people can do. Concrete ex., + what people have done successfully elsewhere.

EDUC. GUIDE

YOUTH GUIDE

Guide & ~~Hand~~ Discussion should help participants to =

Know where they are =

- In relat. to the choices
- In relat. to what we^{or} can do

SKELTAL GUIDANCE + QUESTIONS -
TO HELP FACILITATORS TO ...

NOTE

People part. out of a desire to make an impact,
make a difference.

KEY =

FORUM —

- ① STAKEHOLDERS WHO CAN HEAR RESULTS
- ② Method for reporting out.

CONNECT. BETWEEN CIT. & PUB. LDERS.

What ideas do they ^(Pub. Ldrs) have about where & how they can work w/ involve citizens.

SENSE OF COMMUNITY MOBILIZING ---

POVERTY

Jump out in Matrix

Presents choices in a more rigid way —

needs an INTRO expl. guide & choices

There are some basic & common arguments

SUGGESTED APPROACH FOR SOFTENING MATRIX, MAKING IT MORE FLEXIBLE

Gentler

Have discussion quest. after each choice

Also:

Forward will lay out some of these things

— A DEMOCRATIC PROCESS —

THIS IS YOUR DISCUSSION & HOW YOU CAN USE IT TO YOUR BEST ADVANTAGE

an option that they can consider; several ways to do this

MESSAGE YOU WANT TO CONVEY

RACE - addressing systemic + inst. Racism

ask people in community (VJN) - is addressing racism a distinct choice in its own right?

Make it a 4th choice?

Or bld. more explicitly into exist. framework for thinking about choices + solns?

Specific thing =

Diagnosis - term "spatial mismatch"
From Choice 1 to Choice 3

SCHOOLS

Use school ^{more} ex. in what should be done
action ideas.

Schools are where people can do something
where people have hope - their youth!

School-related soln. possibilities

WANTS FU -

CHOICE - "Schools of Thought"

COPY EXPRESS

FAX COVER SHEET

4743 HIAWATHA AVE S. • MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55406 • TELEPHONE: (612) 724-8616 • FAX: (612) 724-7646

Date: APRIL 21, 1997

Number of Pages 7 (including cover page)

TO: Name BARBARA BEARMAN From:

Name DICK LITTLE

Company EHEP BD.

Company EHEP STAFF

Telephone 925-0567

Telephone 724-5662 (MON.)

Fax 922-5950

871-8980 (TUES.)

Comments

Here is the bibliography I prepared at my request by Kristy Greenwalt. Please review for completeness, then select items to be included in select bibli. of the conversation guide. Any thoughts about organization or typology would also be helpful.

Please notify sender if you did not receive all the pages in good condition. Thank-you.

~~Jeremy~~

Overall

Language pushes the suburbs away.

Language is still polarizing.

More inclusive language.

What's in it for them?

How draw them in

Trying to put words into people's ^{mouth} they ~~are~~ already know.

We don't think they know anything

Feel we're already talking to them

Very help to try to provoke conversation

Thinks the bullets very helpful

Thinks the study guide will become
the target

Create as a conversation guide for the facilitator

Write as a set of instructions rather
than as a discussion guide

Document doesn't lend itself to people
w/ lower level of education?

In some settings this document is just for
the facilitator.

need for support for the facilitator

- * Organization & flow of document
- * Balance of perspectives in the document
- * Reader-friendly language / multi-cult?
Appropriateness of language? sensitive
- * Does the document serve its function as a discussion guide?
- * Priority questions + bullets?
How + where cut back

TERMS

Definition

segregation / isolation =

segregation

integration

Institutional racism

~~Facts sheet~~
Fax

JOSIE

①

Trying to create for us all some continuity
of language & intent.

appeared to have elements we
want to have

the language that leg. dev.

Use as vehicle for repeating it -

Take off on the Livable Comm. Concept

≡ Beyond BUSING - stem. old arguments

See if can get out -

Goal → A rich, livable community
& livable community
Educ. people and
rich multi-cul. that
respects & apprec. cult.
differences

In 1986, felt ^{we} were sabotagable
etc more than ^{the} econ
picture shift
An in-migration when Mex.
didn't have resources to welcome
+ them
Tried to pretend they didn't come

Minnesota Fair Housing Center
2414 Park Ave South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404
(612) 872-6088
fax (612) 871-0354

Fax Cover Sheet

DATE: 2/26/97

TO: DICK LITTLE

FAX: 871-8984

FROM: Charmaine

RE: _____

Number of pages including cover sheet: 5

Message Here are the MFHC
suggestions - we added the
suggestions to the text so
you can compare ours to the
study guide. Any questions
give me a call 872-6088

A Changing Region

Every year, the Twin Cities are ranked high on the U.S. list of most livable cities. According to standards used to judge major metropolitan regions across the nation – job growth, low crime rates, good schools, social services, and access to lakes and parks – the Twin Cities region is a good place to live. We are not without serious and growing problems. The Twin Cities are struggling with many of the same problems that have led to severe urban decay in other major metropolitan regions across the United States. Deepening poverty, an aging housing stock, overburdened schools, and fear of crime are rapidly changing our region's landscape. While it is easy to believe that these problems are unique to the central cities, they are not.

Over the last few decades, poverty has concentrated in the central cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. *It would be helpful to state the increase of*
 Throughout the 1980's the central cities gained 30,000 poor people, while its total population grew by less than 10,000 people. *poverty in %. The way it is worded now is confusing.*

This may suggest several things. People who were above the poverty line slipped below it during years of wage erosion and a stagnant economy. Also, once individuals reach a certain income level, they are often lured out to the suburbs, where there is more space, bigger and newer houses, lower property taxes, lower crime rates, and better schools.

Low - income families have little choice but to locate in the central cities given the limited public transportation in the region and the lack of affordable housing in the suburbs. This is further illustrated by the fact that the rest of the region grew by more than 293,000 persons, 7.5% of which are low income. According to the 1990 census, the central cities had 28% of the region's population but 60% were at or below the poverty line.

It is not just because poverty has concentrated in the central cities that we should be concerned. The poverty rate is growing and spreading. In the last 20 years poverty has doubled in population and in area involved. *Are the 11 TC census tracts in*

In 1979, 11 Twin Cities census tracts with a lower poverty rate in earlier years saw 25% or more of their populations sink below the poverty line. *the central cities?*

In the 1980's, the spread of poverty accelerated sharply. Thirty-eight more tracts in the central cities reached the 25% level. Out of 121 census tracts in the central cities, 105 had an increase in poverty.¹ This trend has continued. Today it is not just the central cities that are affected. Poverty and disinvestment are beginning to spread into the inner-ring suburbs.

While over two-thirds of the people living in poverty are white, it is very clear that people of color are the hardest hit. Absolute numbers often mask this reality for people of color because they still constitute such a small percentage of Minnesota's total population.

what region, Minnesota or the metro

While the population of people of color in the region grew by 81% during the 1980's they still constitute only 9.3% of the regions total population - 65% of which live in the central cities. In the central core of the cities, poverty rates for African Americans (44%), Native Americans (56%), Southeast Asians (62%), and Chicano/Latinos (31%) were dramatically higher than poverty rates for whites (18%).

The Impact on Schools

Perhaps nowhere is this racial and economic isolation more evident than in the public schools. The table below gives the percentages of students passing the 1996 Minnesota Basic Skills Test for all districts in the seven county metro area. While test scores may be a crude measure of achievement the tests provide some insight on how various communities are doing in relationship to one another. Furthermore, many believe that the scores act as a proxy to the opportunities that are available to the students in each community. As illustrated below, Minneapolis schools rank the lowest with only 42% of its students passing the math test and 37% passing the reading test. Minneapolis schools do have the highest per pupil expenditures (\$9,136) within the seven county metro area, but Minneapolis schools have the highest percentage of students living poverty. Approximately 60% of students in the Minneapolis school district receive free or reduced-priced lunches - a federal program available for children in families below the poverty line. Sixty-three percent of the students in Minneapolis schools are children of color. (WHERE IS THE CITATION)

Because the percentage of Minneapolis students living in poverty is high, it makes sense that the school district is spending more. The burden of poverty is tremendous on the whole family. Parents are stressed about paying bills and putting food on the table. Children may come to school hungry, chronically sick, emotionally starved, and mentally fatigued and do have a more difficult time concentrating and learning than children who do not face the constant worries and pressures of living in poverty. As a result, resources in districts of high poverty often get distributed to programs such as free and reduced programs, special education services and bilingual education. Although these services are vital to children from low income households, they are expensive. When schools are forced to spend significant proportions of their budgets on getting the students to the "starting line", the students often fall short of the "finish line". The per pupil expenditure in areas that do not have high concentrations of students living in poverty are able to use the school funds for enhancing educational opportunities.

What is Our Mandate for Public Schools?

We proclaim to be a nation founded on the principle of equal opportunity. But for this to be a reality, don't we first need to insure equality of educational opportunity. Since its inception, the public school has been thought of as a major instrument through which equal opportunity is ensured. One of the most persuasive arguments for the establishment of public schools was that such schooling " would open a gateway to opportunity that

would otherwise be closed to many youngsters, and that education would eliminate or dwarf the social inequities which plague other nations."

Public schools in the US were chartered to do the important work of our society. Schools were established to create and maintain a nation dedicated to shared principles and values such as individual freedom and justice. In addition, schools were designed to develop a citizenry capable of self-government and to ensure social unity and order. What happened to these ideals? Have we given up on them or are they no longer appropriate? Without equal educational opportunities, are we acquiescing to a society in which economic privilege and political power are determined by heredity -- a society in which the children of the rich inherit advantages?

Equal educational opportunities are vital to the success of individual and national economic prosperity. At the beginning of the century, education was not essential for self sufficiency. Today, the world we live in is much different. In order to compete globally and maintain a productive profitable economy, it is necessary to have a highly educated and skilled workforce. By limiting the resources available to schools, we are putting the future of this nation at risk by allowing large numbers of children to leave school uneducated and unprepared to enter the workforce. This indifference to the education of other people's children is perpetuating the problem.

The population of white Minnesotans between the ages of 15-19 is projected to decrease by 6% between 1995 and 2015. For African Americans, the same population is projected to increase by 187%, while Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Chicano/Latinos will increase by 61%, 111%, and 128%, respectively - an average increase of 122% for communities of color. If the quality of education offered to children living in poverty and children of color does not improve within the next 20 years, what will happen?

The Search for Solutions

Segregation continues to be an institutionalized practice in the educational and housing opportunities for people living in poverty and people of color. Redlining² was ordered by the Federal Government in the 1920's. Redlining mandated that communities be segregated; with segregated housing there are segregated schools. The economic and racial polarization of our communities puts the health and stability of the entire region at risk. There is widespread agreement that something should be done, but no consensus as to what. This economic and racial isolation needs to be approached from many different angles.

The pages that follow outline three perspectives on economic and racial segregation, each of which leads to a different prescription about what should be done. These perspectives are in no way mutually exclusive; different perspectives have different

² Redlining: the practice where mortgage lenders or insurance companies refuse to do business in communities that are predominately of color.

merits and elements of several approaches may be needed. The following three choices are intended to function as a framework for discussion.

If we are to halt the increasing polarization of this region we must begin by finding a common ground. In your opinion which diagnosis makes sense to you? What prescriptions do you find most promising? Most importantly what costs and consequences are you willing to embrace.

Dick - Here is our feedback & suggestions
We changed poor to people at or below the
poverty line
minorities to people of color
American to Native Americans
Indians
Hispanics to Chicano/Latinos

We also did some editing - we found some
typos, added a few sentences &
reworded some paragraphs

MEYER & NJUS, P.A.

Attorneys at Law

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PLEASE RESPOND TO MINNEAPOLIS OFFICE

FAX COVER PAGE

DATE: 2/26/97 TIME: _____ a.m./p.m.TO: Dick LittlePHONE NUMBER: 871-8984FAX NUMBER: ~~871-8984~~ 339-3288FROM: Neil MeyerRE: Beyond Bussing

WE HAVE SENT 17 PAGES, INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET. IF YOU HAVE ANY PROBLEMS, OR DO NOT RECEIVE THE ENTIRE TRANSMISSION, PLEASE CALL OUR SWITCHBOARD AT (612) 341-2181 OR TRANSMIT YOUR COMMENTS TO OUR FAX AT (612) 337-5894.

COMMENTS: Dick: Thank you very much for permitting me to read the draft. This is an ambitious project, and one which is very important to our community. If I can help in any way please let me know.

I have placed my comments directly on the pages. I hope they are both legible and understandable, and helpful.

Neil Meyer

THE INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THIS FACSIMILE MESSAGE IS PRIVILEGED AND CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION INTENDED FOR THE USE OF THE ADDRESSEE LISTED ABOVE AND NO ONE ELSE. IF YOU ARE NOT THE INTENDED RECIPIENT OR THE EMPLOYEE OR AGENT RESPONSIBLE TO DELIVER THIS MESSAGE TO THE INTENDED RECIPIENT, PLEASE DO NOT USE THIS TRANSMISSION IN ANY WAY BUT TO CONTACT THE SENDER BY TELEPHONE.

FACSIMILE

DATE: 2-23-97

TO: Dick Little

Number of Pages: 3

FROM: Ruth Anne Olson
Phone: 724-0979
Fax: 724-8848
E-Mail: olson248@tc.umn.edu

If not all pages are received, please call 724-0979.

Dick ...

Thanks for the opportunity to look over the discussion guide. I regret deeply that I will be out of town and unable to attend the review meeting on Wednesday. I'm confident that I would learn much from other people's experience and ideas. And my suggestions would be much better communicated in dialogue, rather than through this limited one-sided presentation on paper.

I'll do the best I can with the limited time that I can give to this at the moment. I'll focus on two major themes plus a couple of small details.

First, I'm concerned that the very nature of this document defines who will be heard in these discussions.

This document is very academic and linear in its argument and presentation. It's technical, it's long and its format (at least in this draft form) provides little relief from the complexity of information trying to be relayed. Put boldly, this presentation would be a significant turn-off to virtually all the people that I would think of inviting to a community circle.

On one simple level, it would certainly exclude people who are not fully-fluent in written English including *lots* of folks who are among our most-important resources in understanding these issues.

Maybe harder to understand is the notion that it also stands out as being a very "cultural" document -- the kind of thing that would say immediately to many of my colleagues that community circles are a "white" thing. White culture is setting the parameters. We'll invite others in as participants or

guests in this conversation, but our culture -- our traditional ways of doing things -- form the rules of the discussion.

Let me be clear that this issue has nothing to do with education level or ability, for the people I'm thinking about would have no trouble reading and understanding the document. But it has everything to do with authentic diversity, which I think you hope to have at the heart of the community circles. It's the same issue that prevents schools and lots of other organizations from engaging parents or other people of color beyond those who are willing (and good at) assuming our white academic rules.

This is very hard -- maybe impossible -- to explain in writing, but I think the issue I'm trying to raise has everything to do with *vision*. If these community circles were all you want them to be, then who would be around the table? What experience would they bring? How would they be engaged? What would people learn from each other? In what ways would people leave the conversations different from how they came into it? I don't in any way mean to be disrespectful of the work and reflective thinking that have gone into this document. In fact, I mean to pay the effort the highest compliment, by saying that I think that it can be more than it is. And I think the way to get from here to there is by reflecting back on the vision that underlies this work, and then to consider ways to provide information that will support that vision.

I find all of the diagnostic choices to be incomplete, as none gives a strong presentation of the fundamental problems *within* schools that have to be addressed.

As I read the document, I found that I might lean toward various parts of each of the three arguments, but my own experience in schools tells me that none of the three is going to work unless the fundamental problems of the educational institutions themselves are solved.

Again, I feel the need to be bold.... With very few exceptions, the daily school experience of students of color is appalling. Their language, history, communities, values and cultures are most-often ignored and too-often demeaned and ridiculed. And analysis shows that, while it is true that indicators of failure (dropout rates, achievement scores etc.) are linked to income, they are also linked to race -- i.e. even *within* income levels. a significant gap exists based on race and ethnicity.

It is true, of course, that building community supports (healthy families, living wages, decent housing, etc.) -- whether through market mechanisms, choice or enrichment -- would make a significant difference in the future of these students. But until the school experience itself is changed, students of color will fail.

Within the 20+ pages of the discussion guide, I find a brief two-sentence nod toward this issue. But it deserves a full exposition – an understanding and presentation of the wealth of study and writing that is as fundamental to understanding education and desegregation as is housing, busing and job development.

I would urge clarity around two particular issues -- black people as one segment of local communities of color and the distinction between desegregation and integration.

Much of the document talks about communities of color writ large, i.e. African American, American Indian Southeast Asian and Hispanic/Latino. But in other places, it mentions only blacks (e.g. page 5) as if all of this is really a black/white issue. Since Minnesota's current and proposed desegregation rules have profound implications for *all* students of color (not just black), any diminishment of the importance for some (as in "blacks and *other minorities*") is, understandably resented. Also, by the way, notice the use of "black hole" on page 9 -- an undesirable reference to "black" as being useless, wasteful, hopeless etc.

Also, the report reflects some uncertainty about the relationship/differences between *desegregation* and *integration*. A clarity of definition and intent would be helpful.

Finally, I apologize for the boldness and starkness of saying all this in writing.

I feel a great danger in putting all of this in writing. The *content* is the same as I would contribute to a discussion, but the *context* is very different and more-than-a-bit uncomfortable for me. To try to bring that context to my writing would require *much* more time than I have, and the potential for being misunderstood by trying to say too much too quickly is huge.

As I said before, I don't in any way mean to be disrespectful in what I've written here. I only ask that you consider it and draw from it what makes sense. Maybe dialogue will be possible in the future.

COMMUNITY CIRCLE COLLABORATIVE

Date: December 18, 1996
To: Discussion Guide Review Committee -- Initial Draft Review Group
From: Dick Little, EHEP *RL*
Subject: Review of Draft Discussion Guide

Enclosed for your review is a copy of the Draft Discussion Guide.

