



Education and Housing Equity Project Records.

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Zib Hinz, TRAVIS + DS

4/25/96

- In Fall '86, started Welcome Center before that did evaluation in Am. Indian
- Under Ed's Ferrara → saw schools as separate from cnty (or @ least his behavior exacerbated it)
 - only after he left
 - + during the Quality Schools study under Carl Johnson
 - this open-ended disc was healthy
 - what was unhealthy:
layuse of time betw the disc + actions
- last two years
 - major policy changes
 - began wkg w/ County + City
- Wk w/ City + County
 - ① PRP
 - lots of playgrounds
 - computer labs
 - ② Hennepin County Redesign
 - 3 schools involved
 - ③ ~~Brought~~ (Anderson, NE, North Star) together city, county, nonprofits to talk abt children
 - spawned 2 research projects:
 - ① Quantitative research on patterns of mobility
 - ② Qualitative study of scales of 87

④ Helping city flesh out City's Hsg Principles

- Began mtg w/ group in August 1995
- Brought draft to City Planning Commission
- Now: need to bring in add'l depts.

- for lead groups:

- City Planning Commission
 ▶ lead: Dick Little
- staff for Commission
 is Planning Dept.

right now =
problem is that
city focused
needs to cross
boundaries

Over next yr: MPS will come up w/
measurable standards
goals to measure

① School choice

② Proximity of residence to school

- goal is not 100%

③ Access to schools

- degree to which schools
are open to entry use -
not just entry ed, but city, etc.

④ Family/parent participation

Sch ~~Board~~ Board as policy:

- very supportive (though not leading)
of more public discussion + decision
toward deconcentrating ~~low~~ low-income
X from city to suburbs in appropriate
way

Karen
Louise
Beeth,
MPP city
Hall reports

12/20
Frank

Don'ts

- ~~Don't~~ take ^{enough} time

→ need more a sense of commitment

may be better to let to be Board

know that there is power there

- esp. as an overall organization (not just in indiv)

- sense of immediate priority for

→ be careful of dealing only at "paper swaps" → no base, no constituents

- resources from each group → don't have to be the same thing, best when they complement

- don't be too broad

- have modest goals

- have specific, local tangible goals

- winnable issues

- immediate, specific & winnable

Developed principles that I agreed to

Good things

- > having principles - tough few
- > agree on principles - hearing, esp. demand, showed why work

hearing the, will

- but hard to sustain

etc

- clergy

- needs to be broader representation

→ spend a lot of time spending time developing

- more transparency works parents,

- wd be great to have in the

Leadership Council (site-based)

Sarna

- see his legislative proposal re court districts

Schools

- ed has done in phases

- have a school show that they're

- have to show a link betw integrated schools + integrated schools

- issue of financial

- work w/

Contacts from Frank

- Louis King

- Pam Twiss

- Cathy Royce

- Idith (E-dit) Almong

- on School Bd of Edina

- Frank does it know where she stands

CIC
12/7/95

Mtg of Mike, Matt, Barbara, Travis

- 6 month K

- Today: discuss where to go

- Barb: ^{→ can call her up to 11pm}

- we shd feel free to express ourselves freely w/ them + to expect the same from them

- wants to see our creative thoughts come from ~~what~~ what we understand
→ they can't dictate what we do

- community

- see if we can include the business community &

- Deal w/ generic issue of integrated hsq + schools
^{→ vs. specific issue of NAACP lawsuit}
- need background information

- they all hv

- ^{Jim} Holbert & - w/ q w/ Don Shukman (attorney, NAACP in lawsuit)

- Myron's material

- Art Higgins - Fair Hsq

- How does study circle ~~stuff get go~~ ^{stuff get go}

- ~~Mary~~ Mary Tracy

- material from Barb (Study Guide newsltr, etc)

- Advisory Board
 - Matt et al. will ~~do~~ work on adding to
 - will do right away
- Letterhead
 - need name first

T

- Name
 - Travis + I to come up w/ 6 or so possible names

- Priorities

- ~~As~~ As early in Jan as possible:

Need to
 → Talk to identify & develop agenda

bring together a group + say here's an idea

→ see what I think + see what a common agenda cd be

- hear what is going on w/ lawsuit + w/ legislature

Mike has talked about to 10 interested / groups

call for time place
 5:30 AM

State Bd of Ed

Hearings on deseg rules

- on Cedar in St Paul

1:30 PM

MMED rpt

↳ Travis is on + will go to

- Question of titles, who will speak for organization

- Barb: me as "Director", overall admin

someone doing overall coordination

↳ Travis w/

- Mike: T + I shd discuss it, not willing to identify 1 as "D"

- Matt: premature to name a head to right now, will sort itself out

More info to define roles - like press to

- Matt:

- focus on 3 things in Bremner proposal
~~letter~~

- Mike:

- next month:

- talk to K: ^{say we're a} new group, wants to help start broader coalition, want to talk w/ you abt these issues, feel a grassroots response/discussion is needed →
→ want a citizen's voice for this, apart from the major players that hv already ^{been} (^{& are} being) heard

Property tax issues

- Baus: this can get you off base

marriage
betw white
& live + where
they go
to school

1) L fin where they don't have a choice
- policies + program @ all levels of govt that have segregated

2) State's req. for education

3) If we had integrated communities, ~~would~~ we'd hv integ. schools

4) Danger of resegregation

5) Concentration of poverty

6) Issue of K not thinking

they need to sit next to white 3
to get a good education

→ Mike: this shd be

part of discussion → how can we do things like
Apo-centric schools
etc

B:
 - also imp re integration: redistribution
 of educational attainment in this
 country
 - equal outcomes

- ^{Integration} Integ needs to be

1) be metro-wide

2) have ~~██████████~~ a critical mass of black
~~███~~ (not just a few)

~~██████████~~

Two biggest parts: Organizing + public ed
 (issues, strategy) (putting facts out, discussion)



Coalition

- action-oriented
 - ~~██████████~~ guided by ~~██████████~~ common agenda/goals
 (e.g., ~~██████████~~ metro-wide deseg
 of hsq + schools, or more specific,
 such as every city school district having
 to have a deseg plan)

- advocacy



- study circles "informed"
 - other forums, public discussion
 - media contacts
 - workshops

- Produce material
 (print + video)
 to be used in
 support of
 these
 conversations

- Speaker's Bureau
 (experts,
 community
 leaders)

Conf w/
Mike Anderson

12/15/95

for Mike → on vacation
12/18/12

- Coalition contacts - see below
- Interview approach
- Next Bd mtg re work plan - ^{1/2} Tues 10:30 AM
Thurs 1/4 @ 3:30 PM → Mike will call
Travis ~~at~~
~~has get~~
~~back~~
(on Tues)
- ✓ - Travis + my K (Travis preference for consultancy)
- ✓ - Timesheets, ^{→ 15th + last day of month, two wks on one sheet} reims.
- ✓ - work out of ETTENA till computer + phone air?
 - key
 - Wt, IQ
 - keep track of copies, of supplies

Contacts → Ask JOHN ASTE

* > ~~John~~ John Powell, @ U of M

* > Yusef Mgeni

- Mike met w/ Yusef
- ~~ideas~~ ~~names~~ from Yusef (as imp to talk to):
- midroad

- looking beyond integration as the model
(though not nationalist, either)

- his advice: go into coalition - bldg
w/ no set agenda, open

* - religious community

* - low-income K

- gov, ^{MWHS Finance Agency} ~~MTA~~, publishers of STN 4 + PP

- terms

- culture of achievement

* > Jim + Nadine Addington

- Tri-Council Coordinating Commission
Against Racism

- major church prog in interfaith
community trials ~~lot~~ @ racism

Mike:



↓
this has
fundamentally
changed
how K look
@ sub-education

- have to convince K
that we succeed thru
quality education
& do this
together
- also hv to look @ segregated
housing patterns

(2)

Milce
12/15

* > Fred Smith @ CURA 625-1551

- 2 Fair Hsg groups in MN
- involved in fair hsg stuff
 - Legal Aid Fair Hsg Project
 - MN Fair Hsg Ctr →
 - John Puffin has this guy's name
 - can help us get CURA interns
 - testing, monitoring

> Tom Strutz @ Legal Aid 222-3749

- involved in some kind of Fair Hsg Summit

> Community Interracial Council

- name from Fred

> L @ SPECC (St Paul Ecumenical Coalition of Churches)

- Pamela Twiss • → 290-9192

~~✗~~

> Bill Wilson,

- former St Paul Council L
- Fred recommended him

> Urban League

> CASH

- Comm. Action of Suburban Hennepin
- Karen Kingsley 933-9639
- used to work @ MCAH

> MN Initiative Against Racism

- have Educ^{Comm} + Hsg Comm.

(Kathy Polanski)
↳ look under

(3)

12/15 Mike

> Dick Little 339-0820

- on MICAH Bd

- see if I can meet w/ him + the ~~to~~ @ the head of EnterRace

(Vivian Jenkins Nelson)

> Carol Wirtschafter 338-7816

- JERC

Jewish Comm Relation Council

- probably don't have to ~~sit~~ ^{meet} w/ her before hand, but call + invite to our mtgs, kickoff, etc.

> Katy Royce, CBE

> Art Treadwell 871-6195

- on MICAH Bd

- Mike respects his views on these issues

> Carlos Martiyani, state legislator 296-9714

- ^{was in} Minnesota Minority Education Project (MMEP)

> Ron Smith 224-3835

pastor
in St Paul
head of St Paul

- Black Ministerial Alliance

- really into racial reconciliation

> MMEP

- Carlos was ED

> Georgina Stevens

- was on the State Bd of ed

- 673-7100

- Mike will

> Council of Asian Pacific Minnesotans ^{old #} 642-9601

- Lee Xiong

> ~~Kathy Tomlin~~ Kathy Tomlin

OSJ

291-4477

> St Paul NAACP

> JPOP

> St Paul Urban League

My interests

> MAPA, ACORN

- ed invite to 1st mtg

(4)

Make
cont

For 1st mtg — before 1/15
↳ try 1/12 or 1/16
- 20 best groups that are w/king w/ this or shd be

Meg
Farkley
- nominating
Comm for case
- Officer?
- 924-4343

- Have us raise the issue
- Have Carlos talk abt what's going on
- have him challenge the groups to come together

will drive initial organizing along w/ legislative im

- lawsuit presentation

- Travis + I talk abt CIC forming + wanting to form a coalition
- initial staff support for it

- Then go around table + hear feedback

Travis + I talk to these 15-20 groups before mtg

- over next 3 wks
- try to visit
- ~~start~~ start w/:

> Carlos → both Travis + I - good to get a polit

> Fred Smith

> Dick Little - will be v. engaged in study circles

> Yusef → both of us

> Jim + Nadine Addington → both

> John Powell → both

3 possible organizing

- legislative session - will be largely reactive
- lawsuit - can't really do much around
- Nghd Schools issue

another network for the study circles

Switz

12/15

"Dream" set up of mtg.

- Carlos
- Georgina
- Lawsuit - Matt
- Travis + I
- 15-20k

> Randy State

> Jerry Macafee

> Other Travis contacts

> Courtesy call to Bill Smith, Mylo Black ~~West~~ ^{Mnesterial} Alliance

Study Circle

- were here for a conference sponsored by the MN Initiative

Education piece

- really need to
- find out what MMEP has done on this, see what ~~they~~ needs to be

~~Education~~ Public

- ~~event~~ ^{early} ~~late~~ ^{late} in March or April
- 75k - 150k
- structured event

- sell it on

- 1) develop collaborative organizing to hqs + school regions + some kind of plan
- 2) develop ^{the} education

- this is where study circle groups work in

good for fund raising + Bremer edsee

- 1) stay all time
- 2) public event toward formal education

- public event on the two issues
- catalyst for both ~~study~~ circle piece + organizing piece

6

In 2nd half of Jan:
* - 501(3)(c) agreed.

12/15

- Meet

League of Women Voters
Lorraine Fischer

Roger Sweet
2016-2021

- for Sub Circle
- MN Assoc for
Adult Education

Terms

Integration

council
citizens

Desegregation

communities

Racial reconciliation

coalition

MEOP

Multi-racial

neighborhoods

Culture of achievement

network

Quality education

project

bridge build

partnership

blde healthy communities

The Regional
Desegregation Action Network

The Metropolitan ^{Equal} Opportunity Project
Action network

diversity, racial diversity

Citizens for Equal Opportunity in Hsg + Education
Schools

metropolitan-wide

Regional desegregation project

balance

choice

The Coalition for Socioeconomic
Desegregation
Integ: The Coalition for
CEOHS

CEOHE

* equity

(Metro) The Desegregation Action Network
Quality thru schools +

opportunity

racial isolation

concentrated poverty

Citizens for Desegregated Fair hsg + schools

racially mixed nghts/schools

The Equitable Hsg + Education Partnership

residential + educational ~~segregation~~

Citizens for a deced. region

fair

access

Action for
Fair
Equity

The Equitable Communities Action Network

Quality schools + fair housing, centers

(re)building communities

(SHEEP) Partnership for Hsg + education

justice

The School + Hsg Equity Project (SHEP)

The Diversity Action Network

QSFHP

urban

The Equal Access Project

standards

equal opportunity
socioeconomic desegregation

Partnership for
Equitable Schools + Housing
Partnership

Coordinate
Citizens for Fair
Hsg + Education

Equitable Education + Hsg Part
Partnership
PEEH

CPED

equal
access

12/22/85
Fred Smith

CURA

- Phillips study
- Dept Civil Rights Dept + POP
- survey testing
 - comprehensive sending out
 - area of testers to all units avail in that area
- Summer 1980
- found incredible levels of discrimination
 - over 1/4 : outright discrim
 - another 1/3 : good reason to do further testing
 - last 1/3 :

also found that a lot of color don't know they're being discriminated against & they can compare their experience w/ white

first effort to document this kind of thing
 → MN Fair Hsg Center (Fred on Bd)

- Art Higgins, director
- now getting going
- interesting slant: unlike other

Fair Hsg Ctrs in country that tend to full-service, shepherd & train
 - this one: be more strategic + collaborative

subtle discrim: require diff things of a of color, asked how many they had in if on welfare (vs. where do you work)

Comm Activities
 by LeAnn...
 Ramsey
 Action Program

- developing series of partnerships that he established relationships w/ a of color, why w/ these orgs to help their clients

- did survey of about 150 orgs in the 2 counties, asking if their clients experienced discrimination
 - 60% said their clients always or frequently experienced discrim

- + a v. high % of these said they wanted to do smthg abt it but didn't know ^{quite} _{what}
- other goal: community campaigns
 - source of great frustration
 - hard to define: offering strategies of survey testing to any condition that wants to use it to further fair hsg goals + objectives
 - great tactic, tool: because discrim/racism, etc. is so hard to pin down.

- hopefully a group of organizations cd agree to use testing as a strategy in a campaign to promote integrated hsg, life cycle hsg, affordable hsg, etc. as a catalyst - document the process in the real estate

- this is fairly easy
- can be used in all kinds of venues
 - also mortgage lenders, credit card orgs
 - testers w/standing in court

- Fred doesn't have much faith in the efficacy of lawsuits
 - more desirable to move a court thru organizing, direct action, confrontation if necessary
 - brings along, educates them in a way

- If as CK develops, keep survey testing
+ community campaign

- Legal Aid

- Hsg Discrim. Law Project

- F doesn't really understand intent

- thinks interested complaints-based
testing for Legal Aid eligible clients
+ disability counseling (access issues) in
greater MN

Sponsoring

Feb. conference

grew out of
analysis of

of St. Paul ads that were discriminatory

- One effort is starting to brew on West Side of St P

- Fair Hsg Center got \$ to do comm. campaign
in Ramsey + _____ counties

- some conversation abt doing it on West Side of St Paul

- CMES, other Chicano orgs.

Real estate industry structure

- + to some extent mortgage ind + banks

- rife w/ structural racism

- e.g. (anecdotal evd) in areas

where banks make fewer or no loans, contract-for-
deeds are much

- realtors colluding in this

- esp. indep. realtors (not part

of big orgs) that go uninvestigated, skirt law

- in more affluent areas: realtors steer & into the areas they think they'll want to

e.g.
- don't tend to steer corporate transfer to a neighborhood like Whittier

→ testing done in the context of a county campaign can give the lie to all of the talk that there is no redlining, no blockbusting, etc.

- banks say it's just a problem of secondary markets, just applying policies, etc.

John Powell

- big study for McKnight on just this issue: link betw hsg + schools

Every planning process that he is aware of that genuinely seeks to involve the county comes up w/ results that are much more diverse, liberal, integrated than those developed by developers + city officials

- based on presumption that city benefits

✓ - but no one has done a study that shows that per acre single family homes generate more revenues than affordable hsg units, multiple units

- the image that even the suburbs don't want affordable hsg
 - myth perpetuated by 1/ who benefit from current system
 - developers
 - planners (who don't know how to do it differently)
 - city officials

- e.g. Arsenal project (w/ Jobs for Peace)
 - series of public forums (w/ youth, senior citizens, trailer parks, etc.)
 - results wd warm the hearts of any liberal
 - integratimist
 - affordable hsg
 - mixed use
 - don't want: suburban hsg tracts etc.

- Shaun @ CAST

- good stories re projects out East that are much more inclusive → result in more diverse, life-cycle hsg

Note:

- Mpls twice as segregated as St Paul
- federal ~~stand~~ defin of integration: 15% abv or below the citywide
- almost 1/2 of ^{Mpls} census tracts are segregated

- Suggested we look @ a testing program
- ^{answer:} Hsg Value Insurance Program
 - dev. in Chicago
 - Ctr for Nghd Technology
 - Neighborhood Works pub group
 - h in nghd agree to a special agreement that serves as insurance that the value of home will not decline
 - way of stabilizing hsg market
 - current system: real estate industry benefits from same
 - whites sell cheaply, blacks or absentee landlords buy dearly ~~at~~

→ if you can stabilize a nghd by entry organizing + mechanisms like that that stabilize values → can begin to develop integ. communities

One problem now: to integrate suburbs. need more affordable hsg

- but: suburbs already need so much aff hsg for the h that live there already
- wd hv to have massive construction

Talk to:

SPECC
 Joint Ministry Project
 Fulton Nghd

- church groups who had been involved in late 60s + 70s in integrat hsg

Sean Jacks
 Ed Flaven - cd find thru St Stephens
 - cd give names of h in Catholic Interracial Council + what they

- Overall issue of how to approach integration
issue: in searches of lit re desirable rights,
but what rights do ~~we~~ ^{we want to live in,} ~~we~~ ^{we} won't find much

→ esp. church groups
- have to answer the question: what kind of right do
I want to live in?
- list characteristics
- what has to happen, what
has to change to make it happen?

→ a participatory planning process wd
begin in the integrated schools issue,
LSS, etc.

→ his suspicion is that we hv to begin in a large
issue, not as specific

Common themes heard over the last 3 months

General

- Importance of including class/socioeconomic issues in discussion of segregation and disparity (poverty is a growing problem even in the suburbs). Many even say the primary focus should be a socioeconomic one.
- Importance of talking about opportunity and access (but are opportunity structures spatial? -- john powell would say no)
- Be careful of the word "choice" - Mechanism of choice works only for those with means
- Avoid language, perspective that is seen by many as assimilationist
- Necessity of having both expanded opportunity in traditionally exclusive communities and a strengthening of the inner city - need to provide for both those options
- Agreement that a focus just on school integration is too limited; that the underlying problem of neighborhood and housing segregation be addressed, too (and perhaps should be the priority) - now more than ever (particularly in light of State Board of Ed direction and Minneapolis Public Schools community schools initiative)
- Need for diversifying the governmental bodies responsible for our housing & education policies - to make them more representative of our schools and neighborhoods (and especially schools, which are now majority children of color)
- Importance of forming a shared vision of what our schools and communities should look like - and the lack of such a vision right now
- Different definitions of "integration" or "inclusiveness" or "diversity" (see *American Apartheid* survey findings)
- Importance of starting with the question: what do we want our neighborhoods and cities and region to look like?

Schools - Common themes

- School integration thus far has been done primarily by whites and to the benefit of whites
- Importance of pushing for more teachers and staff of color, and better training and "retraining" of white teachers and staff
- Importance of truly welcoming and involving parents of color in schools - and that this will happen only if our current system is significantly changed (it continues to be done simply "the white middle class way"); need to push to have this looked at and addressed systematically
- Parents of color do not feel a belonging with schools for the same reasons that their children do not
- Critical difference between desegregation and racial balance - our system has been limited to the latter, with a special focus on not having white children

the minority in a given school (related to the State deseg rule phrasing). Desegregation, on the other hand, was also supposed to include curriculum changes, staff preparation, community participation, and assurance of racially representative staff. Also, resegregation often happens within the schools (on a program basis)

- School desegregation must include a commitment to multicultural understanding and respect permeating the curriculum and interactions between and among school staff, young people, and families – or it may actually be harmful

Housing – Common themes

- Importance of home ownership by people of color – income vs. wealth
- Importance of better marketing within communities of color regarding the housing opportunities available to them
- Importance of providing a range of options – in the city and in the suburbs, in communities of color and interracial communities
- Importance that people see it can work – demonstration projects
- MHFA and others' bias toward home ownership – what about rental support and opportunities?
- Importance of landlord-renter relationship and issues
- Who decides where housing goes and the types of housing put there?
- Affordable housing vs. appropriate housing

Schools – Possible issue/action areas

- Mpls neighborhood schools issue – collect data for a while, track their parent involvement and student achievement, work with MPS in pushing City, Met Council, State on housing piece

Housing – Possible issue/action areas

- Section 8 problems
- Strategies for encouraging investment in mixed neighborhoods/communities: property value insurance program; mortgage subsidies (see also Internet piece); tax incentives, rehab financing
- Zoning reform
- Property insurance reform
- Mortgage banking reform
- Real estate industry reform
- Fair housing community campaign: audit testing + education + organizing
-

Themes on coalition building

- Important that we be truly grassroots – including in the generation of ideas and decision-making – people of color in particular have a huge amount of

experience of people trying to sell them something or get their reaction to something already in existence. People must see that they are listened to, not just talked at.