We are on a tight timetable. *Please respond by Friday, December 27th.* Please review and fax your comments or suggested revisions to me at 871-8984, or mail them to me at:
122 W. Franklin Avenue, #320
Minneapolis, MN 55404

If you have any questions or concerns, please call me at 871-8980 or 724-5662.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Twin Cities Campus

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Law School*

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Columbia Legal Services

Reverend Bill Smith
African Wellspring Mission

Fred Smith
*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*

2/8

Dick -

HERE ARE MY COMMENTS TO
KEISY FOR YOUR RECORDS.

CALL IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS OR

ANY TROUBLE SENDING ME

THE FIRST DRAFT: 625-5344

Jimi Hieber

From: Self <LAW_ADMIN/JHILBERT>
To: kgreenwalt@hhh.umn.edu
Subject: RE: discussion guide feedback
Send reply to: hilbe003@gold.tc.umn.edu
Date sent: Sat, 8 Feb 1997 11:37:50

Kristy,

I don't know if Dick has explained why my comments are so late to you. We had a series of delivery issues. Anyway, I have been asked by him to provide some feedback on what I think you all may refer to as the matrix: the two page grid with three different "choices."

As a general matter, I think you have done a good job of capsulizing the general ideas of each option without being wordy or too academic. Nice work. I do have a few things for you to consider.

Certainly one concern is the virtual absence of race. For instance, under Choice #1, communities of color need to build a sense of community around their strengths and unique history and culture. Integration, under this choice, is seen as assimilation and an abandonment of identity and community spirit. In addition, many communities of color would believe that together they can unite economically to overcome poverty. There is also the strong belief that mobility options will lead to more racist encounters and attacks. Further, concentration of people of color is necessary to maintain an albeit small political representation.

From a critical perspective, you're right in that throwing money into such impoverished conditions is like throwing \$ down a black hole, but I would emphasize how impoverished these neighborhoods really are. That is, given the fact that many of these communities of concentrated poverty are in serious debt, it would take an impossible amount of money to ever revitalize their economy -- it just isn't realistic to believe we can generate that much investment. Also, others would say that part of the issues here is the continuation of a racial hierarchy and white supremacy. If we are to break down this racial hierarchy, we must not only include people of color into the opportunity structure, but we must also diversify whites' understanding of people of color. If we continue to stay apart, the structure of the "racial other" goes unchecked, but if we integrate, the theory holds, that we will understand, whites and people of color, that there is no "other," there is only an "us." (sorry for the sappy language).

With respect to Choice #2, you might want to mention the whole "culture of poverty" stuff. That is, not only do poor folks lack the values of our market economy, but they have developed an alternative set of values that promotes things like teenage pregnancy, drug-dealing and drug-use, crime, and lack of motivation to join mainstream society. You may even want to use the common tool of pointing to success stories that would somehow debunk any structural causes to poverty (i.e., we have numerous examples of people who have "simply" lifted themselves of the ghetto). It's also probably important to note that this choice would assert that we have to stop thinking about racial differences and apply only "color-blind" policies -- racism is over (with the exception of the apparant millions of white men no unable to find work because of affirmative action).

Choice #2 might go beyond just keeping the gov't out of charity and actually blame the gov't for the current conditions. The theory goes that the gov't cannot help poor people; it can only make them dependent on welfare. It is up to poor folks themselves, with some charity (points of light) from our marvelous business leaders and other kind, but wealthy, individuals. Certainly one thing they

support strongly is the use of the market to solve the ills of impoverished communities. For instance, enterprise zones which would open investment into the community from outside investors (this is distinguishable, I think, from Choice #1's investment strategies because Choice #1-ers want the money, not the outside control). Also, vouchers or school choice are seen as the savior for our public schools.

Critics of Choice #2 also point out how little we really spend on welfare, and that maybe it's not that we've done too much, but that we've done too little. The social programs of the 60's were successful on a number of counts, particularly in reducing poverty for senior citizens. Also, market initiatives have no built-in incentive to help everyone. Vouchers do nothing for the majority of children left in public schools, for example.

Choice #3 is clearly the bias of the book, and that could mean legitimacy issues down the road, particularly if there continues to be a lack of representation from people of color. I would add a few more criticisms that are less political. For instance, one problem with mobility is that it tends to be both gradualistic and tokenistic. Every example of mobility enacted has shown very reduced numbers. And that is how it has operated because of political constraints mainly. (is it possible to ever create a truly mobile mobility program?) Because of an intolerance for people of color in substantial numbers in white suburbia, it tends to maintain a white dominance: it is the incoming Blacks or Latinos who have to do the adjusting in those communities. Mobility often delegitimizes the work of community development corporations and other in-place initiatives. Even in the greatest mobility program of them all, Gatreaux, very little improvement was seen in the neighborhoods from which the participants left.

I realize these comments are coming to you as you are finishing up your first draft. I will certainly provide more feedback to the actual handbook upon distribution to the Board of EHEP. I am also always available for any questions or specific help you might need. Good luck to you, and keep up the good work.

Jim Hilbert
Legal Fellow
Institute on Race and Poverty

EDUCATION AND HOUSING EQUITY PROJECT

122 West Franklin Avenue, Suite 320

Minneapolis, MN 55404

PH 871-8980

FX 871-8980

Date: March 24, 1997

To: EHEP Board

From: Dick Little, Coordinator

Subject: Draft Discussion Guide

I have just received the draft discussion guide from Syl Jones and am enclosing it for your review. I am not satisfied that this is what we were looking for, however there may be elements of it that could be used in a good discussion guide. Please read it with that possibility in mind. Also, please note the memo from Syl. We need to decide what our next step is. Let's discuss this at Friday's board meeting. In the meantime, please feel free to call or fax me your reactions or suggestions – I am not sitting still on this and would like to take some action even before Friday's meeting.

[DRAFT - 10/21/96]

be taken soon enough, given the alarming scale of the problems. The legal challenges by the Minneapolis NAACP and the St. Paul Public Schools reflect a loss of confidence that government institutions are responsive to these problems. We believe that the Community Dialogue Project offers great promise as a mechanism whereby key stakeholders can work together on a voluntary basis to develop an effective plan of action to address the educational problems caused by concentrated poverty and racial segregation.

Statement of Need

Among school districts in the Twin Cities metropolitan area, there is a remarkable correlation between student academic performance and the proportion of students in the district who are poor or of color. The table below shows, for selected districts, the percentages of students of color and students eligible for free or reduced-price lunches (a standard poverty measure). It also shows the pass rates for the 1996 Minnesota Basic Standards Test in Math and Reading taken by the state's 8th grade students. When the results were released in May 1996, a spokesman for the Minnesota Governor's office expressed shock at the low pass rates in Minneapolis and St. Paul: "The scores are nothing short of alarming and the situation is nothing short of a crisis."

PLUG
X

School District	1994-95 School Year % Students of Color	% Students Eligible Free/Reduced Lunch	MN Basic Skills Test % Pass Rate (1996)	
			Math	Reading
Minneapolis	61.0	61	43	38
St. Paul	51.9	56	52	44
Brooklyn Center	32.6	44	64	53
Richfield	20.3	22	71	62
Robbinsdale	15.3	22	71	-
West St. Paul	15.1	16	67	61
Bloomington	14.9	16	79	65
Columbia Heights	14.0	31	75	71
Roseville	12.6	18	80	72
Burnsville	11.4	13	74	65
Mounds View	8.2	10	86	71
Rosemount-Apple Valley	7.9	9	78	68
N. St. Paul-Maplewood	7.3	17	73	61
Wayzata	6.6	7	87	71
Shakopee	6.3	15	68	61
Anoka-Hennepin	6.1	15	70	52
Eden Prairie	5.8	4	91	79
Edina	4.8	2	95	88

The Twin Cities region, like many other American metropolitan areas, is experiencing an ever-growing concentration of poverty at its heart. This concentration is spreading and getting deeper. The most recent Census shows that this condition has broken the central city membrane, and its early stages are established in the inner suburbs of the Twin Cities. The force of this movement and the experience of older metropolitan areas suggests that the advance of this poverty and its effects will not halt, but will continue to move aggressively outward from the core of the central cities — unless immediate and effective action is taken.

The common imperative of all citizens is to learn to make choices on difficult policy issues

By David Mathews

OXFORD — One of the largest conventions of democrats gathered here last week. It did not meet in New York; it met among the rolling hills of south-western Ohio. The delegates came from citizen organizations around the world. They issued a sober warning about the fate of an endangered political species — citizens.

Maria Volkenshtein is a vigorous thinker from Moscow who warns against the attitude of some in Russia who yearn for the return of a father-figure leader, a strong leader.

Istvan Koppány, a champion of democratic reform from Budapest, says too many Hungarians think democracy is some sort of self-sustaining system. "It will take care of us; we don't need to participate," some of his friends argue.

Harry Boyte, a scholar in citizen politics from the University of Minnesota, says it's time to end "contempt for the intellectual capacity of ordinary people."

I had been listening to these folks for several days as they gathered for a public policy institute at Miami University, sponsored by the National Issues Forums (NIF). It's the first of a dozen such institutes around the country. Their aim is to help people learn the skills of effective citizenship, particularly the ability to make choices together on difficult policy issues.

It seems to me that Maria, Istvan and Harry are warning us against attitudes that stop progress toward effective citi-

zenship — in its tracks. In one way or another, these attitudes say that citizens are unnecessary.

At a moment in history when so many brave people around the world have stood before tanks and tyrants to proclaim the importance of citizens, it is no time to run the risk of an encore of the 1930s, when new democracies turned into popular dictatorships and fascist states.

Democracy is not "a system," it is a do-it-yourself form of government. And democratic politics is more than candidates, elections, lobbyists and interest groups. Politics in democratic society is rooted in the way the public goes about the public's business. There are certain things a democratic public must do if representative government is to work. The first is to define the public's interest, to decide on the purposes that give direction to government. Those decisions have to be made collaboratively in a world that is daily becoming more balkanized, as pluralism become polemic and fragmented.

In these high-powered media times, it's self-defeating if the public thinks it can make these choices about difficult policy questions sitting alone reading a newspaper or watching a TV show. Furthermore, nobody can make fundamental choices just by gathering facts. Issues don't become clear until there's dialogue. Then it becomes clear what the issues mean to us and to others. We need to struggle together over what should and should not be done on im-

portant but difficult issues such as health care, education and violent crime.

The NIF Institute at Miami drew people from every part of American society and 11 other countries. The circumstances this varied people faced could not be more contrasting: Croatians facing daily violence; Russians facing economic collapse; Colombians facing the corrupting influence of drugs; Americans facing their own forms of violence, economic collapse and drug-induced corruption. Still, these people found they had one common imperative: Citizens in their country had to take responsibility for their common welfare.

Americans are not alone in their anger with "politics as usual." It is universal. But what are we going to do with that anger? More and more, we are realizing that we must get beyond it. Anger may be a justifiable reaction, but it is no answer. People who have destroyed their old political systems now must construct a new way of governing themselves. Construction is actually more difficult than destruction. It is more difficult because citizens have to deal with other citizens. We must confront ourselves. We must face the uncomfortable proposition that we — not leaders or systems — are ultimately responsible for what happens to us.

DAVID MATHEWS, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the administration of President Gerald Ford, is president of the Dayton-based Kettering Foundation.

NOTES

MEETING #1

What is the context now?

Models

Jefferson Forum

Len Witter Model

Kettering NIF Model

SCRC Model

MMEP Communities of Color Empowerment Model

C³ Guide

LWV Model

Background + Conditions

How we got where we are

What we want?

We want the advocacy to emerge from the gaps

Enlightening + Broadening the Discussion:

Fair, open, honest, thorough

How make sure all these voices are heard?

Narrative Intro.

Tell stories of these issues + how evolved over time / Hist Persp.

Dir. Process into stages

Def. Prob.

Describe impacts

Figure out what to do about these issues

A summary of what

2 page outline for facilitator - need common understanding of what process is + how to get people where we want them to be

How get discussion into depth / What do if everyone of like
Where go for addit. res. mat. + bibliography
+ way of getting it to them quickly.

Need grid of all the groups.

Get show case of full mix of FW TD MA.
ST. MARKS, MPR gp.

MPR Forum Model -

Youth Group - we want them in a gp. + want them mixed w/ others

TIMING 3/8 - 3/14

SOURCES OF INFO.

MECH. FOR EVAL. DRAFT

How you see the forum unfolding - What we want outcome to be?
Session by Session

JIM HILBERT - use him for research / KRISTY -

How were going -

How much will be available to him?

Syl - figure out what he needs.

Gary Orfield's
Norfolk Study

SYL JONES

(Ph) 474 - 8143

(Fxl) 474 - 8202

5695 Christopher Rd.
Excelsior, MN 55331

WIFE has an E-mail address

Copy of Brama Proposal - get for Syl

Account Book
7.30
Dumself Syl

JOSIE -

critical to have disclosure - who is behind
us, what is our agenda, what is our intent.

Push agenda on

Giving people permission to make up their own minds

NOTES

MEETING #2

avoid ending up where too many discussion pts. end:
something wrong, but don't get beyond that

attempt to be objective + inclusive

Experience w/ this - has some

3 yr. ago, engaged by Jefferson Center

Did research + present info. to jurors

Lay out what current welfare system is

This way it is now folks.

Outcome

* Ident. common ground + where we (still) have disagreement.

* At end, we will not nec. be refreshing old disc., but will help us at end of process decide what we need to be done.

What do we need to do

* Be honest - put things on the table that need to be discussed.

NEW IDEAS / VIEWS / Agree about best way to enhance educ. opport. for all kids.

① First we have to desegregate lunch

② Begin busing; what values, adv/disadv. of this vs. above?

How do we get from under the busy patterns we have now?

Want be any short term solutions

Keep groups from just emoting, but have informed context in which to have the discussions.

To evaluate the issues w/ factual base

Incl. alot of baseline information

Real segregation patterns that exist in TCMA today.

Collect + present that data in simple + easy to understand way

Gather a diverse set of pts of view that can help lead to policy decisions.

See this as "bigger than us."

- ① Beyond Busing - conjure up an image that people already have.
- ② Livable Communities - Encourage what people think is that + tie it back to bus. + schools + issue of segregation.

Jose

"Safe" env. for discussion - OK to bring out new thoughts even if not "baked"

need to also work thru the "old stuff"

Need to allow for "suburban open, not seg.,"
all you have to do is to work hard & you can have
that." Let I worked hard to get out here;
let them work as hard as I did."

Want mix in groups.

Need to have "per - -

^{LEW}
Don't want people to use the guide as the
lightning rod vs. the issue

My point of view is represented in guide.

Deal w/ people's fear of sounding racist & exclusionary.

If we do this right → hopefully get all views of
on the table.

^{GEORGINA}

Need facts about how we got to place where
we are now — govt. policies, etc.

^{LEW}

Not going to change people's minds, but →
find out where people agree & disagree
& may be more areas than most people realize

^{JOSIE}

Hope — at end of process, we can agree that
there is something that needs to be done &
what basically that is.

ADD =

Prospects if things tend to go ⁱⁿ to same direction over next 10 years.

Or do something to arrest it; q. of w/

How recruit to get diverse population?

MPR Focus Group Model -
Phone Calls

Dollar #

What's your responsibility to low income here.

EMPH. TO SPONSORS IMPORT. OF MAKING THOSE CIRCLES DIVERSE
Key → Keep going back to orgs + stress they get diversity in group.
Going to be meaningless discussion.

Diversity of perspectives - also.

We're going to get more diversity than we think.

May want target 10 places - "models" for getting diversity.

Just to get different people together, an accomplishment in our right.

* SPEAC - Pamela Twiss

INPUT FROM BD.

APPROACH

Think thru & right down the issues
Is it better to have child in an
integrated school or in own community school.

PAIRING OR VALUES

What value do we place on reducing
hmg. segm. at mean of integ. school?
How can we do that?

Package together nec. info. that would deal
w/ those kinds of issues.

Product → For facilitator, & participants
Bibliography & material on request.

Mistake → to flood the participants w/ piles of info.

SAM

Well laid out, well org, written plainly & simply.

MAT

Info. for fac, not nec. same as for part.
Must have a degree indent. of these issues.

Facil. need to be really well informed, to
dir. conversat. & pull out pts. that might
get mined,

intended to be open, fair, non-judgmental.

Come up w/ an outline -

Agree on length, topics, how it would be org.

Bld in time for changes + input.

If not a lot of research on his part, could do the writing fairly quickly w/ time frame were talking.

Usual Charge = \$ 75/HR.

It is an interest of mine. Has some connection w/ the question + issue

$$\begin{array}{r} 2 \\ 75 \\ 40 \\ \hline 3005/wk. \end{array}$$

Citizen for Integrated Education - CEI (old days)

SELECTION

Sam - has a depth of understand. & model
Start-up would be at diff. place

Syl - Has more intuitive & conceptual understand. of
what we were trying to do.

His writing may be more exciting & interesting
to read - artistic quality

~~Georgina~~

Sam - ~~50~~

Would need more time to get up to speed.

Syl - can hit the ground running.

Syl - his ^{total} understanding & his creativity

And where he is now. Bringing S. up to his level.

How we Sam - synthesize articles

WHAT ^{IS} IT GOING TO COST -

April - Next Cowlee Medicine

EMMET - Has a discretionary money.

Idea - have a reporter write at the
forum.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Twin Cities Campus

*Institute on Race and Poverty
Law School*

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Hussein University

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*Design Center for Amer. Urb. Landscape
University of Minnesota*

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University of Minnesota, Duluth

Susan Robeson
Fabricator

Florence Rossman
Widener University School of Law

Steve Rodschild
Twin Cities RISE!

Therese Show
NAACP Legal Defense & Edu. Fund, Inc.