- Importance of education and electorate/constituency building
- Has to be action-oriented - action must be foreseeable and some has to happen fairly quickly
- Importance of intermediary goals - things that lie between a long-term vision and short-term strategies (that are by definition structured and fractured)
- Must be representative of the people we claim to be helping - must be as diverse as possible (racial, ethnic, age, socioeconomic, different communities and cities, etc.)
- Don't set it up as an us-they thing with the white and/or suburban community - must involve and organize the white community, the business community, teachers, etc.
- Importance of involving business
- With white groups, try to avoid blame and have them work on developing solutions
- Importance of involving media (see Yusef's suggestions for contacts)
- Can we "build at both ends"? (Coalition that is both grassroots and involves groups like the MN Business Partnership?)
- Importance of having our constituency be directly involved in developing our goals and strategies
- Could use focus groups to determine which way of "cutting the issues" resonates best
- Frame issues in a way that gets to peoples' values (again, focus groups might help us discover how different framings are heard)
- Frame issues in a way that makes people angry enough to take action
- Need local, specific, winnable issues - could focus on a specific community, a specific piece of legislation, a specific school
- Importance of having coalition members who have real, active constituencies
- Importance of trust building - may want to work with different constituencies separately at first

MEMORANDUM

TO: **File**
FROM: Darcy
DATE: January 23, 1996
RE: Meeting with Georgina Stevens

On January 4, Travis and I met with Georgina Stevens, Treasurer for Cowles Media and a former member of the State Board of Education.

We started by asking her where she thought these issues stood at the moment. She talked about how disappointing it was to see what the Livable Communities Act became, especially the fact that it is all voluntary. At the same time, though, she said it is encouraging to see MICA and others working in these areas, even if there is little publicity for this "ground swell."

Travis then asked his question: "What reaction do you have to the word integration; what does it mean to you?" She pictures people of different colors, ethnicities, and economic means living together. She noted that this is distinct from desegregation.

We next moved into our regular questions:

1. *First, a general but important question: what is your opinion about working on these two issues as a way of addressing poverty and racism?*

Working on these two issues would bring the issues of poverty and racism to the forefront. People can hide too easily behind _____. This will bring to the forefront the questions: What is affordable housing? What is [sufficient] economic means? This will be especially true in talking about urban schools.

2. *How do you think a broad coalition could be formed around these two issues? What approach would have the best chance of bringing together a diverse, broad group?*

That's the real challenge. Ideally the coalition would include low-income people of every ethnic/racial group, the business community, and middle and upper income people. To get the business community to listen is difficult, but critical. She noted that once the organization is more clearly defined, we should consider doing a presentation to the Business Roundtable (a group of Twin Cities CEO's) or like groups. We could also work with the Mayor or School Superintendents to get an entree to the Roundtable. There they could also express their views on these issues, including education. She noted that it is interesting that the Roundtable is divided over the voucher issue, for example.

Whoever we involve, it is important that we work to make the discussion environment non-threatening. It is also important that we stress dialogue rather than asking people

to come up with solutions. She also suggested having a "sponsor" for the dialogue/discussion groups, someone who is respected and believes in these issues. One possibility might be George Latimer, who had participated in something called the Community Dialogue or the like. He, too, had emphasized how important it was to label it a "dialogue."

3. *How could you fit into that coalition? How does your organization address these issues?*
N/A

4. *Who else should be in such a coalition?*

Conservative Republicans should be involved – at least in the dialogue piece. This would certainly lend credibility.

5. *Who else should we talk to?*

- Emmett Carson, Minneapolis Foundation
- Sharon Chapman, St. Paul Foundation (224-5463). This foundation has not been very active [in such issues], but Ms. Chapman is their new VP and may be interested. We should at least let them know we exist. Ms. Chapman may have additional referrals, too. We can say that Georgina referred us.
- Jim Lenfestey (673-4408). He's on the editorial staff of the Star Tribune. He supports neighborhood schools and stopping busing. Again, we can say that Georgina referred us.

For interviews with potential coalition members

Contact name: Georgina Stephens
Date: 1/4/96

Introduction

1. We're a new organization, for now a project of MICA, that will be focusing on coalition-building and grassroots education work around the issues of school integration and the integration of housing.
2. We want to form a broad-based, grassroots coalition that links these two issues at some level, and realize that it may have to focus on broader issues such as fair housing and quality schools (rather than integration per se).
3. Right now we're talking to people to figure out how a broad-based coalition could be formed.

Questions

1. *First, a general but important question: what is your opinion about working on these two issues as a way of addressing poverty and racism?*

Working on them wd bring the issues of poverty + racism to the forefront - it can hide too easily behind wh - will bring to the forefront the question of what is aff. hsg, econ. means - esp. in talk w/urban school

tr. to get a sponsor that is respected - e.g. George LaTime - had participated in smthg like the Community Dialogue

2. *How do you think a broad coalition could be formed around these two issues? What approach would have the best chance of bringing together a diverse, broad group?*

That's the real challenge. Ideally: a coalition that incl low-income + of every ethnic/racial group, business community, middle + upper income

But to get the business community to listen is difficult but critical - once the org. is defined, cd go do a presentation w/ them. cd also w/ Mayor + spec interest to get aq. to get to entree to them

Business Roundtable: CEOs of major TC corps - express

Views on issues, ind. ed - interesting that they are divided on the voucher issue, for instance

3. *How could you fit into that coalition? How does your organization address these issues?*

he had talked abt how important to label it a dialogue

How to t
- have to be v. nonthreatening
- stress dialogue rather than ask them to come up w/ solution

Also talk to:
Jim Kenefsey 673-4408
- editorial staff on Stib
- suggests right schools + stopping bus
- can say Georgina suggested him

Who else should be in such a coalition?
- Incl the conservative Republicans - @ least in the dialogue - adds legitimacy

- Emmitt Carson
- Mpls Edtn

- St Paul Edtn
- Sharon Chapman - 224-5463
- can say Georgina referred us - let them know we exist + she may refer us

Status

- On both sides: education + hrs
- ^{Livable Communities Act} such a disappointment - esp voluntary
- at the same time:
- yet also encouraging to see MICAH, etc. work
- even if there little publicity for this groundswell

- Integration
- pictures ~~of~~ of diff. colors, ethnicities, economic means living together
- + this is distinct from desegregation

Date: Mon, 25 Mar 1996 11:27:05 -0600
From: "L-Soft list server at UICVM (1.8b)" <LISTSERV@UICVM.UIC.EDU>
Subject: File: "URBAN SYLLABUS"
To: "Darcy Seaver, E. Harriet-Farmstead Neigh. Assoc." <seagan@bitstream.net>
Status:

Professor Peter Dreier
Spring 1996

Tth 10-11:30 a.m.
IPAC Seminar Room

PUBLIC POLICY 301
AMERICA'S URBAN CRISIS

What This Course is About

This is a seminar/discussion course about America's urban crisis -- and what we can do about it. It is also a course in policy analysis -- evaluating different public policies in terms of their effectiveness. It is also a course in American politics -- examining how political conflicts over ideas and interests influences policy regarding cities. Following the civil disorder in Los Angeles in 1992, many politicians, candidates, journalists, business leaders, and philanthropists expressed growing concern about the "urban crisis." They held hearings, issued reports, wrote articles, and funded research about what caused it and what to do about it. Are other cities, like L.A., ticking time bombs, waiting to explode? Are the problems facing American cities -- poverty, homelessness, high levels of infant mortality, pollution, etc. -- solvable?

Because of the civil unrest, as well as the election of a new President in 1992, there's been a great deal of research and writing about urban problems in the past few years. Most of the readings for this course draw on up-to-date research and thinking. But many of the urban problems we face today have been around for some time. People have been thinking about urban problems for many years. We can learn a great deal from the urban thinkers of the past as well.

The major questions addressed in this seminar include the following:

1. As the U.S. has changed, so has the shape, function, and number of cities and metropolitan areas. How have these changes come about? How and why did the suburbs grow, especially after World War 2? What's the difference between cities and suburbs? Are they growing more alike or more apart? How has the physical shape of metro areas -- its architecture, roads, residential areas, open spaces, factories, stores, offices, neighborhoods, downtowns -- changed? What impact have these changes had on how people live their lives?
2. Are there certain "urban" characteristics -- economic, social,

political, psychological -- common to all cities and metropolitan areas? What is meant by the term "urban crisis?" Does it affect all urban areas in the same way? How has the distribution of wealth and power in the larger society influenced the economic, social, and physical conditions of cities and metro areas? What are the causes of urban poverty and racial segregation?

3. Should there be a national urban policy designed to help rebuild cities? Or should there simply be policies to help individuals wherever they happen to live? What approaches have been tried? What works? What has failed? Why? How do we assess the various proposals to deal with our urban problems? We'll look at such issues as poverty and employment, housing and homelessness, public health, transportation and environment, racial segregation and discrimination, and other topics. What are the current policy debates regarding these and other issues?

4. What role do cities play in our national political life? (This is often called "the politics of urban policy"). How are cities governed? (This is often called "urban politics"). Who runs our cities? Business? Local politicians? Neighborhood groups? Developers? Unions? No one? What are the different ways that cities and metro areas are governed? What difference does it make?

5. Do cities in other countries have the same problems? Why or why not? Even if we find some common characteristics, we also know that L.A. has a quality about it that differs from Boston; that Paris is hardly the same as Nairobi; that Beijing is quite different from Mexico City; that San Diego is very different from San Francisco. How do we account for these differences? What can we learn from these differences to help address the problems facing American cities?

Course Requirements

Your grade will be based on the following:

1. One-third of your grade will be based on your class participation. This is a seminar course. Its success depends on class discussions. Students are expected to do the readings on time and participate in class discussions. When doing the reading, think about the issues you want to discuss in class. Most of the readings are short articles from newspapers and magazines with little or no technical jargon. Some readings are more difficult and will take more time to digest. I encourage students to debate and disagree -- but to do so based on information and evidence as well as your own values.
2. One-third of your grade will be based on written assignments. You will be assigned a number of short (3-4 page) papers, based primarily on the readings. These include book reviews, policy analyses, and others.

All papers should be typed, double-spaced. Proofread your papers. Check for correct spelling, punctuation, grammar. Put your names on the first page. Cite your sources in the essay (Author: Page Number) and in the bibliography (Author, Title, Publisher, Date). Examples or statistics should be used to illustrate your major points, not as a substitute for critical analysis.

3. One-third of your grade will be based on a research paper\policy memo. I will discuss the specifics of this assignment in class. The class will be divided into teams of three students each. each team will present its findings to the entire class toward the end of the semester. A first draft is due April 9. The final version is due on April 23.

Readings

Xeroxed Readings

You should also purchase a xeroxed collection of readings for this course. (These are identified with an asterisk on the reading list). Purchase it immediately so you can do the readings for the first week. You will only be charged the cost of copying and binding them -- \$49. They are available from Wendy Clifford at IPAC.

Required Books to Purchase

You should purchase the following paperback books, available at the college bookstore:

- o Wilson, **THE TRULY DISADVANTAGED: THE INNER CITY, THE UNDERCLASS AND PUBLIC POLICY**
- o Massey & Denton, **AMERICAN APARTHEID: SEGREGATION & THE MAKING OF THE UNDERCLASS**
- o Jackson, **CRABGRASS FRONTIER: THE SUBURBANIZATION OF THE UNITED States**
- o Rusk, **CITIES WITHOUT SUBURBS**
- o Judd & Swanstrom, **CITY POLITICS: PRIVATE POWER AND PUBLIC POLICY**
- o Blau, **THE VISIBLE POOR: HOMELESSNESS IN THE UNITED STATES**
- o Peirce, **CITISTATES: HOW URBAN AMERICA CAN PROSPER IN A COMPETITIVE WORLD**
- o Kozol, **SAVAGE INEQUALITIES**
- o Mann, **L.A.'S LETHAL AIR: NEW STRATEGIES FOR POLICY, ORGANIZING, AND ACTION (OPTIONAL)**

Housing Policy Debate

I will distribute free copies of four issues of the journal, *Housing Policy Debate*, published by the Federal National Mortgage Association (called Fannie Mae). We will read selected articles.

Newspapers

Students are expected to read at least one daily newspaper -- the Los Angeles Times, the New York Times, or the Wall Street Journal -- on a regular basis. You should draw on these newspapers in class discussions. When an article appears in one of these papers that relates to the topics in the course, bring it up in class.

How
can
we
set
this?

Library Journals

During this semester, you should become familiar with the major scholarly journals that focus on urban problems and policies. When you are in the Library, peruse these publications to see what scholars and practitioners are saying. The major journals include *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, the *Journal of the American Planning Association*, and the *Journal of Urban Affairs*. Other relevant journals include *Social Work*, *Social Policy*, *Challenge*, and *American Demographics*. There are many policy journals that include articles on cities. There are also many magazines -- such as *The Neighborhood Works*, *Governing*, and *Planning* -- targeted to urban practitioners and policymakers. The best sources for following national politics are the *Washington Post Weekly* and *National Journal*.

AMERICA'S URBAN CRISIS TOPICS AND READINGS

I. Introduction

1. Values and Priorities (Jan. 16 & 18)

Simulation: Looking for Housing

Kozol, *SAVAGE INEQUALITIES*

II. Major Factors Shaping Urban Life

2. Globalization and Economic Restructuring (Jan. 23 & 25)

The Global Economy

*Mohl, "The Industrial City" (Environment, June 1976)

*Barnet, "Lords of the Global Economy" (Nation, December 19, 1994)

- *Rothstein, "The Global Hiring Hall" (American Prospect, Spring 1994)
- *Harkin, "No Cheer From Toys Made by Child Labor" (LA Times, December 22, 1994)
- *Salas, "Cities without Limits" (UNESCO Courier, January 1987)
- *Bluestone and Harrison, "Boomtown and Bust-town" (THE DEINDUSTRIALIZATION OF AMERICA, 1982)
- *Kilborn, "Another Notch in the Decline of Main Street" (NY Times, November 4, 1993)
- *Judson, "New Bridgeport Mayor, Same Old Quagmire" (NY Times, Feb. 2, 1992)
- *Hamilton, "325 Dreams Shattered by Plant Closing" (LA Times, December 19, 1994) *Weiser, "When the Plant Closes" (Washington Post, January 10, 1994)
- *Morgenthau and McCormick, "Are Cities Obsolete?" (Newsweek, Sept. 9, 1991)
- *Johnson, Jones, Farrell, and Oliver, "The Los Angeles Rebellion: A Retrospective View" (Economic Development Quarterly, November 1992)

The Variety of Urban Conditions

- *Milgram, "The Experience of Living in Cities" (Science, March 13, 1970)
- *Abrams, "The Uses of Land in Cities" (Scientific American, September 1965)
- *Dogan and Kasarda, "Comparing Giant Cities" (from THE METROPOLIS ERA: MEGA-CITIES, 1988)
- *Hall, "How Foreign Cities Cope" (The World & I, June 1991)
- *Wood, "Cities in Trouble" (Domestic Affairs, Summer 1991)
- *Pierce, "A Universal Church of Immigrants" (Boston Globe, July 4, 1993)
- *Greenhouse, "Why Paris Works" (NY Times Magazine, July 19, 1992)
- *Sigenbladh, "Stockholm" (Scientific American, September 1965)
- *Simons, "Amsterdam Plans Wide Limit on Cars" (NY Times, Jan. 28, 1993)
- *Wolfe, "Canada's Liveable Cities" (Social Policy, Summer 1992)
- *"Toronto and Detroit," Economist, May 19, 1990.
- *Bowermaster, "Seattle, Too Much of a Good Thing?" (NY Times Magazine, Jan. 6, 1991)
- *Minerbrook, "Why a City Alone Cannot Save Itself" (U.S. News & World Report, Nov. 9, 1992)
- *Abramson, "Growth Without Prosperity in San Antonio" (Urban Institute, Summer 1994)
- *Smothers, "City [Memphis] Seeks to Grow By Disappearing" (NY Times, Oct. 18, 1993)
- *Davis, "Fortress LA" (from CITY OF QUARTZ)
- *Gross, "Getting There the Hard Way, Every Day" (Los Angeles Times, July 16, 1995)

FILM: "The Global Assembly Line"

3. Inequality and Poverty (Jan. 30 & Feb. 1)

Wilson, THE TRULY DISADVANTAGED

- *Bernstein, "Inequality: How the Gap Between Rich and Poor Hurts the Economy" (Business Week, August 15, 1994)
- *Moberg, "The Great Divide" (In These Times, June 12, 1995)
- *Roberts, "Gap Between Rich and Poor in New York Grows Wider" (NY Times, Dec. 26, 1994)

- *Byrne, "Executive Pay: The Party Ain't Over Yet" (Business Week, April 26, 1993)
- *Zeller, "Third World Wages Won't Rebuild L.A." (LA Times, 1993)
- *Reich, "Secession of the Successful" (NY Times Magazine, Jan. 20, 1991)
- *Cong. Bernard Sanders, "Whither American Democracy?" (LA Times, Jan. 16, 1994)
- *"The Economic Crisis of Urban America" (Business Week, May 18, 1992)
Kasarda, "Inner-City Concentrated Poverty and Neighborhood Distress: 1970-1990." Housing Policy Debate, Vol. 4, Issue 3, 1993

4. Racism and Segregation (Feb. 6 & 8)

Massey and Denton, AMERICAN APARTHEID

- *Gillmor and Doig, "Segregation Forever?" (American Demographics, January 1992)
- *Wilkerson, "One City's 30-Year Crusade for Integration" (NY Times, Dec. 30, 1991)
- *Glazer, "A Tale of Two Cities" (New Republic, August 2, 1993)
- *Williams, "Why Segregation Seems So Seductive" (Washington Post, July 24, 1994)
- *Shipler, "The White Niggers of Newark" (Harpers, August 1972)
- *Bogert, "White Ghetto?" (Newsweek, May 30, 1994)
- *Brownstein and Simon, "Hospitality Turns into Hostility" (LA Times, November 14, 1993)
- *Espiritu, "Immigration and the Peopling of Los Angeles" (from Riposa and Dersch, eds., CITY OF ANGELS, 1992)
- *Mitchell, "Negro y Moreno In the Hood: Black-Latino Relations in Los Angeles" (from Riposa and Dersch, eds., CITY OF ANGELS, 1992)

FILM: "Do the Right Thing"

5. Suburbanization (Feb. 13 & 15)

Jackson, CRABGRASS FRONTIER

Judd and Swanstrom, CITY POLITICS (pp. 179-214)

- *Snell, "American Ground Transport" (U.S. Senate, 1974)

- *Perez-Pena, "William Levitt, 86, Suburb Maker, Dies" (NY Times, January 29, 1994)
- *Fishman, "America's New City: Megalopolis Unbound" (Current, October 1990)
- *"Metropolitan Areas and Cities" (U.S. Bureau of the Census, September 1991)
- *Downs, "Urban Realities: Some Controversial Aspects of the Atlanta Region's Future" (Brookings Review, Summer 1994)
- *"San Marino: The Affluent Grapple with Low-Income Housing" (LA Times, June 14, 1993)
- *Glastris, "A Tale of Two Suburbias" (U.S. News & World Report, Nov. 9, 1992)
- *Lemann, "The New Suburbia" (The Atlantic, November 1989).
- *McCormick and McKillop, "The Other Suburbia" (Newsweek, June 26, 1989)
- *DeWitt, "Older Suburbs Struggle..." (New York Times, Feb. 26, 1995)
- *Davis, "The Suburban Nightmare" (LA Times, October 23, 1994)

6. Metropolitan Fragmentation: Competition or Common Ground? (Feb. 20 & 22)

Rusk, CITIES WITHOUT SUBURBS

- *Eric Mann, Margaret Weir and John Calmore (Commentaries on Rusk, Poverty & Race, May/June 1993 and July/August 1993)
- Judd and Swanstrom, City Politics (pp. 215-241)
- *Ledebur and Barnes, "City Distress, Metropolitan Disparities, and Economic Growth" (National League of Cities, September 1992)
- *Ehrenhalt, "The Underclass and the Suburban Solution" (Governing, July 1993)
- *Kemper, "Operation Urban Storm" (Common Cause Magazine, July/August 1991)
- *Gurwitt, "The Painful Truth About Cities and Suburbs: They Need Each Other" (Governing, February 1992)

III. Urban Policy Choices

7. The Politics of National Urban Policy (Feb. 27 & March 1)

- Judd and Swanstrom, CITY POLITICS (pp. 107-175 and pp. 243-304)
- *Wright, "Public Housing for the Worthy Poor" (from BUILDING THE DREAM: A SOCIAL HISTORY OF HOUSING IN AMERICA, 1981)
- *Schneider, "The Suburban Century Begins" (Atlantic, July 1992)
- *Walters, "Cities on their Own" (Governing, April 1991)
- *"Germond and Witcover, "Mayors Find Their Clout Has Shrunk" (National

Date: Mon, 25 Mar 1996 11:27:05 -0600
From: "L-Soft list server at UICVM (1.8b)" <LISTSERV@UICVM.UIC.EDU>
Subject: File: "URBAN SYLLABUS"
To: "Darcy Seaver, E. Harriet-Farmstead Neigh. Assoc." <seagan@bitstream.net>
Status:

Journal, June 26, 1993)

- *Tolchin, "Mayors Press Clinton on Promise to Rebuild Nation" (NY Times, Jan. 25, 1993)
- *Henderson, "CityVote Aims to Put Urban Issues to Fore in '96 Campaign" (Christian Science Monitor, August 23, 1994)
- *Rendell, "America's Cities: Can We Save Them?" (City Journal, Winter 1994)
- *Weir, "In the Shadows: Central Cities' Loss of Power in State Politics" (Brookings Review, Spring 1995)
- *Brownstein, "Assault on Clinton's Urban Agenda..." (Los Angeles Times, July 31, 1995)