Aida Shen Jalce
Columbus Legal Services

Reverend Bill Smith
African Wellbeing Mission

Fred Smith
*Center for Urban and Regional Affairs
University of Minnesota*

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

Jack Willis
KITVA-TV

Doreen Yellow Bird
*Multicultural Programs
North Dakota State University*

MEMORANDUM

To: Dick Little
Syl Jones
From: Jim Hilbert
Date: 4/2/97
RE: Draft of Discussion Guide

Items you might wish to add to Part III

Option 1:

1. Con -- limits interactions across racial and socioeconomic lines and thus limits our understanding of ourselves, each other, and the possibilities for the world and us in the future.

Option 2:

- 1. Pro -- market mechanism is also more efficient.
- 2. Pro -- maximizes "choice" and promotes "democratic" ideals more than social engineering by the government.
- 3. Pro -- promotes individuals rights and personal responsibility
- 4. Pro -- we tried segregation and it failed; we tried integration and it failed; they both failed because both involved too much interference from the government.

5. Con -- housing vouchers have been somewhat successful, but they have been limited by ongoing discrimination (both racial and class)

6. Con -- market analysis often ignores normative questions such as so what if fascism is more efficient, is that the kind of world we want?

7. Con -- race and socioeconomic discrimination operate to limit the efficiency of free market mechanisms

Option 3:

1. Pro -- greater integration along racial and socioeconomic lines means greater interaction which in turn means greater understanding of not just "others" but also our selves, and opens up the possibilities for a future that promotes more inclusive, meaningful democracy.

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Florence Rosman
Widener University School of Law

Steve Rodschild
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Theodore Show
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Ada Shen Jalec
Columbia Legal Services

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To: Dick Little
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RE: Draft of Discussion Guide

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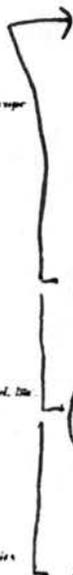
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INSTITUTE ON
RACE AND POVERTY

415 Law Center, University of Minnesota Law School, 229 19th Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455 irp@gold.tc.umn.edu

FAX # 2

Date: 4/3
 Number of pages including cover sheet: 5

To: DICK LITTLE

 Phone: _____
 Fax phone: 871-8984
 CC: _____

From: Jim Husear

 Phone: 612/625-8071
 Fax phone: 612/624-8890

REMARKS: Urgent For your review Reply ASAP Please comment

DICK,
 I THINK SYL HAS A LOT OF GOOD ~~FACTS~~ FACTS (PERHAPS TOO MANY). I WOULD SUGGEST THAT WE ~~DO~~ ELIMINATE SOME OF THEM. I WOULD ALSO RECOMMEND PRESENTATION CHANGES TO MAKE THESE FACTS MORE VISUALLY APPEALING. I HAVE SENT IN THIS FAX A NUMBER OF TABLES WHICH DETAIL CHANGES IN IMPORTANT INDICATORS WITH REGARD TO RACE & POVERTY. WITH RESPECT TO EDUCATION, INFORMATION IS VERY LIMITED I WOULD URGE USING THE TABLE FROM BARBARA'S PART.

- Jim

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FAX 4-3-97

TO: DICK LITTLE

FROM: JOYCE LEVINE ☺

RE: YOU KNOW WHAT

Here it is, for whatever it's worth. I'm sending only the pages on which I made or recommended changes - most of them, I dare say, but not quite all.

And now I will return to studying statistics for tonight's class.

P.S. - I think I'm also "grouchy" because my weekend with Robert was a bust. My instincts were right last year: I'm really not interested. Oh well - life surely is less complicated this way. ☺

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3

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 ~~dozen~~ ^{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.

potential

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.

them?

issues?

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.~~ successful?

or

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

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women, slaves, Native Americans, the poor, and immigrants outside the mainstream – were seldom heard. 4

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.

inclusiveness

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 criticism and withdrawal from the political process.

good question - this term had not yet appeared - maybe use "discussion"?

public

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 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

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5

~~difference~~ can go a long way toward making a conversation successful.
~~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 do we mean by this? UNCLEAR

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.

Need a place to to define/identify and produce - a record of the conversation

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 Charge - to the Community Circles]

The Task Of The Community Circles ——— KEEP

The Community Circle Collaborative meetings are gathered to discuss the following two central questions:

1. What ^{are the} ~~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 ~~and their families?~~ ^{and families (or families and children)}

2. What ^{or should} ~~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?~~ ^{italicize}

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 ^{Minneapolis} 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 ^{St. Paul} alleging "inequity of resources" and unfair distribution of state funds for resources.

TAKE OUT-
PUT IN WITH
SNAP SHOT-

→ need to go back + smaller range re= children in region

↓ Add a statement or brief paragraph of what we want the circles to ^(product) accomplish, what we want to see come out of / result from the circle conversations.

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Part One:

8

~~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.

CUT-BACK +
PRIORITIZE
BULLETS-

EDIT, ELIM,
ADD, CHANGE,
RE-ORDER;

relate to educa-
tion, poverty, race
life opport.

This is particularly true of challenges related to segregation, poverty, housing and education:

Vertical segregation
is an issue,
something

Between 1980 and 1990, the combined population of communities of color in the Twin Cities metro area nearly doubled.

← ELIMINATE

Only 25 percent of whites live in the central city while 76 percent of African Americans do.

← ELIMINATE

The proportion of people of color who live in poverty is higher in our metro area than any other central city in the nation.

← KEEP, BUT
CLARIFY.

In 1990, per capita income for the region's people of color averaged about \$8500, compared to nearly \$18,000 for whites.

← KEEP

Less than half the jobs in Minneapolis pay what is considered a livable wage.

OK, BUT
REORDER (P
ELSEWHERE)

Between 1980 and 1990, 67 percent of new jobs were created in the region's suburbs.

OK

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.

OK

GET DATA FROM LHM
CALL HAL FRENLEY

NO. (#) in Mpls, St. Paul
No in Edina, Woodbury

SEE
NEXT
PAGE
*

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• 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.

9
← KEEP

• The highest poverty rate on a city-wide basis is among Asians living in St. Paul - 6 out of every 10 lives in poverty.

← KEEP

• 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 and concluded that a disproportionate number of those living in poverty are women and children and people of color.~~

← KEEP (BUT CHANGE - -

• 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.~~

with? nearly 3-times as fast as the gen'l. pop. living in poverty. not very dramatic How make more data Find #5, and 70 of all kids

• 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.

RUN IT
BY URBAN COALITION, METRO COUNCIL OR JIM H. INST. ON RACE & POVERTY

• 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.)

* livable wage bullet here

• The percent of poor households in the Twin Cities paying excessive amounts for housing is greater than the national average.

what's this?

• In Minneapolis, students of color make up 65 percent of the total student population; in St. Paul they are 60 percent.

compare

• 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.

What do we want to see with statist
That there are disparities, that are growing outw.

EMPHASIS C SELECTED BY

METRO COUNCIL BREAKOUT / Demographically white happening.

+ 18,000± Mph.

14 Edenia
16 Woodbury

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Seven Premises About The Metro Area

11

After weighing the import of the facts presented above, certain premises about the Metro area become clear:

[OPTIONAL]

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.

TAKE
OUT 2

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.

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:~~

These data raise some questions for you to consider.

1. What do you think are the most significant problems facing your immediate community? The broader community?

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12

2. Looking at the bullet points and charts provided above, is there any ~~data~~ ^{information} that surprises you?

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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 ~~and~~ ^{and} 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?~~

Go back to Len's quest. (relate it to people's experience)

9. What impact ~~does~~ ^{do you think} personal racism ~~have~~ ^{has} on the quality of life in the Twin Cities?

10. What impact ~~does~~ ^{do you think} institutional racism ~~have~~ ^{has} 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?

confusing - do you want the views of people or communities?

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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 ^{what} could be like, what resources would be needed to realize the vision, and what policies or programs need to be ^{added,} changed or eliminated.

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~~ ^{TAKE OUT} we have yet to realize our greatest aspirations and must work together to fulfill our potential.

I don't like this - sounds "judgy" - am I right just say "all"?

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 employ 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

VISIONS

Reaction?
Should we use?
NO

Part Three: What Can We Do?

Three Perspectives

Q. IS THERE
BALANCE

"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 ^{different} ~~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.

This perspective emphasizes → we need to reinvest in the central cities to ameliorate the existing concentrations of poverty through jobs, housing and education strategies.

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.~~

we need to pour resources into building up and strengthening the central cities +

Key Premises

- Impoverished communities and schools are the result of unequal distribution of resources.
- Schools ^{designed by choice} ~~that are constituted~~ around particular cultural identity ~~by choice~~ improve student self-esteem.

What the recommende direction of action is, that differ entiates it

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Perspective One -- Advocates Say

18

- 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~~ 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~~ ^{their} neighborhoods and schools have ~~equal~~ ^{the same} resources as ~~those~~ ^{those} in other parts of the region.
- 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~~ ^{would therefore improve} their academic performance.
- Neighborhood schools will help to stabilize the school system ~~schools~~ and retain ^{more of the} middle-class tax base.

Does this say anything?

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Perspective One: Critics Say

19

- Pumping money into the central cities is not the answer. 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.

suburban areas

then are they similar?

~~General~~

these hubs? were mentioned in the description

~~*where high schools / school districts*~~

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20

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.~~

Lack of basic action statement
people's life opportunities

STATEMENTS EMPHASIS: This is not a job for govt. or inst. ^{to improve} It is up to individual to determine their own future.

Key Premises

- This is not a job for government or institutions, individuals and families to determine their own future.
- We can create opportunities for people with limited resources by subsidizing low-income households with vouchers for housing and education, and perhaps housing.
- Promoting competition between schools will enhance educational achievement.
- Providing housing vouchers will make it easier for low-income families to move to the suburbs, creating demand for affordable housing that will generate a market response (new construction).
- Private institutions (churches, foundations, businesses) are better equipped than government to serve their local communities. (meet the needs of)
- In order to promote achievement, we must reward self-sufficiency and hard work. (entrepreneurship)
- 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. (strengthen those communities)
- Encourage microenterprise and entrepreneurship.

It is up to future.
to improve people's life opportunities.

~~Where are housing bulletins?~~

- Need a bullet re = voluntary, voluntary

Make into a premise or action statement

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 ~~local~~ communities ^{not high-level bureaucracies,} 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 be invested in job creation in core communities.
- ~~Allow~~ the housing market ^{is self-regulating;} 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.

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Perspective Two -- Critics Say:

22

didn't check by this stat? YES

- 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~~ do have the time and money ~~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 largest of these benefits - Social Security and the home mortgage deduction - go to middle- and upper-income households. A subsidy is a subsidy. Develop this further.

assistance to the poor has declined substantially in the last 20 years and continues to do so.

- 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.
and is not designed to of living

- Basic human rights, such as housing and education, cannot be left to the whim of the marketplace.

The point is we have a system of subsidies for middle & upper income right now. ~~that~~ Option 2 would surely exclude low income people from public support other are benefit from.

~~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

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23

Perspective Three: **Creating Opportunities Region-Wide**

Opening Statement

Poor communities and schools 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.

This perspective is a metropolitan - regional strategy to expand choice housing

Barla statement from Myron Orfield

Key Premises education, transportation

Decentralized poverty, low job, high, transp. + educ. strategies

- 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.) *this is not a premise, it's a perspective*
- Schools segregated by race and income negatively impact educational achievement.
- Residential segregation by race and income isolates communities from the opportunity structure.

ADDIT BULLI

a metropolitan program for low and moderate income housing prevents the need for metropolitan school desegregation to relieve racial segregation.

This perspective emphasizes decentralizing poverty through metropolitan-wide strategies for jobs, housing, transportation and education strategies

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Perspective Three -- Advocates Say

24

- Research shows that educational achievement and life opportunities for both white students and students of color improved 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, ^{and} 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.

~~Integration~~ →

Evidence from other regions suggests that boosts employment. . . ."

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Perspective 3 -- Critics Say:

25

- 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~~ ^{problem}.
- Efforts to desegregate neighborhoods and schools ^{for minorities} 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. ~~Expand~~ ~~scope~~
- 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 helped very} ~~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.

~~Expand~~
~~scope~~

X

X

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 ^{problem} the communities ~~that need it~~.
- Efforts to desegregate neighborhoods and schools ^{for minorities} 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 helped very* ~~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 *geographic* mobility, the fact remains that there is a general mismatch between the skills of the poor and the skills required by the available jobs.

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Further Questions To Consider

26

As you move toward closure of your conversation, ~~you may wish~~ ^{we want you to} consider to consider the following four questions in relation to each of the three perspectives:

FOR 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?

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?
- Can you provide an example of how costs may be effected?

CLOSING SECTION

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?

Not sure where put + what do this?

Restating we have talked about, revisit stuff
(What do we want them to walk away with?
#3 + 4,

*Pick - this may be the
P. you need to explain the
desired outcome/proposal*

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?
- 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?

HARVEST
A
"PUBLIC VOICE"

- What are we ~~all~~ willing to live with (give up...)
- not

- Shared territory

- Areas ~~or spots~~ ~~where~~ there which cannot yet be reconciled

- What needs to happen to create or find the common ground on these items

CONCLUDING SECTION -
ACTION - AGENDA

• EXS. OF THE KINDS OF THINGS INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS CAN CHOOSE TO DO ~~AND~~ TO GET FURTHER INVOLVED IN HELPING TO RESOLVE THESE IMPORTANT ISSUES

• ~~EXS. OF WHAT~~ REF. TO PUBLIC FORUM AND CITIZENS SUMMIT PLANNED LATER AFTER COMMUNITY CIRCLES ~~AND~~ HAVE COMPLETED THEIR DISCUSSIONS TO SHARE FINDINGS & CONCLUSIONS WITH BUSINESS/COMMUNITY AND PUBLIC DECISION MAKERS AND, THUS, CONTRIBUTE TO PUBLIC POLICY CHANGES.

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Fax 1 PAGE

MEMORANDUM

To: Dick Little
From: Jim Hilbert
Date: 4/17/97
RE: Changes to Discussion Guide

Dick, it looks good. A couple of quick remarks:

1. You've got "families" in the big question in the box on p5, but not in the question in the quote box on p6.
2. p6: first bullet: change metropolitan region to center cities
3. p7: bullet 3: change entire bullet to -- During the 80s, the number of children increased by 6.5%, but the number of children in poverty increased by 62%.
4. p9: bullet 2: technically speaking, the action is not really know as Hollman, that was the name of the first named plaintiff in the case and has become the short name for the consent decree which is officially referred to as Hollman v. Cisneros.

be taken soon enough, given the alarming scale of the problems. The legal challenges by the Minneapolis NAACP and the St. Paul Public Schools reflect a loss of confidence that government institutions are responsive to these problems. We believe that the Community Dialogue Project offers great promise as a mechanism whereby key stakeholders can work together on a voluntary basis to develop an effective plan of action to address the educational problems caused by concentrated poverty and racial segregation.

Statement of Need

Among school districts in the Twin Cities metropolitan area, there is a remarkable correlation between student academic performance and the proportion of students in the district who are poor or of color. The table below shows, for selected districts, the percentages of students of color and students eligible for free or reduced-price lunches (a standard poverty measure). It also shows the pass rates for the 1996 Minnesota Basic Standards Test in Math and Reading taken by the state's 8th grade students. When the results were released in May 1996, a spokesman for the Minnesota Governor's office expressed shock at the low pass rates in Minneapolis and St. Paul: "The scores are nothing short of alarming and the situation is nothing short of a crisis."

School District	1994-95 School Year % Students of Color	% Students Eligible Free/Reduced Lunch	MN Basic Skills Test	
			% Pass Rate (1996) Math	Reading
Minneapolis	61.0	61	43	38
St. Paul	51.9	56	52	44
Brooklyn Center	32.6	44	64	53
Richfield	20.3	22	71	62
Robbinsdale	15.3	22	71	-
West St. Paul	15.1	16	67	61
Bloomington	14.9	16	79	65
Columbia Heights	14.0	31	75	71
Roseville	12.6	18	80	72
Burnsville	11.4	13	74	65
Mounds View	8.2	10	86	71
Rosemount-Apple Valley	7.9	9	78	68
N. St. Paul-Maplewood	7.3	17	73	61
Wayzata	6.6	7	87	71
Shakopee	6.3	15	68	61
Anoka-Hennepin	6.1	15	70	52
Eden Prairie	5.8	4	91	79
Edina	4.8	2	95	88

The Twin Cities region, like many other American metropolitan areas, is experiencing an ever-growing concentration of poverty at its heart. This concentration is spreading and getting deeper. The most recent Census shows that this condition has broken the central city membrane, and its early stages are established in the inner suburbs of the Twin Cities. The force of this movement and the experience of older metropolitan areas suggests that the advance of this poverty and its effects will not halt, but will continue to move aggressively outward from the core of the central cities — unless immediate and effective action is taken.

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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

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 definitely 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."

BUT THAT'S THE ARG.
+ ALL CHILD- AT SAME SCHOOL

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

WHAT ARGUMENT AFFIRMS

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 Gatreux comes to mind (You make reference to it on P37).

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

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.

A Failure To Thrive:

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

*This is good
tighten it up
a bit (down to
2 pages) and
go with it*

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. Secondly, 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 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. 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 cocoperative, not competitive, 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 ^{carefully and} 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.

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 three hours.

good title! → **A Failure To Thrive:**

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

Introduction

Many people in the Twin Cities believe that segregation is something akin to slavery -- a social disease that occurred in the South many years ago and is no longer a critical issue. Some ~~also~~ fancy that in the comparatively liberal social climate of the Upper Midwest, individuals are free to live in ~~virtually~~ any community, regardless of race or socioeconomic background. Still others believe that our public schools have long since been integrated and that no one is denied an education because of ~~the color of their skin~~ or ~~their~~ economic situation.

But, what if these ~~people~~ ^{italics views} are wrong? What if this image of openness and diversity is ~~just that~~ ^{an image} and ~~the~~ reality is far different? How would we feel ~~about our community~~ ^{chronicly} if we learned that our neighborhoods are still ^{chronicly} divided along racial and socioeconomic lines? That such divisions foster continued hatred and mistrust and hinder our ~~development~~ ^{future} as a safe and prosperous metropolitan area? That our children are, ~~in effect~~, isolated from each other and therefore at a distinct disadvantage in the global marketplace?

What if we discovered that previous attempts to remedy old ~~but highly documented~~ ^{problems} like segregation in housing and education ~~had~~ actually made matters worse? That the list of those who felt aggrieved by inequities based on ethnicity and class ~~was~~ ^{is} growing instead of shrinking? That far from ~~being a haven~~ ^{providing model} for social justice, the Twin Cities and many of its cherished ~~public and private~~ institutions may have perpetuated injustice, inequality and ~~perhaps~~ intolerance?

How would we react ~~if we knew these things were true~~? Would we study the problem? Would we be moved to take action? Would we deny reality despite ~~empirical and anecdotal~~ ^{we} evidence to the contrary? Would we point fingers and assign blame? Or, would we ~~move away~~ ^{just}?

This discussion guidebook is intended to help citizens from ~~every~~ ^{all} walks of life find answers to these disturbing questions. ~~The final~~ solutions, if there are any, must come from you. But before attempting to answer, consider the following information carefully.

The Historical Context

America began as a nation of separatists who founded a New World in order to pursue ideologies that were unpopular in Europe. It was a haven

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~~ ^{Others} who saw in this New World the chance to create a life free of interference from patriarchal governments. In so doing, the first settlers of the land ~~came to this country and~~ ^{They were followed by many} constructed separate ~~neighborhoods~~ ^{communities} 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,"~~ ^{spread of?} ~~did not give up their land easily or without a fight.~~ ^{by the Europeans} In fact, they hotly contested the acquisition of their territories by Europeans. Because their skin was ~~considered red~~ ^{very familiar} and their traditions ~~viewed as foreign~~, the native Americans were seen as being a "lower form of life" than Europeans. As writer David Roediger 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 ~~was~~ ^{are} founded on the ~~basis of the above~~ beliefs ~~was~~ ^{are} never fully resolved in discussion or debate, ~~One reason for the lack of resolution is that~~ ^{in part because the} European settlers quickly ~~began to outnumber~~ ^{simply} the native Americans and drove them off the land ~~through physical force.~~ ^{through} Although ~~later efforts were made~~ ^{All} 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 Bureau of Indian Affairs, was the best way to avoid conflict, to strengthen ethnic and family ties, and to survive.}

Thus, ~~the~~ ^{a specific} pattern for interacting with those who ~~were~~ ^{are} 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 ^{exist} be with us. If, for example, Native Americans had been given status as full and equal citizens; if ^{the} 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 ~~became~~ ~~remained~~ compartmentalized, ^{and} divided, and ~~extremely~~ competitive.

~~This was made even more clear by the arrival of~~ African ^{people} 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 ^{people} 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. ^{yet} ~~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~~ ^{could always} ~~had the hope, no matter how poor of one day becoming American citizens. Blacks~~ ^{and whites alike} ~~slaves knew~~ ^{they were} ~~as did the white settlers~~ that black ^{slaves} who were given their freedom and allowed to gain citizenship were ^{major} ~~major~~ rarities. ~~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.

three?

Although there are many landmark events in American history concerning race, ^{but} most are negative. The Revolutionary War, ^{which} celebrated political freedom from English tyranny, ^{had no} 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 ^{virtual} 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."~~

~~In addition, the Constitution, which~~ ^{so clearly} ~~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." ^{factnote}

^{is this necessary?} ~~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 ^{given not} without even the most basic human rights.~~

^{by the early 1800s} ^{had generated} 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 ^{the} Abolitionists, began to seek new justifications for their ^{is} peculiar regional institution.

^{major} The earliest ^{major} example of a blow against segregation on a national scale ^{was} ~~is~~ ^{Lincoln's} the Emancipation Proclamation, ¹⁸⁶² in 1863, wherein black slaves were declared free, ^{by the government.} By this time, the land in the East and

is this necessary?
is this necessary?
awb record

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, ^{and} ~~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 ^(Civil) 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 ~~the~~ Reconstruction ^{era} soon proved, true freedom for African Americans could not be gained ^{without} access to land and ~~to~~ education. In addition, whites would ^{have} ~~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 ⁱⁿ through black schools ~~established in the South.~~ There, ~~in one room school houses,~~ 85-year-old former slaves sat ^{next} to five-year-old children and learned their ABC's. But very few ^{former} 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.~~ ^{even at}

~~T~~ Ironically, the first organized attempt ~~to advance the economic status of African Americans~~ -- 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

that by A. Philip Randolph to unionize the Pullman porters -- resulted in a segregated union. Later, though,

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~~ ^{in her} ~~book~~ ^{book} ~~A. Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement, the author paints a picture of the difficulties Randolph faced.~~ ^{he}

~~"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 ^{and developed} Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement preached a new racial consciousness for African Americans. ~~Garvey's followers,~~ ^{represented} ~~mostly urban blacks located in the larger cities,~~ ^{represented} the first important group of black militant segregationists. Garveyites 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,~~

This section needs to be "tied off" before you move on to current conditions in the TC region

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 household income in the cities has 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

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 comparisons 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 distinguishing 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

*is this true?
be more specific*

These and other problems are destabilizing 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 ^{shootings} 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 ^{living} who were above the poverty line slipped below it during years of wage erosion and a stagnant economy. *not so - economy grew quite a bit*

growing economic disparity

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.

one P

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. ^{These population} This shift from city to suburbs 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 ^{also} growing and spreading. In 1979, ^{only} 11 Twin Cities census tracts ^{consisted of populations in which} saw 25% or more of its population ^{lived} sink below the poverty line. In the ^{both} 80s, 35 additional census tracts in the core area reached the 25% level, ^{which} ~~which~~ doubling the poverty rate in terms of population and area ^{involved}. Of 121 census tracts in the core area, 105 saw ^{increases in} their poverty rates.

increase.¹ This trend ~~has~~ continues today and is ~~beginning to spread~~ into inner-ring suburbs.

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 ~~the~~ 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~~ ^{shrunk} demands greater educational skills than ever before. ^{even though the economy}

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-county 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, 1996³

District	Percent Passing:		Poverty Rate	Enrollment	Per Pupil	
	Math	Reading			Gen. Fund	Total
Washburn	70	52	15	38,670	\$4,668	\$5,826
Washburn	79	65	16	11,371	\$5,210	\$6,034
Washburn Center	64	53	44	1,650	\$4,855	\$6,707
Washburnville	74	65	13	11,195	\$5,427	\$6,541

¹Metropolitan Council. *Trouble at the Core: The Twin Cities Under Stress*. November 1992. p. 8.
²Metropolitan Council. *Trouble at the Core: The Twin Cities Under Stress*. November 1992. p. 14.
³O'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.)

Columbia Heights	70	57	31	2,987	\$6,328	\$7,259
Den Prairie	91	79	4	9,193	\$4,709	\$6,495
Edina	95	88	2	6,181	\$5,583	\$7,081
Edinburg	79	66	18	3,400	\$4,550	\$6,649
Forest Lake	81	65	15	7,867	\$4,367	\$5,597
Friday	75	71	24	2,607	\$5,950	\$6,723
Hastings	84	65	13	5,119	\$4,615	\$5,617
Hopkins	88	81	10	8,029	\$6,132	\$7,743
Ever Grove Heights	74	69	18	4,005	\$5,014	\$6,101
Lakeville	82	73	5	7,319	\$4,472	\$7,237
Maplewood	90	78	6	2,670	\$4,562	\$5,854
Minneapolis	42	37	61	46,151	\$7,115	\$9,136
Nettonka	90	83	4	7,235	\$5,714	\$7,440
Northwoods View	86	71	10	12,043	\$5,142	\$6,220
North St. Paul-- Maplewood--Oakdale	73	61	17	10,600	\$4,909	\$5,835
Orono	90	87	4	2,576	\$5,037	\$6,298
Orseo	81	65	14	21,280	\$4,877	\$6,454
Prior Lake	87	76	3	3,859	\$4,387	\$5,775
Randolph	78	62	3	473	\$5,250	\$5,972
Richtfield	71	62	22	4,343	\$5,843	\$7,020
Robbinsdale	71 N/A		22	13,507	\$5,490	\$6,460
Roseville	80	72	13	6,772	\$6,102	\$7,377
Rosemount-- Apple Valley--Eagan	78	68	9	25,554	\$4,210	\$5,691
St. Anthony-- New Brighton	78	71	10	1,255	\$5,833	\$6,401
St. Louis Park	76	66	22	4,285	\$6,597	\$7,816
St. Paul	51	44	56	42,046	\$6,017	\$7,095
Takopee	68	61	15	3,011	\$5,437	\$6,577
Spring Lake Park	82	64	20	4,181	\$4,975	\$5,989
South St. Paul	65	60	24	3,562	\$4,975	\$6,179
South Washington	84	71	12	13,886	\$4,245	\$5,666

illwater	83	73	7	9,063	\$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 ^{subsidized} free and reduced lunch programs, special education services, and bilingual education.

When schools must spend significant proportions of their budgets on simply to 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 ^{social interaction} 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 ^{the} resources ^{from} the education system. Society suffers from inequities in education because under-educated children are less able to contribute to the ^{community's} economy and to the quality of life and more likely to need ^{some form of} public assistance as adults. Finally, poverty in one generation often leads to ^{poverty in the} 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 of citizens 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 ² 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, Mead & Company, 1974. p 15

technology and shifts in the labor market have largely eliminated the need for unskilled workers, ^{so} students who do not learn crucial skills in school ^{can} no longer ~~have factory jobs to fall back on.~~ To maintain a productive and profitable economy, as well as ^{to} compete globally, all individuals in our society need to maximize their ^{skills} 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.~~ ^{These individuals will be the workforce of the future.}

new section

The Search For Solutions

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, ^{especially} 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~~ ^{will} 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

→ credit Lincoln?

⁵Urban Coalition. *Statement from Citizen's League Communities of Color.* 13 December 1996.

differences will always occur within populations with diverse histories. But persistent 15
when a phenomenon like segregation persists -- and when a significant ^{racial and economic}
proportion of our population is plagued by poverty and ignorance that ^{segregation - indeed,}
threatens to engulf us all, regardless of where we live -- it is time to investigate ^{isolation - points to}
the possibility of a systemic problem. ^{a systemic}
^{problem. For}
^{example,}

~~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 ^{do} ~~our shared history of~~
racial and economic turmoil, which has ^{centuries} 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 from~~
~~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:

community
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~~ ^{among} 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, affirmative 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~~ ^{who adhere to} 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

⁶Traub, James. *Can Separate Be Equal?* *Harper's Magazine*. June 1994. p. 36.

⁷Fineman, 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.

change 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.~~ *Moreover* 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. *Many* 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~~ *of color*, 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."

There is only one Chicago school district → is this the Chicago district or a Chicago-area district?

⁸Traub, James. *Can Separate Be Equal?* Harper's Magazine. June 1994. p. 39.

- "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 ghettos and barrios, instead of 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

for the last 15 years

While many government policies and programs exist which aim at socially 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 its 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

see 2 pages ahead
Oll
Keep
TWIN CITIES

the market. Moreover, if reduces the prosperity and economic dynamics of the region as a whole. Economic growth is stifled when

this is why regional taxes support many of the amenities. two cities.

⁹The 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.

¹⁰Ibid. p. 4.

¹¹United Way Minneapolis Area. *The Face of the Twin Cities: Another Look*. 1995. p.8.

¹²Metropolitan 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

What is this?

THIS TOPIC SHOULD BE IN PERSPECTIVE #3

Per Capita Income by Race and Hispanic Origin, 1990 Census (in \$1000s)

	7 County Region	Minneapolis	St. Paul	Suburbs
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 Under Stress*. November 1992. p. 38.

Percent Change in Per Capita Income, By Race and Hispanic Origin, 1979-1989 (1989 dollars)

	Region	Minneapolis	St. Paul	Suburbs
Average	18.4%	11.5%	6.5%	20.9%

¹³Ibid. p. 18.

White	21.3 %	20.1%	13.9%	21.9%	21
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 Under Stress.*

November 1992. p. 39.

Income disparities ^{between} in the central cities and the suburbs increased throughout 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 central cities experienced 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 striking, 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 proportionately 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 ^{and personal services}, generally have lower wage rates than jobs in manufacturing. In fact, less than half of the jobs in Minnesota today pay a liveable wage.

or median?
← is this true
!?!
(gasp smrt)

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

People who adhere to this perspective believe that

there is an inherent contradiction here: Mpls already spends the most per student?

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.

This perspective asserts that

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.

on other

reverse

and used more effectively.

What Critics Say

well?

- 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 ^{be} (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 ^{resources dedicated} or decreased services. *on others*
- 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.

How is this a criticism? 23

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. *— huh?*

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~~ *have* dramatically changed ~~incentives to the poor.~~ *system* 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~~ *masked* these ~~losses~~ *problems* by further subsidizing destructive behavior. We ~~tried~~ *have* 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 rationally. If a young, single ~~mom~~ *mother* 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~~ *her* child grows older and she suddenly finds herself needing and wanting to work, she will also find herself lacking a ~~solid~~ *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.~~ *This* 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.

¹⁴Murray, Charles. Losing Ground. 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

"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~~ ^{only 50%.} 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~~ ^{it's} 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~~ ^{the} underclass is delineated from ~~lower class populations in that~~ ^{lower class populations in that} their poverty ~~traits are~~ ^{traits are} transmitted intergenerationally and they ~~thus become~~ ^{are} stuck in a self-perpetuating cycle of disadvantage. This is in contrast to individuals who have experienced the loss of a breadwinner, are involuntarily 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

¹⁵Ibid. pp. 227-228.

¹⁶Ibid. 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~~ ^{bullet} 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; (6) the absence of childhood as a specially protected and prolonged state, and thus early initiation into free sexual unions or consensual marriages; (7) a high incident in the abandonment of wives and children; (8) a matriarchal family structure; and (9) ~~a~~ 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 ^{about} 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 ^{the} 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 hurdle life's barriers while others consistently stumble?

General Colin Powell grew up in Harlem and the South Bronx, two of America's ~~very~~ ^{most} 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~~ ^{he} 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 ^{adequate} role models and thus do not learn how to be disciplined and self-sufficient.

¹⁷Karger, Howard Jacob and David Stoesz. *American Social Welfare Policy*. White Plains, NY: Longman Publishing Group, 1994.

¹⁸Ibid. p. 148.

¹⁹National Issues Forums. *The Troubled American Family*. 1995. p. 7.

²⁰Ibid. 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; ^{with out placing} 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.

you might mention that she loses those benefits if she lives w/ the father of the child!

The Impact on Schools

Perhaps nowhere has the break^{down} of the family structure had a ^{greater} 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 ^{just} only to educate children, but ^{to} 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~~ ^{must be} 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.~~ *italics*

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 ^{the} differences in achievement. Children from ^{poor?} low socioeconomic backgrounds ^{no it's} regardless of race improved when studying ^{side} 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). ^{Oh} It also has more children living with only one parent (46.2%) than with two ~~parents~~ (42.5%).²²

²¹Tesconi, Jr. Charles A. and Emanuel Hurwitz, Jr. *Education For Whom?* NY: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1974. p. 23.

²²The Urban Coalition. *Minneapolis Public School Neighborhood Student Data, 1995-96.* p. 42.

HUD has served as an incubator for social pathologies which have been unleashed on our programs are suppose to help."

"At its worst, public housing under

Henderson, Project 21 member

--Zenoa

What is this? Why is it important?

Medicare? Poor?

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 ^{primarily} 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, public 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 ^{often} 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.

Don't get it

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 ^{children} 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 ^{must} 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~~ ^{citizens}

²³Egan, John, et al. *Housing and Public Policy: A Role for Mediating Structures*. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1981. p. 16.

levels. Parents and students ^{play} are but a small ^{role} part of this constituency. And because political resources are distributed unequally and the interests of the politically powerful ^{are} do not ^{often} 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 ^{district} 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 ^{anecdotes} ~~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 ³ 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, ^{but} 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 ^{expensive} inappropriate and unnatural ~~(and expensive)~~ for the government to try ^{to} and help those who ~~do not want to be helped and who~~ are unwilling to "help themselves."

What Critics Say About This Perspective

- Less than half of the jobs in Minnesota pay a livable ^{wage} 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 ^{that} 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 ^{just} one

^{Discussions about a possible} ^{just}
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, ^{and} 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, ^{and} 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.

and has declined significantly in real dollars.

~~Mobility: Creating Choices~~

Up, Out and Together

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 Cities Without Suburbs, visited the Twin Cities a few years ago. He warned that Minneapolis and St.

²⁵ DeParle, Jason. *The Year that Housing Died*. The New York Times Magazine. 20 October 1996. p. 53.

²⁶ Rusk, David. *Without Urban-Suburban Unity, Cities Future Looks Bleak*. Pioneer Press. 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 ^{most} 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 ^{better} ~~transcendent~~ future, and when that school is overcrowded, impersonal, and ^{bleak,} ~~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

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. School Choice. Princeton, NJ: The Carnegie Foundation, 1992.

MOVE TO PERSPECTIVE #1

↑ 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 provide low-income and minority students ^{with} 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, ^{yet} 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~~ ^{can} argue that busing is a worthwhile endeavor.