8. Linking Cities and Suburbs (March 5 & 7)

The "Rebuilding Downtown" Strategy

- Judd and Swanstrom, CITY POLITICS (pp. 307-398) *Hines, "Housing, Baseball, and Creeping Socialism: The Battle of Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles" (Journal of Urban History, February 1982.)
- *Frieden, "The Downtown Jobs Puzzle" (Public Interest, Fall 1989)
- *Tabak, "Wild About Convention Centers" (Atlantic Monthly, April 1994)
- *Applebome, "An Olympic Renewal? Atlanta's Big Question" (NY Times, October 9, 1994)
- *Bennet, "Mere Hint of Jobs Draws Crowd in Detroit" (NY Times, Nov. 12, 1993)
- *Schwartz and Barrett, "Can You Top This?" (Newsweek, Feb. 17, 1992)
- *Guskind, "Games Cities Play" (National Journal, March 18, 1989)
- *Curtiss and Watson, "Desperate Cities Court Developers" (LA Times, Jan. 16, 1993)
- *Schoenberger, "Bringing the Life Back to City's Heart" (LA Times, Dec. 14, 1993)
- *Lueck, "Giuliani Plans Inducements to Help Lower Manhattan" (NY Times, Dec. 16, 1994)
- *Mitchell, "Giuliani Administration Seeking Sharper Cuts in Health and Welfare Programs for the Poor" (NY Times, Dec. 16, 1994)
- *Finder, "New Yorkers Feel Squeezed by Cuts in City's Budget" (NY Times, Nov. 3, 1995)
- *Oppenheimer, "Creative Alternatives to Urban Sprawl" (Utne Reader, March/April 1989)

Regionalism: Cooperation and Governance

Pearce, CITISTATES: HOW URBAN AMERICA CAN PROSPER IN A COMPETITIVE

WORLD

- Cisneros, Urban Entrepreneurialism and National Economic Growth (HUD pamphlet)
Cisneros, Regionalism: The New Geography of Opportunity (HUD pamphlet)
Bank of America, Beyond Sprawl: New Patterns of Growth to Fit the New Calif. (pamphlet)

9. Rebuild or Disperse the Ghetto? (March 12 & 14)

Community Development: Rebuild the Inner City

- Vidal, "Reintegrating Disadvantaged Communities into the Fabric of Urban Life: The Role of Community Development" (Housing Policy Debate, Vol. 6, Issue 1, pp. 169-230).
*Lemann, "The Myth of Community Development," NY Times Magazine, January 9, 1994)
*Nazario, "Hunger, High Food Costs Found in Inner-City Area" (LA Times, June 11, 1993)
*Turque, "Where the Food Isn't" (Newsweek, February 24, 1992)
*Chang, "Mortgage Denial Rate for Blacks in '93 Was Double the Level for Whites, Asians" (Wall Street Journal, July 27, 1994)
*Hudson, "Going for Broke" (Washington Post, Jan. 10, 1993)
*Woodyard, "Money Markets..." (Los Angeles Times, June 28, 1995)
*"Bill Would License Cashing Outlets" (Los Angeles Times, Aug. 8, 1993)
*"Pain in South Central's Heart: Languishing in Riot Recovery" (LA Times, Dec. 29, 1994)
*Lewis, "Tough Love Works in Newark" (Planning, October 1993)
*Fulton and Newman, "The Strange Career of Enterprise Zones" (Governing, March 1994)
*Kasinitz and Rosenberg, "Why Enterprise Zones Will Not Work" (City Journal, Autumn 1993)
*Katz, "Neighborhood Politics: A Changing World" (Governing, Nov. 1990)
*RLA (Rebuild LA), "Executive Summary: Progress Report" (May 1995)
*Gurwitt, "Visions of Community in an Urban War Zone" (Governing, December 1993)
*Newfield, "Redline Fever" (Village Voice, 1978)
*Dreier, "Redlining Cities" (Challenge, Nov/Dec 1991)
*Wayne, "New Hope in Inner Cities: Banks Offering Mortgages" (NY Times, March 14, 1992)
*Aubry, "In the Heart of the City" (LA Times, June 9, 1994)
*Pasternack, "Chicago's Shorebank Earns Interest as Model for Rebirth" (LA Times, Feb 22, 1993)
*Hemp, "Chicago's Grand Experiment" (Boston Globe, August 25, 1991)
*White, "Ralphs to Build 4 Supermarkets in Poorer Areas" (LA Times, June 11, 1993)
*Feldman, "Harvest of Hope" (LA Times, August 19, 1993)

Mobility: Escape the Inner City

Hughes, "A Mobility Strategy for Improving Opportunity" (Housing Policy Debate, Vol. 6, Issue 1, pp. 271-297)

Rosenbaum, "Changing the Geography of Opportunity By Expanding Residential Choice" (Housing Policy Debate, Vol. 6, Issue 1, pp. 231-269)

*Dreier and Moberg, "Moving From the 'Hood: The Mixed Success of Integrating Suburbia" (The American Prospect, Winter 1996)

*DeParle, "An Underground Railroad From Projects to Suburbs" (New York Times, December 1, 1993)

*"Residential Mobility Programs" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Urban Policy Brief, September 1994)

*Rockwell, "The Ghost of Gautreaux" (National Review, March 7, 1994)

*Brovard, "Suburban Guerilla" (American Spectator, September 1994)

*Waldrom, "Parading Politicians Hear Critics of Housing Program" (Baltimore Sun, September 12, 1994)

*Carson, "City Vows to Proceed on Housing" (Baltimore Sun, Sept. 21, 1994) *Mariano, "Hill Panel Halts Plan to Move Poor Families" (Washington Post, Sept. 3, 1994)

*Diesenhouse, "A Suburb Welcomes Subsidy Housing," (NY Times, May 1, 1994)

*Lemov, "The Impossible Commute" (Governing, June 1993)

*Wartzman, "New Bus Lines Link the Inner-City Poor with Jobs in Suburbia" (Wall Street Journal, Sept. 24, 1993)

*"Who Rides the Bus?" (LA Times, October 1994)

10. Anti-Poverty and Employment Policy (March 26 & 28)

Human Capital and Social Welfare Policy

*"Jobs, Skills Most Pressing Needs for Cities" (USA Today, May 5, 1992)

*Feldman, "Ready, Willing, Unable" (LA Times, November 2, 1993)

*Rothstein, "Employers, Not Schools, Fail Black Youth" (LA Times, April 18, 1993)

*Kilborn, "Inner City Jobs Program Throws Young a Lifeline" (NY Times, June 8, 1992)

*Karr, "Jobs Corps, Long Considered a Success, Sparks Political Tug-of-War Over Costs" (Wall Street Journal, June 1, 1992)

*Nazario, "USDA Tries to Serve Up Food Stamps to the Hungry" (LA Times, Nov. 22, 1994)

*Pear, "Welfare Debate Will Re-Examine Core Assumptions" (NY Times, Jan. 2, 1995)

*Sancton, "How to Get America Off the Dole" (Time, May 25, 1992)

*Krauthammer, "Pull the Plug on Welfare to Solve Poverty" (LA Times, Nov. 21, 1993)

*Newman, "What Inner-City Jobs for Welfare Moms?" (New York Times, May

20, 1995)

- *Abramovitz and Piven, "Scapegoating Women on Welfare" (NY Times, Sept. 2, 1993)
- *Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law, Living at the Bottom: An Analysis of 1994 AFDC Benefit Levels, June 1994
- *Jencks, "Can We Put a Time Limit on Welfare?" (American Prospect, Fall 1992)
- *Burtless, "Paychecks or Welfare Checks?" (Brookings Review, Fall 1994)
- *Smeeding, "Why the U.S. Anti-Poverty System Doesn't Work Very Well" (Challenge, January/February 1992)
- *Ibrahim, "To French, Solidarity Outweighs Balanced Budget" (New York Times, Dec. 20, 1995)

Jobs and Public Works Policy

Judd & Swanstrom, CITY POLITICS (pp. 389-398)

- *Heilbroner, "Lifting the Silent Depression" (New York Review of Books, October 24, 1991)
- *Anderson & Dreier, "How the Pentagon Redlines America's Cities" (PN, May 25, 1993)
- *Moberg, "Conversion Inexperience" (In These Times, December 26, 1994)
- *Murray, "New Deal's WPA and CCC Enjoy Renewed Vogue" (Wall St. Journal, June 1, 1992)
- *Moberg, "Late to the Station" (In These Times, June 14, 1993)
- *Miller, "The American Infrastructure" (Industry Week, May 21, 1990)
- *Lowe, "Out of the Car, Into the Future" (World Watch, November/December 1990)
- *Risen, "Lifting Workers Out of Poverty Proves Difficult" (Los Angeles Times, Sept. 3, 1993)
- *Mencimer, "Take a Hike: Minimum Wage & Welfare Reform" (New Republic, May 23, 1994)

IV. Governing Cities: Urban Political Regimes (Weeks 11-12)

11. Urban Power Structures (April 2 & 4)

The "Growth Machine" and Growth Coalition Regimes

- *Swanstrom, "The Politics of Default" (from The Crisis of Growth Politics)
- *Neubeck and Ratcliff, "Urban Democracy and the Power of Corporate Capital" (from Scott Cummings, ed., Business Elites and Urban Development, 1988).
- *Johnson, "Corporate Elite A Fading Force Over Hartford" (NY Times, Sept. 7, 1992)
- *Dreier, "The Vault Comes Out of the Closet" (Boston Business Journal, Oct. 10, 1983)
- *Gurwitt, "The Lure of the Strong Mayor" (Governing, July 1993)

- *Gurwitt, "Indianapolis and the Republican Future" (Governing, February 1994)
- *Kirschten, "Philadelphia Squeeze" (National Journal, December 22, 1990)
- *Mahtesian, "Maybe Philadelphia is Governable After All" (Governing, April 1993)
- *Finnigan, "Philadelphia Turnaround May Offers Lessons for L.A." (LA Times, July 15, 1993)
- *Dionne, "Saving Cities: Is 'Kojak Liberalism' The Answer?" (Washington Post, June 28, 1993)
- *Klein, "Cities, Heal Thyselves" (Newsweek, July 5, 1993)

Dilemmas of Governing Los Angeles

- *Lockwood and Leinberger, "Los Angeles Comes of Age" (Atlantic, January 1988)
- *Nocera, "City of Hype" (GQ, April 1993)
- *Sims, "Corporate Vows to Aid Poor Produce Little in LA" (NY Times, April 19, 1993)
- *Sims, "Who Said Los Angeles Could be Rebuilt in a Day?" (NY Times, May 22, 1994)
- *Kotkin, "The Outsider Connection" (LA Times, May 29, 1994)
- *Shryer and Lacey, "Riordan Studies Privatization in Indianapolis" (LA Times, June 22, 1993)
- *Ridley-Thomas/Poole, "Privatization of City Services" (Metro Investment Report, Dec. 1994)
- *Rainey and Lacey, "Riordan's Budget Spares only LAPD" (LA Times, Sept. 16, 1993)
- *Baker, "How Many Will Die in County Cutbacks?" (LA Times, July 16, 1993)
- *Lopez and Hernandez, "Safety Net Stretched to the Limit" (LA Times, May 5, 1993)
- *Lopez, "Fewer Fire Inspections Conducted in Inner City" (LA Times, October 8, 1993)
- *Cone, "Smog Plan Would Harm Economy" (LA Times, August 30, 1994)
- *Cone, "State Scales Back Clean-Air Plan..." (LA Times, Nov. 10, 1994)
- *Cone, "Wilson, Riordan Criticize EPA's Delay on Smog Rules" (LA Times, Jan. 14, 1995)
- *Cone, "U.S. Unveils Scaled-Back Clean-Air Plan" (LA Times, Feb. 15, 1995)
- *Flanagan, "Sic Transit Gloria" (LA Times, February 22, 1995)
- *Cone, "Economy Found Undamaged by L.A. Smog Rules" (LA Times, April 3, 1995)
- *Cone, "Southland Smog Levels Are Lowest in 4 Decades" (LA Times, October 21, 1995)

FILM: "City of Hope"

12. Challenges to the Growth Coalition (April 9 & 11)

Minority Regimes: What Happens When Minorities Win City Hall?

- *Peterson, "Introduction" (from Peterson, ed., BIG CITY POLITICS, GOVERNANCE, AND FISCAL CONSTRAINTS, 1994)
- *Rodriquez and Rodriquez, "Where Are the Latino Voices?" (LA Times, April 14, 1993)
- *Whitson and Judd, "Denver: Boosterism vs. Growth" (from Savitch and Thomas, ed., BIG CITY POLITICS IN TRANSITION, 1991)
- *Purdum, "Buttoned Up [Mayor David Dinkins]" (NY Times Magazine, Sept. 12, 1993)
- *Lemann, "Race, Reform and Urban Voters" (NY Times, Nov. 4, 1993)

Progressive Regimes

- *Clavel and Wiewel, "Introduction" (from Harold Washington and the Neighborhoods, 1991)
- *Mier and Moe, "Decentralized Development: From Theory to Practice" (from HAROLD WASHINGTON AND THE NEIGHBORHOODS, 1991)
- *Wimpey, "The Housing Agenda that Led to Victory" (Shelterforce, March/April 1992)
- "Peter Clavelle: Mayor of Burlington, Vermont" (Shelterforce, March/April 1992)
- *Shearer, "How the Progressives Won in Santa Monica" (Social Policy, Winter 1982)
- *Gilderbloom and Capek, "Santa Monica A Decade Later"(National Civic Review, Spring 1992)
- *Dreier and Keating, "The Limits of Localism: Progressive Housing Policies in Boston" (Urban Affairs Quarterly, December 1990)
- *Gurwitt, "The Urban Village War" (Governing, November 1994)
- *Glazer, "The Powers To Be" (City Limits, October 1989)

IV. Policy Debate: Housing, Homelessness, and Discrimination

13. Is There a Housing Crisis? (April 16 & 18)

- *Salins, "Toward a Permanent Housing Problem," The Public Interest, Fall 1986.
- Blau, THE VISIBLE POOR: HOMELESSNESS IN THE UNITED STATES (Chapters 1-6)
- Chelimsky, "Politics, Policy Making, Data, and the Homeless," HPD, Vol. 2, Issue 3, 1991
- Wright and Rubin, "Is Homelessness a Housing Problem?" HPD, Vol. 2, Issue 2, 1991
- Dolbeare, "Federal Homeless Social Policies for the 1990s," HPD, Vol. 2, Issue 2, 1991

Turner, "Discrimination in Urban Housing Markets," HPD, Vol. 3, Issue 2, 1992

*Pan, "Surveys Point to Racial Bias by Landlord" (LA Times, Aug. 22, 1993)

*Silverstein, "Blatant Use of Redlining by Insurer Charged" (LA Times, July 9, 1993)

14. What Housing Policies Work Best? (April 23 & 25)

Evaluating Policy Options

Blau, THE VISIBLE POOR (Chapters 7-12)

Encouraging Entrepreneurship: The Private Housing Market

*Koebel, "Poor Families and Poor Housing" (PRRAC Researchers Report, March/April 1994)

*Besser, "Gentrifying the Ghetto" (Progressive, January 1979)

*Kemper, "Home Inequity" (Common Cause, Summer 1994)

Expanding the Supply: Subsidized Housing Development

*"A Housing Program That Actually Works" (Newsweek, 1993)

*"Changing the Face of Public Housing" (San Francisco Chronicle, December 23, 1994)

*Chandler, "The Home Front" (In These Times, Nov. 29, 1993)

*Atlas and Dreier, "From Projects to Communities: How to Redeem Public Housing" (American Prospect, Summer 1992)

*Dreier and Hulchanski, "Affordable Housing: Lessons from Canada" (American Prospect, Spring 1990)

Expanding Demand: Vouchers

Finkel and Kennedy, "Racial/Ethnic Differences in Utilization of Section 8 Existing Rental Vouchers and Certificates," HPD, Vol. 3, Issue 2, 1992 (pp. 463-467 only)

*Beirne, "Vouchers Would Help the Homeless" (Heritage Fndn. Backgrounder, May 27, 1987)

Tenants' Rights

*"Landlord Gets 4-Month Jail Term in Slum Case" (LA Times, 1993)

*Dreier, "Rent-a-Politician Exposed" (Shelterforce, Summer 1982)

*Atlas and Dreier, "The Phony Case Against Rent Control" (Progressive, April 1989)

*Renwick, "Fed-Up Tenants Take Over" (LA Times, August 15, 1994)

Fair Housing and Desegregation

- *Kushner, "Federal Enforcement and Judicial Review of the Fair Housing Amendments Act of 1988," HPD, Vol. 3, Issue 2, 1992
- *Freiberg, "Promoting Residential Integration: The Role of Private Fair Housing Groups" (from Kingsley and Turner, eds., Housing Markets and Residential Mobility, 1993)
- *Feldstein, "Hitting the Poor Where They Live" (The Nation, April 4, 1994)

FILM: "Your Loan in Denied"

For interviews with potential coalition members

Contact name: _____

Date: ___/___/96

Introduction

1. We're a new organization, for now a project of MICAH, that will be focusing on coalition-building and grassroots education work around the issues of school integration and the integration of housing.
2. We want to form a broad-based, grassroots coalition that links these two issues at some level, and realize that it may have to focus on broader issues such as fair housing and quality schools (rather than integration per se).
3. Right now we're talking to people to figure out how a broad-based coalition could be formed.

Questions

1. *First, a general but important question: what is your opinion about working on these two issues as a way of addressing poverty and racism?*

2. *How do you think a broad coalition could be formed around these two issues? What approach would have the best chance of bringing together a diverse, broad group?*

3. *How could you fit into that coalition? How does your organization address these issues?*

4. *Who else should be in such a coalition?*

Ruth Ann Olson

Ruth Ann
Olson
2/29/96

- consultant in education + arts for last 23 yrs.
- 10-15 yrs ago: began to get int in issues of diversity/multi-culti in curriculum
- 10 yrs ago: designed program in St Paul re disconnect betw parents + schools
- ^{last} 7 yrs: directed the implementation

Most I don't understand how anyone
ably ~~is off~~ our schools as
our schools are doing for 3 of color
Hamline article

- 1 month FT of interviews

Political agenda v. community agenda

Equal educational resources v.
equal educational opportunity
- not the same

Desegregation has primarily benefited
white students
→ thus the anger

Thing that really stood out:
fundamental problem
of a vision of what
a school that looks like

- so little sense of what we're trying to do
- creating a shared vision is
also energizing - to
come together, to work together,
to cross barriers

How to create ~~the~~ intermedia
goals

- that lie between the
vision + the too structured, fractured
"programmatic" strategies

- 40-50%

- of v. different backgrounds

Two actions:

- How to learn about the impact of prejudice on $\$$
- Also: the imp. of learning about diff. cultures/
ethnicities

Ways to require that the leadership/
steering groups be representational/diverse
- e.g. making NRP groups
to have a representational
groups to get $\$$

Shared
vision

what approached him together
a broad group

- K of color has huge amt of experience
him ~~at~~ K trying to sell
them on smthg or getting their
reaction to smthg already set

→ pretty fundamentally imp for
K to see evidence that their
ideas ~~are~~ are embedded in the v.
fabric of what's happening

- if K can see that they are
listened to more than talked to

> has to be smthg that is action-oriented
- K has to see that some action
is going to take place - + fairly swiftly

Return-Path: <owner-comm-org@UICVM.CC.UIC.EDU>
Date: Fri, 23 Feb 1996 11:56:27 CST
Reply-To: H-Net/H-Urban Seminar on History of Community Organizing &
<COMM-ORG@UICVM.CC.UIC.EDU>
Sender: H-Net/H-Urban Seminar on History of Community Organizing &
<COMM-ORG@UICVM.CC.UIC.EDU>
From: Wendy Plotkin <U13972@UICVM.BITNET>
Subject: J.A. Gallery, PRO-INTEGRATIVE HOUSING POLICY PROPOSED
To: Multiple recipients of list COMM-ORG <COMM-ORG@UICVM.CC.UIC.EDU>
Content-Length: 14677

Reprinted from the OPEN FORUM, Vol. 19, #1, winter 1995/96

PRO-INTEGRATIVE HOUSING POLICY PROPOSED

By John Andrew Gallery

The following article is reprinted from the Intentional Integretionist, newsletter of OPEN s Fund for FUTURE of Philadelphia. It was written about Philadelphia, but it could have referenced Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Buffalo, or scores of other cities.

Concentrate or Disperse

The issue of whether the City of Philadelphia's housing policy for funds spent on low and moderate income housing should concentrate resources in specific geographic areas or whether it should disperse those resources throughout the city has been a subject of debate for several decades. For most of this period, the debate has focused on which of these alternative strategies is likely to produce better housing programs or more adequately address the housing needs of low and moderate income people. There have been only two times when this debate focused explicitly on the issue of whether housing policy should promote racial and economic integration. Both of these instances were prompted by initiatives at the federal level and not entirely by local preferences or policies.

Most people endorsed the principle that housing policy should support racial and economic integration, but when it came to the practical implications and application of such a policy, it was opposed equally by white and black political and community leaders. The first group didn't want to deal with the issue of neighborhood disruption; the second did not want to dilute resources from improving black inner city neighborhoods. Indeed the fair share housing policy I passed through City Council in 1979, calling for a distribution of low and moderate income housing in all sections of the city, was rescinded in 1980 by a white liberal mayor and a city council headed by Joseph Coleman, the city's first black City Council President, and that included Lucien Blackwell and John Street (black political powerhouses).

My own view is that this is not an either-or situation, but one in which the City's housing policy should reflect some balance between the

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Current activities:

- Acting as Editorial Board for "News from the Farm," our quarterly newsletter
- Updating neighborhood brochure
- Producing posters of East Harriet map
- Developing an EHFNA site on the World Wide Web/Internet
- Overseeing production and distribution of "Welcome Packets"
- Reviewing NRP plan to consider new communications projects

Kind of help needed NOW:

- **Graphic designer to lay out 1996 "News from the Farm" editions!!
- Reporters and photographers to contribute to "News from the Farm"
- Help making "News from the Farm" sustainable -- especially through advertising
- Help updating neighborhood brochure
- Help distributing "Welcome Packets" to new residents
- Computer/Internet expertise to help develop our EHFNA Web site

Name

Address

Phone number

two objectives of improving neighborhoods and promoting housing opportunity.

Race and Poverty

Generally, I believe that it is possible for any one of any race to obtain housing in any section of Philadelphia if they have the economic means to afford to do so. There are black residents of (affluent) Society Hill and Chestnut Hill, and black, Hispanic and Asian residents live in all parts of the city including the predominately white Northeast. It's true that some of these are in small numbers and that there is still apprehensiveness in the white community, but it is my own conviction that the current patterns of racial segregation are no longer result of deeply rooted racial prejudice but primarily of economic constraints. It is true that if you are both poor and black, Hispanic or Asian, then housing choice is more constrained and tends to be limited to areas where there is little racial or economic integration, and that whites are more apprehensive when race and poverty come together. This means that the approaches to a housing strategy that promotes racial integration are more likely to be economic than social ones.