Desegregation proponents argue that the ^{limited results from} ~~failure of~~ desegregation-based education strategies to produce better academic results, particularly in regard to students of color, ^{stem} ~~comes~~ from ~~its~~ incompleteness. ^{They say that} 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 ^{has been made} ~~staff development~~ efforts to help all teachers develop skills, ^{and} 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 ^{often} 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~~ ^{This suggests} ~~try~~ busing before we condemn it. ^{ought to really}

^{Proponents of this perspective argue further, that} Overall, however, ^{children's} a child's educational opportunities and achievement depends on the entire spectrum of resources available ^{to them at home, in school and in their} through their ~~whole~~ environment: home, school, and neighborhoods. ^{is speech and thought patterns,} ~~How they speak and think,~~ ^{are conditioned by} how they ^{if} interact with others, their goals and dreams ... these things depend on where ^{they} a child lives, and thus, how ~~he or she~~ ^{they} sees the world. Is ~~it~~ ^{that place} 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

²⁹Minneapolis Public Schools. Quality Schools Report. 17 April 1993. p. 24.

³⁰Ibid 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.

Proponents of this perspective point out that

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 renters³³ 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 ^{also} 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~~ ^{in the suburbs,} ~~where to live.~~³⁴

There are many reasons why ~~there is~~ ^{this} a shortage of affordable housing ~~in the~~ ^{exists} 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 ^{to protect} for healthy and safety ^{by specifying} 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, ^{but} Minnetonka has a minimum lot size of

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.

THIS IS AN ECONOMIC ARGUMENT →
MOVE TO PERSP. #1

22,000 square feet. ~~As well,~~ Lakeville requires that each single family ^{not} 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.~~
^{add}

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" ^{out} 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.
^{Single Parents}

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, ^{is still common.} ~~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

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 ^{neighborhoods} — 35
~~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 ^{was} 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 ^{were imposed on testers of color.}

~~What's the Prescription?~~: Full Social Integration

^{Proponents of this perspective argue that,}

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 ^{they believe it is a} The power now held by dozens of independent, local governments should be placed in the hands of an effective, accountable, elected metropolitan government.

^{Proponents say,} At the very least, ~~however~~ ^{must} 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.~~ ^{the} ~~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, ^{other incentives, or} 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

³⁹Minnesota 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.
⁴¹Rusk, Dean. *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, ^{proponents say,} 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 ^{also} critical. Housing audits, such as the one recently conducted by the MFHC, is one important and relatively inexpensive method of ^{monitoring} 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^s. Mentoring programs would help the new residents learn what healthy communities demand in terms of values and responsibilities.

Gatreux Mobility

more ↓ 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

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.

⁴³Ibid. p. 35. (From Justin D. Cummin, *Recasting Fair Share: Toward Housing Law and Principled Social Policy*, 54 *Law and Inequ.* J. 339, 364, 1996.)

⁴⁴Ibid. 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 Gatreux 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*. The American Prospect. no. 24 (Winter 1995): 75-79.

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~~ ^{shortage} 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 fact that 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 rent⁴⁵.

mark

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~~ ^{unit}. 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~~ ^{probably} making it even more difficult for families to find suitable housing, ~~within the FMR.~~

further shrinking the number of units available and

EMPLOYMENT PROJECTIONS

	Central Cities	Fully Developed Suburbs	Developing Suburbs	Total

⁴⁵Metropolitan 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.

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.~~

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 ^{be cut} cut.

^{yet} ^{still} ~~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 ^{both} 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 ^{any} point since the Great Depression. While ^{about} approximately 15 million households qualify for ^{some type of} federal housing aid, only 4.5 receive ^{it} 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 ^{yet} ~~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~~

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

now

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 ^{to} disperse poverty into other communities. ~~making other communities worse~~ ^{and} ~~we need to clean up the bad neighborhoods.~~ ^{possibly make them} (An influx of low-income families could lead to increased crime in the suburbs. ^{Also,} 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 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. 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 through 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 ^{people} 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 ^{ed} ~~ing~~ 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~~ ^{handful of} 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 Gatreux program in Chicago, very

• Naive - We've tried for years, but "they" don't want to live with us any more than we want to live with "them"

A common concern is that

Several sentences →

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 there is a general mismatch between the skills of the poor and the skills necessary for available jobs.

Discussion Guide

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- Introduction to the study circle process
- Sharing of personal experiences

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- Presentation and exploration of different perspectives on the causes of residential segregation

Session 3 -- *What is the state of educational opportunity and achievement in the Twin Cities today?*

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- Presentation and exploration of different approaches and perspectives on what should be done
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Tentative Outline

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Note to discussion guide committee members:

This is a very preliminary draft. There are many things I need to add yet, such as excerpts of books and articles as well as editorials and letters to the editor. I hope to be able to provide a variety of perspectives and opinions through these excerpts. I do have some things in mind, and I have contacted people at the Trib and the Pioneer Press to assist in looking for different viewpoints. If anyone knows of some particularly powerful or thought-provoking pieces, please make a note of it. I will also be adding an appendix of "additional readings."

I also am looking for some more precise information on the make-up of the student populations across the various Twin Cities districts, which I hope to get soon. I will also be adding information on the two adequacy suits here in the Twin Cities.

I have sometimes found myself "writing a paper"--arguing certain points or perspectives--which is obviously not my task. I would appreciate advice on how and where to eliminate the biases in the language I use as well as the biases of the content I have chosen to include. I also really have an overflow of information at points (primarily in the first three sections). I decided it was best to start out with too much and then downscale. Let me know what doesn't seem pertinent, or if there is a different way to structure the material so the numbers don't get so overwhelming.

Due to finals week, the last two sections did not receive as much attention yet as the first three. Just so you know, those are areas I will be working on in the next week as you read this first draft. I was having a bit of a problem with the 4th section, however. It seems nearly indistinguishable from the third session's topic. (To talk about educational opportunity and achievement in the Twin Cities *is* to talk about how the composition of our communities affect opportunity and achievement.) Perhaps Session 4 would be better spent exploring perspectives on busing, desegregation, and race relations?)

Format is a big question. The first two sections have outlines, but I haven't prepared any for the last three yet. Transitions from topics need to be very smooth and natural, so if anyone has suggestions or ideas.....

Finally, the lay out of the material will obviously be much more aesthetically pleasing when it's all said and done. The "Food for Thought" pieces and the quotes will not be so random. But compared to content, that's something that we probably don't need to worry about right now. Also, I realize my documentation is a bit sloppy. As I was writing, my main purpose was to just make sure I had the source and page number down for my own benefit. I will take care of this when editing.

That's it. Thanks!

Forward

Every year Minneapolis and St. Paul are ranked high on the list of America's most livable cities. As Minnesotans, we pride ourselves on our progressiveness, our ingenuity and innovativeness, our great tolerance. We profess to believe deeply in equality of opportunity. But one must stop and consider, is the Twin Cities really a great place to live for *everyone*? And how hard to we work to guarantee equality of opportunity?

Compared to standards used to judge major urban centers across the nation--job growth, low crime rates, good schools and social services, access to lakes and parks--the Twin Cities *is* a good place to live. We are, however, not without serious and growing regional problems. The Twin Cities is now beginning to struggle with many of the same problems in its core that have led to severe urban decay in other American metropolitan areas. And as experience shows, as these problems become entrenched, they become increasingly difficult to dismantle. While we still have time to reverse the trends that are beginning to tear apart our communities, that time is rapidly fading as our window of opportunity grows smaller and smaller. As a community, it seems prudent that we deal with these issues *before* they reach crisis--and irreversible--proportions.

Unemployment, poverty, homelessness, inadequate educational opportunities, and crime are not the sole province of the central cities, although they are indeed--for the moment--concentrated there. There is nothing, however, preventing such problems from spreading outward from the core to the adjacent suburbs. In fact, if current trends continue, this is exactly what *will* happen. Once poverty becomes concentrated, deterioration and disinvestment of neighborhoods are inevitable results which culminate in an endless downward spiral. This occurs simultaneously with the increased demand for services, leading ultimately to abandonment and the subsequent spread of such problems to adjacent areas. We are beginning to see this happening now in the "inner-ring" suburbs surrounding Minneapolis and St. Paul.

For many Minnesotans, the issues of poverty and its concentration may seem like new problems. But they are not; policymakers and poor families alike have been struggling with them for decades. But as a *community*, we can no longer afford to ignore these problems. We can no longer turn a blind eye nor can we continue to run. Racism and classism, whether conscious or not, remain significant factors in the disparities that exist between communities. Although these things are difficult to discuss, we can't get past them until we get *to* them. And that is the purpose of this study circle. It is time to go beyond that "Minnesota nice" which somehow equates politeness with tolerance and harmony. It is time to engage in some honest, thoughtful discussion. It is time to start addressing reality.

Many people might be skeptical. "Talk is cheap," so the saying goes. Others might be thinking, "We've tried this before." Perhaps. But we cannot afford to give up until a solution is found. Particularly those who live in poverty--and those who live on the edge of it--cannot afford apathy. Talking naturally proceeds action, and we cannot move forward until we have reached common ground. And while it may not be hard to find consensus that problems do exist, agreeing on *why* those problems exist can be very difficult. Depending on their own experiences, people perceive things in different ways. What constitutes reality is different for each one of us. The Twin Cities may be a great place to live for some people, but for others, it is undoubtedly a cold and unforgiving place. Only by talking can we understand how segregation affects *each* of us.

From the onset, we have to realize that solutions do not lie in pointing fingers and placing blame. We need to avoid the isolationist approach which assigns fault solely to the people or neighborhoods where the problems have materialized and realize that the problems are the result of numerous, complex factors--factors in which nearly everyone has played a part. The key, then, is to strive for understanding. Only then can we put together the kind of *regional* collaborative effort that is needed to tackle these problems..

In a recent Star and Tribune editorial, Susan Berkson said, "Any suburb that thinks it is an island is mistaken. The central region 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 city. Without the city, there would be no suburbs."¹ Susan is right. We're in this together.

Session 1—How does the community in which we live and our personal experiences as members of that community affect the education of our children?

I. Welcome & Introduction to the Community Circle Collaborative

II. Introductions...who are you, where are you from, why are you concerned about this issue...

III. The Study Circle Process

- Brief Overview (Readings: *The Role of the Participant* and *Comparison of Dialogue and Debate*)
- Revisions/agreement to the ground rules

IV. Sharing of personal experiences

- Think back. How did the community(ies) in which you grew up affect your education and opportunities?
- Think about the neighborhood you live in now. Is it largely homogenous or are there a variety of people who live around you? People of color, whites, singles, families, students, elderly?
- What are the schools like in your neighborhood?

V. Discussion (See *The Faces of the Region*)

- Do these statistics fit with your perceptions and/or experiences?
- How have your own experiences and concerns influenced your opinions and perceptions?

VI. Summary

- Do you view these issues differently as a result of considering others' views and experiences?
- What, if any, common concerns emerged?

The Faces of the Region

Over the last few decades, poverty has concentrated in the core area of Minneapolis and St. Paul. In 1990, central city had 28% of the region's population but 60% of it's poor. Just as concentrated in the core are poor *children*: 45% percent of children who live in Minneapolis and St. Paul live in poverty. Throughout the 1980s, the core gained 30,000 poor people, while the its total population grew by less than 10,000 people. This most likely means a combination of things. First, people who at one point were above the poverty line slipped below it during years of wage erosion and a stagnant economy. Second, once individuals reach a certain income level, they are "pulled" out to the suburbs, where there is more space, bigger and newer houses, lower crime rates, lower taxes, and better services. Meanwhile, low-income families are more or less forced to live in the central cities due to limited transportation in the Twin Cities and to a lack of affordable housing in the suburbs. This phenomenon is further illustrated by the fact that the rest of the region grew by more than 293,000 persons, only 7.5% of which are poor.

It is not just that poverty is concentrated in the core that we should be concerned, but that the poverty rate is growing and that poverty is spreading. In 1979, 11 census tracts that had a lower poverty rate in earlier years saw 25% or more of their population sink below the poverty line. In the 80s, the spread of poverty accelerated sharply. Thirty-eight more tracts in the core area reached the 25% level. As Figure 1 shows, this doubled the poverty both in terms of population and area involved. Out of 121 census tracts in the core area, 105 saw their poverty rates increase.² This trend has continued. Today it is not just the central cities that are affected. Poverty and disinvestment are beginning to spread into inner-ring suburbs such as Richfield, Brooklyn Center, and St. Louis Park.

While over two-thirds of the people living in poverty are white, it is very clear that people of color are the hardest hit. Absolute numbers belie reality for people of color because they still make up such a small percentage of Minnesota's total population. While the region's minority populations grew by 81% during the 1980s, they still constitute only 9.3% of the region's total population--65% of which live in the central cities.³ In the last decade, the poverty rate in Minneapolis rose from 13.5 percent to 18.5 percent; in St. Paul it went from 10.9 percent to 16.7 percent.⁴ In the core area of the central city, however, poverty rates for African Americans (44%), American Indians (56%), Asians (62%), and Hispanic residents (31%) were dramatically higher than poverty rates for whites (18%).⁵ Figures 2 and 3 reveal that the region becomes increasingly whiter and wealthier as you move beyond the core.

Finally, it should be noted that what constitutes "poverty" by federal or state definitions is but one point on an income continuum, as shown by the federal poverty thresholds below (Figure 4). Poverty rates thus do not take into account people who are making \$100 or even \$1000 above a certain poverty threshold and thus may actually understate the scale of the problem. People who live paycheck to paycheck can be financially devastated by a medical emergency, a fire, car or housing repairs, or even winter heating bills. Not surprising, the percentage of *near-poor* people is also substantially higher in the core than in other parts of the region, being home to 48% of the region's "near-poor."

Figure 1
 Twin Cities Metropolitan Area
 Census Tracts With More Than 25 Percent of Persons Below Poverty
 1970, 1980, and 1990

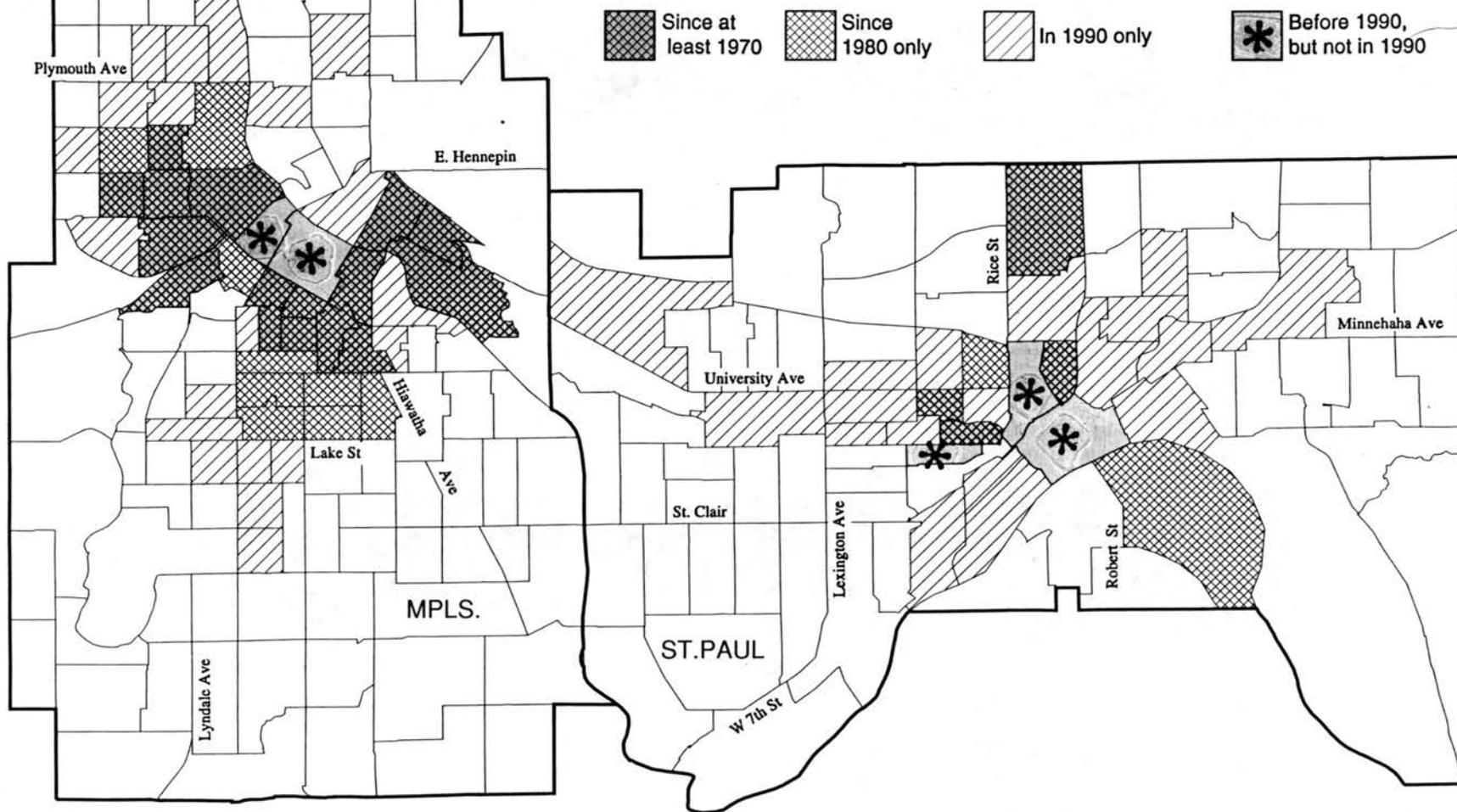
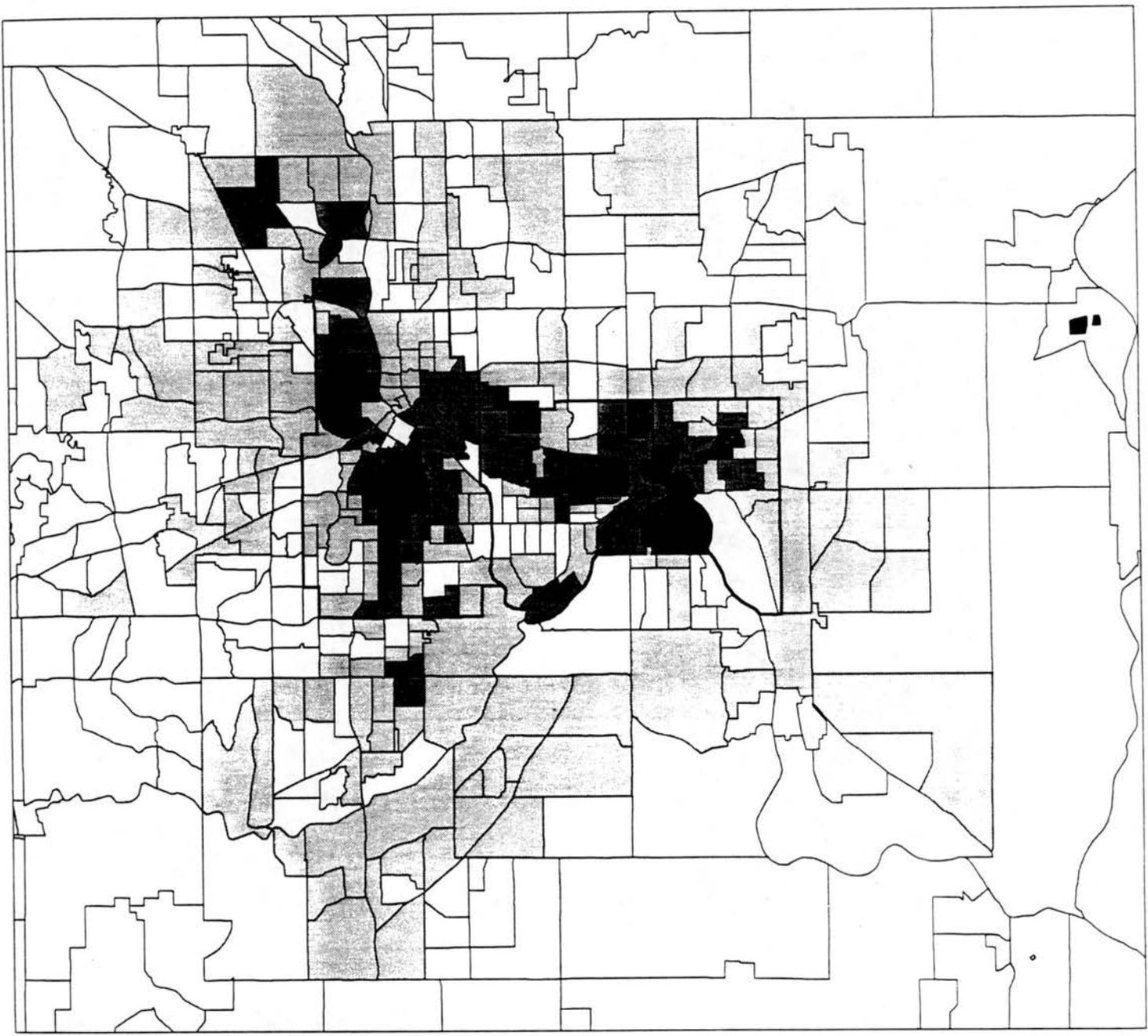