At the present time there is no doubt that the City's housing policy, although not intentionally so, preserves the existing patterns of racial and economic segregation. It is clear that areas that are predominantly black or Hispanic or white are so to such a large degree that there is barely the semblance of racial integration. The City's housing policy relies on Community Development Corporations for its implementation and so must inherently support the preservation of existing racial and economic patterns because CDCs are committed to serving their neighborhoods and that normally means serving the existing racial character of residents and developing low income housing in areas where all the housing is already low income. Much as I support, work with and advocate for CDCs, one cannot help but recognize that their fundamental weakness is this tendency to preserve these existing racial and economic patterns.

I believe that CDCs can play a valuable role in promoting racial and economic integration if we are prepared to adopt a serious policy and give them the resources to help carry it out.

Serious Pro-integrative Policy

In the period from 1950 to 1990 the City of Philadelphia lost approximately 500,000 residents. What is most significant about this fact for our present discussion is that every one of these residents was white. The percentage of blacks, Hispanics and Asians combined has risen in the city not so much because the actual number of those residents has risen -- in fact as a total it has been virtually constant. The percentage has changed because white residents have left and continue to leave. In Germantown, the census figures for 1980 and

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1990 indicated that 50% of the white residents of those neighborhoods left during that decade.

A second fact that is important to recognize is that black residents have not been and are not now confined to what in the 1950s would have been characterized as the black ghettos of north and west Philadelphia. Those residents have spread substantially throughout the geographic area of the city, and consequently the ability to move to different and often better neighborhoods is not our primary inhibiting factor. Moreover, a policy that helps black residents disperse even more so, to other more racially integrated neighborhoods, is likely to have relatively little impact on the racial patterns of the city as a whole and will only further promote the dramatic abandonment of older neighborhoods in north and west Philadelphia that is still continuing. Again, to sight the census data, many black neighborhoods in north and southwest Philadelphia lost 30% of their population in the decade from 1980 to 1990.

A housing policy that attempts to achieve a better balance and includes the promotion of racial and economic integration needs to introduce some opportunities which allow low income black residents to choose racially and economically mixed neighborhoods if they want to. There is evidence to suggest that some want to and some do not. This is in fact a relatively easy policy to implement and I would suggest three things we could do with ease that would essentially solve this problem.

First: Easy Change in Subsidies

An easy change in OHCD's approach would provide the same housing subsidies we provide now exclusively through CDCs -- generally \$50 to \$75,000 a unit -- directly to individual home buyers as a soft second mortgage. This would mean that a buyer who could afford a \$35 - \$40,000 mortgage could buy an \$85 - \$110,000 house anywhere in the city. Good houses in this price range are available in many neighborhoods. Such a policy would easily promote racial and economic integration, would strengthen the housing market of currently stable neighborhoods, would cost the city no more than it currently spends and would be a more secure and in fact recoverable investment. Right now a low income black person wishing to purchase a home must invariably do so in a low income black neighborhood. These are the only areas where the city provides housing subsidies, through CDCs, that cover the difference in cost between a mortgage and what it takes to fix up a house decently. I strongly feel that we should try a demonstration program reflecting this change to see the extent of the response and I have developed the details of how such a program could operate for anyone who is interested.

Second:

Tax Credit Quotas

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In addition to this I would suggest that the City could easily promote racial integration of low income rental housing by reverting to the procedures that were in effect in the period while I was housing director. That is, establish a policy that 50% of all tax credit rental housing projects must be in racially integrated locations and support more tax credit projects by private developers who are the ones more likely to develop such projects than CDCs.

Third: Individual Choice

The City could also support discussions currently going on in Washington to switch public housing funding to a voucher system, thereby enabling individual tenants to seek their own housing choices. Two of these things are easy to do, would increase opportunities for integration and can be done within current legislative and funding guide lines. But, quite frankly, I don't think they are the important actions.

From my perspective the housing policies that make it easier for blacks to move basically say its their responsibility to create racially integrated neighborhoods by being willing to move to them. I think that is inappropriate and does not reflect reality or our true needs. If we -- and by we I really mean those of us who are white like myself and say we support racial integration -- if we want racially integrated neighborhoods, then we must be prepared to move into neighborhoods that are predominantly black and create that integrated society ourselves. And moreover, I believe that the City's housing policy should be structured in part to help that happen.

Components of a white targeted pro-integrative program.

Several years ago a statement of this type would raise fears of gentrification in the black community. I believe that issue has abated, particularly as residents of those neighborhoods continue to see deterioration, disinvestment and abandonment. I believe they would welcome anyone who wants to join them in creating a better neighborhood and society. Most integration strategies emanate from the belief that blacks have much to gain from moving to integrated neighborhoods in terms of better housing, services and schools and this may often be true. But I personally believe that we who are white have an enormous amount to learn from people of different racial and economic backgrounds. While most of what we hear about these neighborhoods is about drugs and crime, what I find in my work with residents of these areas are people of great energy and vitality, of great hope and optimism. In the face of extremely difficult circumstances, people of great compassion and religious faith, of stamina and determination. People who are insightful, who take pleasure in living every day and understand what it means to live simply and share resources. As a Quaker, I'd have to say I see people who are living their lives closer to my own religious principles than I often do myself.

SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE

Current activities:

- Encouraging residents to support neighborhood small businesses
- Developing matching grant program for improvements to business exteriors
- Working with businesses to design streetscape improvements
- Working with businesses to install pedestrian street lighting
- Working with businesses to identify how we can help support them

Kind of help needed NOW:

- Professional designers to help with our Neighborhood Design Team (which will oversee which projects receiving matching grants)
- Assistance meeting with businesses to determine their needs and concerns
- Help organizing installment of pedestrian street lighting at the business nodes
- Contacts to act as liaisons to adjacent neighborhood groups who want to collaborate with us on neighborhood business initiatives

Name

Address

Phone number

Consequently, I would suggest a much more dramatic program for the city, aimed at deliberately encouraging white residents to move to currently nonwhite segregated neighborhoods by providing meaningful economic incentives to do so. Such a program would have the following components.

First: Residential enterprise zones

Certain neighborhoods where residents want to support such a policy would be designated residential enterprise zones just as we now have industrial enterprise zones. Within these zones any person making a pro-integration housing choice regardless of income would be eligible to receive a soft second mortgage subsidy of the same \$50 - \$75,000 we now provide. CDCs receiving housing subsidies would be required to seek out higher income buyers making pro-integrative housing moves as part of their marketing efforts and as a condition of receiving subsidies

Second: Phased tax exemption

I would suggest that persons making this pro-integrative choice be given a phased real estate tax exemption for a period of five to ten years.

Third: Support for schools

Schools in these areas would be selected as community schools and given added resources and additional measures taken to improve neighborhood security.

Fourth: New construction

In these areas the City would move to assemble larger tracts of land for new housing construction, something that is quite feasible with limited relocation given the extent of past housing demolition and present vacancies.

In my judgment this is the only strategy worth pursuing to promote racial and economic integration. There are 150,000 people who now work in Philadelphia and live outside the city and I suspect that the majority of those are white. Many of the economic incentives I've outlined are similar to the ones that attracted people back to Society Hill. Moreover, I believe there are people whose religious convictions challenge them to want to address issues of race and poverty and who may be candidates for a pilot program along these lines. I favor a place based housing policy -- although a radically different one than we have now -- because I believe it is the only one that can both promote meaningful racial and economic integration and improvement of currently low and moderate income neighborhoods. The question is

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simply do we --black, white, Hispanic, Asian, whatever -- really feel that a more racially and economically integrated society is important to achieve and if so are we really willing to accept the economic implications on public policy to establish a truly effective means to bring that about?

JOHN ANDREW GALLERY, a speaker at FUTURE's conference CHALLENGING RESIDENTIAL APARTHEID: Quality Living Through Intentional Integration, at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia on Friday April 28, 1995) is a consultant with the firm Urban Partners that he co-founded to focus on difficult urban real estate prospects and the needs of non-profit community development corporations. Mr. Gallery was responsible for the development of plans for Philadelphia's Market Street East and The Gallery shopping center. During his employment with Philadelphia's City Planning Commission he created and became the first director of the Office of Housing and Community Development. He guided the city's housing programs to a neighborhood focus and also initiated major economic development projects such as the American Street Corridor reconstruction. Committed to the promotion of racial and economic integration in housing policies, Mr. Gallery drafted a fair share housing resolution, introduced and approved by the City Council, which called for the development of low and moderate income housing for all minorities in all sections of the city of Philadelphia.

More information on the above topic can be obtained from: Don DeMarco, Exec. Dir., Fund for an OPEN Society, 311 S. Juniper St., #400, Philadelphia, PA 19107. Phone (215) 735-6915, fax (215) 735-2507. E-mail 102400.733@compuserve.com

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Yusef Mgeni
2/23/16

Urban Coalition

- ^{vision} inclusive entity that honors + draws on the....

Counters Racism Collaborative

- grew out of old Philanthropy group (predecessor of MD Consortium of Nonprofits)
- focus on equity bldg rather than guilt tripping
- started as Anti-Racism ~~Coll~~ Initiative ~~to be pro~~ but wanted to be pro
- leadership + organizational dev. w/ nonprofits ally w/ low-income communities

UC doing research w/ census tracts for NAACP lawsuit

- problem now: not organizing in white entity
- it's being set up as a ~~white~~ white-black thing

- fallacy everyone looks @ it alw
- racial lines
- not like @ it for 3 recig reduced + free lunch
- has

Comm
demonstrate
has become
poverty

- w/in 1 or 2% points - lowest student achievement correlates w/ these students

- persistent poverty
 - @ or below poverty line for 8 of last 10 yrs.
 - Mpls + St Paul has incredible % of poor h
- in Mpls/St Paul + first-ring suburbs
 - 20,000 households who pay more than 30% of income toward hsg
- in rest of suburbs: 15,000 more such families
 - not likely start: get affordable hsg
 - in every ~~part~~ nhd of city ~~area~~
 - c.f. parts of SW
 - calling for moratorium on ↑ in low-income hsg dev in existing low-income areas
 - wk on life-cycle hsg in the other nhd

Coalition

- Myron does good job of raising right questions + presenting info
 - color copies of his slides
 - good spring bd for disc
- ① Try to get as diverse a group as possible
- ② ~~At~~ At white groups, try to focus on hsg, then help develop solutions
 - get away from blame

(3) No one wants to hv the dialogue w/ whites
- but this leads to us - them thing, too

Problem of assumption that a school 75% black
~~are~~ bad

- at some point Schls, etc. are going to
admit that they hv done a lousy
job

→ they need to admit it + say
how they can go forward

"Nghl schools are fine - when there's nothing
wrong w/ the nghl"

→ so Fenwood ~~sch~~ school will be
fine, Phillips school won't be

What's wrong w/ a school that's 20% white, 20%

black, 20% Asian, 20% Indian,
20% Latino → perfect (to us)

→ except it's 80% ~~of color~~ + 20% white
- + that's had acc. to our system

We hv a desegregated schl system, but we
re-segregate them again w/in

the school bldg → program by program
basis w/in the bldg

- ~~AA~~ ^{poss 3} in tech classes, etc.
- Middle-class 3 in IB, etc.

→ gym, intro

- Get someone in the media

- stay away from Paul ^{McEnroe} + Kevin Diaz

Strib

- Randy First

- Wayne Washington

- Jim Zinfestey

- Kevin Ringhold

> enjoy-ed

My question: how to talk address work that we are insulting

Kerner Report

- riots: bec. groups were on top of each other

- Diff betw decide + choice

↓
suffix
means
fatal,
limited,
end choice

↓
leave getting +
alternatives
intact

Q

UC talks abt not wanting to increase conc. of poverty

- being in m-class has to inner city

- not gentrification if it's not displacement

- gentrif. = displacement

Section 8 certificates

- all the \$ goes into pockets of private landlords, etc.

→ doesn't help family

- in fact, landlord benefits for more \$ + longer she is dependent

Who?

- > Teachers Union
- > Mortgage Bankers
- > Nonprofit developers
- > Hqs developers
- > Business
 - MN Bus. Partnership
 - Downtown Council
- > Religious entity
 - Al Tinklenberg
 - state capital
 - mayor of Blaine
 - North Mayors group

meet w/ them,
explain what we're
doing, to be
ask them to be
involved

> CASH

- > Denise DeLeon - head of state

no fig. h/v from whites
- help them facilitate

Framework is imp. → bld @ both ends?

- John McKnight article

- capacity bldg

- ~~to~~ ^{his} inventory instrument not v. good

- but issues he raises ^{are} good

→ bldg on strengths

For first mtg:

① What are the questions we ought to be asking @ this mtg?

② Does this group feel comfortable going forward or are there imp. absences?

③ What &

Just be careful that we're not perceived as being predetermined answers

- Hr Myron do his show +

WHAT ARE YOU FOR? (NOT ^{WHAT} ARE YOU ~~AGAINST~~)?

The solution to pollution is dilution

**The Future of Low-Income Neighborhoods
And the People Who Reside There**

**A Capacity-Oriented Strategy
for Neighborhood Development**

John L. McKnight
Director of Community Studies
Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research
Northwestern University
Evanston, IL 60208-4100
Phone: 708-491-3395
Fax: 708-491-9916

This report incorporates three separate papers.

The first paper, "The Future of Low-Income Neighborhoods and the People Who Reside There: A Capacity-Oriented Strategy for Neighborhood Development," was commissioned by the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation of Flint, Michigan. The Mott Foundation holds the *exclusive publication rights* to the paper.

The second paper, "The Capacity Inventory," may be reproduced for use by requesting permission of the author.

The third paper, "An Associational Map," may be reproduced.

The History of Neighborhoods in Industrial American Cities

Modern American industrial cities were designed to bring workers and workplace together. The neighborhood adjoined the yards, the plant, and the mill. Work was often a walk away. Parishes bounded the spaces between workplaces. And wards and districts were political reflections of the units of work and residence that grew within the new industrial cities.

Workplace and residence intermingled and each shaped the vision of the other. We named this confluence of visions the "neighborhood," and it began to change as quickly as it was formed. Paradoxically, the products of the new industrialization were tools designed to break the boundaries of place -- streetcars, trains, autos. Physical mobility became the symbol of social and economic mobility. Workers aspired to drive to work, and the growing demand for industrial labor created new living places beyond the shadow of the smokestack, but within the reach of public transportation.

These new residential places were neighborhoods with visions beyond the plant, yard, and factory. They were living places where one worked to live, rather than spaces where one lived to work. They became places where growing wages were to be spent instead of earned. And in this new vision was the seed of the consumer society.

Neighborhoods became a place of consumers, as well as producers. The mandates of a good life through consumption of commodities reshaped the function and vision of neighborhoods. And it was such a powerful vision that even the old neighborhoods adopted the consumer vision as the definition of a good neighborhood. No longer was the only question one of accessible work. The new question was whether this was a good place to spend the benefits of work.

It was a profound shift in mentality. It was the first popular expression of residence as the space primarily for consumption rather than production. The idea grew up and out and was renamed suburb. But the form was born in our cities and is at the root of our most intransigent urban problems -- this idea of neighborhoods as consumer places.

Organizing Communities of Consumers

While Saul Alinsky wouldn't have thought of himself as a consumer advocate, he was one of the first. He was the inventor of new techniques to increase the consumer capacities of aging neighborhoods. His organizing methods were designed to insure equitable residential consumption of goods and services: regular garbage pick-up, adequate police service, fresh produce in supermarkets, adequate credit from the banks.

Saul learned his methods from union organizers who used them to achieve justice in the production process. Saul took these methods and applied them to the newly developing consumer neighborhoods. It was a

radical translation for it proclaimed that the right to a fair wage was not enough. The right to fairly spend the wage was equally important. After all, it was small profit to labor in the mill for dollars that were then devalued by exploitative landlords and retailers, unresponsive city officials, and discriminatory bankers.

So Saul Alinsky was not just the creator of modern neighborhood organizing methods. He articulated and institutionalized the new neighborhood vision of residential space as a place to consume. And he taught people that they had rights to consumption that were the measure of a just society.

So it is that our conception of the urban neighborhood and justice are now intimately connected to the idea of place as the site of consumption, and equitable consumption as the right of a full citizen.

The Decline of Production

As neighborhood defined as a consuming place became institutionalized, the industrial machine that provided its wages and products began to falter and fail. It is a repetitive, tragic, and familiar story that need not be retold. The consequence for the urban consumer neighborhood was devastating because both the cash and commodities diminished and the vision of a good life of consumption faded.

The dilemma was magnified by the failure of the public schools to teach people the new ways for new forms of work. And the new workplaces were beyond a walk or a bus or the subway.

Consumer neighborhoods became places without wages for effective consumption, and without education or transportation systems able to provide mobility to new places of residence or work.

It is a desperate story of people denied access to production, trapped in a place of consumption where they often become nothing but a public client -- the serfs of our times.

The Limits of Consumer Organizing

Unfortunately, even the methods of Alinsky advocacy that once invigorated so much of neighborhood life diminished in their capacity to build a better way. A city hall impoverished by Reagan policies and the loss of its industrial tax base is not able to be very responsive to picketing, even if it wishes to help. A demonstration for jobs isn't effective when industry has moved on. A bank that is now owned by interests in Tokyo, Montreal, or Los Angeles may not be too concerned that its local outlet isn't lending in a poor neighborhood, even if local residents threaten a "green boycott." And a supermarket chain may decide to remove its local store if neighborhood people cause trouble because the store already feels the profit loss from a consumer neighborhood that is no longer fed by industrial wages.

The declining consumer neighborhoods blunted the tools of traditional consumer organizing. Confrontation methods revealed clear limits when government is poor, industry is gone, spending power is small, and institutional ownership may be continents away.

The Traditional Future of Low-Income Places

Most Americans now recognize that there are many city neighborhoods that are the places of residence of people who are not a part of the productive process. The popular term for these people is "the underclass." They are more accurately understood as the residents of client neighborhoods.

Their traditional future is believed by some to depend upon two resources: public welfare and industrial redevelopment (of the high or heavy tech versions).

The public welfare resource is predicated on the necessary maintenance of "deficient" people.

The industrial redevelopment resource is predicated upon the possibility that a new auto plant might be located in the neighborhood or a new micro-chip factory created nearby.

A neighborhood future bounded by these two resources means that people in client neighborhoods are genuinely dependent on systems outside their control. They are not just dependent on welfare. They are also dependent on the decisions of Toyota or General Motors or a high-tech entrepreneur from another world.

It is this dual dependency that traditional plans and programs for future development are built upon. Concerned civic leaders lobby for public and private funds to sustain low-income neighborhood consumption while public officials vie for new plants and business breeders. The principal role of the residents of client neighborhoods is to hope for the success of their outside advocates in seeking help from the outside system.

What are the prospects of these outside advocates? What hope should people in client neighborhoods have for the success of their advocates' efforts?

It is my judgment that their prospects for success are unlikely and that client neighborhoods bounded by these resource futures have no hopeful future.

The Future of Welfare

It is clear that the present national administration has no intention of increasing resources for client neighborhoods. It seems equally clear that the next administration, of either political persuasion, will be faced with a monumental national debt and a law severely limiting total expenditures. This

combination of restraints predicts at least a decade when there will be no significant increase in the federal investment in improved consumer status of low-income people.

The prospect of substantial increases in state and local commitments to residents of low-income neighborhoods seems equally dim considering their loss of both federal revenues and industrial tax bases.

Recent studies of public opinion also suggest that a majority of the American people are unwilling to increase support for able-bodied people in low-income status, unless their plight is perceived as being no fault of their own.

Therefore, it seems reasonably predictable that for the next decade, waiting for improved consumer status through public funds is a vain hope in client neighborhoods.

The Future of Reindustrialization

What then about the prospect for new production opportunities through heavy or high-tech industrial development? Based upon the recent record, these prospects are dim indeed. There are, after all, a limited number of new auto plants to be built in the best of times. And those that have been newly created have been almost exclusively in suburban or rural locations.

The high-tech future is also losing its powerful attraction as city after city finds how difficult it is to replicate the silicon successes of East Palo Alto and the Boston Corridor.

And the probability that our older plants will be revived continues to fade as Second World countries become industrial powers with apparently unlimited capacity to produce quality heavy goods at lower prices than the United States.

A Possible Future Depends on Honesty About the Present

It would be irresponsible advice to the people in client neighborhoods to suggest that their future, for the decade ahead, will be significantly improved by the reindustrialization of America.

Those who plan a neighborhood future based upon public support and private reindustrialization actually sentence most low-income clients to an ever-growing poverty. Indeed, it appears that the only responsible approach to the realities of low-income neighborhoods is to insure that belief in these two resource systems not be heightened.

It is my judgment that the possibility of a better future now depends upon civic, public, and especially neighborhood leaders recognizing that they cannot depend on the two basic systems that previously supported the economies of their neighborhoods. While this harsh reality is clear to some of those who have felt the devastation of urban abandonment, much of the programmatic and

policy focus of public and civic leadership remains focused on these two systems. As a result, the available public and private program dollars, attentions, and psychic energies are misdirected and people in low-income neighborhoods are often misled as to the power of their advocates and the probabilities of the future they predict.

Paradoxically, the foundation stone of a hopeful future for people in low-income neighborhoods is the understanding that they cannot depend upon their old advocates or the two systems that provided them reasonable consumer status. Instead, their possibilities necessarily depend upon a new vision of neighborhood that focuses every available resource upon production rather than consumption.

The remainder of this paper attempts to define the elements of an alternative future that breaks with dependence on systems of public maintenance and visions of industrial renaissance as the resources for neighborhood renewal. Instead, it attempts to outline the foundation stones for regenerating urban neighborhoods by once again linking work and residence -- consumption and production.

Alternative Visions of Urban Neighborhoods

To reach beyond a traditional vision is difficult. We are bounded in our thinking by an industrial culture built on big systems of production and governance. It is very difficult for us to imagine renewing city places without primarily depending upon the resources, the management, and the technology of corporations, universities, federal agencies, etc.

Therefore, I have found it most helpful to intentionally look outside the definitions created by these systems. What are the possibilities of having productive¹ neighborhood economies that are not basically dependencies of large systems?