FIGURE 2

Detail: Percentage Minorities in Seven County Metropolitan Area by Census Tract

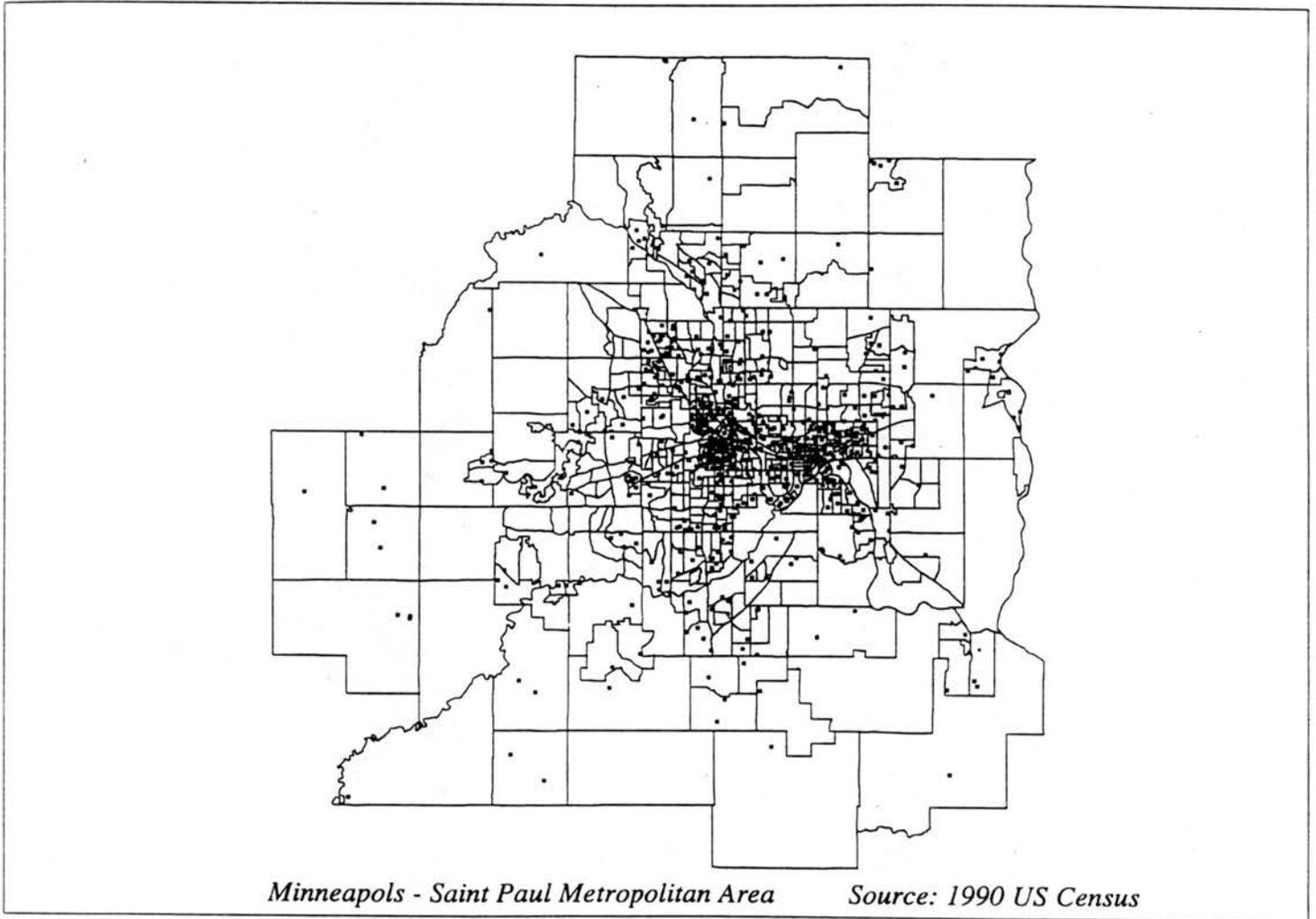


Source: 1990 US Census

Percent Minorities		
■	53.2 - 93.7	(32)
■	27.3 - 51.9	(29)
■	11.3 - 27.2	(75)
□	5.0 - 11.2	(182)
□	0.0 - 4.9	(287)

FIGURE 3

Total Families Below Poverty Level



Total Families Below Poverty
1 Dot = 50

Figure 4.**Federal Poverty Thresholds, 1990⁶**

Family size	Annual Income
2	\$8076
3	\$9,885
4	\$12,674
5	\$14,990
6	\$16,921

Finally, as the Figures 5 and 6 illustrate, income disparities in the central cities and the suburbs increased throughout 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 central cities experiences 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 striking, however, is the difference in per capita income between whites and minorities. As Figure 6 reveals, average per capita income for African Americans and Asians actually decreased throughout the decade.

Figure 5**Per Capita Income, by Race and Hispanic Origin, 1990 Census⁷
(in \$1,000s)**

	7 County Region	Minneapolis	St. Paul	Suburbs
Average	\$14.5	\$13.3	\$12.9	\$15.0
White	\$14.8	\$14.1	\$13.5	\$15.1
African Am.	\$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

Figure 6. Percent Change in Per Capita Income, By Race and Hispanic Origin, 1979-1989^s
(1989 dollars)

	Region	Minneapolis	St. Paul	Suburbs
Average	18.4%	11.5%	6.5%	20.9%
White	21.3%	20.1%	13.9%	21.9%
African Am.	-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%

Session 2: What does residential segregation mean in the Twin Cities metropolitan area today?

1. Describe the community where you live. What do you value about your community? Do you value diversity? What are the challenges your community faces?
2. Think about different types of communities . . . what comes to mind?
 - inner city neighborhood
 - suburban neighborhood
3. Our communities are reflecting greater concentrations of wealth and poverty. Some possible explanations:
 - Elimination of low-skilled manufacturing jobs in the inner city.
 - Movement of jobs to the suburbs
 - Freeway system and limited mass transit
 - Concentration of subsidized housing in the inner city
 - Racism and discrimination
 - Choice -- people choose where they want to live
 - Lack of affordable housing in the suburbs
 - High crime rates in the inner city
 - High property taxes in the inner city
 - Low quality of schools and services in the city

Which of these possible causes do you think impacts this region the most?

4. Do your perceptions reflect reality? What things surprised you? (See *Barriers to Economic Opportunity in the Twin Cities*)

Barriers to Economic Opportunity in the Twin Cities

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, it is important for communities to provide housing choices. Imbedded in our sub-conscious is a feeling that low-income housing automatically attracts the deviants of society. In reality, however, a variety of people need low-income housing. As people grow older and find themselves on fixed budgets, they no longer need or can afford the large homes they once had. The young man or woman who just graduated from college and got an entry level position teaching at the local school needs that low-cost housing. The clerk at the gas station down the block surely needs that housing. It is simply the people who are willing to work for the lowest wages the economy has to offer that need affordable housing. It is not automatic that drugs, crime, and gangs follow low-income housing. Our fears are driven by ignorance. Luckily, ignorance is one thing we *can* change.

Important Definitions:

What is "affordable housing"? Under standards established by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, housing is affordable if it consumes no more than 30% of a household's income.⁹ Housing that exceeds 50% of income is defined as a severe cost burden.

What types of housing assistance does the government provide?

The federal government has two main types of housing assistance programs. The first and more well-know is "project-based." This is publicly-owned housing rented at below-market rates. The second is "tenant-based" where funds are channeled to individuals rather than locations. The most common type is "Section 8" assistance. Under Section 8, a low-income household pays 30% of income for rent and utilities, and the government then pays the difference between that amount and the "Fair Market Rent" determined by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Until 1987, Section 8 recipients did not have the right to move outside of the city where the certificates were issued. As a result, it was an ineffective method of relieving economic and racial isolation. Nowadays, Section 8 recipients *can* use their vouchers anywhere. However, while the number of families eligible for vouchers far exceeds the number who actually receive them, Section 8 vouchers go unused in many cities because renters cannot find suitable housing outside of the ghettos.

Food For Thought:

The Federal Government spends \$66 billion a year on mortgage-interest and property tax deductions. These subsidies to wealthy homeowners are more than *four times* as much as is spent on low-income housing. In fact, two-thirds of it goes to families with incomes over \$75,000.¹⁰ Is there a difference between receiving a tax deduction and receiving a rent voucher to lessen housing costs?

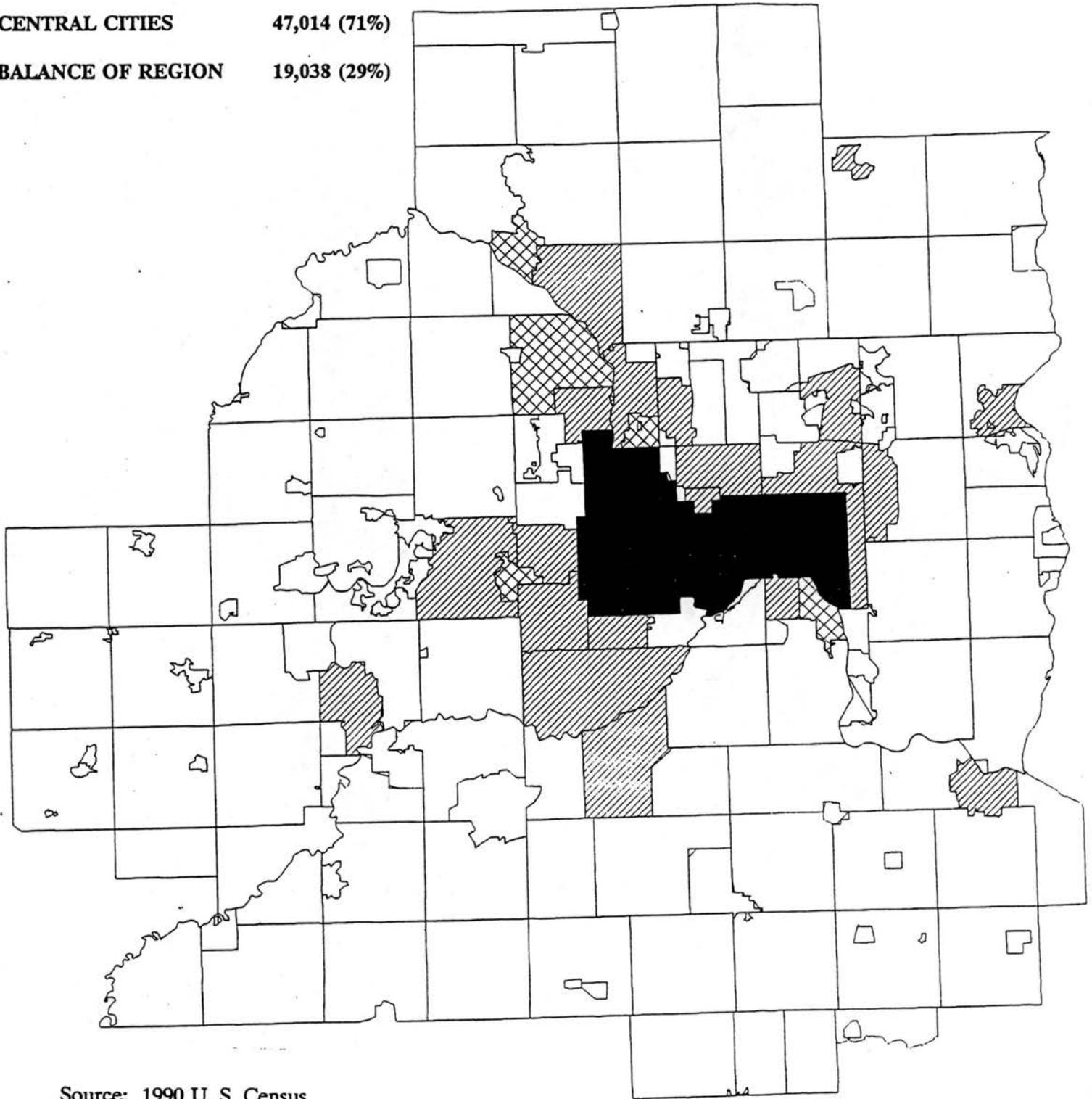
NUMBER OF UNITS RENTING
FOR LESS THAN \$350/MO
METRO AREA - 1990

FIGURE 7

TOTAL UNITS: 66,052

CENTRAL CITIES 47,014 (71%)

BALANCE OF REGION 19,038 (29%)



Source: 1990 U. S. Census

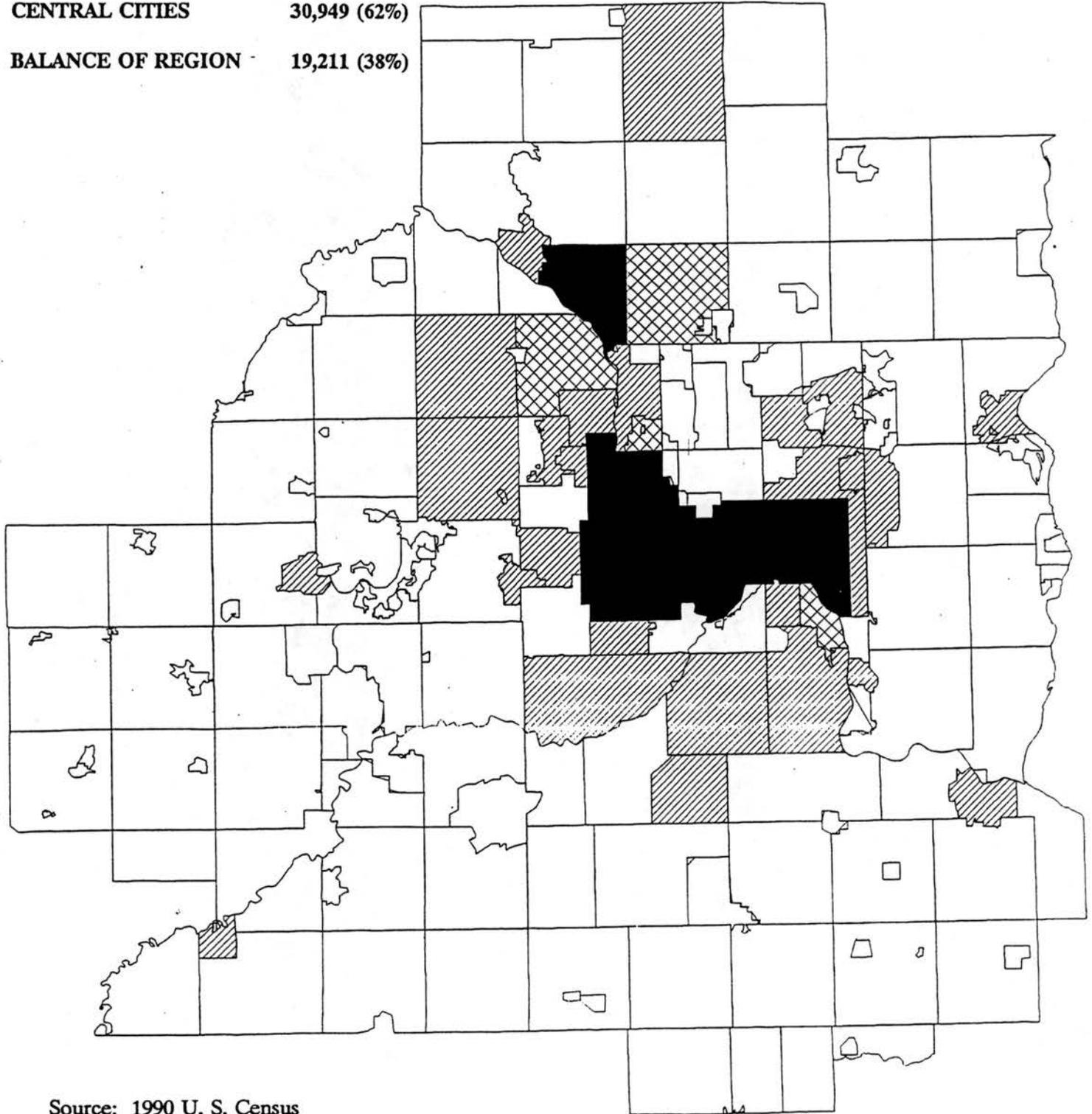
UNITS  <300  301-600  601-1000  >1000

NUMBER OF HOMES VALUED
AT LESS THAN \$60,000
METRO AREA - 1990

FIGURE 8

TOTAL UNITS: 50,160

CENTRAL CITIES 30,949 (62%)
BALANCE OF REGION 19,211 (38%)



Source: 1990 U. S. Census

UNITS  <200  200-599  600-999  >1000

What is “exclusionary zoning”?