Three Visions of Development

There are three alternative visions that I would commend. Each has helped me toward a new understanding. Each is greatly simplified here in order to emphasize their essential insights.

The first vision comes from Mexico. There, peasant village leaders have reeducated a group of urban technicians so that a unique collaboration has developed.² As one observes the fruitful village development efforts of this collaboration, two basic building blocks stand out.

¹"Productive" means not only the generation of goods and services, but the capacity for mutual support, care, and effective problem solving (citizenship).

²For further information regarding this innovative collaborative, contact Gustavo Esteva or Rodrigo Medellin E., Grupo Anadeges, Minerva 63, Col. Credito Constructor, C.P. 03940 Mexico, d.f.

First, there is an intensive effort to identify the skills, capacities, and resources of the village. "Who are we, what can we do, and what do we have that we can use and others will buy?"

Second, there is a game they play. It helps the villagers see when their new economic efforts will create dependency on outside resources. This helps minimize reliance on outside systems as the economy develops.

The collaboration also results in new economic relationships between villages as they see mutual possibilities for exchange and production.

But the key is the relentless recognition that productivity starts with a serious inventory of your present resources, skills, and capacities.

The second vision comes from Canada through the studies of the First World's best urban economist -- Jane Jacobs. In her newest book, *Cities and Wealth of Nations* (Random House, 1984), she finds that regional vitality grows around cities and that the generating power of the city is its ability to replace imports and create a surplus. But it is import replacement that is the starting point.

The key to generating an effective economy is the focus upon producing what you now import.

The third vision comes from a small place inside the United States, Emmaus, Pennsylvania. There, Robert Rodale publishes Successful Farmer and Organic Gardening. He has been experimenting with new approaches to restoring the vigor of our agricultural land. Much of our farmland has been badly damaged by chemical pesticides, herbicides, and fertilizers. It costs more and more to grow crops chemically on fields whose natural growing powers have been decimated by the chemical inputs.

Bob Rodale has developed methods to restore the natural productive powers of the land by reducing costly outside inputs and enhancing the natural resources. As a result, farming can become economic again for families. Bob calls this process of renewal through reducing outside inputs and enhancing internal resources regeneration.

City neighborhoods are similarly places that became dependent on the high-cost inputs of outside systems. They became dependent and finally weak, because their internal capacities for production atrophied. Bob Rodale believes that, like a farm, city neighborhoods can be regenerated.³

The key to effective regeneration is the conservation rather than consumption of our basic resources. We have abandoned physically sound

³The theory of regeneration is defined in *Regenerating America*, Rodale Press. Its application is documented in the quarterly newsletter, Regeneration. Both are available from Robert Rodale, Rodale Press, Emmaus, Pennsylvania 18049.

neighborhoods because we have become consumers of not only goods and services, but our own neighborhoods as well.

In summary, an alternative vision recognizes the perils of client neighborhoods dependent on present public welfare and prospective industrial inputs. Instead, it builds on three foundation stones:

1. Productivity starts with a recognition of the basic value of present resources, skills, and capacities.
2. Effective productivity focuses on replacing imports.
3. Efficient productivity conserves and restores existing resources.

Together, these principles are the foundation of the process of internal development. It is not a new idea. In fact, it is the process by which all effective economies began. Effective new neighborhood economies depend on our recognizing these old truths and overcoming the illusion that two large outside systems will sustain or save us.

The Elements for Regenerating Productive Neighborhoods

To begin, we need to recognize the nature of the human assets, skills, and abilities that exist in our neighborhoods. This recognition requires a major act of intellectual will because our older neighborhoods have become understood as the location of people with problems, pathologies, and needs. There is no possibility that a productive neighborhood can be built primarily upon this deficiency orientation. Policies, programs, and resources predicated upon deficiencies are the cornerstones of dependency, consumption, and clienthood.

The instrumentation for deficiency-oriented programs has been the "needs survey." It is a device to isolate, focus, and magnify the deficiencies that service systems see in client neighborhoods. The sum of these deficiencies becomes the raw material for creating service programs to meet "needs." The current aggregate effect of this approach to the needs of people in low-income neighborhoods is documented in a recent study by Arthur Lyons and Diane Kallenback of Northwestern University's Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research. The study finds that the per capita value of all 1984 public expenditures that were specifically designated for Cook County, Illinois' poor people was \$6,209 or \$24,836 for a family of four. However, 65 percent of this appropriation was provided in services and commodities rather than cash income.

A parallel study by the Community Services Society of New York found that the per capita value of all charitable and public dollars for New York's population below 125 percent of the poverty line in 1983 was \$7,000 or

\$28,000 for a family of four. Only 33 percent of this allocation was received by New York's low-income people in cash income.⁴

Thus, the deficiency orientation and "needs survey" have been powerful tools to fund service systems designed to treat and minister to people in client neighborhoods. The cash economy has been largely replaced by a service economy that depends upon deficiencies. And those deficiencies are largely the outcome of living in neighborhoods with low cash incomes.

Inventories of Individual Capacities

Therefore, a central dynamic for renewal is a capacity orientation -- the belief that every person has abilities, skills, and productive motives that are his/her most powerful attributes. It is the identification of these capacities that is the center of any regenerative development. Therefore, we have worked with two neighborhood organizations to create a simple tool to identify the capacities of neighborhood people. The device is called a Capacity Inventory and is attached to this paper as Appendix A.

As every neighborhood organizer knows, it is the identification of leadership capacities in every citizen that is the basis for effective community organization. It is also true that the identification of capacities is basic to regenerating economies and communities. That is why policies, programs, or community initiatives that support capacity-oriented activity are critical to moving from consumption to production in client neighborhoods.

Associational Development

In addition to the identification of individual capacities, the redefinition of client neighborhoods requires recognition of the critical capacities of locally controlled associations.

Alexis de Tocqueville understood that the vitality of American democracy grew from its self-defining associations. Saul Alinsky recognized the same fact. He said that every neighborhood was organized through many associations. His methods were basically a design to create a center of power for those associations.

The basic power of associations is their problem-solving capacity. They are tools, unlike systems and agencies, that command local loyalty because they are self-governing. However, their potential has been sapped by the local invasion of professionals, technicians, managers, and systems claiming problem-solving authority over the lives of local people.

⁴ *Government Spending For the Poor in Cook County, Illinois: Can We Do Better?*, Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois 60208-4100 and *New York City's Poverty Budget*, Community Services Society of New York, 105 East 22nd Street, New York, New York 10010.

The regeneration of associational capacities and authority is essential if productive neighborhoods are to reemerge. This process requires identification of the range of local associations. To assist in this process, we have produced an Associational Map defining the typical forms of local association. A copy is attached as Appendix B. Experiments in enhancing their responsibilities and broadening their concerns are important steps toward creating a productive environment. The focus of some of the most creative experiments in associational regeneration have been stimulated by the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise (1367 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036), under the leadership of Robert Woodson.

Similarly, the experiments of the Georgia Advocacy Office (contact David Truran, 1447 Peachtree Street, NE, Suite 811, Atlanta, Georgia 30309), in calling forth unique responsibilities for labeled people from local associations and their leaders, commands special attention.

There is an entirely new range of problem-solving initiatives that can be called forth from local associations if they are given recognition and non-cooptive incentives to address "social problems" and create new methods for producing solutions, services, and goods.

It is clear that we have not yet found a travelled path toward enhancing associational regeneration. Nonetheless, it is the association that has the sense of people who are "our own" rather than the agency sense of "clients." That is why experiments in enhancing the authority and capacity of associational life are critical to a productive neighborhood future. The center of productive community is mutual obligation and the association is the structure through which that mutuality is expressed.

Schools as Development Centers

In the process of reorienting toward capacity, it is also important to think anew about the public school -- our basic tool for capacity development. In many client neighborhoods, the schools are the only remaining institution representing substantial public investment. However, they have usually become dominated by the deficiency orientation of the service system. The despair and disbelief of many teachers feeds the client-making role of the school.

A regenerative possibility would recognize that the school is a center of capacities -- teacher capacities, staff capacities, and student capacities. Clearly, if these capacities were directed toward developing productive neighborhoods, they would be a powerful resource.

Local schools could also renew themselves by developing their capacities to renew community productivity. This possibility has been described by Jonathan Sher in a proposal for a "School-based Economic Development

Corporation."⁵ It is an audacious vision, but even the recent Carnegie Commission report on public education recognized that the central defect of our schools is the disconnection between the world of education and the world of work.

Our schools can become working centers for regenerating neighborhood economies. And it is predictable that the unintended consequence of this functional redefinition will be rising student achievement scores.

In summary, the centers of human capital in neighborhoods are the capacities of individuals, associations, and schools. Their identification, nurture, and authority create opportunities for productivity to replace clienthood. There are, however, equally important resources to be found in other forms of neighborhood capital.

Capital Investment In Low-Income Neighborhoods

Every client neighborhood is the site of large allocations of public dollars for the maintenance of the people and the place. These investments take the form of welfare benefits and capital improvements.

As described earlier, the welfare benefits are quite substantial, i.e., \$9.8 billion in New York City in 1983. Similarly, the capital improvement allocations are very substantial and often represent an amount that is equal to half of the city's entire operating budget.

The significant fact about both of these large public investments is that they are traditionally designed to maintain an unproductive place. In that sense, they are like grants to be spent rather than capital to be invested.

To allow neighborhoods to become productive, public dollars must be converted from maintenance funds to investment capital. And to achieve this end, the people in client neighborhoods will need the authority and organization to make new choices about how their public wealth is to be individually and collectively invested.

The majority of public and private welfare dollars are now invested in what might best be described as prepaid service vouchers. The cash beneficiary of the vouchers is a service system. The service beneficiary is the low-income client.

This system of allocating public wealth has several obvious limitations:

- 1. The client receives much less income than would be the case if she were the cash beneficiary.

⁵From *Education in Rural America*, Westview, 1977. For further information, contact Jonathan Sher, President, North Carolina REAL Enterprises, Route 1, Box 323K, Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514.

2. The client has no role in defining the appropriate kind of service voucher. Perhaps she would rather have a voucher to go to college (unavailable) than an opportunity to receive budget planning assistance (available).
3. The client has very little to say about the provider of the predefined service. Perhaps she would find a better training opportunity than the one developed for her by the system.
4. The client has no opportunity to become the provider and, thus, move from consumer to producer.

If we are to have productive neighborhoods, local people need the opportunity to make choices in each of these areas. Their social service vouchers, sometimes called transfer payments, need to be recast as investment choices designed to place new authority and responsibility for productive activity in their hands.

The time for this kind of experimentation appears to have arrived. In many states, authorities are seeking waivers to create new options for investing welfare dollars. The August 10, 1986 *New York Times* has a front-page article indicating that the federal government plans experiments in 20 states providing recipients with new opportunities to make choices of how to invest welfare dollars in productive enterprise. New ways to invest transfer payments for production are described in Robert Friedman's book, *The Safety Net as Ladder* (1987, Corporation for Enterprise Development, 1725 K Street, NW, Washington, D.C. 20036).⁶

As these experiments are developed, they provide unique opportunities for new community development enterprises in child care, health insurance, transportation, etc. Both local community development groups and philanthropies can assist recipients in creating investments in new forms of neighborhood production.

Investing Capital Improvement Allocations

In every American city, city planners vie for the opportunity to allocate central business district capital improvement dollars so that they will "trigger" investment in a new bank, stadium, hotel, or office building. Everyone clearly understands that, downtown, public capital investments trigger private capital investments.

Unfortunately, the lesson is usually forgotten in client neighborhoods. There, the technocratic, maintenance imperative prevails and public assets are used to replace and maintain the infrastructure and public furniture. The cash beneficiaries of the allocations are usually large construction companies from outside the neighborhood employing workers from outside the neighborhood.

⁶Also available at the same address is a manual describing alternative investment models, *A Hand Up, Not a Hand-Out*.

Thus, this potential neighborhood wealth is converted instead to maintenance dollars that provide direct enterprise and wage benefits to people living outside the neighborhood.

Obviously, productive neighborhoods need a say in how their capital dollars are to be spent so that maintenance and investment become equal values. In several cities, structures have been established that encourage client neighborhoods to redefine public capital dollars so they become investments in neighborhood enterprise and jobs. Dr. Stanley Hallett of our Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research has prepared a report describing the neighborhood participation processes of those cities with the most highly developed systems. Titled *Citizen Participation in the Capital Budgeting Process: A Study of Six Cities*, the study is actually a design guide for local groups and coalitions seeking to create new neighborhood options for production by focusing local capital improvements upon investment and development as well as maintenance. (Copies are available for \$10.00 from the Publications Department, Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, 2040 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois 60208-4100).

Whether we are considering the huge investment of public wealth in service vouchers or maintenance of neighborhood capital stock, it is clear that this wealth usually purchases work from people outside the neighborhood to maintain people inside the neighborhood as low-level unemployed consumers. That is why working neighborhoods depend upon local initiatives to capture the public wealth that is currently invested in local people being dependencies of big systems.

Private Capital Investments

Neighborhoods across America are alive with thousands of local groups seeking new ways to create, lure, and invest private capital in new forms of local production. These initiatives are the first growth of a new harvest of enterprise. They deserve every support possible, for America's neighborhood possibilities are being invented here.

To succeed, these inventions need the resources of the public wealth from welfare and capital systems and the capacities of citizens, schools, and associations. All these resources, creatively invested, are the essential building blocks of regenerated neighborhoods.

Information for Neighborhood Production

The history of cities in the 1960s and 1970s documents the ascendance of centralized systems, whether federal, corporate, medical, or municipal. Power flowed out of neighborhoods as professional services and consumption replaced local problem solving and production.

In the 1980s, we have been struggling with the neighborhood vacuum in authority, responsibility, and productivity created by that great power shift.

Unfortunately, it is easier to take power and waste it than to give it back. But the life and death of our cities now depends on the revitalizing capacities of local citizens who were told in a thousand ways, for several decades, that "they would be better because someone else knew better and could do it better."

The truth is that the "someone else" has now abandoned the neighborhoods because of inadequate profit, undesirable clients, and deflating budgets. We are left with our own visions, having been used by the visions of others.

To perfect our vision, we will need the local information that the central systems collected, codified, computerized, and controlled in the service of their designs for us. It is the one thing they have left to give back.

Three Data Bases for Neighborhood Regeneration

New initiatives to decode and disperse centralized information are developing in many cities. This information is essential to creating the "data base" for neighborhood investment and production.

Perhaps the most advanced of these information divestments is the City of Chicago's Affirmative Neighborhood Information Program. In cooperation with our Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, the City has assisted in developing regular, understandable, "neighborhoodized" information regarding local housing conditions. Examples of these neighborhood reports may be secured by contacting the author at the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research, Northwestern University, 2040 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois 60208-4100.

A second form of valuable information is an inventory of local associations, their leadership, and activities. While most neighborhood organizers are aware of those groups oriented to consumer advocacy, a much broader group of associations is involved in problem solving and production. Therefore, a comprehensive inventory of local associations is a second "data base" for regenerative neighborhood development and participation. (See Appendix B for an inventory guide).

Productive neighborhoods also need a voice. Network television and city newspapers are national and metropolitan voices. But they are unable to serve as a local voice to share visions, inform citizens about their associational plans, recognize achievements, and rally new initiatives. Unfortunately, client neighborhoods, denied adequate consumer income, have often lost their local newspapers. They are peculiarly disabled as they seek to regenerate community without communication by written word. Perhaps philanthropy can examine this issue and stimulate new modes of publication.

The Limits of Internal Development

The future defined in this paper should be understood as a possibility -- not a desirability. I have tried to avoid the utopian vision of neighborhood salvation delivered by big systems and professional help. Instead, I have tried to describe a future based, as Saul Alinsky would say, "upon the world as it is rather than the world as I would like it to be." The recognition that we are our only real possibility is the essential motive for regenerating a productive place.

But can we do it on our own? Is it possible to build anew from a client neighborhood? The answer is clear. Without our self-determining action, there is no possibility.

Is there a good probability that our internal action will regenerate productive places? The answer is unclear. For effectiveness also depends upon our ability to build bridges out to people, places, associations, and organizations outside the neighborhood.

Two Barriers to Bridge Building

There are two barriers to our building new bridges beyond the neighborhood.

The first is the existing systems that appear to be bridges to resources -- schools, city government, criminal justice systems, welfare systems. In fact, these big systems are often unproductive consumers of our public investment capital. They are usually directed by people who are disconnected from the neighborhood, and they are overwhelming. They create a world we cannot understand, much less control. In their monumentalism, they teach us each day about our impotence.

When groups from outside the neighborhood seek to relate to local interests, the systems divert them and subvert direct relationships. The meeting takes place downtown. The administrator gives permission. The agency speaks. The professional facilitates. The manager directs. And the authority, responsibility, and humanity of local folks and their forms and forums are lost.

It is very hard for outsiders to hear the voices of the neighborhood or to build bridges toward them because the territory is dominated by powerful systems that broadcast their responsibility for most of everyday life.

If new external relationships are to be created by neighborhood associations and enterprises, it will be necessary to develop creative strategies to void or end-run the mediating efforts of the big systems. Fortunately, there is a tremendous reservoir of good will and mutual creativity that generates whenever residents of client neighborhoods have direct opportunities to speak for themselves and to reach out to their opposite numbers or potential collaborators. One has only to observe some of the amazing meetings of diverse people arranged by the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise to

see the American possibility come alive as popular interests make bridges over the barriers of systems.

Citizens must speak for themselves. Citizens must have authority over the associations and enterprises that are the vital center of productive neighborhoods. Without voice or authority, local citizens are reduced to being nothing but clients.

The second barrier to new bridges is the cultural power of the social service professions. In client neighborhoods there is a pervasive presence of social helpers trained in recognizing the deficiencies of local people. Their programs have the unintended consequence of rewarding deficiency. And their implicit economic message is that wealth is outside, it arrives through the aegis of service systems, and its purpose is to be spent.

These two messages -- deficiency is valuable and wealth is to be spent -- are the cultural bases for clienthood and the cornerstone of dependency. And yet, it is exactly these two messages that offend potential allies and collaborators in productive neighborhoods. Most Americans value capacity, ability, productivity, and investment. Service systems, however, have interpreted the people in client neighborhoods as being people without these attributes. It is this devaluing public interpretation that is a major barrier to bridges between individuals, associations, and enterprises across the poverty line.

Therefore, strategies that diminish the impact of the service ideology and affirm public images of capacity and productivity are important assets for regenerating neighborhoods. Developing access to media that can publicly portray the inventions, capacities, and possibilities of regenerating neighbors and neighborhoods represent new bridges over the devaluing interpretations of most helping professions.

I recognize that it is difficult for people of good will to believe that human service systems and helping professions could be damaging to those they seek to assist. Nonetheless, after thirty years of neighborhood work, it is my conclusion that the profound difference about a client neighborhood is that its people are walled in by the systems and professions that speak for them, have authority over them, and interpret them to the public.

The first step toward building bridges outward is to break through that wall. Inventive independent philanthropy could collaborate with regenerating neighbors and neighborhoods in legitimizing local voices and magnifying images of capacity.

The Second Step: Bridges to Citizen Territory

On the other side of the wall are the families, associations, businesses, and universities that populate communities of productive citizens. The task of bridging is to connect these structures to their correlates in client

neighborhoods. The possibilities are unlimited and exciting because they tap the hopefulness of the American dream. They seek out the face-to-face productive collaboration that deTocqueville found America's unique invention.

Families

We are already seeing the invention of self-determined family-building activities among public housing residents. New linkages between middle-class and client neighborhood families are burgeoning. New images of effective families are emerging. There are inventions, people reaching out, testing, meeting, and exploring. We are in a wonderful time of experimentation. These family-to-family bridges should be sought, supported, and celebrated.⁷

This is quite different than "parenting education." Parent education is actually the service system's taking one more responsibility for the lives of people in client neighborhoods. It will fail because it diminishes family authority, replaces community, and builds no bridges. It will fade away when its funding ends.

Associations

Connections between associations of similar types represent a major bridge from client-to-citizen neighborhoods. Return to the Associational Map (Appendix B). Each of these associations is a citizen tool with potential to share common work across the boundaries of poverty. Paired associations from church groups to bowling leagues to veterans groups to fraternal organizations can undertake joint projects. They create new relationships, community improvements, a sense of mutual productiveness, and new institutional relationships.

Central to associational bridges is the call to mutually contribute rather than a call to charity. Incentives to create bridging projects for associations represent important beginnings for mutual respect and new opportunities.

Businesses

Much of America's enterprise is expressed through the family business. Bridges between these businesses through teaming and conferences could provide shared experiences and new visions for start-ups. The record of systems such as the Small Business Administration is not very impressive as an entrepreneur-system link. Perhaps, we would find more effective means of fostering enterprise by bridging families and small groups to successful local enterprises.

At the corporate level, we should recognize that effective corporations are basically devices to develop human resources. As clients from low-income neighborhoods are given more opportunity to explore the use of their welfare

⁷For further information regarding innovative family-to-family initiatives, contact the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, 1367 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20036.

capital for development purposes, direct links to cooperating corporations could be established. Thereby, those who understand development and investment could counsel those whose public wealth, or transfer payments, is being redefined as investment capital.

Whether small business or corporate enterprise, direct relationships that reach outside of established service systems represent vital new resources for bridges to the mainstream.

Universities

One of the typically disabling characteristics of service systems in client neighborhoods is their institutionalization of degraded visions for low-income people. High-rise public housing is a classic example of a "helping" vision that did unto others what no citizen would do unto themselves.

Throughout client neighborhoods, one can see programs that are implicitly based on the premise that clients are second-rate consumers without a future in the mainstream. This is one more reason why the cultural grip of the client systems and services must be broken.

An instructive example of how people in client neighborhoods have created their own activities with new and expanded aspirations is College Here We Come (4500 Quarles Street, NE, Washington, D.C. 20019). This group developed in a public housing project where the local school principal sought cooperation with an anti-drop out program designed by the system. A group of citizen residents, reflecting on the problem, decided that young people dropped out because it didn't make much difference if they completed the local high school. The certificate didn't convert to a job of real value.

The problem, the residents decided, was that their children didn't have the incentive that keeps most students in productive neighborhoods in school -- the expectation of going to college. Therefore, instead of assisting the system to keep (reimbursable) youth in school, the residents developed a plan to get their children into college. That citizen aspiration has resulted in more than 500 Washington, D.C. public housing residents going to college.

A vital new opportunity structure was built because the visions of a group of citizens in a client neighborhood created a bridge over the local service system to colleges and universities in citizen territory.

Conclusion

Unfortunately, this paper can be read as a list of activities, programs, and initiatives. It is not. It is a map outlining the journey from client to citizen.

At the center of this regenerating journey is capacity. America is still the world's most hopeful nation because we believe in the capacity of every person. So we all vote. We all sit on juries to decide the ultimate fate of our fellows.

And we are all needed to achieve the refashioning of America that new international challenges present today.

The greatest offense against America's democracy is our client neighborhoods, for they are built on deficiency rather than capacity. They are dominated by systems that have institutionalized degraded visions for devalued people. They have become barriers to opportunity, walling people in from citizen territory.

In thirty years of neighborhood work, I have never met a single person, however devalued, who has lost the American dream. They may have lost their way, but not the dream. It is that dream that is the tremendous latent power in every client neighborhood.

This paper is a map of some of the ways to release that power through the regenerating capacities of citizens.

1/24/96
John Powell
+ Vena

His work

- McKnight project linking schools + hsg

- also more general issues

- one: 1kg @ 4 cities for 9 indicators
(job, hsg, transportation)

- 2 yr project to study hsg + educ in TC area

- 1st phase: lit review

- team of researchers in diff. areas

- also 1kg nationally for comparison

- 2nd: original research

- (ke diff. proposals out there

in area + try to see how they
will affect low poor minority

- ~~we~~ will use mapping

- to see when how + if

poor minority & are being dispersed

- working hypothesis: concentration of
poverty + isolation by race
is an extreme negative

- David Lusk's new *

- in place strategies → bring resources to
- mobility strategies → bring to resources

all hv common
understand that
concentrated areas
need more resources

① Night Schools plan

② Voucher plan

③ Metrowide decsg

- lawsuit is the main

the state
not
business

concludes that at least
many times a
count of
the 2

- measure against ability to provide
access + opportunity for low-income

→ opportunity structures

- premise: these are basically
spatial

his assessment @ this:

↳ who advocate for in-place strategies
[are wrong]

- some counter ex

- e.g. South Shore Bank in Chicago

- took 20 years, lots of capital

+ by creating socio-econ districts
(not racial districts)

- e.g. black m-class +
banking centers

→ when you have both racial ⊕ socio-econ.
isolation, the problems

- never will be equitable

- isolation by its nature

very nature means political isolation

- Kansas City example: \$1 billion
investment into schools

Successful
- Schools: other students; parents; teachers
- if you have concentrations, & you're
lost one of the "legs" (need ^{diff.} students)

↳

will come to
April conference
here

Works of a Nation

- Research
- looks @ when white
centers are economically
isolated

- \$

- will eventually run out
- schools:
 - hv to be v. selective, small
 - like SEED

- Nghd schools

- 1st: they are not ^{really} nghd schools

- 3 of color hv no choice (this system assumes that every one has even choice)

- with or choice: will only wtk if 3 of color hv choice

- competing for scarcer resources

also assumes that those who grant the choice are doing so

→ mechanism of choice only wtk for those who means

- unless you limit it to only poor people

- + this is

Current discussions

- ignores rich history of data we have
- St Louis

Disc. gets couched in racial terms

- yet look @ socioeconomic only

- no one wd choose to live just among poor h

→ lose ^{infrastructure} everything but (ignores stores + churches)

- K look for where they can afford to go
- ~~to~~ why K are leaving
Milw + Chicago

- choice issue is a Trojan horse

- how do you design city/system
that gives K opp. to

- hardly any one will
say that racial + econ
isolation is the way to do it
- wealth vs income

- Diff.

- ~~Have to~~ Re: immigrant groups

- w/in one generation, imm. groups
disperse ~~of~~

- except: Af-Am + Mexican-Am
(but in their case: keep strong waves
of new K) + Native Am (but sui generis w/
Af-Am)

- ~~thru~~ thru: will grab change in 20 yrs
- + if same, bec. they're less
marginalized

How to talk to K:

- appropriate language

- e.g. CHOICE

- institutional structure limits choice - informed choice

- real opportunity

- avoid language of assimilation

→ ask why
mobility isn't
larger

- also be aware that some of this is an abstraction

- talking abt jobs in suburbs

→ most K hvnt bn to suburbs

- listen to K's concerns

- why don't K want to live in Mayfield?

- some can be addressed

- some is just bad info

- Can hv K who hv moved to ~~§~~ be part of the discussion

- I want hv any credibility

Be clear & that

- want to create cnty + choice

- to do that don't naturally

hv ^{just} poor +

- hv to wk on both current

situation in the poor cnties @ the same time can provide more opps.

> new
David
Armor
*

One of the mistakes: we've looked just @ housing

- white & next to black &

- need to look @ it instead as educational & opportunity

- only relevant if it ~~both were~~ m-class &

→ hv to lk @ the socio-economic

HSG - EDUC - TRANS

- has to be considered @ metrowide level

- also: revitalizing communities

- but ~~subsidies~~ these places' institutions are being strained + as soon as subsidies stop...

- hv to lk @ how city is constituted

- concentrated poverty areas cannot support

Twins of
shelter +
gentrification

Planned integrated communities

- outside Cleveland - Shaker Hts

- outside Chicago - Oak Park

- though now: ~~new~~ communities becoming oversubscribed

→ creating stable communities by distributing both poor & m-class &

→ stabilized rights by addressing fears

- guaranteed property values

- in another - mortgage subsidies

- try to get info out
- try to ^{ref} frame discussion
 - open-ended discussions can be counter productive
 - allowing the press to frame it
- Producing + reproducing materials
- keep it fairly simple

Other K:

- > Myron
- > John Schulman
 - good @ presenting
- > Bob Miller
 - @ deez dept. of SBE
- > Bill Green
- > Norm Coleman
- > Peter Hutchison

For interviews with potential coalition members

Contact name: Pamela Twiss
Date: 2/15/96

Introduction

1. We're a new organization, for now a project of MICAH, that will be focusing on coalition-building and grassroots education work around the issues of school integration and the integration of housing.
2. We want to form a broad-based, grassroots coalition that links these two issues at some level, and realize that it may have to focus on broader issues such as fair housing and quality schools (rather than integration per se).
3. Right now we're talking to people to figure out how a broad-based coalition could be formed.

Questions

1. First, a general but important question: what is your opinion about working on these two issues as a way of addressing poverty and racism?

Less abt topic than how to do it - she has a real bias toward picking specific goals - confusing, that will be able - I was one going to do the most work & he the most hv to see the specifics - how to develop specifics? An obvious one to start w/: the lawsuit - the reason is to hv the grassroots discussion is to create the grassroots mvmt -

2. How do you think a broad coalition could be formed around these two issues? What approach would have the best chance of bringing together a diverse, broad group?

- Son L hv a w/ invested, some just come to mtgs
↳ Mike, Matt, Barb, e.g.
- ~~Ask~~ Figure out what goal is - invite L who might be interested - start modest, not w/ the largest just possible
- Perhaps use some ~~of~~ grassroots disc. as focus group; → to find the best way to discuss
- maybe

Angie @ Orfield's office
- hearing re killing
- 296-9281
- RM
- 7:00 pm

Frame it in a way that pieces them off

Issue out - her opinion - wd think abt criteria: who does want to be involved? Mrs Af-Amf → to blow great opinions there? Or as suburbs? Hard to do metro-wide focus w/ staff L → but cd focus on one community - make a "example" way of cutting it

3. How could you fit into that coalition? How does your organization address these issues?

> MT Divert has initiated a black PTA → Sue Miles } + Rev. Datta
Jim Gates }
- hv Johnnywell or us to use them as a focus group

Have Matt & Barb meet w/ L & E
→ to get more in touch + to focus the re-organizing

4. Who else should be in such a coalition?

- > Black Ministerial Alliance - Mrs. / → Rev. William Smith
- > Interfaith Alliance - Jay Schmidt
- > St Paul Black Ministerial Alliance - Ron Smith

go where we hv

Talk to Bill Green

- Specific cut
 - > ~~Specific~~ Specific school
 - > Specific legislation
 - > Specific community
 - > Perhaps nhd-schools issue
 - perhaps collect data for a while
 - > Specific policy
 - waiver of deseg

Myron E

→ Talk abt issues in a way that gets to L's values
- ex. of St Paul P-P survey that found that
church groups

For interviews with potential coalition members

Contact name:

DICK LITTLE → see over

Date:

1/11/96

Introduction

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3. Right now we're talking to people to figure out how a broad-based coalition could be formed.

Questions

1. First, a general but important question: what is your opinion about working on these two issues as a way of addressing poverty and racism?

2. How do you think a broad coalition could be formed around these two issues? What approach would have the best chance of bringing together a diverse, broad group?

3. How could you fit into that coalition? How does your organization address these issues?

- MIAF's ~~the~~ Education Task Force

- Interested in collaborating w/ groups on a study circle initiative
- will invite us to be on its planning board

4. Who else should be in such a coalition?

① Carl Johnson, was working w/ the Mpls Schools + the Quality Schools study; now superintendent of St Louis Park schools

1/25 8:00 AM → check bldg + vcr availability
 or 2/1 8:00 AM → Topic - Schools + hsq + ~~something~~ race

Voice mail 724-5662
 1/11/96
 DICK LITTLE
 fax: 339-3288
 tel: 339-0820
 Leadership Council
 -> Shawn
 -> Hillary
 -> but independent of city

MIAR

- they also had dilemma of being grassroots or being aligned
- it's one thing to take on a set of principle principles, become the beacon, the criticizer (the traditional model)

→ but: another thing to do education + electorate/constituency building

- he is a firm believer where we are able to discuss issues in a setting that is facilitated, focused, well run, the ~~best~~ people come to a different place

Interest note:
 surveys like Met Council + Citizens League talk about livable communities

Work plan

- Jan - March: talk to diff cities contacts
- split info & set info & start putting together composite by April 1
- April - June: start convening trainers, etc.
- launch in September

- esp - where those discussions include
 - & builds leadership

→ We'd be doing other events/discussions in parallel w/ the study circle series

Collaboration

- Each group (like us) wd sponsor their own group
- Most successful ones included a group of sponsors - entities - groups like ours - also institutions

SCRC who came here:
 Matt Lange

- Good orgs exist that will help provide resources
- we don't hv to start from scratch
- some have ~~perception of~~ elitism
 - Putnam
 - Kettering

Issue of burn-out
 -> trying to keep it contained
 - meet 2-3 times
 - 1-2 hr.
 - chance to focus what's on important (rather than on specific tasks, what is needed to be done)
 - abt values, etc.
 -> this disc can inform what we are doing in their lives

- People School Districts → Anti-Racism Steering Committee
- Betty Jo Welsh
- 2 yr demonstration project (now in 2nd yr)
- wky w) schools to identify segs betw white & 7 of color

- He's been encouraging MIAR to collaborate w/ other groups

MIAR
 MetroNet
 state counterpart to study circle Resource Center (part of it)

- try to give study circle a charge
 - they will help find a way to resolve these problems
 - also: trying to have in new h (i.e., those not now involved)

- also need to tie it in w/ decision-making bodies
 -> so h hv reason to think this will matter

Lee Pao Xiong

w/ Travis
1/24/96

Equity is an important place to start

- ex. of talking to Coleman

- not a question of resources, it's where
you distribute them

- e.g. youth programs, amenities
in Summit Hill vs. Frogtown
→ equal distribution of \$

- need to create a policy in which ~~we~~
have a

→ we don't have true democracy

- ex. of electoral process

With segregation + nghd schools can be
good for communities

- but: ^{then} we have to make sure the resources are equally
distributed

- he liked ^{supports} the idea of nghd schools

- vouchers & he supports (though not enough
\$ it) bec. it gives a choice

- we often assume that poor &
& K of color can't make informed choices

He supports idea of
Equity

- even MLK + integration must then
(+ now) were based on

downside:

- lost sense of community
- w/ Busing esp.

Prevention of racism?

- this is larger than integration
- this shd be done legislatively thru curriculum changes, etc. + some interaction
- we are a global community now
 - U.S. is the only country that requires its high schoolers
 - in Asia: need to learn 3 languages
- this makes us selfish + is hurting us economically
 - we are not an island, yet we are moving to this state.

interaction needed &

- but we need to go beyond
- extensive class
- L who are racist will remain so
- also: starts @ home.

Shdn't make assumption that nphd schools would be segregated

- some nphds will be mixed

For him, the problem is in the home

- even when kids are friends,

→ need to address this &

Families that eat around the table together, with stay together

Things are deeper

- goes beyond equity &, goes ^{all the} ~~beyond~~ way home

- need to also start teaching respect

- in his experience w/ w/ youth, when he visited homes, he found kids used same behavior as parents
- incl. ~~to~~ bad language

How to do this?

- Difficult bec don't want to ~~teach~~ ^{teach} parents how to raise their 3's, either

- parenting training sessions

- I am so busy these days - forced to ~~need to~~ focus ~~just~~ on basic needs

→ not enough time w/ kids

+ you see problem kids often live in homes where there is little interaction @ home

incl. teach them how to slow down - take time to smell the roses (+ the roses are your kids) - helps link communication &

- They had a problem w/ adjudicated kids

- collab. w/ ~~bi~~ through Am Partnership, Ramsey, justice, probation, etc.

- to bring community ~~to~~ ^{to} piece in for \$50K w/ 50 ^{high risk} kids

- get reformed → but only w/in the correctional system - had parents + kids tell each other expectations + parent ~~learned~~ ^{learned} about ~~correctional~~ ^{correctional} system

- lack of communication: betw community, family, + correctional system

Housing piece

- Livable Communities Act
 - ~~very~~ good to see so many cities signed on
- Consent decree
 - many SE Asians want to stay there
 - extended families, village concept
 - support for elders, for 3.
 - trust building
- To some extent L shd hv a choice where they want to live
 - yet want to hv L interacting w/in communities
 - L are moving away from community
 - cul de sac concept used in suburbs.
 - in part for crime prevention
 - in part to rebuild center

Hrg the community own the community also imp

- home ownership imp &
 - more likely to hv a vested interest
- city + state shd be ashamed that they havnt informed L btr abt home ownership opportunities
- goes back to distrib. of goods + services
 - these programs not marketed to L who are poor (+ no time to read papers)

- I didn't know that ~~public~~ MPTA had program for I in public hsg to buy home

TS questions:

- ~~Is it~~ possible for the countries to integrate + still hv advantages of their own cultures, or should they stay separate?

- It is possible to do former
→ but give I choice
- hv both options

- Imp not to hv all segregated
- imp. that we not point fingers @ each other

- e.g. opposed ~~the~~ idea of giving \$ just for a housing hsg project
- es. of Coleman coming to him to solve the housing shooting problem → he told it was a problem
- then it becomes a reservation - + it allows I to do labels, classified as that
- allow room for I to choose this country's public

Zoning &

- greatest ex: Pando country
- great Af. Am. country, yet 94 just right than it

His involvement
- Check back w/ him
- busy w/ legislative work - but check again

- Need to engage L
- diff. when they are so busy

Approach

- Focus on the issues
- don't focus on race
- focus on need for sense of community
 ▶ equal distrib of resources
- focus on neighborhood → Frogtown
 → N. Hts
 - he tells his cnty that
 ~~the~~ ^{some} Af-Am orgs hv survived so long →
 no specific reference to their race
- more likely to win support &
- you can help L w/o reference to race
- can't deny that racism exists → when you focus on race L will line up on opposite sides of the fence

Coalition

- need to define where we are talking
- bring L from the different cntys
- need L of some caliber, but also

Who else to talk to:

- Ying Vang + Lao Family Cnty Ct
- he lives in nphd, but his wife has own business in cnty

- Shem Shakir - Frogtown Action Alliance
- Yusef
- Jerry Blabey (St Paul City Council L)
- Nghi Huyn (Ni Huyn) - publisher of Asian Am Press

- ACORN's among group
- doing good things but sometimes are used
- long time → ACORN staff

Council

- one of 4 minority councils
 - 1985
 - most recent
 - charge: advise legis + gov + feds on issues affecting AP L
 - advocating for equity
 - advising pols
- 19 Bd L, 4 ex officio
 - 2 senators, 2 reps (appointed by gov)
 - 19 Bd L (appointed by gov)
 - reps diff. AP groups
- 44 Asian Pac ethnicities in MN

Issues now

- vouchers
- SAFE Streets initiative
 - he's been stopped, harassed
- Communications Services Act
 - passed before, but now may be modified
 - makes sure that if a majority of L receive services from a state agency need bilingual services, that those agencies provide translation
- Structure/life of minority councils
- Minimum wage

MEMORANDUM

TO: File, Travis
FROM: Darcy
DATE: February 1, 1996
RE: Meeting with Community Action of Suburban Hennepin (CASH)

On January 11, I met with Karen Kingsley and Sharon Johnson of CASH.

Our interview did not follow our usual set of questions (it began on a different tack and never got back on track). We began talking about coalition building generally and the Alliance for Metro Stability model in particular. They worry that such a structure may not be representative of the grassroots. Sharon also noted how crucial it is to have all member groups agreeing to their goals and principles, and then having each group toe that line (and only that line). She had a particular problem with member groups claiming to speak for the Alliance on issues that had not been agreed on by the members. She gave an example of SPEAC claiming to speak on behalf of the Alliance in what CASH considered was suburb bashing, a situation that got CASH into political trouble as well. I asked if having ground rules for this type of thing sounded like a good idea and they thought that might help.

We then discussed how best to hold the community/grassroots discussions we hope to help organize. Karen would have people from all over the spectrum participate. She noted that it was important that people could come and not feel threatened, regardless of their viewpoints. She thinks it is critical that you move from the grassroots up (and not the other way around), and pointed to the Holman suit and Myron's legislation as examples of well-intentioned, good ideas that turned out not to reflect the desires of the very people they were intended to help. This is long, hard work, but otherwise you risk not representing those people who claim to represent. I asked if it is possible to have two efforts going: one coalition of "talking heads" and another of people from the grassroots/community. Karen thinks it needs to be one or the other, or a combination, although she noted that the latter is incredibly difficult (community people don't always feel comfortable or welcomed in such groups, particularly if they are brought in later).

Important cultural, individual, and regional differences also exist and must be considered and heard. Answers to the question "What is the model?" vary significantly. Karen noted a finding from the book American Apartheid: when asked to define integration, African-Americans said it meant approximately 50-50% white/black, whereas whites defined it as 80-20% white/black. For her it is a reminder that people are pursuing their own goals, and these can vary significantly even if they go by similar names. Sharon also noted that there is a real need to know more about

the experience of non-African-Americans in the suburbs. In Eden Prairie, for example, the largest minority group is Asian American.

We next discussed their concern that our mission may be in conflict with our proposed process - how can we be saying that we are in favor of integration, but then sponsor discussion groups that ask the question more broadly? Karen noted that it is a confusing vision if we are saying on one hand that our mission is integration, but then also saying that people should have a choice whether to integrate. This could especially confuse the study circle process. Karen suggested that perhaps the way around this is to phrase the question differently, perhaps asking instead: *how do we go about integrating communities?* Sharon noted that this is more consistent, although then we risk not including everyone (we'd risk alienating those who disagreed with the premise of integration itself). Karen also wondered if we should phrase the study circle question even more broadly: what is the ideal neighborhood - and how do we make it happen?

They also offered suggestions for additional people to talk to:

- Public school and community education supervisors and directors They have a fair amount of experience with children of color, and Sharon thinks their views and experiences would help prevent many of the myths about the suburbs.
- Jean Massey. She has knowledge about these issues in several suburbs whose experiences Sharon believes go unrecognized, including Bloomington (which just hired someone to do housing work) and Richfield (which Sharon considers the best example of a community "quietly integrating", with a relatively high minority population in its school system). She noted how Brooklyn Park is a negative example of suburban integration experience, and thought it might be interesting to look at what makes the Richfield experience different from Brooklyn Park's.
- Regina Harris. Works with the Bloomington HRA and has done lots of scattered site housing work.
- Carol Johnson. She is now the Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis Park (and is the first African-American superintendent in the Twin Cities suburbs).
- Cherin (pronounced Sher-RIN), a teacher at a Montessori Preschool in St. Louis Park (on Hwy 7 in the Prince of Peace Church). Many Montessori schools are run by East Indians, and Cherin would have lots of experience with the many East Indian families in the suburbs. Sharon noted that East Indians are one of the "overlooked success stories" of minorities in the suburbs.

For interviews with potential coalition members

Contact name: Caren Kingsley + Shaun, CASG
Date: 1/11/96

Introduction

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3. Right now we're talking to people to figure out how a broad-based coalition could be formed.

Questions

1. *First, a general but important question: what is your opinion about working on these two issues as a way of addressing poverty and racism?*

2. *How do you think a broad coalition could be formed around these two issues? What approach would have the best chance of bringing together a diverse, broad^{grass} group?*

3. *How could you fit into that coalition? How does your organization address these issues?*

↳ Leadership development
- ~~have~~ identified what the issues are
- will depend on
- support these efforts
- struggling w/ how to do that in a way that really engages the center

4. *Who else should be in such a coalition?*

- + where?

MEMORANDUM

TO: Travis, File
FROM: Darcy
DATE: February 5, 1996
RE: Meeting with Kathy Tomlin, Office of Social Justice

On January 12, I met with Kathy Tomlin of the Office of Social Justice.

Like some of my other meetings, this one didn't follow our usual line of questioning, although many of the main points got addressed eventually. We began by discussing the Alliance for Metro Stability as a coalition model. In Kathy's opinion, if it weren't for the churches involved in the Alliance, it would have no constituency. The churches are therefore very important, and will be for our work, too. She suggested that we only bring to the table those groups that have constituencies, such as church groups, neighborhood-based groups, and organizing groups like ACORN and the group working in the northern suburbs on the Success by Six model.

I asked her for her general thoughts about integration issues. In Minneapolis, her concern relates to the move toward neighborhood schools: if we're going to have neighborhood schools, we need integrated neighborhoods. She believes that incentives are needed, particularly to attract people to and retain them in the core cities. Taxes, housing rehab financing, and pollution clean up funds are all possibilities for such incentives. She also thought some sort of demonstration project might be useful. We could do it in a place where we could find some support (for example, among "liberal yuppies"). This could help bring focus to the work and it could be held up as an example of "proof that it can work." In Kathy's opinion, people really need to see that it can work.