In suburbs, “exclusionary zoning” laws prohibit the construction of low- and middle-income housing units. 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, and two-car garage requirements.

Furthermore, because of the high property values (and thus large tax base), people in the suburbs face lower tax rates than those in the city. As a result of the lower tax rates, suburbs attract new homeowners and businesses, which consequently increases the tax base. It is a cycle which provides incentives for suburban communities to keep low-income housing (and its corresponding low property values) out of their neighborhoods. Meanwhile, the central cities are faced with a steady erosion of their tax base, while the demands on their community increase due to the relatively higher proportion of poor families needing services.

Food for Thought: Lenders just say No. . .

In 1994, Twin City lenders rejected mortgage applications from blacks at a 3 to 1 ratio compared to whites. This was the second highest disparity among the nation’s 40 largest metropolitan areas.¹¹

There is a concentration of low-income and subsidized housing in the central cities and inner-ring suburbs:¹²

- In 1990, 71% of the rental units affordable to very low-income renters (those at 30% of the median income) and nearly two-thirds of the homes valued at \$60,000 or less were located in Minneapolis and St. Paul. (See Figures 7 and 8.)
- Not surprisingly, 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 looking for low-cost housing still have a limited number of choices of where to live.
- The region’s 45,000 subsidized rental units make up only five percent of the region’s total housing stock and 15% of the rental housing.

Figure 9. Distribution of Subsidized Housing Units, July 1992¹³

	Number of Units	Percent of Total
Central Cities	26,237	57.6%
Minneapolis	14,733	32.3%
St. Paul	11,504	25.3%
Fully Developed Suburbs	7,855	17.2%
Developing Area	9,290	20.4%
Remainder of Region	2,167	4.8%
Region Total	45,549	100.0%

When low-income housing is *concentrated* into certain neighborhoods and communities, the tax base is invariably smaller than in neighborhoods where wealth is concentrated, thus affecting the tax revenues for the local government. At the same time, the concentration of low-income housing means that the demand for services and investments increase: free school lunches, specialized teaching resources, AFDC dependency, policy protection, and neighborhood revitalization programs. As Figure 10 illustrates, the demand for services in the central cities is much greater than in the suburbs. With a smaller tax base, tax *rates* are necessarily higher.

Figure 10. Municipal Expenditures Per Household, 1980 and 1990¹⁴

	<u>1980</u>	<u>1990</u>
Central Cities	\$2,376	\$3,025
Minneapolis	\$2,538	\$3,169
St. Paul	\$2,130	\$2,184
Fully Developed Suburbs	\$1,262	\$1,613
Developing Area	\$1,508	\$1,668

*All dollars are 1990 dollars

Food for Thought:

Outer-ring suburbs experienced a greater than 200% increase in commercial-industrial valuations over the decade. "To illustrate the economic strength of the southwestern suburbs, Eden Prairie and Minnetonka together had the same commercial-industrial tax base as St. Paul (\$1.5 billion), yet have only one-third as many residents and, unlike St. Paul, virtually no poor people."¹⁵ Consider the demand on St. Paul's budget versus the demand in a community like Minnetonka. How does this affect education opportunities in each community?

Housing Cost Burdens on Poor Households:

Based on the 1990 Census, the region faces a serious need for affordable housing. There is currently a shortage of over 35,000 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:¹⁶

- In 1990, over 110,000 households (39%) of the region's renter households were classified as low-income (earning 50% or less of the region's median income). Of these households, 76% (84,000) paid 30% or more for rent.
- Even more serious, 43% of low-income households (approximately 48,000) paid over 50% of their income for rent.

Food for Thought: Families must choose whether to “heat or eat” . . .

A pediatrician in Boston studied the impact of rent burdens and found an association between high rents and inadequate nutrition. In a study of 200 poor children, only 3% of the children whose families got housing assistance were underweight for their age. But of children whose families were on the housing waiting list, 22% were underweight. And, after studying the records of 11,000 children, he found that they were most likely to be underweight in the 90 days after the coldest month of the year.¹⁷

Aging of Housing Stock

When households are forced to spend such large proportions of their income on housing, there is little if any left over to invest in home maintenance or repair. Housing in a state of disrepair contributes significantly to disinvestment and deterioration of a neighborhood and erodes a municipality's tax base. Not surprisingly, a majority of the region's older housing stock is located in the central cities; over 75% of which was built prior to 1940. Many of the cities within the inner ring suburbs now (or soon will) have housing stock over 30 years old--the time when significant investment in maintenance needs to be made. These cities, however, have limited resources for dealing with redevelopment compared to Minneapolis and St. Paul.¹⁸

Economic Trends are Reinforcing Poverty:

- The economy of the region (like that of the nation as a whole) has become increasingly based on services and trade activity and proportionately less on manufacturing. Two-thirds of all the region's new jobs in the last decade were in the services and trade sectors. These jobs (largely in retail) generally have lower wage rates than jobs in manufacturing. Moreover, technological gains in efficiency and productivity have helped make corporations more competitive and profitable, but have resulted in layoffs and dislocation for tens of thousands of employees.
- Less than half of the jobs in Minnesota pay a livable wage. To illustrate this fact, 61% of Minnesota's 85,348 families in poverty have at least one person in the work force.¹⁹
- Net job growth in the last decade was in the developing suburbs, not the central cities where the highest percentage of the region's poor--and unemployed--live. While the region gained 255,000 jobs in the 1980s, only 5,400 went to the central cities. This trend is projected to continue, as Figure 11 illustrates.

Figure 11**EMPLOYMENT PROJECTIONS²⁰**

	Central Cities	Fully Developed Suburbs	Developing Suburbs	Total
1980	445,371	324,437	216,560	1,040,011
1990	450,818	376,674	377,292	1,293,121
2000	459,000	426,075	501,576	1,498,891
2010	463,500	446,355	567,926	1,602,961

- Even though net job growth is in the central cities, over a third (37%) of the regions job are located in Minneapolis and St. Paul. However, a major proportion of those jobs are held by non-central city resident. For example, residents of Minneapolis hold only 40% of the jobs in the city.²¹ This highlights the mismatch between skills and knowledge of low-income core residents and job requirements.
- While most new jobs in the region are located in the developing suburbs, a high percentage of poor and near-poor people live in the central cities--without vehicle. In 1990, there were 82,867 households without vehicles in the seven-county region--56,847 (69%) of which are in the central cities. These households depend largely on public transit, and since there is limited services out to the suburbs, the distance between jobs and people's homes has become a huge barrier of economic opportunity.
- The situation in Plymouth illustrates the problem. While they gained over 10,000 new jobs paying more than \$10.00 per hour in the last decade, there are only 200 low-cost units there available to rent. (Yusef)

Crime: Perceptions and Reality

In the minds of most Minnesotans, crime has become the Twin Cities' most serious problem. Many residents flee the inner city largely for that reason. But how closely do our perceptions match up with reality? Figure 12 shows crime rates in 1985 and 1990. Contrary to what the media typically portrays, rates really have not change that much. In fact, some rates--such as violent crime rates in Minneapolis--actually decreased during that period. It is true, however, that crime rates between the central cities and the suburbs do differ. Overall crimes rates range from two or three to one and violent crime rates vary as much as ten to one. But to look at how low the rates actually are in the Twin Cities helps to put things in perspective.

Figure 12.**Twin Cities Area Crime Rates, 1985 and 1990²²**

(Expressed as a percent of population)

Area	1985				1990			
	Total Crime Rate	Violent Crime Rate (homicide, rape, robbery, aggravated assault)	Property Crime (burglary, car theft, arson)	Larceny (shop-lifting, theft by check and fraud)	Total Crime Rate	Violent Crime	Property Crime	Larceny
Mpls.	10.4%	1.4%	4.0%	5.0%	11.4%	1.3%	4.0%	6.2%
St. Paul	7.8%	.8%	3.0%	4.0%	8.2%	1.0%	2.8%	4.4%
Remainder	4.0%	.12%	1.1%	2.8%	4.3%	.16%	1.1%	3.1%
Regional Total	5.6%	.4%	1.9%	3.4%	5.9%	.4%	1.7%	3.7%

Recent Actions in Minnesota

In 1995, minority residents of public housing in Minneapolis filed a lawsuit against the Department of Housing and Urban Development (*Hollman vs. Cisneros*), claiming that HUD had administered the public housing programs in a manner that perpetuated existing patterns of racial segregation. They also claimed that the Minneapolis Public Housing Authority managed Section 8 so that low income, minority participants were concentrated in a few segregated neighborhoods in Minneapolis. The consent decree from the settlement mandates HUD replace old housing units with new ones in locations that have neither high concentrations of poverty nor minorities. HUD will also provide funding for 900 Section 8 subsidies and will provide recipients with counseling for locating housing in the private housing market.

On other fronts, in 1993 and 1994, Representative Myron Orfield proposed legislation requiring suburbs to provide their "fair share" of affordable housing. The legislation gradually won support but was vetoed by Governor Arne Carlson. In 1995, the Metropolitan Livable Communities Act was authored by Senator Ted Mondale and Met Council Chair Curt Johnson. This proposal left out the mandatory nature and penalties of Orfield's bill, and instead provided incentives for communities to remove barriers and build affordable housing. The legislation became law in 1995. As of yet, the bill seems to have had little effect on the amount of affordable housing available in the suburbs.

Session 3. What is the state of educational opportunity and achievement in the Twin Cities today?

Discussion Questions:

- 1. Think about where your kids--or the kids in your neighborhood--go to school. Do you think they receive a good education? Why or why not?**
- 2. What factors do you feel influence learning the most?**
- 3. What is equal educational opportunity? How do we measure it . . . through inputs (such as spending per pupil) or outcomes (achievement scores, graduation rates, college acceptance rates, etc.)?**
- 4. Should socioeconomic background be considered an "input" which has the potential of affecting educational outcomes? In other words, why might a child who comes from a poor household have a more difficult time learning than children who come from wealthy homes?**
- 5. Do you consider education to be a "right"?**
- 6. Do all children deserve equal educational opportunity?**
- 7. What happens if we fail to guarantee a decent education to all children? Does it affect only those children or does it affect all of society?**
- 8. Do children realize when they are being treated unfairly? By allowing such discrepancies in our education system, what message are we giving children about their worth?**
- 9. Do you think high drop-out rates and deficient educations are correlated with the amount of public revenue invested in health, welfare, and the penal system?**

The Use of Property Taxes in Funding Education

Over the past decade, local contributions to education funding as a percentage of total education expenditures has increased. If this trend continues, we are likely to see more disparities across districts as some 99% of local revenue for education is acquired through property taxes.²³ A funding system so heavily dependent on property taxes has led to a situation where a child's educational opportunities are clearly related not only to his family's income, but also to the economic value of property in the district in which he lives. Wealthy suburbs such as Minnetonka and Eden Prairie have a larger tax base with which to draw in proportion to its student population than a city occupied by thousands of poor people.

The use of property taxes in funding necessary services such as education is very problematic for poor communities. Without a substantial tax base from which to draw (relative to the large demand for services), poor communities must set their rates higher. However, not only do higher rates discourage businesses and prospective homeowners from locating there, they also cause the capital already located there to migrate to areas where tax rates are lower.

The discrepancies between city schools and suburbs are further intensified by the number of

entirely tax-free institutions--colleges, hospitals, and museums for example--that are located within the larger cities. As much as 30% of the potential tax base is exempt from taxes, compared to as little as 3% in adjacent suburbs.²⁴

In 1980, the total tax base for the developing suburbs was roughly comparable to that of the central cities and fully developed suburbs. But by 1990, the developing suburbs' tax base was 40% bigger than that of the central cities. Meanwhile, the demands on the central cities' budget, in terms of municipal expenditures, rose twice as fast as those of developing suburbs.²⁵

Educational Achievement in the Twin Cities

Schools are often blamed for society's ills and students' shortcomings. They are the target of much negativity and doubt, particularly when taxpayers are asked to dedicate more funds to what they believe are inefficient efforts. Per pupil spending in the United States has increased 205% over the past three decades (after adjusting for inflation).²⁶ Many people feel that we have gotten little in return for this investment, and thus argue that money is not the key to student achievement. Figure 13 seems to support this theory. Minneapolis public schools had the lowest percentage of eighth graders passing the Basic Skills Test out of all the districts in the region--42% passed the math test and 37% passed the reading test.¹ On the other hand, Minneapolis schools had the highest total per pupil spending among all the districts--\$9,136.

Before we chastise Minneapolis schools too loudly, however, we must consider the extra demands facing the schools in the central cities. Schools, after all, are no longer *just* places to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic; they are also, for example, health clinics and counseling centers. Schools are assigned the enormous responsibilities of not only teaching children, but raising them, disciplining them, and protecting them too. And while wealthy districts and poor districts face these tasks alike, the reality is that schools in poor neighborhoods are likely to have a far greater percentages of disadvantaged and special need students requiring these "extra" services. As a result, increases in spending often get channeled towards things such as security, free and reduced lunch programs, special education services, and bilingual education. These services are vitally important to children from poor households, but they are also very costly. The bottom line, then, is that we need to know what our money buys. Bruce S. Cooper, a professor of education administration at Fordham University, found what he considers a direct correlation between spending and test scores. In analyzing financial data from 84 high schools in New York City, he discovered that each additional \$100 spend on classroom instruction raised math and verbal SAT scores by 18 point. "The model suggests that per pupil dollars spend on direct instruction have a significant impact on academic achievement," Cooper wrote.²⁷

¹Under the Minnesota graduation rule, students must pass basic skills tests in reading and math to graduate by the year 2000. This past spring, approximately 80,000 Minnesota eight grade students took the tests and were required to score about 70% or higher to pass. Students who failed the test will be required to take the test again next year and will be required to score 75% or better. The year after, the bar raises to 80%.