Neighborhood groups that are not church-based need to be part of the discussion. Crime issues and "property care" are shifting neighborhoods. We (and policy makers) need to look at some of the basic things that keep people in neighborhoods (in addition to housing and schools). She said the greatest challenge is to get people who see things differently to see that it is in their best interest to change (and that is where incentives come in, to "bring people back"). We should also meet with the Police. We need to get a real handle on what the neighborhood issues are in the areas we're talking about.

She also noted that the old "contract" that businesses had with the communities they worked in is now gone, so that having businesses involved is very important. They might later be persuaded to offer apprenticeships, internships, or hiring from within the community. She noted the negative example of Cub Foods getting money to move into Midway, but then hiring most of its managerial and salaried staff from outside the community.

One of the biggest sources of tension that she sees in housing is the MHFA's bias toward home ownership. What does this mean for the poorer people who can't afford to buy? They need rental housing. This issue isn't even being considered by the MHFA, however; it's not their issue (or any other agency's). Although it makes sense in an area of such low density and sprawl that rental housing could be ignored, someone needs to take responsibility for the greater rental picture. There are also important issues related to the landlord-renter relationship. Slumlords, for example, contribute to the drug/crime equation, which in turn keeps people out of the city.

On schools issues, she wonders where the school vouchers issue fits in. She noted that the Catholic Church is officially in support of the vouchers. She also noted that there is some fear about working with the NAACP, particularly because its lawsuit says nothing about a remedy.

She had numerous suggestions for others to talk to:

- Sharon Sayles Belton. Some group or representatives of groups need to sit down with the Mayor to figure out what she is thinking, particularly about the neighborhood schools issue. At the very least, such a discussion might help her clarify her own thinking about the neighborhood schools-housing connection.
- Interfaith Alliance. Maureen Gedes and Jay Schmidt of the OSJ are very involved in this. It is a combination of the Joint Ministry Project in Minneapolis and the Suburban Ecumenical Alliance of Congregations (SEAC). Maureen also volunteers as staff for a Richfield church, so she might also have interesting experiences in that regard. The IA is working in first ring suburbs, bringing together its two sets of constituencies. Their kickoff event was January 13. The issue of metropolitan disparities is a big one for them. They are also working on specific issues like the mall that may be closed in Brooklyn Center. They are also working on crime issues.
- CAP agencies.
- Gary Rierson. He is working with a partnership funded by a big McKnight grant, linking churches and groups working with "disenfranchised" communities.
- Citizen's League. It might be interesting to find out what is "on their burner". They produced a housing report last year. Their chair, Lyle Ray, might be "an interesting character" to talk to, anyway.
- Louise Brown, Family and Children's Services.
- Chip Halbach, MN Housing Partnership, 874-0112. They also advocate for money through the Right to Housing Campaign.
- Carol Bannister, Northeast Metro Coalition for Affordable Housing, 426-3245.
- Sharon Howell, 962-6460. She is a sister at St. Joseph's and also involved in the Archdiocese's Black _____ (Council?).
- Legal Aid.
- John Clossen (sp?), Lutheran Social Services, 642-5990. He was a legislator. Kathy thinks his perspective may be interesting.

- Val Bartline (sp?), Neighborhood Resource Center, 870-7073. Works with the Coalition for the Homeless.
- Pete Rode (pronounced Roadie), Urban Coalition, 348-8550. Although the Urban Coalition does not bring a constituency with them, they can bring information and knowledge to the table, and can do neighborhood-specific research.

Kathy ended our meeting by noting that she and the OSJ would like to be involved in our work.

1/12/96
Kathy Tomlin

Alliance for Metro Stability

- if it weren't for the churches, it wouldn't be a constituency @ the table
- churches imp.
- don't bother K to the table who has no constituency

Key concern: need integrated negotiations if we're talking about neighborhood schools

- need incentives

- tax, hsg, rehab finance availability

pollution clean-up \$

- conversion of old houses, tied in to incentives

~~neighborhood schools~~

- neighborhood assets that are not church-based need to be part of

- crime issues + projects, care are shifting, neighborhoods

* → need to look @ some of the basic things that keep K in neighborhoods

- in addition to schools + hsg

Interfaith Alliance

- combo of Joint Ministry Project (JMP)

+ Suburban Ecumenical ~~Project~~

Alliance of Congregations (SEAC)

- Maureen Gedes + Jay Schmidt of OSJ

Only thing ~~that~~ the constituency groups ~~is~~ church groups - neighborhood groups - neighborhood groups - groups who are in neighborhood centers on success by sit

→ Rev William Smith III

also on volunteer staff @ church in Whitefield

(2)

Kathy Toulin
1/12

- wks in 1st ring suburbs
 - bringing together 2 sets of constituencies
- kickoff is Sunday - 1st public event
 - 333 12th St - Lutheran Church
- metro disparities is big issue for them
 - also wky on specific issues like the mall that may be closed in Brooklyn Center
- crime &

Meeting
with
Kathy
Toulin

greatest challenge: how do you get to who view things differently to see that it is in their best interests to change
→ ^{e.g.} incentives to bring back

going to

also meet w/ Police, etc.

→ get a real handle on the neighborhood issues in the areas we're talking about

- some sort of demonstration project
 - where you could find some support to do it
 - e.g. liberal supplies
 - ^{would bring focus} focus on an area + it could be held up as proof that it can work
- people need to see that it can work

(3)

1/12
Kathy

Noted the old "contract" that businesses had w/ the cnty they worked in is now gone
 → hsq^a business(es) involved to imp., incl. in a
 - apprenticeship, internships, hiring from the cnty

- ex. of Cuts
 Food & Prog. @
 to move in @ Midway

How does voucher issue

- note that the Catholic Church is in support of vouchers
 - despite internal dissent

▶ CAP agencies

▶ Partnership that got McKnight \$ to create partnerships betw. churches + groups that wk w/ disenfranchised groups

see if these issues are coming into their wk call

- Gary ~~Rierson~~ Rierson

▶ Citizens League 338-

- what's on their burner?
 - last yr's rpt on hsq

Lyle Ray wd @
 best be interest; character to talk to

▶ Myrtle Children + Family Services

- Louise Brown is head

▶ Housing Partnerships Chip Holbach 874-0112

Their wk: ① Hsq partner
 ② Advocate for \$ from the Right to Hsq Campaign
 - lots of BdX are developers

- NE Metro Coalition for Aff. Hsg - Carol Baumister 426-3245
- Sharon Howell - 962-6460
 - sister @ St Joseph's
 - also involved in Catholic church's Black Council?
- Legal Services
- John Crossen 642-5990 Lutheran Social Services
 - was legislator
 - his perspective may be interesting
- Val Barthine (man) - Nghd Resource Center 870-7073
 - ~~was~~ wks w/ Coalition for the Homeless
- Pete ~~Barthine~~ (Roadie) 348-8530
 - Urban Coalition
 - even w/ a constituency, ^{UC can} bring info/knowledge, cd do nghd-specific research

One of the biggest tensions in hsg that she sees:

- MPHA's bias is to home ownership
- what does it mean for young who can't afford hsg?

- not MPHA's issue
- they need rental hsg
- if MPHA is not taking resp for this, → who is taking resp?
- someone needs

- in issue of landlord-tenant relationships
 - landlords help the drug/crime epidemic, which in turn keeps out of the city

to take resp for this greater rental picture
 - in this area: low density, coupled w/ sprawl

- assumption

- fear abt wkg w/ NAACP

- lawsuit says nothing abt remedy, what to do

The group argues

- Need to sit down w/ the Mayor

- what is she thinking?

- if no other reason, to get her to clarify
her vision

OSJ + Kathy interested in wkg on it

MEMORANDUM

TO: File
FROM: Darcy
DATE: February 1, 1996
RE: Meeting with Nadine & Jim Addington

On January 17, 1996, Travis and I met with Nadine and Jim Addington, the Co-ordinators of the Tri-Council Coordinating Commission.

We started by asking for background about their work. The Commission is a joint effort of three Councils of Churches (the state, Minneapolis, and St. Paul councils). The Commission has given priority to working on the issues of racism and sexism, and this year's focus is racism. The current work grew out of the Minnesota Churches Anti-Racism Initiative in May 1993. It is now composed of 60-70 churches [or councils of churches?] across the state, organized into teams, with three teams in the metro area. The initiative is now in an expansion mode, focusing on training and expanding into the southern part of the state. Their current goal is to provide congregations with tools (1) to understand how racism operates systemically (not just on an individual basis) and (2) to devise strategies to dismantle it. They ask congregations to name racism and work on eliminating it in their communities.

Travis then asked them each to respond to the question "What reaction do you have to the word integration; what does it mean to you?" Nadine noted that when she first heard the Citizens for Integrated Communities name, she thought it sounded old. The problem with integration in the past has been that it was on somebody else's terms. On the other hand, it can also be just another way of talking about diversity. Jim finds he has to do a double take - his word associations come from 20-40 years ago. The critical question for him, too, is: integration from whose perspective?

We next moved into our regular questions:

1. *First, a general but important question: what is your opinion about working on these two issues as a way of addressing poverty and racism?*

Nadine: education equals power, access to knowledge. These two issues have been a central part of the history of African-Americans: housing and education were the two things denied them, with education being the really key piece. She also noted that education is the something that cannot be taken away. These are foundational issues; if people are denied housing and education, they can get irrational. She also noted critical questions regarding the housing piece: how do you decide where housing goes and what types of housing are put there?

Jim: These are probably the two key issues in dealing with poverty and racism. In neighborhoods where housing is diverse, schools will be diverse. Part of the housing strategy would have to be opening up home ownership for poor people, especially

people of color. Property ownership has been such a key for power in our society. In regard to education, the key issue in the metro region is recruiting teachers of color. He also noted that although the "popular mindset" focuses on the presumption that schools with high percentages of children of color will be inferior, the flip side is also important: all-white schools produce "socially crippled" children.

2. *How do you think a broad coalition could be formed around these two issues? What approach would have the best chance of bringing together a diverse, broad group?*

Nadine: She suggests focusing on a grassroots approach, perhaps using strategic planning that brings together both community members and "stakeholders" (established "leaders," organizational heads, etc.). She noted how difficult it is to bring in the very people who are most affected by these issues, however: they often have so little time and are dealing with more immediate issues.

For the educational issues, she suggested considering holding a symposia on what innovative solutions are working and being tried. Ideally, it would include a cross-section of students (especially secondary students), teachers, other educators, and parents.

Jim: Congregations can be key on both issues. MICAH has done this for housing issues. Central Lutheran has housed a public school (MLK School) and one of its church committees was involved in this. The Pastor there is Cherian Putayotti (sp? pronounced putti-yoto). We might also contact Congregations Concerned for Children (they noted that CCC will be changing its name). The St. Paul contact is Peg Wangenstein (646-8805). The Minneapolis version is undergoing change.

3. *How could you fit into that coalition? How does your organization address these issues?*

Possibly - but certainly with helping educate people about our work. They would most likely help through the congregations they are involved with (they could help connect us with congregations interested in working on these issues). They could also be a resource for us - they will be setting up a resource center and could also help connect us to people. I asked what we could do for them, and they said referrals for training would be helpful.

4. *Who else should be in such a coalition?*

They suggested talking to:

- Joint Ministry Project
- SPEAC
- Suburban Ecumenical Action Council (SEAC).

All of these groups are linking congregations for social justice work. They cautioned to be clear about our own agenda, however, so that we don't become simply co-opted into theirs.

Training
 May 2-4th
 - churches
 - Fridley

J: key issue in our metro region: recruiting teachers of color

N: we got all kinds of info on dropout rates of 30% color that with all success rates

For interviews with potential coalition members

Contact name: JIM + NADINE ADDINGTON
 Date: 11/7/96

Jim: inughls where hsg is diverse, schools

Introduction

1. We're a new organization, for now a project of MICA, that will be focusing on coalition-building and grassroots education work around the issues of school integration and the integration of housing.
2. We want to form a broad-based, grassroots coalition that links these two issues at some level, and realize that it may have to focus on broader issues such as fair housing and quality schools (rather than integration per se).
3. Right now we're talking to people to figure out how a broad-based coalition could be formed.

Questions

1. First, a general but important question: what is your opinion about working on these two issues as a way of addressing poverty and racism?

N: these are foundational issues - w/ these issues get international

Nadine: we hsg: where hsg goes to what type of hsg, so pure

- Nadine: education = power, access to knowledge

- part of history of African Am k: These were the 2 things denied them
 - w/ key = being education
 - can't take away

- Jim: these are your 2 key issues in dealing

- part of hsg strategy wd hv to be opening up home ownership esp k of color
 - property ownership has been such a key for power in our society

2. How do you think a broad coalition could be formed around these two issues? What approach would have the best chance of bringing together a diverse broad group?

structure
 N: they focus on grassroots approach
 - use strategic planning
 - hard w/ most effected -> no time

N: Perhaps a symposium on what is out there
 - cross-section of students (secondary students, esp. k involved in innovative solutions in edu)

J: congregations can be key on both issues

- MICA has done this
 - central Lutheran

* Pastor Cherian Puthiyottil (Putti-yoto)
 - has housed a public school (MLK School)
 - one of the church committees was involved

3. How do you fit into that coalition? How does your organization address these issues?

> Possibly - certainly w/ the education
 - vehicle wd probably be thru their congregations -> any congregation that is interested in MLK on racism -> hv to work

> They cd be a resource
 - setting up resource center + k

> We cd send k to them for training

Reg Wangersteen
 - 57 Paul
 646-8805
 - in Mpls: will be going thru a change

4. Who else should be in such a coalition?

1. Joint Ministry Project
2. SPEAC
3. Suburban Ecumenical (SEAC)

Three groups that are linking congregations
 -> caution: be clear abt own agenda before -> may be co-opted into their agenda

Tri Council ^{Coordinating} Commission

- joint effort of 3 Councils of churches
- principle: to coordinate in any area where they
 - priority: racism + sexism, with this yrs focus on racism

- 5/93 initiative grew to

MN churches ~~Anti-Racism~~ Anti-Racism

- 60-70k across state, org. into teams

- 3 teams in metro

^{now}
- in expansion mode:

- training

- like to expand into southern part of state

- Goal: provide congregations w/ tools

> to understand how racism

operates systemically
(not just as indiv bias)

> devise strategies to dismantle it

- this arrangement in place since 3/1/95

- educate, train + organize k

- quarterly

- asking congregations to name racism

+ wk w/ it in the country

staff + council will then
do a 360 assessment
of how racism
operates in their
organizations

Integration:

Nadine

> when she first heard CIC name: ~~thought~~ thought it sounded old

- ~~can~~ int = another way to talk abt diversity

Jim

> has to do double take

> word associations come from 20-40 yrs ago

> integration from whose perspective

~~was~~ - hv to capture

- + it was integration
on somebody's else's
terms

MEMORANDUM

TO: **File**
FROM: Darcy
DATE: January 23, 1996
RE: Meeting with Art Higgins

On January 4, Travis and I met with Art Higgins, the new director of the Minnesota Fair Housing Center.

We started by asking about the Center itself. Art explained that he has been there for only two months, and he and the Board are still figuring out what the organization is doing (he could therefore sympathize with our own efforts to figure out our strategy and goals). The Center has existed since 1992. It was not until 5/95, however, that it had staff. Before that it was simply a Board that developed out of a need identified by the People of Phillips. Now it has an Executive Director (Art), a Program Assistant, and a Testing Coordinator (currently a vacant position).

The Center's priorities are to research, educate, and advocate around fair housing issues. Testing services are one tool, with the Center helping set up tests where an individual believes they've been discriminated against. He explained the testing system (using a tester and comparison person, both similar to the person originally discriminated against, except for one factor [e.g., race, gender, number of children, etc.]). He noted that differences in treatment are subtle (e.g., people of color are directed to certain buildings or lower level).

Their main focus, however, is education and advocacy, particularly through "community campaigns." He noted that the Center is still trying to define these, but he gave his own impression of what they could be: the Center would partner with an organization (such as People of Phillips) and identify a block or area in which to do survey testing (without specific discrimination cases having arisen), just to see the "general attitude" that prevails there: is there a particular group being treated a certain way? If so, they would bring a "Director's charge" (rather than an individual discrimination case) through an agency like Legal Aid. He explained that because low-to moderate-income people often have a "crisis need" for housing (usually 30 days or less), they are not likely to want to participate in a discrimination case. Through these community campaigns, the Center can try to show why it's worth looking at these issues.

In such a campaign, this testing would be followed by public forums (such as panels that discuss general fair housing issues), trainings for caretakers, landlords, etc. (going over what is fair and what is not, and how their treatment of renters is affecting the housing market), research into housing market funding sources, and/or small group trainings (which can identify leadership that can carry on this work in the community).

Travis then asked his question "What reaction do you have to the word integration; what does it mean to you?" Art said that to him integration means the bonding or blending together of more than one type of person. It still "scares many folks to death," but it is progress, it implies something that is moving forward. He also noted, however, that all words have positive meanings for him.

We next moved into our regular questions:

1. First, a general but important question: what is your opinion about working on these two issues as a way of addressing poverty and racism?

He would be "very much in favor" of it. In his opinion, the integration of housing and schools is an appropriate goal. He noted that he has to be careful in trying to have his Board see what he considers the broad perspective. As an example, he explained how he uses the term "appropriate housing" rather than simply affordable housing.

Affordable means it fits his budget; appropriate means it fits his lifestyle (emotional health, safety issues, etc.). He is trying to help his Board understand his views.

2. How do you think a broad coalition could be formed around these two issues? What approach would have the best chance of bringing together a diverse, broad group?

It's going to be difficult. In a community like ours, with such a strong commitment to social services, people [and organizations] are very busy. He suggested that we try to get whole organizations involved, not just individuals (in part so that different people at a given organization can split up the work, etc.). He also suggested working with organizations with lots of people in them and many contacts, such as the Joint Ministry Project or MICAH. A survey the Center conducted that found that many groups were interested in working on housing discrimination. We shouldn't forget the PTA's, either, although they have dwindled over the years.

In terms of how best to approach the issues themselves, he said the buzz word for the 90's is children. He noted that when he was with Catholic Charities and a Speaker's Bureau for the United Way, people really listened when he talked about these issues as they affected children.

3. How could you fit into that coalition? How does your organization address these issues? They'd probably want to come in, perhaps in a focus group or the like. No one is talking about fair and appropriate housing.

4. Who else should be in such a coalition?

PTA's

Family and Children's Services

Juvenile Court System; Judge Tanya Bransford

Jan Higgins (his wife and a school psychologist at Sabathini)

Integration: to him means the bonding or blending together of more than one type
→ will scare to death many folks
→ it's progress → implies smthg moving forward

For interviews with potential coalition members

Contact name: Art Higgins
Date: 1/14/96

Introduction

1. We're a new organization, for now a project of MICAH, that will be focusing on coalition-building and grassroots education work around the issues of school integration and the integration of housing.
2. We want to form a broad-based, grassroots coalition that links these two issues at some level, and realize that it may have to focus on broader issues such as fair housing and quality schools (rather than integration per se).
3. Right now we're talking to people to figure out how a broad-based coalition could be formed.

Questions

1. First, a general but important question: what is your opinion about working on these two issues as a way of addressing poverty and racism?

He'd be v. much in favor of it - notes he has to be careful in his Bd see ~~the~~ a broad perspective - uses the term "appropriate hsg" (affordable means it fits his budget; appropriate means fits his lifestyle [emotional health, safety issues, etc.]) - trying to help his Bd understand his view - integration of schools/hsg is an appropriate

2. How do you think a broad coalition could be formed around these two issues? What approach would have the best chance of bringing together a diverse, broad ^{based} group?

It's going to be difficult - in a city like ours that has such a commitment to social services - v. busy - try to get whole orgs, not individuals
- Orgs w/ lots of contacts: Joint Ministry Project, MICAH
- MFHC did survey - might consider that - don't forget all the PTA's they've dissolved over the past
- Buzz word for 90's is the children - he was w/ Catholic Charities + Speakers Bureau for them + United Way - talk abt these issues as they affect children - develop around

3. How could you fit into that coalition? How does your organization address these issues?

They'll probably want to come in - such as a focus group - no one is talking abt fair + appropriate hsg

4. Who else should be in such a coalition?

- PTA's - Family + Children Services
- juvenile court system - Tanya Bransford (judge)
- Jan Higgins - school psychologist @ Sabatini

Art Higgins

- only w/org for 2 months ^{Met Bd} → still figuring out what the org is doing
- existed since 1992
- but until 5/95 was only a Bd that developed out of need id'd by People of Phillips
→ collaborated w/a # of orgs to provide

- ED + Program Asst + Testing Coordinator (who has just

- Priorities

- To research, educate + advocate around fair hsg

① → testing services wd be one (22)
- indiv believes they're b/c discriminated against
- Center helps set up test w/ ~~light~~ tester + comparison h → both similar to orig h
- like

- diff. in treatment are subtle
- h of color are directed to certain bldgs or lower level ytz

② More focus: education + advocacy

- Community campaigns
- MHC still trying to define this
- to him: they partner w/ an org

like POP - i.d. block to do survey testing (no specific discrim cases) - just to see the general attitude (is there a particular group being treated

- from that: from an agency ^{→ legal aid, public aid}

a "Director's charge"

- notes that bec. low to mod. income h have crisis need for hsg (30 days or less), not likely to want to do case → Center tries to show why it's worth it to be like @ these issues

① survey test

② public forums,

- leaflet

- panel to discuss general fair hsg issues

③ Trainings for caretakers, landlords, etc.

- what is fair + what is not
- how their treatment is affecting hsg mkt

④ Research into hsg market funding sources

⑤ Small survey trainings → will help i.d. leadership to carry on

MEMORANDUM

TO: File
FROM: Darcy
DATE: January 4, 1996
RE: Meeting with the MN Minority Education Partnership

Travis and I met today with Debra Leigh, Azin _____, and Bruce Vandal of the Minnesota Minority Education Partnership.

We started by asking for background about their work for the State Board of Education. They have developed a model called Community of Color Empowerment _____ which they are using for the first time in this project. They have a contract with the State Board of Education to conduct sessions in three communities: North Minneapolis, St. Paul, and St. Cloud. MMEP hired a liaison in each community to conduct discussion groups in which MMEP provides information, answers questions, and facilitates dialogue about the impact of the current system on the group members' children. They have presented a preliminary report to the State Board, and will complete the project in early to mid-March. They will send us a copy of this report, as well as a one-page description of the process itself.

Travis then asked them each to respond to the question "What reaction do you have to the word integration; what does it mean to you?" Bruce answered that for him it is an outcome, something at the "end of the rainbow." It should be the last step rather than the first. We've tried to force it rather than see it as a natural outcome of other things. He also noted that for him it does not mean racial balance. Debra said that "red lights start flashing" when she hears the word. It is an idea that has been so misrepresented. It seemed a good, clear thing in the 1960's because things were so segregated, but now things are more complicated. Azin talked about how it took a while for her, coming from Iran, to understand even the need for integration. It was not an issue in Iran. Her second reaction is that the terms assumes only black and white.

We next moved into our regular questions:

1. *First, a general but important question: what is your opinion about working on these two issues as a way of addressing poverty and racism?*

Debra: the goal has to be even broader: it has to include jobs, especially access to jobs.

Azin: it is not the ultimate answer, but it has to be addressed. She also noted that there is a difference between assimilation and true integration (which involves housing, schools, how people deal with one another; it occurs on a lot of different levels).

Bruce: particularly with the current metro situation, where people are living is very important. Regarding integration itself: we cannot accomplish democracy and determine how to solve our problems if people are too separated. In his opinion, this issue is too often ignored. Democracy can be a linking factor.

Debra: in her personal experience, the most exciting living experience she had was living in married student housing while she was a student at the University of Illinois. In that housing, families from all over the world were living together, learning from each others' cultures, and becoming friends (their children, too). They were all different but they were connected. It was such a wonderful experience that she made sure to request "multicultural" housing when she went later to St. Cloud State. When she got there, however, she realized that SHE was what made the housing multicultural.

2. *How do you think a broad coalition could be formed around these two issues? What approach would have the best chance of bringing together a diverse, broad group?*

Bruce: MMEP has done something similar, and found that to be effective, you have to provide information to and engage people in the community. This avoids problems common to these issues, including groups presuming what is best for the community and presuming what people in the community want.

Debra: These issues are very difficult to talk about, so building trust is very important. We might consider working with groups separately at first, then try to hold more mixed sessions. They did coaching groups (?) that took about 8 to 10 hours. We could accomplish this [a coalition] in 6 months.

Azin: Debra has a great exercise to get the groups talking and trusting of the process. The kind of community-based work and discussion has to happen. The level of resistance will determine how long it takes and what is necessary.

Bruce: Labels and fear have separated people and made people afraid to talk, but there are probably more commonalities than we think.

3. *How could you fit into that coalition? How does your organization address these issues?*

Debra: we could definitely collaborate, including financially. Their issues would obviously be focused specifically on education, but we could bring in housing issues.

Bruce: presenting information to people is especially important, not just asking what they think about a given issue; it's important to engage people.

4. *Who else should be in such a coalition?*

Project for Pride in Living (PPL), especially for their work in housing.

For interviews with potential coalition members

Contact name: Debra Leigh + Azin
Date: 1/4/96

Introduction

1. We're a new organization, for now a project of MICA, that will be focusing on coalition-building and grassroots education work around the issues of school integration and the integration of housing.
2. We want to form a broad-based, grassroots coalition that links these two issues at some level, and realize that it may have to focus on broader issues such as fair housing and quality schools (rather than integration per se).
3. Right now we're talking to people to figure out how a broad-based coalition could be formed.

Questions

1. First, a general but important question: what is your opinion about working on these two issues as a way of addressing poverty and racism?

Debra: has to be broader: has to address jobs. - esp. access jobs

Azin: not the ultimate answer, but it has to be addressed - Diff betw assimilation + true integration (reg. schools, how you deal w/ it, on a lot of different levels)

Bruce: esp like @ the metro situation, where K are living
re integration: to accomplish democracy + how we solve our problems → we can't be too separate to accomplish - this too often gets ignored; democracy can be a linking factor

Debra: from personal exp, most exciting living experience was living in married student hqs w/ K from all over the world, but connected by the school; all were different but connected

2. How do you think a broad coalition could be formed around these two issues? What approach would have the best chance of bringing together a diverse, broad ^{based} group?

Bruce: MMEP has done smthg similar: if you're going to be effective, hv to provide info + engage K in the country
- avoids problem common to these issues: groups presuming

Debra: ^{these} issues are v. difficult to talk → they did coaching groups that used 5-10 hrs
- has to be trust-bldg, perhaps in separate groups @ first
- cd be accomplished in 6 months if you hv

Azin: Debra has to a great exercise to get the groups
- Has to happen
- level of resistance to will dictate how long it takes + what

3. Bruce: labels / fears hv separated K, made K afraid to talk, probably more commonalities than we think
How could you fit into that coalition? How does your organization address these issues?

D: We cd collaborate definitely - financially
- their issues hv bn focused specifically on education

B: Info to present to K is esp. important - ~~ask~~ ^{they don't just} ask K how
→ engaging K

4. Who else should be in such a coalition?

> PPL - esp w/ in housing
>

State Bd work

Dev. model: County of Color Empowerment

Will complete

- in first cycle of
- K w/ SBE
- three com
 - Northridge
 - St Paul
 - St Cloud
- hired liaison in each county
- MMEP provide info + answer questions
- dialogue abt the impact of system on F

What does the word

- Bruce: ^{its an} outcome @ the end of the rainbow → shd be the last stg rather than the first
 - we've tried to force it rather than see it
 - not racial balance
 - try to
- Debra: ~~no~~ red lights start flashing
 - the idea has bn so misrepresented
 - good in the 60s: bec. things were so segregated
- Azin: big sumn up outside the US, it was hard to understand that there was even a need for integration
 - took a while to understand
 - second reaction: ~~the term~~ ^{the term} assumes black + white

Tim Ernst, (202) 822-9000
Center for Educational Reform

T/C 1/23/96

▶ Wash DC

- ^{Director} Fernnie Allen → writes monthly newsletter (he'll put us on mailing list) 55404

- act as natl clearinghouse for educational reform resources

- index on articles of ed. reform gfo MICAH
122

- help network w/ others

- e.g. help give k wanting to start a charter school the # of k who have done so elsewhere

- will look thru their index for articles re:

> Deseg.

> linking schools + hsg

- told him I'd fax/email the titles of any articles I get (from John Powell or others)

- He got my name from Bruce Randal @ NWEA + called in mid Jan 1996 (saw Matt's ref to CC in 12/24/94 strip piece)

TO: Travis, File
FROM: Darcy
DATE: December 28, 1995
RE: December 22 meeting with Fred Smith (CURA)

Fred is one of the first people Mike suggested we talk to, particularly in regard to fair housing issues.

He began by providing background on his experience in this area. In the Summer of 1990, CURA conducted survey testing for the People of Phillips and the Civil Rights Department of the City of Minneapolis. They sent out testers to all the units available in the area and found incredible levels of discrimination. In over a fourth (third?) of the cases, outright discrimination was found, and in another third there was good reason to do further testing. The study also found that people of color often did not know they were being discriminated against until they could compare it to the experience of white testers. He noted examples of these subtle forms of discrimination: the landlord requiring different things from the people of color (e.g., a bigger deposit) or asking different questions of them (e.g., asking a woman of color if she was on welfare or if she had children vs. asking a white woman where she worked). This was the first effort to document this kind of discrimination.

More recently, the MN Fair Housing Center has begun working in this area (Fred is on its Board). Art Higgins is the Director and it is now getting going. Fred noted that it has an interesting approach to fair housing issues: unlike other such centers in the country (which tend to be full-service agencies that shepherd people through discrimination cases), the MN Fair Housing Center hopes to be more strategic and collaborative. It is developing a series of partnerships with organizations that have established relationships with people of color and will work with these organizations to help their clients. In a survey of about 150 such organizations in Hennepin and Ramsey counties, the Center asked what percentage of their clients experienced housing discrimination. Roughly 60% said that their clients always or frequently experienced discrimination, and a very high percentage of these said that they wanted to do something about it (but didn't know quite what).

This relates to the Center's other goal: community campaigns. Fred noted that so far this piece has been a source of great frustration, in part because it is hard to define. Basically, the Center is offering a strategy of survey testing to any coalition that wants to use it to further fair housing goals and objectives. Fred believes it is a great tool, especially because racism is so hard to pin down. Testing is fairly easy, it can be used in all kinds of venues (such as credit card applications, mortgage lenders, etc.), and testers have standing in the courts (although he noted that he doesn't have much faith in the efficacy of lawsuits and believes it is better to move a community through organizing, direct action, and confrontation if necessary; this brings people along and even educates them in a way). Fred and the Center hope to see a group of

organizations agree to use testing in a campaign to promote integrated, affordable, life cycle housing. He believes it could work as a catalyst and as a way to document discrimination and the other problems in the housing system, including those in the real estate industry. He urged CIC to keep survey testing and the community campaign idea in mind as it develops.

I asked him about Legal Aid's current fair housing efforts. The Housing Discrimination Law Project is the overall name. He said he did not have a clear understanding of its intent, but thinks it focuses on complaint-based testing for Legal Aid-eligible clients and disability counseling (access issues) in greater Minnesota. They are also sponsoring a February conference that grew out of Strib ads that were discriminatory.

Elsewhere, an effort is "starting to brew" on the West Side of St. Paul. The MN Fair Housing Center received money to do community campaigns in Ramsey County and another county, and there is talk of doing it on the West Side with CLUES and other Chicano organizations.

Fred then discussed how important the real estate industry structure (and to some extent the mortgage and banking industries) is to all of this. The real estate industry is "rife with structural racism." He noted the anecdotal evidence, for example, of banks making fewer or no loans in certain areas, and using contract-for-deeds, which are much trickier for the home buyer. Realtors are colluding with this, especially independent realtors (who are not part of big organizations and therefore go uninvestigated and can skirt the law). He also noted that in more affluent areas, realtors steer people into certain areas (they don't tend to steer corporate transfers to a neighborhood like Whittier, for instance).

Going back to community campaigns, he explained how testing done in the context of such a campaign can give the lie to all of the talk that things like redlining and blockbusting do not exist (banks say that it's a problem of secondary markets and insist that they are only applying policies).

He also noted that John Powell is doing a big study for McKnight on just this issue: the link between housing and schools.

He also noted that every planning process that he is aware of that genuinely seeks to involve the community comes up with results that are much more diverse, liberal, and "integrationist" than those developed by developers or city officials. The old ways of development presume that cities benefit from traditional single-family housing, but no study has ever been conducted to show that per acre single family homes generate more revenues than affordable housing and multiple-family units. On a related issue: the image that suburbs don't want affordable housing is based on a myth perpetuated

by those who benefit from the current system (developers, planners [who don't know how to do it differently], and city officials).

He pointed to the Arsenal Project (done with Jobs for Peace), which conducted a series of public forums with youth, senior citizens, trailer parks, etc. The results "would warm the heart of any liberal": their plans were integrationist, included affordable housing and mixed uses (they didn't want suburban housing tracts and other typical parts of suburbia).

He suggested talking to Sharon _____ of CASH. She has good stories about planning projects out East that are more inclusive and that result in much more diverse, life-cycle housing plans.

He also noted that Minneapolis is twice as segregated as St. Paul. According to the federal definition of integration (15% above or below the citywide average), almost half of Minneapolis's census tracts are segregated.

He suggested we look at programs like the Housing Value Insurance Program, developed in Chicago. Neighborhood Works and The Center for Neighborhood Technology would have more detail. In the program, people in a neighborhood agree to a special assessment that serves as insurance that the value of their home will not decline. It is a way of stabilizing the housing market. In the current system, the real estate industry benefits (whites sell cheaply, people of color or landlords buy dearly). If a neighborhood can be stabilized by community organizing and by mechanisms like the Housing Value Insurance Program, you can begin to develop integrated communities.

Another current problem is that to integrate the suburbs, we need more affordable housing, yet the suburbs already need a lot of affordable housing for the people who already live there. There would therefore have to be massive construction.

In terms of the overall question of how to approach integration, he suggested asking a broad range of groups (such as church groups) what kind of community or neighborhood they would want to live in. He said there are very few studies that ask this question. He suggested having them list the characteristics of that neighborhood and what would have to happen or change for that to happen. A participatory planning process would naturally bring in the integrated schools and housing issues. His suspicion is that we have to focus on a larger issue (i.e., communities as a whole) rather than the specific issues of integrated housing and schools.

TO: Travis, File
FROM: Darcy
DATE: December 28, 1995
RE: December 20 meeting with Frank Hornstein

I met with Frank mainly to discuss how he brought together the groups that form the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability (AMS) and what lessons he learned from that early coalition-building phase. We also talked about CIC itself.

He started by talking about what not to do. First, he said that the AMS did not take enough time to meet with groups individually beforehand. He thinks that would have ^{helped} prevented a second, larger problem: a lack of a stronger commitment on the part of the various members. He said it is especially important to know that the commitment is coming from the member organization as a whole, not just an individual who happens to find the issues important. There must be a sense that the coalition's work is an immediate priority for the member organization as a whole. He warned us to be careful of dealing only with "paper groups," groups with no real member base or constituency. It is important to know that "horsepower" is there. Ideally, a coalition will be getting real resources from each member group. These resources don't have to be the same thing; in fact, it is best when they complement each other.

He noted that in the case of individuals being interested in the coalition, it might be best for them to sit on the Board rather than adding their entire organization as a coalition member.

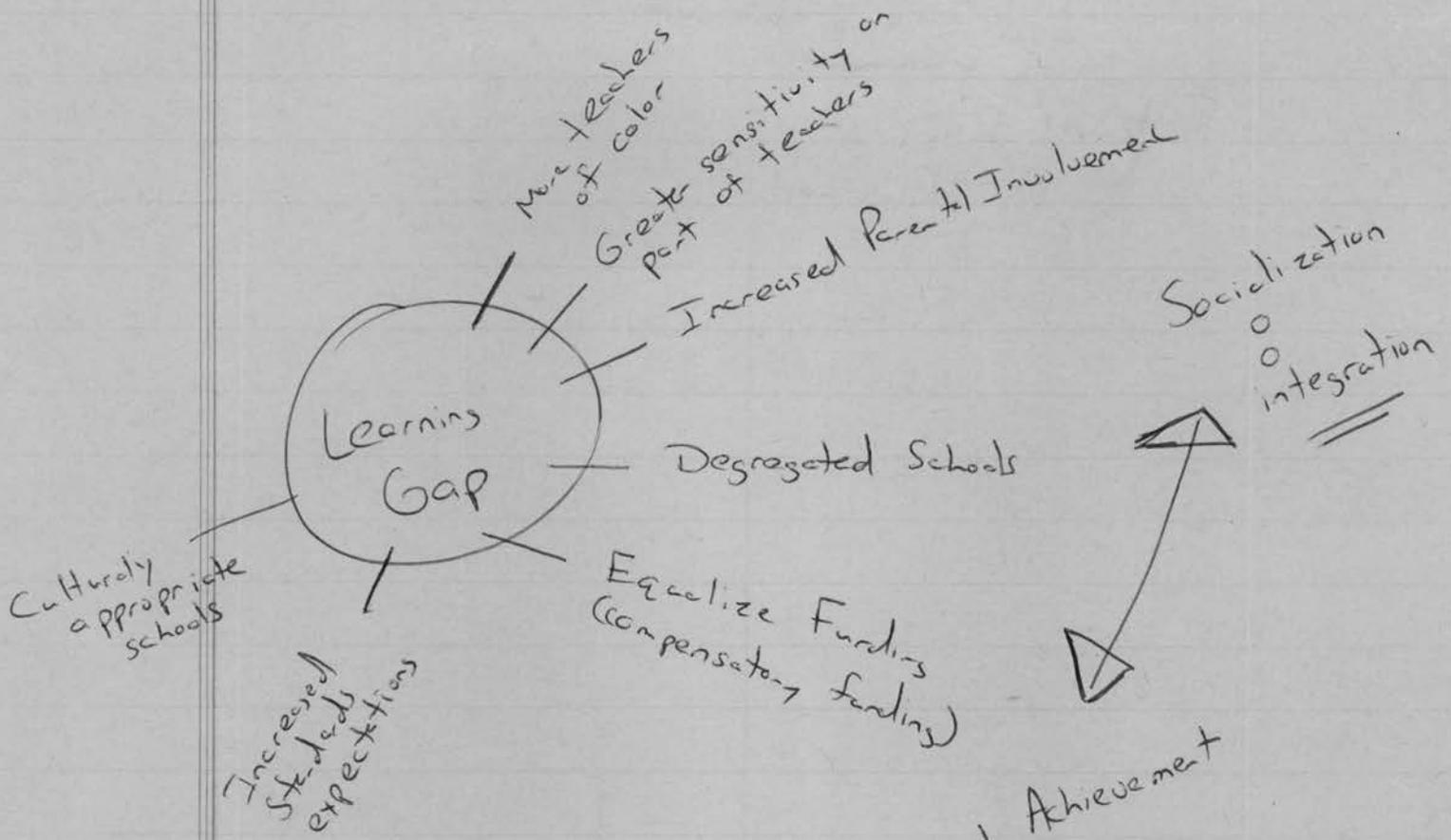
He also warned us not to be too broad in our goals. Our goals should be specific, local, and tangible, and based on winnable issues. The three important criteria: immediate, specific, and winnable. In the case of the AMS, a good example of this was how they handled parts of the Elm Creek Interceptor issue, particularly the public hearing they demanded. Demanding and holding such an organized, well-attended hearing showed the group's strengths and showed WHY the groups were working together. He acknowledged that this kind of effort is hard to sustain.

On the positive side, he said that having a set of principles is a good idea, although fewer than the Alliance has. He also thinks it is important to have everyone agree to these principles.

We then discussed CIC itself. Again, he urged us to develop broad representation and to spend a lot of time developing this. We should be more than a set of "policy wonks." He noted, for example, that it might be good to have people from the Minneapolis school site-based management teams (Leadership Councils).

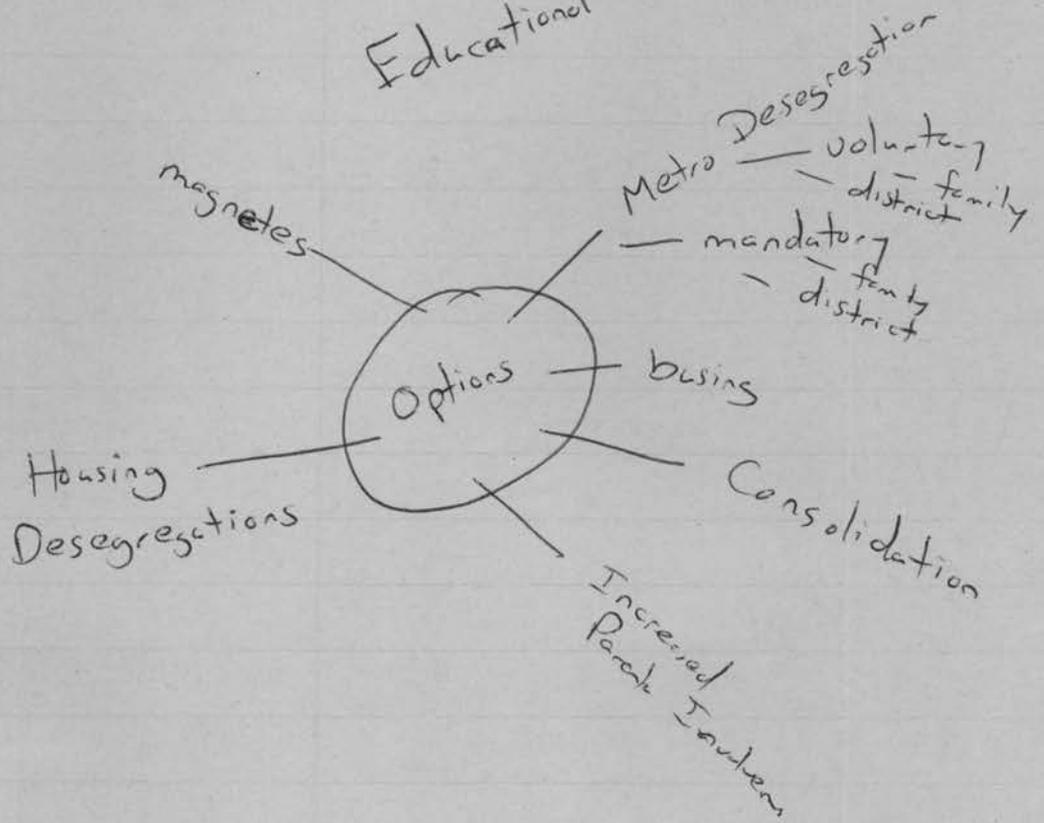
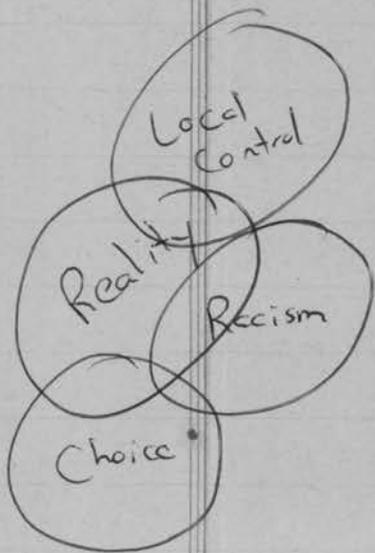
On specific school issues, he noted that in his opinion the move to neighborhood schools could have been done in phases. The School District could allow a school to become a neighborhood school when and if the school was able to show a link between integrated housing and the school. For background information on legislative proposals, he suggested looking at Sarna's proposal to combine school districts.

See Frank's contact suggestions in other 12/28 memo.



Educational Achievement

Socialization
integration



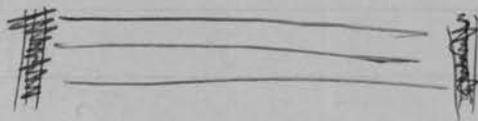
Who provides:

Fundamental Issues -
River west

Diversity Teaching Staff - steady

Disparity Resources and Commitments

Exodus -



Speck + Disparities

County NRP - Social Service
#15 - Neighborhood Organization