Figure 13.**Basic Skills Test Scores and Spending Levels, By District, 1996²⁸**

District	Percent Passing:			Per Pupil Spending:		
	Math	Reading	Poverty	Enrollment	Gen. Fund	Total
Anoka-Hennepin	70	52	15	38,670	\$4,668	\$5,826
Bloomington	79	65	16	11,371	\$5,210	\$6,034
Brooklyn Center	64	53	44	1,650	\$4,856	\$6,707
Burnsville	74	65	13	11,195	\$5,427	\$6,541
Columbia Heights	70	57	31	2,987	\$6,328	\$7,259
Eden Prairie	91	79	4	9,198	\$4,709	\$6,495
Edina	95	88	2	6,181	\$5,583	\$7,081
Farmington	79	66	18	3,400	\$4,550	\$6,649
Forest Lake	81	65	15	7,867	\$4,367	\$5,597
Fridley	75	71	24	2,607	\$5,950	\$6,723
Hastings	84	65	13	5,119	\$4,615	\$5,617
Hopkins	88	81	10	8,029	\$6,132	\$7,743
Inver Grove Heights	74	69	18	4,005	\$5,014	\$6,101
Lakeville	82	73	5	7,319	\$4,472	\$7,237
Mahtomedi	90	78	6	2,670	\$4,562	\$5,854
Minneapolis	42	37	61	46,151	\$7,115	\$9,136
Minnetonka	90	83	4	7,235	\$5,714	\$7,440
Mounds View	86	71	10	12,043	\$5,142	\$6,220
North St. Paul-- Maplewood--Oakdale	73	61	17	10,600	\$4,909	\$5,835
Orono	90	87	4	2,576	\$5,037	\$6,298
Osseo	81	65	14	21,280	\$4,877	\$6,454
Prior Lake	87	76	8	3,859	\$4,387	\$5,775
Randolph	78	62	8	473	\$5,250	\$5,972
Richfield	71	62	22	4,343	\$5,848	\$7,020

Robbinsdale	71	N/A	22	13,507	\$5,490	\$6,460
Roseville	80	72	18	6,772	\$6,102	\$7,377
Rosemount-- Apple Valley--Eagan	78	68	9	25,554	\$4,210	\$5,691
St. Anthony-- New Brighton	78	71	10	1,255	\$5,833	\$6,401
St. Louis Park	76	66	22	4,285	\$6,597	\$7,816
St. Paul	51	44	56	42,046	\$6,017	\$7,095
Shakopee	68	61	15	3,011	\$5,437	\$6,577
Spring Lake Park	82	64	20	4,181	\$4,975	\$5,989
South St. Paul	65	60	24	3,562	\$497	\$6,179
South Washington Co.	84	71	12	13,886	\$4,245	\$5,666
Stillwater	83	73	7	9,063	\$4,992	\$6,342
Wayzata	87	71	7	8,046	\$5,106	\$6,688
West St. Paul-- Mendota Hts--Eagan	67	61	16	4,787	\$5,014	\$7,781
Westonka	78	72	14	2,364	\$5,417	\$6,854
White Bear Lake	84	70	12	9,610	\$4,944	\$61

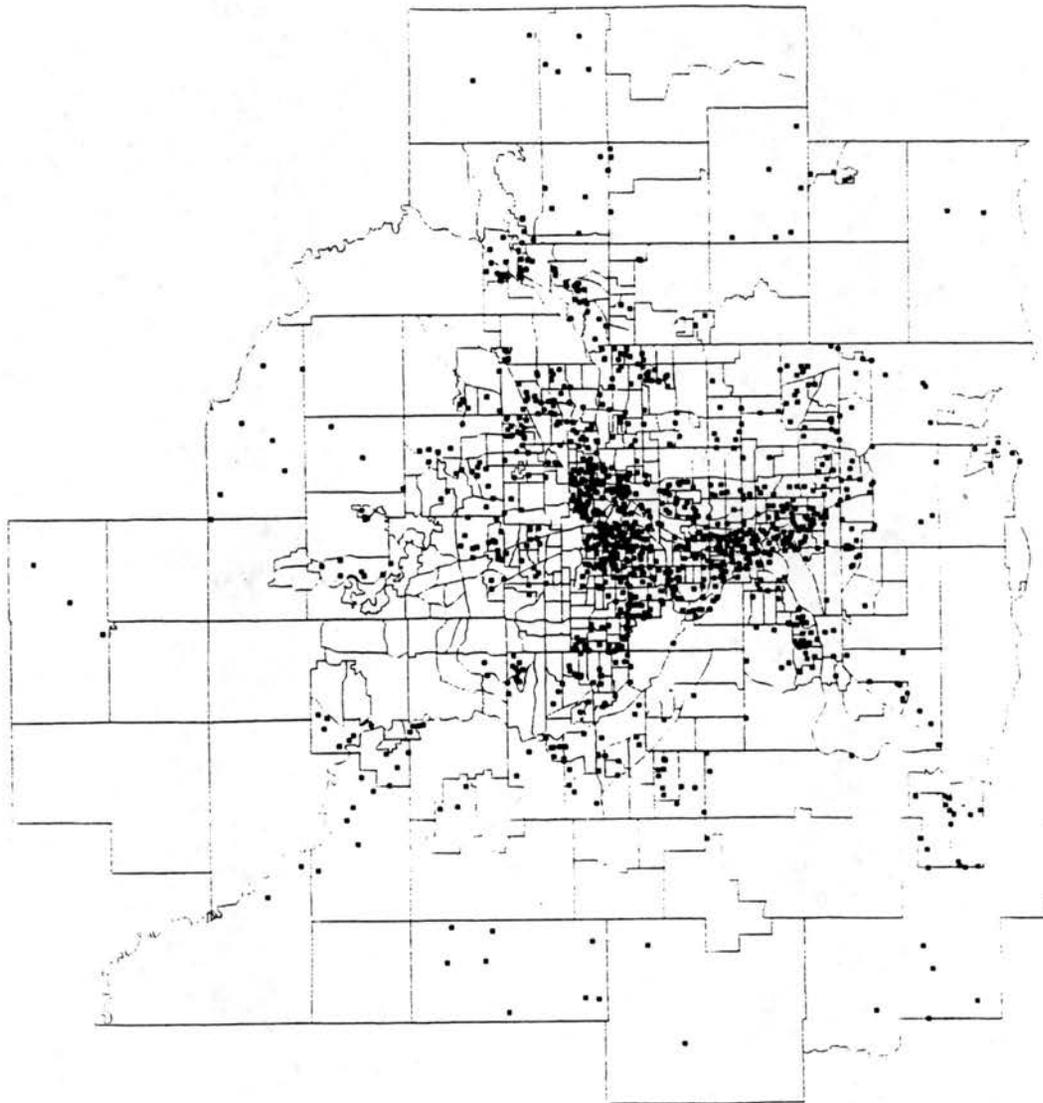
Consider Minneapolis schools again. While Minneapolis has the highest spending per pupil, they also have the highest student poverty rate among all the districts in the region. St. Paul schools have the second lowest percentage of students passing the basics tests, and perhaps not coincidentally, have the second highest poverty rate. Approximately 60% of the students in each district are receiving free or reduced-price lunches, a federal program available for children in families below the poverty line.²⁹ Furthermore, while the core area is still more than two-thirds white, and although minorities account for less than 13% of Minnesota's K-12 population, they make up 63% of Minneapolis' student body.³⁰ Figures 12 and 13 illustrate the degree to which children of color and poor children are concentrated in the core. Thus, while schools in Minnetonka and Eden Prairie can use increases in funding for new computers or new equipment for their chemistry labs, schools in Minneapolis and St. Paul are paying for interpreters, special education teachers, and security. Minneapolis Roosevelt, for example, has a student body which speaks approximately 40 different languages. Juxtaposed to the largely Anglo student population at a school in the suburbs, the differences become glaring.

Food For Thought

Some people feel that too much emphasis is placed on race and socioeconomic status, creating a scapegoat and self-fulfilling prophecy for schools to allow children of color to fail. Do you agree?

FIGURE 12

Twin Cities Metro Area: Distribution of Non-White School Age Children in Poverty by Tract

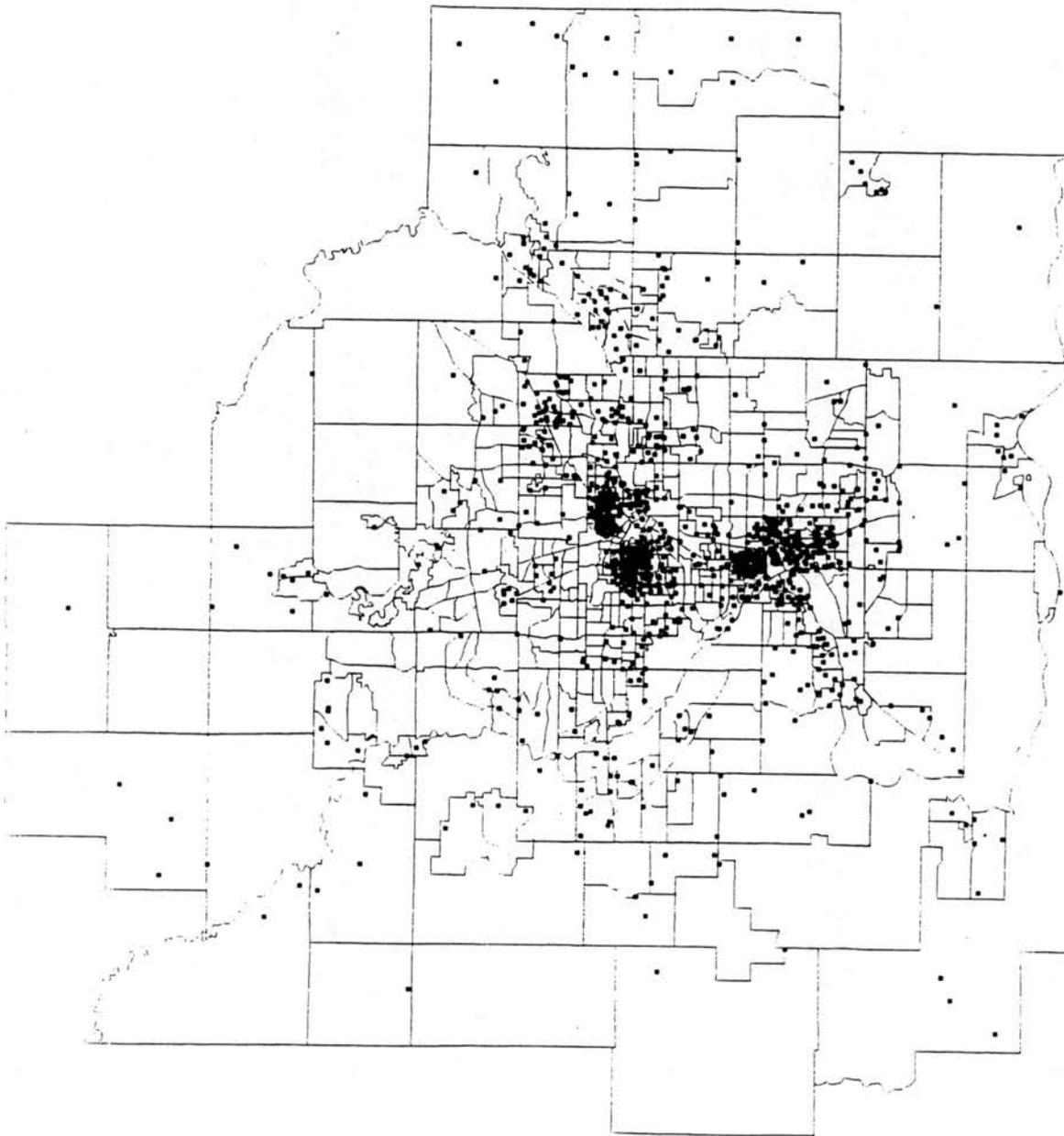


Non-White School Age Children in Pove
1 Dot = 1

Source: 1990 US CENSUS

FIGURE 13

Twin Cities Metro Area: Distribution of Children in Poverty



Twin Cities Metro Area
Children in Poverty

1 Dot = 40

Source: 1990 US Census

“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.”

--Lisabeth Schorr, *Within Our Reach*

“Would any management worth a damn put most of its dollars into its weakest divisions and starve the promising ones of capital? Not and live for long. But that’s just what the U.S. is doing in education.

--Peter Brimelow,

Disadvantaging the Advantaged, Forbes

“Our unwillingness to provide for the education needs of children will lead to massive problems of law, order, peace, and justice . . . and we will pay to correct that situation. We will pay those costs after the fact.”

---Susan Dunn, Oregon teacher

Food for Thought

- Statewide dropout rates for students of color are approximately two and a half times higher than those for whites³¹
- Dropouts are six times as likely as graduates to be unwed parents, and seven and a half times as likely to be dependent on welfare.³²
- In a study on the effects of dropping out, Stanford education economist Henry Levin estimated that between 25 and 50% of the costs associated with crime are attributable to inadequate education.³³

Session 4: How is the composition of our communities affecting these differences in educational opportunity and achievement?

Discussion Questions:

- 1. Does desegregation in schools contribute to a more multi-cultural learning environment and thus a more tolerant and understanding society, or does it simply strip minority children of their cultural heritage and make them feel alienated?**
- 2. Do you think a black child who living in a predominantly white neighborhood would have a different experience in a predominantly white school than would a child who lived in a poor, minority neighborhood and was bused into that school?**
- 3. Why do we say a school is segregated if it composed largely of minority children but not if it is composed largely of white children?**
- 4. Is busing the only way to achieve desegregation?**
- 5. Can separate schools ever be equal? How does society lose when schools are segregated, even if they are equal?**

Segregated housing not only means segregated schools, it also means unequal schools, given the way we fund education in the United States. For more than 30 years now, cities across America have engaged in extensive busing efforts to create more culturally and economically diverse classrooms. The results have been costly and largely ineffective.

Many educators involved in busing efforts believe that the primary impact on young people of color has been a debilitating loss of cultural confidence and community support--not increased achievement. Does this mean it's time dismantle busing efforts and go back to neighborhood schools? Is busing the only way to achieve desegregated classrooms? Is desegregation even what we want?

Perspectives:

- "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!

"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 ghettos and barrios, instead of 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 Latino heritage, in order

to get an education. She should be entitled to a perfectly good education right at her neighborhood public school!”

- “Going to a school with more white students has long-term benefits for minority students when it’s time to look for a college, a job, or a place to live. A suburban high school has more status in this society than an inner-city school with all black kids. It’s very different to be in a suburban school where everyone goes to college than an urban, inner-city high school with a 50% drop out rate. It sets up a whole different set of expectations.”
- “I don’t believe the object of busing is to place minority children next to ‘smarter’ white children . . . Having grown up during the civil right movement, I am all too aware of the purposes behind busing. In the United States, the vast majority of wealth is held by white folks and they will spend more of said wealth on education of their children. This had resulted in unequal dual educational systems, i.e., better ones for white kids and poorer ones for non-white kids. In the 40s and 50s and even into the 60s, minority children learned that they were not worth as much as white children were because of these wealth differentials. Busing was one method to achieve full integration, so that children received benefit from the wealth of society. It was really that simple. Now, I was schooled on an Indian reservation and in a city system (Milwaukee) and I personally attest to the vast differentials between the two systems.
- “While the call for neighborhood schools may sound reasonable, the effect of such a move would be a disaster. It is not because neighborhood schools are inherently bad. There is nothing wrong with neighborhood schools unless there is something wrong with the neighborhoods. And our neighborhoods are segregated by race and class, making us the sixth most racially segregated region in the country.”
- “Segregation will always exist because people of color *choose* to live among other people of color, just as whites choose to live among whites. After all, poor white people often manage to escape from inner city neighborhoods. If blacks or Latinos or Asians or anyone else really wanted to, they could move also.”

Food For Thought:

In 1964, John Hopkins sociologist James Coleman conducted an extensive study of equality of education opportunity in the United States. Coleman expected to find a strong correlation between inadequate educational inputs and low student achievement. Instead, he found that neither white, black, Hispanic, Native American, nor any other group from a specific socioeconomic class did any better in schools with high inputs. In other words, children from low socioeconomic backgrounds--regardless of race--improved when studying along side of children from a mixture of social classes. “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.*”³⁴

Session 5--What can we do?

It is painfully clear that residential segregation is inextricably tied to educational segregation, and therefore, to opportunity. Despite the Brown case, America may be even more segregated today than it was 30 years ago. Busing has had little positive effect on race relations or educational achievement. Should that come as a surprise? After all, a "quick-fix" approach to problems rarely works. Indeed, it appears that the answer to the "learning gap" lies beyond busing. So what's next?

Discussion Questions:

1. What is our objective? What kind of society do we want to live in?
2. What are the values that underlie each of the various proposals?
3. What are the pros and cons of each proposal?

Policy Alternatives

#1.--Deconcentration: This policy is based on the assumption that poverty isn't the problem so much as the concentration of poverty. When poverty is concentrated, it perpetuates a myriad of other social problems--disinvestment in neighborhoods and tax base erosion, poor schools, crime, and racial tensions. For example, when poor people are "dispersed" throughout the region as opposed to being concentrated, a poor child will be more likely to attend a school with adequate resources and be able to have his or her individual needs met.

How can it be accomplished? Deconcentration depends largely on creating available housing in areas outside of the core. This could be accomplished in numerous ways.

1. Establish incentives for suburban communities to provide their "fair share" of affordable housing. (We have tried this, however, and incentives simply do not seem to be strong enough to overpower NIMBY--Not In My Back Yard--sentiments).
2. Mandate communities to provide their "fair share," and establish punitive measures for communities who fail to comply. This is a difficult proposal as it is extremely politically unpopular.
3. A more demand-side approach involves using housing vouchers and expanding loan and grant programs to enhance the buying power of low-income households. This approach is greatly hampered by discrimination in lending and realty markets.

Deconcentration would most likely involve a combination of methods. While it seems like a good policy option, it is not without its drawbacks. As some critics claim, "The solution to pollution is not dilution." After all, spreading poverty around doesn't get rid of it--it just makes it less noticeable. And while it might help specific communities significantly by lessening the burdens on their public budget, it does little to help specific families--at least in the short run. Because poverty is often the result of an inadequate

education or possessing few marketable skills, moving to a new area isn't an instant cure for poverty. Furthermore, dispersing poverty does nothing for the people, the schools, and the neighborhoods that are left behind.

#2--Invest in the Cities: The assumption behind this policy is that poverty is the result of an unequal distribution of resources. This is basically the antithesis of the deconcentration proposal. By investing in the cities--improving the schools, creating jobs, reducing crime, etc.--we strengthen the core and thus the stability of the entire region.

What will it take? Strengthening the core means investing in job training and skill development programs for adults, it means substantial investments in schools to assure that all children receive adequate educations, and it means promoting and supporting housing maintenance and revitalization of neighborhoods in the core. It means investing more in police protection to reduce violence and crime. It means providing health care to workers. (Approximately 400,000 Minnesotan's lack health coverage--72% of which are in the work force.³⁵) In other words, it means a massive influx of dollars into the core. And because federal aid to state and local governments has waned in recent years, the revenue needed for such a task would likely come through increased state and local taxes.

Besides being prohibitively expensive, strengthening the core would be a tough policy option because it's benefits are farther in the future while its costs are immediate. Moreover, it would do little to end segregation.

#3--Laissez Faire--The third policy is a governmental "hands-off" policy. Big government is bad government. The central cities are responsible for providing for their citizens' needs--not the suburbs. Policies like "fair share" housing interfere with personal freedoms to decide where to live and who to live next to. Moreover, government assistance has created a dysfunctional dependency which promotes a poor work ethic, laziness, and defective values. A "tough love" policy is the only way to teach people responsibility.

#4--Continue efforts to desegregate schools-- (Open Enrollment, Vouchers, School Choice, Magnet Schools).....

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